

# File #:

DO NOT  
DESTROY  
FOIPA# N/A

62-117290 -

# Serial Scope:

BULKY - 1321

Released under the John F. Kennedy  
Assassination Records Collection Act of  
1992 (44 USC 2107 Note). Case#:NW  
68486 Date: 11-30-2022

ENTIRE COPY REVIEWED  
FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION

GROUP II

Second Revision

Reviewed by Projects Unit, DCRS, and copy  
returned 11/14/78 to HSCA representative  
William Webb.

173

5229 (copy)

88

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

*of*

INVESTIGATION

USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

Transfer-Call 3421

1 - T. E. Bishop

1 - G. C. Moore  
April 2, 1968

1 - Mr. T. J. Heskin

Airtel

To: SAC, Mobile

From: Director, FBI

Subject: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

100-44800-63-63  
2/4/86 Sprmaemic

DECLASSIFIED BY 8383 RMT/MLA  
1-26-82

Reurairtel 3/25/68.

You are authorized to send the two anonymous letters set out in reairtel. Prepare the letters on commercially purchased stationery and take all necessary precautions to insure they cannot be traced to the Bureau.

When the letters and envelopes are prepared, send them to the Baltimore Office for mailing. For the information of Baltimore these two letters are designed to bring the true nature of the Washington Spring Project to the attention of Negro leaders in Selma, Alabama. Mail the letters the same day they are received from Mobile.

The Bureau appreciates Mobile's suggestion. Advise the Bureau, under the above caption, of results.

2 - Baltimore

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

TJD:srs/rsz (3) LSZ

NOTE:

SAC, MO, recommends that an anonymous letter showing the true nature of Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project be sent Rev. Frederick Reese in Selma, Ala. Reese has made derogatory remarks about King.

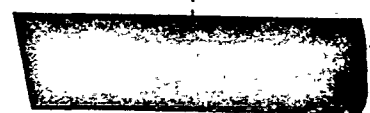
Instead, this letter would be sent from another city (DA) with a copy to the editor of the local newspaper, the "Selma Times-Journal," to give the newspaper an opportunity to interview Reese about the letter and possibly publicize its contents. This newspaper has a wide Negro leadership. The letter will note the march is for King's personal aggrandizement, he is interested mainly in donations, there is no provision to house or feed marchers, and there might be violence. Black nationalists take over the march.

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

APR 2 1968  
COMM-FBI

FBI

Date: 3/25/68



Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)



TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MOBILE



MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*2/14/82  
Springer*

DECLASSIFIED BY *80883 RAN/ANR*

*ON 1/26/82*

ReBuTelCall to me 3/12/68, and BuRad 3/21/68.

I have considered this matter, discussed it with appropriate agent and supervisory personnel of the Mobile Office and the following is proposed as a counterintelligence move on KING's Washington Spring Project.

KING has quite a following in and around the Selma, Ala. area and has appeared recently in Selma on one occasion at the church of Reverend L. L. ANDERSON, who, at the time of KING's appearance, was running for mayor of Selma. ANDERSON was tentatively endorsed by KING and was subsequently defeated in his race for mayor of Selma.



- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Mobile

REGISTERED

REC 48

*100-448006-63*

WMA: Amd

(5)

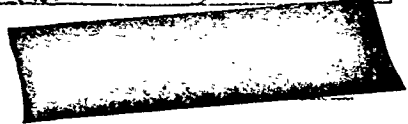
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

APR 4 1968

*5-T817*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M



[REDACTED]

By handling as above, we would eliminate the possibility of these rumors being attributed to the FBI.

Consideration has been given to some method of discouraging [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] From our contact [REDACTED] who is a liaison source, it is the opinion of contacting agents that he is so sold on the project that it is almost impossible to disillusion him. [REDACTED]

It is also felt that some method of getting an article in the "Southern Courier" along the lines of the above would have a discouraging effect on the Negro community in and around Montgomery, Ala., since the Courier is very widely read. Consideration is being given to the method of accomplishing this.

The Bureau is requested to consider the proposal set forth above and advise.

Date:

3/29/68

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	
Mr. Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-10677)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

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

ReNYteletype 3/29/68.

There are enclosed for the Bureau eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) containing information from

An information copy of this LHM is being sent to the Richmond Office, since it is indicated that KING will probably cancel a scheduled appearance in Virginia on Saturday (March 30, 1968).

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
  - (1-157-8428) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 2-Atlanta (100- ) (Encls. 3) (RM)
  - (1-100-5718) (COMINFIL SCLC)
  - (1-157- ) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 1-Richmond (100- ) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
- 2-Washington Field (100- ) (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - (1-157- ) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (41)
- 1-New York (100-149104) (COMINFIL SCLC) (45)
- 1-New York (100-155735) (CERR) (21)
- 1-New York (157-2052) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) (43)
- 1-New York (100-136585)

100-106670-3272

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED

65 APR 3 1968

APR 3 - 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN

This LHM is classified [REDACTED] because it contains information from [REDACTED] a source engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the US [REDACTED]. It also is classified [REDACTED] because it contains [REDACTED]



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

Date: 11/21/61

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718) (C)

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Memphis airtel to Bureau, 9/26/61.

[redacted] of the Atlanta Office, have no information regarding the SCLC Annual Convention in Nashville, Tenn., held September, 1961.

New York letter to the Bureau, 9/27/61, entitled "CP - USA, SOUTHERN REGION, IS - C" states [redacted]

Individual Racial Matters where the SCLC may be involved are opened if warranted under separate case captions. There is no information on which to base a Security Matter inquiry or racial matters investigation of the SCLC at this time.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (info) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (info) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Knoxville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (info) (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (info) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (info) (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (info) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (info) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta

RRN: aab  
(14)

REC-75

EX-104

100-438794-47  
157-632-8

RE NOV 23 1961

S-11-84  
8992 10/1/64

Spencer 8/13/60

1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 8/30/67

Collins  
 Conrad  
 Felt  
 Gale  
 Rosen  
 Sullivan  
 Tavel  
 Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Holmes  
 Gandy

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

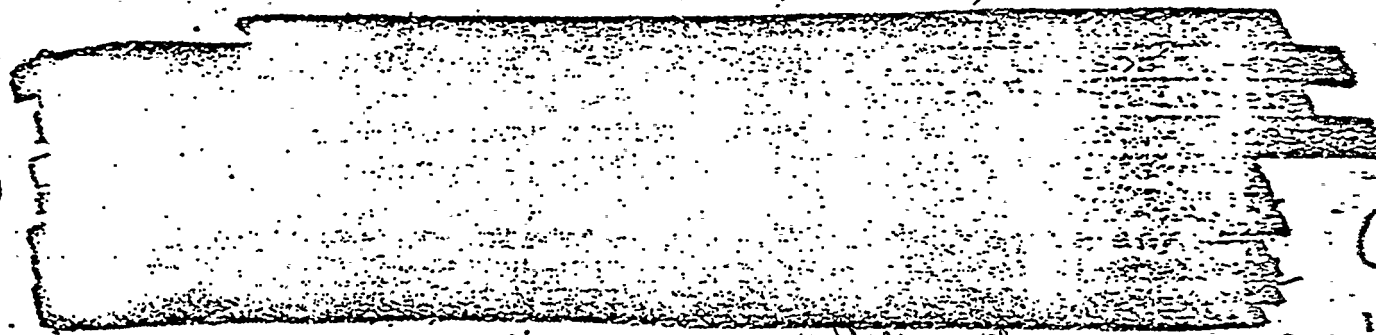
1 - C. D. Brennan  
 (D. M. Wells)  
 1 - Liaison  
 1 - J. M. Fitzgerald

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/13/80 BY 60322/UC/STW

1) D. J. Brennan  
 [Handwritten initials and marks]

This is to recommend that we furnish to General  
 Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps, the  
 attached copy of Bureau "Top Secret" monograph entitled,  
 "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - - A Current Analysis."



OBSERVATIONS:

Classified by SP1 Macgregor  
 Declassify on: 3/31/84

General Greene has always been very friendly and  
 cooperative with the Bureau. As Commandant of the Marine Corps  
 he is also a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is felt  
 it would definitely be to the benefit of General Greene and  
 to the Bureau to furnish him the enclosed monograph which has  
 previously been disseminated to the White House,  
 the Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of  
 State, and the Secret Service. In addition, approval was given  
 recently to furnish a copy of the document to

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached monograph be furnished by Liaison to General Greene.

100-106670

Enc.

JMF:jad  
(6)

REC 18

11 SEP 12 1967

54 SEP 15 1967  
 returned with thanks  
 maintained  
 924 950

(5)

5- [Handwritten initials]  
 [Handwritten marks]

[REDACTED]

Letter to Atlanta  
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
100-435794

All offices are cautioned that any information developed concerning the SCLC relating to racial matters must be reported under the racial matters caption. It should be noted that the [REDACTED] maintains a separate file on SCLC relating to racial incidents (157-632). All investigation under the caption of this letter must be limited to and directed toward determining the extent of communist infiltration of the SCLC.

NOTE ON YELICH:

[REDACTED]

Review of correspondence received at the Bureau under various captions relating to the activities of SCLC and its leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., indicated the [REDACTED] King and [REDACTED] New York and Atlanta were instructed to make a complete review of all information concerning this matter and to furnish the Bureau recommendations concerning a communist infiltration investigation. New York recommended a COMINFIL investigation of the New York chapter [REDACTED] of the New York chapter of the SCLC. New York also recommended a COMINFIL investigation of SCLC due to the fact that four CP members are presently associated with SCLC and that at least one of these members is an officer of SCLC and close to King. [REDACTED]

It is believed a communist infiltration investigation is warranted. See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated October 22, 1962. RJR:ccb.

*Handwritten:* [unclear]

RECEIVED FROM

DEC 3 1965

D.O.J.

9/15/66 [unclear]  
DECLASSIFIED BY 8912 TOR/MA  
ON 8/15/84

July 20, 1962

SAC, Atlanta

Director, FBI

(100-new)

- 1 - Mr. Kitchens
- 1 - Mr. Harrington
- 1 - Mr. Rampton

**COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(OO: ATLANTA)

4/1/84  
Classified by 1688 RJP/CAH  
Declassify on: OADR  
3/3/86  
SP/maemle

6-7  
60217 L.P.G.  
2/26/62  
44-100

10  
Anthr...

Prior correspondence received from Atlanta and New York indicates Stanley David Levison, Communist, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who has had prior connections with CP, are influential with Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

It is noted O'Dell is employed by SCLC and is in charge of the New York office of this organization. Early this year the New York Office furnished information the New York Friends of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (NYF, SCLC) had been organized by CP members; however, this organization ceased activity on 2-22-62 and the matter was closed subject to reopening and reporting in the event additional information was developed concerning its continued existence. This latter organization was organized to give some financial support to the SCLC.

Atlanta and New York are instructed to review files, contact sources and determine whether the CP is exerting any influence on the SCLC through Levison and O'Dell or others and/or whether the Party is making any attempts to infiltrate this organization. The Bureau should be furnished a comprehensive summary of the information available to each office concerning all

- 1 - Atlanta (100-5718) (SCLC, RM)
- 3 - New York (1 - 100-147322) (NYF, SCLC)

JUL 20 1962  
COMM-FBI

- 1 - 100-437326 (NY, SCLC)
  - 1 - 100-437326 (SCLC, RM)
- RJR:blw (12) 157-...

REC  
437714-1  
16 JUL 23 1962  
MCI

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination by the Committee. Its use is limited to the content of the document and the content of the document should not be disseminated to the FBI.

Letter to Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

individuals connected with the CP who are influential in or  
have a position in the SCLC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
integrationist movement. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] clearly shown for purposes of evaluating  
whether a communist infiltration investigation should be  
conducted on the SCLC. [REDACTED]

New York should furnish the Bureau and Atlanta its  
observations and analysis of the information it has developed  
to assist Atlanta in making its recommendations. Atlanta,  
upon receipt of New York's reply, should furnish the Bureau  
the results of its review and its recommendations as to whether  
a communist infiltration investigation is warranted in accordance  
with the instructions contained in Section 87 E of the Manual of  
Instructions. No investigation of this nature should be con-  
ducted, however, without Bureau authority.

The Bureau has opened a separate file on this matter  
and correspondence relating to the communist infiltration of  
SCLC should be directed to this file rather than the Racial  
Matters file (100-427079)-157-632

NOTE ON YELLOW: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Levison has been identified as Associate Director of  
SCLC [REDACTED] O'Dell [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] administrative assistant to King and is  
employed by the SCLC, in charge of the New York office. O'Dell  
has been identified as a CP member in the past [REDACTED] S

(NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3)

Letter to Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

[REDACTED] concentrate.  
on Martin Luther King and the CP felt it was [REDACTED]

Martin Luther King group. As late as 11-21-61 the Atlanta Office has advised no information has been developed on which to base a security inquiry on SCLC. In view of the continued activity of Levison and O'Dell and the fact they exert influence on King it is deemed advisable to again ask for a review of the appropriate field office files to determine if any CP direction and infiltration of the SCLC has developed. [REDACTED]

*King Security*

Gale	_____
Bishop	_____
Sullivan	_____
Loach	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

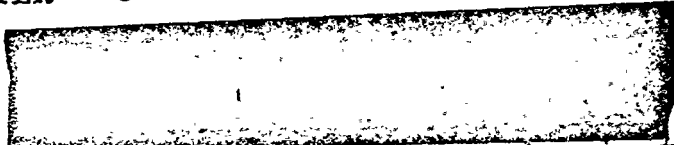
Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 14, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

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

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



PURPOSE

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



BACKGROUND

*2/3/67 [unclear]*  
 [unclear] 1-21-67  
 CH

EX-114 REC-4100-106670-324

CDB/pcn  
(5)

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED -- OVER

15 APR 20 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED?

79 APR 21 1967

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

N.Y.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] As you know, Wachtel is  
King's other close advisor and Wachtel also has had past  
communist affiliations. [REDACTED]

OBSERVATION

↓ ↓  
CONTINUED -- OVER



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

RECOMMENDATION

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

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

We should not ignore this situation. The stakes are too high. I think Mr. DeLoach is the logical selection to handle this assignment. If it is not to be <sup>done</sup> indirectly, it should be done through a second person who has great influence with Rockefeller. (u)

*Mr. Malone, New York, should handle personally and could*

*Ans.*  
*nd*  
*4.17*

# Memorandum

(B-47)  
[Redacted]

Mr. [Redacted] Coach  
Mr. Wick

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 15, 1966

C. D. Brennan

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JRM/KE  
ON 10/28/80

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, [Redacted] communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, [Redacted] 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, 553 Johnson Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on November 8, 1963, and discontinued on April 30, 1965, when King moved from this address. It was not reinstated on his new residence.

100-106670-2820

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, 1965, 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

DEW:jaw

SENT DIRECTOR

OVER

JUNE 5  
JAN 23 1967

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

D-30

# Memorandum

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick

DATE: 10/24/66

TO : Mr. Sullivan

- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - D. Wells

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

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

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

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

100-106670

DWJ: dch

CONFIDENTIAL

(9)

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

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

*I doubt this will accomplish anything.*

I doubt this will accomplish anything. D.

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

*I Agree*  
*D. 11/25*  
I agree  
D.

*Handwritten signatures and notes, including 'Bundy' and 'contact'.*

*Agree  
11/25  
D.*

# Memorandum

*King Security*

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 27, 1966

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

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

~~Enclosed is an article which we have prepared concerning Martin Luther King.~~

It is based entirely on public source information and we are recommending that it be referred to the Crime Records Division with the idea that it can be given to a friendly newspaper contact such as David Lawrence, who is Editor of the U. S. News and World Report.

The article was prepared because the cry of "black power" is a most timely issue in the country today. This issue has split the civil rights movement and has caused civil rights leaders to take sides for and against "black power." However, Martin Luther King has been attempting to straddle the issue, based on advice given him by his advisors with communist backgrounds. The attached article indicts King for his failure to take a stand on the issue and at the same time exposes the degree of communist influence on him.

It is felt the public should again be reminded of this communist influence on King, and the current controversy among civil rights leaders makes this timely to do so.

The attached article has been prepared with no letterhead relating it to the FBI and is on unwatermarked bond paper.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-38 100-106670-2760

That this memorandum and the attached article be referred to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling.

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

CDB/pcn  
(6)

NOV 15 1966

NOV 8 1966

U.S. News and World Report

copy of this notice

McHugh of

WESS

DAVID LAWRENCE

Is the civil rights movement dead? Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), says it is. He reportedly commented to that effect during a panel discussion on October 25, 1966, at a Philadelphia conference of radio-television broadcasters sponsored by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Association. In addition, McKissick is quoted as having added that "what we have now is a black revolution, for black people to take what they can for themselves."

If the movement is dead, as McKissick asserts, he is one of the individuals most responsible for its demise. McKissick has loudly echoed the "black power" cries of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and it has been their demands for revolutionary action which stopped the civil rights movement in its tracks.

DECLASSIFIED BY *sp...* ON *3/10/04*

In so doing, they have brought to a halt ten years of concentrated effort on the part of moderate Negroes and whites who support the movement. When the movement began, it seemed to signify the end of an era of disenchantment and disillusionment for Negroes throughout the land and the beginning of a period in which true justice and equality for all would be established in fact as well as in name.

Thanks to the McKissicks and the Carmichaels, progress toward that goal has stopped and the big question today is whether the movement is "dead as a doornail" as McKissick claims or whether the setback is temporary in nature.

ENCLOSURE



Responsible civil rights leaders have been appalled at the harm done by the cries of "black power." In addition, they have taken a strong stand in an effort to fight the wrong. Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney M. Young, Jr., joined forces and issued a public statement in which they clearly and unequivocally denounced "black power" and its inherent danger to both the Negro and the Nation.

Unfortunately, their courageous action was undermined by the one man in the civil rights movement who holds in his hands the power to silence the rabble rousers and give the movement renewed momentum. That man, of course is Martin Luther King, Jr., whose activities have invested him with the mantle of leadership in the movement since it began in Montgomery in 1956.

At first it appeared King had wholeheartedly joined with Wilkins, Randolph and Young in their renunciation of "black power." He reportedly endorsed their statement which appeared in "The New York Times" on October 14, 1966. For the first time in many months, millions had reason to believe and hope that the civil rights movement had rid itself of a cancerous growth and would resume its progress with renewed health and vigor.

Much to the amazement and dismay of many, King killed this hope almost immediately. Within three days after the statement appeared denouncing "black power," "The New York Times" reported that King had "clarified" his position concerning it. Reportedly, he agreed with it in essence but did not wish to be included as a signer.

King's palliating and ambiguous position on the issue is difficult to understand or justify. Those who cry "black power" have continually claimed it has been misunderstood and misdefined. But the record is clear that it stands for open advocacy of violence, insistence on an all-Negro organizational structure in civil rights groups, and reverse racism.

It is equally clear that these things are direct contradictions of the principles underlying the legitimate civil rights movement: a nonviolent approach, combined Negro-white action, and the elimination of racism.

The great American tragedy of our time would be the failure of Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet the current challenge which "black power" represents to the civil rights movement. His failure to do so would mean that for some reason King is willing to let the legitimate civil rights movement die. This, in turn, would seem to indicate that King's goal is different than that of Wilkins, Randolph and Young.

It appears that King's decision to straddle the fence on the issue of "black power" was a carefully calculated one. "The Atlanta Journal" of October 13, 1966, reported that King, as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was having an important meeting with his advisors. Undoubtedly the move Wilkins, Randolph and Young proposed to make through the issuance of public statement was known to King and he was seeking advice on what his stand should be.

It may have been that King's advisors deemed it best for him to avoid condemning anyone. Or, they may have felt that with the battle lines drawn between McKissick and Carmichael on the one hand and Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the other, everyone would suffer and only King would stand to benefit and would be left the unchallenged leader. Or, they may have had still other interests in mind.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the newspaper article identified King's advisors as Bayard Rustin, Clarence Jones, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel.

If these individuals constitute Martin Luther King, Jr.'s brain trust, the civil rights movement may well be dead and King's supporters and followers, both Negro and white, may well rue the circumstances of fate that led them to bank so much on one man.

The backgrounds of Rustin, Jones, Levison and Wachtel raise serious questions regarding their degree of influence over Martin Luther King, Jr. The Congressional Record of August 13, 1963, for example, indicated that Rustin is a past member of the Communist Youth League and attended the national convention of the Communist Party as an observer in 1957.

In addition, Rustin reportedly traveled to Russia in 1958 to participate in a communist propaganda spectacular called "Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons."

Upon his return, he played a key role as an organizer of a student march on Washington which the east coast communist newspaper, "The Worker," hailed as a communist project.

There is no doubt that King has relied heavily on Rustin for guidance for a long time. In fact, Rustin reportedly was King's part-time aide for a five-year period from 1955 to 1960.

There are reports that Stanley Levison also has acted as a counselor to King for a long period of time. As a matter of fact, he once held a position as a vice president in the SCLC. The Congressional Record

It also indicated that Clarence Jones is an attorney who, during the 1950s, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, which has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization under Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel reportedly is a New York attorney, like Stanley Levison, and has become active in King's behalf through his acquaintance with Levison.

The spectre of communist influence on King is not a new development. The nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Alsop referred to it in April, 1964, in a column concerning King's employment in the SCLC of an individual named Jack O'Dell. Alsop stated that King had been warned by Government officials that O'Dell was a "genuine communist article," and warned too that an even more important associate

of his was "known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party."

Such associations and, more particularly, guidance from such individuals could well explain King's failure to take a strong stand in opposition to McKissick and Carraichael. They have been exhorting their followers not to support the Administration's action in Vietnam, to refuse serving if drafted, and to tear apart our cities with violent acts of civil disobedience. These demands well serve communist aims to bring about a communist victory in Vietnam and to divide the masses along class lines to foment disorder in the streets.

Such guidance would help to explain also why King split with men like Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the issue of whether civil rights leaders should be speaking out on matters of foreign policy or whether their role should be confined to civil rights matters. It will be recalled that King attempted to project his views to criticism of fighting in Vietnam but the responsible civil rights leaders took a stand in opposition to him.

It would appear that King's advisors have a broader goal than the civil rights movement in this country. There is talk that King will travel extensively abroad to areas such as Latin America to speak out in behalf of the poor, Negro and white alike, in underdeveloped countries.

Perhaps being the recognized leader of 22 million Negroes in this country is not enough. If the image of him can be projected as the "savior" of the downtrodden throughout the world, his prestige and influence will grow to a degree which will enable him to dictate demands in a voice that will ring loud and clear through the halls of Congress and in the White House. Much would depend on the backgrounds of his advisors and the nature of the demands they would be whispering in his ear.

Should that come about, the religious groups, foundations and others who have contributed millions to support King and his activities could find that their generous support had spawned a monster seeking to devour them.

The saddest part of it all is that the American Negro may well be left in the lurch with his dreams of true equality and justice in a united country free of prejudice and bigotry shattered.

To repeat, Martin Luther King, Jr., could be the great American tragedy of our times.

NOTE: See memorandum captioned MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., SECURITY MATTER - C dated 10/27/66, CDB/pcn.

C-38

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 11, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

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



OBSERVATIONS:

*3/2/66 Spwacme*  
*RELEASING INFORMATION*  
*CH 12/3/80*

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

ACTION:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:kmj  
(9)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your agency. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the FBI. ADDENDUM PAGE TWO.

REC-58

100-106670-481  
OCT 13 1964

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

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

*Handwritten notes:*  
 C. King  
 W. G. ...  
 [Signature]

*Handwritten notes:*  
 9/10/64 ...  
 9/12/64 ...  
 9/12/64 ...





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

DATE: 7/16/63

TO : MR. BELMONT

FROM : C. A. Evans

cc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Evans

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1/MLH

The AG was contacted at his request late this afternoon. He said that Clarence Benjamin Jones, a NY attorney who has had close association with Martin Luther King, and with Stanley Levinson Marshall had been in to see Burke Marshall about the racial situation. According to the AG, Jones had indicated he had some reservations about talking with Levinson on the phone. Marshall thought he might have been referring to a possible telephone tap, and passed it off by telling Jones this was something he would have to take up with Levinson.

The purpose of the AG's contact was that this brought to his attention the possibility of effecting technical coverage on both Jones and Martin Luther King. I told the AG that I was not at all acquainted with Jones, but that, as far as King was concerned, it was obvious from the reports that he was in a travel status practically all the time, and it was, therefore, doubtful that a technical surveillance on his office or home would be very productive. I also raised the question as to the repercussions if it should ever become known that such a surveillance had been put on King.

The AG said this did not concern him at all; that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible. I told him, under the circumstances, that we would check into the matter to see if coverage was feasible and, if so, would submit an appropriate recommendation to him.

If you approve, we will have a preliminary survey made to see if technical coverage is feasible with full security.

REC-9

100-2-116-4

JUL 31 1963

CAE:CSH (4)

Memorandum

0-24

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - D. Wells

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

TO : Mr. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: 11/3/66

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

**PURPOSE:** To obtain approval to alert friendly members of the news media field of the meeting between Martin Luther King, Jr. President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union.

**BACKGROUND:** You were previously advised that according to [redacted] on 10/17/66 Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal adviser to King, was attempting to arrange a meeting between King and Hoffa. Jones informed Hoffa's attorney that King thought Hoffa's union might want to support the civil rights movement to a greater degree because of its 450,000 Negro members. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JEM/lu 1-17-81 (Sommerville) 3/3/76

On October 30, 1966, this same source advised that Hoffa had agreed to meet with King in Hoffa's office in Washington, D. C., on either the second, third, or fourth of November, 1966. This was to be a luncheon meeting. Jones was to advise Hoffa's aide what date was agreeable with King by 10/30/66.

On 10/31/66 [redacted] advised that Jones was in contact with the Teamsters Union. Since King was unable to meet on any of the above dates, tentative plans were made to hold the meeting on the ninth or tenth of November, 1966. If these days are not satisfactory, an alternate meeting date was scheduled for one day during the week of November 14, 1966.

REC-3

The New York Office has been alerted to notify the Bureau immediately when a date and time have been set for this meeting.

100-106670

D.M.W:deh

11 NOV 22 1966

NOV 30 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

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

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

OBSERVATIONS: From the above, it is apparent that King is in dire need of funds. Secondly, he dislikes going to Hoffa because of Hoffa's unsavory reputation. King undoubtedly feels that this association might reflect unfavorably upon his public image. On the other hand, it would appear Hoffa might be concerned with the white backlash within his own union ranks should it become known that union funds may be expended to promote Negro objectives. It is therefore felt that both men have just reason for keeping this meeting secret. Any publicity concerning it would probably be extremely embarrassing to both parties.

It would appear that the meeting may be virtually spontaneous and time in this instance could be very critical.

RECOMMENDATION: A Bureau official be designated now to alert irrationally news media of the meeting once the meeting date is learned so that arrangements can be made for appropriate press coverage of the planned meeting to expose and disrupt it.

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, 11/3/66, FJB:deh

Special Agent in Charge Donald E. Roney of the New York Office called at 3 p.m., this date. He said that through a reliable source they had learned that Clarence Jones had contacted King today. He told King that arrangements have been made for King to meet with Hoffa in Hoffa's office in Washington, D.C., for a luncheon meeting on November 9, 1966. King agreed and they then discussed the possibility of having Stanley Levison

a principal adviser to King, attend the meeting. They thought this was a good idea and would try to work it out.

# Memorandum

Mr. Mohr

DATE: April 8, 1964

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

C. D. DeLoach

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Mr. Baumgardner's memo to Mr. Sullivan 4/2/64 recommended that I briefly brief Senator Saltonstall in accordance with an attached "Top Secret" summary indicating Reverend Martin Luther King's communist connections and make-up purpose of such action was because Reverend King had been

Senator Saltonstall is on the Board of Trustees of Springfield College.

I called upon Senator Saltonstall at 10:30 a. m., 4/7/64 in his office. At beginning of our conversation I told the Senator that my remarks should be held in the strictest of confidence. He agreed to this. I then mentioned that he had long been a member of the FBI's and, therefore, the Director wanted me to brief him concerning a matter of potential embarrassment to a college he obviously was very personally interested in. Senator Saltonstall was told that captioned individual was to

He was advised that King for some time has been maintaining close liaison with [redacted] members of the Communist Party. I told him that King had received guidance and counsel and had relied greatly upon one of these members. I told Senator Saltonstall also that King was known to be [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]

ON 11-20-80

SPRINGFIELD 3/31/84

Senator Saltonstall told me he was shocked to receive this information. He stated it was hardly believable. He said if it were not for the integrity of the FBI he would not believe such facts. I told him that our information was very obviously truthful and based upon indisputable facts.

Senator Saltonstall told me that while he wanted to respect our confidence, the information placed a great burden upon him. He stated he felt duty bound to tell Glenn Olds. I reminded Senator Saltonstall that I had advised him of the above-mentioned facts in strict confidence. He then inquired if I would speak to Dr. Olds. I described Dr. Olds as a very outstanding individual who could be trusted implicitly.

100-106670-349

Belmont

Mr. Sullivan

REC- [redacted]

Loach to Mohr Memo  
re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

ACTION:

For record purposes.

*N417*

✓  
*J. Edgar Hoover*  
*Sept 24 1963*  
*WLD*

RECEIVED FROM  
SEP 24 1963  
FBI



# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 10, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. R. E. Wick
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS

PURPOSE:



To obtain authorization for high level dissemination of a document captioned as above which shows the degree of communist influence on Martin Luther King.

Enclosed is a document captioned as above, which depicts communist influence in the civil rights field, emphasizing the key role of Martin Luther King, Jr. This document is a current revision of the previous analysis captioned "Communism and the Negro Movement - A Current Analysis" prepared and disseminated in November, 1964. In updating it, we have emphasized these areas: (1) continued reliance of King upon former Communist Party, USA, members, particularly Stanley David Levison; (2) facts relating to King's [redacted] and (3) [redacted]

King's strong criticism and condemnation of the Administration's policy on Vietnam in a speech he made at New York on 4/4/67 shows how much he has been influenced by communist advisors. His speech was a direct parallel of the communist position on Vietnam.

It is felt that the President would be interested in a summary on King which shows the degree of communist influence on him. The attached paper constitutes a complete picture and strong indictment of King in that regard.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that

- (1) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the White House and the Attorney General be forwarded to Assistant to the Director DeLoach for transmittal to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House, and the Attorney General.

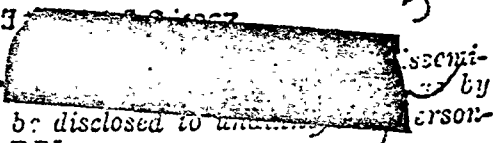
Enclosure  
100-442529

REC-71

CONTINUED - OVER

RLS:DMW/jav/cst.

(9)



56 MAY 22 1967  
NW 68486 DocId:32989750 Page 39

This document is prepared in response to...  
The content may not be disclosed to any person without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL  
MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS  
100-442529

(2) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Secret Service be forwarded to the Liaison Section for transmittal.

*Handwritten initials: GHW, MS, and other illegible marks.*

*Large handwritten signature or initials, possibly "W. J. S." or similar.*

*Handwritten initials "P" with a diagonal slash.*

*Handwritten initials "RM".*

*Handwritten initials "GH".*

*Handwritten initials "Y".*



Memorandum

1 - Mr. Loach  
1 - Mr. L. shop  
DATE: 11/7/67  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. P. T. Basher

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

PURPOSE: DECLASSIFIED BY 1678 R. R. RICH  
ON 9/18/85 (S. M. M. 3/3/86)

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing information regarding a contract in amount of \$61,000 funded and approved by Department of Labor and negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with Martin Luther King's organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Also included is information indicating recent immoral conduct on the part of King. (u)

BACKGROUND:

Recently [redacted] advised that the Department of Labor was negotiating a contract with the SCLC to train Negroes in the Atlanta, Georgia, area for employment.

The Director approved furnishing W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, a copy of the "Top Secret" document entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis" dated 4/10/67. This document sets forth in detail the extent of Communist influence within the SCLC and King's involvement with such elements and his unsavory moral background.

Mr. James J. Reynolds, Undersecretary of Labor, subsequently advised Liaison (SA W. J. McDonnell) that the Department of Labor had recently approved a contract in the amount of \$61,000 negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with the SCLC. The contract is for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. SCLC will receive \$13,000 for administering the program and the grocers will receive \$48,000 for providing on-the-job-training.

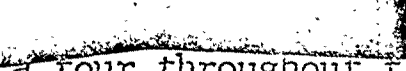

Enclosure 1-8-67  
100-106670  
1 - 100-438794

REC-60 100-106670-3138

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTERS - COMMUNIST

Reynolds advised that upon receipt of the document covering King, he conferred with Secretary of Labor Wirtz. Both agreed that there was no way at this time that the contract with SCLC could be gracefully canceled without causing severe and embarrassing repercussions. He stated, however, that in view of the information received, both he and the Secretary are in agreement that steps will be taken to insure that no further contracts will be awarded to King's group.

 has advised that King recently completed a tour throughout the United States with the purpose of participating in benefit programs to raise funds for the SCLC. While on this tour, King took an excessive dosage of sleeping pills and his conduct on the tour was "quite atrocious." According to the source, King not only "traveled, ate, and drank first class but slept with his secretary and others." 

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; and Assistant Attorney J. Walter Yeagley.

*pts* *pt* *W.C.S.* *W.C.S.* *W.C.S.*

# Memorandum

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

DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE November 24, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

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



DECLASSIFIED BY 1678 RFR/MA

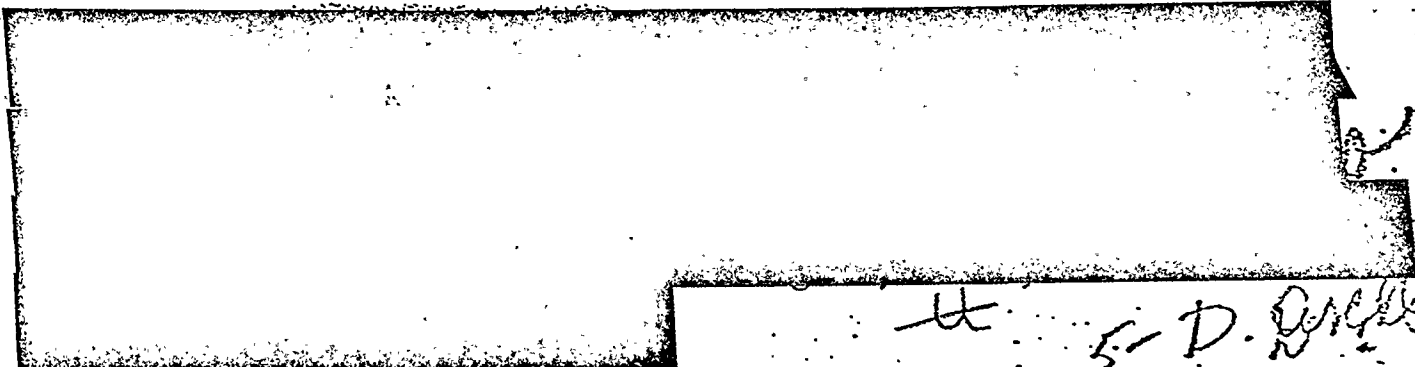
ON 11-21-85

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing the following information.

*Informant*

BACKGROUND AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:



King plans for a personal delegation to present their demands to the Secretary of Labor requesting prompt Congressional action concerning Negroes' problems. If demands are not met, massive civil disobedience would then start in Washington, D. C. If this activity fails to obtain Congressional action or is quelled by authorities, similar demonstrations would commence throughout the Nation in ten different unidentified cities.

Enclosure sent 11-27-67

ENCLOSURE  
100-106570

REC 7

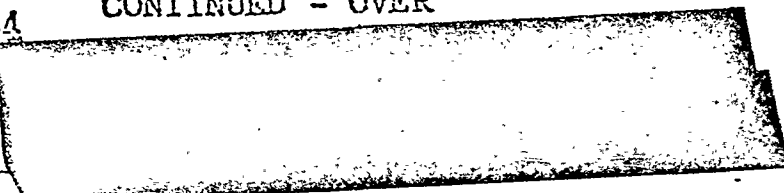
12 NOV 29 1967

1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

CONTINUED - OVER

DMW:ekw

(7)



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST  
100-106670

In order to be effective, 2,000 people must be trained between now and early February, 1968. Also, black nationalist organizations' activities must be neutralized in order that SCLC's demonstration will be successful. King felt that if this program fails it would probably benefit the black nationalist movement. U

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Labor Wirtz; Secretary of Defense McNamara; Army; Navy; Air Force; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General: Doar, Vinson, and Yeagley. U

*DMW*

*Wey*

*N*

*Jo*  
*prince*

# Memorandum

Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan   
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Goody \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 29, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

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

PURPOSE:

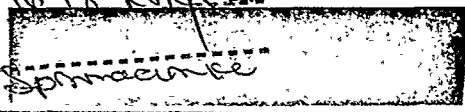


*Handwritten signature*

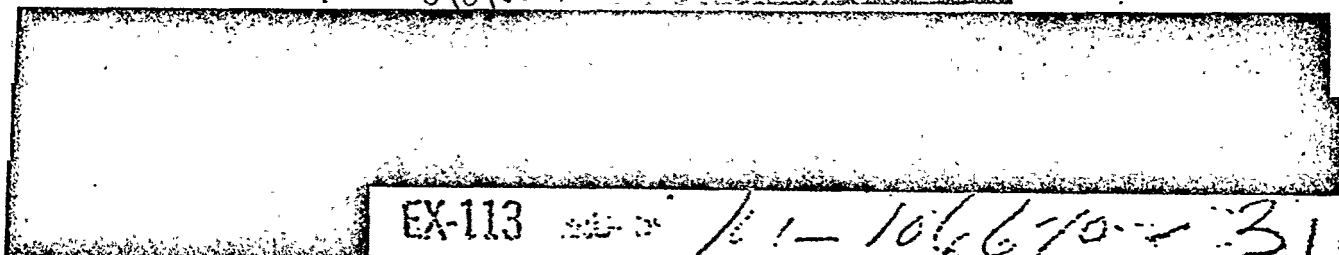
Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication revealing the Ford Foundation is giving Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a quarter of a million dollars.

BACKGROUND:

DECLASSIFIED BY *Max R...*  
ON *9/11/88*  
*3/3/80* *SPR...*



*Handwritten initials 'Ab'*



EX-113 *106670-316*

With your approval, John Bugas, former Special Agent in Charge of the Detroit Office and presently Vice President of the Ford Motor Company, was briefed as to the subversive backgrounds of King's principal advisors. Bugas expressed alarm and indicated that although the Ford Motor Company had little control over the Ford Foundation he, nevertheless, would immediately attempt to get in touch with Bundy and do something about this matter. Bugas advised that when he confronted Bundy with this matter, Bundy was rather highhanded in the conversation. Bugas indicated his company had quite a number of "hard blows" from the Ford Foundation over the years and most certainly a liaison between this foundation and Martin Luther King, Jr., would be a serious blow to the company. No additional information was received concerning this matter until recently. We did not disseminate this information so that our counterintelligence measures would not be divulged.

Enclosure *sent 11-30-67*

COPY SENT TO MR. TOL



*Handwritten signatures and initials*

Memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST



RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

At a staff meeting recently, King announced the Ford Foundation had granted his organization a quarter of a million dollars. King did not state how this money was going to be used. *u*

OBSERVATIONS:

It is interesting to note that King's group will only get \$250,000, a large sum, but considerably smaller than the original amount. Perhaps our measures had some effect in causing this reduction. In view of King's current announcements indicating he will hold a camp-in at Washington, D. C., across from the White House, it is felt the President would be extremely interested in the source of these new funds being made available to SCLC. *u*

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Defense McNamara; the Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Army, Navy, and Air Force. *u*

*gms*

*Ways* *pk*  
*Jan 24 1964*



Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 8, 1964

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

(E)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R.W. Smith

SUBJECT: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.  
 280 PARK AVENUE  
 NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK  
 ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 MAC/MLB  
ON 3/11/86

Further, we know that he has been able to cleverly deceive both very important Protestant and Catholic organizations, securing thereby support from them which gives him added stature. It should be very clear to all of us that Martin Luther King must, at some propitious point in the future, be revealed to the people of this country and to his Negro followers as being what he actually is--a fraud, demagogue and scoundrel. When the true facts concerning his activities are presented, such should be enough, if handled properly, to take him off his pedestal and to reduce him completely in influence so that he will no longer be a security problem and no longer will be deceiving and misleading the Negro people.

When this is done, and it can be and will be done, obviously such confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people. There will be embarrassment, frustration, confusion, resentment, et cetera. Because of this and the emotional reaction that will set in, it is not unlikely that movements like the Nation of Islam could benefit greatly. Further, other ridiculous developments similar to the Old Father Divine and Daddy Grace organizations may appear. The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction. This is what could happen, but need not happen if the right kind of a national Negro leader could at this time be gradually developed so as to overshadow Dr. King and be in the position to assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited.

REC 55  
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to the public without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
Re: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

For some months I have been thinking about this matter. One day I had an opportunity to explore this from a philosophical and sociological standpoint with Dr. Frank R. Barnett, whom I have known for some years. As I previously reported, Barnett is a very able fellow, former Oxford scholar and professor, and one on whom I can rely. I asked Barnett to give the matter some attention and if he knew any Negro of outstanding intelligence and ability let me know and we would have a discussion. Barnett has submitted to me the name of the above-captioned person, Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.

Enclosed with this memorandum is an outline of Pierce's biography which is truly remarkable for a man so young, having been born September 8, 1922. On scanning this biography, it will be seen that Pierce does have all the qualifications of the kind of a Negro I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership. I won't go into all his accomplishments and qualifications in this memorandum, for it will only take a minute or two to scan the enclosed biography.

On first blush I know it can be said it is not the concern of the Bureau what happens to the Negroes when Martin Luther King has been discredited. This can be said, but I think it is a very short-sighted view. It is our concern if large numbers of them go into the adoption of Islam and other extremist groups with which we are concerned as an investigative agency. It is our concern if the Communist Party would be able to capitalize upon this confusion. Further, from a positive and constructive standpoint it would be of great advantage to have leading the Negro people a truly brilliant, honorable and loyal Negro who would steer the 50 million Negroes away from communism. I think in a very sound sense this necessarily must be of great interest to us. It would be most helpful to have a man like Pierce leading the Negroes to whom we could go, if necessary, and rely upon in sensitive matters over which this Bureau has jurisdiction.

I want to make it clear at once that I don't propose that the FBI in any way become involved openly as the sponsor of a Negro leader who overshadows Martin Luther King. As far as I am concerned, this is not an issue at all. But I do propose that I be given permission to explore further this entire matter with Frank Barnett and any other person known to both Barnett and myself who could be helpful. If this thing can be set up properly without the Bureau in any way becoming directly involved, I think it would be not only a great help to the FBI but would be a fine thing for the country at large. While I am not specifying at this moment, there are various ways in which the FBI could give this entire matter



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.



the proper direction and development. There are highly placed contacts of the FBI who might be very helpful to further such a step. These can be discussed in detail later when I have probed more fully into the possibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That approval be given for me to explore this whole matter in greater detail, as set forth above.

G.K.  
d

W.C.S.

See biography outline enclosed. WCS

ADDENDUM (1/9/64), WCS/csh:

Mr. Pierce has been investigated by the Bureau as a Departmental Applicant (for the position of Assistant US Attorney, Southern District of NY), and no derogatory information of any kind was developed. The investigation showed, as does the biography, that he has a remarkably fine record.

W.C.Sullivan

*I am glad to see that "big fish" was finally thrown out of the water. I have been waiting for this and I hope it will be the last of the Communist's rule over the recent government. I hope there will be no more of this kind of thing.*





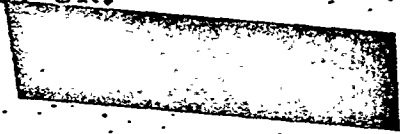
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 8, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



Contract Awarded

The Department of Labor recently approved a contract in the amount of \$61,000 negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The contract provides for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will receive \$13,000 for administering the program and the grocers will receive \$48,000 for providing on-the-job-training.

Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was instrumental in establishing this program. He contacted grocers and obtained their assurance that they would set aside 15 percent of the employment openings for on-the-job-training of Negro youths.

King Emotionally Upset

Martin Luther King, Jr., recently completed a tour throughout the United States for the purpose of participating in benefit programs to raise funds for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

DECLASSIFIED BY 11048 RJP/CA  
9-18-88  
5/13/96 SP/MA/ML

~~Excluded from automatic~~

72-3138

~~action~~  
ENCLOSURE



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 7, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

Martin Luther King, Jr., resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, and is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The New York office of the SCLC is located at 312 West 125th Street, New York City. He is closely associated with member of the Communist Party, USA.

In view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on King at his current address or at any future address to which he may move.

It is further requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the SCLC office at the current New York address or to any other address to which it may be moved.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

100-106670-250

APPROVED

DATE

*[Signature]*  
10/10/63

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

DECLASSIFIED BY *[Signature]*  
ON 8/10/86

Please Refer to

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 18, 1963

*Handwritten:* 13-14

*Handwritten:* 13-14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

The office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is located at 330 Auburn Avenue Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia. Martin Luther King, Jr., is President of this organization. He is closely associated with member of the Communist Party, USA.

In view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at its current address or at any future address to which it may be moved.

Respectfully,

*Handwritten:* 100-106670-258

*Handwritten Signature:* J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED

*Handwritten Signature:* [Signature]

DATE

*Handwritten:* 10/21/63

CLASSIFIED BY *Handwritten:* sp/mag/r  
8/10/80

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

*C-41*

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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	

DATE: 6/29/65

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

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

100-106670-7515-1575

We have just obtained information by chance which, if proven true, will give us a golden opportunity to discredit King because of his communist connections

On 6/27/65 Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips, Domestic Intelligence Division, was engaged in a golf game with

Phillips has known these two individuals only a short period of time; they are aware of his employment in the FBI. [redacted] initiated a conversation about King by observing that a friend of his, Representative James Martin, Republican of Alabama, had told him that he, Martin, had discussed King with the President and that the President is reluctant to expose King's communist connections because of the harm it would do to the civil rights movement. (It will be recalled that there was recent newspaper publicity wherein Martin was critical of the President on the King matter and he furnished details to the White House and Attorney General.)

[redacted] observed that an acquaintance, a [redacted] who is employed [redacted] had told him the following which had been related to her by [redacted] who is a banker in [redacted]. According to the banker, King has a numbered account in his bank with a balance of over one million dollars. [redacted] said he was surprised to have received this information because he thought it most indiscreet for a bank official to divulge such information, even to [redacted], inasmuch as identities of holders of numbered accounts are the most closely-held type of information existing in banking circles. Without showing undue interest, Phillips ascertained that (1) [redacted] is a spinster, hence her name is also [redacted] (2) banker [redacted] holds the position of Executive Director of the unknown bank; (3) [redacted] holds a responsible secretarial position [redacted] and is considered by [redacted] as most reliable.

Information in Bufiles and from Public Sources:  
[redacted] has no adverse information identifiable with [redacted] or [redacted]. Credit records reveal a [redacted] is secretary to the [redacted]; employed there [redacted]

100-106670

SFP:deh

(10)

*This is a copy of a letter to Sullivan... Its use is limited to official proceedings by [redacted] and is not to be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of [redacted]*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.  
100-106670

ALL EXCISING EXCEPT CONF.  
SOURCE ON THIS PAGE TO PROTECT  
FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
SERVICE, ITS REPRESENTATIVE AND  
COUNTRY

for over 30 years. In November, 1964, just after the Director  
spoke out concerning King and other matters, [REDACTED]

you Mr. Hoover!" She was thanked for her remarks by letter.  
[REDACTED] Telephone Directory has no listing for any [REDACTED]  
Rand McNally Bankers Directory identifies officials of several  
banks but no [REDACTED] listed. In connection with our  
investigations under the Criminal Intelligence Program, we have  
developed information that some [REDACTED] banks do have numbered  
accounts. We do not have any sources that can give us specific  
information about such numbered accounts. (X) (C)

[REDACTED]

OBSERVATIONS AND PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION:

If we can prove that King is hoarding large sums of money,  
we would have available possibly the best information to date which  
could be used to discredit him, especially in the eyes of his own  
people. Depending on exactly what evidence is developed, we may  
take the action to discredit King ourselves (through friendly news  
sources, or the like) or we might turn the information over to the  
Internal Revenue Service for possible criminal prosecution. This  
bridge can be crossed when we reach it. For the present, we  
propose taking this matter up with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] We believe that there is a

NW 12 1975

CONTINUED - OVER

- 2 -

FBI

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.  
00-106670

[REDACTED]

sense of urgency in this matter and should not delay our action because it is entirely likely that other individuals may have been in receipt of this information and inquiries by others, such as an ambitious newspaper man, could well interfere with our designs. There is also the possibility that [REDACTED], who also overheard [REDACTED] remarks and is friendly with Congressman Martin, may tell Martin and thus set into motion inquiries from another direction.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will immediately discuss this matter with [REDACTED]. You will be kept advised of pertinent developments. (6)

[REDACTED]

*B. wey*  
*AS*  
*OK*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*  
*V.*  
*[Signature]*

NOV 12 1975

FBI



# Memorandum

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

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 18, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

JUNE

- 1 - Mr. Rozamus
- 1 - Mr. Ridgeway

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

*Rozamus*  
*Donald C. H.*

This is to advise you of past electronic surveillances that we had installed for the purpose of securing intelligence data concerning the late Martin Luther King, Jr., former President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

King had been in close association with individuals having a Communist Party background during his rise to prominence in the civil rights field. Among such individuals was his principal advisor Stanley Levison, a communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established.

Clarence Jones, another close advisor of King, had been a member of the Communist Party 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. In order to determine the subversive influence in racial matters, the following microphone and wiretap coverage was placed in effect which provided coverage on the activities of King and the SCLC:

Installed	Discontinued	Type	Location
11/8/63	4/30/65	Wiretap	563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
1/5/64	1/8/64	Microphone	Willard Hotel, Washington
1/27/64	1/27/64	Microphone	Shroeder Hotel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
2/18/64	2/20/64	Microphone	Hilton Hawaiian Village, Honolulu, Hawaii
2/20/64	2/21/64	Microphone	Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, California
2/22/64	2/24/64	Microphone	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California
3/19/64	3/20/64	Microphone	Statler Hotel, Detroit, Michigan
4/23/64	4/24/64	Microphone	Senator Hotel, Sacramento, California
4/24/64	4/26/64	Wiretap	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California
7/7/64	7/9/64	Wiretap	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1000/...

115

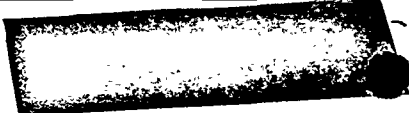
REC 8

100-106670  
RLR:sss

CONTINUED OVER

100-106670-3388

File 5



Memorandum C. D. rennan to Mr. F. C. Sullivan  
 RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
 -100-105570

<u>Installed</u>	<u>Discontinued</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
7/7/64	7/9/64	Microphone	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles California
8/14/64	9/8/64	Wiretap	125 East 72nd Street, New York, New York
8/22/64	8/27/64	Wiretap	Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey
9/28/64	10/2/64	Microphone	Manger Hotel, Savannah, Georgia
1/8/65	1/11/65	Microphone	Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York
1/28/65	1/31/65	Microphone	Americana Hotel, New York, New York
3/29/65	3/31/65	Microphone	Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York
5/12/65	5/13/65	Microphone	Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, New York, New York
10/14/65	10/15/65	Microphone	Astor Hotel, New York, New York
10/28/65	10/30/65	Microphone	New York Hilton Hotel, New York, New York
11/29/65	11/30/65	Microphone	Americana Hotel, New York, New York

In addition to the above coverage of King, the following coverage was afforded the SCLC.

<u>Installed</u>	<u>Discontinued</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
10/24/63	1/24/64	Wiretap	New York Office
11/8/63	6/21/66	Wiretap	Atlanta Headquarters
7/13/64	7/31/64	Wiretap	New York Office

All of the above wiretap surveillances were authorized under the signature of the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy who on 10/10/63 authorized the coverage of King's residence and any other future address to which he may move, and the New York Office SCLC. He also authorized wiretap coverage of King and the Atlanta headquarters of SCLC on 10/21/63. These authorizations were given during the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

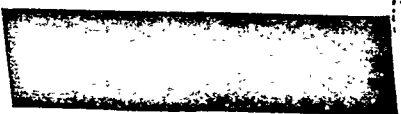
Attorney General Kennedy did not sign any microphone surveillance requests. Microphone surveillances were authorized by Bureau officials acting on general authority relating to the Attorney General.

ACTION:

None. For information.

*Z*  
*JR*

*Jd*



*WEL*

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. D. [redacted] *King Security 3/28/67*
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- DATE: October 18, 1967

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Marion
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

*[Handwritten signature]*

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination to friendly news media sources is a copy of a Negro newspaper editorial attacking Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

BACKGROUND:

DECLASSIFIED BY *[signature]*  
ON *1/29/81* BY *SP-6 [signature]*

King's group is in desperate need of funds. In an effort to combat this problem, King has organized a variety show starring Harry Belafonte, well-known Negro vocalist with a subversive background, to tour seven major cities in the United States. The proceeds will go to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. King is touring with the group and speaks during each performance.

The attached editorial entitled "Think Twice Before Going to Coliseum Tuesday Night" appeared in the "Forward Times," the leading Negro newspaper in Houston, Texas. This paper attacks King for his stand on Vietnam and claims his appearance in Houston is "an imposition on the community." King is also referred to as "a misguided 'Moses' who has lost himself." In addition, the article claims King's position regarding the Vietnam war "borders upon treason." Further, "a man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him."

Enclosure

REC-60

100-106670

13 NOV 3 1967

DMW:ekw  
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ENCLOSURE

57 NOV 3 1967

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

OBSERVATIONS:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In addition, the advanced ticket sales were slow in Houston, Texas, prior to the performance on October 17, 1967. This newspaper story may have caused many of the citizens of Houston to "think twice before going" and indeed, not go at all.

It is felt that if this article is given wide-spread publicity as how thinking Negroes really feel about King, two objectives can be accomplished. ~~One, publicize King as a traitor to his country and race.~~ ~~Secondly, reduce his income from these shows since he has five more performances to give; namely, Chicago, Illinois, October 19; Cleveland, Ohio, October 21; Washington, D. C., October 23; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 26; and Boston, Massachusetts, October 27.~~ \*

RECOMMENDATIONS:

\* The attached be forwarded to Crime Records Division for dissemination to appropriate friendly news media sources.

*Small*

*V. m/j*

*OK  
H*

*JS*

*Handled with Ed Murray -  
Newhouse Clinic -  
10/23/67  
JH*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING TO COLISEUM TUESDAY NIGHT



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

"FORWARD TIMES"  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Date: 10/14/67  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: Julius Carter  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: 100-104

Being Investigated

*2/10/66 Spmaem*  
*1-29-81 Spmaem*

*100-104-70 - 3129*

ENCLOSURE

Several weeks ago FORWARD TIMES made an editorial expression which stated, among other things, that Dr. Martin Luther King had strayed off onto an extremely dangerous course which ran in the opposite direction from the civil rights leadership course that vast numbers of citizens had come to know and respect him for over a wide span of years.

Now, we wish to make it crystal clear that this newspaper, of course, respects and upholds Dr. King's right to take a position that is, what we think to be, contrary to good judgement. If he wishes to be the spokesman for the 'peaceniks', that's his business. When, however, Dr. King joins with others and tries to impose that poor judgement upon the entire Negro community which is already beset with more in-depth and complicated problems than can apparently be coped with, at that point we call it our business.

FORWARD TIMES takes the position that Dr. King's visit to Houston next Tuesday night is an imposition upon this community of the first order. We also think that the fact that he is shrouding his "remarks" behind a big name popular singer like Aretha Franklin suggests subterfuge. If Aretha Franklin, who is now at the peak of fame, permits this group of 'peaceniks' to use her name to further their efforts, all that we can say is, "that's her business." If she wakes up later and finds that she has acted just like Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally, all that we can say is that she brought it all upon herself.

Our concern is not so much with what course Dr. King and Miss Franklin elect to follow. What concerns us is that the in-

nocent public, if not properly forewarned, might be taken in by their visit to Houston. We think that if what Dr. King has to say isn't within itself meritorious enough to draw a crowd, he shouldn't be coming to town in the first place to say it. As it stands now, Aretha Franklin's name has been added to the show and many people will pay the fee expecting to hear her sing. She will be the 'bait' to help get the crowd inside the Coliseum. Once inside, the trapped ticket purchasers will have to sit quietly while Dr. King spews about the "immorality" of the war in Viet Nam. Whether we like it or not, the United States of America is at war with a determined aggressor. How we got into this war matters little at this point. The bold truth is that we are shooting 'live' ammunition at them and they are shooting the same type back at us with remarkable effectiveness.

Looking at the conflict logically and realistically, we cannot escape the fact that we have absolutely no course open to us but to disregard all of the babble of weaklings. We, as bonafide American citizens, must take a stand with our country. In our actions, in our conversations and in our preachments, we must give no aid and no comfort to the enemy.

We must remember that all wars are immoral and when Martin Luther King preaches about how immoral the American bullets are and fails to offer us an alternative for stopping those immoral bullets being fired at our boys, we have got to take the ex-civil rights worker to task for his oversight.

There is no middle ground here for any misguided "Moses" who has lost himself. King got lost just outside of Chica-

go in a town called Cicero and he hasn't been the same since. We cannot sit by and allow him to lose thousands of Negro citizens also just because he can't find his own way.

Crispus Attucks didn't call the cause at Boston Commons "Immoral". He stood up like a man and fell like a proud soldier. From that moment on, both black and white men have stood up for America. Negro citizen soldiers have stood like men and fallen, if need be, on battle fields in far away places all over the world every since Crispus Attuck first stood up back in the beginning. This nation has grown strong and it is respected and, yes, even feared, because we have been blessed by the Almighty Grace of God to have strong men at the right place at the needed time who didn't mind standing up for right, for God and for Country. It then is not reasonable that we now should settle for anything less than what the most courageous have done.

As we see it, Dr. Martin Luther King is suggesting that we Negroes take something lesser than the courageous route. If he follows the same pattern that he has followed in his other "remarks" made in other cities, he will dwell upon Negro problems just long enough to get the attention of the listeners and then he will suddenly shift to the hard-sell of taking the lesser route in the war that this country is now engaged in.

FORWARD TIMES firmly believes that in the long run we will lose any and all respect that the total community might now hold for us. Our job is to try and build more respect and not tear down the little we already have.

A man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him. For Dr. Martin Luther King to try and cloud our people's minds, in regards to helping our country in its hour of need, borders upon treason.

There is no soft middle when one's country is at war or in trouble that will allow room for ambitious men to play "footsy" with wild harbrained schemes. Either you fight or you run. Either you support your fighting men or you sabotage them with preachments that sound good, give hope and give courage only to the enemy.

Even though Negro citizens have had differences 'at home' they have always stood firmly shoulder to shoulder with the remainder of America when the going got rough. FORWARD TIMES believes that this will continue despite people like Martin Luther King and company.

It puzzles us how Harry Belafonte was selected to headline a show that was supposed to be aimed in the Negro interest. We cannot help but wonder how much real concern he has for the suffering of Negro womanhood. As we recall, once he got famous, he quit his Negro wife and married a white woman. We don't have anything against marrying white women, but when you do, don't come into Houston and try to charge hardworking Negro women \$7.50 admittance fee under the pretext that they are going to hear one thing and something else is up your sleeve.

Of course, Houston citizens are free to do anything that they choose about attending this show. All that we ask is that you THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING.

BI

Date: 2/24/66

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	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

by AIRTEL AIRMAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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

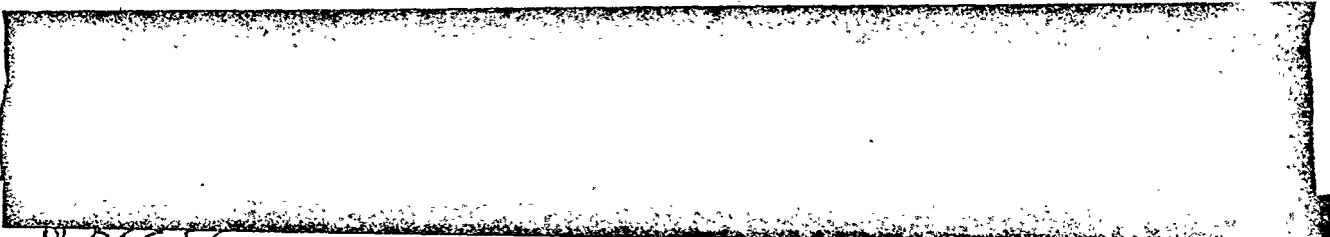
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO

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

DECLASSIFIED BY *[Signature]*  
 ON 3/12/84

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

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



H O C E S E .

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

REC-10

100-106670



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

Bureau will be kept advised of developments.

FBI

Date: [redacted]

*[Handwritten signature]*

Transmit the following in [redacted]

(Type in plain text or code)

Priority or Method of Mailing

Priority or Method of Mailing

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

REC-22

*[Handwritten initials]*

SUBJECT: COMMUNICATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 3/16/86

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/29/68

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 3 copies, and for Atlanta 3 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/30/68. Copies are being furnished to regional offices of military intelligence.

Information in LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th INTC, 3rd Army, Memphis, and Lt. GEORGE FEATHERS, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tenn.

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, -RAG, -CD, ACSI, OSI, SS

ENCLOSURE

Room 836 HOW FORW: 9 & D. DATE FORW: APR 4 1968 BY: CAP. GOS

- 3 - Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
- (1-SCLC) (1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (1-Washington Spring Project)
- 3 - WFO (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
- (1-SCLC) (1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (1-Washington Spring Project)
- 12 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
- (1 - 157-556) (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
- (1 - 157-166) (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
- (1 - 100-4105) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) 157-9146-50
- (1 - 157-1097) (Washington Spring Project)
- (1 - 100-4528) (CHARLES J. CARROLL)
- (1 - 100-4579) (CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR)
- (1 - 157-1019) (CHARLES HARRINGTON)
- (1 - 157-109) (SNCC)
- (1 - 66-1687 Sub) (Dissemination File)

*Ident Data*

APR 3 1968

3 copies made for review at FBIHQ by HSC-A 1-12-77

RACIAL INT. SECT

ME 157-1092

ATLANTA AND WFO DIVISIONS (INFO)

Information copies are submitted in view of these offices' interest in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

[REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 3/29/68

[REDACTED]

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

*R. [unclear]*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

LAW ENFORCEMENT WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

(OO: Memphis)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 RML/JAN  
ON 12-9-81

*T. [unclear]  
Baker  
Bell G.*

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 3/28/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta  
2 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being furnished U. S. Attorney, Memphis;  
U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and Regional Offices of  
Military Intelligence.

AGENCY: CIO, ~~IND~~, IIS, RAO, CO,  
ACSI, OSI, SS

HOW FORW: AKS  
DATE FORW: APR 4 1968  
BY: CAP/GCS 3057

**ENCLOSURE**

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2)
- 12 - Memphis

- (1 - 157-1092)
- (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)

Room 836  
9 & D

157-9146-45

1401

- (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
- (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CARPAGE)
- (1 - 157-1038, SAMUEL CARTER)
- (1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH)
- (1 - 157-1018, CLYTON R. JAMERSON)
- (1 - 157-103, SNCC)
- (1 - 66-1637 Sub A, Dissemination File)

APR 2 1968

[REDACTED]

**FACIAL INT. SEC.**

C. F. Bishop

WHL:gmh  
(17)

WT. 157-1092

Information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to [redacted] 11th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

LEADS:

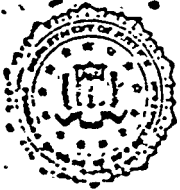
ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the fact that it is origin in the case re MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.



**Title:** SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference:** Memorandum prepared at  
Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

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

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

SEARCHED *Sp. Macmillan*  
SERIALIZED *3/10/68*



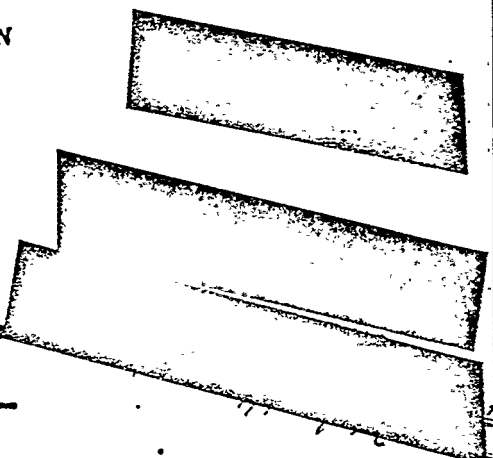
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4/STW/CE/ST  
ON 7/29/81  
BY 1186 SP/MA/STW

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS



On March 28, 1968, a first source advised that the sanitation strike, Memphis, Tennessee, has been in progress since February 12, 1968, and that it has gradually deteriorated into a racial conflict. The source stated that the vast majority of the 1300 strikers were members of the Negro race. Source one also stated that the strike support had been primarily taken over by Negro groups in Memphis, Tennessee, primarily consisting of approximately 125 Negro ministers, members of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which has adopted the name Community on the Move for Equality (COME), and source recalled that daily marches in support of the strike have been held originating at Clayborn Temple, a church of the African Methodist Episcopal Church located at 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, this being the strike support headquarters. Nightly rallies have been held at various Negro churches and such nationally known leaders as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), have come to Memphis to address large rallies of strike supporters.

7E/111

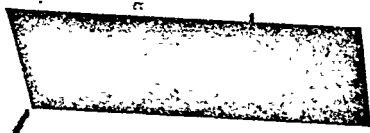
Source one recalled that Reverend King spoke at a mass rally in Mason Temple on the night of March 18, 1968, at which time he called for the Memphis Negro community to have a massive downtown rally during which all Negro employees would stay away from work and all school children would stay away from school and scheduled this march for March 22, 1968. This march was cancelled at the last minute due to a 16-inch snowfall in Memphis on that date and was later re-scheduled for Thursday, March 28, 1968.



157-9146-45

ENCLOSURE

157-628-1404



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both advised on March 28, 1968, that preceding the march high school age students from several Negro high schools in a rather boisterous manner left school to head downtown to participate in the mass march scheduled for March 28, 1968, to begin at 10 a.m. At Hamilton High School, a predominantly Negro high school, some two hundred to three hundred youngsters took to the streets, began throwing rocks, and resulted in police being called. They threw rocks and bricks at the police, injuring several police and as a result the police had to use considerable force, according to Lieutenant Arkin, to quell this disturbance. First reports were that tear gas was used on the students, although Lieutenant Arkin stated that this definitely was not true.

[REDACTED] Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the start of the march was delayed until approximately 11 a.m., due to the late arrival in Memphis of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to head the march. He did not arrive until approximately 10:22 a.m. at the Airport, and in fact did not join the march until it had proceeded one block north on Hernando from Clayborn Temple.

Source one, source two and source three, all of whom were in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple immediately prior to the start of the march, pointed out that approximately five thousand to six thousand people congregated near the Temple for the start of the march and they estimated that at least half of these people were teenagers and of school age. Among the marchers were individuals who sources, who are familiar with many people in the Negro community, would describe as common criminals and both sources one and two recognized several as being people who have been in and out of penal institutions for various law infractions in the past.



[REDACTED]

SEWING WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The march was ostensibly under the control, according to these three sources, of the COME group. The COME group handed out literally hundreds of prepared placards made of cardboard and carried on long 4-foot pine poles. It was apparent to these three sources prior to the march that many of the youngsters were planning to use the placards as sticks and clubs because they were indiscriminately ripping the cardboard away, leaving a 4-foot pole in their hands which many of them waved in a threatening manner.

In fairness to the march marshals and ministers leading the march, all three sources heard several of them caution the people in the crowd against violence and some of the youths would utter obscenities at those who were cautioning them. Sources one, two and three observed in the vicinity of the Temple several individuals in Memphis who have identified themselves with the black power movement.

For example, source three observed John Henry Ferguson <sup>TE 111</sup>, who has already been arrested three times in connection with incidents in connection with the strike, a young male Negro, and John Burrell Smith, an Owen College <sup>TE 111</sup> student, and self-acclaimed leader of the Black Power movement, at the Mosque. Ferguson made fun of the marchers, saying that he had more important things to do, inferring that he was going to engage in violence. Source one, who is particularly close to the black power movement, which he said refers to itself as Black Organizing Power (BOP), <sup>TE 111</sup> an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, <sup>TE 111</sup> commented that in fairness to the BOP group these individuals did not organize any violence as such. However, these individuals have repeatedly made inflammatory statements during recent weeks and he recalled that on the night of March 5, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage, before approximately 1500 people at a strike support rally in Clayborn Temple, passed out to the audience a leaflet containing an inflammatory letter from H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the SNCC.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and also containing a professional type drawing showing in detail how one could make a Molotov cocktail.

MEMBER BLACK ORGANIZING POWER

On March 28 and again on March 29, 1968, source two advised that prior to the start of the march, the parade marshals agreed to put the sanitation workers strikers in the front of the march with the remainder of the people to follow behind. He stated that several of the marshals kept cautioning the youngsters to be peaceful and that he personally saw two self-admitted BOP people, James Elmore, Phillips and Samuel Carter, both students at LeMoyne College, male Negroes, and other unknown associates; and that they were making remarks sometime between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. near the Clayborn Temple that they were going to "tear this S.O.B. town up today." Phillips made some general statements about some high school students being "chicken" and staying in school rather than marching and he stated that the white people who were participating in the march were fools for marching because if any trouble started that the Negro marchers would turn on them first.

Source two stated that the march started at approximately 11 o'clock a.m., and that Phillips and Carter and some of their unknown associates remained behind. As

[REDACTED]

SEWING WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

the march progressed north of Linden on Hernando, Phillips and another associate from LeMoyne College, understood to be in the EOP group, Clinton Roy Jamerson, went back into an alley and obtained some sticks and bricks. At this point, they moved on up ahead of source two. He did not see them thereafter. Source two added that the march progressed peacefully, although it was definitely not well organized in that the marchers were walking all over the street and sidewalks and that there was no order whatsoever to the line of march. He stated that the march headed north on Hernando to Beale, west on Beale toward Main Street, and that by the time he reached Third and Beale many of the teenagers had ripped the signs off their poles and were waving them wildly as clubs.

Source two continued that on reaching Third and Beale Street, the head of the march had already progressed as far west as Main Street and he observed unknown young Negroes using the long sticks to break windows in Paul's Clothing Store at Third and Beale and that he could hear windows breaking further west on Beale Street, a 2-block area consisting of pawn shops, clothing stores, and dry goods stores. Almost as if spontaneously Negroes who had been in the march began looting these stores and breaking windows and running in all directions. Some of the parade marshals were urging them to reverse their direction and return to Clayborn Temple in an effort to break up the crowd. Police officers were also urging them to cease and desist and return to the Temple. By this time, which would have

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

been approximately 11:15 a.m., according to source two, mass confusion reigned, people were running in all directions, and the police were doing the best they could to stop the looters and move them back toward Clayborn Temple. Various Negroes started rumors that the police had shot a teen-age girl but source later determined that this was not true.

Source two returned to the Temple, along with several hundred of the marchers.

On March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin stated that when the front of the march had proceeded to Beale and Main Street, there was complete disorder on the part of the marchers; they were all over the sidewalks and all over the streets; and that at this point Martin Luther King, Jr., who had joined the march at Hernando and Beale with the Vice President of the SCLC, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, and others unknown at that point to Lieutenant Arkin, were still marching at the head of the march. As the windows of store fronts were broken out and sporadic looting began, King remarked that he had to get out of there. He and some of his associates ran on ahead and jumped into an old Pontiac automobile and were escorted away from the march by a Police Lieutenant to the Rivermont Hotel, an exclusive new hotel on the Mississippi River front operated by Holiday Inns of America. Lieutenant Arkin stated that King left the march at about 11:15 a.m. and had checked into the Rivermont by 11:24 a.m.

Lieutenant Arkin added that by approximately noon the Police Department had broken up the crowd, being forced to use tear gas particularly in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple, after some of the marchers who had run into the Temple began throwing rocks and bricks at police from the roof top of the Temple and also began throwing from the streets, and when the police would start after them they would run into the Temple.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two recalled that prior to the start of the march some of the associates of Phillips and Phillips were making remarks near Clayborn Temple to the effect that some of the marchers should break windows and loot.

Source three stated that after the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple, after the looting started, the so-called black power group, including many apparent unorganized teenagers, virtually took over the Temple and Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., one of the leaders of the CORE group, was unable to control them. One of these individuals made the statement, "We're going to take over this town."

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, issue of March 29, 1968, in a story by Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" staff writer, who observed portions of the disturbance on Beale Street where the major portion of the early looting occurred, stated that he saw the Memphis police take an awful lot off the looters in the way of bricks and bottles and that he heard some reports of police being rough on citizens, but he did not see any police brutality. He stated that many of the officers were taking a lot and doing it bravely.

Another story in the "Press-Scimitar" issue of March 29, 1968, by Staff Reporter James R. Reid, described the rampant window breaking and looting which occurred from the South Main Street area around Beale Street, east on Beale to Hernando, and pointed out that Memphis police officers formed a line in an effort to move the crowd back and that they gave ample warning. The story reported that many of the crowd instead glovered at the officers who tried to move them from the area and that when the officers pushed against the crowd, many of the crowd pushed back. Reid reported that he saw one officer there felled in the melee, and that the crowd was then out of control with many of the crowd having long wooden sticks. He stated that police officers with megaphones asked the crowd to move and stated, "For your safety, move back."

SANITARIAN WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Some of the officers pleaded, according to Reid. He stated that many of the officers had earlier been pelted with rocks and bricks and had restrained themselves from using clubs or gas. He stated that considerable force was needed by the police in order to control the crowd which had virtually turned into a mob and that it was necessary for the police to strike several of the Negroes with night sticks in order to control them. He stated that he saw Lieutenant D. W. Williams of the Police Department turn from a small group of Negroes with his face covered with blood and saw other officers falling along the way. He stated that the officers observed by him reverted to force only after everything else had failed, yet he heard some of the Negroes in the crowd yell, "Police brutality." He stated that some of the owners of businesses, who had their windows smashed and their merchandise stolen as they took refuge from the violent mob that surged through the streets, were heard to remark that no one was complaining about "mob brutality." He stated that many officers were struck by bottles, sticks and large rocks thrown by the crowd and that those in the crowd who responded quickly to the officers' command to move on met with little or no physical persuasion from the officers. He stated that, in fairness, most of the crowd did move quickly.

Source three added that this source remained near Clayborn Temple throughout the march and observed numerous teen-age Negroes with sticks and also observed some of them literally tear some old iron beds apart, making iron pipes from the parts thereof, and making statements, "We're going to get some white bastards today," whereupon they ran down and caught up with the march and joined it. Source three pointed out that the march was extremely poorly organized; that the march leaders had no control over the marchers, even before they started; and that it was obvious that there would probably be trouble.

ASSOCIATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin on March 28, 1968, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department had between 8 and 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, observed John B. Smith and some of his black power associates near the Clayton Temple with sticks and brickbats.

Source two added that he heard Charles L. Cabbage tell some of the crowd as they left the Temple, after the marchers returned to the Temple, that they should not run from the police and that they should "not start a job that they did not plan to finish." Cabbage did not elaborate but source two construed this as a call for trouble.

A fourth source advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee, administrative aide to King, were scheduled to leave Memphis at 9:05 p.m., Central Standard Time, via Eastern Airlines, en route to Atlanta, Georgia, and were scheduled to leave Atlanta, Georgia, on the early morning of March 29, 1968, to fly to Friendship Airport in Baltimore, Maryland.

Source one advised that after the trouble on Beale Street, the mass rally scheduled for Mason Temple on the night of March 28, 1968, which was to have featured Martin Luther King, Jr., as the main speaker, was cancelled.

On the late night of March 28, 1968, source four advised that King, Abernathy and Lee had failed to catch the above-described flight and that no one had cancelled his reservations, and that to his knowledge King was still staying at the Rivermont Hotel.

During the afternoon and evening of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that sporadic looting continued in the south-central area of Memphis, which is predominantly a Negro area, and that the main targets of the sporadic vandals were liquor stores and small grocery stores and sundry stores.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On the late night of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that there had been numerous small fires set but none of them were serious. He stated that the Memphis Fire Department was able to extinguish the fires without trouble. He pointed out that during the afternoon of March 28, 1968, the Tennessee State Legislature in a special session passed a statute which would give Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb authority to apply a curfew and that such a curfew was ordered to begin at 7 p.m., March 28, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin further advised that by 6 p.m., March 28, 1968, approximately 3500 members of the Tennessee National Guard consisting of the Memphis unit and West Tennessee units had arrived and was on duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Guardsmen were preparing to patrol Memphis in tactical units, each unit to be accompanied by one or more officers of the Memphis Police Department.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Inspector G. P. Tines, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised from records, as yet incomplete at the Memphis Police Department regarding the following statistics relative to the racial disturbance in Memphis from approximately 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, to 12 noon, March 29, 1968, as follows:

A total of 150 fires were set; most were small in nature, primarily trash fires. Approximately 30 of these were estimated by the Memphis Fire Department to have been caused by Molotov cocktails or some similar incendiary device. There have been over 300 arrests, exact count not as yet completed, primarily consisting of charges of looting, violation of curfew, arson, disorderly conduct, and related offenses. An approximate total of 60 individuals, many of whom were arrestees, have received medical attention for various injuries received in connection with the looting



[REDACTED]

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and over-all disturbance. In addition, over 300 reported cases of looting and rather major vandalism have been reported to the Memphis Police Department by merchants throughout Memphis, again most of these being confined to the south-central area of Memphis, which is a predominantly Negro area. Inspector Tines emphasized again that the incomplete count shows that most of these were liquor stores, small grocery stores, sundry stores, and related establishments, plus numerous clothing stores and related stores in the Beale Street and South Main Street area, described hereinbefore.

Inspector Tines advised that five officers of the Memphis Police Department were injured sufficiently to require hospitalization and that there were scores of minor injuries to officers requiring only on-the-spot field first aid.

Inspector Tines continued that there was a total of four individuals who were shot while in the process of looting, or as a result thereof. They are as follows:

APPROX  
1952

Larry Payne, male Negro, age 16, 3023 Parker Road, an 11th grade student at Mitchell Road School, which is actually operated by the Shelby County Board of Education, just south of the Memphis City Limits. He was pronounced dead on arrival at John Gaston City Hospital, 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968. He was shot by an officer of the Memphis Police Department as he attacked this police officer with a butcher knife after he had looted a Sears Roebuck store on South Third Street. He had run from this store into the vicinity of the Fowler Homes on South Fourth Street. Another shot but not killed was A. A. Sundry, Negro male, residence 303 Vance, who was wounded in the neck by a police officer while looting a store. Sundry was not seriously injured as the injury was superficial. Another shot but not killed was Alan Mintrell, Negro male, age 17, residing 988 Springdale Street, Memphis. He was shot by a citizen while looting a store at 1286 Thomas about 4 p.m., March 28, 1968, by the store manager James Taylor. Taylor was charged by the police with assault to murder. He was shot after a beer bottle was thrown through the store window. Tines stated that Mintrell is in serious condition with a shotgun slug in his back.

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TE-111  
APPROX  
1951

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Another shot but not killed, according to Tines, was Ralf Dennis Payne, age 21, male Negro of 1835 Castalia, Apt. 3. He was shot by a policeman while looting a grocery store near Greenwood and Walker and is in fair condition.

Tines added that a preliminary count of available arrest tickets, which is definitely not a complete list, indicates that at least ten Negroes arrested had pistols or revolvers on their persons and that numerous others had other lethal weapons such as knives.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that at approximately 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968, the Memphis Transit Authority which operates the Memphis City Bus System, after receiving numerous complaints from its bus drivers that they feared for their personal well being due to the disorder, coupled with the fact that many of them had been individually robbed in the past, decided as a safety measure to stop the movement of City Buses for the remainder of March 28, 1968.

The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" Newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, in a front-page story, by an unidentified writer, reported that many of the looters and window breakers were black power advocates, and that several wore jackets of the "Invaders," a local black power group. This story did not give any basis for its statement to this effect.

On March 28 and 29, 1968, source one and source two, along with Lieutenant F. H. Arkin, all of whom are familiar with many phases of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee, advised that a small group of the BOP followers have put the word "Invaders" on their jackets but that many high school age students have done this for effect and are not necessarily affiliated with the BOP movement.

Sources one and two, along with Arkin, added that thus far there is no evidence that any of the BOP group participated in the looting and in fact source one who is particularly close to this group advised that he saw many of them immediately after the initial rioting and looting

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
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started and that they definitely had not personally been involved in the looting. Source one pointed out that as mentioned hereinbefore these individuals had done much by their previous statements and actions outlined above to incite some of the more ignorant and greedy youths who were in the march.

portions of the disturbance and who are familiar with their actions, that the looting was not organized as such. He observed that in his opinion approximately 1 per cent of the marchers engaged in looting and violence and that many of these were people who were criminally inclined and who had been in previous trouble. He stated that [redacted] would say that probably the first breaking of the first window was enough to set off the crowd which had been emotionally worked up by its long wait for the start of the march and by the general festive air surrounding the march which was on a balmy spring day and was participated in by several hundred youths who obviously had cut school in order to participate.

The information set out hereinbefore has been orally furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Memphis, Tennessee, and the information not received from the Memphis Police Department has been orally furnished to Inspector G. P. Tines and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

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.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 30, 1968



RE: - SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS



Reference communication captioned as above made at  
Memphis, Tennessee, March 29, 1968.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux,  
Assistant Chief, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department,  
advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., male Negro, TENN.  
pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and one of  
the main leaders of the Community on the Move for Equality  
(COME), the Memphis Negro Ministerial Group leading the  
support of the sanitation workers, Memphis, Tennessee, who  
have been on strike since February 12, 1968, informed Lux  
that a downtown sympathy march for the strikers was planned  
for the afternoon of March 29, 1968.

Lawson stated that the march would be restricted  
to sanitation workers and adult sympathizers and that every  
effort would be made to eliminate the young element which  
created problems leading to window breaking, looting, and  
general vandalism which disrupted the massive march on  
March 28, 1968, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President,  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

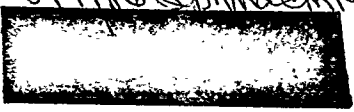
Later on the afternoon of March 29, 1968, Henry  
Lux advised that the march did take place running from  
Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, to the vicinity of the  
Memphis City Hall on Main Street with approximately 200  
individuals participating. There were no incidents. The  
Memphis Police Department and representatives of the Ten-  
nessee National Guard who are still on duty in Memphis as  
a precautionary measure, guarded the entire parade area,  
the marchers remaining on the sidewalks and observing all

DECLASSIFIED BY *[Signature]*

ON *12/9/81* BY *37176 J. P. [Signature]*



157-4146-50



ENCLOSURE

~~157-4146-50~~

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

traffic restrictions. There were no arrests and no incidents. Lux pointed out that no permit is required for marches of any kind within the city of Memphis and that the Memphis municipal authorities are considering the possibility of passing an ordinance of this type.

Also, on March 29, 1968, Chief of Police James C. MacDonald of Memphis advised that there have been no serious troubles during March 29, 1968. He had instructed all of his officers to disperse small groups of youngsters in various sections of the city and that there were still sporadic outbursts of window breaking, minor looting, general vandalism, and the setting of trash fires. One squad car was fired on by unknown Negroes in the vicinity of Dison and Rile in south Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968, according to MacDonald, but the individuals firing the shots were not identified. He stated that throughout the day the Memphis Police Department received numerous calls of reported looting, vandalism, and fire settings and fire bombings, although investigation by representatives of the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis Fire Department indicated that most of these incidents were minor. He pointed out that the major damage in connection with the March 28, 1968, disturbance was confined to a three to four block area on Beale Street in downtown Memphis with store fronts being damaged and practically all of a three block area. He stated that liquor stores are still closed, that National Guardsmen are guarding the stores which have been looted and where windows have been broken, that the merchants are boarding up the fronts of most of these establishments to preclude further vandalism and looting and he feels that with the presence of the Tennessee National Guard, along with the assistance of the Shelby County Sheriff's Office and his department, that the situation is well in hand and that, with the exception of sporadic outbursts of vandalism, he does not anticipate any immediate trouble in Memphis.

On the night of March 29, 1968, Assistant Chief Henry Lux advised that there were approximately 33 additional arrests on March 29, 1968, by the Memphis Police Department on charges including miscellaneous looting, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and threatened breach of peace. He

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reported that in City Court, Division II, more than 200 persons charged in the past two days appeared before City Judge BERNIE Weinman on charges ranging from drunkenness to assault on police officers. Judge Weinman bound 40 defendants over to the state, dismissed 46 others, and continued the cases against 118 until later in the month of April, 1968. The largest bond was \$5,000 set for Gordon L. Odom, Jr., of 336 South Parkway East on a charge of third degree burglary, this being set by City Judge Ray Churchill. Other bonds he set ranged from \$250 to \$2,000.

During the evening of March 29, 1968, the police received numerous calls of reported fire bombings, vandalism, and looting over a wide area primarily in the Negro neighborhoods but many of these proved to be unfounded on investigation. Lux advised that the curfew imposed by Mayor Henry Loeb on the night of March 28, 1968, continued on the night of March 29, 1968, but that it was a loose curfew in that any individual on the streets who had identifications would have nothing to worry about provided he could give a plausible explanation as to his purpose in being there. This meant that theatres, places of amusement, and restaurants and other functions normally operating at night would be uninterrupted. He stated that riot damage resulting from the March 28, 1968, window breaking and looting was estimated by insurance officials at approximately \$400,000 not including the miscellaneous fires. He pointed out fortunately none of the fires were serious. This would not, of course, include losses due to interrupted business days because many office managers, store owners, government agencies, including Federal, state and county, dismissed their employees early both on March 28 and 29, 1968, in order to avoid trouble. He stated that the Memphis city buses were operating throughout March 29, 1968, but would stop around 7:00 P.M. and that in the near future it was anticipated that they would be operating of a full-time basis.

Lux advised that Tennessee National Guardsmen are bivouacked at the National Guard Armory on Central near the Mid-South Fairgrounds and on the military side of the Memphis Metropolitan Airport. He stated that there are approximately 4,000 troops from the west and middle Tennessee National Guard units on duty in Memphis. He had no knowledge as to when they would be pulled out, but predicted that they

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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would at least remain in Memphis over the week end of March 30-31, 1968.

He pointed out that school absenteeism in the city school system in Memphis on March 29, 1968, was nearly 40,000 and that the largest number of truants were at the predominantly Negro high schools.

Lux stated that the only injury reported during the day was to Memphis Police Patrolman E. W. MAXWELL, whose finger was severely cut while he was arresting a drunk young Negro who was fighting with other officers on Polk Street north of Chelsea, which is in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. He stated that at about 1:15 P.M., officers arrested two white youths, namely Samuel R. Waddell, age 20 of 2581 Kallien, Larry Williams, age 20 of 1669 Combs. He stated that he had been informed that officers seized a .22 caliber rifle in Williams living room. He did not have the details of the arrest. He stated many of those arrested for looting were youngsters ranging from 8 to 12 years of age. These were being turned over to Memphis Juvenile Court.

MEMPHIS, TENN.  
The Memphis Commercial Appeal newspaper, Saturday morning issue, March 30, 1968, reported in detail concerning activities of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 29, 1968, and stated in a story on page 1 by Reporter Thomas BeVier that King came to Memphis to star in what was billed as a "dress rehearsal" for his April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Crusade" on Washington, D. C. The story continued, "By his own non-violent standards, the rehearsal was a flop." The story stated that King in a press interview March 29, 1968, reported that he would be back in Memphis as early as April 3 and not later than April 5, 1968, for another mass march and was quoted as saying, "We are going to have a massive non-violent demonstration in Memphis." The story stated that the question being asked in Memphis, the nation, and the world is whether - with the increasing militancy of black youth - anyone can say with certainty that a non-violent demonstration will stay that way.

King stated in the interview, "I am convinced we can have a non-violent demonstration" but was reported as adding that it would be impossible to "guarantee" that

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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there would not be any violence. The story stated that it was significant that King was more than a half hour late for his 11:30 A.M. press conference because he was meeting with three members of a Black Power group, which the paper referred to as "The Invaders." BeVier stated that these three young men refused to give their names and stated that they would give their own press conference at a later time.

The story continued that King was staying in a \$29 a day room at the Holiday Inn Rivermont, also known as the Rivermont Hotel. King claimed to the newspaper that he did not realize when he came to Memphis that there were those in the Negro community who were "talking about violence." He stated, "We (SCLC) had no part in the planning of the march. Our intelligence was nil." He said that if he had known there were persons likely to start violence, he would have had them made parade marshals, a move which he said had been successful in other marches.

He was reported as being critical of the press for reporting that he left the march in haste after the trouble started on March 28, 1968. He claimed that he left calmly because he said, "I will not lead a violent march." He said that while he "walked" with aides to a car, he was "agonizing over what had happened." The story reported that Assistant Police Chief Henry Lux had earlier said over the police radio at approximately 11:27 A.M., Thursday, March 28, 1968, that the march was apparently without leadership as Dr. King had asked for a police escort away from the march a few minutes after the first report of violence during the march. King was reported in the story as saying he did not think the riot "will in any way affect" his Washington plans for his Poor People's Crusade to commence April 22, 1968. He said he is undecided as to how much of his SCLC staff he can spare to organize the next massive march in Memphis early in April 1968.

The story said that later in Washington, D. C., Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's top lieutenant, said that the main thrust of the Washington demonstration would be delayed for about two weeks and that steps would be taken to avoid violence and that a "symbolic delegation," including King would reach Washington on April 22, 1968. The story continued



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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that King claimed that Thursday, March 28, 1968, march was "poorly planned" which the paper said amounts to criticism of Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr., whom Dr. King himself had called "the leading non-violence theoretician in the country." The paper reported that Lawson is in charge of the strategy for the Memphis Negro ministers, also known as COME, and is pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and continued that Lawson did not entirely agree with King's assessments.

The story stated for instance that King had said that the Black Power advocates with whom he met earlier had said that there had been a lack of communication between them and the ministers and that they felt "rejected." Rev. Lawson was quoted by the paper as saying, "There has been communication. I don't accept that," referring to King's statement. The paper said that it was Rev. Lawson who had originally asked King to come to Memphis and that for about 10 years Lawson has served in an advisory capacity with SCLC. It stated that Lawson agreed with King that a non-violent demonstration is possible and pointed out that this was one of the reasons King was asked to come to Memphis. Lawson stated, "We didn't bring in Rap Brown (national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), we brought in King." He was reported to have further said that there were other reasons for bringing in King, one being to give the movement in Memphis a "national image" and another was to strengthen the leadership of the Memphis ministers.

The same March 30, 1968, issue of The Commercial Appeal newspaper had a lead editorial on page 6 entitled, "King's Credibility Gap," which stated that "Martin Luther King on the night of March 18, 1968, told an overflow crowd at Mason Temple: 'You know what? We may have to escalate this struggle a bit.' Dr. King then urged a total work stoppage in Memphis by Negroes 'in a few days' and called for all Negro public school students to cut classes at the same time. 'Try it and they will hear you,' said Dr. King. The escalation came Thursday when Dr. King led a supposedly non-violent protest march from Clayborn Temple to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, and a block north on Main. He got what he asked - to an embarrassing extent. Negro students did play truant by the thousands and were joined by hundreds of other young Negroes in their 20's who turned the march into a riot and left Beale Street and a short section of Main in utter ruin. Photographs and eyewitness accounts identify those who did the destruction and the looting - the children and young people whom Dr. King had told to stay out of school. Having fled the melee, King later issued statements attempting to disassociate himself from the violence that he

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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had instigated. The claim will not hold water. Dr. King's pose as leader of a non-violent movement has been shattered. He now has the entire nation doubting his word when he insists that his April project - a shanty-town sit-in in the nation's capital - can be peaceful. In short, Dr. King is suffering from one of those awesome credibility gaps. Furthermore, he wrecked his reputation as a leader as he took off at high speed when violence occurred, instead of trying to use his persuasive prestige to stop it.

"There are many other second thoughts about the Beale Street incident of Thursday. More and more it is evident that Memphis police were well prepared, alert and firm when firmness was vital. What might have spread into far reaches of the city was blocked within minutes.

"The city administration with the help of the legislature and Gov. Buford Ellington got a curfew law which effectively restored general calm and peace.

"As always, there is another side to the coin. Memphis Negroes do need broader participation in Memphis government, and better job opportunities in our city. The sanitation strike, which has been the takeoff point for trouble-making, must be settled soon.

"Mediation and conciliation in the strike have been attempted without significant results. OBstinaCY and stubborn position-taking will not lead to a settlement. There must be give-and-take.

"It would help if the Negro church ministers who have more or less taken over the cause of the sanitation employes would get them back to work. Then mediation might be attempted in a more reasonable atmosphere.

"The city should shut no doors. It, too, must mediate, if the issue is to be settled without further damage to Memphis."

In connection with the above mentioned Commercial Appeal story with reference to "The Invaders," source 1 who is extremely close to the leadership of the Black Power movement in Memphis, advised that this group technically

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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had instigated. The claim will not hold water. Dr. King's pose as leader of a non-violent movement has been shattered. He now has the entire nation doubting his word when he insists that his April project - a shanty-town sit-in in the nation's capital - can be peaceful. In short, Dr. King is suffering from one of those awesome credibility gaps. Furthermore, he wrecked his reputation as a leader as he took off at high speed when violence occurred, instead of trying to use his persuasive prestige to stop it.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

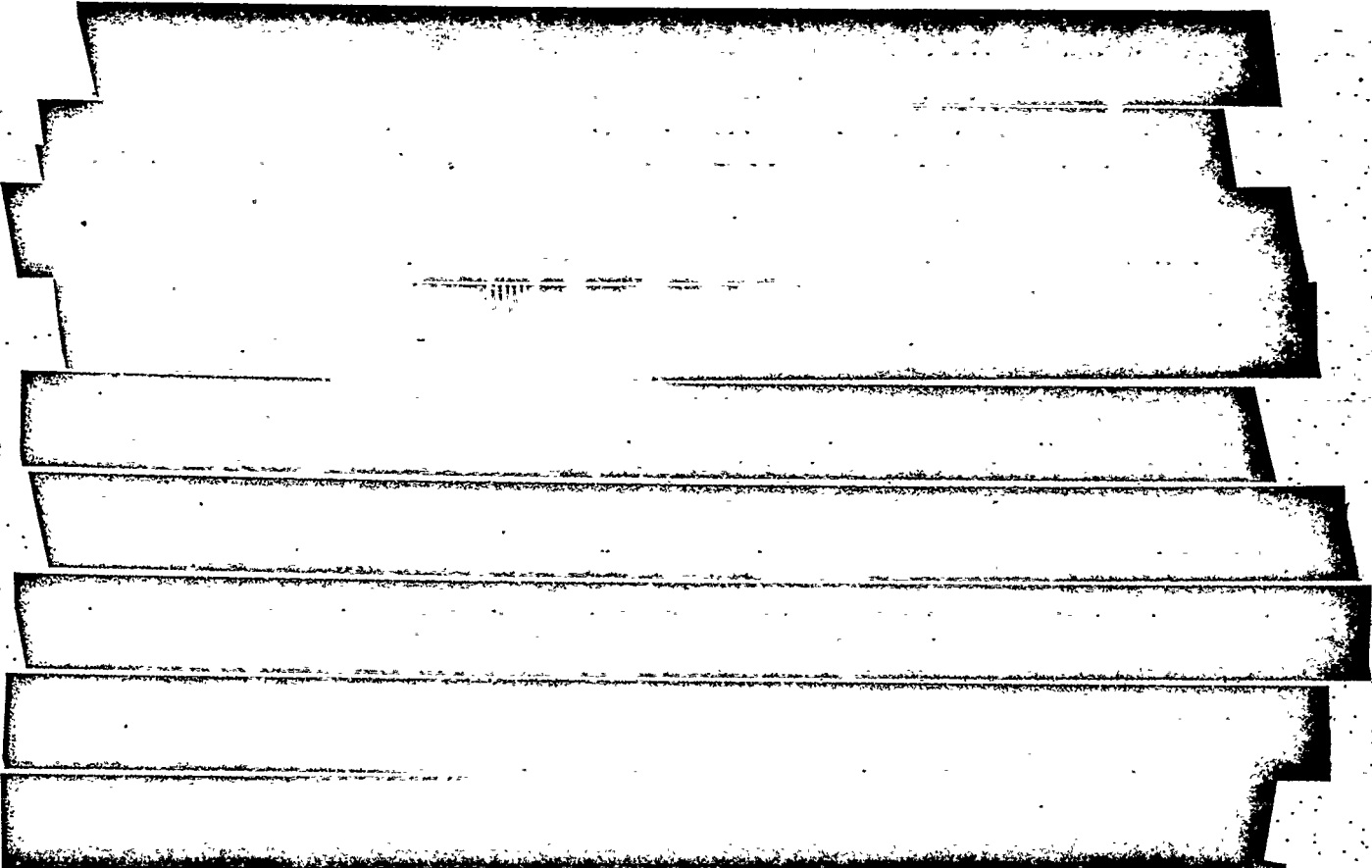
is known as the Black Organizing Project (BOP) and is affiliated with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which has national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It is led by John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage.

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In connection with another investigation conducted February 16, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage and John Burrell Smith introduced themselves to representatives of the FBI and introduced the governing body of the BOP organization as Charles Laverne Cabbage, 1924 Rile; John Burrell Smith, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Owen College student; Curtis Carter, LeMoyne College student, residence 377 E. McLemore; Charles Steven Ballard, 1830 Kansas Street, a student at Owen Junior College; Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis State University student; Verdell Ronald Brooks, Owen College student, residence 1512 Ball Street; James Elmore Phillips, 1592 Short, student at LeMoyne College; Clinton Roy Jamerson, 1397 Davis Street; Charles Harrington, 2075 Rile, a student at Owen College; and they mentioned an additional person who was not present, namely Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507 Fontaine, Memphis.

MEMPHIS, TENN.  
Cabbage and John Smith advised that some of their followers wear the words "The Invaders" on their jackets and John Smith stated that he personally wears these words on his jacket but that this is merely a name which some of them have adopted and that it is all part of the BOP organization. TENN.

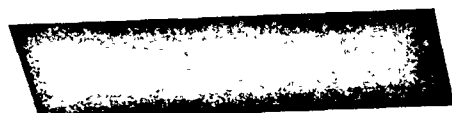
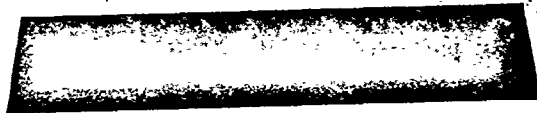
As recently as March 30, 1968, that many teenagers in Memphis have put the word "Invaders" on backs of their jackets, although they are not necessarily connected with the BOP organization. They do this more or less as a symbol of their self-professed affinity with Black Power. pointed out therefore that the mere fact that one wears the word "Invaders" does not mean that he is a part of any organized movement, that the only known organized Black Power movement in Memphis is that of BOP headed by Cabbage and John B. Smith and the above mentioned governing body. He pointed that, for example,

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Therefore, Jackson's assistant Rev. Johnson, who lives at 5183 Horn Lake Road, refused to take them to see Dr. Jackson.

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On March 30, 1968, a second source advised that he had reliably learned that the 3 so-called "Invaders" who were reported in the Commercial Appeal as having

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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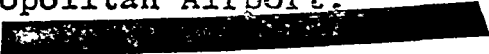
had an audience with Martin Luther King, Jr., on the morning of March 29, 1968, were the hereinbefore identified Charles Laverne Cabbage, the hereinbefore identified Charles Harrington, and Calvin Leroy Taylor, a male Negro who resides at 347 West Waldorf and who is a senior at Memphis State University. Taylor works part-time as a copy boy at the Commercial Appeal newspaper. Taylor has recently told source 2 that he is a part of the BOP group, which is affiliated with SNCC and that he has been serving as a liaison representative of BOP with the COME group, with the Negro ministerial group, which is coordinating the strike support. Taylor further stated that when Harrington, Cabbage, and Taylor had an audience with King that their purpose in seeing King was to tell King that they wanted more of the "action" in Memphis feeling that they were not getting enough of the action. Taylor refused to elaborate but source 2 conjectured that by this Taylor meant that the Black Power group wanted more of a position of leadership and more policy making position in the over-all Negro movement in Memphis.

Source 2 also advised that the newsmen in Memphis and other officials will interchangeably use the word "Invaders" when they are actually referring to BOP and pointed out that it had been ascertained that actually the Black Power movement in Memphis uses several names, such as Afro-American Brotherhood, Black Student Association, BOP, and Invaders and that Taylor has told him confidentially that actually there are only about 12 to 15 hard-core BOP people in Memphis and that the others are merely followers or people who tend to imitate them. Source 2 also stated that he had reliably learned from several individuals who in the March 28, 1968, march when the trouble began, that the actual BOP people did not participate in any of the vandalism or looting although prior to the meeting several of them, exact identities not known to source 2, had been agitating the young high school age Negroes who were preparing to participate in the march by indicating that there should be trouble and that Memphis was not worth saving and that it should burn, and other inflammatory utterances to this effect.

On the afternoon of March 29, 1968, a third source advised that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, Bernard Lee, Special Aide to King, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large, SCLC, all departed Memphis, Tennessee, aboard an Eastern Airlines flight 398

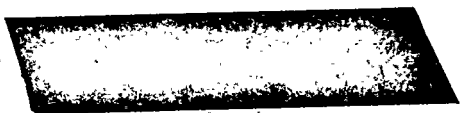
SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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at 3:20 P.M. CST, March 29, 1968, their destination being Atlanta, Georgia. This source stated that to the best of his knowledge they went directly from the Rivermont Hotel to the Memphis Metropolitan Airport.


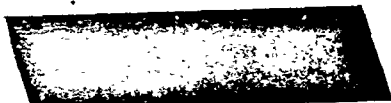




SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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(A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs  
of America and the Nation of Islam are set forth in the  
appendix section of this communication.)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
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The foregoing information was furnished orally to a representative of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department and to a representative of the Intelligence Corps, Third Army, both Memphis, Tennessee, on March 30, 1968.

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.

FBI

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

DECLASSIFIED BY 1883RAM/ANR

ON 11/26/82

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta 3/14/68.

Baltimore's suggestion of utilizing a cartoon to depict the apparent alliance between SCLC and the NOI has, as the Bureau noted, definite merit. However, Atlanta is of the opinion the Bureau's suggestion of a pertinent newspaper article is more appropriate under the circumstances and might lend itself to wider circulation than a cartoon. The impact on KING of printed matter is apt to be greater than material presented in a cartoon no matter how skillfully it may be presented.

It is noted that during an SCLC retreat held in Atlanta in the middle of January 1968 regarding the WSP KING stressed that obtaining jobs or income for Negroes would represent a mere fraction of that which America owes

- (3- Bureau (RM))
- 1- Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)
- 1- Chicago (RM)
- 2- Atlanta (100-7182)
- (1 - 157-2924)

REC-68

100-448006-40

EX-116

AGS:jhs

Sent

(7)

AT 100-7182

the Negro throughout its history. He declared America owes an incalculable sum to the Negro who throughout his long years of involuntary servitude labored to build this country. This language almost suggests some degree of adherence to teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

It is suggested the proposed publicity might be slanted to convey the thought that the apparent alliance between SCLC and the NOI possibly grew out of the former meeting between KING and MUHAMMAD; that in connection with the WSP SCLC is "pushing" the NOI in Baltimore. This, of course, would raise a question as to the sincerity of KING's current statements that the WSP is to be based on nonviolent techniques because the position of the NOI toward the white man is basically one of annihilation.

While KING is currently seeking the cooperation of other organizations to assist with SCLC's WSP he has shown no willingness to use SCLC to assist any other organization.

In effort to finance the WSP, SCLC plans to seek financial contributions from Negro churches. Establishing the thought of an alliance with the NOI which is opposed to Christianity may well discourage a favorable reaction on the part of some Negro churches.

It is felt KING's reaction to the proposed technique would be positive for counterintelligence purposes. KING considers himself a devotee of the nonviolent philosophies of the late MAHATMA GANDHI. To publicly align him and/or SCLC with the NOI should trouble him on this basis. It is further conceivable that MUHAMMAD may see fit to respond to this publicly which should embarrass KING further. (U)

On 3/14/68 <sup>reference</sup> advised RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC, had recently commented he felt the SCLC staff employees assigned to Baltimore for WSP recruitment were inexperienced and not taking advantage of opportunities available to them (not explained). This might indicate a current weakness in the SCLC organization in Baltimore and that the proposed technique is timely.

B-36

FBI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE 11/4/78

Date: 2/25/64

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116) (Immediate Personal Attention Assistant Director W. C. SULLIVAN)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-51914A)

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

JUNE 7/11/64

In order that the Bureau be fully apprised concerning the special assignment in Honolulu in the above-captioned investigation and for the possible future use of the Domestic Intelligence Division and the FBI Laboratory, it is believed desirable that the following chronological order of events be set forth, including difficulties encountered, effectiveness of the investigation, and the utilization of personnel.

Supervisor HARRY F. CLIFFORD, JR. of the San Francisco Office was fully briefed at a special conference in Assistant Director SULLIVAN's Office at the SOG on Monday, 2/3/64. He committed as much of the information as possible to memory and did not rely on making extensive notes. He arranged with the Bureau where the Atlanta Office would provide those serials necessary to him at San Francisco prior to his departure for Honolulu. He arranged his return trip to San Francisco via Los Angeles where he was met at the airport by two Security Supervisors who were given the necessary information in order that the Los Angeles Office would be prepared to carry out its part in the special assignment investigation.

3 - Bureau (AM-EM) 1 - San Francisco

HFC/jr (4)

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Upon his return to San Francisco, he selected the following personnel based upon recommendations by the Domestic Intelligence Division, by the FBI Laboratory, and upon his own experience with the men involved: SA FORDYCE G. LYMAN, because he is the most experienced, most ingenious, the most unruffled, most competent sound man for this type of operation in the San Francisco Office; SA ROBERT U. MANN, because in both the Security and Criminal Intelligence Programs he has shown unusual ingenuity, persistence, and determination in making microphone installations; SA ALBERT P. CLARK, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] running physical surveillances, and has been absolutely fearless in these types of operations for more than twelve years; SA RICHARD E. STEPHENS, who has just recently completed an advanced course in [REDACTED] and because he has had many years experience in overcoming photographic problems in connection with [REDACTED]

A conference was had with these Agents, the proposed investigation outlined, the possible problems to be encountered discussed, and each was given a specific assignment in order to prepare himself for the special investigation in Honolulu. The need for the utmost security was emphasized.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN were scheduled to leave San Francisco by air for Honolulu 2/12/64, to be followed on the following Saturday, 2/15/64, by the other three Agents.

In accord with instructions received from the Bureau, on 2/11/64 SA CLIFFORD telephonically contacted SAC PRICE in Honolulu to advise him of the details of the arrival of SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN and to point out that a team of five men would eventually be operating in Honolulu. In this conversation no classified information was discussed.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN arrived in Honolulu on the afternoon of Wednesday, 2/12/64. They proceeded to the office where the background of the investigation and the Bureau instructions in connection therewith were outlined over a period of several hours to SAC PRICE. Mr. PRICE was immediately cooperative to the fullest extent possible. He readily understood the delicacy of the situation and pledged all-out support of the Agents on special assignment.

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The Honolulu Office had received sufficient correspondence from Mainland Offices so they could be aware in a general way of what type of investigation was to be conducted concerning the principal Subject's (KING) visit to Honolulu. It was apparent to the Honolulu Office from the copies of communications in its file that the Bureau had an intense interest in the extra-curricular activities of the Subject and the communist influence upon him and, therefore, the Honolulu Office was in a position to account for the principal Subject's public activities, appearances, speeches, etc.

SAC PRICE pointed out upon the arrival of SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN that Honolulu was in the midst of the peak of its winter tourist season. The various airlines had just inaugurated a flat \$100.00 tourist flight to Hawaii and all of the principal hotels were filled to overflowing with tourists. He believed that it would be difficult to obtain, many days in advance, a block of rooms whereby coverage of the Subject could be effected, but he indicated that he did have the official and personal contacts whereby a beginning could be made immediately.

Through its public sources, the Honolulu Office had determined that the University of Hawaii had planned to put the Subject and his party up at the Hilton Hawaiian Village for the days and nights of 2/18 and 19/64, and the morning of 2/20/64, while he was making public appearances. Supervisor CLIFFORD requested that if possible he and SA LYMAN be quartered in the Hilton Hawaiian Village. It was immediately determined by pretext telephone calls that the Hilton Hawaiian Village was filled to overflowing and was actually asking some of its guests to move elsewhere if possible.

It was pointed out to Mr. PRICE that if at all possible it was imperative for SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN to at least be in the same hotel where the Subject was scheduled to be a guest in order that full security could be established and in order that the equipment could be tested. By the evening of 2/12/64, through SAC contacts Mr. PRICE was able to obtain a room in the establishment for SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN.



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The Hilton Hawaiian Village is a complex of five steel and concrete towers, each approximately fifteen stories tall, linked together by a series of 2-story concrete motel-like buildings with perhaps 75 independent shops, restaurants, bars, etc. around a huge open-air lobby. An inspection of the halls and the rooms revealed that the dividing walls were made of four inch concrete blocks. The Hilton Hawaiian Village has approximately 1100 separate accommodations, rooms, suites, and pent houses with room for approximately 2500 people. Literally hundreds are moved in and out of the hotel every day according to a fixed schedule, whereby they spend a certain length of time at this hotel in Honolulu, move out to other islands to make way for other tourists to come in, and return to the Hawaiian Village when the other tourists move out.

Through Mr. ED HASTINGS, a SAC contact, and a personal friend of SAC PRICE, Mr. PRICE began a most discreet inquiry to determine where the Subject and his party were to be located. It was discovered that the hotel is booked up so full and has so many commitments on a continuous basis, that it ordinarily books blocks of rooms and suites by type and price rather than making individual assignments to guests who have made reservations; thus, it would know that on a certain day it would need, for example, 100 \$20.00 rooms, 50 \$25.00 rooms, and 40 \$30.00 rooms, but would not individually assign them until after the individual guest had registered at the hotel. This was the case with regard to the MARTIN LUTHER KING party. No specific space had yet been assigned and for security reasons it was determined best by the SAC and by the Agents on special assignment, that as far as possible, the hotel be allowed to follow normal booking procedures.

In the meantime, SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN proceeded to establish their identities as tourists in the hotel and its environs. The Honolulu Office has ten cars assigned to it, all of which are relatively well known and all of which are equipped with 2-way radios. The Agents on special assignment explored the possibility with the SAC and experienced Agents of the Honolulu Office of switching license plates on one of their cars and utilizing it on the special assignment, but the considered opinion of all concerned was that security might be lost by such an arrangement and it was, therefore, resolved to rent a Hertz car right at the hotel for use during the special assignment.

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Under secure conditions, SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN unpacked and experimented with all of the Bureau equipment sent out or brought out to Honolulu under conditions as closely approximating what was anticipated in the actual investigation. They found that all of the equipment worked well and would be effective if we could arrange to be no more than one room away from the Subjects of our interest. Due to the heavy concrete construction of the towers composing the hotel, approximately one-half of the radio transmitting equipment would not be effective at any great distance because its signal was somewhat overshadowed by a powerful local TV station.

Over the weekend of Saturday, 2/15/64, and Sunday, 2/16/64, the experiments continued and in the meantime, SAC PRICE most discreetly pushed his efforts to have definite space assigned to the Subject's party and to locate the special assignment Agents along side the Subjects.

The Kahala Hilton Hotel is the newest and perhaps the most luxurious in the entire Hilton chain. It was opened for business in January, 1964, has luxurious suites furnished at great cost, and is situated in an isolated area with its own man-made lake between a golf course and the sea. It is of solid concrete construction, ten stories high, and because of its prices attracts principally wealthy individuals who generally are older than the average tourist.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN personally made a most discreet survey of the hotel during the afternoon and evening hours and discovered that at best it was a most sedate and formal place with almost no activity or action in the halls, elevators, and public places. Upon the arrival of the remaining three Agents on

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special assignment in Honolulu, they were quickly acquainted with the situation at the Hilton Hawaiian Village and on Sunday evening, 2/16/64, made as much as a survey as was possible of the situation at the Kahala Hilton.

It was possible to obtain a room for these Agents in another tower approximately 100 yards away from the room occupied by SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN. On Sunday afternoon experiments were conducted with the equipment over this extended space and it was found that most of the equipment worked very well even at that distance through concrete walls and glass windows, but that the TV station interfered with some of the equipment on certain wave lengths.

On Monday, 2/17/64, SAC PRICE was able to arrange that the Subject and his party be placed in Suites 404 and 405 of the ocean tower building of the Hilton Hawaiian Village Hotel and that SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN would be given the suite numbered 406 along side that to be occupied by the principal Subject (405) and that the other three Agents would be given the suite numbered 403. One complicating factor was that no place else in the entire complex did the hotel have unoccupied space available allowing the designation of four rooms in a row for our purpose.

Another complication was the fact that the Subjects were due to land at the airport at 12:50 p.m., Tuesday, 2/18/64, and could be expected to be at the hotel at approximately 1:30 p.m. on that date, but three of the four rooms were occupied and could be expected to be occupied until the checkout time of 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 2/18/64.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN were able to move into Room 406 in the early evening of Monday, 2/17/64. The hotel arranged to move the guests out of Room 403 late that same evening and the other Agents were able to move in to Room 403. Investigation revealed that the occupants of Suite 405, which was designated for KING, were members of a folk dance group which was having its final dance in the ballroom on the second floor of the same building. By running most discreet surveillances and by utilizing a passkey obtained by SAC PRICE through the door connecting Room 406 with 405, the Agents were able to establish double wasp

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coverage in Room 405 during the evening of Monday, 2/17/64, while the folk dancing party was going on. This provided the necessary coverage which was activated when the principal Subject and his party entered Room 405 at 2:12 p.m., Tuesday, 2/18/64. This coverage enabled us to contact a highly confidential source that evening which supplemented the information received from the microphone coverage. In order to obtain clear reception and if possible to overcome the Subjects' playing of the TV, on Tuesday morning, 2/18/64, a minirite was installed in another location in the Subject's suite and monitored from Room 406.

It had been determined that SA J. STEPLING ADAMS of the Honolulu Office had conducted an Anti-Packeteering investigation concerning SAM GIANCANA at the Kahala Hilton Hotel in January, 1964, and had established excellent working relationships with members of the staff on the working level at that hotel. At the request of Supervisor CLIFFORD, SA ADAMS was sent out to the Kahala Hilton Hotel and checked on reservations held by the hotel for all expected guests for the period from 2/19/64 through 2/25/64, and determined that there were reservations for single suites (each suite will sleep at least two people) for KING, WALKER, KEARSE (who accompanied the party to Honolulu), and DOLOPES EVANS from Los Angeles. No reservation could be found for DOLOPES SHEFFEY, but apparently she could have fit in the room with EVANS since there were two beds in the room. Once this was discovered, through SAC PRICE's contacts, it was possible to arrange on Tuesday, 2/18/64, that specific rooms be designated for the above individuals and that we select adjacent rooms as desired.

This hotel, being a luxury hotel, was about 75% full and not as crowded as the other Honolulu hotels. Three of the Agents on special assignment accompanied SA ADAMS to the hotel on Wednesday morning, 2/19/64, and arranged the situation in such a way that by renting three rooms ourselves as of that date, we could cover the four rooms requested by the Subject's party. These three Agents then checked into that hotel and worked all day Wednesday and nearly all night that same night, Wednesday-Thursday, 2/19-20/64. By 11:00 p.m. they had succeeded, most discreetly, in making nine different installations under most secure conditions in the four rooms to be occupied by the Subjects.

Just as they completed their job it was discovered through the installations at the Hawaiian Village Hotel that

three Agents then had to spend the rest of the night and by morning hours removing the installations they had worked hard to make.

Shortly after midnight Thursday morning, 2/20/64, the installations at the Hawaiian Village provided information that

This information was provided telephonically to the Los Angeles Office and enabled the Los Angeles Office to anticipate where the Subjects would be and make, with Bureau permission, the proper installations at the Ambassador Hotel.

In accord with Bureau instructions, SAs CLIFFORD and [redacted] gathered together the necessary material on the morning Thursday, 2/20/64, and preceded the Subjects to Los Angeles Air. In Los Angeles they aided the Los Angeles Agents in identifying the Subjects and their voices on the evening of Thursday, 2/20/64, and the early morning of Friday, 2/21/64, then later spent the day of Friday and Friday evening working with the Los Angeles Agents in order that their coverage would be as efficacious as possible.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN returned to San Francisco from Los Angeles on Saturday, 2/22/64. The remaining three Agents moved the more bulky equipment, packaged it for shipment to the Bureau, San Francisco, and other offices, cleared out of the [redacted] [redacted], and arrived back in San Francisco on Sunday afternoon, 2/23/64.

The cooperation of the Hilton Hotel system was such that the Bureau was not charged for the rooms at the luxury [redacted] Hotel that were used by the Agents all day Wednesday, Wednesday night, and Thursday morning, nor for the four rooms [redacted] we had blocked out the day before and offered to pay rent if they would be saved for the Subjects.

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SAC PRICE of Honolulu, with funds from the San Francisco confidential fund, is settling the bill for the rooms used for experiments and for the towers at the Hawaiian Village Hotel and will forward the bills to SA CLIFFORD, who will voucher and blue slip same.

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) No matter what its size in population, Honolulu is basically a resort small town and all the Bureau personnel who participated in the investigation agreed that the Bureau was extremely wise in designating this operation to be handled as a special assignment in a semi-undercover capacity by Special Agents from another territory who were not known as Special Agents in the Honolulu area. The Honolulu Office and the San Francisco Agents are convinced that such an assignment could not have been carried out with full security by the Honolulu Agents themselves because they are too well known in this comparatively small town.
- (2) Although using only five Agents to make technical surveys, technical installations, provide their own security, conduct discreet nearby fisurs of Subjects and potential subjects, and contact anonymous sources means that the manpower is spread very thin especially where two separate hotels are involved, it is believed that the use of an experienced coordinated special assignment crew may very well be the best way to attack this problem.
- (3) The SAC and the local FBI Office are indispensable to the successful operation of such a special assignment. The two big questions that the local SAC has to be in a position to answer are: (a) Exactly where is the Subject going to be? and (b) Can we get a room next to him? Agents on special assignment cannot walk in cold in any area, much less a crowded resort area, and accomplish this with full security. It is the considered opinion of the Agents who participated in this special assignment that we would have been spared much anxiety

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HFC/jr

and last-minute improvisation if the Honolulu SAC could have been advised in advance, with utmost security, that he would be called upon to determine where the Subject was staying and to obtain adjacent space for the Agents on special assignment. This is a suggestion for the Bureau to consider in the event it plans future special assignments of this sort. This one worked well due to the excellence of the contacts.

(4) The playing of TV sets in the room and the operation of individual air conditioning units both presented a considerable problem which made some of the conversations almost, if not completely, unintelligible. These particular Subjects seemed to have a tendency to turn the TV on most of the time when they were in the room, particularly in the evening hours. We do not believe that it would be wise to make either the TV or the air conditioning inoperable in a subject's room where a discreet installation is made with full security, but misur coverage becomes almost ineffective no matter where it is placed if the TV is blasting away.

Transcripts of those parts of the conversations which are pertinent to this investigation are being forwarded under separate cover as soon as possible.

Memorandum

Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 24, 1963

- Conrad
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley
- 1-Mr. Ryan

*WCS*

*J. A. [unclear]*

*Rowse*

*[Handwritten initials]*

RECEIVED  
8/16/64

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

In view of the influence the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), exerting on the racial situation, particularly through Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Director approved a conference be held between representatives of our Atlanta Office and Seat of Government personnel.

Recognizing the delicacy of this entire situation because the prominence of King, the primary purpose of the conference was to explore how best to carry on our investigation to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. Included in the discussion was a complete analysis of the avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader and developing evidence concerning King's continued dependence on communists for guidance and direction.

The conference was held at the Seat of Government on 12-23-63. It was attended by Security Supervisor Henry Rowse and Robert Nichols from our Atlanta Office. The Seat of Government representatives were Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Inspector Joseph A. Sizoo, Section Chief F. J. Baumgardner and Supervisors T. Gurley and David Ryan. The conference lasted from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Assistant Director Sullivan briefed the conference on the work at hand. He pointed out the necessity for good judgment and discretion in conducting any investigation concerning this matter. He made it clear it was necessary for us to continue obtaining evidence of the CPUSA's influence on King and, through King, influence on the Negro people. Mr. Sullivan also stressed the fact that, although King is a minister, we have already developed information

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Mr. Sullivan pointed out that the field should continue to gather information concerning King's personal activities, such as

9-3-116  
Diskw

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57 JAN 10 1964



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
3-116

...ing drunk ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ in  
... that we may consider using this information at an opportune  
... in a counterintelligence move to discredit him.

During the discussion which followed, the men from the  
... outlined in detail the operation of the SCLC in Atlanta and  
... manner in which it is managed by King.

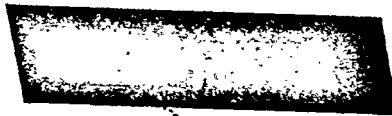
Our discreet approach to this case has been necessitated  
... King's prominence and the delicate situation which surrounds the  
... the racial movement. A wrong move could well result in extreme  
... embarrassment to the Bureau. As a result of the conference, it was  
... decided we need to develop additional information in the following  
... as:

- (1) We must determine and check out all of the employees  
... of the SCLC.
- (2) We must locate and monitor the funds of the SCLC.
- (3) We must identify and check out the sources who  
... contribute to the SCLC.
- (4) We must continue to keep close watch on King's  
... personal activities.
- (5) We will, at the proper time when it can be done  
... without embarrassment to the Bureau, expose King  
... as an ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ opportunist who is not a sincere  
... person but is exploiting the racial situation for  
... personal gain.
- (6) We will explore the possibility of utilizing additional  
... specialized investigative techniques at the SCLC office.

Our technical coverage on King and the SCLC is producing  
... excellent information. It was decided that, in view of this fact  
... since we could not engage in active investigation at this time  
... about embarrassment to the Bureau, we would hold in abeyance open  
... investigation as outlined above for another 90 days. During this  
... period, we will utilize the information obtained from our technical  
... coverage and conduct whatever investigation can be made discreetly.

STR O LWB

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
-3-116



This conference proved to be most beneficial, and the members from the field expressed their appreciation for the opportunity being brought into the Seat of Government for the purpose of bringing this entire matter. They were both enthusiastic about the case and stated the conference was of exceptional benefit to them and will be of assistance in setting the future course of the investigation.

CON:

We will continue to give this case priority attention at the Seat of Government and in the field and will expose the clerical fraud [redacted] the first opportunity. At the end of the 90-day period, or sooner if conditions permit, we will make a further recommendation as to whether we are in a position at that time to take further action against King and the SCLC without embarrassment to the Bureau.

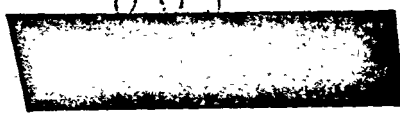
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*JW*  
*JW*

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DOJ



DiLone  
Rosen  
Candy

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 3 1962

Mr. J. F. Bland

CGI 28 JAN  
FEB

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (McGowan)
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Haack
- 1 - Mr. Kitchens

DiLone  
Rosen  
Candy  
Kitchens

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Deputy Attorney General (DAG) White has requested that Assistant Director Evans discuss with him the association of the Reverend Martin Luther King and Levison since he feels some action should be taken.

The Attorney General (AG) by letter dated 1/8/62 was advised that Stanley David Levison, [redacted] is allegedly a close adviser of the Reverend Martin Luther King, prominent southern civil rights leader, and wrote the speech that King delivered at the American Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations convention. The AG was also advised that Levison reportedly, through his association with King,

BACKGROUND:

EX 101 REC-33

100-392452-125

Levison, a New York businessman and attorney, is in the Security Index.

OBSERVATIONS:

16  
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The purpose in advising the AG of Levison's connection with King was to alert him and the President that Levison was apparently associated with King as [redacted]

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atb:djm  
1 11 1962 (8)

5/20/62  
CC Mr. Tolson  
SEARCHED  
INDEXED

Classified by  
Declassify on: OADR 3/1/82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
92452

F

and of the possible communist influence  
ing. This has been accomplished.

It appears that White desires to furnish King, or  
one close to him, some information about Levison and to suggest  
at least that King break off his relations with Levison.

who are vital to the internal  
security of the country. However, if White or the AG feel a  
compelling need to furnish King information about Levison, it is  
believed

White should be advised that under no circumstances  
should specific information as contained in the Director's letter be  
discussed with King, since it would definitely endanger our informant  
and the national security.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to Assistant Director  
Evans for his guidance in discussing this matter with DAG White.

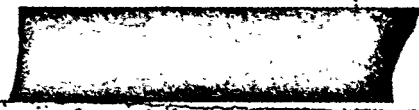
*Handwritten initials and signatures:*  
JBN, JCS, [unclear], [unclear], [unclear]

*King is no good...  
...should not be in  
...government*

*Memo Eval. R. Belmont  
2/6/62 - CAE:MAW*

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7/18/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Ryan

To: SAC, New York (100-129802)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(STANLEY DAVID LEVISON)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD  
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
ON 11/21/78

*Handwritten:* mounted to be  
3/11/80  
Classified  
Declassify on: OADR

The position of communist Stanley David Levison as mentor and behind-the-scenes advisor to Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, enables him to indirectly exert subversive influence upon the legitimate Negro freedom movement. Immediate steps should be taken to discredit, expose or otherwise neutralize Levison's communist.

You are instructed to immediately assign on a full-time basis an enterprising, imaginative Special Agent, who has proven his ability as a security investigator, to carefully review the Levison case file seeking possible counterintelligence approaches. If necessary, this review should be expanded to develop new investigative approaches. A special effort should be made to locate material of a public source and compromise nature. Consideration should be given to initiating spot physical surveillances on Levison to determine his contacts and pattern of activity both as relates to subversion and his personal life.

Advise by return mail the identity of the Special Agent assigned to this important task. If circumstances warrant, you should assign additional personnel to this project to insure it is completed at an early date.

Within 45 days, you should submit to the Bureau a detailed summary of Levison's personal and subversive background with emphasis on items presenting counterintelligence potential.

1 - New York (100-111133)

1 - 100-392452 (Levison)

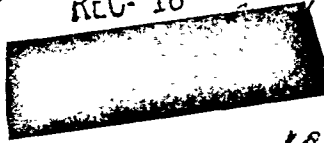
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REC-13

SEP 11 1966

SEE NOTE PAGE 2



19 JUL 19 1966

100-3-104-34-1295

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Airtel to SAC, New York  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
    ' COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
100-3-104-34

With your summary, you should include possible counter-intelligence recommendations looking towards the immediate or systematic neutralization of Levison. (S) u

(Bear in mind [redacted] information regarding Levison has been furnished by [redacted] and no action may be taken which might result [redacted] (S)

Do not initiate counterintelligence action without prior Bureau authorization.

NOTE:

We are making a comprehensive review of Levison's Bureau case file for counterintelligence potential. Levison currently resides at 535 West End Avenue, New York City, and he is an attorney operating the Park Management Company, realtors, at 1641 Broadway, New York City. (S) u

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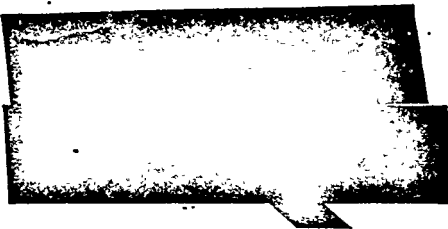
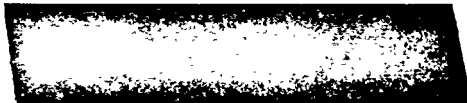
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bufile 100-106670

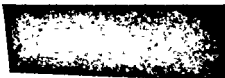


Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Security Matter - C

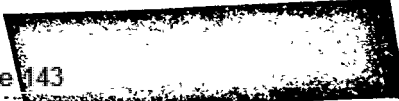


3/27/68 Jpmacme

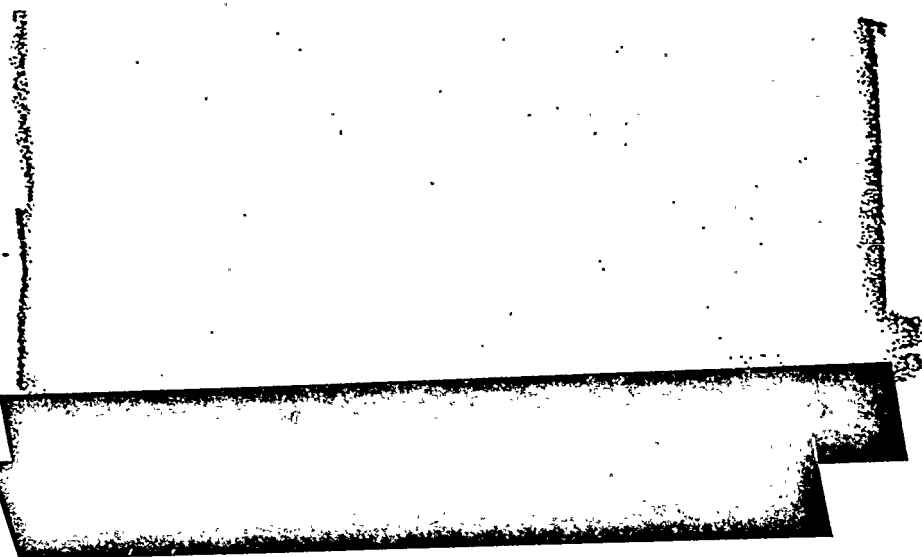
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YOUR AGENCY.



ENCLOSURE



Martin Luther King, Jr.



3/17/86

Spencer



FBI

Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE

11/6/78

TO : DIRECTOR; FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

ReBuairtel 3/14/68.



Chicago has carefully reviewed the Nation of Islam (NOI) file concerning the suggestion in referenced airtel concerning publicity circulated to possibly embarrass Washington Spring Project (WSP) efforts in Baltimore through a suggested alliance between forces of MARTIN LUTHER KING and the NOI. Additionally, highly placed NOI sources at Chicago, specifically [redacted] the latter of whom was not available until 3/20/68, were also contacted in this connection and the matter was indirectly pursued with them [redacted]

By way of background, as the Bureau is aware, KING and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, head of the NOI, met briefly in Chicago during 2/66 under amicable circumstances, primarily as a result of MARTIN LUTHER KING's then recent entry onto the Chicago civil rights scene. The meeting produced no tangible results insofar as cooperation, unity or program was concerned, however, did receive considerable local publicity. The meeting was basically for the purpose of showing unity within the Negro community. (u)

KING suffered no adverse publicity as a result of this meeting although within several days MUHAMMAD, at an annual NOI Convention, made remarks critical of KING for being too close to

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-60 100-448006-39

C. C. - Bishop

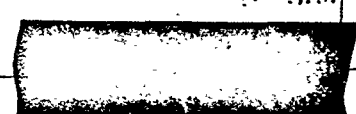
DECLASSIFIED 3/11/88

EX-116 MAR 25 1968

JCS: mam

(5)

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION



the white man. In reaction to these remarks publicly, KING glossed over this criticism and to some degree capitalized on it, indicating that in his efforts to build unified support for the cause of the Negro, he was in contact with all segments of Negro opinion. Indeed, as recently as 8/67, MUHAMMAD indicated a desire to again meet with KING to discuss the unity of the Negro.


As the Bureau and Atlanta are aware, KING and CASSIUS CLAY were in personal contact in Louisville, Kentucky, in 5/67, in the course of open housing demonstrations held under SCLC auspices.

In subsequent newspaper publicity concerning this meeting, KING was quoted as having praised CLAY for his refusal to be inducted into the armed forces, coupling this reference to attacks on our policy in Vietnam. The NOI publication "Muhammad Speaks" was one of the papers which contained KING's favorable remarks, including a comment that CLAY had given up \$1,000,000 in order to stand up for what his conscience dictated as right.

In short it would appear generally to be true that contact between KING and the NOI is not a heretofore unknown happening and it would appear that any effort to utilize this situation in Baltimore must indicate more than casual associations or contacts, but in order to embarrass or inhibit WSP efforts should indicate a close working relationship or partnership between the two groups.

It should be kept in mind also, however, that as the above sources note, although CLAY is nationally known for his adherence to the NOI, he is also somewhat universally acclaimed and embraced by most groups within the Black Nationalist Movement, CORE and SNCC as examples, as well as the black community generally and has achieved somewhat the status of a martyred black folk hero.

Referenced airtel requested specific comments concerning NOI reaction to exposure of joint type efforts with KING's WSP.

As the Bureau is aware, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has publicly stated that the white man has given him a million dollars worth of free publicity. This comment was specifically prompted by a television series about MUHAMMAD and the NOI which had nation-wide exposure, as well as being generally a reflection of constant expose type articles concerning the organization. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ has stated that MUHAMMAD has been openly upset over a period of such lack of publicity given him and his organization by the white press. It would appear, therefore, that any disruption program as envisioned would in all probability, have no real effect on the NOI and the most that would be forthcoming from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD or one of his spokesmen would be a simple denial of such support for the WSP. "Muhammad Speaks" is one of the principal sources of finance for the NOI and its presence in WSP offices in Baltimore is believed a reflection of NOI diligence in assuring wide-spread circulation of this paper and would not in any way embarrass or compromise the NOI. 

The above is furnished for the information and consideration of the Bureau and other offices interested in this matter.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY Eac  
DATE 11/6/78

2:50 PM 4-2-68 URGENT VCS  
TO DIRECTOR AND MEMPHIS  
FROM ATLANTA

MARTINE LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

DECLASSIFIED BY J. Macne  
ON 5/11/06

HAD LEARNED THAT HOSEA WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF VOTER REGISTRATION AND POLITICAL EDUCATION, SCLC; JESSE JACKSON, NORTHERN DIRECTOR, PROJECT BREADWASKET, SCLC; JAMES BEVEL, SCLC STAFF MEMBER AND JAMES ORGANGE, SCLC FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, WERE CURRENTLY IN MEMPHIS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT, SCLC, AND RALPH D. ABERNATHY, VICE PRESIDENT AND TREASURER, SCLC, CONTEMPLATED DEPARTING ATLANTA APRIL TWO INSTANT VIA AIR EN ROUTE TO MEMPHIS. DETAILS RE TRAVEL OF KING NOT AVAILABLE BUT INFORMANT GAINED IMPRESSION HE AND ABERNATHY WOULD DEPART DURING LATE MORNING. DURATION OF KING'S STAY IN MEMPHIS NOT KNOWN BUT SCLC "ACTION COMMITTEE" MEETING SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN MEMPHIS APRIL THREE NEXT.

KING AND SCLC ARE DETERMINED TO LEAD ANOTHER MARCH IN MEMPHIS WHICH WILL BE NONVIOLENT IN ORDER TO PROVE TO NATION THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED DATE OF MARCH NOT KNOWN BUT SOURCE PRESUMED IT WOULD NOT BE UNTIL AFTER  
END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED  
198 APR 11 1968

PAGE TWO

APRIL THREE NEXT MEETING. HOSEA WILLIAMS IN CHARGE OF CURRENT EFFORTS  
IN MEMPHIS "REORGANIZE" SANITATION WORKERS IN ORDER THAT ENSUING MARCH  
WILL BE PEACEFUL.

ABOVE INFORMATION TELEPHONICALLY FURNISHED MEMPHIS.

INFORMATION FROM [REDACTED]  
LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 2:57PM EXR

*King Security*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

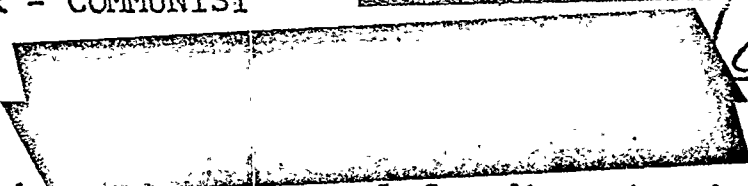
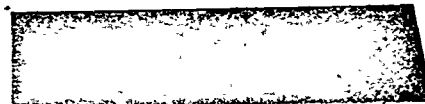
DATE: 2/20/68

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

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

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

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



PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing information concerning the progress of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to organize a massive civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1968.

BACKGROUND:

*DECLASSIFIED BY SP/MA/MLC  
ON 3/12/86*

King in the past has publicly announced he will conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign he calls the "Washington Spring Project" in early April, 1968, to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

*5 - D. Wells*

King is currently holding the first of two workshops from 2/19-23/68 at Miami, Florida. He has invited approximately 150 Negro ministers throughout the nation to attend this meeting. The Ford Foundation recently gave King's organization a \$230,000 grant to hold these workshops in an effort to develop responsible leadership in the Negro ghetto areas of the nation's major cities. It has been determined that King plans to discuss the Washington Spring Project at this workshop.

Dr. John A. Morsell, Assistant Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has advised his organization is not supporting the Washington Spring Project and is taking no part in it. He advised the NAACP

Enclosure *2-21-68*

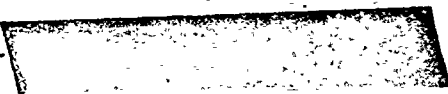
DMW:lmr

(7) *lmr*

REC-52

CONTINUED - OVER

EX 101



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

has tried, without success, to dissuade King from executing the Project. Dr. Morsell is afraid that King cannot control the demonstrators and there is a likelihood that the overall demonstration will be taken over by extremists.

King appears to be concentrating his attention on the South where he has chartered a small twin-engine aircraft to help speed him about urging people to support his campaign.

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosures be forwarded to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Agriculture Freeman; Secretary of Labor Wirtz; Secretary of Defense; Secret Service; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Pollak, Yeagley, and Vinson; the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department; and to the Departments of Army; Navy; and Air Force.

*done*

*W.C.S.*

*D*

✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 2/18/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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

100-106670-2309  
FBI FILE

Sergeant Edward McClellen, Human Relations Unit, Chicago, Illinois, Police Department, advised that on 2/3/66 Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), met with Reverend John P. Cody, Archbishop of the Chicago Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church. The meeting was in the nature of a courtesy visit, at King's request, during which King reportedly informed the Archbishop of the nature and purpose of his campaign to end segregation and discrimination against the Negro in Chicago. King has selected Chicago to be the site of the first SCLC invasion into the northern civil rights problem. It is recognized by King that the future of his organization may well rest in the success or failure of the SCLC Chicago program.

King stated at a press conference, after his meeting with the Archbishop, that he and Archbishop Cody were in substantial agreement upon the goals they were both seeking and intended to keep in touch with each other. King declared he was hopeful of the active participation of priests and nuns in connection with his SCLC program in Chicago and had gained the impression from the Archbishop that such participation was a matter of individual conscience and would not be a matter of discipline insofar as the Diocesan hierarchy was concerned.

King continues to rely heavily on the advice of his New York foursome, Stanley Levison, Harry Wachtel, Clarence Jones and Bayard Rustin, in connection with all major SCLC problems and activities. These individuals have all been members of the Communist Party or Communist Party front groups in the past. As long as King utilizes these advisors with subversive backgrounds, the danger remains that his SCLC activities will be influenced by communist-oriented thinking. Should communists or communist sympathizers succeed in influencing the SCLC Chicago program, it would be a major breakthrough for the communists in the civil rights field.

100-106670

RFB:dch

(8)

ENC-52

FEB 25 1966

CONFIDENTIAL - OVER

This document is prepared in response to your request and is limited to official business. Its use is limited to official business. It is not to be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.



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

King's meeting with Archbishop Cody has been discussed with Special Agent in Charge Marlin W. Johnson of our Chicago Office. Johnson has given assurance that he can talk to Archbishop Cody in complete confidence and Archbishop Cody will not violate this confidence. Bureau files show that Archbishop Cody, while serving as a Bishop in the St. Louis Archdiocese in the early 1950's,

At that time, he reportedly had an excellent knowledge

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
- Large handwritten signature on the left.  
- "100-106670" written in the center.  
- "J" written below the file number.  
- "A.R." written below the signature.  
- "A" written to the right of "A.R."  
- A large handwritten signature on the right.  
- A checkmark on the far right.  
- A redacted box at the bottom right.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

0-17P 3-3-65  
Edm. W/R Rev 3-4-65  
747

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Mohr

DATE: 2/18/65

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Bland

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Ryan

1 - Mr. Phillips

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

*Handwritten notes:*  
See memo dated 2/18/65  
re: King's visit to  
Washington, D.C.  
2/18/65  
S.F. 1/22/65  
C. 7/2/65

100-106670-917

This informative memorandum reports high lights of recent pertinent conversations between Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his associates having communist backgrounds, as furnished by our reliable, sensitive sources.

King's Conferences With President, Vice President and Attorney General 2/

3/11/66 Spina...  
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 TAP/KC/HMB  
01 8/2/79

Comment: The Vice President has already been briefed concerning Rustin's communist background and record as a homosexual. We cannot of course, discount completely the possibility that Rustin's remarks were an exaggeration to impress his listener. U

## King and Negro-Jewish Relations

King has advised his close advisor Clarence Jones that he had accepted two speaking engagements. One is to address the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal 3/4/65 at New York City. The other would be an address before the American Jewish Committee 5/20/65, New York City. At the March affair King is to be given the Eleanor Roosevelt Award. King indicates that Jones and "our friend", (probable reference to Stanley Levison) could work on the speeches. King told Jones that he had accepted these engagements because some of his Rabbi friends have been telling him that Jews were not supporting the civil rights movement. King believes this is in part due to anti-Semitic statements being made by Negroes such as Malcolm X (the Muslim leader). King thought it would help improve the situation if he spoke before these groups. U

REC-3 100-106670-917 MAR 3 1965

Comment: We are having the field attempt to verify any actual participation by Levison in the preparation of speeches for King. U

79 MAR 4 - 1965

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

CONTINUED - OVER

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



King's Fund-raising Activities:

King told Jones that he would be in California 2/25-27/65 to attend a big fund-raising project. It will include a showing of the movie "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and it would "scare the house of about \$28,000." In addition, there are two or three wealthy people trying to get 50 couples to give \$1,000 (presumably each couple) and they have 26 commitments already. King claimed that his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); needs the money desperately. They also discussed a group in New Rochelle, New York, which King said already had \$5,000 and desired to use it for a fund-raising project to earn even more. Jones told King that the advertisement which appeared in "The New York Times" 2/5/65 soliciting funds on behalf of the SCLC cost \$2,000. King said that his office had already received \$12,000 as a result of this advertisement. U

Friction Between King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

In discussing the current racial situation in Alabama, King told Jones that SNCC was again saying that King likes to come into a situation at the last minute, get all the publicity and the benefit of contributions. SNCC claims that King makes "grandstand plays" after SNCC has done all the field work. King asked Jones if something could be done about this through Harry Belafonte (noted Negro singer). According to Jones, Belafonte is about the only person that SNCC will listen to and that he has heard Belafonte stop SNCC workers who tried to attack King's integrity. King said that he did not like for SNCC to fight against the idea of having a leader for the whole movement. King stated that the movement must have a leader because any ideology is fostered around having a leader around whom supporters can rally. Jones believes that he can arrange an unpublicized meeting between SNCC, SCLC and Belafonte. U

Comment: The naked boldness of King's egotism is vividly reflected in his pronouncements about the movement needing a leader (obviously King himself). U

RECOMMENDATION:

This is for your information. We are disseminating this information to the Department and the intelligence community. U

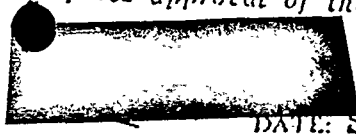
8

*Handwritten notes:*  
✓  
Also to Watson.



Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT and the contents hereof are to be controlled by the FBI. Information is to be disseminated only by authorized persons.



B-3

Form with checkboxes: Tolson, DeLoach, Mohr, Bishop, Casper, Callahan, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Sullivan, Tavel, Trotter, Tele. Room, Holmes, Gandy

W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Rosen
- 1-Mr. Casper
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Morley
- 1-Mr. Kleinkauf
- 1-Mr. Phillips

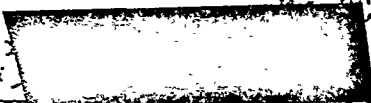
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This memorandum recommends increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro. The history of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is replete with its attempts to exploit, influence and recruit the Negro. The March on Washington, 8-28-63, was a striking example of such Communist activity as Party-leaders early put into effect efforts to accrue gains for the CPUSA from the March. Well-documented information concerning the Party's influence on a principal church leader, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is but an example. The presence at the March of around 200 Party members, ranging from several national functionaries headed by CPUSA General Secretary Gus Brown to many rank-and-file members, is clear indication of the Party's present target (the Negro) today.

All indications are that the March was not the "end of the road" and that the Party will step up its efforts to exploit racial unrest and in every possible way claim credit for itself relating to any "gains" achieved by the Negro.

The entire field is being alerted to this situation in a proposed SAC Letter (attached). The field is being instructed to intensify our coverage of communist influence on the Negro by giving the highest consideration to the use of all possible investigative techniques. In addition, the field is being told to intensify its coverage of those communist fronts through which the Party channels its influence and to intensify its investigations of the many Party members and dupes who engage in activities on behalf of the Party in the Negro field. Further, we are stressing the urgent need for imaginative and aggressive tactics to be utilized through our Counterintelligence Program--these designed to attempt to neutralize or disrupt the Party's activities in the Negro field. Necessity for prompt handling of all facets of this matter to insure timely dissemination to the Department and other interested agencies is also being emphasized.

100-3-75 (CPUSA, Negro Quest)



SEP 16 1963

U.O.I. 100-3-116-367

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-116



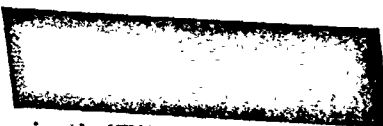
The proposed SAC Letter requires key security offices to submit to the Bureau, within 30 days, an analysis of their current coverage of communist activities in the Negro field plus details of their plans for intensification. Also, those 16 offices participating in the Counterintelligence Program on a regular basis are being required to include in their next monthly letters due 10-15-63 their plans to neutralize or disrupt Party activities in the Negro field.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, attached SAC Letter go forward apprising the field as above and urging full implementation so that the desired results may be achieved. Also attached for approval are necessary Manual changes.

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
WQ  
V.  
H.  
No. I can't understand how you can go so glibly switch your thinking and evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective and infinitesimal. This notwithstanding many memos of specific instances of infiltration. Now you want to load the field down with more coverage in spite of your recent memo deprecating C.P. influence in racial movement. I don't intend to waste time and money until you can make up your minds what the situation really is.  
If you want to load the field down with more coverage in spite of movement membership creating influence in racial movement, I don't intend to waste time & money until you can

*Vertical note on right margin:*  
...the situation really is...

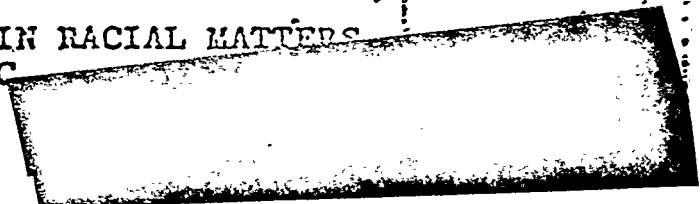
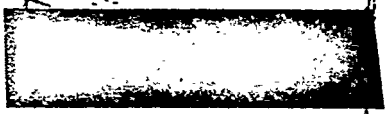


your Committee and the content may not be disclosed without the approval of the FBI.

B-4

Date: September 25, 1963

To: Mr. A. H. Belmont  
From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C



Predication:

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum dated 9/16/63 and to the attached proposed SAC Letter.

On returning from a few days leave I have been advised of the Director's continued dissatisfaction with the manner in which we prepared a Brief on the above-captioned matter and subsequent memoranda on the same subject matter. This situation is very disturbing to those of us in the Domestic Intelligence Division responsible for this area of work, and we certainly want to do everything possible to correct our shortcomings. We absolutely will not be stubborn about admitting any mistakes we have made or be stiff-necked and unbending concerning our analysis of this matter. The Director indicated he would not approve our last SAC Letter until there was a clarification and a meeting of minds relative to the question of the extent of communist influence over Negroes and their leaders. In this memorandum I will seriously and sincerely try to clarify a most regrettable situation. It is prepared not on official office memorandum but rather on plain bond believing that this discussion need not be made a matter of official record.

Common Agreement:

*S. M. ...  
3/12/66*

301

First, I am sure we all are in agreement on the following which was in both the cover memorandum and the detailed brief attached: (1) for the past 44 years the Communist Party, USA, has Negroes and to make communists out of them; (2) the 19 million Negroes in the country today the Communist Party, USA; (3) Negro leader Martin Luther King, does have as an extremely important Communist (4) we are right now in this nation engaged in a form of social-revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists; and (5) the Communist Party should in the future make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negro to the serious detriment of our national security. In addition to the above, the material furnished contained many pages of specific examples of communist policies, programs, and activities.

100-3-110-368

X 5-5

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

C-42

UNCLASSIFIED

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ January 8, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Kleinkauf
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont 12/24/63 summarized the results of a conference held at the Seat of Government 12/23/63 between Bureau officials and Supervisors and field representatives designed to explore how best to carry on our investigation of captioned matter to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. We completely analyzed avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing Martin Luther King, Jr., as an effective Negro leader. One of the avenues explored was that concerning any facets of the financial operations of King and the organizations through which he operates which investigation might reveal either violations of the law or other potentials for discrediting King or otherwise neutralizing his effectiveness.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1000/ML ON 8/3/86

Bufiles contain two items of particular significance. A Washington Capital News Service release dated 10/22/63 reveals that King's integration organization had an income of more than \$735,000 during the past fiscal year and spent only about half of it. It is stated that in a report of the financial status of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which King is President, King disclosed that the organization had a balance of \$351,992.20 left 8/31/63 at the end of the fiscal year from a total income of \$735,534.02. Another such news release dated 11/4/63 revealed that Representative George Andrews (D-Ala.) asked the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to investigate the tax status of the SCLC. Andrews is quoted as saying, "Thousands and thousands of dollars are collected and spent each year, by so-called civil rights organizations and many people are beginning to suspect they could be a front for a full-grown racket."

It is noted that King's operations revolve principally around the SCLC. However, fund-raising operations on his part are further augmented by the activities of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, which commenced operations in 1962.

UNCLASSIFIED

- Enc. 100-3-116
- 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
- 100-436794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-116-224

UNCLASSIFIED

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that an examination of recent income tax returns of King might well reveal information which could assist the Bureau in its efforts to discredit King or neutralize his effectiveness. This is possibly applicable also if the income tax returns of the SCLC and the Gandhi Society were reviewed. In view of the possibility that the SCLC has already been under some investigation by IRS, a request for the results of such investigation is indicated. We also had information in late 1963 that the Gandhi Society was negotiating with IRS relative to tax exemptions and therefore the results of any IRS investigation of that Society would be worth procuring.

To date we have been most discreet and circumspect in our handling of the King investigation, as well as corollary investigations such as revolving around organizations, because of the position King has not only as a clergyman, but also as a "respected" Negro leader. It is therefore essential that our current requests of the IRS which are herein being recommended be handled in a manner which would provide for optimum security so that neither King nor any other unauthorized individuals may become aware of the Bureau's interest and so that no embarrassment may come to the Bureau. For this reason, the attached memoranda are classified "Secret."

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the Liaison Section obtain two uncertified copies of each of the income tax returns available for the past five years pertaining to King, the SCLC and the Gandhi Society. Attached hereto are three memoranda for the use of the Liaison Section.

DECLASSIFIED ON 1/6/95  
BY 1676 (U/H/101)

Handled with  
W E Mould  
1-13-64  
RJP

CLASSIFIED  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION-INDEFINITE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

A-17

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

File, Please Refer to  
No. 100-106670

July 23, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

A-17

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., resides at 503 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 300 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. He is closely associated with Stanley Levison, [redacted] Communist Party, USA. [redacted]

Pursuant to your request that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on King, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on King at his current residence or at any future address to which he may move. It is further requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which King is President or at any future address to which it may be moved.

Respectfully,

*John Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

OCT 17 1953

100-106670-165 FBI

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions



DECLASSIFIED BY [signature]  
ON 3/10/86

Mr. DeLoach

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

1/21/66

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

W. C. Sullivan

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.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 BSK/BJD/ML  
ON 5/22/80



*3/17/66 [unclear]*

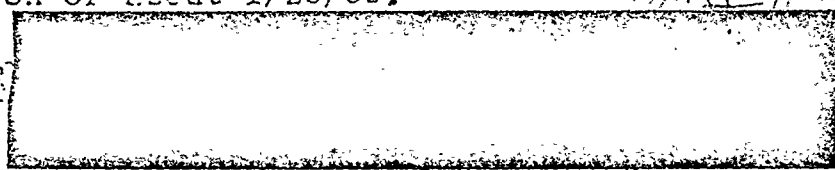
New York Office requested authority to make the microphone surveillance installation the night of 1/20-21/66, to be activated 1/21/66 with full security assured. It also requested authority for expenditure of up to \$35 per day for the monitoring room.

ACTION:

*Please see memorandum at JUNE 1966*

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.

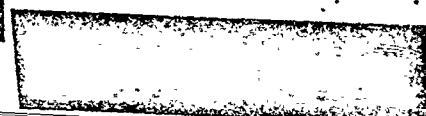
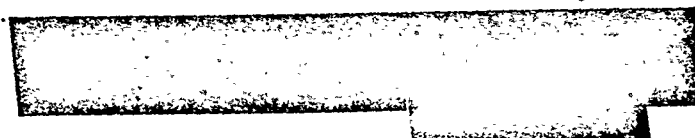
100-106670-2224



1 - M. F. Row - Room 6221 IB

*No one here approved this. I have had Sullivan again not to include it with some papers with out it.*

100-106670  
Enclosure  
RFD:deh  
(9)



Memorandum

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

Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
IS - C

B7C



Reference is made to the enclosed material on which the Director has written: "This memo reminds me vividly of those I lived when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro and cohorts were not Communists and not influenced by Communists. Time has proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, Hall, Levison, Rustin, Hall et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists."

The Director is correct. We were completely wrong about believing the evidence was not sufficient to determine some years ago that Fidel Castro was not a communist or under communist influence. On investigating and writing about communism and the American Negro, we better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us.

I do think that much of the difficulty relating to the memorandum rightly questioned by the Director is to be found centered in the word "influence." We do not have, and no Government agency or private organization has, any yardstick which can accurately measure "influence" in this particular context, even when we know it does exist such as in the case of the obvious influence of Stanley Levison over Martin Luther King and King's influence over other Negro leaders. Personally, I believe in the light of King's powerful oratoric speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders over all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.

REC-5

2537

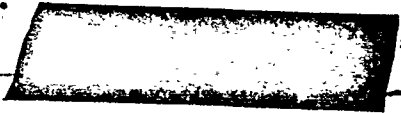
On determining membership of Negroes in the Communist Party, we are not confronted with the same problem. We do have here accurate yardsticks for establishing membership. Of course, our standards are very exacting. This means there are many Negroes who are fellow-travelers, sympathizers or who aid the Party, knowingly or unknowingly, who do not qualify as members. These we must not ignore. The old communist principle still holds: "Communism must be built with non-communist hands." Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence.

UNRECORDED COPY

Closure

ml:djw  
(5)

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



100-33-716-2537

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

that would stand up in testimony in court or before Congressional committees that the Communist Party, USA, does wield substantial influence over Negroes which one day could become decisive.

The memorandum which the Director penetratively questioned, while showing in the details the communist impact on Negroes, did suffer from such limitations. These limitations we will make every effort to lift in the future. The great amount of attention this Division is giving to communist activities directed toward the Negro could enable us to do this.

For example, here at the Seat of Government, the Negro - communist question takes up as a whole the time of one supervisor and during the past few weeks four men have been so occupied. Additionally, (1) specialized instructions are regularly given the field on communist infiltration of the Negro; (2) monographs have been written on the subject and widely disseminated; (3) regularly disseminated are memoranda and reports; (4) August 21, 1963, we devoted the entire Current Intelligence Analysis to the communist plans for the Negro March of August 28, 1963, (149 copies of this Analysis were disseminated to 44 agencies of the Government); (5) much material on the issue is given to Agents at the Service; and (6) an SAC Letter is under preparation in this Division now giving the field the benefit of what we learned from the Negro March in Washington and issuing instructions for increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro.

As the memorandum pointed out, "this Nation is involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists." Nineteen million Negroes constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA. This is a sombre reality we must never lose sight of. We will do everything possible in the troubled future to develop for the Director all available facts relating to Negro membership in the Communist Party, plus the more complex and difficult to ascertain influence of communist organizations and officials over the leaders and masses of Negroes.

We regret greatly that the memorandum did not measure up to what the Director has a right to expect from our analysis.

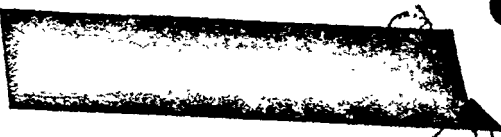
COMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

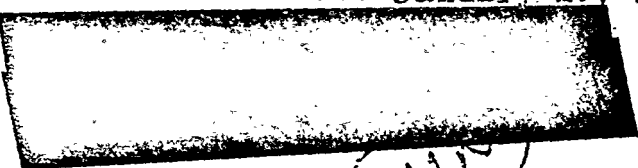


- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Belmont *What*

DATE: January 17, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen *Rosen*



SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

*NI*

*McQuinn*  
*L.H. [unclear]*

Reference is made to the memorandum of Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr, January 15, 1963, pointing out the attempts made to interview Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to give him the truth concerning the role of the FBI in the Albany situation. Numerous attempts were made to contact him and he has completely evaded all attempts to reach him to set the record straight. *EJ*

King's comments have been previously brought to the attention of Mr. Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and it was pointed out to him that there is no basis in fact for King's remarks. In addition, it was pointed out that four of the five Resident Agents at Albany are from northern states and one is from Georgia.

As has been indicated by Mr. DeLoach's memorandum, interviews with publishers of the newspapers who carried Reverend Mr. King's lies have been conducted and they have been set straight. As pointed out, no further need to contact Reverend Mr. King exists inasmuch as he obviously does not desire to be given the truth. The fact that he is a vicious liar is amply demonstrated in the fact he constantly associates with and takes instructions from Stanley Levison *954*  
Communist *253*

RECOMMENDATION:



In view of the conduct of Reverend Mr. King in completely evading any attempts to learn the truth of this Bureau's role in the Albany situation, it is recommended that in addition to the action taken above, the attached letters to the Attorney General and to Mr. Bernhard be sent pointing out the evasive conduct of King.

Enclosures - 2  
157-6-2

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

*157-631-624*  
*3/18/63*  
*SPM*  
*DECLASSIFIED BY SP8MAC/ger...*  
*ON 3/21/81*

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your organization. Its use is limited to official proceedings by you and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.*

IVLEMOU...  
A-20a

Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

W. C. Sullivan

August 23, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Rosen
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to the Director's request, there is attached a detailed memorandum concerning the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to exploit the American Negro.

There is set forth below in this cover memorandum a synopsis of the detailed memorandum.

SYNOPSIS

DECLASSIFIED BY 3112/85  
3/12/85 SP/maem/le

The 19 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, USA. Since 1919 communist leaders have devised countless tactics and programs designed to penetrate and control the Negro population. It has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars propagandizing the Negroes in a variety of ways. These colossal efforts have been related to "equal opportunity" and "self-determination" policies (the latter being discontinued in 1959 with the approval of Soviet Russia because it was ineffective), front organizations, parades, demonstrations, articles, pamphlets, books, films, speeches, civil rights, "peaceful coexistence," and cetera. These efforts, among other things, have resulted in establishing today such active Negro communist front groups as the African American Heritage Association, Freedomways Associates, and Southern Conference Educational Fund (not yet cited by the Attorney General). Additionally, efforts have been and are being made to infiltrate with limited degrees of success such legitimate Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Other legitimate Negro organizations not known to be infiltrated, influenced or controlled but are targets include Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Enc.  
100-3-75

REC-5  
100-3-11-2537

skw

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

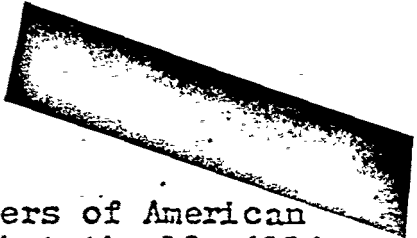
Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
3-75

While much propaganda is issued, there is no known substantial implementation of Communist Party aims and policies among Negroes in the labor field. The Communist Party has done all possible to exploit a great number of events and issues among Negroes such as the Scottsboro Case; Emmett Till Case; Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; 1956 March on Washington, D.C.; 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; "sit-in" demonstrations; "freedom riders"; and school integration campaigns. While not the instigator and presently unable to direct or control the coming Negro August 28 March on Washington, D.C., communist officials are planning to do all possible to advance communist aims in a supporting role. Martin Luther King, a key figure in the March, does have as an advisor, Stanley Levinson

Despite the Communist Party, USA, on the American Negro during the past 44 years, the Party has failed to reach its goal with the Negroes. The Director, on January 26, 1960, said publicly: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments in our communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism."

Negroes represent ten per cent of the population of the United States or 19 million. If one was to apply this breakdown to Gus Hall's figure of 10,000 Communist Party members today, it would give to the Party 1,000 Negro members. (Applied to our classified figure of 4,453 active Communist Party members, the estimated number of Negro communists would be 445. This would not, of course, include communist sympathizers, supporters or dupes but only those included under our very strict and exacting Party membership requirements.) Despite the obvious failure of the Communist Party of the United States to appreciably

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75



infiltrate, influence or control large numbers of American Negroes in this country, the fact remains that the 19 million Negroes in this country constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party of the United States. It would be foolhardy on anybody's part to ignore this very significant truth. Further, we are right now in this Nation involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists. The Communist Party in the next few years may fail dismally with the American Negro as it has in the past. On the other hand, it may make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negroes, to the serious detriment of our national security. Time alone will tell.

L.S.

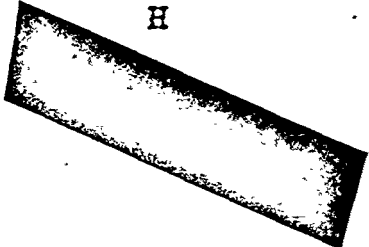
W.C.S.

1/13

*[Handwritten signature]*

memo reminds me  
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. I for one can't ignore  
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ommunists.

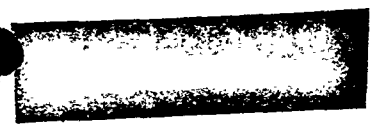
*This memo reminds me  
rigidly of those I received  
when Castro took over Cuba.  
You contended then that  
Castro & his cohorts were  
not Communists & not in-  
fluenced by Communists.  
Time alone proved you wrong.  
I for one can't ignore the  
memo re King, O'Dell,  
Seymour, Rustin, Hall  
et al as having only an  
infinitesimal effect on  
the efforts to exploit the  
American Negro by  
Communists.*



H

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum



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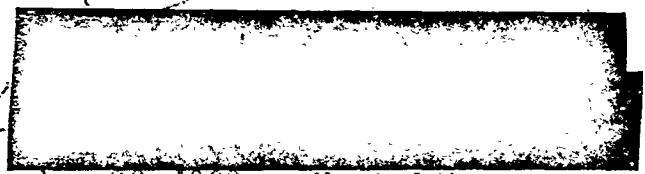
- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: January 15, 1963

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION, Albany, Ga.,  
RACIAL MATTERS (Article by  
Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
critical of FBI)



Mr. Belmont's memorandum of November 26, 1962, reflected the alternatives in interviewing Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had criticized the work of the FBI in relation to the Albany situation. The Director approved the suggestion that Mr. Sullivan and I handle the interview with Rev. King.

Following approval, I immediately tried to contact Rev. King telephonically on November 27, 1962.

Rev. King does not have a phone at his residence. We then attempted to contact him at his church in Atlanta. His secretary advised, upon being told who was trying to contact him, that Rev. King was "off in another building writing a book." She further stated that Rev. King preferred not to be disturbed and that it would be impossible to talk to him. That same day I called the SAC at Atlanta and instructed him to attempt to contact Rev. King and set up an interview for Mr. Sullivan and me. SAC Atlanta advised the following day, November 28, that Rev. King had left instructions with his secretary that he did not have time for an interview, that he was moving around the country. The secretary further advised the SAC that Rev. King would call us when he was willing to sit down for an interview. Rev. King has not called since that date.

It would appear obvious that Rev. King does not desire to be told the true facts. He obviously used deceit, lies and treachery as propaganda to further his own causes.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 [redacted]  
ON 11-8-80 (2) [redacted]

Realizing the above, I recommended, the Director approved, that I talk with Mr. MacKay, publisher of the four Afro-American newspapers. This interview was handled and reported by memorandum. The interview was based on the fact that the Afro-American newspapers had published Rev. King's lies, quoting him exclusively. In talking with Mr. MacKay I carefully went over each allegation by Rev. King and set him straight with respect to these lies. MacKay offered no

Enclosure

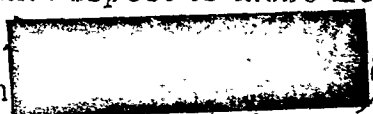
1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Rosen

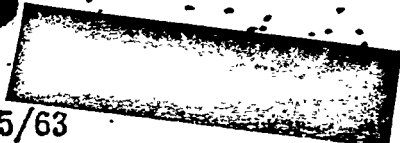
1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. McGowan

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones



2-1



1/15/63

mo DeLoach to Mohr  
: Racial Situation, Albany, Ga.,  
Racial Matters (Article by  
Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
critical of FBI)

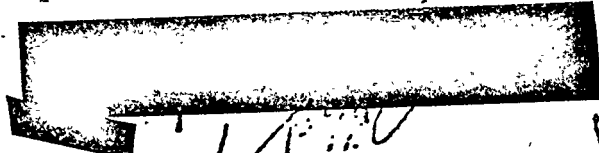
ument and in the following week's issue of his newspapers quoted us for  
record. A letter was also prepared to John H. Sengstacke, Publisher,  
Chicago Defender, " dated November 29, 1962, (copy attached) setting the  
cord straight. Sengstacke, whom we know most favorably, published the letter  
ting the lie to Rev. King's allegations.

*Handled  
separately*

NOTION:

. The record concerning Rev. King's allegations has been covered.  
Interviews with the publishers of the newspapers who carried Rev. King's lies  
have been conducted and they have been set straight. I see no further need to  
contacting Rev. King inasmuch as he obviously does not desire to be given the  
truth. The fact that he is a vicious liar is amply demonstrated in the fact  
he constantly associates with and takes instructions from Stanley Levison

Communist



*✓*

*Wed*

*Q*

*1/15*

*concur.*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum



(55)

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

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 11/20/62

FROM : A. Rosen *R*

(JS)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

*Identify subject...*

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

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

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

DETAILS:

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

57-6-2 ENCLOSURE

response to your request and is for dissemination... FEBRUARY 1963... may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons... FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

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

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



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

RECOMMENDATION:

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

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

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

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

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

ACTION:

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

ENCLOSURE

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	_____

1116 PM URGENT 3-30-68 ARK

TO DIRECTOR  
FROM ATLANTA

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY EAC  
DATE 11/6/78

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM., ATLANTA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN DASH  
TWO NINE TWO FOUR.

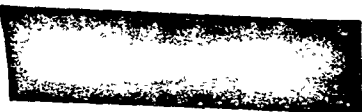
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM --C., ATLANTA FILE ONE ZERO ZERO - FIVE  
FIVE EIGHT SIX.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1000000000  
ON 3/6/86

157-8131450

DISBURSED

RECORDED COPY FILED IN



PAGE TWO

RECEIVED: 11:31 PM RDR



GROUP I

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

18\*

S/172011 \_\_\_\_\_

#2

GROUP I

Ke 4

PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES

1- A 88354 1967 TAG NO. TAX AREA CODE 01 1- 38993 1968 TAG NO.

MAKE	YR.	MODEL	BODY TYPE	CLASS	VEHICLE IDENTIFICATION NO.	PT. YR.	ASSESSED VALUE
FOR	66	MS8	20	06	6T07C190647	FULL	700
12.60		12.60		14.00		TOTAL → 39.20	
ST. & CO. TAX		MUN. TAX		SCH. DIST. TAX		LIC. & ISS. FEE CITATION PENALTY	

THE VEHICLE DESCRIBED THEREON (WAS NOT IN ALABAMA) (WAS NOT OPERATED ON THE HIGHWAYS OF ALABAMA) BETWEEN \_\_\_\_\_ AND \_\_\_\_\_

GALT ERIC S.  
2608 HIGHLAND AVE  
BHAM ALA

THIS VEHICLE IS DESIGNED AND USED PRIMARILY FOR PRIVATE PASSENGER PURPOSES.

ACQUIRED FROM	DATE ACQUIRED OR ENTERED STATE	PURCHASE PRICE	GROSS WEIGHT
NEW USED			

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE INFORMATION HEREON IS TRUE AND CORRECT.  
SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME THIS 2 DAY OF Oct 1967

Eric S. Galt LICENSEE OR APPLICANT BY [Signature] CLERK  
DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, JEFFERSON COUNTY  
BRADLEY BROWN, DIRECTOR

Transfer Receipt for 1967

Motor Vehicle License No. 1A-88354 N<sup>o</sup> 48684

STATE OF ALABAMA, JEFFERSON COUNTY, DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE.

To: Hon. Bradley Brown, Director of Revenue.

I, the undersigned, hereby make application to you as provided by Sec. 706, Article 8, Title 51, Code of Alabama of 1940, Recompiled, to have the above license issued by you for:

Make	Year	Model	Body Type	Class	Identification No.
<u>Ford</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>MS8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6T07C190647</u>

which I (we) purchased, traded in, repossessed, or otherwise acquired, transferred from: Wm. S. Purley

To: Eric S. Galt  
Address: 2608 Highland Ave Bham

(Date Acquired) 8-30-67 (Signature of applicant) Eric S. Galt

This is to certify that proper application having been made to me, I have this day recorded the above transfer on the records in this office.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of Aug 1967

POSTED:	Transfer fee	<u>75</u>
	Penalty	
	Total	<u>75</u>

BRADLEY BROWN  
DIRECTOR OF REVENUE

By [Signature] (Notary)

PENALTY OF \$1.50 DUE IF NOT TRANSFERRED WITHIN TEN DAYS.

2/20/86 Spruce

Q-141



REGISTER

PROVINCIAL MOTEL

Name Eric D Galt  
Address 2608 Highland Ave  
City Birmingham State Alabama  
Representing \_\_\_\_\_  
Make of Car Mustang License No. 136993 State Ala.

Date	No. In Party	Room No.	Rate	Tax	Amount	Paid In Advance
12-17-67	1	126	12.00	.66	12.66	—

X TUE -



Q-259

NATIONAL DANCE STUDIOS  
ENROLLMENT AGREEMENT AND CONTRACT FOR DANCING INSTRUCTION

Date Dec 14, 1967

Name ERIC GALT Residence 1535 W. SENGLE  
City LA ANGELES State DAL. Phone 469 4096

I agree to take a course of 50 hour lessons for \$ 400.00 and I understand that this course of dance instruction consists of 25 private hours and 25 practice, party or group technique hours.

I have paid \$ 100.00 on account and I agree to pay the balance of \$ 300.00 as follows: 100.00 DEC 14, 1967  
50.00 per week TIL paid in Full

The National School of Dancing agrees to teach the above stated 50 hours within 4 months from the above date, and I understand this course of 50 hours of dance instruction expires MAY 11 1968

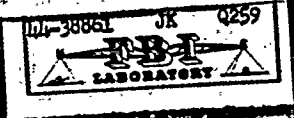
If necessary to cancel a scheduled appointment I agree to notify the National Dance Studios not less than 24 hours in advance in order to avoid being charged, and I further agree that no refunds whatsoever will be made nor is this contract transferable, even in part. Courses of less than 100 hours must be used in twelve months from the date of this enrollment.

NATIONAL DANCE STUDIOS

Paul Jordan  
Dance Registrar

Eric Galt  
Signature

School: Long Beach





Q-74

Phone 595-2142  
AIRCRAFT-AUTOMOTIVE  
MARINE-SPORTING GOODS  
PARTS & SUPPLIES

<sup>5-30</sup>  
**AEROMARINE SUPPLY CO.**

5701 BIRMINGHAM AIRPORT HIGHWAY  
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35212

INVOICE  
NUMBER

GUN  
**2251A**

TO

*HARVEY LOWMEYER*

DATE

*3/29*

1968

ADDRESS

*1907 - So. 11th St., Birm - Ala*

ORDER NUMBER

*Acc: 36*

PHONE

WIRE

LETTER

PICK UP

NAME:

SALESMAN

*B*

SHIP VIA:

TERMS:  CASH  CHECK

QUANTITY	PART NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	LIST	NET	TOTAL
1	<del>757A</del> 584A	REM. MOD. 760 PUMP ACTION <del>ADL B.A.</del> RIFLE, CAL.			
		.243 WIN. S.N. <del>22229</del> 461476	461476	134.95	
1	2X-7X	REDFIELD SCOPE.	94.50	74.60	
1	JR 200	BASE + D.L. RINGS.	23.90	20.32	
1	Box	243 Cal.		4.65	
		<i>Harvey Lowmeyer</i>		234.52	

IF CHECK IS GIVEN IN FULL OR PART PAYMENT FOR THIS INVOICE, TITLE SHALL REMAIN WITH SELLER UNTIL CHECK HAS  
CLEARED BANK IN WHICH DRAWN, AT THE OPTION OF THE SELLER.

RECEIVED BY

MERCHANDISE CANNOT BE RETURNED FOR CREDIT, REFUND OR EXCHANGE AFTER 10 DAYS FROM SALE DATE  
PURCHASE INVOICE MUST ACCOMPANY ALL RETURNS.

TAX

*14.07*

TOTAL

*248.59*

OFFICE INVOICE

0-2273487

BOMAR PRINTING COMPANY - BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

LC 91075

2/25/86 9815616

K-6

**SAFE DEPOSIT DEPT.                  FORM 213                  BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK**

---

RENTED BY					SAFE NO.
ADDRESS					RATE

FROM	TO	RECEIPT NUMBER	DATE PAID	AMT.	REMARKS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----

COPY TOWER

**FIRM OR INDIVIDUAL**

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., 8-28- 1967

I BIRMINGHAM TRUST desire to rent Safe No. 5517 in the vault of the NATIONAL BANK

and hereby agree to pay for same \$ 7.00 per annum until keys are surrendered, subject to the rules and conditions printed on the several receipts, which may from time to time be given by said Bank, to which rules and conditions I hereby assent and agree. I hereby acknowledge to have received 2 keys of safe. If rental or taxes are not paid on or before the annual due date the Bank is authorized and directed to charge the amount thereof to any deposit or savings account of the undersigned with the Bank. Access to said safe and the right to remove all or any contents thereof may be had

by Eric S. Galt and \_\_\_\_\_  
 or either of them or by a deputy authorized in writing signed

by \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 or either of them, such writing to be in form satisfactory to an executive officer of the BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK

Eric S. Galt

RESIDENCE ADDRESS 2608 Highland Ave. South BUSINESS ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

EMPLOYED BY \_\_\_\_\_ POSITION \_\_\_\_\_

SIG. \_\_\_\_\_

RESIDENCE ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ BUSINESS ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

EMPLOYED BY \_\_\_\_\_ POSITION \_\_\_\_\_

SAFE NO. 5517

INDIAN TRAIL RESTAURANT, INC.

507 CHESTNUT STREET  
WINNETKA, ILLINOIS 60093

No. 5357

70-503  
711

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

*John H. Reynolds*

DATE

*6/25/67*

*177* <sup>*50*</sup>/<sub>*100*</sub>

*Seventy-seven*

*53*  
*100*

DOLLARS



WINNETKA TRUST  
AND SAVINGS BANK  
WINNETKA, ILLINOIS

INDIAN TRAIL RESTAURANT, INC.  
PAYROLL ACCOUNT

*Hanga Klingeman*

⑆071⑆⑆0503⑆

338⑆065⑆9⑆

⑈0000007753⑈

*9-405*

*John H. Reynolds*

1648 Lunt, Chicago  
7-36T  
EJP

MA 11863 JUL 03 1963-503

PUT  
ALL

FBI  
LABORATORY

ATTN: T. J. ...  
S. J. ...

PLACE ALL

5-10 POUND  
NOTES IN THIS BAG

FBI  
LABORATORY

*Spencer*

*1/11/71*

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/6/68

Mrs. GRACE HAYES STEPHENS, Apartment 6-B, 422½ Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, furnished the following information:

Mrs. STEPHENS said that she was in bed all day on April 4, 1968, as she has been ill for several months. She advised that she heard a noise, which sounded like a firecracker at 6 p.m., April 4, 1968. She said the noise sounded to her as if it came from the yard on the east side of her apartment. She said she did not think anything about the noise as it was common for trains to set off firecrackers on the tracks on the east side of her apartment. Mrs. STEPHENS said she heard soft footsteps coming from out of the bathroom, which is located adjacent to her apartment, and proceeding rapidly down the hallway toward the entrance to the apartment building.

Mrs. STEPHENS said she then heard screaming and yelling from the east side of her apartment near the Lorraine Hotel at 406 Mulberry Street. Mrs. STEPHENS said she did not get out of bed at any time on April 4, 1968, and did not see anyone leave the apartment bathroom and knows nothing else relating to the abovementioned noise.

29

On 4/5/68 at Memphis, Tennessee File # Memphis 44-1987

by SAs STEPHEN M. DARLINGTON  
and JOHN W. RAUER SMO:gmb Date dictated 4/5/68 220

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.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 25, 1968

Mrs. CHARLIE STEPHENS, Apartment 6B, 422½ South Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, advised she never saw the man registered into Room 5B on April 4, 1968, as she was sick in bed that entire week.

Photographs of JAMES EARL RAY taken in 1955, 1960, and 1966, and of the bedspread recovered at Memphis on April 4, 1968, were shown to Mrs. STEPHENS, and she advised none of the men in the photographs were familiar to her. She also stated she had never seen the bedspread or any bedspread similar to it before.

*Harvey Spmaer*

10

On 4/24/68 at Memphis, Tennessee File # Memphis 44-1987

by SA STEPHEN M. DARLINGTON:jap Date dictated 4/25/68 **796**

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.



ENTIRE FILE REVIEWED  
FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 5/13/01

#9

7 1 7 R

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(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

*of*

INVESTIGATION

USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

Transfer-Call 3421

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Marion
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 18, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination to friendly news media sources is a copy of a Negro newspaper editorial attacking Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

BACKGROUND:

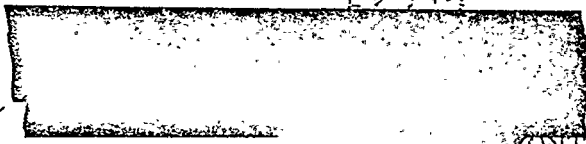
King's group is in desperate need of funds. In an effort to combat this problem, King has organized a variety show starring Harry Belafonte, well-known Negro vocalist with a subversive background, to tour seven major cities in the United States. The proceeds will go to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. King is touring with the group and speaks during each performance.

The attached editorial entitled "Think Twice Before Going to Coliseum Tuesday Night" appeared in the "Forward Times," the leading Negro newspaper in Houston, Texas. This paper attacks King for his stand on Vietnam and claims his appearance in Houston is "an imposition on the community." King is also referred to as "a misguided 'Moses' who has lost himself." In addition, the article claims King's position regarding the Vietnam war "borders upon treason." Further, "a man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him."

Enclosure

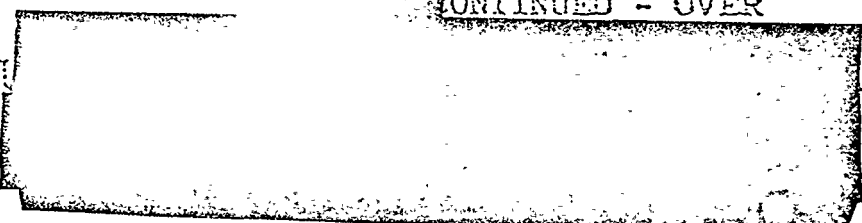
100-106670

DMW:ekw  
(8)



13 NOV 3 1967

CONTINUED - OVER



3129  
CONT. SECT

57 NOV 5 1967

ENCLOSURE

REC-60

100-106670-317

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

OBSERVATIONS:

[redacted] this news item is extremely irritating to King. In addition, the advanced ticket sales were slow in Houston, Texas, prior to the performance on October 17, 1967. This newspaper story may have caused many of the citizens of Houston to "think twice before going" and indeed, not go at all.

It is felt that if this article is given wide-spread publicity as how thinking Negroes really feel about King, two objectives can be accomplished. ~~One, publicize King as a traitor to his country and race.~~ Secondly, reduce his income ~~from these shows since he has five more~~ performances to give; namely, Chicago, Illinois, October 19; Cleveland, Ohio, October 21; Washington, D. C., October 23; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 26; and Boston, Massachusetts, October 27.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The attached be forwarded to Crime Records Division for dissemination to appropriate friendly ~~news media sources.~~

X

Small

V. [unclear]

P

OK  
H

JS

Handled with Ed Morley -  
Newspaper Division -  
10/23/67  
[signature]

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING TO COLISEUM TUESDAY NIGHT



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

"FORWARD TIMES"  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Date: 10/14/67  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: Julius Carter  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: 100-1042

Being Investigated

*Walter Spina...*  
*1-29-81*

100-1042-70 - 3129

ENCLOSURE

Several weeks ago FORWARD TIMES made an editorial expression which stated, among other things, that Dr. Martin Luther King had strayed off onto an extremely dangerous course which ran in the opposite direction from the civil rights leadership course that vast numbers of citizens had come to know and respect him for over a wide span of years.

Now, we wish to make it crystal clear that this newspaper, of course, respects and upholds Dr. King's right to take a position that is, what we think to be, contrary to good judgement. If he wishes to be the spokesman for the 'peaceniks', that's his business. When, however, Dr. King joins with others and tries to impose that poor judgement upon the entire Negro community which is already beset with more in-depth and complicated problems than can apparently be coped with, at that point we call it our business.

FORWARD TIMES takes the position that Dr. King's visit to Houston next Tuesday night is an imposition upon this community of the first order. We also think that the fact that he is shrouding his "remarks" behind a big name popular singer like Aretha Franklin suggests subterfuge. If Aretha Franklin, who is now at the peak of fame, permits this group of 'peaceniks' to use her name to further their efforts, all that we can say is, "that's her business." If she wakes up later and finds that she has acted just like Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally, all that we can say is that she brought it all upon herself.

Our concern is not so much with what course Dr. King and Miss Franklin elect to follow. What concerns us is that the in-

nocent public, if not properly forewarned, might be taken in by their visit to Houston. We think that if what Dr. King has to say isn't within itself meritorious enough to draw a crowd, he shouldn't be coming to town in the first place to say it. As it stands now, Aretha Franklin's name has been added to the show and many people will pay the fee expecting to hear her sing. She will be the 'bait' to help get the crowd inside the Coliseum. Once inside, the trapped ticket purchasers will have to sit quietly while Dr. King spews about the "immorality" of the war in Viet Nam. Whether we like it or not, the United States of America is at war with a determined aggressor. How we got into this war matters little at this point. The bold truth is that we are shooting 'live' ammunition at them and they are shooting the same type back at us with remarkable effectiveness.

Looking at the conflict logically and realistically, we cannot escape the fact that we have absolutely no course open to us but to disregard all of the babble of weaklings. We, as bonafide American citizens, must take a stand with our country. In our actions, in our conversations and in our preachments, we must give no aid and no comfort to the enemy.

We must remember that all wars are immoral and when Martin Luther King preaches about how immoral the American bullets are and fails to offer us an alternative for stopping those immoral bullets being fired at our boys, we have got to take the ex-civil rights worker to task for his oversight.

There is no middle ground here for any misguided "Moses" who has lost himself. King got lost just outside of Chica-

go in a town called Cicero and he hasn't been the same since. We cannot sit by and allow him to lose thousands of Negro citizens also just because he can't find his own way.

Crispus Attucks didn't call the cause at Boston Commons "Immoral". He stood up like a man and fell like a proud soldier. From that moment on, both black and white men have stood up for America. Negro citizen soldiers have stood like men and fallen, if need be, on battle fields in far away places all over the world every since Crispus Attuck first stood up back in the beginning. This nation has grown strong and it is respected and, yes, even feared, because we have been blessed by the Almighty Grace of God to have strong men at the right place at the needed time who didn't mind standing up for right, for God and for Country.

It then is not reasonable that we now should settle for anything less than what the most courageous have done.

As we see it, Dr. Martin Luther King is suggesting that we Negroes take something lesser than the courageous route. If he follows the same pattern that he has followed in his other "remarks" made in other cities, he will dwell upon Negro problems just long enough to get the attention of the listeners and then he will suddenly shift to the hard-sell of taking the lesser route in the war that this country is now engaged in.

FORWARD TIMES firmly believes that in the long run we will lose any and all respect that the total community might now hold for us. Our job is to try and build more respect and not tear down the little we already have.

A man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him. For Dr. Martin Luther King to try and cloud our people's minds, in regards to helping our country in its hour of need, borders upon treason.

There is no soft middle when one's country is at war or in trouble that will allow room for ambitious men to play "footsy" with wild hairbrained schemes. Either you fight or you run. Either you support your fighting men or you sabotage them with preachments that sound good, give hope and give courage only to the enemy.

Even though Negro citizens have had differences 'at home' they have always stood firmly shoulder to shoulder with the remainder of America when the going got rough. FORWARD TIMES believes that this will continue despite people like Martin Luther King and company.

It puzzles us how Harry Belafonte was selected to headline a show that was supposed to be aimed in the Negro interest. We cannot help but wonder how much real concern he has for the suffering of Negro womanhood. As we recall, once he got famous, he quit his Negro wife and married a white woman. We don't have anything against marrying white women, but when you do, don't come into Houston and try to charge hardworking Negro women \$7.50 admittance fee under the pretext that they are going to hear one thing and something else is up your sleeve.

Of course, Houston citizens are free to do anything that they choose about attending this show. All that we ask is that you THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING.

Sec. 10  
Kir. Security

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 14, 1967

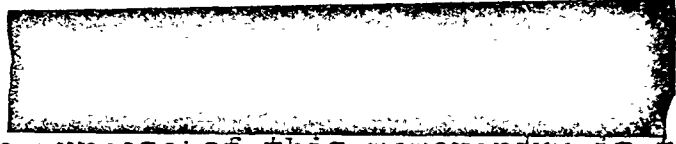
Gate	_____
Boyer	_____
Sullivan	_____
Level	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

DM : C. D. Brennan

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

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

PURPOSE



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

BACKGROUND



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

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JRM/MS

EX-112 REC-4100-106670-2891

CDB/pcn  
(5)

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED -- OVER

APR 30 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED



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

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
King's other close advisor and  
communist affiliations.

NY  
As you know, [REDACTED] is  
[REDACTED] has had past  
[REDACTED]

### OBSERVATION

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

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

↓ ↓  
CONTINUED -- OVER

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

Once previously, in December, 1964, King had occasion to have dealings with Governor Rockefeller and we arranged to have Rockefeller briefed by former Special Agent in Charge Arthur Cornelius, Head of the New York State Police, concerning [redacted]

[redacted] Either Cornelius did not make much of an impression or Rockefeller chose for reason of political expediency to ignore it inasmuch as we learned in October 1965 that Rockefeller gave King a \$25,000 donation, spoke in King's church in Atlanta, and had dinner with King's father and his family. [redacted]

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

RECOMMENDATION

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

*W.C.S.*

ADDENDUM: 4/14/67 - WCS:chs:

We should not ignore this situation. The stakes are too high. I think Mr. DeLoach is the logical selection to handle this assignment. If it is not to be indirectly, <sup>done</sup> it should be done through a second person who has great influence with Rockefeller. (u)

*Mr. Malone, New York, should handle -*

*ms. h. no 4-17*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

Date: 11/21/61

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)(C)

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Memphis airtel to Bureau, 9/26/61.

[redacted] of the Atlanta

Office, have no information regarding the SCLC Annual Convention in Nashville, Tenn., held September, 1961.

[redacted]  
[redacted] GEORGE MEYERS, self-admitted head of the CP - Southern Region, said he has had nothing to do with the MARTIN LUTHER KING organization.

Individual Racial Matters where the SCLC may be involved are opened if warranted under separate case captions. There is no information on which to base a Security Matter inquiry or racial matters investigation of the SCLC at this time.

5-11-84  
Classified by 8972 TJK

3/3/86 Spmaemce

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (info) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (info) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Knoxville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (info) (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (info) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (info) (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (info) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (info) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta

REC-75

RRN:aab  
(14)

EX-101

100-438794-47  
157-632-8  
~~100-437~~

INT

Memorandum



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

Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 8, 1964


Mr. W. C. Sullivan


(E)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R.W. Smith

RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.  
 280 PARK AVENUE  
 NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK  
 ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

DECLASSIFIED BY *J. Macapagal*  
 ON *3/11/86*

We know that Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, , represents a very real security problem to this country.

Apart from the security factor,  is a disgrace to the Negro people of this country because of his personal misconduct while at the same time purporting to be a minister of the gospel. Obviously he has the capacity to deceive people very successfully. This was made evident most recently by his being selected "Time" magazine as the Man of the Year.

Further, we know that he has been able to cleverly deceive the very important Protestant and Catholic organizations, securing thereby support from them which gives him added stature. It should be very clear to all of us that Martin Luther King must, at some propitious time in the future, be revealed to the people of this country and to his Negro followers as being what he actually is--a fraud, demagogue and scoundrel. When the true facts concerning his activities are presented, such should be enough, if handled properly, to take him off his pedestal and to reduce him completely in influence so that he will no longer be a security problem and no longer will be deceiving and misleading the Negro people.

When this is done, and it can be and will be done, obviously much confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people. There will be embarrassment, frustration, confusion, resentment, et cetera. In the course of this and the emotional reaction that will set in, it is not likely that movements like the Nation of Islam could benefit greatly. Rather, other ridiculous developments similar to the Old Father Divine and Daddy Grace organizations may appear. The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction. This is what could happen, but need not happen if the right kind of a national Negro leader could at this time be actually developed so as to overshadow Dr. King and be in the position to assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited.

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

REC 55  
 100-56941-19

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

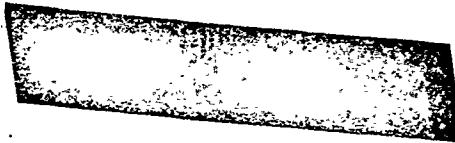
For some months I have been thinking about this matter. One day I had an opportunity to explore this from a philosophical and sociological standpoint with Dr. Frank P. Barnett, whom I have known for some years. As I previously reported, Barnett is a very able fellow, a former Oxford scholar and professor, and one on whom I can rely. I asked Barnett to give the matter some attention and if he knew any Negro of outstanding intelligence and ability let me know and we would have a discussion. Barnett has submitted to me the name of the above-captioned person, Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.

Enclosed with this memorandum is an outline of Pierce's biography which is truly remarkable for a man so young, having been born September 8, 1922. On scanning this biography, it will be seen that Pierce does have all the qualifications of the kind of a Negro I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership. I won't go into all his accomplishments and qualifications in this memorandum, for it will only take a minute or two to scan the enclosed biography.

On first blush I know it can be said it is not the concern of the Bureau what happens to the Negroes when Martin Luther King has been discredited. This can be said, but I think it is a very short-sighted view. It is our concern if large numbers of them go into the adoption of Islam and other extremist groups with which we are concerned as an investigative agency. It is our concern if the Communist Party would be able to capitalize upon this confusion. Further, from a positive and constructive standpoint it would be of great advantage to have leading Negro people a truly brilliant, honorable and loyal Negro who would lead the 50 million Negroes away from communism. I think in a very broad sense this necessarily must be of great interest to us. It would be most helpful to have a man like Pierce leading the Negroes to whom we could go, if necessary, and rely upon in sensitive matters over which this Bureau has jurisdiction.

I want to make it clear at once that I don't propose that the FBI in any way become involved openly as the sponsor of a Negro leader who overshadows Martin Luther King. As far as I am concerned, this is not an issue at all. But I do propose that I be given permission to explore further this entire matter with Frank Barnett and any other person known to both Barnett and myself who could be helpful. If this thing can be set up properly without the Bureau in any way becoming directly involved, I think it would be not only a great help to the FBI but would be a fine thing for the country at large. While I am not specifying at this moment, there are various ways in which the FBI could give this entire matter

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.



the proper direction and development. There are highly placed contacts of the FBI who might be very helpful to further such a step. These can be discussed in detail later when I have probed more fully into the possibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That approval be given for me to explore this whole matter in greater detail, as set forth above.

OK.  
d  
W.C.S.  
See biography outline enclosed  
WCS

ADDENDUM (1/9/64), WCS/csh:

Mr. Pierce has been investigated by the Bureau as a Departmental Applicant (for the position of Assistant US Attorney, Southern District of NY), and no derogatory information of any kind was developed. The investigation showed, as does the biography, that he has a remarkably fine record.

W.C.Sullivan

I am glad to see that "light" was finally thrown on the subject, delayed some 10 months and I hope that the Communist's role in going over the recent government will be exposed. There wouldn't be a word in the...



C-38

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 11, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

Working on an article which is to be submitted over King's name for publication in "The Saturday Evening Post."

OBSERVATIONS:

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

ACTION:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

This document prepared in response to your request and its use is limited to official proceedings by your Office. It is not to be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

REC-58 100-106670-431  
SEP 13 1964

THE ADDENDUM PAGE TWO

SFP:kmj

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

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

*G.*  
*FBIB*  
*WGS*

*Oliver N. W. V.*

9/15/64  
Culligan says, see Thompson about  
he is on vacation and not yet back  
9/20/64 see (Culligan re Chairman + President  
Culligan Publishing Co.)

9/20/64  
Spoke with Culligan. He will check out  
and all-out news just as soon as possible.



FBI

Date: 3/29/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

DISSEMINATION WORKSHEET SERIES,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

(OO: Memphis)

*3/1/76 Springme*  
DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 Djs/je*  
ON *11-1-84*

*Robert*  
*T. J. Baker*  
*left*

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 3/28/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta 2 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being furnished U. S. Attorney, Memphis; U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

AGENCY: CIB, ~~INT~~, IIU, ~~INT~~, CD, ACSI, OSI, SS

HOW FORW: 1/3  
DATE FORW: APR 4 1968  
BY: CAR-GCS *2057*

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2)
- 12 - Memphis

- (1 - 157-1092)
- (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)

Room 836  
9 & D

*157-9146-45*

- (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
- (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CABRAGE)
- (1 - 157-1038, SAMUEL CARTER)
- (1 - 157-957, JOHN E. SMITH)
- (1 - 157-1018, CLYTON R. JAMERSON)
- (1 - 157-103, SNCC)
- (1 - 66-1637 Sub A, Dissemination File)

2 APR 2 1968

C. W. Bishop

WHL:gmh  
(17)

RECEIVED  
APR 2 1968  
WV

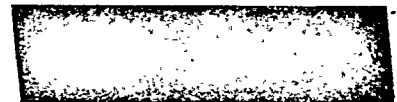
APR 15 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.



**Title:** SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference:** Memorandum prepared at  
Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

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

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

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 JRS/lan*

ON *129-81*

*3/1/86 SP7 mac/mc*



WT. 157-1092

Source one is [REDACTED]

*Informants*

Source two is [REDACTED]

Source three is [REDACTED]

Source four is [REDACTED]

Confidential  
Sources

Information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to [REDACTED] 11th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the fact that it is origin in the case re MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 28, 1968, a first source advised that the sanitation strike, Memphis, Tennessee, has been in progress since February 12, 1968, and that it has gradually deteriorated into a racial conflict. The source stated that the vast majority of the 1300 strikers were members of the Negro race. Source one also stated that the strike support had been primarily taken over by Negro groups in Memphis, Tennessee, primarily consisting of approximately 125 Negro ministers, members of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which has adopted the name Community on the Move for Equality (COMA), and source recalled that daily marches in support of the strike have been held originating at Clayborn Temple, a church of the African Methodist Episcopal Church located at 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, this being the strike support headquarters. Nightly rallies have been held at various Negro churches and such nationally known leaders as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), have come to Memphis to address large rallies of strike supporters.

Source one recalled that Reverend King spoke at a mass rally in Mason Temple on the night of March 18, 1968, at which time he called for the Memphis Negro community to have a massive downtown rally during which all Negro employees would stay away from work and all school children would stay away from school and scheduled this march for March 22, 1968. This march was cancelled at the last minute due to a 16-inch snowfall in Memphis on that date and was later re-scheduled for Thursday, March 28, 1968.

157-9146-45

ENCLOSURE

~~157-628-1404~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JRM/klm

07/12/81 (Spencer 3/1/86)

[REDACTED]

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both advised on March 28, 1968, that preceding the march high school age students from several Negro high schools in a rather boisterous manner left school to head downtown to participate in the mass march scheduled for March 28, 1968, to begin at 10 a.m. At Hamilton High School, a predominantly Negro high school, some two hundred to three hundred youngsters took to the streets, began throwing rocks, and resulted in police being called. They threw rocks and bricks at the police, injuring several police and as a result the police had to use considerable force, according to Lieutenant Arkin, to quell this disturbance. First reports were that tear gas was used on the students, although Lieutenant Arkin stated that this definitely was not true.

[REDACTED] Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the start of the march was delayed until approximately 11 a.m., due to the late arrival in Memphis of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to head the march. He did not arrive until approximately 10:22 a.m. at the Airport, and in fact did not join the march until it had proceeded one block north on Hernando from Clayborn Temple [REDACTED]

Source one, source two and source three, all of whom were in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple immediately prior to the start of the march, pointed out that approximately five thousand to six thousand people congregated near the Temple for the start of the march and they estimated that at least half of these people were teenagers and of school age. Among the marchers were individuals who sources, who are familiar with many people in the Negro community, would describe as common criminals and both sources one and two recognized several as being people who have been in and out of penal institutions for various law infractions in the past.

[REDACTED]

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The march was ostensibly under the control, according to these three sources, of the COME group. The COME group handed out literally hundreds of prepared placards made of cardboard and carried on long 4-foot pine poles. It was apparent to these three sources prior to the march that many of the youngsters were planning to use the placards as sticks and clubs because they were indiscriminately ripping the cardboard away, leaving a 4-foot pole in their hands which many of them waved in a threatening manner.

In fairness to the march marshals and ministers leading the march, all three sources heard several of them caution the people in the crowd against violence and some of the youths would utter obscenities at those who were cautioning them. Sources one, two and three observed in the vicinity of the Temple several individuals in Memphis who have identified themselves with the black power movement.

For example, source three observed John Henry Ferguson <sup>TE 1111</sup>, who has already been arrested three times in connection with incidents in connection with the strike, a young male Negro, and John Burrell Smith, an Owen College <sup>TE 1111</sup> student, and self-acclaimed leader of the Black Power movement, at the Mosque. Ferguson made fun of the marchers, saying that he had more important things to do, inferring that he was going to engage in violence. Source one, who is particularly close to the black power movement, which he said refers to itself as Black Organizing Power (BOP), <sup>TE 1111</sup> an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, <sup>TE 1111</sup> commented that in fairness to the BOP group these individuals did not organize any violence as such. However, these individuals have repeatedly made inflammatory statements during recent weeks and he recalled that on the night of March 5, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage, before approximately 1500 people at a strike support rally in Clayborn Temple, passed out to the audience a leaflet containing an inflammatory letter from H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the SNCC.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and also containing a professional type drawing showing in detail how one could make a Molotov cocktail.

Source one stated also that in recent weeks, John B. Smith has been bragging that he and his followers have been urging high school students to remain away from school when the march to be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was to be held. Source one pointed out that prior to the start of the March 28, 1968, march that John Smith and some of his associates were in his opinion leading to violence in that they were indiscriminately giving out the 4-foot pine poles to various teenage youngsters in the area and John Smith was heard by source one to tell these youngsters, identities not known, not to be afraid to use these sticks. He did not elaborate as to what he meant.

(C) MEMBER BLACK ORGANIZATION POWER

On March 28 and again on March 29, 1968, source two advised that prior to the start of the march, the parade marshals agreed to put the sanitation workers strikers in the front of the march with the remainder of the people to follow behind. He stated that several of the marshals kept cautioning the youngsters to be peaceful and that he personally saw two self-admitted BOP people, James Elmore Phillips and Samuel Carter, both students at LeMoyné College, male Negroes, and other unknown associates; and that they were making remarks sometime between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. near the Clayborn Temple that they were going to "tear this S.O.B. town up today." Phillips made some general statements about some high school students being "chicken" and staying in school rather than marching and he stated that the white people who were participating in the march were fools for marching because if any trouble started that the Negro marchers would turn on them first.

Source two stated that the march started at approximately 11 o'clock a.m., and that Phillips and Carter and some of their unknown associates remained behind. As

[REDACTED]

UNION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

the march progressed north of Linden on Hernando, Phillips and another associate from LeMoyne College, understood to be in the BOP group, Clinton Roy Jamerson, went back into an alley and obtained some sticks and bricks. At this point, they moved on up ahead of source two. He did not see them thereafter. Source two added that the march progressed peacefully, although it was definitely not well organized in that the marchers were walking all over the street and sidewalks and that there was no order whatsoever to the line of march. He stated that the march headed north on Hernando to Beale, west on Beale toward Main Street, and that by the time he reached Third and Beale many of the teenagers had ripped the signs off their poles and were waving them wildly as clubs.

[REDACTED] the abovementioned (Samuel Carter) is a self-admitted member of the BOP group and also on February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation James Elmore Phillips, Charles L. Cabbage, Clinton Roy Jamerson, and John Burrell Smith all admitted to representatives of the FBI that they were members of the Governing Body of BOP which they admitted was affiliated with the SNCC, with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. [REDACTED]

Source two continued that on reaching Third and Beale Street, the head of the march had already progressed as far west as Main Street and he observed unknown young Negroes using the long sticks to break windows in Paul's Clothing Store at Third and Beale and that he could hear windows breaking further west on Beale Street, a 2-block area consisting of pawn shops, clothing stores, and dry goods stores. Almost as if spontaneously Negroes who had been in the march began looting these stores and breaking windows and running in all directions. Some of the parade marshals were urging them to reverse their direction and return to Clayborn Temple in an effort to break up the crowd. Police officers were also urging them to cease and desist and return to the Temple. By this time, which would have



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

been approximately 11:15 a.m., according to source two, mass confusion reigned, people were running in all directions, and the police were doing the best they could to stop the looters and move them back toward Clayborn Temple. Various Negroes started rumors that the police had shot a teen-age girl but source later determined that this was not true.

Source two returned to the Temple, along with several hundred of the marchers.

On March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin stated that when the front of the march had proceeded to Beale and Main Street, there was complete disorder on the part of the marchers; they were all over the sidewalks and all over the streets; and that at this point Martin Luther King, Jr., who had joined the march at Hernando and Beale with the Vice President of the SCLC, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, and others unknown at that point to Lieutenant Arkin, were still marching at the head of the march. As the windows of store fronts were broken out and sporadic looting began, King remarked that he had to get out of there. He and some of his associates ran on ahead and jumped into an old Pontiac automobile and were escorted away from the march by a Police Lieutenant to the Rivermont Hotel, an exclusive new hotel on the Mississippi River front operated by Holiday Inns of America. Lieutenant Arkin stated that King left the march at about 11:15 a.m. and had checked into the Rivermont by 11:24 a.m.

Lieutenant Arkin added that by approximately noon the Police Department had broken up the crowd, being forced to use tear gas particularly in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple, after some of the marchers who had run into the Temple began throwing rocks and bricks at police from the roof top of the Temple and also began throwing from the streets, and when the police would start after them they would run into the Temple.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two recalled that prior to the start of the march some of the associates of Phillips and Phillips were making remarks near Clayborn Temple to the effect that some of the marchers should break windows and loot.

Source three stated that after the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple, after the looting started, the so-called black power group, including many apparent unorganized teenagers, virtually took over the Temple and Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., one of the leaders of the CORE group, was unable to control them. One of these individuals made the statement, "We're going to take over this town."

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, issue of March 29, 1968, in a story by Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" staff writer, who observed portions of the disturbance on Beale Street where the major portion of the early looting occurred, stated that he saw the Memphis police take an awful lot off the looters in the way of bricks and bottles and that he heard some reports of police being rough on citizens, but he did not see any police brutality. He stated that many of the officers were taking a lot and doing it bravely.

Another story in the "Press-Scimitar" issue of March 29, 1968, by Staff Reporter James R. Reid, described the rampant window breaking and looting which occurred from the South Main Street area around Beale Street, east on Beale to Hernando, and pointed out that Memphis police officers formed a line in an effort to move the crowd back and that they gave ample warning. The story reported that many of the crowd instead glowered at the officers who tried to move them from the area and that when the officers pushed against the crowd, many of the crowd pushed back. Reid reported that he saw one officer there felled in the melee, and that the crowd was then out of control with many of the crowd having long wooden sticks. He stated that police officers with megaphones asked the crowd to move and stated, "For your safety, move back."

MINIMUM WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Some of the officers pleaded, according to Reid. He stated that many of the officers had earlier been pelted with rocks and bricks and had restrained themselves from using clubs or gas. He stated that considerable force was needed by the police in order to control the crowd which had virtually turned into a mob and that it was necessary for the police to strike several of the Negroes with night sticks in order to control them. He stated that he saw Lieutenant D. W. Williams of the Police Department turn from a small group of Negroes with his face covered with blood and saw other officers falling along the way. He stated that the officers observed by him reverted to force only after everything else had failed, yet he heard some of the Negroes in the crowd yell, "Police brutality." He stated that some of the owners of businesses, who had their windows smashed and their merchandise stolen as they took refuge from the violent mob that surged through the streets, were heard to remark that no one was complaining about "mob brutality." He stated that many officers were struck by bottles, sticks and large rocks thrown by the crowd and that those in the crowd who responded quickly to the officers' command to move on met with little or no physical persuasion from the officers. He stated that, in fairness, most of the crowd did move quickly.

Source three added that this source remained near Clayborn Temple throughout the march and observed numerous teen-age Negroes with sticks and also observed some of them literally tear some old iron beds apart, making iron pipes from the parts thereof, and making statements, "We're going to get some white bastards today," whereupon they ran down and caught up with the march and joined it. Source three pointed out that the march was extremely poorly organized; that the march leaders had no control over the marchers, even before they started; and that it was obvious that there would probably be trouble.

ASSOCIATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin on March 28, 1968, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department had between 8 and 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, observed John B. Smith and some of his black power associates near the Clayborn Temple with sticks and bricks.

Source two added that he heard Charles L. Cabbage tell some of the crowd as they left the Temple, after the marchers returned to the Temple, that they should not run from the police and that they should "not start a job that they did not plan to finish." Cabbage did not elaborate but source two construed this as a call for trouble.

A fourth source advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee, administrative aide to King, were scheduled to leave Memphis at 9:05 p.m., Central Standard Time, via Eastern Airlines, en route to Atlanta, Georgia, and were scheduled to leave Atlanta, Georgia, on the early morning of March 29, 1968, to fly to Friendship Airport in Baltimore, Maryland.

Source one advised that after the trouble on Beale Street, the mass rally scheduled for Mason Temple on the night of March 28, 1968, which was to have featured Martin Luther King, Jr., as the main speaker, was cancelled.

On the late night of March 28, 1968, source four advised that King, Abernathy and Lee had failed to catch the above-described flight and that no one had cancelled his reservations, and that to his knowledge King was still staying at the Rivermont Hotel.

During the afternoon and evening of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that sporadic looting continued in the south-central area of Memphis, which is predominantly a Negro area, and that the main targets of the sporadic vandals were liquor stores and small grocery stores and sundry stores.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE



On the late night of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that there had been numerous small fires set but none of them were serious. He stated that the Memphis Fire Department was able to extinguish the fires without trouble. He pointed out that during the afternoon of March 28, 1968, the Tennessee State Legislature in a special session passed a statute which would give Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb authority to apply a curfew and that such a curfew was ordered to begin at 7 p.m., March 28, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin further advised that by 6 p.m., March 28, 1968, approximately 3500 members of the Tennessee National Guard consisting of the Memphis unit and West Tennessee units had arrived and was on duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Guardsmen were preparing to patrol Memphis in tactical units, each unit to be accompanied by one or more officers of the Memphis Police Department.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Inspector G. P. Tines, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised from records, as yet incomplete at the Memphis Police Department regarding the following statistics relative to the racial disturbance in Memphis from approximately 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, to 12 noon, March 29, 1968, as follows:

A total of 150 fires were set; most were small in nature, primarily trash fires. Approximately 30 of these were estimated by the Memphis Fire Department to have been caused by Molotov cocktails or some similar incendiary device. There have been over 300 arrests, exact count not as yet completed, primarily consisting of charges of looting, violation of curfew, arson, disorderly conduct, and related offenses. An approximate total of 60 individuals, many of whom were arrestees, have received medical attention for various injuries received in connection with the looting



[REDACTED]

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and over-all disturbance. In addition, over 300 reported cases of looting and rather major vandalism have been reported to the Memphis Police Department by merchants throughout Memphis, again most of these being confined to the south-central area of Memphis, which is a predominantly Negro area. Inspector Tines emphasized again that the incomplete count shows that most of these were liquor stores, small grocery stores, sundry stores, and related establishments, plus numerous clothing stores and related stores in the Beale Street and South Main Street area, described hereinbefore.

Inspector Tines advised that five officers of the Memphis Police Department were injured sufficiently to require hospitalization and that there were scores of minor injuries to officers requiring only on-the-spot field first aid.

Inspector Tines continued that there was a total of four individuals who were shot while in the process of looting, or as a result thereof. They are as follows:

Larry Payne, male Negro, age 16, 3023 Parker Road, an 11th grade student at Mitchell Road School, which is actually operated by the Shelby County Board of Education, just south of the Memphis City Limits. He was pronounced dead on arrival at John Gaston City Hospital, 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968. He was shot by an officer of the Memphis Police Department as he attacked this police officer with a butcher knife after he had looted a Sears Roebuck store on South Third Street. He had run from this store into the vicinity of the Fowler Homes on South Fourth Street. Another shot but not killed was A. A. Sundry, Negro male, residence 303 Vance, who was wounded in the neck by a police officer while looting a store. Sundry was not seriously injured as the injury was superficial. Another shot but not killed was Alan Hintrell, Negro male, age 17, residing 988 Springdale Street, Memphis. He was shot by a citizen while looting a store at 1286 Thomas about 4 p.m., March 28, 1968, by the store manager James Taylor. Taylor was charged by the police with assault to murder. He was shot after a beer bottle was thrown through the store window. Tines stated that Hintrell is in serious condition with a shotgun slug in his back.

T.E.W.

APPROX  
1952

MEMPH  
1951

APPROX  
1951

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Another shot but not killed, according to Tines, was Half Dennis Payne, age 21, male Negro of 1835 Castalia, Apt. 3. He was shot by a policeman while looting a grocery store near Greenwood and Walker and is in fair condition.

Tines added that a preliminary count of available arrest tickets, which is definitely not a complete list, indicates that at least ten Negroes arrested had pistols or revolvers on their persons and that numerous others had other lethal weapons such as knives.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that at approximately 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968, the Memphis Transit Authority which operates the Memphis City Bus System, after receiving numerous complaints from its bus drivers that they feared for their personal well being due to the disorder, coupled with the fact that many of them had been individually robbed in the past, decided as a safety measure to stop the movement of City Buses for the remainder of March 28, 1968.

The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" Newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, in a front-page story, by an unidentified writer, reported that many of the looters and window breakers were black power advocates, and that several wore jackets of the "Invaders," a local black power group. This story did not give any basis for its statement to this effect.

On March 28 and 29, 1968, source one and source two, along with Lieutenant F. H. Arkin, all of whom are familiar with many phases of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee, advised that a small group of the BOP followers have put the word "Invaders" on their jackets but that many high school age students have done this for effect and are not necessarily affiliated with the BOP movement.

Sources one and two, along with Arkin, added that thus far there is no evidence that any of the BOP group participated in the looting and in fact source one who is particularly close to this group advised that he saw many of them immediately after the initial rioting and looting

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

started and that they definitely had not personally been involved in the looting. Source one pointed out that as mentioned hereinbefore these individuals had done much by their previous statements and actions outlined above to incite some of the more ignorant and greedy youths who were in the march.

portions of the disturbance and who are familiar with their actions, that the looting was not organized as such. He observed that in his opinion approximately 1 per cent of the marchers engaged in looting and violence and that many of these were people who were criminally inclined and who had been in previous trouble. He stated that [redacted] would say that probably the first breaking of the first window was enough to set off the crowd which had been emotionally worked up by its long wait for the start of the march and by the general festive air surrounding the march which was on a balmy spring day and was participated in by several hundred youths who obviously had cut school in order to participate.

The information set out hereinbefore has been orally furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Memphis, Tennessee, and the information not received from the Memphis Police Department has been orally furnished to Inspector G. P. Tines and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

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.



1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. C. H. Moore  
April 2, 1968

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

Airtel

To: SAC, Mobile. *DE*

From: Director, FBI

*100-448006-63*

Subject: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

DECLASSIFIED BY *8388 RAM/ANR*

*1/26/82*

*2/17/80  
Sprinaemate*

Reurairtel 3/25/68.

You are authorized to send the two anonymous letters set out in reairtel. Prepare the letters on commercially purchased stationery and take all necessary precautions to insure they cannot be traced to the Bureau.

When the letters and envelopes are prepared, send them to the Baltimore Office for mailing. For the information of Baltimore these two letters are designed to bring the true nature of the Washington Spring Project to the attention of Negro leaders in Selma, Alabama. Mail the letters the same day they are received from Mobile.

The Bureau appreciates Mobile's suggestion. Advise the Bureau, under the above caption, of results.

2 - Baltimore

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

TJD:srs/rsz (3) *252*  
NOTE:

SAC, MO, recommends that an anonymous letter showing the true nature of Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project be sent to Rev. Frederick Reese in Selma, Ala. Reese has made derogatory remarks about King. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ he con-  
Instead, this letter would be sent from another city (DA) with a copy to the editor of the local newspaper, the "Selma Times-Journal" to give the newspaper an opportunity to interview Reese about the letter and possibly publicize its contents. This newspaper has a wide Negro leadership. The letter will note the march is for King's personal aggrandizement, he is interested mainly in donations, there is no provision to house or feed marchers, and there might be riotous black nationalists take over the march.

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

APR 2 1968

COMM-FBI

Vertical stamp with illegible text

FBI

Date: 3/25/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MOBILE

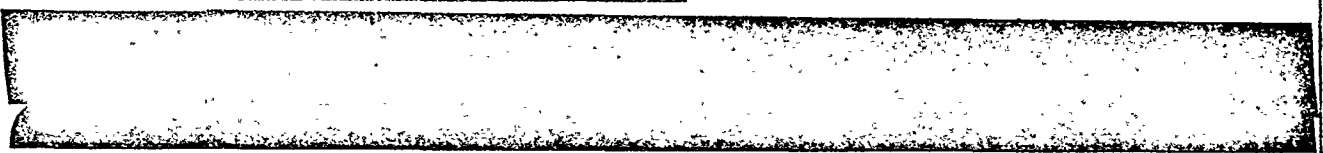
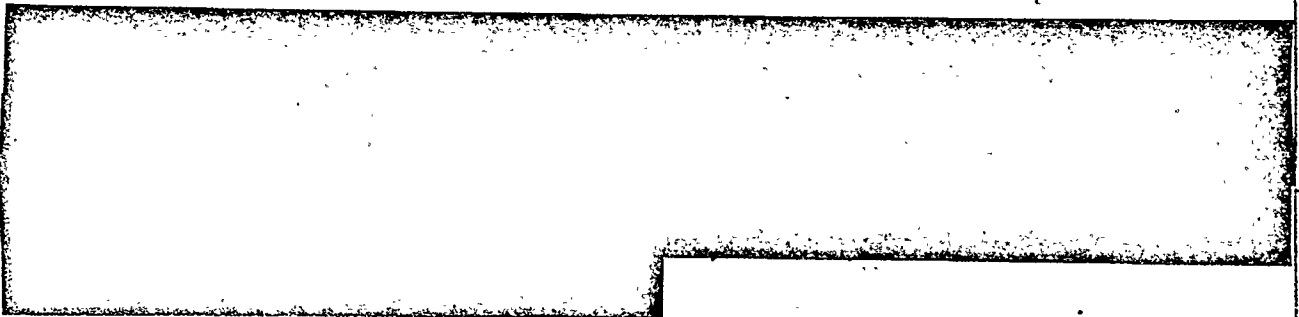
MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DECLASSIFIED BY 8580-1344/AM/AMK  
ON 11/26/82

Re BuTelCall to me 3/12/68, and BuRad 3/21/68 2/4/86  
Springfield

I have considered this matter, discussed it with appropriate agent and supervisory personnel of the Mobile Office and the following is proposed as a counterintelligence move on KING's Washington Spring Project.

KING has quite a following in and around the Selma, Ala. area and has appeared recently in Selma on one occasion at the church of Reverend L. L. ANDERSON, who, at the time of KING's appearance, was running for mayor of Selma. ANDERSON was tentatively endorsed by KING and was subsequently defeated in his race for mayor of Selma.



3 - Bureau  
2 - Mobile  
WMA:Amd

REGISTERED

REC 48

100-448006-65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

APR 4 1968

5-TDP

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

[REDACTED]

It is, therefore, proposed that an anonymous letter be directed to [REDACTED] wherein it is called to the attention of [REDACTED] that KING is merely using the Negroes of the Selma area for his own personal aggrandizement; that he is not genuinely interested in their welfare, but only in their donations; that in all probability the individuals going to Washington for the Spring Project will be left stranded without suitable housing or food. The letter should also play up the possibility of violence, particularly the fact that although CARMICHAEL and BROWN of SNCC have a so-called gentlemen's agreement with KING not to take over this action, there exists a strong possibility that such will occur. There is also the possibility of RAM and NOI taking over the project since it lacks organization and direction. The letter should also point out that KING was in Alabama on about 3/21/68, and did not make his schedule in the Selma and adjoining counties area, which was another indication that KING was talking out of both sides of his mouth. [REDACTED]

It is felt that this letter should be mailed from either Washington or Baltimore since, if the letter is mailed from anywhere in the south [REDACTED] it is the work of the Klan or some other racist group. It is felt that Baltimore would probably be the best since a letter from Washington would indicate the possibility of the government doing this. [REDACTED]

Simultaneous with mailing the letter from Baltimore, it is proposed that a copy of the letter [REDACTED] with a cover letter, be mailed to [REDACTED]. The cover letter should indicate that attached was a letter [REDACTED] and that he [REDACTED] want [REDACTED] relative [REDACTED] receipt of the letter and what it said. [REDACTED]

The thought behind this is to [REDACTED] a chance to interview [REDACTED] receipt of the letter and thereby create a news story which could legitimately be published and read by the Negro community in the Selma area. It is known that the Selma Times-Journal has a large circulation among the Negro community in Dallas and adjoining counties and has taken a rather liberal attitude in connection with civil rights movements. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

By handling as above, we would eliminate the possibility of these rumors being attributed to the FBI.

Consideration has been given to some method of discouraging [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] From our contact [REDACTED] who is a liaison source, it is the opinion of contacting agents that he is so sold on the project that it is almost impossible to disillusion him. [REDACTED]

It is also felt that some method of getting an article in the "Southern Courier" along the lines of the above would have a discouraging effect on the Negro community in and around Montgomery, Ala., since the Courier is very widely read. Consideration is being given to the method of accomplishing this.

The Bureau is requested to consider the proposal set forth above and advise.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/2/74

DECLASSIFIED BY 6076 WA FBI  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Date: 2/24/66

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

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

DECLASSIFIED BY 11/13/78  
BY 6076 WA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

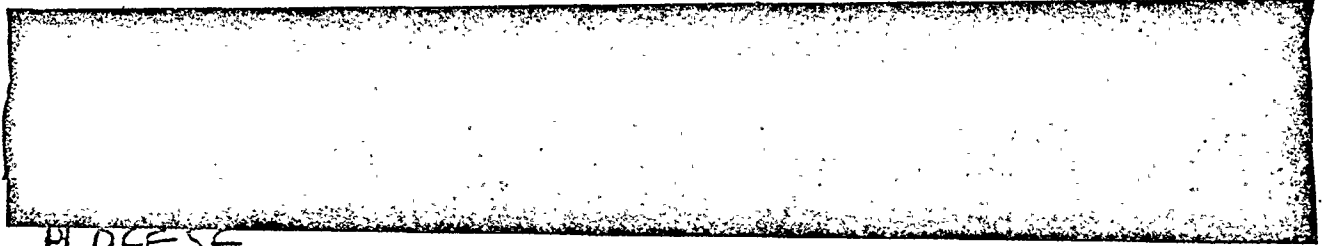
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTENTION: Assistant Director WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO

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

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

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



PROCEED.

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

REV 10

100-106670

2335

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

EXCISIONS

• SAME AS PG 1

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

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

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

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

Bureau will be kept advised of developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

17

HSCA LETTER 11/13/78

FBIHQ COPY

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/27/2001 BY 60322 UCBAW/MLL

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
DATE 5/27/2001 BY 60322 UCBAW/MLL

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

*of*

INVESTIGATION

USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

Transfer-Call 3421



FILE IN 11/13/78

FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS  
HAVE BEEN DELIVERED:

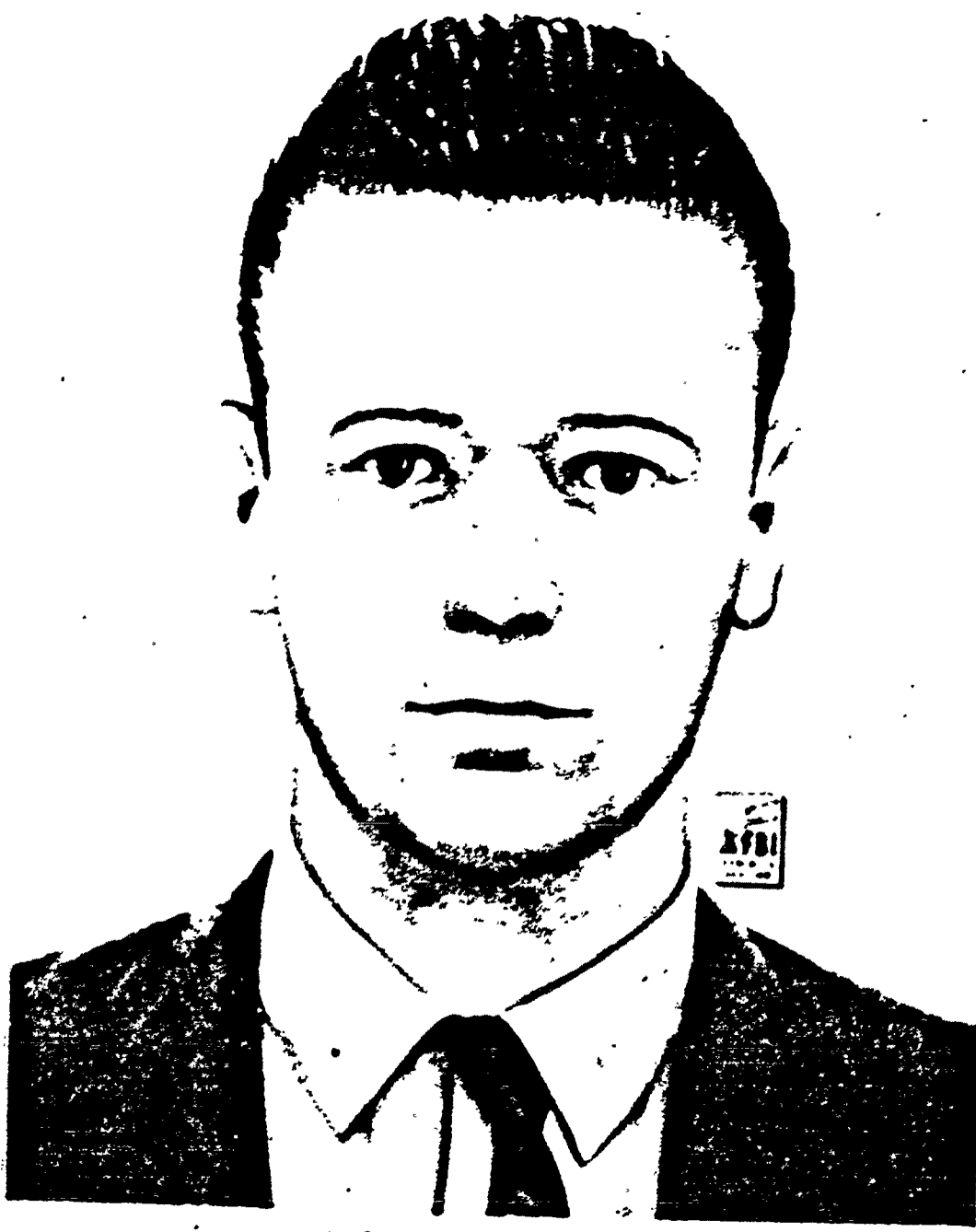
ME 100-4105-79

Bu 100-438794-X1

TALK EX.



3/10/86 Spinnaker

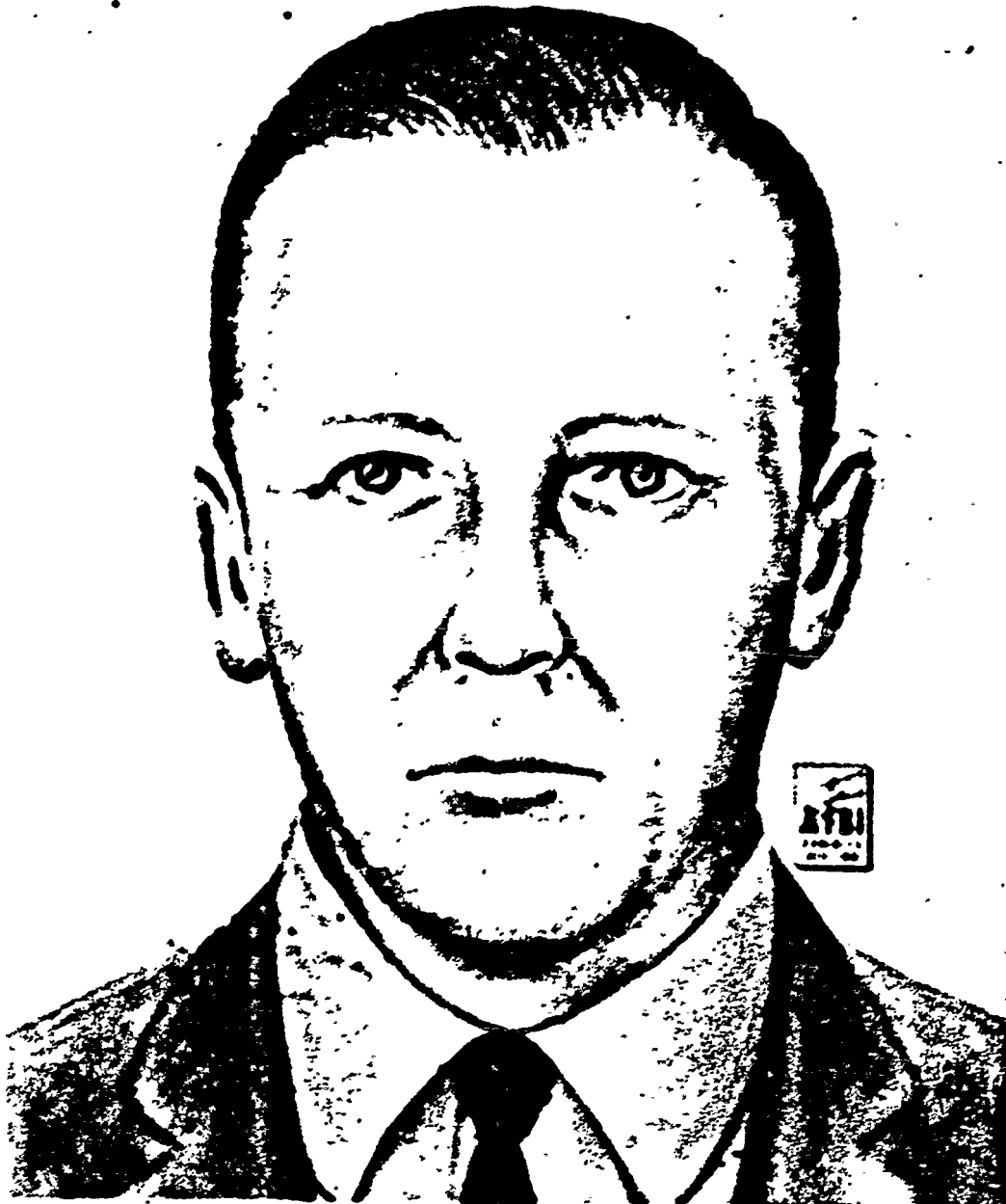


FBI

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3/10/86  
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Slovic Somachia

SAC, Atlanta

September 20, 1957

Director, FBI

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Enclosed herewith for your information is a copy of an article concerning captioned organization which appeared in the August 17, 1957, issue of the "Pittsburgh Courier."

In the absence of any indication that the Communist Party has attempted, or is attempting, to infiltrate this organization you should conduct no investigation in this matter. However, in view of the stated purpose of the organization you should remain alert for public source information concerning it in connection with the racial situation.

Enclosure

5723

UNCLASSIFIED

11/15/78 WAT/11

100-438794-X1

157-211

100-427-77

JGK:dlh

(4)

1957  
1969

RECORDED - 25

19 55

3/10/86  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-28-79 BY Spd tap/afj

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DMW*

DATE: 2-7-61

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Trotter	_____
Evans	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: ARTICLE IN "THE NATION" FOR FEBRUARY 4, 1961, BY MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Beginning on page 91 of the captioned magazine Reverend King has an article entitled "The President Has The Power--Equality Now." A copy of the magazine is attached. (u)

As would be expected King's article is a plea for faster integration of the races and he particularly makes the point that much can be done by the Kennedy administration through Executive Order and example which has not been done in previous administrations. At the top of page 94 the following statement regarding the Bureau and other law enforcement agencies is made:

"If, for instance, the law-enforcement personnel in the FBI were integrated, many persons who now defy federal law might come under restraints from which they are presently free. If other law-enforcement agencies under the Treasury Department, such as the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Narcotics, the Alcohol Tax Unit, the Secret Service and Customs had an adequate number of field agents, investigators and administrators who were Negro, there would be a greater respect for Negroes as well as the assurance that prejudicial behavior in these agencies toward citizens would cease." (u)

This is the only reference to the Bureau found in the article. Martin Luther King, Jr., is well known for his activities in behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the south, and he reportedly planned the bus boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama, and has participated in sit-in demonstrations in the south. He has been very active in attempts to integrate the races and Bufiles contain numerous references to his activities in this regard. (u)

It will also be recalled that just prior to the election King was put in jail and President Kennedy reportedly called him and was successful in obtaining his release. Some political analysts have stated that the President's action in calling King resulted in his receiving a heavy Negro vote in many parts of the country.

Enclosure

JK:lln

(2)

See next page.

ENCLOSURE

FEB 28 1961

NOT RECORDED  
46 FEB 28 1961

5 FEB 27 1961

67 MAR 3 1961

CRIMINAL RESEARCH

ORIGINAL COPY FILED

Jones to DeLoach memo  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Reverend King resigned his ministry in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, early in February, 1960, and became co-pastor with his father in the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. (100-106670) (u)

Although King is in error in his comments relating to the FBI, it is believed inadvisable to call his hand on this matter as he obviously would only welcome any controversy or resulting publicity that might ensue. (u)

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*Handwritten notes:*  
AA  
→ 7/17  
EBB  
I concur  
L  
J



~~SECRET~~

HSCA LETTER 11/9/78

FBIHQ COPY

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 5/12/2011

ENTIRE FILE REVIEWED  
FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

#5

ADDENDUM RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION  
PROJECTS UNIT, DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION AND REVIEW SECTION

JRM:plc

11/13/78

*JRM* *H*

A review has been made of Bureau files as listed below, by Document Classification Assistant Joanne R. Miller, for the purpose of ascertaining classification status of each serial. The following is noted.

100-438794- non-serialized memo dated 1/19/68 retain "Secret" classification.

100-438794-2108 retain "Secret" classification.

-2065 Department of Justice.

-2053 downgraded to "Confidential."

-2052 declassified.

-2042 not classified.

-1586 not classified.

100-106670-2820 retain "Secret" classification.

*3/19/86* *JRM*

*held in our folder.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

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

DATE: 1/19/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CAB JUNE*

- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Rozamus
- 1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

SUBJECT: TECHNICAL COVERAGE OF GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS AND RACIAL UNREST

Mr. Tolson asked whether the Attorney General had turned down any request for technical coverage which would have been helpful in determining foreign influence in demonstrations and racial disorders. *w*

We have had numerous instances of such requests either being turned down by the Attorney General or remaining unanswered by him. Since the individuals and groups which were the subjects of the requests are engaged in antiwar demonstrations and in advocating black power and racial unrest, it is entirely possible that our coverage could have furnished us information to either substantiate or refute the possibility that foreign groups are exercising influence in such matters. *w*

The importance of such coverage is illustrated by the fact that our coverage of the

Our investigation of groups and individuals engaged in staging demonstrations and other forms of unrest--particularly activity of national scope--has shown that the telephone is widely used by them to coordinate with other groups and individuals throughout the country. Technical coverage would not only enable us to obtain a "blow by blow account" of this planning, but would be extremely valuable in obtaining leads which would help us in determining whether or not there is extensive foreign influence behind these activities. *w*

BAW:skr  
(7)

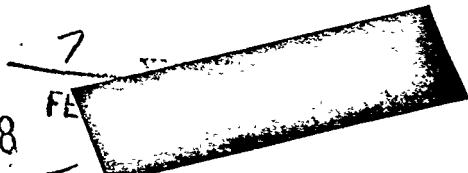
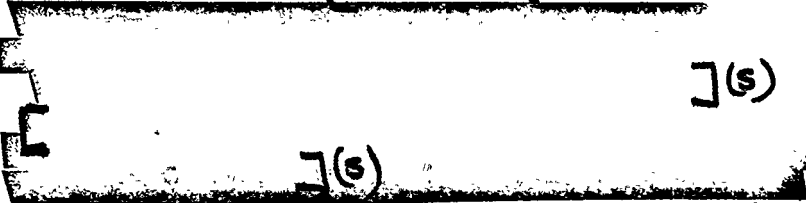
CONTINUED - OVER

6 FEB 5 1968


6 FEB 21 1968

*5- [Signature]*  
*SPECIAL*

1-8-89 [Signature]



TECHNICAL COVERAGE OF GROUPS AND  
INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN ANTIWAR  
DEMONSTRATIONS AND RACIAL UNREST



There is set out below a listing of technical coverage which has been turned down by the Attorney General within the past few months.

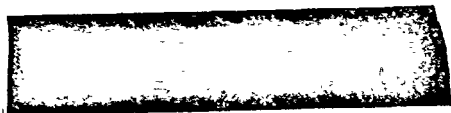
Frederick Douglas Andrews - Andrews is a militant advocate of Black Power and is a close associate of other individuals active in promoting racial unrest. We requested authority to install technical coverage of Andrews on 8/14/67. It was denied on 9/12/67.

Charles Morris - Morris is the leader of the American Mau Mau. This is a militant group which encourages violence. A request for technical coverage was referred to the Attorney General on 7/25/67. It was denied 9/12/67.

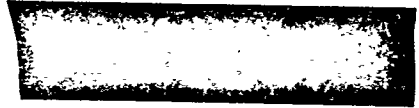
SNCC - SNCC is the most militant of the racial groups. Its activities reflect the policy of Stokely Carmichael, its former leader, and H. Rap Brown, its present leader. Both Carmichael and Brown encourage violence and the tearing down of the United States. On 8/12/66 we requested coverage of SNCC. It was denied 8/22/66. We again requested coverage on 7/25/67, 7/28/67 and 8/2/67. In each instance our request was denied.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) - SCLC is led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who has threatened a series of demonstrations during the coming year. On 1/2/68 we asked for coverage of it. The Attorney General denied this coverage on 1/3/68 (u)

The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam - This Committee has been the sponsor of several major demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The latest large scale demonstration was the assault on the Pentagon on 10/21/67. It includes members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society, all of which are vehemently anti-United States. In order to cover its activities and to determine advance planning for the large demonstration at Washington, we requested technical coverage on 9/18/67. The Attorney General did not answer our request. On 12/12/67 we advised him in view of his failure to respond, we were withdrawing the request. (u)



TECHNICAL COVERAGE OF GROUPS AND  
INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN ANTIWAR  
DEMONSTRATIONS AND RACIAL UNREST



The Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam - This is the Washington affiliate of the National Mobilization Committee and coordinated the massive demonstration in Washington on 10/67. On 9/29/67 we requested technical coverage. The Attorney General did not answer our request. On 12/12/67 he was advised that in view of his failure to respond, we were withdrawing the request.

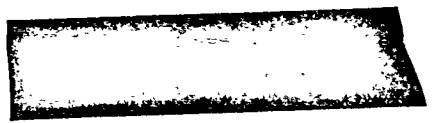
The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam - This organization was received by Bettina Aptheker a member of the Communist Party National Committee and a leading agitator at the University of California at Berkeley. It includes members of various subversive groups and is extremely militant. We requested coverage on 11/21/67. The Attorney General did not answer the request. On 12/12/67 he was advised that in view of his failure to respond, we were withdrawing our request.

ACTION:

For information.

JD  
~~B~~

A copy has already  
been sent to  
Mr. Tolson for  
Director's usage.



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 29, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *gc*

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

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

JUNE *J. G. Moore*  
*Rushing*  
*D. Wells*

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* *1130 2-2108*

On March 28, 1968, King led a march in Memphis, Tennessee, which resulted in a riot.

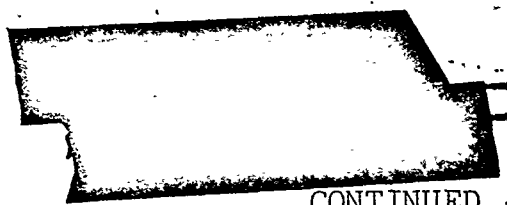
APR 11 1968

\_\_\_\_\_ 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) *dmw*



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE. *6-50*

CONTINUED - OVER

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

OBSERVATIONS:

Since Levison, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*Done* *ph* *"The Memphis situation" given added*  
*importance to this request*  
*Jan 5 WCL V*  
*OK*  
*H*

~~SECRET~~

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 DMW:dsm.

~~SECRET~~



ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~SECRET~~

Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D. C.

January 3, 1968



JUNE

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. DeLoach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Bishop	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Casper	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Callahan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Conrad	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Felt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Gale	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Sullivan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tavel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Holmes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

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

From: *pl* Ramsey Clark  
Attorney General *Real 10-1*

Re: Communist Infiltration  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Your memorandum dated January 2, 1968 *5 - Roy - M... D. ...*

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. *JK*

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

REC-51

100-436194-2065

EX 101

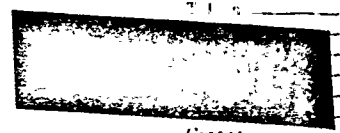
6 JAN 9 1968

*Sp. ...*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Miss Holmes



- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 29, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

- 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

*S.C. Deane*

PURPOSE:

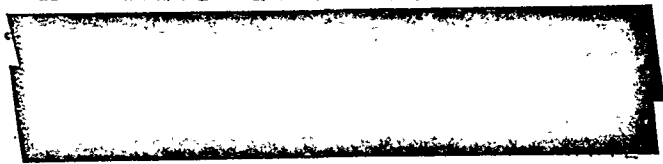
Attached for your approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting a telephone surveillance of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, Georgia, in an effort to obtain intelligence of their plans for massive civil disobedience in the Nation's Capitol and 10 to 15 cities throughout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

BACKGROUND:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-19-86 BY SP-1 MAC/ML

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

DMW:ekw  
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

*2053*  
*2/3*  
*5. D. Wells*

79 JAN 10 1968

JAN 5 1968

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

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.

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.*

*pk  
JMS*

*WCS*

*1/10 ✓  
OK.  
H*

FBI

Date: 12/20/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

"JUNE"

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670E)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
IS - C

*3/19/86 [unclear]*  
*APR 1986 [unclear]*  
*APR 22/80 [unclear]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Bureau airtel dated 12/14/67.

With full security, survey conducted and reflects telephone surveillance feasible of headquarters and would involve coverage on ten trunk lines, all of which terminate in a 756A switchboard at 330 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga. In the event installation authorized, it is suggested monitoring point would be within confines of Atlanta Office in order to provide required security. The same conditions prevail as before relating to final hookup in that it would be necessary for personnel from another office to be utilized in one phase of installation due to its location in proximity of SCLC Headquarters and fact sound man this area known to personnel of that office.

*[Handwritten initials]*

Recommend installation which can be accomplished with full security.

*12/20/67 [unclear]*  
*12/20/67 [unclear]*  
*12/20/67 [unclear]*

*[Handwritten signatures]*

- 3- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Atlanta
- AFM:jhs
- (5)

*REC-23*  
*806*  
*GD*

*100-438794-2052*

*13 DEC 21 1967*  
*1/5/68*

*EX 106*

C. C. Bishop

*[Handwritten signature]*

**UNCLASSIFIED**

SPEC. MAIL RM.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

REC-23

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

(RI) 100-438794

2052

JUNE

January 2, 1968

1 - Mr. D.M.Wells

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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 4:00 PM  
DATE 1-2-68  
BY [Signature]

Very truly yours,  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Approved

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Date

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

~~SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

FBI  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080  
ON 12/9/77 LED/rjg

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 DMW:ekw.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

12/14/67

Airtel

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

ST-117

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

From: Director, FBI (100-438794) - 2042

REC 6

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
IS - C

JUNE

*Shirley Somach*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/22/80 BY SP1 BSK/BJD

In view of the fact Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is attempting to lead a massive civil disobedience in an effort to disrupt ten to fifteen major cities including the Nation's capital, you are authorized to conduct a survey for possible telephone surveillance of his headquarters. This survey should be conducted only if full security is assured.

Results of the survey should be immediately transmitted to the Bureau. Take no steps relative to installation, limiting your action only to a survey.

DMW:llc  
(8)

NOTE:

See memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan from G. C. Moore, dated 12/13/67 captioned "Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by DMW:llc.

MAILED 19  
DEC 1 1967  
COMM - FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

79 JAN 10 1968

UNCLASSIFIED

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus
- DATE: December 13, 1967
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells *DMW*

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

JUNE

**PURPOSE:** Attached for your approval is an airtel to our Atlanta Office instructing them to conduct a survey for possible technical coverage of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Headquarters where Martin Luther King, Jr., is planning massive civil disobedience to disrupt ten to fifteen major cities in the United States including Washington, D. C.

**BACKGROUND:** Since August, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President SCLC has publicly stated his group will stage a massive civil disobedience to disrupt ten to fifteen major cities throughout the Nation. He has also stated recently that he will call the poor, the sick and the needy to our Nation's capital to disrupt its operation in an effort to spur Congressional action to help the plight of the Negro. This may even include a camp-in at the White House. King has stated in part, "To dislocate the function of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot."

**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:** King recently held a one week retreat to plan his campaign in this regard. He is attempting to recruit 2,000 leaders throughout the Nation to effect this plan. Two individuals have been assigned to Washington, D. C., and other cities to start recruiting. The early Spring of 1968 is the target date to start massive civil disobedience if certain demands regarding economic, housing and education legislation does not receive unequivocal commitment for prompt Congressional action.

**OBSERVATIONS:** Because of the effect this plan of King's will have on the racial movement and even possibly the internal security of the United States itself, we feel it is most necessary to have telephone surveillance coverage on King's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, where most of the planning concerning this operation will take place.

Enclosure *sent* 12-14-67  
DMW:llc  
(6) *llc*

ST-117 CONTINUED - OVER  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

100-412879-2042  
17 DEC 21 1967  
1-4-68

5-DMW

3/16/80 Surveillance  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/22/80 BY SP1SSU/BJK

*GC Moore*

*EX (INFO)  
R. King*

*D. Wells  
MS*



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

In the past, we have had a telephone surveillance on SCLC, which was extremely productive, but it was discontinued on 6-20-66 upon receipt of instructions from Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. He was concerned about jeopardizing the possible prosecution of a SCLC employee for an Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles statute violation. On June 1, 1967, the Department advised the evidence against the SCLC employee was of insufficient strength to warrant prosecution. Since there are no prosecutive matters which this installation will jeopardize, it is felt it should be reinstalled.

RECOMMENDATION: That the attached airtel be sent to Atlanta so that a survey can be conducted to determine the feasibility of installing a secure installation on SCLC Headquarters. Upon receipt of results of survey from Atlanta, appropriate communication will be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority for this installation.

*mmw*

*Jays*

*Ways*

*h*

*I doubt that the Attorney General will approve such an installation, but believe we should try - for the record.*

*1*  
*h*

*OK*  
*H*

*mm*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 9/21/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1 - DeLoach

1 - Rosen

1 - Sullivan

1 - Baumgardner

1 - DM Wells

1 - Rozamus

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

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE

JUNE

*11/12/78 WSP/KRP*  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

Reference is made to your inquiry concerning the telephone surveillance on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which was discontinued on 6/21/66 upon instructions of the Attorney General.

A telephone surveillance was instituted on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on November 8, 1963. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a racial-type organization headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

This telephone surveillance provided considerable valuable intelligence information concerning communist influence on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference through King, as well as the communist influence evident in the outspoken position which King had taken in opposition to the United States foreign policy concerning Vietnam.

A memorandum from the Director dated 4/28/66 was forwarded to the Attorney General pointing out the valuable coverage being provided by the telephone surveillance on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Authorization was requested to continue the surveillance for an additional six months. The memorandum was returned by the Attorney General with a notation dated 6/20/66 stating "I think this coverage should be discontinued, particularly, in light of possible charges of a criminal nature against Hosea Williams and possibly others." The Attorney General's notation concerning Hosea Williams referred to an Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles case under investigation by the Bureau wherein the principle subject, Harold Belton Andrews, alleged he stole four automobiles for subsequent sale to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

*3/19/80 Sp. Service*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/22/80 BY SP8/BJD/MLK

ENCLOSURE 100-442529

MJR:pdb (7)

EX 10: ↓ REC-18: ↓  
CONTINUED - OVER

*100-433114-1586*  
*5-10/17/66*  
*Specific Form*

6 OCT 10 1966

*let to A.P.G. binson on*  
*10 OCT 17 1966*  
*JCG:EEEM*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE  
100-442529

Investigation disclosed that one of these stolen vehicles had been in the possession of Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration for King's organization. Due to the ramification 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.

On 7/28/66, Harold Belton Andrews and Morris Finley were tried and convicted in U. S. District Court at Atlanta on charges of Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles. Hosea Williams was not prosecuted nor indicted. Atlanta Office report in this case dated 8/30/66 set forth that Assistant U. S. Attorney Allen L. Chancey advised that U. S. District Judge Sidney O. Smith stated he did not know the exact date that Andrews and Finley would be sentenced. Judge Smith indicated he desired to withhold sentencing until such time as the Department of Justice determined whether or not additional individuals involved in the case were to be tried. The report was disseminated to the Department.

ACTION:

For information of the Director. ✓

mjr

wes

R

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

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

DATE: December 15, 1966

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

JUNE

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

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

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 JRM/KR* 10-28-80 *3-7-84* *SP Macmillan*

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.

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 reinstated 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.

*Brennan to Sullivan Memo 12/19/66 DMW:jmw*

100-106670  
DMW:jmw

SENT DIRECTOR  
*12-15-66*

REC 18  
CONTINUED - OVER  
EX-113

5 JAN 23 1967

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

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. U

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. U

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. U

ACTION:

None. For information.

*W.C.S.*

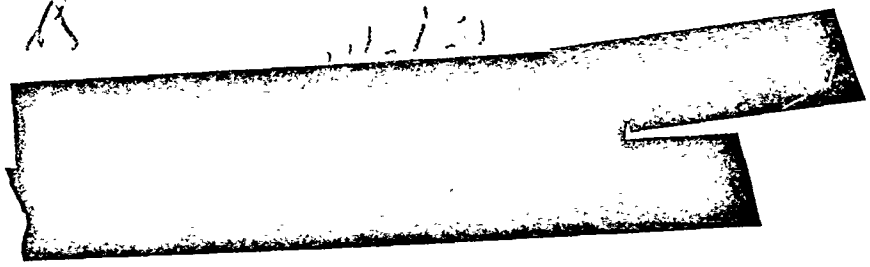
*P* *W.C.S.*

*wes* *is*

*Shelton?*

*is*

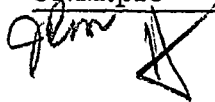
*11-1-63*



ADDENDUM RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION  
PROJECTS UNIT, DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION AND REVIEW SECTION

JRM:plc

11/9/78

*JRM* 

A review has been made of 44-775, serials 562 and 243, by Document Classification Assistant Joanne R. Miller, for the purpose of ascertaining classification status of each serial. The following is noted.

44-775-562 and 243 were not classified nor should they be.

*3/10/86* *JRM:plc*

F22 SAN FRAN

8114 PM 4-23-68 UR TRB

TO DIRECTOR (44-38861) ( KAJASAS CITY( MOS ANGELES, LAS VEGAS,  
MEMPHIS (44-1987) AND ST. LOUIS  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (173-65) (2P)

MURKIN

RE SF TEL FOUR TWENTY TWO LAST.

-RE: JOHN LARRY RAY, BROTHER OF JAMES EARL RAY.

ON APRIL TWO TWO, LAST, MRS. CHARLES F. TERRY, MANAGER, ONE FOUR SIX ZERO BUTTER ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED ONE JOHN RAY RESIDED IN APARTMENT FIVE FROM JULY TWO THREE, LAST, TO AUGUST FIFTEEN, LAST, BUT HAD PAID RENT UNTIL AUGUST THREE ONE, LAST, AND DID NOT REQUEST RENT REFUND. (u)

TERRY STATES RAY INDICATED HE CAME TO SAN FRANCISCO FROM ST. LOUIS, NOT EMPLOYED WHILE LIVING IN SAN FRANCISCO, SPENT MOST OF THE TIME IN HIS APARTMENT. AT THE TIME HE MOVED HE STATED HE WAS GOING TO LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, TO LOOK FOR A TAVERN TO BUY. IF UNSUCCESSFUL THERE, HE WOULD GO TO RENO, NEVADA, TO LOOK FOR A TAVERN TO BUY. TERRY STATED RAY HAD NO FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATES, NO VISITORS, RECEIVED NO PHONE CALLS OR LETTERS. TERRY STATED JOHN RAY HAD AUTOMOBILE BUT UNABLE TO DESCRIBE IT. CHARLES F. TERRY, HUSBAND, STATED RAY SEEMED SLIGHTLY EFFEMINATE IN HIS MANNERISM AND WONDERED IF HE MIGHT HAVE HOMOSEXUAL TENDANCIES. TERRY STATED RAY WOULD HAVE MADE  
END PAGE ONE

44-715-243

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

*L*  
*Sample copy of  
 SF file sent to  
 SF-2 division  
 from SF-1  
 should be  
 4/23/68*

*John W. ...*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/19/86 BY SP/mae/mce

PAGE TWO

TWENTY DOLLAR DEPOSIT WITH PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC WHICH HE MAY NOT HAVE GOTTEN BACK. HE STATED RAY HAS ABOUT THIRTY-FIVE DOLLARS DUE HIM FOR UNUSED RENT. WILL ADVISED FBI IF RAY CONTACTS HIM. (u)

FOR INFORMATION LOS ANGELES AND LAS VEGAS, JOHN RAY HAS FBI NUMBER THREE SIX EIGHT SEVEN TWO FIVE A, CII NUMBER SEVEN FOUR ONE SEVEN FOUR ZERO AND IS DESCRIBED WMA, DOB FEBRUARY FOURTEEN, ONE NINE THREE ONE. RECORDS OF CII REFLECT HE WAS BOOKD AS "SLEEPER" BY HOLTVILLE, CALIFORNIA PD DECEMBER THREE, ONE NINE FIVE TWO, THEIR NUMBER ONE THREE FOUR ONE. (u)

LEADS: LAS VEGAS AT RENO AND LOS ANGELES: THROUGH LOGICAL SOURCE ATTEMPT TO LOCATE INFORMATION RE JOHN RAY. (u)

SAN FRANCISCO: WILL CONTACT PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC FOR INFORMATION REGARDING RAY AND WILL PLACE A STOP REGARDING REFUND. (u)

SUBJECT ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

OTHER OFFICES ADVISED

CAB

FBI WASH DC

MAR 2 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

RECEIVED



FBI

Date: 2/8/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

*Air-Dispatched  
COOK*

TO: SAC, ST. LOUIS (88-7447)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (88-11505) (RUC)

SUBJECT: JAMES EARL RAY, aka -  
FUGITIVE  
UFAC - ROBBERY FIRST  
(OO: KANSAS CITY)

Re Chicago letter to Springfield dated 12/29/67, and report of SA JOSEPH L. KISSIAH dated 12/29/67, at Kansas City.

The following investigation was conducted by SA ROBERT F. PEVAHOUSE:

On 1/23/68, Chief MARVIN HORCHER, Wheeling, Illinois, Police Department, advised he had determined a JERRY RAY had resided at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois, but he does not know if JERRY RAY still resides at that address or if he is the brother of the subject. (u)

On 1/23/68, inquiry at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois, revealed the present residents have lived there since October, 1967, although there was a JERRY RAY residing there prior to that time. They had no information as to the present location of JERRY RAY. (u)

#245852

- ② St. Louis
- 1 - Springfield (88-5361) (Info)
- 1 - Kansas City (88-9449) (Info)
- 1 - Chicago

RFP/tfk  
(5)

3/10/86  
44-775-502  
SPRINGFIELD

*A-0  
George*

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1968	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per 9

Special Agent in Charge

On 2/7/68, JERRY RAY was located and interviewed at the Sportman's Country Club, 3535 Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois, where he is employed and resides. He advised he is the brother of subject but has seen subject only three times in the last 15 years, that being the three times he visited subject at the Missouri State Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Missouri. He advised subject left home about the time he was 14 or 15 years of age and has not maintained regular contact with any of the family since that time. Subject has always been a drifter and he has no knowledge of friends or associates of subject with whom he might be in contact. Their father, GEORGE RAY, and their mother, LUCILLE RAY, separated, and LUCILLE was subsequently known as LUCILLE RYAN. Both GEORGE RAY and LUCILLE RYAN are now deceased. He has no aunt by the name of LUCILLE RYAN and anyone by that name would have had to been their mother. He has another brother, JOHN RAY, who is single and a drifter, travelling and changing jobs frequently. He has no regular address but as of three days ago, was staying at the Mc Arthur Hotel on Broadway Street, St. Louis, Missouri. He had a younger brother, FRANK, who was killed in an automobile accident four year ago. He also has a sister, Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, who just moved from 712 Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, to Bellview, a suburb of St. Louis, but he does not have the address or phone number for CAROL. He is sure the phone company will have a new number for CAROL as that would be the way he would try to contact her. These are the only relatives subject has. (u)

JERRY RAY advised he has been in contact with CAROL and JOHN as of three days ago, and both stated they have had no contact with subject or any knowledge where subject can be located. He does not believe subject will contact any of the relatives as long as he is in a fugitive status; however, should he receive any information concerning subject, he will immediately advise the FBI. (u)

LEADS

ST. LOUIS

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI. 1. Will interview JOHN RAY if still located at Mc Arthur Hotel. (u)

CG 88-11505

2. Will obtain current address of CAROL PEPPER and thereafter interview her for any knowledge concerning subject. *mu*

BECAUSE RAY HAS BEEN CONVICTED OF ROBBERY WITH DEADLY WEAPON, AND BECAUSE OF HIS CONFINEMENT IN A STATE HOSPITAL, HE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

June documents  
JTA copy

~~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

*5 - [unclear]*  
*5 - [unclear]*  
*D. [unclear]*

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.

*TK*

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

REC-51 100-457194-2065

EX 101

6 JAN 9 1968

Declassified By, J. Michael Kelly  
Counselor to the Attorney General  
November 13, 1978

*J. Michael Kelly*

*[Handwritten signature]*

~~SECRET~~

GROUP IV

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

79

5/17/2011

#10

GROUP IV .

*✓ Mc*

FBI MEMPHIS

TELETYPE

705 PM URGENT 3-13-69 BND

TO DIRECTOR (44-38861) ATTN: MR. AL ROSEN, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION  
FROM MEMPHIS (44-1987)

*✓*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

MURKIN. - ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR

AT APPROXIMATELY TWO FORTYFIVE PM, INTERVIEW WAS BEGUN WITH JAMES EARL RAY BY SAC, MEMPHIS AT TENNESSEE STATE PRISON. INTERVIEW CONCLUDED AT APPROXIMATELY THREE THIRTYFIVE PM. RAY ON ENTERING ROOM SAID, "YOU'RE THE GUY WHO TESTIFIED. I DON'T WANT TO TALK TO YOU OR ANYBODY FROM THE FBI." RAY WAS ASKED TO SIT DOWN AND WAS TOLD IT WAS POSSIBLE WE HAD THINGS WE COULD TALK ABOUT. RAY SAID, "I'M NOT GOING TO TALK ABOUT CASE AS I'VE BEEN MISQUOTED ENOUGH." HE WAS UNABLE TO POINT OUT ANY SPECIFICS WHERE FBI HAD EVER MISQUOTED HIM. HE WAS ALSO TOLD FBI HAD NOT INTERVIEWED HIM SO IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MISQUOTE HIM. RAY INDICATED HE BETTER GO BACK TO CELL AS SAC WAS ONLY TRYING TO TRICK HIM INTO TALKING ABOUT CASE. HE WAS THEN REMINDED OF HIS GUILTY PLEA IN OPEN COURT AND WAS ASKED IF HE INTENDED TO ~~CHALLENGE~~ RE SAID NO.

REC 49

*56-2*  
*5622*

12 MAR 17 1969

RAY THEN CRITICIZED HIS ATTORNEY ART HANES, ~~SA~~ HE SAID HANES WAS NOT GOOD ATTORNEY AS HE REFUSED TO INVESTIGATE CASE. SAC INTERJECTED THAT HIS ATTORNEY HAD WIPED INVESTIGATOR, TO

END 56 MAR 21 1969

MR. [Name] FOR THE DIRECTOR ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/20/86 BY SP/ma/mcy



WHICH MAY BE TRUE, THERE'S NO PROOF EITHER, AND HE ONLY BEGAN TO INVESTIGATE HIS RECORDS BEFORE THE TRIAL. RAY STATED HANES WASN'T HIS ATTORNEY AS WILSON AND RADFORD HUIE HAD HIRED HANES TO GO TO LONDON TO ACT AS ATTORNEY FOR RAY, IN RETURN FOR STORY CONTRACTS. RAY WOULD NOT AMPLIFY ON CONTRACTS BUT DID STATE HE HAD TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS IN CONTRACTS OUT. RAY SAID HE HADN'T RECEIVED ANY MONEY ON ANY OF THESE CONTRACTS YET. HE ALSO HE HAD CONTRACTED WITH PERCY FOREMAN REGARDING POSSIBLE STORY. ALSO SAID PART OF HIS CONTRACT WITH FOREMAN WAS THAT RAY WOULD NOT EMBRACE FOREMAN IN COURT. WHEN ASKED IF THAT IS WHY HE SAID NO MORE IN COURT WHEN HE ROSE TO MAKE COMMENT, RAY SAID HE WOULDN'T TALK ABOUT IT ANY MORE.

HE THEN BECAME CRITICAL OF FOREMAN, SAYING HE WOULDN'T INVESTIGATE HIS CASE EITHER. SAID THAT FOREMAN CAME TO HIM WITH A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE, SAYING "YOUR BEST DEFENSE IS TO PLEAD GUILTY OR YOU'LL GET THE DEATH SENTENCE." RAY INDICATED DIS-SATISFACTION WITH HIS PAST ATTORNEYS. HE SAID HE WAS TRYING TO GET AN ATTORNEY IN GEORGIA NOW. HE REFUSED TO IDENTIFY THIS ATTORNEY. CSAC HAD PREVIOUS DISCUSSION WITH WARDEN LAKE RUSSELL AT PRISON AND WARDEN HAD ADVISED RAY HAD TOLD HIM HE

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

WAS MAKING EFFORTS TO GET J. B. STONER, AN ATTORNEY IN GEORGIA, TO REPRESENT HIM. J. B. STONER WELL KNOWN FIGURE IN VARIOUS WHITE HATE GROUPS IN GEORGIA.)

RAY ALSO SAID HE DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ANY MORE ABOUT ANYTHING, AS HE FELT HIS ATTORNEY WOULD BE ABLE TO REOPEN HIS CASE. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD LETTER PREPARED TO SEND TO SENATOR EASTLAND AND THEN IN ABOUT TWO OR THREE MONTHS HIS CASE WOULD BE CLEARED UP. HE INDICATED HE MIGHT THEN BE WILLING TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS THE CASE FULLY.

ADDITIONAL SMALL TALK OCCURRED AND RAY BROUGHT UP FBI TV SERIES. HE WONDERED WHY FBI ALWAYS HAD TO LET THE CRIMINALS DRAW FIRST BEFORE THEY WERE SHOT. HE WAS TOLD THIS IS ONLY CONSISTENT WITH THE FACTS, AS OUR WEAPONS ARE USED ONLY IN SELF DEFENSE. HE EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM. HE THEN ASKED IF FBI THOUGHT HE WAS STUPID ENOUGH TO LEAVE HIS FINGERPRINTS IN THE AREA WHERE A PUBLIC FIGURE WAS KILLED. HE WAS ASKED IF HE WAS TRYING TO TELL SAC THAT SOMEONE PLANTED HIS PRINTS, AND IF SO HIS STORY WAS BETTING THIS AND SAC WOULD LEAVE. HE THEN RAISED SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT NOT EVER HAVING BEEN IDENTIFIED IN A  
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

LINDUP AND WAS NOT SURE THAT ANYONE COULD IDENTIFY HIM. HE THEN INDICATED HE HAD READ IN A CANADIAN PAPER THAT ONE CHARLIE STEPHENS COULD PROBABLY ~~BE~~ IDENTIFY HIM AS HE THOUGHT CHARLIE STEPHENS HAD A GOOD LOOK AT HIM IN ROOMING HOUSE. HE DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THIS FURTHER.

HE THEN FURTHER CLAIMED THAT NO ONE HAD IDENTIFIED HIM WITH A PHOTOGRAPH UNTIL HE MADE SOME PHOTOGRAPHS AVAILABLE ON THE WEST COAST. THE ABSURDITY OF THIS STATEMENT WAS POINTED OUT TO HIM AS HE KNEW THE STATE HAD SEVERAL WITNESSES WHO COULD IDENTIFY HIM.

HE WAS ASKED IF HE DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ABOUT SOMETHING ELSE, SUCH AS HIS TRIP FROM LOS ANGELES TO NEW ORLEANS. HE SAID NO, THAT HE HAD MADE A MISTAKE GETTING MIXED UP WITH STEIN. HE SAID STEIN WAS ONLY A "MURKIN". HE WOULD NOT TALK FURTHER ABOUT STEIN.

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS COVERED WITH RAY INDICATED HE SAID HE NEVER RECEIVED A PROPERTY RECEIPT FROM BUTLER OF SCOTLAND YARD, WHEN ARRESTED THERE. HE SAID THIS RECEIPT MIGHT BE OF VALUE AT SOME FUTURE DATE. HE REFUSED TO CLARIFY THIS.

RAY WOULD NOT AT ANY TIME DISCUSS CONSPIRACY OR ANY ASPECTS OF IT. HE CONTINUOUSLY CLAIMED THIS WOULD BE MATTER FOR HIS

THE PAGE CONTAINS

APPOINTED TO HANDLE ANY POSSIBLY CLASH OF EASTLAND'S COMMITTEE.

Assistant, General

WE ALSO INTERVIEWED BIRL FOR FORMER CLASH RE USE OF HIS

STATEMENTS BUT WOULD NOT CLARIFY WHAT STATEMENTS. HE DID, HOWEVER, SAY ABOUT CLASH THAT IF HE WAS SOFT ON CRIME AS THE NEWSPAPERS SOMETIME REPORTED THIS WAS OKAY.

AT THIS TIME SAC ASKED RAY IF HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO MEET A PAIR OF ASSOCIATES OF SAC, AGENTS JOE C. HESTER AND ROBERT F. BOYLE. RAY SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO FBI BECAUSE ALL THEY WANTED TO DO WAS TRICK HIM. RAY AT CONCLUSION OF INTERVIEW SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO ANY OTHER AGENTS AT THIS TIME. HE WAS TOLD THERE WERE TWO OTHER AGENTS WITH SAC. HE DID MEET THESE TWO AGENTS JUST PRIOR TO BEING RETURNED TO HIS CELL. HIS PARTING COMMENT WHEN GOING THROUGH CELL DOOR WAS, "TAKE A GOOD LOOK AS YOU MAY BE LOOKING FOR ME AGAIN."

SAC TOLD RAY THAT HE WOULD RECONTACT HIM AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING AND PERHAPS WE COULD AGAIN ENGAGE IN SMALL TALK. RAY SAID "MAYBE I WILL NOT TALK WITH YOU AGAIN."

ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE TO SEEK SECOND INTERVIEW IN A. M. WITH RAY.

END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

RAY'S COMMENT ABOUT TAKING A GOOD LOOK WAS SPECIFICALLY  
POINTED OUT TO THE OFFICERS ON DUTY IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY  
SECTION AND IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY POINTED OUT TO WARDEN RUSSELL.  
IN ADDITION, IN DISCUSSIONS WITH WARDEN RUSSELL, SAC REQUESTED  
THAT VISIT OF FBI TO TENNESSEE STATE PENITENTIARY SHOULD BE HELD  
CONFIDENTIAL. WARDEN INDICATED HE WOULD DO SO BUT, OF COURSE,  
STORY WOULD STILL GET AROUND IN THE PRISON YARD. P.

END

EST

FBI WASH DC

P

6/15/67

- 1 - Mr. Loach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. McDonough
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Martindale

April 11, 1968

REC-33

44-38861-859

**MURDER OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

The investigation of the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, has assumed gigantic proportions.

All Field Divisions of the FBI are participating in an around-the-clock operation designed to identify and apprehend the person or persons responsible for the killing.

Suspects are being developed and processed on a daily basis as additional information is developed. Every aspect of the investigation is being vigorously pursued and the complete facilities of this Bureau will remain fully committed until this matter has been finally resolved.

WLM:rmr (15)

cc - The White House, the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorney General Stephen J. Pollak by routing slip, 4/11/68.

SENT PER MAILING  
ONE MEMORANDUM

wa \_\_\_\_\_  
ocb \_\_\_\_\_  
sp \_\_\_\_\_  
er \_\_\_\_\_  
hca \_\_\_\_\_  
jd \_\_\_\_\_  
n \_\_\_\_\_  
om \_\_\_\_\_  
sr \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_

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: June 12, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *PLW*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Trotter

SUBJECT: MURKIN

Assistant Attorney General Stephen J. Pollak, Civil Rights Division, called stating he had not gotten any teletypes, cablegrams or airtels in connection with the King case other than the one which had been sent concerning the arraignment of the subject.

I advised him that investigation was going forward in Canada

[REDACTED]

FOREIGN  
GOVT  
AGENCY

I advised him that information which had been developed by our representative who went to Lisbon will be furnished to him just as soon as we have received a report concerning this matter

[REDACTED]

It is recalled on Saturday, June 8, as reflected in Mr. DeLoach's memorandum of 6/8/68, the Attorney General turned to Pollak during the conversation in the Attorney General's Office and stated he wanted Pollak to divorce himself from other work for the next several days and that he should supervise this case completely. The Attorney General also wanted Pollak to keep advised of all communications, teletypes or cablegrams that might come in in connection with this case. Mr. DeLoach advised the Attorney General that any facts pertinent would be furnished to the Department, after which the Attorney General indicated the meeting was over.

REC-71 11-30-61 4528

We have received numerous teletypes from various offices, as well as telephonic information from the field offices and Legats. We have not furnished copies of this traffic to Mr. Pollak. This material, of course, contains administrative data and other traffic which is not ordinarily disseminated outside of the Bureau, purely intra-Bureau information containing leads and instances of evaluations of information being obtained.

JUN 19 1968  
AR:ige 79 JUN 19 1968  
(12)

CONTINUED - OVER

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
Re: MURKIN

The Department has been furnished with the pertinent reports in this case and since the apprehension of Ray we have been currently in touch with representatives of the Department concerning developments which have been brought to the Director's attention. We can, however, screen teletypes and furnish copies to the Department, eliminating administrative material and furnishing that information which may be pertinent.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

If approved, we will follow this procedure. We will issue appropriate instructions to the field that teletypes submitted in this case in the future must be prepared for appropriate dissemination.

*R* *✓* *Jo*  
*No. Only disseminated information usually disseminated D.D.H.*  
*→* *A*



ADDENDUM, ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR DE LOACH CDD:vea 6/8/68

The Attorney General asked me to come to his office at approximately 2:20 p. m. In his office were his wife, Assistant Attorney General Vinson, Assistant Attorney General Pollack, his Executive Assistant Sol Lindenbaum and the Deputy Attorney General, Warren Christopher.

*REINSEY CLARK DC Texas*

The Attorney General first congratulated the FBI and stated that this was the greatest news he had ever heard. He next went into a long song and dance on the absolute necessity of security and the avoidance of evasion of civil rights of the subject, James Earl Ray. The Attorney General asked me questions concerning the quality of our Agent personnel in London and I told him we had absolute faith and confidence in these men, otherwise we would not have assigned them there. He stated he thought we should send additional men to London to assist in this case. I told him I thought this was both foolish and unnecessary. He asked me about Legal Attache Minnich's background and I provided this information for him. He asked me if the FBI had a representative in the same cell block with the subject. I told him we did not and that furthermore, inasmuch as this man was under British custody, we could not even talk to the prisoner unless he, the prisoner, agreed to interrogation. The Attorney General asked if we had a man next to the cell block. I told him we did not and that he must realize that this man was under British custody and, therefore, not the responsibility of American authorities. The Attorney General stated he would feel better if he knew the exact provisions under which security the prisoner was being maintained. I made no comment.

The Attorney General asked me if I thought it was necessary to send a Departmental representative to London. I told him I thought this was completely unnecessary if the representative would be going for the purpose of attempting to look into FBI activities. The Attorney General stated this representative would be going for the purpose of expediting legal activities in connection with the extradition of the subject. He added that the Departmental representative would also check with the British authorities to make certain there was ample security. Furthermore, to make certain that the prisoner's civil rights were being protected.

The Attorney General asked me whom I thought should be responsible for bringing the prisoner back to the United States. I told him I previously discussed this with the Director and that the Director was agreeable to the FBI escorting the prisoner back to the United States. He asked how many men would do this. I told him we would utilize three very capable men. He stated he thought we needed more. I told him I disagreed and that three men

would be sufficient, particularly if handcuffs and leg irons were used. The Attorney General asked me if I thought military transportation or commercial transportation should be utilized. I told him that military transportation would probably be better and furthermore that the plane should land at a military base, possibly near Memphis, Tennessee, so that maximum security could be afforded. The Attorney General agreed. He then called Governor Buford Ellington in Tennessee and specifically asked him to expedite extradition proceedings by immediately making a request to the President of the United States so that the White House in turn could forward this request to the British Home Secretary. The Attorney General also told Governor Ellington that he would personally feel better if Federal officers (meaning the FBI) would escort the prisoner back to the United States. Governor Ellington agreed to all terms and stated that he would comply with the wishes of the Federal Government in this matter.

The Attorney General next turned to the Deputy Attorney General and asked him if he thought a Departmental representative should be sent to England. The Deputy Attorney General replied, "Without question." The Attorney General next asked the entire group whom they thought should be sent. He ventured the personal opinion that it should either be Vinson or Pollack. There was no comment. The Attorney General then stated that Vinson should go and should leave tonight, June 8, 1968. He asked that Vinson be placed in touch with our Legal Attache. I told the Attorney General that sending Vinson was his own business, however, I would like to make absolutely certain that Vinson did nothing to upset the very excellent relationship between the FBI and Scotland Yard. I stated that Vinson under no circumstances should attempt to push Scotland Yard around by insisting on different types of security. The Attorney General repeated that Vinson would be there primarily for the purpose of expediting legal activities. The Attorney General then told Lindenbaum to have several Bureau of Prisons officials go to Memphis early Monday, June 10, 1968, for the purpose of taking a look at the county jail in Memphis so that proper security could be afforded the prisoner once he was turned over to the state authorities. (This, of course, is none of the Attorney General's business inasmuch as once the prisoner is turned over to the state he is strictly the state's responsibility.)

Upon leaving, the Attorney General told me that he would like to sit down with me within the next several days and completely go over this case. I told him that we had already provided him with reports in the matter and that these reports, plus the press release of today, covered all necessary details. He made no comment other than to commend the FBI once again and to say that hard work paid off.

ACTION:

In the event extradition proceedings are successful and the FBI is called upon to bring the subject back to the United States, it is suggested that Legal Attache Minnich, Special Agent Supervisor Wilbur L. Martindale and Special Agent Supervisor Kenneth L. Bounds be assigned this responsibility. Bounds is approximately 6 feet 4 inches tall, is in excellent physical shape, is a former firearms instructor and is currently assigned to the General Investigative Division here at FBI Headquarters. He has an excellent background. In the event the Director approves this recommendation, we will have Bounds obtain a passport and the necessary medical shots so that he can proceed to London, England, upon instructions.

I am advising Legal Attache Minnich this afternoon, <sup>Fred M.</sup> June 8, 1968, that while he should confer with Assistant Attorney General Vinson <sup>he Jr</sup> he should not be "bossed around" by Vinson or allow Vinson to upset any delicate relations that we have with law enforcement authorities in England.

Sone, 6/8/68-

D

DC

# 118  
# 155  
# 172

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: June 8, 1968

FROM : C. D. DELOACH

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Trotter

SUBJECT: MURKIN

I called the Attorney General (AG) at approximately 5:50 p. m. , June 8, 1968, and advised him that in connection with the conversation in his office with me, the Director had instructed me to send two men to London instead of one for the purpose of escorting the subject back to the United States. The AG was told that this would make a total of four FBI representatives escorting the subject back to this country.

The AG was additionally told that the Director had instructed that the two men in question proceed to London as expeditiously as possible so that they would be on the scene in the event extradition or deportation proceedings occurred faster than anticipated. He was told that towards this end, I had called Joe Califano at the White House, who usually handled military transportation in expedite matters of this nature, to tell him that if he knew of a military plane proceeding to London, it would be appreciated if the FBI representatives could hitch a ride on this plane.

The AG snappishly inquired as to the reasons why this had not been cleared with him personally. I told him I had specifically mentioned in his office the fact that three men would be suitable for escorting subject Ray back to the United States and that he had disagreed stating that he felt additional men should be assigned to this project. He stated he did not recall this exchange of conversation. I told him I recalled it very well. He stated there was no need to get into a "spitting contest" over this particular issue and that he wanted me to definitely realize that he did not recall such matters being discussed. I told him I would not back down on the matter and that the discussion had taken place. He then turned to another topic.

The AG stated that he wanted me to know that he was unhappy about the manner in which this case had been handled. I immediately asked him for specifics. He stated that obviously the FBI had possessed a great deal of information and had not cut him in on it. He stated that as an example,

CONTINUED - OVER

CDD:erg erg  
(12)

JTA/Leach  
JUN 18 1968

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

SK

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON  
RE: MURKIN

the Deputy Attorney General (DAG) of the United States had called me personally and that I had refused to give him "inside facts." I replied that when the DAG first called me this morning, I had indicated that I had no facts to give him but that a short time later I had called the DAG and had read to him the press release prior to the time the release was given to the wire services. I pointed out to the AG that his Deputy had fully approved the press release and had indicated that it was completely within guidelines of appropriate legal proceedings. The AG replied that he had been told differently. He stated that he had been advised that I had not given any information whatsoever to the DAG. I stated that as indicated in my conversation with him, the facts previously mentioned were true. The AG replied by stating this was one of the biggest cases the Department of Justice will ever have. He then asked me point blank, "Who the hell do you think you're working for?" He quickly added "I'll tell you who you're working for, you're working for the Department of Justice." He next added that he wanted to insist that in the future that any information whatsoever received in this case, any investigative step whatsoever, and any communications be brought to his personal attention without delay. He stated that obviously he had been kept in the dark thusfar and that he did not intend to put up with this in the future.

I told the AG if he insisted upon making such falsifications that there was no need to continue the conversation. I then hung up the phone on him.

The AG's secretary called me back approximately three minutes later and stated that he wanted to speak to me again. He then came on the phone and told me that our conversation had not been over and that he demanded to know why I had hung up the phone on him. I told him that apparently there was no need to continue the conversation and that I did not wish to discuss it further. He stated that he must insist, as Attorney General, that any arrangements made concerning this case be cleared with him. He stated that in connection with the military flight for our Agents that I should have realized Assistant Attorney General (AAG) Vinson wanted to go on the same flight and would have wanted to make arrangements on a personal basis with the White House or the military personnel. I told the AG that if he wanted Vinson to go on a military flight, this was entirely his prerogative to make his own arrangements. The AG then told me he would discuss this case at greater length later on.



MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON  
RE: MURKIN

Within five minutes the AG's secretary called again and asked that I come around to his office right away. I took Mr. Rosen with me as a witness. The AG had with him DAG Christopher and AAG Pollak. The conversation was initiated by the AG and he immediately referred to his previous conversation relating to the Agents who were going to London and the discussion which had taken place in his office earlier during the day when I advised him that three Agents would be available in London for the purpose of handling the subject insofar as his return to the United States was concerned. He reviewed what he had said earlier and I repeated exactly the position I had previously taken. There was a stand-off and when he recognized that I had not changed my position, he turned to Rosen for verification at which time Rosen repeated that it was his understanding that three Agents would be available in London and that this matter had been thoroughly discussed at FBI Headquarters earlier.

I made no further reference to this conversation and he then turned to what he said were the three most important considerations in this matter: (1) Security; (2) insuring that all proper legal procedures acceptable to the United States and Great Britain would be followed; (3) that proper interviews would take place.

In this connection, there was a discussion concerning security and he referred to the availability of Legal Attache Minnich. He insisted that Minnich meet Vinson at the plane Sunday morning, June 9, 1968. I told him that Minnich would not be available to meet Vinson inasmuch as Minnich or one of our people would probably spend all night at the jail. He asked me if this was a true statement. I told him it was a true statement or I would not have made it.

He then referred to the legal proceedings that would take place. He said that Vinson would be in complete charge of this matter, that he would make the arrangements and insure that proper procedures be followed. He said that Minnich would report to Vinson concerning any developments and that the question of deportation was viewed favorably by him. He said if deportation was pursued, it could be criticized from a legal standpoint insofar as he was concerned. He said transporting the subject by any plane, military or owned by the United States Government, is not a free deportation from any country. He said that his attorneys would be reviewing this matter and would be in a position to make appropriate recommendations to him. He said that the legal procedures which would be followed were obviously paramount and would have to receive first consideration over any expedient investigative procedures. I told the AG at this point that we wanted him to know that the FBI had not injected

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON  
RE: MURKIN

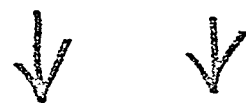
itself into any such so-called legal procedures and that our actions up to this date had been strictly of an investigative nature. I also advised him that I had informed him of the attitude of the British Government with reference to their attitude toward deportation and that this had not been an opinion of FBI representatives in London. I stated that when I mentioned that there was a 60/40 chance that he would be deported, that this was the attitude of the British authorities rather than our representatives.

The AG was advised that we had set in motion the obtaining of the copy of the indictment which had been requested which indictment was returned by the Tennessee authorities naming this subject as the person responsible for the killing of King, that this would be made available immediately upon its receipt and that a properly certified copy was being obtained.

DAG Christopher asked me if the subject was being detained on a "holding action" or as a result of a violation of British law. He was told that the subject was being detained on the basis of entering the country with illegal documents and because he had a loaded gun on his person.

The AG then turned to AAG Pollak. He stated he wanted him to divorce himself from other work for the next several days and that he should supervise this case completely. The AG then turned to me and stated that he wanted Pollak to be kept advised of any communication, airtel, or cablegram that might come in in connection with this case. I told the AG that any facts which were pertinent would be furnished to the Department. The AG then indicated that the meeting was over.

I called Legal Attache Minnich upon my return to the office and informed him that he should proceed as planned; however, under no circumstances should he give the impression to Vinson or the Embassy that the FBI was injecting itself into extradition or deportation proceedings. Minnich properly replied that he had not thusfar injected himself and that as a matter of fact, following my call to him concerning Vinson coming over there, he had immediately informed Embassy officials that all proceedings pertaining to extradition or deportation would be strictly handled between Vinson, the American Embassy and the British Government. I told Minnich that he should be diplomatic but firm with Vinson and that under no circumstances should Vinson be allowed to push our personnel around. I also informed him that the AG had been told that he, Minnich, would be unable to meet Vinson inasmuch as he would be spending almost full time at Scotland Yard and at the jail.



MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON  
RE: MURKIN

Minnich was advised that Special Agents Bounds and Zeiss would arrive in London by military transportation at approximately 1:30 p. m., London time, Sunday, June 9, 1968. I stated that the Director had wanted these men to report to London on an expeditious basis in the event the British Government allowed proceedings to happen rapidly. Minnich was told that these men would report to him upon their arrival.

Specific instructions have been given to Special Agents Bounds and Zeiss as to how they are to handle themselves. They have been particularly advised concerning Vinson and his background.

ACTION: For record purposes.

R      ~~R~~      V. *you w/SSA*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: April 4, 1968

FROM: <sup>SJP</sup> Stephen J. Pollak  
Assistant Attorney General  
Civil Rights Division

SUBJECT: Unknown subjects; Dr. Martin  
Luther King, Jr., Victim;  
Conspiracy Against Rights,  
CIVIL RIGHTS

MURKIN

I have been advised by telephone that Dr. Martin Luther King was this date shot and wounded by an unidentified person or persons in Memphis, Tennessee, where he traveled to lead a demonstration march scheduled for April 8, 1968.

Please conduct a full investigation into a possible violation of 18 U.S.C. 241 and keep me currently advised of all developments.

*Investigator ordered*

*OK for FISA release  
Per DOJ letter dated 11-21-76  
12-1-76*

*REC 10*

EX-105

44-38861-109

APR 9 1968

*FBI*  
APR 17 1968

*6*

#101,243

The Attorney General

JUNE

May 13, 1968

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

James Earl Ray has been identified as the subject in the case involving the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Extensive investigation has been conducted, and no information has been developed indicating his present whereabouts. In order to possibly assist in locating and apprehending the subject, it would be of extreme value to know if the subject has made any contact, either personal or by telephone, with his sister, Carol Pepper, as well as his brother, John Larry Ray.

*Rosen*

In view of the above, it is requested that you authorize installation of a technical surveillance at the residence of Carol Pepper and at the Grapevine Tavern, owned by Carol Pepper and operated by John Larry Ray. It is also requested that you authorize installation of microphone surveillance on the residences of Carol Pepper, and John Larry Ray, as well as the Grapevine Tavern.

These installations could assist in the early apprehension of the subject, which could possibly be instrumental in reducing the stresses and tension placed on our national security subsequent to the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

REL:vea  
(7) *vea*

✓ 5/14/68 *Supra*

NOTE: See memorandum A. Rosen to Mr. DeLoach dated 5-9-68, captioned "MURKIN," RE:erg.EX-115

44-38861-3509

MAY 17 1968

SENT FROM D. O.  
 TIME 5:20 PM  
 DATE 5-13-68  
 BY *el*

*Handwritten signature*

5-11-68  
1 X work  
om 906 919  
MJR

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

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

MAY 24 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

JUNE

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

*Rm*  
*W. J. ...*

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: May 9, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Conrad

SUBJECT: MURKIN

*3/14/86*  
*Sprachner*

1 - Mr. Gale

**PURPOSE:** To recommend the installation of a technical surveillance (TESUR) on the telephones of Albert and Carol Pepper, St. Louis, Missouri, and the telephone listed to the Grapevine Tavern in St. Louis, Missouri, owned by Carol Pepper, subject's sister, and operated by John Larry Ray, subject's brother, and the installation of a microphone surveillance at the residences of Carol Pepper, and John Larry Ray, and at the Grapevine Tavern. These installations could assist in the early apprehension of the subject, which could possibly be instrumental in reducing the stresses and tension placed on our national security subsequent to the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

*Long*  
*Pa*

**BACKGROUND:** We are presently conducting exhaustive and extensive investigation to determine the present whereabouts of the subject James Earl Ray; who is one of the TEN MOST WANTED FUGITIVES. Although many hundreds of interviews have been conducted and leads run out, we have not been able to locate the subject nor have we located any person who can furnish us any information as to the subject's present whereabouts. It has been determined that Carol Pepper, the sister of the subject, and John Larry Ray, the brother of the subject, are the closest relatives to him. Carol is married to Albert Pepper and they reside at 2025 Belleview, St. Louis, Missouri, telephone number 645-2948. John Larry Ray resides at 1900 A Cherokee, St. Louis, Missouri, no telephone listed. Carol presently owns the Grapevine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal, St. Louis, Missouri, telephone number PR 6-9417. This tavern is operated by John Larry Ray.

*Callahan*  
*...*

John Larry Ray has expressed a cooperative attitude; however, it is felt that he is not giving us complete and accurate information. Carol Pepper refuses to submit to interview and is not cooperative. It is felt that if the subject telephones or personally contacts any of the relatives, it will most likely be Carol Pepper or brother John Larry Ray.

Enclosure

REC-31

*44-3861-376*  
*8764*

REL: *argery*

CONTINUED - OVER

MAY 3 1968

REC'D - 5088K

EX-102

11 MAY 22 1968

*MAIL ROOM*

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

RECOMMENDATION: That a technical surveillance be installed on the telephones of Albert and Carol Pepper and the Grapevine Tavern and a microphone surveillance be installed at the residences of Albert and Carol Pepper and John Larry Ray and at the Grapevine Tavern.

Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting authority for this coverage.

*Egan* *Chad* *JK* *L*  
*F* *John*

*It is doubtful that  
A.G. will approve.  
This could be of  
great assistance.*  
*J*

*OK*  
*J*

FILE \_\_\_\_\_ SERIAL \_\_\_\_\_

COVER PAGES		REPORT		OUTSIDE AGENCIES TO BE NOTIFIED:
		LHM		
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Other		Other		
Over		Over		

# 102  
# 245

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NOTE IN ENVELOPE

C.D. DeLoach  
1 - Miss Holmes

The Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 11, 1968

Director, FBI

JUNE

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. M.J. Rozamus

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCES

MURKIN

Reference is made to my memorandum dated June 4, 1968, captioned as above, pointing out that your decisions were urgently needed concerning requests for electronic surveillances on the individuals and organizations listed in my memorandum of May 23, 1968. Subsequent to the memorandum of May 23, 1968, a request for electronic surveillance was submitted to you on May 31, 1968, concerning the National Headquarters of the Students for a Democratic Society, Chicago, Illinois.

As you were previously advised, this Bureau is greatly concerned about the delays involved regarding the requests for electronic surveillances which have been submitted to you. While we are making every feasible effort to obtain essential intelligence data in the internal security field, we cannot hope to fulfill our responsibilities in the intelligence field unless the requested investigative techniques are made available. It is absolutely essential that in critical cases full coverage be given in areas of foreign intelligence, counterespionage, domestic subversion, and insurrection. The requests which are pending are in critical cases and in view of the developments during the past several weeks, particularly concerning activities of subversive organizations, civil rights groups, and organizations affiliated with the New Left, this Bureau must have consideration of the coverage requested of you.

I again find it necessary to bring to your attention that your delays involving requests for electronic surveillances are causing a loss of invaluable intelligence information. It is again requested that you furnish your decision as soon as possible concerning the requests which have been made.

Enclosure  
10/20/68

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

66-8160

MJR:pag/sib  
(9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUN 11 1968  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 6955  
ON 9/8/77

OCT 11 1968

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 5:00 AM  
DATE 6-11-68

The Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For your information, inasmuch as James Earl Ray has been apprehended, the request for electronic surveillances mentioned in my memorandum dated May 13, 1968, captioned "Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.," is hereby withdrawn. U

(UNCLASSIFIED)

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, same caption, dated 6/10/68, prepared by MJR:sss. U

This memorandum is classified "Top Secret" since unauthorized disclosure could result in exceptionally grave damage to U.S. intelligence interests. U

~~Reviewed by 3002~~  
~~3/21/77~~  
~~[Signature]~~

~~7306 TSS/eh 3/21/77~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY 7306 TSS/eh 3/21/77~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~2-3~~  
~~INDEX~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

243

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: May 10, 1968

FROM : J. J. Casper

JUNE

SUBJECT: MURKIN

3-14-86 Spruance

pa

As shown in attached memorandum of May 9, 1968, from Mr. Rosen to Mr. DeLoach, consideration is given to microphone installations on certain properties of Albert and Carol Pepper. The proposal raises a question concerning the legality of any action taken against the subject of this case on the basis of information obtained from the microphones.

We believe these microphones can be installed and used without prejudicing the case against the subject. In a very recent decision of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, a listening device was installed on the premises of one Levine. Later, a subject named Granello, an associate of Levine, came up for trial and claimed that the listening device installed on Levine's premises, which was installed by trespass, was illegal as to him, Granello. It was not contended that any information obtained from the Levine microphone was used as evidence against Granello at trial either directly or as a lead. The court held that since Granello had no interest in the Levine premises, the monitor was not illegal as to him and he could not obtain a new trial or dismissal of the indictment. U.S. v. Granello, 280 F. Supp. 482 (1968).

Applied to instant case, this rule of law could work out in different ways. Assuming that the subject of this case is not on the premises to be surveilled by the means suggested, and has no possessory or other right in those premises, any information disclosed by the surveillance in some way, such as conversation among the Peppers, could be used to learn the whereabouts of the subject for purposes of arrest. The problem becomes somewhat more complicated, however, if the subject of this case made a telephone call to those premises and that telephone call were recorded and used as the basis for his apprehension. He then could claim that the surveillance violated his right of privacy in the telephone communication he made to that place, citing the Katz decision in the Supreme Court.

REC 11 44-38861-576

- Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. Conrad
  - 1 - Mr. Gale
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Malley
  - 1 - Mr. McGowan
  - 1 - Mr. Long

MAY 22 1968

REC 105  
MAY 13 5 33 PM '68



Memorandum J. J. Casper to Mr. Mohr  
RE: MARKIN

The worst that could happen in either of the above circumstances, however, - assuming that we follow the precautionary measures listed below - is that we illegally learn where the subject is located and thus are able to arrest him on that knowledge. The rule that comes into play here, established in the last century by the Supreme Court in Ker v. Illinois, 30 U.S. 347 (1886), is that an illegal arrest is no bar to prosecution. Wong Sun v. U.S., 371 U.S. 471 (1963); U.S. v. Hoffman, 385 F2d 501 (1967); Keegan v. U.S., 385 F2d 260 (1967). A person may be arrested unlawfully and actually kidnapped into the court having jurisdiction of the criminal case, yet the court still retains jurisdiction to try the person for the offense. The court would not allow the prosecution to use as evidence any information obtained through the illegal surveillance but the illegal surveillance would not taint the use of any other evidence obtained either before or after and which was gotten in a legal manner. Nor, to repeat, would the illegality of the arrest alone, resulting from whereabouts disclosed by unlawful surveillance, prevent the court from trying the subject for the offense.

If the action being considered is taken, we strongly suggest three precautionary measures, as follows:

- (1) That all recordings be preserved intact. It may be necessary to disclose some of them to the court or even to the defense.
- (2) That no use be made of any information obtained against anyone whatsoever or in any way whatsoever except for the single purpose of locating the subject in this case. As we well know by this time, evidence of the offense obtained in this manner is not admissible. It would not be admissible against the subject and it would not be admissible against the Peppers on a charge of harboring.
- (3) Be aware that since this search and seizure is unconstitutional as to the Peppers, they have at least a theoretical cause of action for damages against those who installed the devices by trespass. Here again, however, if nothing learned by this surveillance is used against the Peppers in any way, their cause of action is diminished to the lowest possible degree, becoming that for a technical violation only rather than one of substantial harm to them. Moreover, in any such case the government of the United States should surely be willing to pick up the tab for any judgment had against those who installed the microphones.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

# 258  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
SEP 30 1968  
TELETYPE

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	

FBI WASH DC

FBI MEMPHIS

633PM DEFERRED 9-30-68 DGB

TO DIRECTOR (44-38861)

FROM MEMPHIS (44-1987) 2P

MURKIN.

*m.c. Johnson*  
*list*  
*3/1/68 Sprague*

RE MEMPHIS AIRTEL TO BUREAU DATED SEPT. EIGHTEEN LAST  
ENCLOSING XEROX COPIES OF TWO MOTIONS FILED BY ATTORNEY  
ARTHUR J. HANES IN SHELBY COUNTY CRIMINAL COURT, MEMPHIS,  
TENN. HEARING ON THESE MOTIONS WAS HELD BY JUDGE W. PRESTON  
BATTLE IN SHELBY COUNTY CRIMINAL COURT, MEMPHIS, SEPT. THIRTY  
LAST.

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE PROOF BY  
BOTH DEFENSE AND PROSECUTION DURING THIS HEARING, JUDGE BATTLE  
DISMISSED BOTH MOTIONS FILED BY THE DEFENSE WITH THE  
EXCEPTION OF THE PORTION PERTAINING TO RAY'S CORRESPONDING  
WITH HIS ATTORNEY. JUDGE BATTLE RULED THAT WRITTEN NOTES  
EXCHANGED BETWEEN RAY AND HIS ATTORNEY ARE PRIVILEGED;  
HOWEVER, THE SHELBY COUNTY SHERIFF OR HIS DESIGNATED AGENT  
HAS THE AUTHORITY TO PERUSE THESE NOTES TO DETERMINE IF  
THERE IS ANY ATTEMPT TO BREACH SECURITY OF THE JAIL. THESE  
NOTES SHOULD NOT BE PERUSED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASCERTAINING

REC-23 44-51161-5209

OCT 2 1968

*cc to [unclear]*

ME 44-1987

PAGE TWO

THE FULL CONTENTS OF THE MESSAGES.

AT THE INCEPTION OF THE HEARING, ARTHUR HANES SR., ATTORNEY FOR JAMES EARL RAY, ADVISED JUDGE BATTLE THAT AFTER CONFERRING WITH HIS CLIENT ON THIS DATE HANES AND HIS CLIENT HAD DECIDED THAT THE LAW FIRM OF HANES AND HANES WILL CONTINUE TO REPRESENT RAY IN RAY'S FORTHCOMING TRIAL FOR THE MURDER OF REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. IT IS NOTED THAT DURING THE HEARING BEFORE JUDGE BATTLE ON SEPT. TWENTY SEVEN LAST HANES SR. IMPLIED TO THE COURT THAT AS A RESULT OF A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN RAY AND HIS ATTORNEY THE LAW FIRM OF HANES AND HANES MAY NOT REPRESENT RAY AT THE TIME OF TRIAL.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY CHANGE OR DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGARD. P.

END.

GMA

FBI WASH DC

7

# 259

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Memphis (44-1987) (P)

SUBJECT: MURKIN

DATE: 10/11/68

Enclosed are two Xerox copies of a letter and envelope addressed by subject JAMES EARL RAY to Mr. ARTHUR HANES, SR., Attorney, 617 Frank Nelson Bldg., Birmingham, Ala. This letter was written by RAY, 10/3/68, while incarcerated in Shelby County Jail, Memphis, Tenn.

Copies of this letter are furnished to the Bureau for information only.

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Enc.-2)
- 1 - Memphis
- RGJ:ME
- (3)

COPIES MADE, DATE 3-4-78 BY  
 FOR REVIEW AT PHONE DELIVERY  
 TO HQ ON RE REQUEST LINES 5-3-78  
 (SEE BUFILE 62-117295)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/13/86 BY SP-10/MLD EX-100

44-38861-5235  
 REC-38

OCT 14 1968

*1 Good Det  
 2 mem in  
 CR - Room  
 10/10/68  
 Jc*



OCT 18 1968

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

J. RAY  
COUNTY JAIL  
MEMPHIS, TENN.



To Mr. Arthur Hanes Jr. Attorney,  
617 - Frank Nelson Bldg,  
Birmingham, Alabama

35203

10-3-68

Dear Mr. Hanes;

I'll just write a short letter to let  
you know everything is alright, am still  
gaining weight and sleeping 8 1/2 hrs a day.  
Lary is coming down shortly but am going  
to love him until I see you again.  
since I want to give him the papers  
also if you have one of their black  
power of attorney I want him to be one  
of them. I will close for now.

Sincerely,  
James Earl Ray

ENCLOSURE

44-28861-5235

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum # 259  
# 262

TO : Director, FBI (44-38861)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM: SAC, Memphis (44-1982) (P)

SUBJECT: MURKIN

Submitted herewith for the Bureau's information are two copies of an Order issued by Judge W. PRESTON BATTLE, Memphis, Tenn., relative to seating accommodations in the courtroom in anticipation of forthcoming trial.

Also submitted are two copies of an "Order on Scire Facias," issued by Judge BATTLE.

In addition to the above Orders issued by Judge BATTLE, there are enclosed two copies each of the following:

Letter prepared by subject JAMES EARL RAY to his brother JERRY, dated October 14, 1968.

Letter dated October 9, 1968, addressed to subject by his brother, JERRY RAY, St. Louis, Mo.

Letter dated October 14, 1968 from subject to Attorney ARTHUR HANES.

② - Bureau (Enc.-10)  
1 - Memphis  
RGJ:ME  
(3)

REC 53

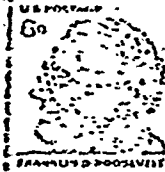
15 OCT 15 1968

EX-100

3/10/80 Sp Macomber

6 OCT 25 1968

J RAY  
MEMPHIS, TENN  
COUNTY JAIL.



To. Mr. Arthur Hanes.  
Att. at Law.  
Birmingham, Alabama  
35203

3/15/68 *Spencer*

Dear Mr. Hanes;

oct-14-68

I will just write a short note,  
everything is about the same, The papers  
have been writing about 2 articles everyday  
about the case, The last article took up  
the whole front page of the 2nd section.  
I guess they had a little briefing from  
the states attorney office as they come  
up with a couple new theories, also  
bring me up a set of books as one  
suppose to be a hippie according  
to the last article, The main reason  
I am writing this letter is to say

oct-14-68

To you on att. Gen. Clark from England.  
I read in the paper a couple of days ago  
that federal courts are using this tactic to  
get convictions.  
Well I suppose that's all for now

Sincerely

James E. Ray.

Memphis County Jail



# 259  
# 260

FBI

Date: 10-24-68

- 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 \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AM

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (44-38861)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (44-1987)

MURKIN

*Foreign Govt Agency and info*

Submitted herewith for the information and assistance of the Bureau are three items of correspondence. The first is

[Redacted] The second letter was prepared by JAMES EARL RAY and forwarded to Honorable W. PRESTON BATTLE, Criminal Courts Building, Memphis, Tennessee. The third is from subject RAY to his attorney, ARTHUR HANES,

Of significance, RAY in his letter to HANES requests that Mr. HUIE not go to any of the addresses in Miami until after the trial. In this connection, RAY also states "that part of the story just covers a few days anyhow and is not too important."

The above material is being furnished for the Bureau's information.

ENCLOSURE  
3 BUREAU (Enc. 3) (AM)  
1 MEMPHIS

RGJ:BN  
(4)

*EX-102  
12/13/68  
10/31/68*

44-38861-5321  
REC-52

NOV 7 1968

C. C. Bishop

NOV 14 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

J. RAY  
COUNTY JAIL  
MEMPHIS, TENN



To Mr. Arthur Hanes, att.  
617 - Frank Nelson Bldg.  
Birmingham, Alabama  
35203

10-18-68

Dear Mr. Hanes;

I was thinking about that long list of witnesses yesterday. It seems most of them resulted from Mr. Hanes going to Chicago. Therefore ask him not to go to any of the addresses in Miami until after the trial starts, that way if Clark send a couple divisions down there it will be too late to put them on the witness list. That part of the story just covers a few days anyhow and is not so important, also if you didn't destroy these papers just send all of them to Jerry. That all for now.

Sincerely,  
J. Ray

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

3/13/80

Alma

10/31/68

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. Long

To: SAC, Memphis (44-1987)  
From: Director, FBI (44-38861)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/13/80 BY SP/maice

MURKIN

*Confidential Source*

Bureau is in receipt of a copy of a letter from James Earl Ray addressed to I. F. Stoner, Savannah, Georgia, as provided to you by the [redacted] Memphis, Tennessee. This letter is [redacted] for coming to Memphis and states that Ray's brother will be in touch with Stoner.

In your teletype of 9/30/68, you advised that in the motion filed by Arthur J. Hanes, Ray's attorney, in Shelby County Criminal Court, Memphis, Tennessee, pertaining to Ray's corresponding with his attorney, Judge W. Preston Battle, ruled that written notes exchanged between Ray and his attorney are privileged; however, the Shelby County Sheriff or his designated agent has the authority to peruse these notes to determine if there is any attempt to breach security of the jail. These notes should not be perused for the purpose of ascertaining the full contents of the messages.

In view of the above order of W. Preston Battle, you should not accept any written communication from the [redacted] regarding correspondence between Ray and other individuals. If it is not in violation of the court order you may accept information from the [redacted] if he volunteers this information and it is on an oral [redacted] only.

REL:GOW  
(4)

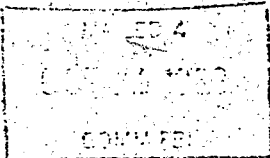
*REV EX 103*

44-38861-5310  
REC-35

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

15 NOV 5 1968

ENCLOSURE



*Confidential Source*

NOTE:

Bureau is in receipt of a copy of a letter from James Earl Ray addressed to J. B. Stoner, Savannah, Georgia, as provided by the [redacted] Memphis, Tennessee, to our Memphis Office. This letter is thanking Stoner for coming to Memphis and states that Ray's brother will be in touch with Stoner.

Memphis by teletype of 9-30-68, advised that in the Motion filed by Arthur J. Hanes, Ray's attorney, in Shelby County Criminal Court, Memphis, Tennessee, pertaining to Ray's corresponding with his attorney, Judge W. Preston Battle, ruled that written notes exchanged between Ray and his attorney are privileged; however, the Shelby County Sheriff or his designated agent has the authority to peruse these notes to determine if there is any attempt to breach security of the jail. These notes should not be perused for the purpose of ascertaining the full contents of the messages.

This communication is advising Memphis not to accept any written communication from [redacted] regarding Ray's correspondence. However, they may accept information on an oral basis from [redacted] Memphis also being instructed to insure that the acceptance of this oral information is not in violation of the court order.

Prior information indicates that Ray has been in contact with J. B. Stoner with a view towards engaging him as counsel, although Hanes continues to be Ray's attorney of record.

FBI

Date: 10/31/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

To: SAC, Memphis (44-1987)

From: Director, FBI (44-38861)

MURKIN

*Bureau Instructions Vindict*

Bureau is in receipt of a copy of a letter from James Earl Ray addressed to J. B. Stoner, Savannah, Georgia, as provided to you by the Sheriff of Shelby County, Memphis, Tennessee. This letter is thanking Stoner for coming to Memphis and states that Ray's brother will be in touch with Stoner.

In your teletype of 9/30/68, you advised that in the motion filed by Arthur J. Hanes, Ray's attorney, in Shelby County Criminal Court, Memphis, Tennessee, pertaining to Ray's corresponding with his attorney, Judge W. Preston Battle, ruled that written notes exchanged between Ray and his attorney are privileged; however, the Shelby County Sheriff or his designated agent has the authority to peruse these notes to determine if there is any attempt to breach security of the jail. These notes should not be perused for the purpose of ascertaining the full contents of the messages.

In view of the above order of W. Preston Battle, you should not accept any written communication from the sheriff regarding correspondence between Ray and other individuals. If it is not in violation of the court order you may accept information from the sheriff if he volunteers this information and it is on an oral basis only.

44-1987-Sub-N-76

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
NOV 1 1968	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

*Hester*

3/13/86 *Spinacone*

Sent Via \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

47

PLAINTEXT

APRIL 7, 1968

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - Mr. McGowan

TO: ALL SACS

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

*3/13/80 Sp...ance*

MURKIN

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

THIS IS THE CAPTION FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS INVESTIGATION TO IDENTIFY PERSON OR PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, ON APRIL FOUR LAST.

ALL INVESTIGATION MUST BE HANDLED UNDER THE PERSONAL DIRECTION OF THE SAC. LEADS ARE TO BE AFFORDED IMMEDIATE, THOROUGH IMAGINATIVE ATTENTION. YOU MUST EXHAUST ALL POSSIBILITIES FROM SUCH LEADS AS ANY ONE LEAD COULD RESULT IN THE SOLUTION OF THIS MOST IMPORTANT INVESTIGATION. SAC WILL BE HELD PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY FAILURE TO PROMPTLY AND THOROUGHLY HANDLE INVESTIGATIONS IN THIS MATTER.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
APR 7 1968

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

CLM:HS (3)

*1-cc FRED...  
Folsom, APR. 019  
12/4/76 972*

REC 86  
VIA TELETYPE  
APR 8 1968  
91131 ER  
ENCIPHERED

14-38861-53

19 APR 8 1968

*76*

*Jan R*

#161

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: April 17, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *RWR*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. McDonough
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Martindale
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MURKIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/13/76 BY *Edp/wac/mce*

## PROPOSED PROSECUTIVE ACTION

This case concerns the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. *D*

On 4/16/68 the Attorney General authorized the filing of a complaint charging Galt with violation of Title 18, Section 241, U. S. Code, for conspiring to interfere with the constitutional rights of Martin Luther King, Jr. It was understood that no publicity would be given to the complaint unless some change in the situation indicated the complaint should be made public. A proposed complaint is set out below:

EX-116 REC-38 44-38861-1555

On or about March 29, 1968, at Birmingham, Alabama, in the Northern District of Alabama, Eric Starvo Galt and an individual whom he alleged to be his brother, entered into a conspiracy, which continued until on or about April 5, 1968, to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate Martin Luther King, Jr., a citizen of the United States, residing in Atlanta, Georgia, in the free exercise or enjoyment of a right secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States; namely, the right to freely travel from state to state. In furtherance of this conspiracy, Eric Starvo Galt did, on or about March 30, 1968, purchase a rifle at Birmingham, Alabama, all in violation of Section 241, Title 18, U. S. Code.

The above proposed complaint is considered to disclose the absolute minimum information that would be acceptable to a U. S. Commissioner or Federal Judge. To satisfy the judicial officer, it may be necessary to add some additional details such as the description of the gun and the fact it was abandoned at the crime scene. If necessary, such detail will be added but only to the extent necessary to obtain a warrant.

*pmf/HAC*  
*D. Bhandari*

62 APR 29 1968  
WLM:vea  
NW-68486 DocId:32989755 Page 311

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

Under the statute being used the complaint can be filed in any District in which the conspiracy took place or an overt act occurred. On the basis of facts presently available, we are limited to filing the complaint at Memphis or Birmingham.

We understand that we cannot rely on the U. S. Attorney at Memphis. If we tried to file there, we would immediately lose control of the situation and the complaint would become public knowledge.

We have checked with Birmingham and we have no assurance we could keep a complaint filed there a secret. We would have to go through the U. S. Attorney's Office and Macon Weaver, the U. S. Attorney, is presently in Houston. The U. S. Commissioner is a woman who does not have too firm a grasp on her operations.

Investigation at the Canadian address given by Galt, 7/31/67, has not been productive and a Kansas City address as of 3/1/67, that we obtained in Canada is nonexistent. Galt is last known to have been in Atlanta, 4/5/68, and his present whereabouts are unknown. We are faced with the danger that he may leave the country before he is located.

In view of the above circumstances, it now appears charges should be immediately filed and Galt's fugitive status should be given the widest possible publicity.

ACTION:

1. We should openly file the proposed complaint at Birmingham.
2. We should issue a wanted flyer and a fugitive press release.
3. We should issue an Identification Order even though no fingerprints are available.
4. At the appropriate time, the Attorney General should be advised that circumstances have required the action being taken.

*Personality appropriate  
in the situation -  
in conference.  
4/17/68 -*

*Memphis Jones better*

*R -2- N.M.*

*4.117*



#168

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

*JPM*

*Left*

*McDonnell  
Mabey*

*O  
MURKIN*

APR 18 3 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-13-86 BY [signature]

296A

CLARK 4/11 NX  
 WITH MANHUNT WASHINGTON 253A  
 NEW YORK (UPI)--ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK SAID THURSDAY NIGHT A  
 PROGRESS REPORT WOULD BE MADE TO THE NATION SOON ON THE MANHUNT  
 FOR THE SLAYER OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.  
 "WE WILL REPORT ON SOME DEVELOPMENTS THAT SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC  
 SOON," CLARK TOLD NEWSMEN. WHEN PRESSED FOR A SPECIFIC DATE CLARK  
 SAID, "WHEN THERE ARE FACTS A REPORT WILL BE MADE."  
 CLARK, HERE TO RECEIVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD OF THE B'NAI B'RITH  
 ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE, SAID ON HIS ARRIVAL AT THE WALDORF -ASTORIA  
 HOTEL, "I REMAIN AS OPTIMISTIC AS I EVER HAVE BEEN ON IT (THE  
 CAPTURE OF THE ASSASSIN)."  
 CLARK REFUSED TO COMMENT ON REPORTS THAT POLICE RADIO BANDS ON  
 MEMPHIS PATROL CARS HAD RECEIVED FALSE MESSAGES ON THE DAY THE  
 CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER WAS SLAIN.  
 "YOU UNDERSTAND I CANNOT COMMENT," HE SAID.  
 CLARK REFUSED TO ELABORATE ON WHETHER HE HAD ANY NEW FACTS TO  
 DISCLOSE.  
 JL1054PES

*We are not going to make any  
 progress report. Our sole objective  
 is to apprehend the assassin  
 not to give blow by blow accounts  
 just to appease a selfish press &  
 get cheap headlines.*

101

44-38777-1061

REC-71

14 APR 18 1968

79 APR 19 1968

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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

319A

CLARK 4/11 NX

1ST ADD CLARK NEW YORK 296A X X X TO DISCLOSE.

IN HIS SPEECH TO THE DINNER AUDIENCE, CLARK SAID THE CURRENT "ANXIETIES" OF AMERICA MUST BE VIEWED IN THE PERSPECTIVE THAT OTHER TIMES AND OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN EVEN MORE TROUBLED.

"WE HAVE HAD RIOTS IN THIS NATION FAR MORE DEADLY THAN THESE TERRIBLE RIOTS OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS," HE SAID.

CLARK HAILED THE NEWLY SIGNED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AS "A NEW BASIC CHARTER FOR FREEDOM" BUT WARNED THE NATION MUST MOVE FORWARD ON ALL FRONTS TO BRING THE "ALIENATED" - "THE YOUNG, THE POOR AND THE MINORITIES" - INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE.

"THE QUESTION IS WHETHER WE CAN MAINTAIN OUR SOCIAL STABILITY WHILE WE UNDERTAKE THE MIGHTY TASK ESSENTIAL TO RECLAIM OUR CITIES, OUR POVERTY-STRICKEN...SOCIAL STABILITY IS ESSENTIAL FOR PROGRESS," HE SAID.

"THE POLICE MUST KNOW THAT OVER-REACTION OR UNDER-REACTION WILL CAUSE A RIOT THAT CAN ONLY DIVIDE THE COUNTRY, CLARK SAID.

"THE POLICEMAN IN THE U.S. THIS YEAR IS THE MOST IMPORTANT MAN WE HAVE...ON HIS COOLNESS, ON HIS INTELLIGENCE...RESTS THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY WE HAVE" FOR AVERTING DISRUPTIVE VIOLENCE WHILE WORKING FOR PROGRESS, HE SAID.

MI1235AES

#169

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

*Murkin*

*Murkin*  
*W. C. Sullivan*

**KING'S MURDERER VIEWED AS LONER**  
 ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said yesterday there is no significant evidence that the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "goes beyond the single actor" who fired the fatal shot.  
 Clark made the statement in reply to a question concerning reports of a possible conspiracy of Southern businessmen who might have been involved in the King slaying.

*I do wish the A.G. would stop talking about this case until it is solved.*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) **ATG**
- 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 \_\_\_\_\_

**MURKIN**

REC-44 EX-115

44-38861-2633

APR 28 1968

MAY 6 1968

79 MAY 6 - 1968

*File 6 - Egn*

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

**Clark 'Very Optimistic'  
Ray Will Be Captured**

WASHINGTON, May 12 (UPI) — Attorney General Ramsey Clark said today that James Earl Ray, sought in the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, was alive. He said he was "very optimistic" that Ray would be captured.

Mr. Clark interviewed on the American Broadcasting Company's television program "Issues and Answers," said he had found no evidence to believe that he is not still alive. Mr. Clark said "I believe we will find him." Clark said.

*Still talking!*

*A*

*2/12/68 Spruance*

- 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 38
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

*REC-3 41-3161-3556*

Date MAY 18 1968

**17 MAY 20 1968**

# 179

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. DeLoach *JD*

DATE: August 21, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long

SUBJECT: MURKIN

*8/12/68 Sprinckle*

This is the case involving the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.

With reference to the dissemination to the Department of investigative reports in this case, such reports fall into two categories: a) reports containing information of evidentiary value pertinent to the prosecution of the Federal violation involved; and b) reports containing the results of the extensive fugitive investigation conducted to locate and apprehend the subject, James Earl Ray.

All reports pertinent to the prosecution of the Federal violation involved, and in which the Department has a legitimate interest, have been disseminated promptly to the Department and there has been absolutely no delay in doing so.

The remaining reports contain the results of our extensive fugitive investigation to locate and apprehend Ray. Copies of these reports were not disseminated to the Department since they relate solely to the fugitive aspects of the case, and contain no evidentiary material or information of value to the Department in the discharge of its prosecutive function relative to the Federal charge involved.

There are twenty such reports involving approximately 2,000 pages. They contain background data and results of extensive interviews and/or other investigation conducted to locate Ray. Although they do not relate to the prosecution aspect of the case, they will none the less be furnished to the Department in accordance with Mr. Pollak's specific request.

EX-100 REC-2144-38861-5/15

In this connection, by letter dated July 12, 1968, received at the Bureau July 15, 1968, Assistant Attorney General Fred M. Vinson, Jr. of the Criminal Division requested we review the records of the Missouri State Penitentiary pertaining to Ray, and summarize references to Ray's family background; education; physical, medical and psychiatric examinations and disciplinary proceedings. (It confi-

35 Enclosure *8-22-68*  
SEP 6 1968  
NW 68486 DocId:32989739 Page 317

CONTINUED - OVER

*Handwritten signatures and initials on the right side of the page.*

Memo Rosen to DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

dentially came to our attention before Vinson's memorandum was written that British prison authorities had asked Vinson for information of this type in connection with their responsibility to maintain Ray's custody and the extradition proceedings.)

We had, of course, reviewed such records in the initial phase of the fugitive aspect of the investigation, and the results had been set forth in the fugitive reports dated May 15, 1968, and June 14, 1968, submitted by our Kansas City Office. Copies of these reports, which contained in full the information requested by Vinson in his letter, were furnished to him on July 19, 1968. Since the Attorney General had requested that information relating to the case be furnished to both Vinson and Assistant Attorney General Stephen J. Pollak of the Civil Rights Division, copies of the pertinent reports were also furnished to Pollak.

It should be noted Vinson did not furnish Pollak a copy of his (Vinson's) July 12, 1968, letter to the Bureau and consequently Pollak is apparently completely unaware the pertinent Kansas City reports were furnished to him and Vinson in answer to Vinson's specific request. This is another typical example in the Department of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing and explains why Pollak has gone off half cocked in erroneously accusing us of delay in disseminating the reports in question.

As a further example of this lack of coordination between Pollak and Vinson as relates to this case, it is noted that after Ray was turned over to state authorities in Tennessee we inquired of Vinson by letter whether the Federal process against Ray should be dismissed since the extradition order did not cite the Federal Civil Rights charges and it was our understanding that Ray could not, therefore, be prosecuted on Federal charges. A copy of our letter was furnished to Pollak.

Vinson in reply advised us that he felt the Federal process should be dismissed; however, Pollak, apparently unaware of Vinson's position, subsequently advised us that he felt the process should not be dismissed pending disposition of the state murder charges against Ray. It was necessary for us by memorandum to point out the discrepancy in the two views and request clarification in the matter.

Memo Rosen to DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

ACTION:

Attached for approval is an appropriate letter to Pollak  
straightening him out in line with the above.

*This is typical of the  
inefficiency currently  
existing.*

*JPM* *dm/* *f* *or*  
*A* *R* *V*

*Reports to AB, CRD, Crim Div  
8/28/68  
gms*

86, 195

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DL*

DATE: April 30, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. McDonough
- 1 - Mr. Martindale
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale

SUBJECT: MURKIN

This is the case involving the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.

A confidential source at the telephone company in Houston has furnished the following information. Hugh Ainsworth of "Newsweek" advised the telephone company that Louis Lomax and Charles Stein identified a public telephone at Uvalde, Texas, as one used by Ray to make a call to New Orleans between 6 p. m. and 9 p. m., 12/16/67.

*Am. William*  
*Chick*  
*Stromberg*  
*FR*

Telephone company records show that no call was made to New Orleans from this telephone during the entire month of December. Only one interstate call was made between 6 p. m. and 9 p. m., 12/16/67. This call was by a man identifying himself as Ben Gomez and was made to the residence of Guadalupe Mata (phonetic) at a telephone number in California. Mata is being checked out as are eight calls made from this telephone to Texas telephone numbers between 6 p. m. and 9 p. m., 12/16/67.

*TEXAS - LA - CALIF*

Mrs. Clovina Olonzo, New Orleans, *La* mother of Charles Stein, describes him as "crazy but harmless." She bases this opinion on the fact that he holds conversations with "space people" and on several occasions has asked her to look into the sky to see a flying saucer he allegedly was watching; she could see nothing. She also stated that Stein talks to trees and explains this by saying that trees were placed on earth for a purpose.

Anthony Charles Decarvelho, a friend of Charles Stein in New Orleans, has advised that he held several conversations with Stein when Stein was in New Orleans last December and that these conversations dealt with a "cosmic philosophy" in which Stein believes. Decarvelho said this philosophy deals with flying saucers, space people residing on earth and attempts to get closer to the Creator. Stein said that the Creator had provided for him in making the subject available to drive him to

EX-109

REC-71 4/24-38861-2598

MAY 8 1968

WLM:vea  
66 MAY 9 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach**  
**RE: MURKIN**

New Orleans. Stein told Decarvelho he felt that he was on the threshold of converting Ray to his "cosmic philosophy" and hoped to complete the conversion on the return trip from New Orleans to Los Angeles.

Lomax and Stein have now returned to Los Angeles. Stein advised the search for the telephone booth used by Ray had been nonproductive. He said a couple of telephone booths in Uvalde, Texas, looked familiar but he could furnish no factual data as to their use by Ray.

In an article for immediate release by Louis Lomax, now writing for the North American Newspaper Alliance, Lomax falsely claimed that there are certain contradictions in the FBI investigation. Lomax in his article states as follows.

1. Lomax claims: The FBI has been forced to admit that the fingerprints circulated as those of Ray are in fact of someone else.

Facts: The FBI has issued only one set of fingerprints and these are the actual fingerprints of Ray. When Ray escaped from prison in April, 1967, Missouri authorities issued a wanted notice that bore the wrong fingerprints; however the warden immediately issued a corrected wanted notice bearing the correct fingerprints. We had nothing to do with these wanted notices issued by Missouri almost a year before King was killed.

2. Lomax claims: An FBI search of the 1966 white Mustang driven by Ray unearthed Green Stamps that were issued as a result of a purchase at a Birmingham, Alabama, gas station in mid-February, 1968. FBI reports consistently place Ray in Los Angeles as a student at dancing and bartending schools at the time of the gas station transaction.

Facts: The manager of the service station in Birmingham, Alabama, stated that the station purchases S & H Green Stamps every two weeks and upon reviewing the stamps from the 1966 Mustang of Ray the manager stated that the stamps were purchased on 9/8/67 from the S & H Company and the number on the top of the stamps would indicate that they were given to a customer sometime during 9/8-22/67. It is noted that Birmingham investigation indicates that Ray was in Birmingham, Alabama, from 8/26/67 to 10/6/67.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

3. Lomax claims: FBI reports indicated that cigarette butts and ashes were found on the floor of the white Mustang when it was recovered in Atlanta, Georgia, although Lomax alleges Ray does not smoke.

Facts: The Agents in Atlanta, upon examination of the 1966 Mustang, determined there were no apparent cigar or cigarette ashes on the floor of the white Mustang and the ash tray was clean.

4. Lomax claims: The FBI reports indicate that Ray was in Los Angeles until 3/27/68; he is reported to have bought the fatal weapon in Birmingham, Alabama, on 3/30/68. Ray could not have driven the route in a Mustang in that short period between 3/27/68 and 3/30/68.

Facts: Our investigation discloses that Ray departed Los Angeles, California, on 3/17/68 giving a forwarding address as General Delivery, Atlanta, Georgia.

5. Lomax claims: The most fatal oversight was the FBI's failure to uncover the console television set Ray gave to a Hollywood girl friend in return for her portable television set. The back of this television set contained handwriting believed to be that of Ray.

Facts: We were perfectly aware that Ray traded his console television set for a portable model and the television set has been in the possession of a person whom we have interviewed at length. Our Los Angeles Office advises that there is no handwriting on the back of the television set.

6. Lomax claims: A clear reading makes it all but certain that Ray took three trips to New Orleans between 12/13/67 and the end of March.

Facts: Our investigation thus far discloses that Ray made two trips to New Orleans: once when he left Los Angeles 12/15/67, was registered at a New Orleans motel, 12/17-19/67, and returned to Los Angeles 12/21/67; and again when he left Los Angeles, 3/17/68, and delivered a package in New Orleans to a relative of Charles Stein, apparently on the evening of 3/21/68.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

7. Lomax claims: The FBI did not retrace Ray's trip to New Orleans with Stein to find the telephone booth Ray used to call New Orleans and did not consider the possibility Ray had called New Orleans from a telephone booth in the St. Francis Hotel in Los Angeles.

Facts: Lomax and Stein spent several days in an unproductive search for the Texas telephone booth allegedly used by Ray. We are checking the records of all calls made from more than 170 telephones along the route driven by Ray and Stein in December, 1967. We have previously checked out calls made from the telephone booth in the St. Francis Hotel indicated by Lomax as having been used by Ray and no pertinent information was developed. We are also checking calls made from all other pay telephones in the St. Francis.

ACTION:

Extensive investigation is continuing throughout the field on a top priority basis to locate and apprehend Ray as quickly as possible.

Memphis authorities have indicated that they may seek a murder indictment against Ray from a local grand jury on or about 5/3/68. It is not yet known if the testimony of FBI Agents will be necessary but we will furnish whatever cooperation local authorities may require in presenting the matter to a grand jury.

*CLM/JSK* ✓  
*Ryan* *1.* *DJH* *As*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DL*

DATE: May 7, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

- |                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 - Mr. DeLoach    | 1 - Mr. Mohr     |
| 1 - Mr. Rosen      | 1 - Mr. Bishop   |
| 1 - Mr. Malley     | 1 - Mr. Conrad   |
| 1 - Mr. McGowan    | 1 - Mr. Gale     |
| 1 - Mr. Long       | 1 - Mr. Sullivan |
| 1 - Mr. McDonough  | 1 - Mr. Trotter  |
| 1 - Mr. Martindale |                  |

SUBJECT: MURKIN

*Wofy*

This is the matter involving the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Louis E. Lomax has now released his final news article. It is a vicious and unwarranted attack against the Bureau and is replete with misstatements of fact and ridiculous conclusions.

1. LOMAX STATES: The Director deeply disliked King and once referred to him as a notorious liar; therefore, few black people will believe the Bureau will work overtime to find King's slayer.

FACTS: The total facilities of the FBI have been fully committed to this case from the outset. Investigation has proceeded around-the-clock on a top priority basis throughout the United States and in various foreign countries. Thousands of interviews have been conducted and hundreds of suspects have been processed. A tremendous number of examinations have been conducted by the Laboratory and Identification Division. Every logical investigative approach is being vigorously pursued and there will be no let up until Ray is apprehended.

2. LOMAX STATES: The FBI is inept or its bungling is intentional.

FACTS: The Bureau's record in this case is one of substantial achievement. Starting with an unknown subject, the man known as Eric Galt was identified as a prime suspect within five days. Within another week we had obtained a photograph of the subject and the Attorney General considered sufficient evidence had been developed to

REC-20 44-38861-3145

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MAY 13 1968  
FBI - MEMPHIS  
Sp Macmillan

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

warrant Federal process. Three days later, as a result of a project to check latent fingerprints against the fingerprints of more than 53,000 fugitives, Ray was determined to be identical with Galt.

3. LOMAX STATES: Somebody managed to circulate wrong fingerprints for Ray and if he had been arrested when he abandoned his car in Atlanta (4/5/68) he would not have been identified as Ray.

FACTS: The FBI has issued only one set of fingerprints and these are the actual fingerprints of Ray. When Ray escaped from prison in April, 1967, Missouri authorities issued a wanted notice that bore the wrong fingerprints; however, the warden immediately issued a corrected wanted notice bearing the correct fingerprints. We had nothing to do with these wanted notices issued by Missouri almost a year before King was killed.

4. LOMAX STATES: The FBI has pre-empted local police from the case by declaring the King murder a conspiracy.

FACTS: We have closely cooperated with the Memphis Police who obtained a murder warrant immediately after Federal process was obtained. All evidence has been turned over to the police together with the results of Laboratory and fingerprint examinations and we have offered local authorities whatever assistance may be needed in presenting the case to a local grand jury.

5. LOMAX STATES: The FBI has yet to ask the cooperation of the Los Angeles Police.

FACTS: Our relations with the Los Angeles Police in this case have been excellent. We have checked their records on the subject and various other individuals and on 5/3/68 when the police received a letter to the "Los Angeles Times" purportedly written by the subject, it was immediately made available to the Los Angeles Office.

6. LOMAX STATES: Ray made at least three trips from Los Angeles to New Orleans.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach

RE: MURKIN

FACTS: Ray is only known to have made two trips from Los Angeles to New Orleans, in December, 1967, and in March, 1968.

7. LOMAX STATES: The FBI confiscated telephone company records listing calls made from Los Angeles telephone booths used by Ray and only the FBI knows what these records show.

FACTS: We have not confiscated any records. We have obtained information from the telephone company regarding calls made from all pay telephones in the St. Francis Hotel, Los Angeles. It would appear that Lomax has been unsuccessful in his efforts to obtain similar information from the telephone company.

8. LOMAX STATES: America's blacks never have trusted either the Director or the FBI.

FACTS: We have long enjoyed the confidence of responsible Negro leaders and the responsible Negro press. This confidence has been gained by the Bureau's continuing success in handling Civil Rights cases such as the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, the murder of Lt. Colonel Lemuel Penn in Georgia, the murder of Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, investigations concerning discrimination in voting, education, and many similar investigative accomplishments.

9. LOMAX STATES: The FBI leaked a story to the press suggesting a Negro was behind King's murder.

FACTS: This is absolutely false.

10. LOMAX STATES: The Director should publicly admit his dislike for King and then "share the hunt" with a less prejudiced agency; the cause of justice would be better served if the investigation were under a Warren-type, biracial commission.

FACTS: This is unworthy of comment.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

11. LOMAX STATES: It is certain powerful men in American society were part of the deed.

FACTS: We have developed no evidence to indicate this is true nor does Lomax document this statement in any way.

In his prior articles Louis Lomax made reference to a "mysterious blond" named Jerri who he alleged had been involved with Ray at Los Angeles and later went to Milwaukee where Lomax said she had disappeared. Jerri has been identified as Dyrell Dennis, a prostitute and narcotics addict whose relationship with Ray appears to have been limited to a single meeting in a bar followed by a brief visit to his room.

Edgar John Pendleton, Los Angeles, with whom Lomax has also been in contact, has made available a letter he received from Dyrell Dennis, postmarked 4/19/68 at Milwaukee. This letter states in part, "Have you seen Ray? I hope he is OK." Pendleton denies any knowledge of the subject and states the Ray mentioned by Dennis is Ray Selma, a Mexican-American who formerly resided at the St. Francis Hotel. It is noted Dennis has stated she knew the subject only as Eric.

Local authorities are scheduled to present this matter to a grand jury at Memphis, 5/7/68, to seek a murder indictment against Ray. At the present time it does not appear that Bureau personnel will be required to testify, but the Special Agent in Charge will be available if he is needed.

ACTION:

Vigorous investigation is continuing on a top priority basis.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: R, A, S, and others]*

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: May 2, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

SUBJECT: MURKIN  
(KING MURDER CASE)

*9/1/68*

*Et. Louis*

This is a memorandum concerning Louis Emanuel LOMAX.

*Louise Summary*  
*Louis*

*Conn. Moore*

Louis Emanuel Lomax, a Negro who was born in Georgia in August, 1922, is a free lance writer and reporter currently writing articles for the North American Newspaper Alliance. He previously conducted a controversial television program which originated in Los Angeles.

*Texas. Ill. Calif. E*

An investigation of Lomax was conducted in 1963 when he traveled to Cuba from Mexico. Bufiles reflect that Lomax is no good and that he has repeatedly proven his antagonism toward the FBI. For example, in November, 1964, he appeared on David Susskind's "Open End" television program with Edward M. Keating (publisher of "Ramparts," the rotten magazine which has former SA William W. Turner on its staff) and William Kunstler (attorney who is absolutely no friend of ours). On this program Lomax was very critical of the FBI's role in the civil rights movement and stated there would be no solution to the problem in Mississippi as long as Mr. Hoover remains as head of the FBI.

*5-STAR*

On his October 17, 1965, television program, Lomax had as guests Helen Sobell (wife of Morton Sobell, who was convicted in the Rosenberg case) as well as Walter Schneir, author of a book based on the theme that the Rosenberg case subjects were railroaded.

*ESPIONAGE*

*REC-9 44-38861-3196*

Bufiles further reflect that in August, 1967, former Agent Norman T. Ollestad, author of the vicious book, "Inside the FBI," appeared on Lomax' television program and used this occasion to further spread his lies and distortions. Lomax, as expected, did absolutely nothing to present the Bureau's side.

*2 MAY 14 1968 I*

Lomax is now writing for the North American Newspaper Alliance in connection with the recent trip of Lomax and Charles Stein to possibly determine the location of the telephone stations used by Ray and Stein in their trip to

Enclosure

79 MAY 15 1968  
REL:cs  
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

New Orleans in December of 1967. The articles as written by Lomax are grossly distorted and without foundation in fact. The Los Angeles Office feels that Lomax hopes to use his articles regarding the King case as a vehicle to get back in "big time" television.

Our Los Angeles Office advises that Lomax was sentenced to the penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois, on larceny charges from 2/19/50 until 5/9/56.

ACTION:

None. For information. Identification Record on Lomax attached.

*gpc* *John* *of* *Program* *SA* *✓* *nm*  
*R* *(2)*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

The following FBI record, NUMBER 329 480 A, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Bridgeport Connecticut	Louis Lomax #6702	January 1, 1949	passing bad checks	
Police Department Chicago Illinois	Louise Lomax #D-72639	December 4, 1949	confidence game (automobile 2)	court cost \$5000
Police Department Chicago Illinois	Louis E Lomax #File	December 5, 1949	general principles	
State Penitentiary Joliet Illinois	Louis E Lomax #29305	February 10, 1950	larceny by bailee (1) confidence game (1) confidence game (1)	(1-10) (3-10) (1-10 years) (3 concurrent) January 16, 1951 released on writ to criminal court Chicago Illinois September 28, 1954 paroled to Chicago Illinois
County Jail Chicago Illinois	E Louis Lomax #113390	January 16, 1951	"HC" sentenced to Penitentiary	March 6, 1951 sentenced to Penitentiary
Public Vehicle License Commission Chicago Illinois	Louis E Lomax #175521	Applicant Fingerprinted June 11, 1956		

SEARCHED  
 INDEXED  
 SERIALIZED  
 FILED  
 6/12/86  
 Springfield

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
 Director

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

#120A

# Memorandum

*sent*

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

*R*

*the*

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MURKIN

DATE: 7/26/68

cc Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Callahan

While having lunch at Hammel's on 7/25/68, Jim McShane, Chief, U. S. Marshal's Office, Department of Justice, asked if he could sit at my table for a few minutes. I told him to sit down.

McShane told me that he wanted to express the deep resentment that he and all US Marshals felt over the fact that the FBI had brought James Earl Ray from London to the US. He stated this was logically a job for the US Marshals and that, while he had always meticulously adhered to the premise that the Marshals should never infringe on FBI jurisdiction, yet the FBI had certainly infringed on the Marshals' responsibilities in this instance. McShane also told me that he had discussed this matter with Fred Vinson and planned to mention it to the Attorney General.

I told McShane that it appeared his complaint was being misplaced, inasmuch as this was something he should discuss with the AG. I told him that, although the AG made the final decision, I wanted McShane to definitely realize that I personally was glad that the FBI had brought the subject back to the US. I stated this was a highly important case, very technical and complex in nature, and if this man had started discussing the aspects of the case with marshals, the marshals would have definitely been completely lost.

McShane replied that he personally had brought a subject back from overseas in a previous important case. I told him I remembered this, inasmuch as this particular subject had gotten away from him and had succeeded in slashing his wrists. McShane laughed and admitted this.

McShane told me that his complaint meant nothing personally between the two of us; however, he definitely wanted the FBI to

REC 5 4970

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CDD:CSH (6)

*1118*  
*F 58*

*15 U.S. ...*  
*...*

*1 1968*

*✓*

AUG 8 1968

Mr. Tolson

know of his feelings. He stated he did not care whom I told of his complaint. I stated it made little difference to me whom he complained to; however, once again, if he desired to lodge a complaint regarding the policy involved in the return of the subject, he should discuss this with the AG and not the FBI. He stated he planned to do this. He then left my table.

The Director was advised of this matter on 7/26/68.

ACTION:

For record purposes.



APRIL 26, 1968

PLAIN TEXT

*Handwritten initials and scribbles in the top right corner.*

TELETYPE

URGENT

- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. McDonough
- 1 - Mr. Martindale

TO ALL SACS

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (44-38861)

**MURKIN.**

THE MAIN FILE ON KING HAS BEEN REVIEWED AT THE BUREAU AND LEADS ARE BEING SENT OUT CONCERNING PERSONS INVOLVED IN PRIOR THREATS AGAINST KING. THESE LEADS AS WELL AS LEADS CONCERNING ANY OTHER SUSPECTS DEVELOPED FROM ANY SOURCE MUST BE GIVEN IMMEDIATE AND THOROUGH HANDLING ON A TOP PRIORITY BASIS. PROCESS HAS BEEN OBTAINED AGAINST JAMES EARL RAY AND EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS CONTINUING TO LOCATE RAY AND TO ESTABLISH MOTIVE OF CRIME. YOU HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE FURNISHED INFORMATION RELATING TO OTHER POSSIBLE CONSPIRATORS. THESE MUST ALL BE THOROUGHLY RESOLVED NO MATTER HOW REMOTE.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 26 1968

REC-38

44-38861-2288

EX 101

16 APR 29 1968

TELETYPE

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

2 - SAC, WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

WLM:hw

(8)

VIA TELETYPE  
 APR 26 1968  
 ENCRYPTED

MAY 2 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

69-315

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Bishop *W* DATE: April 19, 1968

FROM : *E. J. Daunt*

SUBJECT: MURKIN  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth some of the uses of NCIC in connection with the above-captioned case. The white Mustang used in this crime was identified and placed in the NCIC system on April 10, 1968. An inquiry by the Atlanta Police Department on April 11, 1968, resulted in the car being identified as abandoned at Atlanta, Georgia.

We also searched all NCIC transactions from August 1, 1967, through the first two weeks of April, 1968, looking for any inquiries by the police or any records that could be identified with Galt and the vehicle. A number of leads were furnished to the substantive desk for follow-up. This meant that the computer searched approximately 2-1/2 million tape transactions with the NCIC system during that period.

As the result of the request that the latent fingerprint obtained in the Murkin case be searched against all fugitives, again the NCIC system was used. Using the computer, the 25,000 fugitive records in the NCIC were searched looking for only the sixth finger of the fingerprint pattern stored in the NCIC record for ridge counts 9 to 15. The questioned ridge count was reported by the Identification Division to be 11 or 12. In two hours machine time the computer identified 1,740 possible records for the Identification Division to check within the ridge count range of 9 to 15. This information was furnished to the Identification Division and within the first 100 records positive identification was made of the subject in this case. If this had to be done manually it would have possibly taken several weeks or longer as they would have no way to isolate the questioned finger.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. M. E. Roy

EX 101 REC 16 44-38861-2034

16-APR 26 1968

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UNIFORM REP.

Memorandum to Mr. Bishop  
Re: Murkin, NCIC

These searches in the uses of the NCIC system were worked out by personnel in the Uniform Crime Reporting Section and the Voucher-Statistical Section, Administrative Division.

ACTION

For information.

*gjd*

*A*

*✓*

*TJB*

*js*

JAMES EARL RAY  
INTERESTING IDENTIFICATION

Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed on April 4, 1968, while standing on a balcony of the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee. The unknown killer made good his getaway, but in so doing, left behind evidence that would eventually help lead to his identification, apprehension and imprisonment. Items left behind were a .30-06 Remington rifle with attached Redfield telescopic sight, binoculars, and a blue zipper bag containing clothing and personal articles. These items were found in the vicinity of a rooming house across from the Lorraine Hotel. Investigation determined that subject had rented a room at the rooming house using the name John Willard, and it was from the bathroom in this establishment that the fatal shot was fired. The rifle and other evidence was delivered to the FBI Laboratory and Identification Division by a Special Agent of the Memphis Division.

Several latent prints of value were developed on the items submitted. Two of these latent prints, one on the rifle and one on the binoculars were found to have been made by the same finger and the position of these prints, as well as the shape and slope of the ridges, indicated the prints were probably from the left thumb.

Thorough investigation developed considerable information relative to the murderer. The rifle had been purchased in Birmingham by an individual using the name Harvey Lowmeyer; the white Mustang believed to be the getaway car was registered to an Eric Starvo Galt who had spent the night preceeding the murder at the Rebel Motel in Memphis. Galt was further traced to a rooming house in Atlanta where additional evidence was recovered, including a map of Mexico. A latent fingerprint developed thereon was identified with the latent prints on the rifle and binoculars. This identification enabled the FBI fingerprint experts to say that this print, in addition to probably being from the left thumb, was an ulnar loop of 12 ridge counts.

The latent prints developed on the rifle, binoculars, the map, and other evidence had been compared during the eleven days following the murder with approximately 400 suspects, had been searched through all sections of the FBI's single fingerprint file and compared with all outstanding FBI identification orders.



Based on the premise that the latent fingerprint recovered from the rifle, binoculars and map of Mexico was probably from the left thumb and was an ulnar loop of 12 ridge counts, a review of the fingerprint records of the 53, 000 fugitives on file was undertaken and it was found that approximately 1900 of these fugitives had ulnar loops of 10 - 14 ridge counts in the left thumb. Comparisons were started and on April 19, 1968, 15 days after the crime, the latent fingerprints were identified with the fingerprints of James Earl Ray, an escapee from the Missouri State Penitentiary where he had been serving time for robbery.

The fingerprint identifications with James Earl Ray triggered an intensive man hunt involving law enforcement officers and investigative personnel, not only in the United States, but also Mexico, Canada, England, and other countries.

The possibility that Ray himself might have been killed was not overlooked and all unknown deceased fingerprint cards received by the FBI were referred to the Latent Fingerprint Section for comparison. One case of this type concerned a body found buried on the beach at Acapulco, Mexico. Fingerprints taken by local authorities from this body were examined in the Latent Fingerprint Section but, because of the condition of the body, were of no value. An examiner from the FBI's Latent Fingerprint Section flew to Mexico and on examining the flesh of the fingers was able to determine that the body was not that of James Earl Ray.

Another phase of the investigation led to Canada, and there, following an exhaustive search of passport applications, it was determined that Ray had obtained a passport under the name of Ramon George Sneyd and had taken an airplane flight to London.

Copies of the FBI Identification Order prepared following Ray's identification by latent prints were immediately furnished to Scotland Yard and on June 8, 1969, while attempting to board a flight for Brussels, Belgium, Ray was arrested at London Airport.

Ray was subsequently ordered extradited to Memphis, Tennessee, to stand trial for murder and to Missouri as an escaped felon. On March 10, 1969, Ray plead guilty to King's murder and was sentenced to 99 years in the Tennessee State Penitentiary.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

#77

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach *[Signature]*

DATE: April 23, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen *[Signature]*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Martindale
- 1 - Mr. Long
- 1 - Mr. McDonough
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Trotter

SUBJECT: MURKIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-19-86 BY *[Signature]*

This is the case involving the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.

It has previously been reported Sandy Smith advised the Bureau that "Life" magazine had information alleging Curtis Way, Newark, had photographs showing James Earl Ray marching with King two weeks before the murder. It has now been determined that the photographs taken by Way are actually photographs of John Patrick O'Rourke, formerly a Sergeant on the West Orange, New Jersey, Police Department for sixteen years. O'Rourke does not appear to have any connection with this case.

The Laboratory has determined that a piece of brown thread from the room Ray had in a "hippie" rooming house in Atlanta is like the brown thread used to mend undershorts abandoned with the rifle in Memphis at the time of the killing. The undershorts have been traced to Ray by the laundry tag.

REC-44

*111-20001-240*

Information was received from "Life" magazine that one Earl Smith, Memphis, had allegedly been approached regarding a plot to assassinate King. Smith has been interviewed and related that he served six years in the Air Force as an Explosives Ordnance Disposal Technician. In August, 1966, he was employed at a Western Auto store in Memphis and frequented a bar on Bellevue Street. Smith does not recall the exact location or the name of the bar. While in this tavern Smith states he

WLM:vea  
(14)

CONTINUED - CVER

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

engaged in conversation with another patron and mentioned his military specialty. Two days later he met the same man again in the bar and this man said that since Smith had been in the Air Force he should have contacts for obtaining munitions and explosives. He then requested Smith to get 50 hand grenades and laid \$5,000 in cash on the table saying, "This is yours if you get me the grenades." The man then told Smith that he and four others in Memphis had vowed that one of them would kill Martin Luther King, Jr., in one way or another and this was why they wanted the hand grenades. Smith asked the man if he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and he replied that he was not. Smith declined to provide hand grenades and was told, "If you can't get them for me, you had better forget it." Smith has had no further contact with this man and does not know his identity. He described him as forty-five years of age, 5' 7" tall, 220 pounds, gray hair, and driving a new Corvette automobile.

After being interviewed Smith alleged that he had been fired from his job because he had furnished information. C. E. Weaver, general manager of the Western Auto store was contacted and said he had not fired Smith but had told him to go home because he was drinking on the job. He also said that Smith had failed to appear at a scheduled meeting of employees at 6:30 a. m., 4/11/68 and he had determined that Smith had been drunk the evening before and had overslept. Weaver considers Smith to be deceitful, unreliable, probably a heavy drinker and Weaver has been considering firing Smith.

Records of the penitentiary at Leavenworth show that Ray was approved for the honor farm in 1957 but was never so assigned as he did not feel he could live in the honor farm dormitory because it was integrated.

John Larry Ray, subject's brother, has been located in St. Louis where he operates a bar. John claims he has seen the subject only twice in twenty years, the last occasion being three years ago at Missouri State Penitentiary. John Ray expressed wonder that Ray is being hunted by the FBI since all he has done is "Kill a nigger" and there would be no interest in Ray if King had been white. John Ray said the subject would have no reason to contact him and would not be able to locate him anyway.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: MURKIN

Radio station KNEW, San Francisco, has a recording of a "talk show" that occurred between 9 p. m. and 10 p. m., 4/13/68. An unidentified caller alleged Adam Clayton Powell offered \$20,000 to kill King and stated, "I am a Negro myself and I belong to a militant group. Well, if you turn around and check to find out why he offered \$20,000 on Reverend King's death to four men in a UCLA building. I was there, one of twenty-six men at that party. They had a big fight between the two of them. It was never put in the paper. You have the FBI investigate and find out why the man was offered \$20,000 and a hideout in Bimini. That is why I left Los Angeles, to come up here, because I have heard your program and explain everything to you so you can turn it over to the FBI and let them figure it out."

The caller also said the meeting had been in a white house and when the announcer asked for his name so he could be contacted by the FBI, the caller stated, "Well, I don't want them to contact me because my life ain't worth two cents, on account of the man that hit (censored, censored) it might trip away from him. That is all I am going to say. Thank you." Los Angeles is contacting racial sources for any information as to such a meeting and the statements actually made by Powell.

ACTION:

Every possible means of locating Ray is being vigorously pursued.

*R. J. ...*

*[Handwritten mark]*

*V.*

*mm*

*[Handwritten mark]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

# 121  
# 317

1:05 PM

June 20, 1968

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

3/14/86 Spina...  
6-19-80 Sp...  
6-19-80 Sp...

0 murkin

While talking to Attorney General Ramsey Clark on another matter, he asked how the James Earl Ray investigation looked now. I said I thought it was more or less stymied in legal technicalities in Great Britain as it has to go through a long process on extradition. I commented that, of course, the lawyer who has gone over to represent Ray is a former FBI Agent; that he is no good and was the attorney in the Mrs. Viola Luzzo case, but, of course, we got convictions in that, but this lawyer has always been strongly pro-Klan. I said he was Mayor of Birmingham, Alabama, at one time and at that time he was a strong supporter of "Bull" Connor and I thought it significant that Ray should get a fellow who has certainly a strong smell of the Klan about him. I said he denies that he is a Klansman or that he ever attended any of their meetings and he claims he does not know how Ray came to ask for him as his lawyer. I said that Ray claims he read about him in the newspaper when he was in the penitentiary in Missouri. The Attorney General said he does not see how Ray would remember that. I agreed and told the Attorney General that the lawyer and his son, who is a partner, went over to England and we alerted our London Office to alert the British as to his background so they would know with whom they are dealing.

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The Attorney General asked how long ago the fellow was with the Bureau and I stated it must have been before the war. The Attorney General then asked how long he was with the Bureau and I told him about three years and that he then went into the practice of law and got into politics in Birmingham and, as I had said, he was a very strong supporter of "Bull" Connor in the use of police dogs, et cetera, in civil rights matters. I said he was the lawyer in the Luzzo case and won in the local court and then it went into the Federal court on civil rights and he lost. I said he has made many public statements against Martin Luther King when King was living and he has strong animosity against King and against Kennedy. I said it was significant that he is the attorney selected by Ray to represent him in the trial in this country. I said

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REC. 6

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Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop

June 20, 1968

he does not intend to ask for a change of venue if he is to be tried in Memphis. The Attorney General asked if we were getting any evidence that Ray had somebody helping him and supporting him and I told him none whatsoever. I said we were checking various lines as to Ray and Sirhan Sirhan in the Robert F. Kennedy case as to the mysterious woman in the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel and so far they have all fallen through. I said the girl in the Sirhan case has refused to take a lie detector test, but I thought the police were going to give her one although so far she has refused to take one. The Attorney General asked if this were the woman in the polka dot dress and I told him it was the one who claimed she saw the woman in the polka dot dress. The Attorney General said he had read the report on her and got the feeling she was unbalanced. I commented that she was seeking publicity.

I continued that we are also checking as to who was with Sirhan Sirhan at the rifle range when he was practicing with the revolver as well as persons with him when he bought the ammunition. I stated in these instances they were men.

I stated that in Ray's case, we have not found a single angle that would indicate a conspiracy. I said the only significant thing is the money he had and which he spent freely in paying bills and I thought that could have been obtained from a bank robbery. The Attorney General said that if we could show he robbed the bank at Alton, it would be helpful. I said we are working on that because he was paying his bills with \$50 bills up to his arrest. I said on the other hand he stayed at flop houses and never stayed at a first-class hotel but at the same time he spent, I thought, \$1200 or more in buying guns and the car, which I thought was \$1500, and then he took dancing lessons, bartender lessons, and lessons in picking locks, and that is why I think security is so exceedingly important not only in England but on the way back to this country and when he gets here.

The Attorney General commented that he hoped my men can bring him back and asked if that were satisfactory. I told him it was and that I would be strongly of the opinion, unless there is a compelling reason to the contrary, that he ought to be brought back by military plane; that I could not see any difference between a military plane, a Cunard liner, or Pan American; and on the Military plane we would have our Agents and have Ray confined with

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop

June 20, 1968

leg irons and handcuffs. I said he is a dangerous individual and is not a damn fool; that he is desperate and will make any effort to escape that he can. I said I thought he should be landed at the Naval airport in Memphis and not the regular airport. The Attorney General asked if we should have a representative of the Memphis Police Department on board or not, and I said I would not think so. I said I would think we would be responsible for taking him from the British and arrange with Frank Holloman to have the Memphis Police at the airport in Memphis on arrival, but to do it almost on an "eyes only" basis so there will be no leak as to where or when he is coming in because we will be plagued by the press, as they are trying everything they can in England to get a line on when he is being moved. I said I noted the lawyer says he expects to be advised exactly when and where he will depart. The Attorney General commented that he will know when he gets in.

I said there is a military airport in London and I thought that is where the military plane should land if it goes from this country with absolute silence on the part of the Commanding General as to its departure; that the first knowledge in this country would come when he is delivered to the Memphis Police with sufficient time to get him into jail. I said the plane should arrive so as not to allow them to go through the city in the daytime but to arrive around 2:00 or 3:00 in the morning. The Attorney General said he was sure that was exactly right. I said otherwise there will be efforts to kill him if there is a conspiracy and if there is no conspiracy, the supporters of Dr. King will do everything in their power to kill him. I said the same thing is true in the case of Sirhan Sirhan in Los Angeles because the feelings on behalf of the Kennedy followers is so strong that they will have to take great precautions to see he is not killed. I said it would be a horrible thing as it would be charged it was done by the Federal Government or something like that and for that reason it must be very carefully handled both as to transportation of Ray from London and incarceration, if he is ever extradited as I think it is going to drag on for five or six weeks. I said what I am afraid of is that there is going to develop in this country criticism on the part of the British in getting this fellow back here. I said people have asked how soon he will be brought back and I have told them it is up to the British as it is not our responsibility as we have done everything so that he has legal representation.

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop      June 20, 1968

The Attorney General stated that Assistant Attorney General Fred Vinson, Jr., will be going back over to England Monday night as the Home Secretary and our Ambassador asked that he come back. He said that we have urged in every way that it be speeded up because of the strong feeling in this country about it.

The Attorney General asked then if I thought a military plane is better than leasing a commercial plane and I said I did because when you lease a commercial plane, you would have a crew, unless you put a military crew on it, but there would be no purpose putting a military crew on a commercial plane. I said I could not see any legal difficulty as the method of getting him back does not make much difference as to the legality of the thing or the image of it. The Attorney General commented that he had been thinking the other way. I said he is a dangerous man and has proven himself to be very clever as he headed for various parts of the world as I thought he was headed for Brussels to join the mercenaries and he had plans to go to Rhodesia and he was in Lisbon where he laid around for about a week and came back to London. I said the London Police have never been able to pick up what he was doing for the balance of the time. I said he is a slippery, shrewd individual and he is most contemptuous in manner and action with the prison authorities over there. I said another thing about the British is that they are not tight on security as they do not search a person unless he is convicted and they do not search anybody visiting someone in jail, but that is the old British procedure. The Attorney General commented that it is absolutely wrong. I said I thought any person visiting a prisoner ought to be searched. The Attorney General said he thought my men talked them into doing that. I said they finally did, but they always talk about traditions over there. The Attorney General commented that they were about as strict as anybody on those.

I said I thought we have a very serious problem in moving this fellow and we ought to do it with very carefully laid out plans and take him into the Naval airport in Memphis and arrange to turn him over to Holloman and then announce he is in the custody of the Memphis Police. The Attorney General said he hoped my men were working on that so we will be ready and I told him we were.



Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop

June 30, 1968

I told the Attorney General that the men who were in London were back here, as one man's father had a serious heart attack. I said one is Special Agent Zeiss, whom he may remember, and the Attorney General said he did, that he was a close friend of his father's and his son knows him, too. I said he will be on the plane and so would John T. Minnich. The Attorney General commented this would be ideal.

The Attorney General asked how we thought Ray got the three names he used. I said this again shows his astuteness as all three are living people residing in Canada who never knew him and never heard of him. I said on the other hand, Ray spent last year, when he was wandering around the country, a great portion of the time in Canada and I thought he was planning this thing and seeking a double identity like Sneyd, Galt, and Bridgeman and checking out those names so if there were any check made on his application for a birth certificate, they could ascertain such a person existed. I said this shows his shrewdness. I said I think we are dealing with a man who is not an ordinary criminal in the usual sense, but a man capable of doing any kind of a sly act. The Attorney General said he was exceptionally clever.

I said Sirhan Sirhan is a different individual as he is a fanatic and killed Robert Kennedy because he spoke in favor of Israel and this fellow being an Arab became intensely bitter against Kennedy and felt he should be killed, which he did, but he is a fanatic and Ray is not a fanatic in that sense. I said I think Ray is a racist and detested Negroes and Martin Luther King and there is indication that prior to the Memphis situation, he had information about King speaking in other towns and then picked out Memphis. I said I think he acted entirely alone, but we are not closing our minds that others might be associated with him and we have to run down every lead.

I said we are getting more crank letters and letters about other people who are going to be killed who are in high office, such as Senator Edward Kennedy, et cetera. I said one does not realize how many nuts are loose in this country until we have a case like this. The Attorney General said it brings them out. I said we have to be careful of all of them; that we take about three away a week who come to my office who complain about persecution and sometimes they are armed and we send them to the hospital and then they are sent to St. Elizabeth's and in two or three months they are back on the streets. The Attorney General said we are going to have to find new ways to deal with that problem as it is not effective now. I said it

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop

June 29, 1968

is a problem for the psychiatrists but they are apparently doing little to cure them, but they are mentally unbalanced. The Attorney General said it is a public safety problem now. I said I do not favor the view that the country is depraved and all that. I said I think we have a great block of fine people in this country; that there may be some depraved citizens, but it is not a depraved society. The Attorney General said he thought there was too much emphasis today in the press that society is sick; that it is the fashionable thing to do.

I said I hoped the new Commission the President has appointed will keep a balanced viewpoint as to that because the other Commission went far astray in regard to white racism. I said there is racism but not as predominantly as the Kerner Commission found it to be. The Attorney General said he had never found it so. I said as an example take the meeting yesterday (Solidarity Day); that more than 50% of those who attended were white and it was not predominantly Negro. The Attorney General said that was surprising to him and he felt better to see it that way. I said this shows that white racism is not as predominant as we have been led to believe. I said I hope the Eisenhower Commission when they get around to their findings view it with an unemotional attitude. The Attorney General said there are some good people on the Commission. I said it seems it should be done without emotionalism or crying fire. I said I get annoyed with the editorials about our sick society as I do not believe there is such a thing in this country although there are some sick citizens. The Attorney General said that if I could make this point in the Law Enforcement Bulletin on the Director's page, he thought it would be helpful. I said I have been working on that just recently; that the idea was given to me by McGill of the Atlanta Constitution. I said he had a fine editorial about the attacks on the FBI because we had not found the King murderer after two months and the cracks that we were not trying to find him and then he quoted several verses of the Bible which portrayed Christ as not interested in the poor, but it showed again that there is always an effort to tear down and destroy. I commented that I thought there was a tendency to debunk our Patriots in history. I said it was that sort of thing that I thought drove President Johnson from running for a second term and the Attorney General agreed.

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Bishop

June 20, 1968

I mentioned the Students for a Democratic Society as a minority group dominating and the Attorney General said it was a tiny group. I said it is a bad group and it played a big part yesterday at this meeting as they attended but it was just like the Columbia University thing. I said that was staged by only about thirty individuals who closed the university which has thousands of students. The Attorney General said they are a pretty clever and effective group and have to be watched carefully. I said they are more effective than out and out communists. The Attorney General said they are doing more harm. I said they are moving into every area they can and we have been watching them closely and we have some good informants. The Attorney General said he thought that is really vital because they are a dangerous group.

The Attorney General expressed his appreciation and said he would keep me posted on this registration of guns.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME <u>11:45 AM</u>
DATE <u>6-21-68</u>
BY <u>P&amp;D</u>

280c

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: March 13, 1969

FROM : A. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Long

SUBJECT: MURKIN

This is the case involving the murder of Martin Luther King.

Reference is made to previous memoranda concerning Jensen's plan to interview subject Ray in the above-entitled matter at the Tennessee State Penitentiary, Nashville, Tennessee.

I had previously advised that Jensen had entered the maximum security building of the institution at 3:44 p. m. This information was furnished to the Director's Office immediately thereafter.

It is also pointed out that the steps outlined and the Director's comments concerning the need to make no public statement as the press and TV would descend on the penitentiary en masse were brought to the attention of Assistant Attorney General Leonard of the Civil Rights Division after Jensen had started his interview with Ray today. Mr. Leonard indicated he fully agreed that any publicity at this time would be most undesirable.

Mr. Leonard asked to be informed of developments which might have a bearing on this matter as it will be necessary to decide, in the event Ray is not cooperative and there is no possibility of further getting any cooperation from him, as to whether he should be brought before a Federal Grand Jury and be questioned under oath concerning the existence of coconspirators.

**ACTION TO BE TAKEN:** In accordance with the Director's instructions, the results of the interview of subject Ray by SAC Jensen will be furnished to the Director before any further action is taken to disseminate such information to the Department. It is noted that Leonard indicated he was in close touch with the Attorney General in this matter and is anxious to know of developments. The information will therefore not be furnished to Mr. Leonard until it receives the Director's approval.

AR:ige:mfd  
(6)

REC-125

MAR 17 1969

54 MAR 20 1969 EX-110

# 99

*Handwritten initials/signature*

May 1, 1968

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - Mr. Long

TO: SACS, CHICAGO  
KANSAS CITY  
ST. LOUIS  
SPRINGFIELD

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

MURKIN

FULL COVERAGE IS TO BE AFFORDED THE RELATIVES OF SUBJECT RESIDING IN YOUR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES. THIS WILL INCLUDE A SPOT SURVEILLANCE OF THESE PERSONS AS WELL AS A DETERMINATION OF THEIR ASSOCIATES AND INDIVIDUALS MAKING FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THEM. YOU SHOULD ALSO OBTAIN ALL LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALLS FROM THEIR RESIDENCE FOR PERIOD APRIL TWENTYTHREE SIXTY-SEVEN TO PRESENT TIME. YOU SHOULD MAKE THIS A CONTINUING PROJECT UNTIL OTHERWISE ADVISED BY THE BUREAU. IF TELEPHONE CALLS LOCATED, THEY MUST BE THOROUGHLY CHECKED OUT TO DETERMINE ANY CONTACT BY THE SUBJECT. IF GRAND JURY NOT IN SESSION TO SUBPOENA RECORDS, YOU SHOULD INSURE THAT REVIEW OF RECORDS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH FULL SECURITY AND BUREAU'S INTEREST WILL BE FULLY PROTECTED.

IT WILL BE FULLY INCUMBENT UPON EACH OFFICE TO BE COMPLETELY AWARE OF ANY SITUATION IN WHICH THE SUBJECT CONTACTS RELATIVES

1 - MEMPHIS

REL: pb

(6)

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

REC-71 44-388 8/1 2022

19 MAY 2 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

PAGE TWO...

MAY - 1 1968  
047P WPK  
TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO SAC, CHICAGO  
KANSAS CITY  
ST. LOUIS  
SPRINGFIELD

RE: MURKIN

OF THE SUBJECT. YOU SHOULD INSURE THAT EACH RELATIVE IS  
ADEQUATELY COVERED TO POSSIBLY ASSIST IN THE SUBJECT'S  
LOCATION AND APPREHENSION.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

AIRMAIL COPY TO MEMPHIS.

NOTE: In view of the fact subject could possibly contact  
his relatives, the offices covering residence of relatives  
requested to provide full coverage to provide any information  
whatsoever that could lead to the subject's apprehension.

ENTIRE FILE REVIEWED  
FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION

GROUP V

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

147

ENTIRE FILE REVIEWED FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION  
DATE 5/2/2011

#10

GROUP V



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/17/68

TOMAS LAU, Director, International School of Bartending, 2125 Sunset Boulevard, advised ERIC GALT was not fluent in Spanish and could only say a few words in Spanish. These words, however, were correctly pronounced by him. LAU stated he now recalls that GALT had mentioned to him that he had lived in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico for about three years. The exact dates of this residence are unknown. LAU could not recall GALT ever mentioning the reason he had been living in Mexico.

LAU stated he thought it rather peculiar that someone would spend three years in Mexico and would not take the trouble to learn the language. He never questioned GALT in this regard.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/19/86 BY SP-6/MB

On 4/16/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574

by SA BILLY DALE HUBBARD and  
SA JAMES R. PACE JRP/nmb Date dictated 4/16/68

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.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/17/68

SHARON RHOADS, employed at Charter Title, 9033 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by SAs GEORGE E. AIKEN, Jr. and E. RHEAD RICHARDS in the vicinity of her employment on April 16, 1968, at which time she advised as follows:

She stated that she was employed on a part-time basis as an evening dance instructor at the National Dance Studio located at 2026 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California.

She stated that she recalled one ERIC S. GALT as a former student whom she instructed. She stated that as she recalled, GALT was her dancing pupil from about the first week in December 1967 through approximately the middle of February 1968.

In recalling GALT, she offered the following information concerning him:

She said that GALT was a very neat person and that he dressed immaculately, often in expensive clothes. He always appeared at the dance studio cleanly shaven, wearing white shirt and tie, and either a sport coat and slacks or a suit. She stated he also owned an expensive looking pair of alligator loafers, which he often wore with a sport suit. She stated that his hands were very well kept, and his nails may have been professionally manicured, but she could not state this with absolute certainty. She stated, however, that she had never seen his hands soiled or his fingernails dirty. His fingernails were well filed and trimmed and were worn short and neat. She stated that he was left handed inasmuch as she had noticed him on two occasions writing, and at the time she observed him writing, she made a mental note that he was a "south paw."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

3/19/80

[Signature]

On 4/16/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574  
 by SAs GEORGE E. AIKEN, Jr. and E. RHEAD RICHARDS/GEA/eb Date dictated 4/17/68

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GALT was very ill at ease in crowds and gave her the impression that he prefers to be either alone or with no more than one other individual. He was an introvert and was very hard to converse with. She stated that in the approximate two months that she knew him, only towards the last did he feel confident enough with her that he would joke with her. She stated that toward the end he showed somewhat of a humor, which she believed very few people knew he had. He was always ill at ease around others and could not relax while in conversation with any other individual. He always fidgeted, pulled at his ears, played with his hands, and looked in every direction but at the person with whom he was conversing. She stated that he smiled with a one-sided smile and that he smiled very infrequently.

He would never talk about himself, but in general conversations she was led to believe that he came to Los Angeles from Mexico, possibly around Mexico City. He told her that he was unemployed; was a former merchant seaman; that he wished to return to sea, and that he received sufficient proceeds from the sale of a bar that he could "get along without being gainfully employed."

RHOADS stated that she was of the opinion that GALT entertained the thought of asking her for a date on many occasions, but his backwardness prevented him from actually doing so. During the dancing lessons he always centered his conversations around dancing techniques and never talked in general terms about himself. She believes he was a Southerner, and she recalled that possibly the first or second week during January 1968, he did not attend dancing instruction, and upon his return, stated that he had visited a brother in the State of Louisiana. RHOADS stated that during the two month period that she knew GALT, he changed residences twice in Hollywood, California. She at no time associated with GALT socially. She was not acquainted with any of his associates, and through conversations, GALT told her that he had no particular "hobby."

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She stated that GALT seemed to compensate for his social inaptness by his attire and placing his schedule on precise projects which he was participating in.

As an example, she stated that GALT took dancing lessons she believed to overcome some of his shyness. He pursued the dancing lessons quite vigorously, doubling up on the number of lessons normally taught per week so as to take the maximum number of lessons in the shortest possible time. He abruptly quit dancing, telling her that he had enrolled in bartending school and was having a conflict in his schedule.

RHOADS was of the opinion that he had toyed with his dancing lessons sufficiently to satisfy himself and was "running off on another tangent." She also stated that GALT was not sufficiently busy she believed to have not pursued both courses, because GALT told her that he slept rather late, had lunch, took a nap in the early afternoon, went to bartending school in the late afternoon, and would then attend dancing lessons in the early evening. This, he explained to her, was his typical day, which was not a busy, productive, or strenuous one in her mind.

She stated that GALT was very slow in his mental processes. He often did not understand jokes and did not react favorably to a friendly gesture extended to him. RHOADS stated that during one conversation with GALT she made mention that it was odd that he did not wear any jewelry, that is ring or watch, since he was so well dressed otherwise. GALT replied that he detested jewelry of any sort, and to her knowledge, she never saw him wear a watch, ring, or cuff links, or any other items of jewelry.

RHOADS could remember nothing else of the mannerisms, background, etc. of GALT. She stated that GALT was a white male, weighing about 165 pounds. She stated that he had brown hair; was in his middle 30s; had a medium complexion, and spoke with a Southern accent. She stated that from his diction she believed him to be high school educated. To her knowledge, he spoke no foreign language.

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His hair was short but not a flattop or Butch haircut. She stated that she could not recall whether or not he had a part in his hair but for some reason doubted that his hair was parted. His eyes were described as pretty and blue in color.

She stated that should she remember any further information pertaining to GALT, she would immediately contact the Los Angeles Division of the FBI.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/15/68

TOMAS LAU, Director, International School of Bartending, 2125 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed at this location and furnished the following information:

He stated his records reflect that ERIC S. GALT attended the International School of Bartending from January 19, 1968 through March 2, 1968, graduating from same on the latter date. He attended school Monday through Friday from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

LAU's records further reflect that on January 19, 1968 GALT paid \$20 in cash and on January 20, 1968 paid \$105 in cash for this course. GALT's Application for Admission to the School, which is dated January 19, 1968, reflects an address of 1535 North Serrano and telephone number 469-8096, which address and telephone number were scratched out and replaced with an address of 5533 Hollywood Boulevard and with a telephone number of 464-1131. The application further reflects that GALT furnished a prior employment as Mr. WILLER 751 South Figueroa, with a salary of \$50. He listed the following references:

MARIE DENINNO  
5533 Hollywood Boulevard  
Hollywood, California

RITA STEEN  
5666 Franklin  
Hollywood, California

CHARLEY DENINNO  
5666 Franklin  
Hollywood, California

On this application, GALT listed his age as 36 years with a birth date of July 20, 1931 and that he was a citizen of the United States. He listed his marital status as single, number of children none and his Selective Service classification as III-A. ~~He listed his education as high school, and describes~~

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On 4/15/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574  
by SA RICHARD J. RAYSA and SA THEODORE J. ALBERT TJA/nmb Date dictated 4/15/68

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DATE 3/14/82 BY SP-1 MAC/ML

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himself as 175 pounds, 5'10" and as having no physical defects. This application was signed by ERIC S. GALT.

IAU made available the above application, indicating he observed GALT complete and sign this application in his office on January 19, 1968. IAU also made available the Installation Notice dated January 19, 1968 at Los Angeles, California, payable to International School of Bartending in the amount of \$125 for a six week bartending course and signed ERIC S. GALT and TOMAS REYES LAU. IAU stated he also observed GALT sign this document on January 19, 1968.

IAU also made available a color photograph and negative dated March 2, 1968 depicting GALT and LAU together in IAU's office on March 2, 1968, the date of GALT's graduation from the International School of Bartending.

IAU recalls GALT driving a dark, possibly black, late and small model Ford having red interior bearing out of state license plates, possibly black and white in color.

IAU recalls that approximately one week after GALT's graduation on March 2, 1968, GALT telephonically contacted him (IAU) at which time LAU advised him that he had a possible job opportunity for him as a bartender. GALT advised LAU that he was leaving town within two weeks for an undisclosed destination to visit his brother and did not wish to take a job at this time. GALT stated that he would return to Los Angeles and check with LAU regarding employment at that time.

IAU stated he had no information which would indicate that GALT has held a position as a bartender in the Los Angeles area. LAU stated that while GALT was a student at this school, he did not observe him to associate closely with any other student. LAU continued that GALT did not talk about himself, his past experiences or any associates.

IAU furnished the following description was GALT:

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Name	ERIC S. GALT
Sex	Male
Race	Caucasian
Date of birth	July 20, 1931
Citizenship	United States
Height	5'10"
Weight	180 to 185 pounds
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown, close cropped, greying at temples
Build	Husky
Complexion	Light
Education	High school
Marital status	Single
Characteristics	Neat and clean shaven; well dressed; right handed; speaks with slight southern accent; thin lips; well coordinated; no visible jewelry



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

DONALD F. WOOD was contacted at Aeromarine Supply Company, Birmingham, and was shown a group of seven photographs of various white males. These photographs were numbered one through seven in Roman numerals as follows:

- I. BYRON DE LA BECKWITH
- II. CHARLES EDWARD ERVIN
- III. ELI MONTGOMERY VINES
- IV. CLAUDE CHESTER McLAREN, JR.
- V. ERIC S. GALT
- VI. GORDON DALE ERVIN
- VII. RICHARD RAY RATCLIFF

After viewing photographs of the above seven individuals, DONALD F. WOOD furnished the following signed statement:

"Birmingham, Ala  
April 16, 1968

"I, DONALD F. WOOD, make the following voluntary statement to Special Agents NEIL P. SHANAHAN and PATRICK J. MOYNIHAN, who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents of the F.B.I. I am employed by my father as a salesman at Aeromarine Supply Company in Birmingham, Alabama.

"I have just viewed a group of photographs of seven white men and after careful consideration I have selected #5 as the man to whom Mr.

On 4/16/68 at Birmingham, Alabama File # BH 44-1740

by SA PATRICK J. MOYNIHAN & SA NEIL P. SHANAHAN/NPS:eng Date dictated 4/16/68

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U. L. BAKER sold a rifle and scope sight on 3-29-68 and the man that returned this rifle to me on 3-30-68 and exchanged it for another rifle. This man signed the sales invoice as HARVEY LOWMEYER.

"I can't say exactly at this time but I think that this is the man. To the best of my memory I believe that this is the man that bought the gun.

"I have read this statement consisting of this and one other page and it is true & correct to the best of my knowledge.

"/s/ Donald F. Wood

"Witness:

"/s/ Neil P. Shanahan, Special Agent, FBI  
4-16-68

"/s/ Patrick J. Moynihan, Special Agent, FBI,  
4/16/68"

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

At approximately 10:30 a.m. DONALD F. WOOD was contacted at Aeromarine Supply Company, 5701 Airport Highway, Birmingham, and advised that he is the son of ROBERT E. WOOD, SR., who is the owner of the Aeromarine Supply Company. WOOD was discreetly questioned concerning the sale of a Remington caliber 30.06 rifle, serial number 461476, which Aeromarine had purchased from Wimberley-Thomas in August, 1966. DONALD F. WOOD immediately stated that he had heard the accounts of the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING the previous day on the radio and had immediately recalled selling a rifle, as was described in the newspaper as the murder weapon, to an individual about a week before the murder. WOOD immediately searched for and found a sales invoice in his records and indicated that on Saturday, March 30, 1968, he had sold this gun to an individual using the name HARVEY LOWMEYER.

After obtaining both copies of this sales invoice, Mr. WOOD was requested to accompany the interviewing Agent to the Birmingham Office of the FBI, which he agreed to do. Mr. WOOD was transported to the Birmingham Office of the FBI, where he furnished the following signed statement:

"Birmingham, Alabama  
April 5, 1968

"I, DONALD F. WOOD, hereby make this statement to Special Agent NEIL P. SHANAHAN who has identified himself to me as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I reside at 405 Lance Lane, Birmingham, Alabama and subscribe to telephone number 836-4918. I am employed by my father, ROBERT E. WOOD, SR. at the Aeromarine Supply Company, 5701 Airport Highway, Birmingham, Ala., as a salesman.

On 4/5/68 at Birmingham, Alabama File # BH 44-1740

by SA NEIL P. SHANAHAN:jml Date dictated 4/11/68

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"On Friday, March 29, 1968, sometime in the early afternoon I had just returned from lunch when I observed Mr. U. L. BAKER, also a salesman, completing the sale of a rifle to an individual unknown to me. Mr. BAKER had just sold this man a Remington, Model 700, Caliber .243 Winchester with a 2x-7x Redfield Scope mounted thereon. Mr. BAKER had made this sale and had also mounted and bore sighted the scope on our machine. This individual also bought one box of 20 rounds of .243 Norma ammunition. He payed cash for this sale. When I first observed this man he was dressed in a dark business suit with a white shirt and tie, as well as I remember. He was approximately 5'8" tall, 150 to 160 pounds and had dark hair. He had a medium complexion and appeared to be a meek individual. This individual had given his name as HARVEY LOWMEYER and stated that he resided at 1907 South 11th Street, Birmingham, Alabama. He also advised that he was 36 years of age.

"This information was not given to me personally by this individual, but I determined it from the bill of sale that was prepared by Mr. BAKER.

"Following the sale this individual left the store carrying the gun in a cardboard box utilized by the Browning Manufacturing Company. This box was used because with the scope mounted the rifle would not fit in the normal Remington box. He also took the empty Remington manufacturer's carton with him when he left.

"It was, as best I recall, either later that afternoon or early the following Saturday morning when this individual called on the telephone and stated that he had had a conversation with his brother and decided that the gun he had purchased was not the gun he wanted and he requested whether he could exchange it for a Remington, Model 760, 30.06 caliber. I advised him that we could make this exchange but that it would cost him an additional \$5.00.

"At approximately 9:00 AM on Saturday, March 30, this same individual returned to the store with the gun he had previously purchased. When he returned the gun he had the gun still in the Browning box. I told him that I would change the scope from the caliber .243 rifle to the Model 760, but that it would take me until approximately 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon and I instructed him to return at 3:00 o'clock and to bring the original Remington box for the caliber .243 weapon with him when he came as I would need a box to store the gun in. I gave him the Model 760 gun and I believe that I left it in the Browning carton. I did not receive the \$5.00 because in exchanging the scope I had to use a Weaver base and rings instead of the Redfield base and rings and this made up the cost difference. I also exchanged the box of .243 caliber ammunition for a box of 30.06 ammunition which I believe was Peters Core Lokt, 150 grain, 20 rounds per box. He left the store carrying the gun in the cardboard box.

"During the course of our dealings on Saturday I asked this individual why he didn't want the caliber .243 gun and I told him that it was a big enough gun to bring down any deer in Alabama. He stated in an offhand manner that he wanted the 30.06 caliber gun because he was going to use it to hunt in Wisconsin.

"At the present time this is all that I can remember concerning the transaction with this individual.

"4/5/68

"I have read this signed statement and accept where I have initiated one correction. I find it to consist of this and two other pages and it is true and correct.

"/s/ DONALD F. WOOD

"/s/ NEIL P. SHANAHAN, Special Agent,  
FBI, 4/5/68.

"/s/ MARVIN M. EUBANKS, Special Agent,  
FBI, Birmingham, 4/5/68."

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/16/68

RICHARD GONZALES, 1404 North Manzanita was interviewed at his residence at which time he furnished the following information:

He advised he is a former student of the International School of Bartending, 2125 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California at the same time that ERIC GALT, known to him as ERIC, attended the school. He stated they both graduated from the school on the same date and he has not seen GALT since. During conversations with GALT, while attending school, he learned from GALT that GALT had lived in Mexico for about three years, the exact dates and places unknown. GALT claimed to have gotten along well with Mexicans, liked Mexico very much and planned to return there to live.

On the date that graduation took place, in response to a question from TOMAS LAU, Director of the above school, as to what he, GALT, planned to do, GALT stated he was going to go to Birmingham, Alabama to visit his brother for about two weeks. He did not mention the name of his brother or his exact address. He indicated he would possibly return to Los Angeles after this trip to Alabama. GALT indicated he had been a chef in the Merchant marine, sometime in the past, serving on seagoing vessels. GALT never mentioned any other type of employment or members of his family but did imply he had been married once though was not presently married.

At the bartending school, GONZALES found GALT to be very quiet and one who kept to himself. He was also quite slow in mastering the bartending school curriculum and often displayed nervousness. GONZALES stated he thinks that GALT is right handed.

GONZALES stated that GALT never mentioned any women and it was not known whether he drank much. He did not smoke. GONZALES stated that GALT usually wore a business suit to school, however, gave the appearance of one who felt ill at ease in such clothing and it would be more fitting to his personality for him to wear more casual clothing.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 3/19/80 JRM/mae/19

On 4/16/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574by SA BILLY DALE HUBBARD and SA JAMES R. PACE JRP/nmb Date dictated 4/16/68

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GONZALES stated he never saw GALT's car and he was led to believe that GALT usually drove his car to school. GONZALES stated however that on at least one occasion did not drive his car to school because he, GALT, had allegedly lost his billfold, which contained his driver's license and it was not known if this billfold was ever recovered.

GALT claimed the reason he was taking this bartending course was because as a chef he had occasion to serve cocktails on board ship. He stated he did not feel qualified to mix these drinks properly and so was taking this course.

Concerning descriptive information on GALT, GONZALES furnished the following information:

He stated GALT never used profanity and talked like a fairly educated person. GALT was not observed wearing any rings although did wear a watch which had no distinguishing characteristics. He usually wore a short sleeve with his business suit and no tattoos or scars were observed. GALT's hair was brown with some graying on the sides. GONZALES stated that GALT wore dark brown wing tipped shoes and had a slight southern accent. He stated GALT had a medium frame although somewhat of a large stomach. He never mentioned being in the military and did appear to know a few words in Spanish and what words he did say in Spanish were correctly pronounced.

GONZALES stated that within the next two weeks he is going to move to Oakland, California and will be taking up permanent residence at 1640 Sixth Avenue, Oakland, California. He stated that his mother, Mrs. NINA GONZALES, who lives at 1625 Sixth Avenue, Oakland, California, telephone 832-3723, will always know his whereabouts.

LA 44-1574

PSYCHOLOGICAL TREATMENT RECEIVED BY  
JAMES E. RAY IN LOS ANGELES DURING THE  
PERIOD NOVEMBER 27, 1967 TO DECEMBER 14, 1967

On April 19, 1968, Dr. MARK O. FREEMAN telephonically contacted the Los Angeles Office of the FBI stating he believed he had information regarding JAMES E. RAY and desired to be interviewed.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 19, 1968

Dr. MARK O. FREEMAN, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist, was interviewed at his residence, 227 South Bedford Drive, Beverly Hills, California, April 19, 1968, at which time he furnished the following information:

On November 27, 1967, he received a telephone call from a JAMES E. RAY, who said he wanted to overcome his shyness, gain social confidence, and learn self-hypnosis in order that he could relax, sleep and learn to remember things better. As there was an open appointment that afternoon, an appointment was made for RAY to come to the doctor's office, 9952 Santa Monica Boulevard, Beverly Hills, at 5:00 p.m.

RAY did report for the scheduled appointment on November 27th, at 5:00 p.m. Dr. FREEMAN exhibited a leaf from his consultation notebook (approximately 3"x5" in size), on which he said he had made some notes regarding RAY on the occasion of their first appointment. This notebook page contained the name JAMES E. RAY; address, 1535 North Serrano; telephone 469-8096; and notations indicating the patient was single; had said he was from East St. Louis, and had worked on boats on the Mississippi River. Born March 10, 1928.

In this first appointment and in subsequent appointments, RAY had very little to contribute about his personal family background. He said that he was unemployed. That he had worked as a cook on a Mississippi river steamer, but did not like the work, so had quit.

The doctor said he got the impression that RAY was an early riser, as he wanted early appointments, where ever possible. He also usually arrived at the office early, considerably ahead of his scheduled appointment time. He was not "shaky," when he arrived for the early morning appointments. No indications that he was suffering from "hang-overs," on these occasions.

RAY had no physical distresses. No headaches. Was in excellent health, trim and handsome. He gave no indications of being psychotic or of being plagued with neuroses. Impressed the doctor as having an average intelligence quotient. No evidence of any deep animosity.

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On 4/19/68 at Beverly Hills, California File # 44 - 1574

by SA GILBERT G. BENJAMIN:GGB Date dictated 4/18/67 GGB

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Although he gave his birthdate as March 10, 1928, on the occasion of their first appointment, RAY impressed the doctor as being "young and immature."

In consultations subsequent to their first meeting, the doctor stated he felt that he and RAY developed a good rapport. RAY repeated his request that he wanted to overcome his shyness, and gain social confidence so that he would be able to talk to people. He was usually placid, cooperative, easily led in conversations, and did not fight against the doctor as some of his clients do. During either the second or third visit, the doctor asked RAY if he had any "deep dark secrets that he wanted to get off his chest." The doctor said he usually asks this question to determine if his clients have any criminal background or any sexual problems or aberrations. He said that RAY answered in the negative, and gave him no reason to doubt his answer.

RAY indicated he had read a lot of books on hypnosis. According to Dr. FREEMAN, "RAY had the old power idea of hypnotism. That is that you can go around looking people in the eye and can hypnotise them and make them do what you want them to." In subsequent appointments, Dr. FREEMAN placed RAY in a hypnotic state. He said he would have RAY lie down on a couch in his office, and stare at a little spiral on the ceiling. Then the doctor would talk to him. He was a very apt subject for hypnosis. Very eager, and very cooperative. He was an excellent hypnotic subject. He was likeable, and polite. He was making progress in overcoming his shyness. At the conclusion of each session, he thanked the doctor for his assistance; and indicated that he was satisfied with the progress he was making. He was learning to calm his body down, and overcome nervousness, and shyness. He usually did what the doctor wanted.

The doctor had no recollection of any particular habits or hobbies that RAY might have had. He did not recall any scars or peculiar physical characteristics that made any special impression on him with regard to RAY. He had no recollection of any discussions regarding sports, although their visits were during the height of the football season and the start of the basketball season. He was neat, and to the best of the doctor's recollection, usually wore a suit coat, without a tie. Two photographs of ERIC GALT (with eyes open and eyes closed) were exhibited to the doctor, who said they were excellent likenesses of his patient, JAMES E. RAY.

The doctor pointed out in his professional appointment book, entries for JAMES E. RAY covering six appointments and a seventh entry which was

crossed through. These appointment dates and times, as noted in the professional appointment book, were:

November 27, 1967	5:00 p.m.
November 30, 1967	10:00 a.m.
December 4, 1967	9:00 a.m.
December 6, 1967	10:00 a.m.
December 11, 1967	3:00 p.m.
December 14, 1967	10:00 a.m.
December 18, 1967	3:00 p.m.

This latter appointment (12/18/67) was the one with the line through it. The doctor recalled that RAY had telephone him at the office, after making the appointment for December 18th, and told him that he would be unable to come to the office for the appointment as he had received information from his brother, that the latter had "found a job for him in the Merchant Marine in New Orleans, Louisiana." The doctor is not sure of the date or time that RAY telephone to cancel this last appointment; but feels sure that it was sometime after their 10:00 a.m. appointment on December 14, 1968.

Dr. FREEMAN said that RAY paid in cash, \$25.00 per visit. Except he has the recollection that RAY sent him a money order (he believes it was a postal money order) for the final \$25.00 payment.

Concerning his own personal history background and professional training, Dr. FREEMAN advised he had his college training at the University of Illinois (where he had a minor in Zoology), the University of Zurich, and graduate study at the University of Southern California. He said he was an agent in the Army's counter-intelligence corps in Europe during World War II. He is married, and has two children (a son and daughter) living with him. In addition to his travels and studies in Europe; he has travelled in Japan. His office is located at 9952 Santa Monica Boulevard, Beverly Hills, California, and his office telephone number is CRestview 6-2412. The doctor said that many of his patients come to him a referral from Mr. MELVIN POWERS of the Wilshire Book Company on the Sunset Strip in Hollywood, California; which he described as a publishing house that publishes numerous titles in the field of self-hypnosis. It was his recollection that RAY had indicated he had read some of these books and that he had been referred to the doctor from that source.

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LA 44-1574

The doctor concluded by stating that JAMES E. RAY came to him seeking psychological help in the nature of self-hypnosis to gain confidence, overcome shyness, learn to sleep better, and to be able to talk to people. Following each session, he was instructed to go home and practice the methods of relaxation they had gone over in the office. He was shy, introverted, and withdrawn, but not psychotic or plagued with any deep seated neuroses. Although he indicated he was unemployed, he never seemed to lack money to pay in cash for his consultations during the period of their appointments. When he called to cancel their last appointment, he indicated he was going to New Orleans to accept a position his brother had obtained for him; but he told the doctor he hoped they would meet again sometime.

1

Date May 21, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed in a Bureau automobile on Illinois Avenue, south of Arsenal Street.

JOHN LARRY RAY stated that as pointed out previously he was released from Menard Penitentiary in Illinois in February, 1960, and visited his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, who was incarcerated at that time at the City Jail, St. Louis. This incarceration was in connection with a holdup of the Kroger Store in October or November, 1966, by his brother and a man named OWENS.

After JAMES EARL RAY's trial about April, 1960, he was moved to the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri. From that time and until prior to his escape he visited his brother on occasion, exact number of occasions not recalled. He does recall that on at least one occasion on attempting to visit his brother, he determined that his brother was in some type of solitary confinement and could not have visitors. Therefore, although he had signed in to visit his brother, he actually did not see his brother. JOHN LARRY RAY pointed out that this may be the reason for the numerous visits shown to the Penitentiary by him, all of which he does not recall.

JOHN LARRY RAY stated that he has not seen nor heard of his brother or from his brother since his escape from the Penitentiary outside of what he has learned from newspaper articles and news commentaries. ✓

He very emphatically denied having any knowledge, either direct or indirect, of his brother ever being in Omaha, Nebraska. He stated that his knowledge of his brother being in California is limited to what was reported in the newspaper.

When questioned regarding conversation between him and his brother on visits, JOHN LARRY RAY stated that he rarely visited his brother over a half hour because they had very little to say to one another. He indicated that his brother is "close mouthed" and the conversation consisted primarily of the welfare of JAMES EARL RAY.

On one or more occasions he does recall, however, that JAMES EARL RAY mentioned that as soon as he got out of the Penitentiary (not clarified as to whether he intended to escape or whether he meant after his sentence was served) he intended to leave the country.

On 5/9/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775

by SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY/tib Date dictated 5/15/68

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SL: 44-775

On at least one of these occasions when he was talking about leaving the country, he indicated that he thought very highly of the way former German Army officer, I. N. SMITH, was running the Rhodesian Government. JOHN RAY stated that this was merely a passing comment and he did not attach any significance to it but is mentioning it now because he is of the opinion that if JAMES EARL RAY is alive, he is out of the country.

Again, JOHN LARRY RAY reiterated that he has no direct or indirect knowledge of his brother, JAMES EARL RAY's present whereabouts nor has he had any knowledge regarding this since his escape from the Penitentiary.

He said again that his brother was not reported as an escapee but rather on the first news report that he recalls hearing was reported as missing. He denied that he ever spoke to anyone of knowing that JAMES EARL RAY was in Omaha or Los Angeles, California, other than the reported California visit in the newspaper.

JOHN LARRY RAY advised that his brother, JERRY RAY, left St. Louis today to return to Chicago. JOHN LARRY RAY stated that he is of the opinion from conversations with JERRY RAY that JERRY RAY has no knowledge of JAMES EARL RAY's whereabouts. He noted that JERRY RAY arrived in St. Louis last Friday night from Chicago as previously advised and while in St. Louis since last Friday visited with him and with CAROL PEPPER, their sister.

JOHN RAY stated that they visited JERRY RAYNES at his farm in Center, Missouri, together using JERRY's automobile. They remained all night on the occasion of the visit to Center, Missouri. During conversations with "the old man" at Center, Missouri, he gained the impression that he has no knowledge of JAMES EARL RAY's whereabouts since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary.

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Date May 23, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed in the vicinity of the Grapevine Tavern in a Bureau automobile.

JOHN RAY stated that, if his brother had been in St. Louis or had visited St. Louis following his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary, he would definitely have contacted him (JOHN RAY), particularly if he needed help in the way of money or place to stay. He emphatically denied that this took place. He stated he would still help his brother if his brother asked him to or contacted him in any way, however, he feels he would tell the interviewing Agent about it after it happened.

With regard to JOHN GAWRON, he stated that his brother is acquainted with JOHN GAWRON, however, is positive that he would never contact him if in St. Louis and a fugitive because he does not trust him. JOHN RAY described GAWRON as an old crazy man, who talks about "jobs" and "cases jobs" but never pulls any. He talks all the time about the past and jobs he pulled in the past, however, tells various versions of the jobs at various times, therefore, believed to be by JOHN RAY a complete liar and "idiot."

He stated that if his brother was dealing in amphetamines in prison that he would probably have had plenty of money on him at time of escape, because dealers of amphetamines in prison are usually the top money holders.

JOHN RAY stated that he is of the opinion that his brother immediately left the country after his escape and basis this opinion on the fact that during his visits with JIM, JIM indicated that he intended to leave the country when he got out, inasmuch as he was sick of the law enforcement harassment in this country.

With regard to JAMES L. OWENS, fall partner of JIM in 1959 hold-up of the Kroger Store, he stated that he does not believe that his brother would be in contact with OWENS because he is of the opinion he would kill OWENS if he saw him again. He stated he believes this because he feels OWENS was responsible

On 5/15/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY FWB:jfb 5/21/68  
SA ROBERT A. HESS Date dictated \_\_\_\_\_

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for the arrest and conviction of JIM, however, did not gain this impression from conversations with JIM, merely surmised it because OWENS pleaded guilty and got a lighter sentence than JIM.

On viewing the Identification Order photographs, JOHN RAY stated that the photograph with the crew cut looks more like his brother, JIM, to him, however, he noted this is possibly because he does not recall ever seeing JIM with long hair, noting that he always wore a crew cut.

When questioned regarding his smiling reaction to each question, he stated that his facial reaction is a nervous reaction, which in the past on questioning by the police has caused him trouble. He stated that it is merely a nervous reaction and he is not eluding to any knowledge that he might be withholding.

JOHN RAY stated that the name JAMES DAVID DAILEY is unknown to him but, when questioned regarding a man known as "J. D.," he does recall a man who owned a bar at Twelfth and Morrison Street a number of years ago who was known as "J. D." This individual later owned the Half-Way House Restaurant on Jefferson Avenue. He stated that he does not believe that "J. D." knows him by name. He stated the reason he recalls "J. D." was that on one occasion, while in the bar at Twelfth and Morrison, "J. D." "sicked" seven men on him and later he caught "J. D." alone and beat him up because of this. He stated insofar as he knows his brother, JIM, is unknown to "J. D.", however, he has no way of knowing whether or not they are acquainted.

With regard to the money sent to the penitentiary in 1963 in the amounts of \$35.00, \$65.00 and \$50.00, he does not recall sending those amounts and again reiterated that he transferred no money from anybody to or for JIM RAY while he was in the penitentiary. He stated that he never sent



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JIM more than \$15.00 or \$20.00 at any given time, and he is of the opinion that he may have sent some money to JIM under JERRY's name, however, it would be amounts of \$15.00 or \$20.00 or less. He pointed out that he has never given anyone permission to send money to his brother under his name and no one has ever approached him in that regard.

He stated that about 1963 and possibly part of 1962, for about four to six months, he resided at his grandmother's rooming house on Hickory Street and the street which would be directly behind this was commonly called "Callie," however, it is no longer in existence due to the routing of Interstate Highway 55.

He stated that in 1964 and 1965 he went to Florida, where he worked for a very short period of time at Flamingo City, which is about ninety miles from Miami, believed to be in the Everglades National Park. Thereafter, believed during the same period of time, he went to New York City, remained a short time and then went to work for a short period of time at the Concord Hotel in the Catskill Mountains, just outside of New York City. Thereafter, he returned to New York City for a short period of time and drew unemployment.

Sometime thereafter, he returned to the Chicago area where he worked in various country clubs and in about October, 1966, he came to St. Louis. For a short period of time he resided with his sister at 712 Shenandoah and then for a couple of months resided at JOHN GAWSON's residence on South Eleventh Street. Following this he resided for about three months at 1822 North Twenty-first Street. He then obtained a room at 2001 or 2100 Russell for a short period of time and in about October of 1967 rented an apartment at 1912 California Street. He kept that apartment for about three or four months.

He stated to the best of his recollection for a short period of time, about November or December, 1967, he resided at 2010 Shenandoah and he also recollects from about August, 1967, or September, 1967, he resided at 2012 Lafayette

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and for a short period of time in the early part of 1967 he also resided at 1806 or 1808 Lafayette.

He stated that in between all of the above-mentioned residences he would stay sometimes a week or two at a time with either his sister on Shenandoah or with JOHN CAWRON on South Eleventh Street and occasionally stayed a few days at 1819 Park, where his father, JERRY RAYNES, lived at the time.

1Date May 22, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed at the Grapevine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

He stated that with regard to his belief that his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, had plenty of money on him at the time of his escape from prison was based on the fact that he had been questioned regarding his knowledge of his brother's dealing in amphetamines while in prison. He stated that it was pure guess work on his part and he merely felt this way because he recalls that from his experience in prisons that usually the people who deal in narcotics in prisons are among the wealthier inmates. He stated he has no idea how JAMES EARL RAY would have spent any money he earned in prison, either while in prison or subsequent to leaving prison. He reiterated that he has not seen or heard from JAMES EARL RAY since his escape and has never heard anyone say that he was in Chicago, particularly in the summer of 1967. He recalls that in the summer of 1967 he was in Chicago himself at which time he traded cars with his brother JERRY.

On 5/17/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
by SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY/mjb Date dictated 5/20/68  
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Date 5-24-68

JOHN LARRY RAY, 1902a Cherokee, was interviewed at that location at which time he supplied the following information:

RAY identified a photograph of JAMES DAVID DAILEY as a person known to him only as "J.D." who at one time operated a tavern on Morrison Street in St. Louis and with whom RAY got involved in a fist fight with sometime in 1960. RAY is of the opinion that although he knows "J.D." by sight he does not believe that DAILEY knows him. RAY was unable to provide any information whether his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, and DAILEY have ever known each other.

RAY was questioned regarding his stay at the Mac Arthur Hotel in St. Louis at which time he readily stated that approximately two or three months ago he spent a night at the MacArthur Hotel with the night barmaid of the Grapevine Inn, NAOMI REGAZZI (phonetic). According to RAY he registered as Mr. and Mrs. JOHN RAY and provided a fictitious address. He was questioned regarding the address 1886 Wyoming at which time he stated it is entirely possible that he used that address when registering, however, it does not have any particular significance to him.

RAY stated that in the early fall of 1967, his father, JERRY RAYNES, had sold a house on Park Avenue in St. Louis and gave to RAY \$1000 to hold for him. RAY indicated that he had saved approximately \$3000 from various employments and indicated that on many occasions carried this cash on his person and stated that even to this date it is not unusual for him to carry \$500 or \$600 on him. RAY denied any of the money saved by him had been obtained in an unlawful manner. RAY supported this statement by saying that in the operation of the Grapevine Tavern it is necessary to have an abundance of cash for various bills and he also pays the employees at the tavern in cash.

RAY stated that in early August of 1967, he had decided to drive to San Francisco, California, in an attempt to invest the money he had at that time in a bar or other profitable business. He indicated that he drove alone to California, and while in San Francisco, stayed several days

On 5-18-68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA ROBERT A. HESS  
SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY RAH:amb Date dictated 5-20-68

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at various cheap hotels in the downtown area, exact names unrecalled. He did say that he failed to find a suitable business opened and while on the return trip to St. Louis he decided to travel to Tijuana, Mexico. He related that he had heard of the numerous dishonest people and thieves in Mexico so while traveling through an unnamed town in Wyoming he purchased \$750 worth of travelers' checks. RAY stated that he then drove to Tijuana and after his arrival there stated it was extremely difficult for him to understand the language, that he did not like the place, and within two hours after his arrival departed en route to St. Louis, Missouri.

RAY stated the entire trip required approximately two weeks and he emphatically denied any knowledge of or contact with his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, during the trip or at any time following JAMES' escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary. He stated he never knew that JAMES RAY was in California, until the current publicity regarding him.

RAY added that upon his arrival in St. Louis during the last week of August, 1967, he opened bank accounts at the Manufacturers Bank and also the Jefferson-Gravois Bank. He indicated that both accounts were opened as the combined business hours of both banks were suitable to his own hours. RAY stated that deposits to open these accounts were made with the remaining cash he had on hand and the travelers' checks which he purchased in Wyoming.

RAY was questioned regarding the financial status of his brother, JAMES RAY, while he was in the Missouri State Penitentiary and RAY stated that he had no idea as to how much money JAMES had, however, he reiterated the previous recollection of statements made by JAMES during visits to the Missouri State Penitentiary that if he got out of the penitentiary he would leave the country. JOHN RAY stated that he assumed that his brother would have had sufficient money to do just that. He denied any knowledge of sources of income for his brother but he again assumed that if his brother was involved in the sale of amphetamine or in the loan business while in the penitentiary he would then presumably have made some money. RAY denied any knowledge or information that anyone outside the penitentiary owed money to his brother or was holding money for him.

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Date May 23, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed in the vicinity of Wisconsin and Illinois Avenue, after a prior telephone contact with him at the Grapevine Tavern.

RAY advised that the basis for the front page article in the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" this date was an interview with him by a newspaper reporter from the "Globe-Democrat". He stated that he has been regularly refusing to talk to reporters, however, this particular reporter showed him a story allegedly to be put on AP by the Los Angeles "Times" reporter, whom he had refused to talk to. According to RAY, this article indicated that he hated his brother, had no close family ties, and was hiding out, all of which he indicated was untruthful. After reading this article, the reporter indicated to him that, if he agreed to an interview, the reporter would put it in a more favorable light and the result would be a refuting of these lies.

He advised this newspaper reporter that his sister, CAROL, whose last name he did not furnish the newspaper, owned the tavern known as the Grapevine, which he was operating. He also indicated to the reporter that he did not hate his brother, as alleged in the supposed AP story and to impress reporter with the closeness of his family, he told him he could go to his father in Hannibal, Missouri, who is alive, or to his sister and borrow \$500.00 any time he wanted to. He stated that the purpose of this statement was to impress reporter with the closeness of his family and it had no other meaning.

With regard to the statement in the newspaper article about him running a trucking business, he pointed out this is not true. However, he noted that he had talked to CLARENCE HAYNES, who resides at 1822 North Twenty-first Street, about going into the trucking business together. He noted that HAYNES has one truck and they tentatively agreed that RAY would more or less obtain customers for this trucking business. He noted that HAYNES was supposed to have cards printed up reflecting both their names, however, to date he has not seen these cards, however, they may have been printed and the reporter may have gotten this information either from HAYNES or from the printing company. He pointed out that he is definitely not in the trucking business, yet, however, may enter this with HAYNES.

On 5/22/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY :jfb Date dictated 5/23/68

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He pointed out that since this paper has hit the street he has been dodging newspaper reporters and television coverage all day. He noted that he was contacted by JIM BRADY of Channel 2, St. Louis, and tentatively agreed to meet him at 1:00 p.m. this date for pictures of his place of business and of him for television purposes, however, said he set up this meeting date as only a way of getting rid of BRADY. Thereafter, he did not keep this appointment and thereafter left his place of business so he could not be located.

With regard to mailing postcards to his sister, SUSAN, in Chicago, he noted that he had sent her one from Windsor, Ontario, Canada, and related the following as incidental to this:

He stated that shortly after his release from prison, he was living and working in the Chicago area and decided to visit Detroit, Michigan, and New York, New York. He drove from Chicago to Detroit and, while in Detroit, drove across the bridge to Canada. En route across the bridge, he was stopped by what he believed to be a United States Immigration Officer who told him that he could not remain in Canada more than twenty-four hours. Thereafter, he proceeded to Windsor, Ontario, and remained that night, during which time he mailed this postcard to his sister, SUSAN. He returned the next morning to Detroit. Then, instead of going to New York City, he returned to the Chicago area.

With regard to the postcard of July 29, 1962, at Washington, D. C., he does not specifically recall mailing this card, however, has been in Washington, D. C., dates not specifically recalled, on more than one occasion. He indicated that he did travel extensively, noting that after he worked for a while and got a few dollars ahead he would take trips to various places in the United States without giving any particular thought as to where he was going. He noted he has visited Florida and all along the east coast up to and including New York City.

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With regard to the money that he deposited in his bank accounts last August, he related the following that immediately preceded those deposits:

He stated that his father, JERRY, sold the place at 1819 Park Avenue and received some \$2,000.00 or more in cash from this sale. Thereafter, JERRY gave this money to CAROL to deposit in her bank account, however, a portion, believed to be \$1,000.00, was to be held by JOHN. He noted this was no specific agreement, merely that they were together and he intended to go to California and try to locate a small business purchase. He noted that JERRY could have the impression that CAROL got all the money to hold, however, recalls that JERRY was present when he got the \$1,000.00.

After the above, he proceeded to take a leisurely trip en route to San Francisco and, while in some town in Wyoming he decided that he would change a portion of this cash into Travelers Checks, which he did. He then proceeded to San Francisco, where he stayed approximately two weeks. While in San Francisco, he discovered that in order to get a liquor license you had to buy an existing license and these business licenses were from \$6,000.00 to \$30,000.00 each, which he could not afford.

Thereafter, he drove south to San Diego and remained approximately one week. On departure from San Diego, he visited Tijuana, Mexico, for approximately two hours and thereafter drove back to St. Louis.

He specifically stated that he does not know anyone in the area traveled above and he does not know whether or not his brother knows anyone in those areas. He again specifically denied that he made any direct or indirect contact with his brother or anybody acquainted with his brother during the above-mentioned trip. He denied remaining in Los Angeles, stating that he drove straight through Los Angeles, not remaining for any period of time. He denied contacting anyone in Los Angeles.



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He stated he cannot furnish the specific dates that he was in San Francisco, San Diego or Tijuana, however, would place it as the month or five weeks that immediately preceded the date he opened two bank accounts with the \$1,300.00 and \$1,350.00 deposits. He stated he opened these accounts either the day or the day after he returned to St. Louis.

He noted that both he, his brother JERRY and his father have at various times given CAROL money to deposit in her account to hold for them. He stated that whenever he needed money he would go to CAROL and get it and has no idea who owes who what or whether the money is a loan or the return of money previously given to CAROL. He stated he assumes CAROL keeps some kind of accounting of this, however, cannot be positive of this because it is never mentioned.

It is noted that JOHN LARRY RAY, in order to avoid newspaper reporters, had left his personal car parked adjacent to the Grapevine Tavern and proceeded to the place of the above interview in a black 1965 or 1966 Mustang, bearing Missouri License CBI-627.

Missouri License CBI-627 is issued to MARGARET ECKER, 5660 Morganford, for a 1965 Ford Mustang.

1Date June 5, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was located and interviewed while he was tending bar at the Grapevine Tavern at the intersection of Arsenal and Illinois.

RAY stated that he has not had any contact with his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since last interviewed nor has he received any information regarding the whereabouts of his brother since he escaped from the Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP). JOHN RAY did make the comment that he did believe his brother was probably out of the country or either he was deceased as he feels he would have been apprehended by this time.

RAY denied any contact with his brother, JERRY RAY, since JERRY was in St. Louis, either telephonically or by mail.

JOHN RAY was questioned regarding the whereabouts of CLARENCE HAYNES, at which time RAY stated that HAYNES is employed with a local drayage firm and is extremely difficult to locate during the daylight hours. He stated that HAYNES does reside at 1822 North 21st Street, however, it is unlikely that he normally spends much time at that location. RAY explained this by saying that HAYNES' wife RUBY is currently in the hospital for treatment of a heart ailment.

RAY stated that NAOMI REGAZZI has returned to work at the Grapevine Tavern since she worked the previous Saturday and several nights during the past week. RAY could not explain if she would be employed on a permanent or temporary basis since he had not discussed work arrangements with her.

An extended interview with RAY was not possible due to the entrance of several patrons into the tavern and, therefore, the interview was terminated.

On 5/28/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775

by SA ROBERT A. HESS/mjb Date dictated 5/31/68

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1Date June 10, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed at his place of business, the Grape Vine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

He was questioned regarding his employment that could be verified or his whereabouts that could be verified during the month of April, 1967. After some thought, he stated that to the best of his recollection, he worked for a short time as a painter and maintenance man at a hotel believed to be 902 North Kingshighway, which is managed by a woman.

He stated that he felt this was after April, however he could not recall specifically but did recall that he sometime prior to that, put an ad in the paper believed to be the St. Louis Post Dispatch, indicating that he was attempting to get work as a painter. As a result of this ad he was contacted by an interior decorator or painting contractor, whose name he could not recall, but whose name he would attempt to locate through records who he went to work for on a day to day basis on a number of occasions. He stated this individual operated from his residence which at that time was believed to be in the 5700 block of Westminster about the middle of the block on the north side of the street where there was usually a painting truck parked. He stated this individual he recalls on one or two occasions, mentioned that he had just returned from the Colorado area and usually did small house painting jobs. After delivering JOHN RAY to a given job on a given day, he would then leave supposedly to make other estimates on other jobs, therefore, JOHN LARRY RAY had little personal contact with him. JOHN LARRY RAY stated that he would attempt to locate any records that would show his employment during the year of 1967.

After considerable thought he advised that he was of the opinion that during April or May, 1967, he was probably residing on the second floor at 1822 North 21st Street, which building is owned by CLARENCE HAYNES.

On 6/3/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA ROBERT A. HESS  
SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY PWB/leh Date dictated 6/7/68

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 6-11-68

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed at his place of business, the Grapevine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri. RAY was asked if he had obtained the name of the painter for whom he was an employee during part of 1967. RAY advised that he could not recall the painter's name but that he had furnished the painter's address to SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY, FBI, St. Louis.

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On 6-4-68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
by SA F. JACK WILLIAMS:amb Date dictated 6-5-68

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1Date 6/25/68

JOHN LARRY RAY was interviewed outside the Grapevine Tavern, Illinois and Arsenal Avenue, at which time he stated he had been closed the entire previous week for the safety of the patrons of the tavern, since on one occasion earlier in the week three car loads of Negroes were reported to be observing the tavern. He indicated that he had also been hiding from reporters but would not reveal the location where he had taken refuge.

RAY indicated he had opened this bar this date for business as usual and NAOMI REGAZZI is currently working as barmaid for him. JOHN RAY stated there was no truth in regards to newspaper accounts of him having received a telephone call from Canada and stated that he does not know anyone in Canada. He indicated that he believed the telephone at the Grapevine Tavern is tapped and that the FBI and other law enforcement agencies would probably be aware of all of his phone calls. He did not specifically state that he believed the FBI was responsible for tapping his phone.

RAY also stated that he has had no contact from his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, and he further has no intentions of going to London, England, to see him. He commented that he doubted if he could get a passport for such a trip. He further denied that he has at this time retained any lawyer for his brother. RAY did state that he has written to his brother in London and told him to get in touch with his sister, CAROL PEPPER, if he needs anything as CAROL is the one who is most accessible. He provided his brother with CAROL's current address and telephone number.

RAY was again questioned regarding source of income for his brother at which time he stated that his brother never had any real needs for money as he was always able to pick it up by ways of burglaries or robberies during his travels. He indicated this was, of course, the reason why he was sentenced to the Missouri State Penitentiary.

RAY indicated that he had recently sold his Thunderbird automobile and had purchased a 1963, four-door, white colored Chrysler for \$500 from a private individual.

RAY stated that his brother JERRY RAY had arrived in St. Louis on the previous day from Chicago, Illinois, and stayed last night with his sister, CAROL PEPPER. RAY stated that JERRY was at the time of interview inside the tavern and stated he wanted to talk to the interviewing agent.

On 6/17/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA ROBERT A. HESS:hcv Date dictated 6/21/68

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(FROM ST. LOUIS AX)  
5/10/68

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SL: 44-775  
AJR:klr

JAMES EARL RAY  
HOTEL CLERK

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent ALBERT J. RUSHING and Special Agent RICHARD T. HRADSKY on April 19, 1968, at the MacArthur Hotel, 100 North Broadway, St. Louis, Missouri:

Mr. IRVIN SHATZMAN, Manager, MacArthur Hotel, made available records pertaining to the registration of guests at the hotel which were reviewed for the period January 26, 1968, to April 19, 1968. From this review the following registration cards were located:

Registration card number 8709, reflecting that JERRY W. RAY, 3535 Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois, registered at 10:00 p.m., February 2, 1968, in room 501, at a rate of \$4.00 per day. He was registered for only that one date.

Registration card number 8791, reflecting that JOHN RAY, 1912 Hickory, St. Louis, Missouri, registered into room 614 at 2:10 a.m., February 6, 1968, at a rate of \$4.00 per day. He was registered only that one date at that time.

Registration card number 8976, reflecting that Mr. and Mrs. JOHN RAY, 1886 Wyoming, St. Louis, Missouri, were registered into room 1203, at 2:10 a.m., February 17, 1968, at a rate of \$6.00 per day. They were registered for only that one date.

Each of the foregoing three registration cards had initials which were identified by Mr. SHATZMAN as the initials of CHARLES BREITWEISER, Clerk at the MacArthur Hotel, signifying that BREITWEISER was the clerk on duty at the time of each registration.

The following personnel of the MacArthur Hotel were contacted on April 19, 1968, at which time the original registration cards referred to above were exhibited to them and also photographs of subject JAMES EARL RAY were exhibited to them:

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/76 BY SP/ma/mw

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ROMEO WARD  
Extra Bellboy

RAYMOND RILEY  
Bellboy

LOUIS ZIRKEL  
Clerk

BLOOMER A. HALL  
Clerk.

Each of the foregoing persons advised he was unable to recall any circumstances relating to the persons who were registered at the hotel as indicated by the three registration cards and each advised he could not recall having encountered or seen any person similar in appearance to the photographs of subject RAY.

Mr. SHATZWAN, the manager of the MacArthur Hotel, advised that other hotel personnel, not then on duty and not available at that time for interview, included the following bellboys and clerks:

ENOCH KIGER  
Bellboy

WILLIAM TYSON  
Bellboy

CHARLES BREITWEISER  
Clerk.

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SL 44-775  
RTH/rcl

Re: Ray Relatives - MacArthur Hotel Check

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

On April 26, 1968, SA RICHARD T. BRADSHY interviewed the following persons at the MacArthur Hotel:

CHARLES BREITWEISER, Clerk, whose initials appeared on the registration cards;

WILLIAM TYSON, Bell-hop;

LOUIS ZERHEL, Clerk;

EMMON KIGER, Bell-hop, was located and interviewed at his home, 4177 Dolmar, St. Louis, Missouri.

E. A. HANCOCK, Desk Clerk.

None of the above recognized the photograph of JAMES EARL RAY as ever being a guest at the hotel nor did they know JOHN or JERRY RAY or associate any incident at the hotel with either the names or the registration cards.



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SL 44-775

GMP:paw

RE: JAMES EARL RAY  
RELATIVES - NEIGHBORHOOD

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

The following investigation was conducted by SAs GEORGE M. PEET and ALBERT J. RUSHING, April 19, 1968.

JOHN RAY, brother of subject, when registering at the MacArthur Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, February, 1968, showed one address at 1886 Wyoming, and on a second registration during February, 1968, he gave his address as 1912 Hickory.

From observation it was determined that the address 1886 Wyoming is non-existent; that the area where this address would normally be located is the north edge of Cherokee Part, a city park in St. Louis.

TONY CREAMER, 1915 Hickory, advised that the FBI had previously talked with his mother, HELEN CREAMER, attempting to locate JAMES RAY. He indicated that while he did not know them, he understood that the RAY family previously lived at 1913 Hickory Street and that the only people in the neighborhood who have been in the area long enough to remember the RAYS were the TURNBOUGHS at 1902 Hickory and Mrs. MARTIN at 1917a Hickory.

JUNE TURNBOUGH, 1902 Hickory, and Mrs. SOPHIE MARTIN, 1917a Hickory, were both contacted at the TURNBOUGH residence, at which time Mrs. TURNBOUGH indicated she had resided in the area for 21 years, while the MARTINS had resided there for 14 years. They recalled that about 1959 or so a woman named LUCILLE, her mother, and LUCILLE's son resided in and operated a rooming house at 1913 Hickory. Mrs. TURNBOUGH recalled that LUCILLE's son, who may have been the subject, was with her son when he was walking across the roofs of the houses on Hickory Street and fell through a skylight. Mrs. TURNBOUGH and Mrs. MARTIN advised there has been a high turnover of residents in the area during past years, that there is no one else in the neighborhood that was residing there during 1959, and that neither of them have heard or seen anything of or concerning the family occupying 1913 Hickory during 1959.

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2801

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SL 44-775  
JEL/ral

Re: Ray Relatives - JOHN RAY

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

The following investigation was conducted by SA JAMES E. LINDSAY and SA WALTER C. JOHNSON:

On April 20, 1968, Mr. GOERGE SVOBODA, JR., 1926 Allen Street, which is the property in the area where 2012 Mississippi Avenue would be located, was contacted. Mr. SVOBODA related that the address 2012 Mississippi does not exist. He advised that it would be the rear of his property if it did exist. He stated that his property is the Moydell Funeral Home and has been in existence for over thirty years. He advised that he has never had any person by the name of RAY employed by the company. He viewed a photograph of the subject JAMES EARL RAY and advised that this person was not familiar to him.

On April 20, 1968, Mr. and Mrs. WALTER SCHUESSLER, 2011A Mississippi Avenue, advised that he could not recall a JOHN LARRY RAY having resided at the address of 2011 or 2013 Mississippi in the last few years. He advised that he has resided at this address for the last 28 years and that he cannot recall any person by that name residing at the address.

On April 20, 1968, GEORGE CARDWELL, former owner, National Market, Russell and Mississippi Avenues, advised that he could not recall any person who resided in the vicinity of 2000 block of Mississippi Avenue who used the name of RAY. He advised that he had operated the above store for a period of 20 years and was familiar with most of the people in the neighborhood, and could not recall anyone answering the description of the subject JAMES EARL RAY either.

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SL 44-775  
HCJ/leh

RE: RAY RELATIVES

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent HARRY C. JUNG on April 23, 1968:

Through the Missouri State Highway Patrol, Kirkwood, Missouri, it was ascertained that 1968 Missouri license AE2-558, was issued on a 1960 Ford coach, Vehicle Identification Number (VIN) OY71Y122630, to JOHN RAY, 1912 California Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

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3693

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Date April 23, 1968

JOHN LARRY RAY, also known as JACK, was located at the Grapevine Bar, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri, telephone Prospect 6-9417. RAY readily admitted his identity and also admitted that he is the brother of JAMES EARL RAY. He said that he had not spoken with anyone concerning the charges against his brother, and this includes other members of his family.

RAY stated that he last saw JAMES two to four years ago, when he visited his brother at the Missouri State Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Missouri. Prior to this visit, he had not seen his brother for approximately fifteen years. On that occasion, JAMES EARL RAY had just been discharged from the United States Army and visited members of the family in Quincy, Illinois. RAY said that he has had no other contacts with his brother over these many years and has no knowledge of his whereabouts. He insisted that he has not been contacted by his brother since the latter's escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary in 1967 and, as a matter of fact, did not know of the escape.

JOHN RAY stated that he is commonly known as JACK. He said that his sister, CAROL ANN PEPPER, owns the Grapevine Bar and has operated the establishment since the fall of 1967. He claimed that he did not have any interest in the business other than to assist his sister. He said that she had had some trouble with patrons fighting and since that time he has tried to assist her in the operation of the bar.

JOHN RAY stated that the last time he was outside the City of St. Louis was three, four or possibly five months ago, when he went to Quincy, Illinois, to visit his sister.

During the interview, the following descriptive and background information was obtained:

Name	JOHN LARRY RAY, also known as JACK RAY
Race	White
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	February 14, 1933
Place of Birth	Alton, Illinois

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On 4/22/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA HARRY C. JUNG and  
SA ROBERT A. HESS HCJ:klr Date dictated 4/23/68

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Height	5'10" to 5'11"
Weight	160 to 170 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Brown
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium
Peculiarities	Slight speech impediment
Residence	1900a Cherokee Street, St. Louis, Missouri (rents two rooms above Cherokee Buffet)
Marital Status	Single
Military Service	None
Criminal Record	None admitted
Automobile	1960 Ford Thunderbird, two-door, hardtop, white over blue, bearing Missouri license AE2-558
Relatives	
Mother	LUCILLE RAY, nee MAHER Deceased
Father	Refused to identify
Sisters	MELBA RAY, Quincy, Illinois; Mrs. CAROL ANN PEPPER 2025 Bellevue Maplewood, Missouri; SUSAN RAY Current address unknown
Brothers	JERRY RAY Chicago, Illinois; FRANK RAY Deceased (killed in automobile accident in 1964); MAX RAY, Address unknown (MAX was born in 1952 and was last known by JOHN to be in orphan's home, Quincy, Illinois)

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SL: 44-775

Uncle

WILLIAM MAHER  
1118 East Seventh Street  
Alton, Illinois.

It is noted that RAY was initially uncooperative and said, "What's all the excitement about? He only killed a nigger. if he had killed a white man you wouldn't be here. King should have been killed ten years ago."

Special Agent JUNG informed JOHN RAY of the provisions of the Harboring Statute and cautioned him concerning withholding information concerning a Federal fugitive.

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3696

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 29, 1968

1.

JOHN LARRY RAY was contacted at the Grape Vine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri, where he was attending bar. RAY was asked to re-iterate when he last saw his brother JAMES EARL RAY, and he said that it was several years ago at the Missouri State Penitentiary. He was asked how many times he had visited his brother in the penitentiary and on this occasion said two or three times.

RAY was reminded that the records of the penitentiary reflected that he was a visitor on at least nine occasions the last of which was on April 22, 1967, the day before the brother escaped. RAY stated that he was confident that he had only been to visit his brother in jail on three or four occasions. He did not recall the date of his last visit. He stated that he formerly had a visitor's permit issued to JOHN or JERRY RAY. He and his brother JERRY possibly used the same permit. He said that the exact number of visits he made to the penitentiary could be determined through handwriting examination of the prison records.

RAY said that he himself was released from the Menard Penitentiary, Chester, Illinois, in February, 1960. Following release he came to St. Louis where the subject was incarcerated in the City Jail. RAY visited his brother at the jail prior to his being sent to the State penitentiary. RAY pointed out that he was in the Menard Penitentiary for seven years on a larceny conviction and thus he could have had no personal contact with his brother from 1953 until 1967, other than in prison visits. RAY insisted that he knew nothing of subject's plans to escape and that he has had no contact with his brother since the escape. He added that he did not know of his brother's escape from the penitentiary until several weeks or perhaps a month after the actual escape when he heard of same on the radio. He noted that no law enforcement officers have contacted him concerning his brother other than during instant investigation.

RAY stated that after coming to St. Louis in February, 1960, he remained here for two or three months and then went to Chicago, Illinois, where he worked as a bartender. His most

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On April 26, 1968 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775

by SA CLETIS B. BIDEWELL  
SA HARRY C. JUNG HCL:bam Date dictated April 26, 1968

2.

SL 44-775

steady job was at the White Pine Golf Course, Bensonville, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago where he worked for approximately four years. He also worked briefly at the Grayhound Bus Depot, Chicago. He said that he returned to St. Louis approximately one year ago and has had various part-time jobs one of which was as a bartender at the Arena Bowl for several weeks, and another as a bartender at 901 N. Kings-highway Boulevard.

He has been working at the Grape Vine Tavern since it opened in December, 1967. He claimed that his sister, CAROL PEPPER was the owner of the tavern, but admitted that he himself had \$1,800 invested in the business.

The interview was terminated when other patrons entered the establishment and RAY had to attend bar. He indicated that the barmaid he usually has working during the day became ill and went to a hospital for treatment.

The provisions of the harboring statute were re-iterated to RAY but he insisted that he did not know the whereabouts of his brother JAMES EARL RAY.

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3698



Date May 9, 1968

1.

JOHN LARRY RAY interviewed in the vicinity of the Grapevine Tavern, 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Missouri, at which time he advised that his brother, JERRY RAY, arrived here from Chicago about 9:30 AM on April 30, 1968, at which time he woke him up at his residence. He stated during the time JERRY remained in St. Louis they spent most of their time around the tavern, however, did visit their sister, CAROL PEPPER in Maplewood, Missouri.

He stated that the majority of the conversation concerned harassment of sister CAROL and brother JERRY by newspaper reporters. JOHN RAY related that JERRY indicated if the harassment in Chicago continued he would quit his job.

JOHN RAY stated that his brother JERRY left to return to Chicago driving his own automobile, a light green DeSoto, about 11:00 AM, May 1, 1968.

JOHN RAY specifically stated that during the conversation there was no indication that either JERRY or CAROL had any knowledge of JAMES EARL RAY's location or contact with him directly or indirectly since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary.

JOHN RAY pointed out that the only one member of the family whose location would be known to JAMES EARL RAY would probably be JERRY because the rest of the family have all moved at one time or another since the escape, and JERRY RAY's address would be the only stable address known to JAMES EARL RAY.

When questioned regarding amounts of money sent to the Missouri State Penitentiary for JAMES EARL RAY, JOHN RAY stated that he would on occasion send his brother money while a prisoner at Jefferson City, however, could not specifically recall the amounts or the number of times he sent money. He stated that he did this because of the realization by himself having been a prisoner how hard it is to come by the necessities while a prisoner and also due to the fact that his brother JAMES EARL RAY had sent him money while he (JOHN RAY) was a prisoner at the Menard Penitentiary.

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On 5/2/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA F. JACK WILLIAMS  
SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY PWB:bam Date dictated 5/7/68

2.

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With regard to his brother, JOHN RAY stated that JAMES EARL RAY appeared to be a normal person as far as he recalls until he returned from the Army in Germany when on contact subsequent to this return he gathered the opinion that JAMES EARL RAY became a narcotics user while in the Army or else had some other cause to act crazy on occasion.

JOHN RAY further pointed out that it was his belief that if his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, killed Dr. KING he was either crazy at the time or was paid for this act of violence. He conjectured that if it was a crazy act or an act while he was mentally unstable he felt that JAMES EARL RAY would never then contact any member of the family. Further, if this killing were for money he would not contact any of the family because he would not need any help financially. He indicated that it was his opinion that if he were paid by any person or group for this assassination that they in turn would kill his brother to seal his lips forever and prevent any connection between the individuals responsible for the contract and the assassination of KING.

JOHN RAY stated that he knew of no close friends of his brother, that his brother was a loner, and any friends he would make would be short term acquaintances.

JOHN RAY again emphatically denied any knowledge of, direct or indirect contact with his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary. He reiterated that in the event he should garner any knowledge concerning his brother's whereabouts he would immediately contact the Federal Bureau of Investigation inasmuch as he was well aware of the provisions of the harboring statute and does not want (himself) to return to prison over something that he could avoid.

JOHN RAY stated that he has not been contacted by anybody regarding money in connection with paying or collecting any amounts owed by or to his brother while his brother was an inmate in the Missouri State Penitentiary. Further, that he

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never furnished any money to an attorney, in fact did not even know the name of any attorney that might have been in previous contact with his brother, JAMES EARL RAY. He noted, however, that he vaguely recalls his brother mentioning during one visit to the penitentiary that he had an attorney either in Columbia, Missouri, or Jefferson City, Missouri, however, he was very unspecific regarding this and it may have been that he just wrote to one of those from the prison in an effort to get some brief set forth, and there would be a record of this communication in the Missouri State Penitentiary correspondence records.

With regard to correspondence JOHN RAY stated that he does not recall receiving many letters but may have received one or two letters from JAMES while one or the other of them was a prisoner, but believes that JERRY RAY may have corresponded more frequently with him.

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3701

Date May 10, 19681

JOHN LARRY RAY was contacted at his residence, 1902A Cherokee Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

He advised that his brother, JERRY RAY, arrived in St. Louis last night from Chicago driving his own car and getting to the Grapevine Tavern about 9:30 p.m.

After remaining at the tavern for a short period of time he left indicating he was tired and was going to go to a hotel (name not mentioned) and would meet tomorrow about noon at the Grapevine Tavern with JOHN.

JOHN RAY stated that JERRY indicated he wanted to get away from Chicago for awhile because of harassment from newspaper reporters and did not know how long he intended to stay in St. Louis. JOHN RAY pointed out that there was no statement made by JERRY that would lead him to believe that JERRY had any knowledge of the whereabouts of JAMES EARL RAY.

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On 5/4/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY  
SA F. JACK WILLIAMS PWB: pdp Date dictated 5/8/68

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CG 44-1114

RJD:jap

1.

**RE: POSSIBILITY SUBJECT AT BROTHER  
JERRY'S HOUSE, NORTHBROOK, ILLINOIS  
APRIL, 1967**

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On the evening of May 3, 1968, DAVID ALLEN, 1929 Washington Avenue, Wilmette, Illinois, phone AL 1-5761, advised SA RENE J. DUMAINE that JERRY RAY was formerly married to a friend of his wife's. He said that according to his wife, approximately one year ago in April, 1967, the subject was with JERRY RAY and his wife in Northbrook, Illinois.

Mrs. LINDA ALLEN also telephonically advised that she had attended school with Mrs. GJERDIS RAY, who is presently residing at 314 Wisconsin Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois.

Mrs. ALLEN related that Mrs. RAY had told her that sometime in April, 1967, a brother had stayed with JERRY RAY when she and JERRY were residing at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois (from March to September, 1967). The brother stayed there for approximately one week and that although she, LINDA, rented a house in Northbrook, Illinois, next to RAY, she never physically observed the brother. She did remember that GJERDIS had told her that JERRY and the brother would go to Chicago on numerous occasions but would not take her with them. Mrs. ALLEN advised that one neighbor who was residing there at the time still lives there in the house to the west of where the RAYs used to live. She did not know whether or not the landlord was still in the area but that information could be obtained from the ex-landlord.

The following investigation was conducted by  
SA ROBERT K. MC QUEEN and SA O. ARTHUR GRAN:

AT LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS.

ROY WILSON, Caretaker, rooming house at 314 Wisconsin, advised on May 6, 1968, that GJERDIS D. OLSEN, also known as GJERDIS RAY, occupied Apartment 72 from about November, 1967, to 3:00 p.m., Saturday, May 4, 1968, when she "sneaked off" without notice and without paying \$180 that she was

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

arrears in rent. She left in a station wagon driven by her mother, which WILSON had noted parked that morning a block away. She had a red car of her own, and had worked a short while last fall at Scottie's Restaurant, Lake Forest. Her father, a retired Navy man, supposedly worked at Great Lakes. WILSON said he never noted any menfolk visiting GJERDIS. At the time she left, she had just had a phone, number 234-9047, installed the week before.

A check of Civil Service and Navy Exchange, personnel records and of registered station wagons at Great Lakes Naval Training Center failed to identify parents of GJERDIS RAY, nee OLSEN. NICOL LAMBERT, Owner, Scottie's Restuarant, Lake Forest, was located May 7, 1968. He said GJERDIS RAY had been employed only a few days as a waitress in late 1967, at which time she was rooming at 314 Wisconsin, phone 234-9894; however, other waitresses had since reported seeing her around town occasionally, most recently keeping company with a dark-skinned Negro whom she identified as her boyfriend, name not given. LAMBERT located 1967 withholding certificate for GJERDIS RAY, Social Security Number 348-40-1527, on which was listed address of 1344 Hazel Avenue, Deerfield, Illinois, telephone 945-0356.

AT DEERFIELD, ILLINOIS.

Located at 1344 Hazel, as he came home for lunch from his two-day-a-week "manpower" job as maintenance manager at Recreation Department, United States Naval Hospital, Great Lakes, PAUL ALFRED OLSEN, Age 69, advised as follows:

GJERDIS RAY is the daughter of his brother who was killed in Whitehall, Montana, in 1949. He and his wife adopted GJERDIS at age 11 months. They also adopted GJERDIS' brother, NORMAN DALE OLSEN, now age 22, and living in Houston, Texas, and working as an auto painter. Both of the children were slow to learn, left school early, and have been constant sources of trouble for their stepparents.

GJERDIS got married three years or so ago to a DAVID STREET, had a baby by him, then got a divorce for non-support. Then she married JERRY RAY whom she met at Sportsmans golf course two years ago. Last year she put her baby up for adoption through a Methodist home in Lake Forest.

She and JERRY separated six months ago, and she later got a divorce. She has since lived by herself and not at her "parental" home because Mr. and Mrs. OLSEN are "fed up" and did not approve of her chasing around, staying out late, etc.

Mr. and Mrs. OLSEN had become attached to the baby, and visited GJERDIS and the baby a few times at Northbrook, at the place on Techny Road. OLSEN saw JERRY RAY a few of those times but did not like him because once OLSEN got stuck in the snow right outside the Techny address, and JERRY would not "even bother to help push" him out. OLSEN never met any relatives of JERRY RAY and first knew that JERRY had a brother, JAMES RAY, when he read it in the newspapers a few weeks ago. GJERDIS never mentioned having met JAMES, and OLSEN was unaware of a visit by one of the RAY brothers to the Techny Road address. He recalled that shortly after they were married, JERRY RAY and GJERDIS went to Missouri to see JERRY's relatives with the intention of living there but he heard no more about this.

OLSEN concluded that he feels there is something wrong mentally with GJERDIS, who just moved from Lake Forest to a motel in Des Plaines and who is working as a waitress at the Kopper Kettle, Highland Park. Mrs. OLSEN works as a babysitter at the J. D. SIMMONS residence, B2724 Birchwood Lane, Highland Park, phone 945-5029.

Interviewed separately May 7, 1968, at B2724 Birchwood Lane, Mrs. PAUL OLSEN verified generally what her husband had said and added that GJERDIS is highly nervous and emotional, takes pills and is under doctor's care, principally because of the strain of having placed her baby out for adoption last summer in an attempt to preserve her marriage with JERRY RAY. She said GJERDIS, who was born April 12, 1948, married JERRY RAY in Chicago in about January, 1967, and they first lived at Arlington Heights before moving to 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook. Before GJERDIS and JERRY were separated in the fall of 1967, Mrs. OLSEN visited them about three times, but at no time saw any of JERRY's relatives. When the papers related, much to her surprise, a few weeks ago that JAMES RAY and JERRY RAY were brothers, she recalled the following

two incidents, the dates of which she could not precisely place:

The first was GJERDIS' relating to her about the trip she and JERRY took to St. Louis where JERRY visited a brother and his father who lived near there. GJERDIS told of "waiting in a theater" for JERRY while he went with his brother on some sort of mission. This trip was shortly after the marriage, probably in the early spring of 1967, which Mrs. OLSEN related to a time when GJERDIS had just quit working for Culligan's in Arlington or Northbrook.

The other incident concerned a phone call GJERDIS made to Mrs. OLSEN from Northbrook, in which she said that "something funny" was going on because she, GJERDIS, had discovered some strange clothes left in the garage by JERRY's brother from St. Louis; further, that this brother had taken JERRY's car and left. GJERDIS told Mrs. OLSEN that she "just don't understand" and that she had not really seen the brother.

When the publicity about JAMES EARL RAY came out, Mrs. OLSEN and GJERDIS tried to set the time of the foregoing car incident and figured that it must have been April, 1967, because "he (JAMES RAY) didn't escape until late in April" and they chose to assume that it was brother JAMES who was there at the time.

Mrs. OLSEN concluded that she is certain that GJERDIS has never in her life seen JAMES EARL RAY from what she has told and indicated to her (Mrs. OLSEN). She cautioned that GJERDIS' mind would "wander" when agents talked with her and she would not be able to recall specific dates and places.

It is noted that Mrs. OLSEN as well as her husband pledged complete cooperation and said they would immediately contact the FBI should they hear or learn any information re subject.



GJERDIS DOROTHEA ANNA OLSEN (she has again assumed her maiden name), date of birth April 12, 1948, at St. Paul, Minnesota, who would frequently go off on unexplained tangents in response to questions, was interviewed outside her place of employment, Kopper Kettle, Routes 41 and 22, Highland Park. She said she had been "expecting" agents, that she really had no "good" information, but that she would cooperate in any way. She advised as follows:

Since May 4, 1968, she has been residing at Randel's Motel, Apartment 12, Des Plaines, but intends to move in the near future to Waukegan. She drives a 1962 Plymouth with 1968 Illinois license HK 6917. She married WILLIAM STREET, Mundelein, Illinois, August 31, 1966, and gave birth to his baby October 13, 1966. She divorced him in Chicago in about January, 1967, after having met JERRY RAY who was working at Sportsmans. In about Christmas, 1966, she and JERRY went to St. Louis and visited his father and his sister, MELBA, and her husband. There was another man there, probably a brother, but she never heard his name. She first knew of a brother, JOHN, when in early 1967, at the Techny Road address, she happened to see a clipping in which it was mentioned that JOHN RAY was in some kind of trouble. She never talked to JERRY about this, however, and she never knew there was a JAMES RAY until after it "came out in the papers." She has seen numerous pictures of JAMES RAY since and "is quite sure" she has never seen him before. As to her waiting in a theater in St. Louis, she responded only that she did go to a movie one time rather than go with JERRY on some sort of errand.

After the publicity about JAMES, she and her mother recalled the incident wherein a brother from St. Louis, name unknown to her, came and left some clothes and his car. This brother was about 45, had dark hair like JERRY, but was not JAMES. She and her mother figured it was about April, 1967, when this occurred. The brother came driving a 1961 red Plymouth tudor, with white top, and he traded cars with JERRY, taking JERRY's 1963 or 1964 Rambler, which JERRY had bought from the second chef at Sportsmans. This was a cream-colored four door. The brother left in this car, saying he

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RJD:jap

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was going to Los Angeles. She did not see him again. JERRY was to have been sent the title for the 1961 Plymouth but later he took this car back to St. Louis and left it and got the car which he is now driving.

GJERDIS, who had to return to work at her boss' request, concluded that she would be available at any time for further interview, but she was very certain "I have never seen JAMES." She said JERRY has been ruined by the publicity and she would like to "find him" to talk to him and "settle him down."

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/13/68

JERRY WILLIAM RAY was shown the new photograph of his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, in a business suit taken sometime in January or February, 1968. After viewing the photograph, JERRY stated that the photograph is a good likeness of his brother except that he remembers him being thinner in the face. In fact, this particular photograph depicts JAMES fuller in the face than JERRY has ever seen him.

JERRY advised that his father, JERRY RAYNES, Center, Missouri, left his mother in 1951 to live with RUBY CARPENTER. RUBY has a son, JEROME, who is presently in prison, Jefferson City, Missouri, and is acquainted with the subject. JERRY also knows JEROME since he was in the reformatory at St. Charles, Illinois, with him. JERRY classified JEROME as being "off mentally" and a person who very seldom talks to anyone. JERRY believes that JEROME may have been in the hospital for the criminally insane at Fulton, Missouri, when the subject escaped from prison. JEROME is presently doing time for the murder of a Negro. JERRY also related that when his father left, JERRY was in the Boys' Reformatory at Sheridan, Illinois.

JERRY said that he does not know NEAL EDGAR AEBY, JAMES DAVID DAILEY, nor is he acquainted with the Half Way Restaurant at 1549 South Jefferson, St. Louis, Missouri. He said that he never heard his brother mention DAILEY nor does he have any information that DAILEY had ever hidden his brother from the law. JERRY also advised that he never heard of an organization named the "Coolies" nor did he ever hear his brother mention that organization. JERRY said that when he was in prison, he was involved in a fist fight with (First Name Unknown) MENARD, who worked with him in the shoe shop. He said that he could not recall this individual's first name and that there would be no record of the fight at the prison since it was not reported nor were they observed fighting. He said that on one of the occasions when he visited with his brother in prison, he told him about it and JAMES was joking with him because JAMES

On 5/12/68 at Wheeling, Illinois File# Chicago 44-1114-17  
 by SA RENE J. DUMAINE & SA ROBERT P. PEVAHOUSE/RJD:jap Date dictated 5/13/68

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said that he was close friends with the MENARD brothers who were then in Jefferson City, Missouri, prison with JAMES.

JERRY said he visited his brother about three or four times while he was in prison in Jefferson City, Missouri, the last time being around 1964. JAMES came to Menard prison to visit JERRY on one occasion. JERRY again stated that the last time he saw his brother JAMES outside of prison was in 1951 in Quincy, Illinois, and JERRY was fifteen years old at that time. The father was still living with his mother then.

He said that he believes that WALTER TERRY RIFE and JAMES went to Leavenworth together but that LONNIE RIFE never did time with JAMES. He said that if he had given the impression that LONNIE did do time with JAMES in the previous interviews, this was in error. JERRY again stated that he himself has done time in Menard, Illinois, with both RIFE brothers.

He stated that he has no idea as to the present whereabouts of "BLACKIE" AUSTIN and doubts if his brother has maintained contact with AUSTIN nor would be in contact with him since his escape. He said that of all of the persons that he knows of, JAMES was the friendliest and closest with AUSTIN. JERRY pointed out, however, that his knowledge of this is limited since JERRY was in prison when both AUSTIN and his brother were on the street. He does know that "BLACKIE" liked his brother and has always talked about him.

In clarification, JERRY advised that his brother JOHN first came to Chicago sometime around July, 1960, and he, JERRY, came to this area around September, 1960. JOHN first worked at Murphy's Steak House. He also worked at the White Pines Country Club and JOHN's last employment in the Chicago area was the Indian Hills Country Club, Bloomingdale Illinois. JERRY advised that he was employed with his brothers JOHN and FRANK at the Rolling Green Country Club beginning in September, 1960 and JERRY stayed there for about sixteen months and JOHN for eight or nine months. He was uncertain to the length of time that his brother FRANK worked there but believed he had left a good length

of time prior to his death in September, 1963.

JERRY advised that sometime during June or July, 1967, when he was living at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois, JOHN drove here in a 1961 Plymouth which he had bought from the father, JERRY RAYNES. At this time, JERRY owned a 1962 air-conditioned Rambler. JOHN was having trouble with the transmission in the Plymouth and they switched cars. He does recall that JOHN transferred some clothes and other items from the Plymouth to the Rambler. Also, that JOHN left some old shirts and pants and some other papers in the garage at Techny Road and JERRY hid these items above the rafters in the garage. He said that JOHN stayed a couple of days and was in either an apartment or a hotel in Chicago and did not reside at JERRY's residence while here. JOHN left with the Rambler and both cars are presently at his father's farm in Center, Missouri. JERRY said that his wife did not meet JOHN on this occasion but did meet him at Christmas time, 1967, when JERRY and his wife went to St. Louis where they had dinner at CAROL PEPPER's house and JOHN was present. JERRY advised that JOHN did not know how to find his residence in Northbrook, Illinois, and that he, JERRY, met him in the town of Northbrook and then JOHN followed him to the residence. JERRY also advised that his brother JAMES did not ever know that JERRY resided at this address in Northbrook.

In previous interviews, JERRY advised that he borrowed somewhere between \$40 and \$50 from his brother JAMES while JAMES was in prison. He reiterated that statement in this interview at which time the financial transactions from his brother's account at the Inmates Bank, Missouri State Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Missouri, were discussed with JERRY. It was pointed out to him that this list shows that his brother had sent him \$266.25. JERRY advised that this must be an error since the only amount he recognized was \$55.25 which was sent to him on June 22, 1964. He stated that at this time, he, JERRY, was in St. Louis, Missouri, and needed money to return to Chicago to obtain employment. He wrote to his brother requesting this loan and was in the process of paying JAMES back when

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JAMES escaped. JERRY suggested that the money listed to him was instead paid to his brother's attorney, name unknown, in Jefferson City, Missouri. JERRY advised that he himself did not receive money from his brother to be sent to the attorney or anyone else. JERRY advised that this attorney had been hired by his brother to handle his appeal and that he believed the attorney did visit with JAMES while JAMES was in prison. JERRY said that his brother never mentioned anything concerning Benzadrine inhalers or any type of "bennies" or dope. JAMES never mentioned being involved in any illegal drug selling while in prison nor did he ever mention that he was involved in any type of racket with a guard. He also never mentioned any guard that he was particularly friendly with and in fact, made no comment whatsoever concerning the prison officials that JERRY can remember.

JERRY also advised that his brother never mentioned reading any of the James Bond novels and in fact, JERRY did not believe his brother was much of a "reader." The only location that he can recall his brother making a comment as to how much he liked it was Tijuana, Mexico, and he believes his brother was there sometime in 1951. The brother made no mention to him at anytime as to the identity of any persons with whom he was acquainted in Mexico.

JERRY advised that when he left Chicago on this latter occasion, he stayed with his brother JOHN for two nights, with his father one night, with his sister CAROL one night, at the St. Regis Hotel one night and at the Mac Arthur Hotel one night. In conversations with his brother JOHN and sister CAROL, they both stated that they believe, from newspaper stories, that the subject is the victim of a frame-up or being used as the "fall guy." He also stated that CAROL is concerned over the newspaper articles speculating that the subject is dead and she has that opinion. He said that JOHN told him that some people came to the tavern at the time of the KING funeral requesting him to close down for that day which he did not do.

JOHN also said that if he himself receives any publicity, he will close down the tavern and leave because he feels that people will throw firebombs in his place. JERRY related that one of the newspaper reporters located and interviewed a woman named RUBY who works for his brother since JOHN had used that woman's address about three or four years ago. RUBY told the newspaper people that she did not know the whereabouts of JOHN. JERRY also said that in conversations with JOHN, JOHN told him that the subject would be "crazy" to give himself up because even if he is not guilty of the KING murder, he still would have eighteen years to do in the penitentiary at Jefferson City. JERRY explained this by stating that his brother has thirteen years left on his previous sentence and that he would get at least an extra five years for the escape.

JERRY again speculated that if his brother was KING's murderer, he would have had to have been paid because he could not see how his brother would have obtained enough money to purchase the 1966 Mustang, take the trips he was supposed to have taken and to pay \$150 for the telescope used in the murder. He said that there was just too much money coming in and in response to a direct question, he said that he did not think his brother would have been able to steal this much money because he would have had "slipped up and been caught." He explained that in his opinion, his brother was not an accomplished thief and that most of his previous scores were "small time."

JERRY advised that he is presently residing in Apartment 14, 314 Wisconsin Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois, which rooming house was recommended to the Sportsman's Country Club by WAYNE CLANDENEN (phonetic). JERRY noted that his ex-wife DJERDIS also used to reside at this rooming house. He said that he is not listed as a tenant and that the rent of \$60 per month is being paid by the country club. He advised that there is no phone at the building with the nearest one four blocks away. He said that he plans to continue his employment at the Sportsman's Country Club and will contact SA RENE J. DUMAINE on a daily basis.

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He advised that his ex-wife presently works at a restaurant near the expressway and is living in a motel in Wheeling, Illinois. He went on to say that yesterday there was a knock on the door of his apartment and when he opened it, his ex-wife was there. She said that she had found him by inquiring of the rooming house manager, the room numbers of the last two tenants and then came to talk with him. He said that they talked of personal matters with nothing of interest in this case. JERRY advised that he may have to move from this address since his ex-wife might inadvertently give out his whereabouts. He said that he was not concerned with the problem of people making threats against his safety because of what his brother did but that he was most concerned of the people who would attempt to harm him without making threats. In explanation, he made the comment, "Like that guy who shot King, he did not make any threats."

JERRY advised that he will continue to cooperate with the Bureau in furnishing information.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/26/681

JERRY WILLIAM RAY stated that he and JOHN RAY were in St. Louis, Missouri, on February 2, 1968, and were at sister CAROL's residence to visit with her as he has previously stated. He stated that he is of the opinion that his brother JOHN was registered at the McArthur Hotel, but he did not register with him and he was not in his room. He said, to his knowledge, JOHN has never married and has no information concerning a Mrs. JOHN RAY. He did note that his brother JOHN was in the habit of using the McArthur Hotel for occasional dates with women. He assumes that the Mr. and Mrs. JOHN RAY registering at the McArthur Hotel on February 17, 1968, could be JOHN and a woman.

He again stated that the only individuals at his sister CAROL's residence were JOHN, JERRY, CAROL, her husband and their children. JERRY emphatically denied that the subject was present at this occasion or, in fact, any other occasion when he was in CAROL's residence. JERRY insisted that he has no information as to the present whereabouts of either JOHN or JAMES RAY.

JERRY stated that JERRY RAYNES is the step-father of the subject and definitely not the subject's father. He restated that the subject's father died in 1951.

JERRY advised that the last contact that he knew of between WALTER RIFE and the subject was in 1954 at Leavenworth.

4/20/68

Chicago, Illinois

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On \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ File # \_\_\_\_\_

by SA RENE J. DUMAINE/laj

Date dictated 4/23/68.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/26/68

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JERRY WILLIAM RAY, who was present in the Chicago FBI Office, was requested to furnish his fingerprints, including sides and tips and palm prints. He was also requested to pose for photographs. He complied with both requests and also furnished handwriting samples.

Based on information furnished by the St. Louis Division, JERRY was questioned concerning the discrepancy as to the identity of his father and present whereabouts. He advised that JERRY RAYNES, Center, Missouri, was not his father and reiterated that his father was JAMES GERALD RAY, who died in 1951 at Hannibal, Missouri. He said that the information concerning his relatives and parents is correct to the best of his knowledge because it was told to him by his mother. He said that he is unaware of where CAROL PEPPER might have obtained her information since she left the mother's home in about 1956 when she was 15 years old. He then stated that prior to his father's death in 1951, he was employed by the railroad (identity unknown), and worked on a farm in the vicinity of Hannibal, Missouri.

He further related that all of the children left home upon reaching the age of 15 or 16 and there was very little family contact thereafter. When the parents separated in 1949, all of the younger children who were then at home went with the mother.

In response to a question as to the reason for his brother's commission of the murder of KING, JERRY advised that he was unable to furnish any reason. He went on to say that during the three or four time that he has talked with his brother in the last 15 or 16 years, JAMES never expressed any particular outward dislike for members of the Negro race. But JERRY did have the feeling that the subject was not particularly fond of Negroes.

4/19/68 Chicago, Illinois CG 44-1114

On \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ File # \_\_\_\_\_  
by SAs RENE J. DUMAINE and ROBERT F. PEVAHOUSE/laj Date dictated 4/23/68

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MAY 3 11 4 1968 [Signature]

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JERRY said that he is not aware of JAMES' present whereabouts and has no idea where JAMES has been since his escape from prison. He said that he has not been contacted by JAMES in any manner. He classifies JAMES as a "loner" and does not know of any member of the family that JAMES would likely contact. The only occupation for JAMES that he is aware of is that of a baker, which JAMES learned in prison.

JERRY informed that he has only seen his brother once outside of prison and that was sometime in 1951. All of his other contacts with his brother have been when either he, JERRY, has visited his brother in prison, or JAMES has visited him while he was in prison. JERRY said that he has no knowledge of his associates other than WALTER TERRY RIFE, who was arrested with his brother and served in prison with him. WALTER RIFE is also known personally to JERRY since they both served time together in the Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard, Illinois. JERRY has no information as to the present whereabouts of RIFE and has not seen him since JERRY's release from prison in 1960. He is of the opinion that RIFE could have returned to Quincy, Illinois. JERRY also knows LONNIE RIFE since he did time in Menard with him, also. He said that the name of ROBERT JOHNS was not known to him.

JERRY advised that to the best of his recollection, he never informed JAMES of his residence address; however, he has received mail from JAMES from prison addressed to Post Office Box 22, Wheeling, Illinois. JERRY said that he obtained this box so that his brother could write to him and that mail from the Penitentiary would not be going to JERRY's employment. He said that he has no reason to believe that JAMES would contact him. JERRY said that he feels that he would cooperate with the FBI in this matter but that it would take considerable thought on his part to turn his brother in. He said that he thought that if he was telephonically contacted by his brother, he would not talk to him but would hang up. JERRY was asked how his brother would know his phone number if he was not aware of his residence and employment. JERRY said that he has no reason to believe that his brother is aware of his phone number, that he never gave it to him and made the foregoing statement about a phone call merely as a matter of conjecture.

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He said that he has no idea of the present whereabouts of his brother JOHN, stating that the last time he saw him was in February, 1968, at the McArthur Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri. He said that on this occasion, he and his brother went to their sister Carol's house and stayed until three or four in the morning. They both returned to the hotel where they had several drinks in the bar and then JOHN left. JERRY assumed that JOHN was staying in the McArthur Hotel but could not furnish a room number nor was he ever in JOHN's room.

He said that he did not know his brother JOHN's present occupation but that he has worked in the past as a bartender, painter and laborer. JERRY noted that JOHN had attended bartender's school in Chicago, Illinois. He said that JOHN, to his knowledge, has never been married. JERRY further related that his brother JAMES also has never married and that he knows of no girl friends with whom his brother JAMES had associated. He said that JAMES would usually pick up a girl in the hotel, or go to a hotel and obtain a girl through the bellboy or patronize houses.

He said that he was not aware of his brother visiting any private doctors but did recall that one time when his brother was in prison, he was sent for psychiatric treatment to Fulton, Missouri. As JERRY recalls, this was for a nervous condition and his brother JAMES was there about a month.

JERRY said that the reason that he went to Kansas City in February, 1968, was to visit with his sister since "She is all the family I have." He denied that he had seen his brother JAMES while in St. Louis. He also advised that he makes the trip from Chicago, Illinois, to St. Louis, Missouri, about once every six or seven weeks.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/1/68

JERRY WILLIAM RAY was interviewed at the Chicago FBI Office and furnished the following information:

He was shown a photograph of an individual identified as ERIC STARVO GALT and taken in Los Angeles, California, about March 1, 1968, and in which photograph GALT had his eyes closed. RAY stated that the photograph was above his brother JAMES EARL RAY. He was questioned as to whether he was certain that the photograph depicted his brother and he said "I'll put it this way. If I was a citizen and knew that you were looking for JAMES EARL RAY and saw the individual depicted in the photograph, I would immediately call the proper authorities and notify them that I had seen the individual that was wanted."

He was shown the same photograph in which eyes had been drawn by an FBI artist. He said that he did not like the eyes in the picture as they were drawn because they did not truly represent his brother's eyes.

RAY stated that he is employed as a maintenance man and handyman at the Sportsman Country Club located at Northbrook, Illinois, on Dundee Road. He said that he was steadily employed at the country club from late March, 1968, to the date of interview.

RAY stated that he has served prison sentences in the Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard, Illinois, and believed his inmate number was 2497J. He said that he had served time in Illinois State Penitentiary at Pontiac, Illinois, and believed that his inmate number was 20229. He said that he had also been confined in the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri; however, he was unable to recall his inmate number. He gave his Social Security Number as 329-30-0132.

He said that his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, has been in prison on several occasions serving sentences for burglary but that these burglaries were for things like

On 4/19/68 at Chicago, Illinois File# CG 44-1114

by SAs ROBERT F. PEVAROUSE, P. WAYNE ROBBINS and RAMON W. STRATTON: pas Date dictated 4/25/68

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stealing gas from a gasoline station and that his brother was really not much of a "real burglar". He said that he last seen his brother in about 1964.

RAY related that the family has never been real close and that mostly the children had been born in the Quincy, Illinois area. He said that the only family member that he has really been close to is his sister, CAROL ANN PEPPER, who resides in Maplewood, Missouri. He advised that he frequently visits with CAROL because she is the only real family that he has.

He said that he knew of no reason why his brother would have killed MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., because he had never known his brother to have any particular hate for members of the Negro race or of KING himself.

JERRY WILLIAM RAY was requested to furnish his family tree and furnished the following information:

He said that his father was JAMES GERALD RAY who died in 1951 at Hannibal, Missouri, just across the line from Quincy, Illinois.

He advised that his mother was LUCILLE MARY RAY, nee MAHER, who at one time changed her name to LUCILLE RYAN after separation from his father in 1948 or 1949, and he claimed that his mother had died in January, 1961, at St. Louis, Missouri.

There were seven children born of this marriage and he identified them as follows:

1. JAMES EARL RAY, age 39 or 40, who has never been married, whereabouts unknown.
2. JOHN LARRY RAY, age about 35, who has never married, address unknown, but whom JERRY last seen at the MacArthur Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri, about February 2, 1968.
3. JERRY WILLIAM RAY, born July 16, 1935, at Quincy, Illinois, residing at the Sportsman Country Club, Northbrook, Illinois, divorced from wife GJEREIS, nee OLSON.

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4. CAROL ANN PEPPER, age about 27, married to ALBERT PEPPER, and residing in Maplewood in suburb of St. Louis, Missouri.

5. FRANK DELANO RAY, age 22, who drowned in an accident in 1963 on the Missouri side of the river at Quincy, Illinois, at West Quincy, Missouri.

6. SUSAN (LNU), age about 21, who was adopted by some family in the Quincy, Illinois area in about the fall of 1952. He believed that CAROL would know SUSAN's full name and address.

7. MAX (LNU), age about 18, who was adopted out at Quincy, Illinois, in about 1952.

He said that the only maternal relatives he has is his mother's brother, WILLARD MAHER, age about 60, whom he believes resides in San Francisco, California, and the only employment he could recall for WILLARD was in Guam after World War II in about 1946-1947.

He said that the only paternal relatives he has is his father's brother, EARL RAY, age about 70, who was released from the Illinois State Penitentiary in Menard, Illinois, in about May, 1958, and died possibly in the fall of 1958 at Syracuse, New York.

RAY said that he was unable to recall any other relatives on either his father or mother's side such as aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.

RAY advised that he normally receives his mail at Box 22, Wheeling, Illinois, but sometimes receives mail at the Sportsman Country Club, Northbrook, Illinois.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/26/68

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JERRY WILLIAM RAY stated that he and JOHN RAY were in St. Louis, Missouri, on February 2, 1968, and were at sister CAROL's residence to visit with her as he has previously stated. He stated that he is of the opinion that his brother JOHN was registered at the McArthur Hotel, but he did not register with him and he was not in his room. He said, to his knowledge, JOHN has never married and has no information concerning a Mrs. JOHN RAY. He did note that his brother JOHN was in the habit of using the McArthur Hotel for occasional dates with women. He assumes that the Mr. and Mrs. JOHN RAY registering at the McArthur Hotel on February 17, 1968, could be JOHN and a woman.

He again stated that the only individuals at his sister CAROL's residence were JOHN, JERRY, CAROL, her husband and their children. JERRY emphatically denied that the subject was present at this occasion or, in fact, any other occasion when he was in CAROL's residence. JERRY insisted that he has no information as to the present whereabouts of either JOHN or JAMES RAY.

JERRY stated that JERRY RAYNES is the step-father of the subject and definitely not the subject's father. He restated that the subject's father died in 1951.

JERRY advised that the last contact that he knew of between WALTER RIFE and the subject was in 1954 at Leavenworth.

4/20/68

Chicago, Illinois

CG 44-1114

On

at

File #

SA RENE J. DUMAINE/laj

Date dictated

4/23/68

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/24/68

JERRY WILLIAM RAY was interviewed at the Sportsman's Country Club, Northbrook, Illinois. RAY advised he also uses the name of JERRY WILLIAM RYAN and that due to the fact he could never locate a birth certificate in the name of RAY and his mother had used the name RYAN, he registered for the draft under the name of RYAN and has used the name RYAN on all legal documents.

RAY advised since he last was interviewed by the FBI, he talked with his sister, CAROL, on the phone. He stated his conversation with CAROL did not produce any information as to the current whereabouts of his brother, JAMES EARL RAY.

JERRY RAY advised he did not think his brother, JAMES RAY, would contact any of the immediate members of his family, as he felt JAMES would not want to get any of his close relatives in trouble. JERRY RAY stated there was a possibility that if JAMES RAY contacted any relative, he would contact his uncle, WILLIAM MAHER. 118 East 7th Street, Alton, Illinois. MAHER is a painting contractor. JERRY advised both he and JAMES RAY have stayed with MAHER in the past. He stated the reason he thinks JAMES would contact MAHER is that he has stayed with him in the past, however, he is not particularly close to or fond of this uncle, and therefore, he would not be afraid of getting MAHER in trouble from such a contact.

JERRY RAY advised his father's sister, MELBA FULLER, who was married to FRANK FULLER, resides in Quincy, Illinois, and would be able to identify members of the family on his father's side that he, JERRY RAY, was not familiar with. He stated MELBA FULLER is not close to himself or any of his brothers and sisters.

In recalling his brother's habits, RAY stated he is not very familiar with his brother's habits as he has not seen his brother, JAMES RAY, outside of some prison visits since he, JERRY RAY, was age 13. He did recall of past

On 4/22/68 at Northbrook, Illinois File # CG 44-1114

SAs ROBERT F. PEVAHOUSE  
by JOSEPH M. BURKE: pas Date dictated 4/24/68

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conversations with JAMES RAY where he talked of the cheap living in Tijuana, Mexico. JERRY RAY advised as far as he knew, JAMES used to like to frequent "rough house" bars.

JERRY RAY was asked if his brother contacted him would he notify the FBI. RAY advised he did not know if he would call the FBI if he heard from JAMES. He stated he did not feel that he would have this problem because he did not think JAMES would contact him, however, if he did contact him, he felt he would probably immediately hang up the phone so as not to get involved.

JERRY RAY was advised by interviewing Agents of the Provisions of the Harboring Statute. He was told any assistance he gives his brother could possibly be a violation of that statute and interviewing Agents solicited the full cooperation of JERRY RAY in locating his brother to include the immediate contact of the FBI in the event he were contacted by his brother, JAMES RAY.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/29/68

At the outset of the interview, JERRY WILLIAM RAY was advised of the provisions of Section 1001, Title 18, United States Code. He was advised that he did not have to talk to the interviewing Agents but that they wished to stress to him the importance of his cooperation and truthfulness in the matter of the murder of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

It was pointed out to JERRY that he had lied to the Agents in the previous interviews in that the FBI had located his brother, JOHN, and that it would have been impossible for JERRY not to have known his whereabouts. He then stated that he had lied but only in an effort to protect his brother JOHN's investment in a bar in St. Louis. JOHN had put up \$2500 to purchase the bar and JERRY was of the opinion that if FBI Agents harassed JOHN, he would lock up the bar, take a loss and leave. The bar, known as "The Grapevine", is located in St. Louis, Missouri, and is licensed in the name of CAROL PEPPER, their sister. He said that he has no information nor does he believe that JAMES RAY has been in contact with JOHN since his escape from prison in April, 1967. JERRY went on to say that he doubted very much that JAMES RAY was aware of the present whereabouts of JOHN since JOHN was classified as a "drifter". It was pointed out to JERRY that JOHN had been a visitor to the Missouri Prison on the day before JAMES RAY's escape. In answer to a direct question, JERRY then admitted that it would be possible for JAMES RAY to know the location of his brother's tavern. He said that he doubted if JAMES RAY knew his, JERRY's, present employment at the Sportsman's Club, Northbrook, Illinois, but that he might be aware of it since he had written a letter to the Parole Board in which he might have mentioned his present employment saying that he possibly could obtain employment for his brother, JAMES RAY, either at the country club or in the immediate neighborhood. He denied that he had ever furnished JAMES RAY with his present employment. He said that to his positive knowledge, the only way that JAMES could get in touch with

On 4/24/68 at Chicago, Illinois File# CG 44-1114  
 by SAs JOSEPH M. BURKE and RENE J. DUMAINE: pas Date dictated 4/26/68

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him was through P. O. Box 22, Wheeling, Illinois, since he, JERRY, had obtained this box for the specific use of his brother since he did not want mail from the penitentiary coming to the country club.

JERRY related that JOHN came to this area sometime around 1964 and stayed for about 2½ years. To the best of JERRY's recollection, JOHN first worked at Murphy's Steakhouse, then went to the Rolling Green Country Club and from there to the White Pines Country Club where he was employed as a pot washer. JOHN then went to bartending school in Chicago and went to work for the Indian Hills Country Club in Itasca, Illinois. JERRY is of the opinion that his brother, JOHN, uses the name RYAN.

JERRY said that on April 20 or 21, 1968, he telephonically contacted his sister, CAROL PEPPER, and explained that the uncooperative attitude of both CAROL and JOHN arose from the harassment of the newspaper reporters in the neighborhood and that both were afraid of unfavorable publicity which would adversely effect the tavern business causing them to sell out and move. He said that his sister, CAROL, has told him that she feels that she now has to move from the particular neighborhood where she resides in St. Louis, Missouri. CAROL has commented to him that the picture in the newspaper of JAMES RAY does look something like him. JERRY said that he agrees with this but that felt it could not be his brother because he read in the newspapers that the person sought by the FBI for the KING murder had attended dancing school in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1964 and 1965, but since his brother was imprisoned during these years, he knew it could not be him.

Concerning his trip to St. Louis, Missouri, in February, 1968, JERRY advised that he stayed at the MacArthur Hotel for one night; he believes the date to be February 2, 1968, and that his brother, JOHN, either stayed in an apartment over the tavern or nearby, but not at the hotel as he previously implied. He said that about every six or seven weeks he drives to St. Louis, Missouri, to visit with

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CAROL and sometimes JOHN since they are the only family he has. He denied that his brother, JAMES RAY, had been at this family reunion at this last or any other time.

JERRY advised that he owns two automobiles, one a 1960 light green four-door De Soto which presently is parked in front of the cottage at the Sportsman's Country Club. The other, a 1961 two door white over red Plymouth. Both of these cars were purchased from a stepfather, JERRY RAYNES, who resides on a farm in Center, Missouri. He exhibited a receipt from the Dunhurst Currency Exchange showing that Missouri driver's license R250-6227-822-98-473MO, plus title and registration for 1960 De Soto had been turned in. The receipt was in the name of JERRY WILLIAM RYAN, 2897 Techny Road. JERRY said that he had turned over these items April 24, 1968, and expected to obtain his Illinois driver's license and license tags within the next several days.

JERRY further related that he paid \$200 for the 1961 Plymouth and has owned it for about six months. The car is presently at his stepfather's farm and is not registered. The reason it is not registered is that the title to this car was filed by his stepfather in St. Louis, Missouri, but was not returned. Both he and his stepfather made inquiry concerning the title, but it was evidently lost. JERRY said that he has driven the car to Chicago and in this area on one occasion utilizing license plates from a junk car. CAROL PEPPER has also driven the car on several occasions with the same plates. However, the plates have since been removed from the car and destroyed.

In response to questions concerning Post Office Box 22, Wheeling, Illinois, JERRY reiterated that the only person who has ever written to him was his brother JAMES RAY with the rare exception that he might receive some advertising literature of no consequence. He persisted in stating that that he had received no communications at this Post Office box within recent weeks. After further questioning, JERRY admitted that on April 23, 1968, he received a telegram addressed to him at P. O. Box 22. He then made available a copy of this telegram which read as follows:

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"JERRY RAY

"PO BOX 22 WHEELING ILL

"(RTE WATS CHGO)

"PLEASE CONTACT ME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, COLLECT AT 217-224-1710  
ROOM 230, OR MYSELF OR GERALD MOORE 312-467-9700. I HAVE A  
METTER OF IMPORTANCE TO DISCUSS AND SOME MONEY FOR YOU

"DICK WOODBURY LIFE MAGAZINE"

He then related that on April 23, 1968, he went to "Life" magazine offices where he was interviewed concerning his brother, other family members and family residences and background. He stated that it appeared to him that what "Life" magazine was interested in was the family history. He also advised that his picture was taken and that for his services he was paid \$150. According to JERRY, his sister, CAROL PEPPER, refused to talk with the "Time" and "Life" reporters but that his uncle, WILLIAM MAHER, cooperated freely. MAHER also told the reporters that SUE (SUSAN DONIAN) had a family album in which there were pictures of JAMES RAY, including a picture in uniform. Concerning SUE, JERRY related that he does not know SUE's present whereabouts and is certain that JAMES also is not aware of her present address. He requested to be informed of her whereabouts which was denied.

He related that his usual day off is Tuesday, and that on occasion, he will go to Northbrook, Illinois, where he gets a train to the Union Station and spends some time in Chicago, Illinois. The evening of April 23, 1968, he spent at the Victoria Hotel, Clark and Van Buren Streets.

JERRY advised that sometime around September, 1960, shortly after his release from prison, he was unemployed in St. Louis and he was contacted by his brother, JOHN, who told him to come to the Chicago area which JERRY did. He commenced employment at the Rolling Greens Country Club, Arlington Heights, Illinois, from September, 1960, until January, 1962. He then returned to St. Louis, Missouri, and returned sometime in April, 1962, where he obtained employment at the North Shore Country Club, Glenview, Illinois. He also worked for the Olympia Fields Country Club for 13 days and then went to work for the Medinah Country Club until sometime in December, 1963, when he was hit by a car as he was walking along a highway. JERRY spent some time in the hospital as a result of these injuries and then went back to St. Louis, Missouri, with JOHN. He again returned to this area and was employed at the Flossmoor Country Club, from April until September, 1964. At that time, he commenced his present employment at Spotsman Country Club.

JERRY said that he had resided at the Sportsman Country Club except for a short period of time from March to September, 1967, when he resided at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois, with his wife GJERDIS STREET who presently resides on Wisconsin Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois. He said that while they were married, she had a child, however, this child was by her previous husband. He went on to say that he and his wife separated in August of 1967 and the divorce was finalized on January 25, 1967. Later in the interview, JERRY advised that he was married in August, 1966, and that the divorce was final January 25, 1968.

When questioned as to whether or not he had been married previously, JERRY replied that he hadn't, but that he had lived common-law with CAROL SARTAIN who is presently residing in Morristown, Tennessee. He did know that CAROL is presently married but he did not know CAROL's married name. CAROL and JERRY had one child, MICHAEL, age 6, who is presently living with CAROL's parents, Mr. and Mrs. WILLARD SARTAIN, Route #2, Whitesburg, Tennessee.

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This town is located 24 miles outside of Knoxville, but JERRY does not know exactly where the SARTAINS live. He said that he doubted that the subject would be aware of the SARTAINS identity since JAMES was in prison before JERRY met his ex-wife.

JERRY related that his take-home pay is approximately \$113 per week and that he also receives room and board. He said that he has no money to speak of, at the present time, since all of his savings had been expended in his ill-fated marriage. He said that he sends money to his sister, CAROL, which she deposits in her account to keep for him. He estimated that he has approximately \$200 in that account. He denied that any of his money had been utilized by his brother JOHN in the purchase of the tavern in St. Louis.

JERRY sends money to the SARTAINS spasmodically, about \$50 at a time and estimates that since December, 1967, he has sent them approximately \$150. He also sends clothing and other items for MICHAEL's use. He also advised that he expends a great deal of money on automobiles and since he has been in this area has had at least 12 cars but never seems to be able to purchase a newer model than a 1962. He informed that his marriage "cost him a fortune" indicating that in the first two months he was married, his wife ran up \$300 in phone bills. He also paid \$135 to send her to driving school after which she had three automobile accidents and in one completely demolished one car so that he had to buy another. His ex-wife was also extravagant and spent money freely through charge accounts.

JERRY related that he has never heard of anyone named JAMES DAVID DAILEY, THOMAS BEECHUM CREWS or JUNIOR RAY CONWAY.

JERRY advised that he was not aware that JOHN registered at the Mac Arthur Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, during the time that he, JERRY, was there. He said that he did know that JOHN used the Mac Arthur Hotel whenever he was able to "pick up a woman". He said that JOHN has never married and has no knowledge that JOHN is presently going with or residing with any particular woman.

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He related that he has no idea as to the present whereabouts of his brother, JAMES, and believes that he is either dead or out of the country. He could offer no reason for JAMES' alleged murder of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., but did say that JAMES would have to have been paid for this murder in view of the purchase of the car and the dance school payments which JAMES made which information he obtained from reading the newspapers. JERRY did speculate that if anyone did pay JAMES for this murder, it would have to be someone he met after his escape because he doubted that anyone in prison or anyone that he knew in JAMES' life prior to being in prison would have the money or the desire to kill KING. JERRY said that all of the other crimes committed by JAMES were small scores and that he knew he never realized much money from them.

JERRY further related that it is his opinion that JAMES would never get in touch with anyone in the family no matter how bad he needed help.

JERRY RAY was then interviewed by SAC MARLIN W. JOHNSON and ASAC KYLE G. CLARK in an effort to obtain his complete cooperation in this matter. After discussion, JERRY gave his word that he would not lie in the future and that if his brother did contact him, he would contact the FBI. He reiterated that he had no reason to believe that JAMES would contact him.

JERRY advised that he sends his money to his sister, CAROL, because he would spend it if it was available to him. He sometimes sends her his whole paycheck to put in the account. He wants the money to save to put as a downpayment on opening a bar.

Concerning his automobile accident, JERRY advised that he was walking along the highway when he was struck by a car and that he was taken to the hospital at Elmhurst, Illinois, where he was semi-conscious for three days. He

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stayed in the hospital for 13 or 17 days and his pelvis bone had been broken. He entered into a lawsuit in an effort to recover damages, however, he was only paid \$1,00 and believes he owes the hospital around \$400.

He again stated that he had absolutely no idea as to his brother's whereabouts and then advised that if there was anyone else involved in the crime with JAMES, it was JERRY's opinion that JAMES would never divulge this person's identity. He said that at the time his brother received the 20 years' sentence, from which he escaped, he had been offered eight years to turn state's evidence but did not do so. The other person involved with JAMES did turn state's evidence and received a six year sentence. JERRY opined that even if JAMES was offered a sentence, of five years against death in the electric chair, he would not implicate a partner if in fact he had one.

The following description of JERRY WILLIAM RAY was obtained through interview and observation:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	July 16, 1935
Place of Birth	Quincy, Illinois (No birth certificate, doctor died two days after birth)
Height	5'9" tall
Weight	178 pounds
Build	Medium, stocky
Hair	Brown, receding
Eyes	Brown
Scars and Marks	Circle scar $\frac{1}{4}$ " diameter above left eyebrow;
Tattoos	"J.R." left forearm outer; "J.R." in scroll right forearm outer
Other employments	Knodel Bakery Company St. Louis, Missouri, oven worker, one day, 1963-64; Sunset Sanitarium, St. Louis, Missouri 12 days, 1963-64; Keeshen's, cannot recall working there
Marital Status	Divorced

JERRY then advised that he used the Bell Employment Service, Chicago, since his brother JOHN had used it because the fee was only \$15 or \$30 to locate a job. He then related that he came to Sportsman's Country Club from Flossmoor Country Club where he had been a bar waiter. He said he started out at Sportsman's as a dishwasher and then went to work for the Marx Maintenance Company as a maintenance man in the country club. Sometime thereafter, the country club dropped the maintenance service and hired JERRY. He also advised that his brother JOHN was employed at the Indian Hills Country Club, Elmhurst, Illinois, not at Indian Lake. He then recalled that his brother was also employed at Green Acres Country Club, about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Sportsman's in Northbrook, Illinois.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/3/68

1.

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that he had never discussed photography with his brother JAMES and had no knowledge that JAMES was in any way interested in or proficient in photography. He never knew of him to make any comments concerning the taking of pictures of nude women and in fact, never knew JAMES to be particularly interested in women. In this regard, he advised that JAMES never had any lasting attachment with a woman and that he would usually either pick them up in a bar or go to a hotel and contact the bellhop. He knew of no associate of his brother in Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, or Los Angeles. He could offer no suggestions as to the person allegedly contacted by his brother via long-distance telephone calls while on a trip to New Orleans in December, 1967.

JERRY then advised that he had lied previously when he said that his father died in 1961 at Hannibal, Missouri. The true father for all of the children born to JERRY and LUCILLE RAY, RYAN, or RAYNES is JERRY RAYNES, Center, Missouri. He said that his father and other members of the family variously used the names set forth previously but that his father's birth certificate is in the name of RAY. He also advised that his sister, MELBA, now uses the surname of FULLER. JERRY also advised that his paternal grandfather's name is GEORGE RAY.

JERRY advised that he had never heard his brother JAMES mention the name ALFRED GEORGE SCHNEIDER or NEAL AEBY. He said that the only individuals with whom he knew JAMES was friendly with in prison were RALPH "RAT" DAVIS (deceased), WALTER TERRY and LONNIE RIFE. He said that he did not know if JOSEPH "BLACKIE" AUSTIN had done time with his brother but that he was arrested with the subject in Quincy, Illinois, on an armed robbery charge. JERRY said that he was acquainted with AUSTIN while they both were in the Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard, Illinois. He said he thought that AUSTIN is presently on parole but he does not know whether he is in St. Louis or Chicago. JERRY doubts that there is any close contact between AUSTIN and JAMES RAY now.

On 4/25/68 at Chicago, Illinois File # Chicago 44-1114

by SA RENE J. DUMAINE/jap Date dictated 5/1/68

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Concerning his father, JERRY did not furnish a reason for the various names but said that for the last fourteen years his father has been using the name JERRY RAYNES. JERRY made the statement that "I was about 20 years old before I knew my name."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/30/68

1

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that he has no information as to any available photographs of his brother and that the only one he can recall ever seeing was a photograph of his brother in Army uniform. JERRY thinks that the last time he saw that photograph was in 1953 but that he cannot recall who had it.

JERRY said that he considered the \$150 he received from "Life" Magazine as payment for the information for the article, as his brother's and when his brother is found he will give him this money to use for his defense.

He also advised that he gave the phone number of the cottage where he resides to the "Life" Magazine reporter and that the reporter has called him at that number.

He said that he has no information indicating that his sister SUSAN has any type of a family album and in fact, doubts that she does.

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On 4/26/68 at Chicago, Illinois File # Chicago 44-1114

by SA RENE J. DUMAINE/jap Date dictated 4/29/68

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CG 44-1114

HAM:flk

1

Captain THOMAS S. BUCKLIN, Director, Glenbrook Patrol Service, Incorporated, 1132 Waukegan Road, Glenview, Illinois, telephone Park 4-3434, advised SA HARRY A. WALKER on April 26, 1968, that his company is the patrol service for the Sportsman's Country Club, Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois.

BUCKLIN stated that under an agreement with Mr. RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN, owner of the Sportsman's Country Club, his men have to personally contact JERRY RAY nightly at the club at 12:00 Midnight, 2:00 AM, and 4:30 AM, with the exception of Tuesday, RAY's day off, and if RAY is not working at the time of any of the contacts they are to immediately contact Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and advise him of this fact. BUCKLIN advised that these instructions were given to him by CHAMBERLAIN at the time his company took over the patrol service for the Sportsman's Country Club.

It was related by BUCKLIN that Lieutenant GLENN TIBBS and Sergeant THOMAS PODUCH are the patrolmen from his agency that personally contact JERRY RAY, each on alternate nights, and RAY almost immediately after the publicity broke concerning JAMES EARL RAY confided in both men that he was the brother of JAMES EARL RAY.

BUCKLIN stated that he will immediately advise both of his above patrolmen to also immediately contact the Chicago Office of the FBI if JERRY RAY disappears at any time during the midnight, 2:00 AM, and 4:30 AM contacts with RAY at Sportsman's Country Club.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/2/68

1

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that he had accidentally met with his ex-wife, DJERDIS, in Wheeling, Illinois, at which time she told him that she had moved to that area.

During conversation with her about his brother JAMES, DJERDIS asked him if she had ever met him. JERRY told her that she had not and then in further conversation, she pointed out that one of the brothers had been to Northbrook, Illinois, to visit with them when they were married. JERRY told her that this was his brother JOHN. JERRY advised that he thinks that JOHN came to the Northbrook residence sometime in March, 1967, and that he sold JOHN an older model Rambler and that JOHN took the Rambler back to Missouri with him. JERRY is of the opinion that this car is now at his father's farm in Missouri.

4/28/68

Chicago, Illinois

CG 44-1114

On \_\_\_\_\_

at \_\_\_\_\_

File # \_\_\_\_\_

by SA RENE J. DUMAINE/laj

Date dictated \_\_\_\_\_

4/30/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/3/68

1

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that from 1948 to 1952 or 1953, he was residing in Quincy, Illinois, and that during 1950, he was sent to the reformatory at St. Charles, Illinois. He said that all of the addresses in Chicago where his brother JAMES resided meant nothing to him and he knew of no acquaintances or relatives of his brother JAMES in Chicago, Illinois. He said that the last time he saw his brother JAMES outside of prison was in 1951. The last time he saw him in prison was in 1964. He said that on several occasions, he had sent money to his brother JAMES while he was in prison and that JAMES had sent him out about \$40 or \$50. He said that this was a total accumulation of three or four amounts sent to him while JAMES was in prison. He did remember that JAMES came to the Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard, Illinois, to visit JERRY while he was in prison.

He said that the names of VERONICA WOODHOUSE and PHILLIP BAKER meant nothing to him.

He furnished CAROL PEPPER's phone number as 311-645-2948. He stated he did not have his brother JOHN's phone number either at his residence or tavern.

Concerning JAMES, he did not know of any country club employment for him in this area. The only schools that he recalls his brother attending were in Ewing, Missouri.

JERRY advised that he had received the 1968 Illinois license tags for his automobile and they are numbered KX 5820. He also stated that he had seen his wife yesterday afternoon which was the first time he had seen her since her divorce. She has never met JAMES but did meet JOHN.

JERRY related that he was leaving for St. Louis, Missouri, about 1:00 p.m. this date and would probably stay with either his brother JOHN or his sister, CAROL. His plans at the present time were to drive to St. Louis and return about 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. on May 1, 1968.

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5/29/68 at Chicago, Illinois File # Chicago 44-1114

SA RENE J. DUMAINE/jap Date dictated 5/2/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

5/7/68

Date \_\_\_\_\_

1

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that he left Chicago, Illinois, at about 1:00 PM, April 29, 1968, driving his 1960 light green Desoto. He became sleepy while driving and stopped at a motel in Braidwood, Illinois, where he slept and stayed until about 4:00 AM, April 30, 1968. He arrived in St. Louis at 9:00 AM that day and went immediately to his brother JOHN's apartment on Lemp Street, where he stayed until noon.

Then JOHN and he went to his sister CAROL PEPPER's residence, where they stayed for approximately two hours. JERRY and JOHN then returned to JOHN's tavern and JERRY said he drank too much beer, became sleepy and feel asleep that evening. He said that he could not recall very much about the evening after he returned to the tavern and that he stayed with JOHN at the apartment until leaving St. Louis, Missouri, about 11:00 AM, May 1, 1968.

JERRY advised that he, his brother JOHN, and CAROL have read almost every article in the newspapers concerning their brother. He commented that while he was in St. Louis this last time, most of the conversation centered around the article in "Life" magazine and that there was no indication in the conversation with JOHN or CAROL that they were aware of the subject's whereabouts or his whereabouts since his escape until September 1, 1967. JERRY was advised that the FBI was very much interested in attempting to determine his brother's whereabouts from the period of time from his escape until he first appeared in Birmingham, Alabama, about September 1, 1967. JERRY advised that he had no information as to his brother's whereabouts either during the above time or his present whereabouts. JERRY explained that JOHN, CAROL's and his own information concerning the whereabouts of the subject came from their aforementioned following of the KING murder in the newspapers and that he noted in one article that his brother obviously, using the name ERIC STARVO GALT, first appeared in a rooming house in Birmingham, Alabama, around September 1, 1967.

5/1/68 at Northbrook, Illinois File# CG 44-1114

SAs JOSEPH M. BURKE  
and RENE J. DUMAINE/laj

Date dictated 5/3/68

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JERRY denied having any information which would in the slightest way indicate that his brother or his sister aided the subject in his escape and have had any idea of the subject's whereabouts since his escape.

JERRY then stated that his brother JOHN had told him that the FBI had combed a two-block area looking for a JACK GAWRON, since it had been developed that GAWRON had been acquainted with JAMES. JERRY said that JOHN knows that GAWRON has been interviewed by the FBI but JOHN did not indicate to JERRY that GAWRON had ever stated what he had told the FBI.

JERRY said that in the past, he had driven GAWRON around looking at possible burglary scores at which time GAWRON would pay the expenses. To JERRY's knowledge, GAWRON never committed any burglary in any of the places in which they had "cased" and in JERRY's opinion, GAWRON is "living on past glories." JERRY then stated that GAWRON was a name that he probably should have given to the Agents before since he, JERRY, was aware that GAWRON had served time with his brother JAMES. JERRY expressed the opinion that JAMES would not contact GAWRON but believes that JAMES does know GAWRON well, considering him to be slightly "stir crazy." JERRY did not mention whether or not GAWRON and JAMES participated in burglaries together and made no comment as to the closeness of association between them.

JERRY advised that WALTER RIFE was JAME's rap partner in Leavenworth and that he, JERRY, has served time with both LONNIE and WALTER RIFE in Menard.

JERRY advised that he has given the matter of what he would do if his brother contacted him considerable thought. He is now of the very strong opinion that he would assist the FBI if it could be handled in such a manner so as not to compromise him and also if he could be assured that every effort would be made to apprehend his brother without hurting him.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/5/681

JERRY WILLIAM RAY advised that of all of the individuals that his brother JAMES committed crimes with, he was probably closer to "BLACKIE" AUSTIN than any other. JERRY said that he has no information as to any association between AUSTIN and his brother since AUSTIN was released from prison and in fact, did not know AUSTIN's present whereabouts. He said that JAMES was also close with WALTER RIFE but did not think JAMES would contact him because WALTER continually brags about everything he does. He said that for the same reason he would doubt that his brother would contact JACK GAWRON although he felt that GAWRON and his brother were also fairly close. He again stated that he did not know whether GAWRON and his brother committed jobs together and expressed the opinion that they did not. JERRY indicated that any information in his possession about the associations of his brother would be mostly speculation because of the lack of contact he has had with his brother outside of prison.

JERRY said that his closest associates at the Sportsman's Country Club were AL WRIGHT, who is married and lives in Mount Prospect, Illinois, and HUEY MALONE, who is single and resides in the same cottage with JERRY.

JERRY advised that he was calling from the pay phone in the cottage and that this is the phone he usually uses for his personal calls.

On 5/2/68 at Chicago, Illinois File # Chicago 44-1114

by SA RENE J. DUMAINE/jap Date dictated 5/3/68

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JMB:pas

On April 22, 1968, SAs JOSEPH M. BURKE and ROBERT F. PEVAHOUSE observed a 1960 De Soto, white over green, bearing Missouri license plates CC7-363, parked in front of the employee's cottage at the Sportsman's Country Club, Northbrook, Illinois. This car is known to be operated by JERRY WILLIAM RAY.

On April 25, 1968, the Latent Fingerprint Section, Identification Division, FBI Laboratory, advised that the remaining unidentified latent prints in this case are not identical with finger or palm prints of JERRY WILLIAM RAY, FBI Number 862 651 A.

On May 1, 1968, JERRY RAY was advised by SA DUMAINE that information had come to the FBI's attention that a local newspaper reporter had been able to determine JERRY's employment based upon the information that JERRY had furnished to "Life" magazine. JERRY advised that he had no desire to furnish information to any newspaper and if contacted would not give them an interview. JERRY was informed that the FBI was under no circumstances instructing him not to cooperate with the news media and that any decision in that regard would be entirely his own.

On the evening of May 2, 1968, Mrs. MARGUERITE WELCH, Manager, Sportsman's Country Club, telephonically contacted SA DUMAINE, at which time she advised that there were numerous people from the various news media present at the club attempting to locate and interview JERRY RAY, which apparently was based upon the news stories which appeared in the Chicago "Sun-Times". Mrs. WELCH advised that she was going to see that JERRY was placed in a motel that evening and would release to the newspapers that he had quit his employment and present whereabouts unknown.

On the morning of May 3, 1968, JERRY RAY telephonically contacted SA DUMAINE and advised that he was leaving for St. Louis, Missouri, at about 1:15 PM, that date, driving his 1960 Desoto. He indicated that he would probably stay overnight with his brother JOHN and then stay with his father JERRY RAYNES on the farm at Center, Missouri. He expects to stay there three or four days and will call the country club on May 7, 1968, to see if the news media interest has abated. If so, he will return to Chicago and continue his employment in the club.

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CG 44-1114

HAW:jap

1.

Re: JERRY WILLIAM RAY, brother

Mr. RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN, Owner, Sportsman Country Club, Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois, advised SA HARRY A. WALKER as follows on April 23, 1968:

JERRY RAY started with the country club on September 16, 1964, as a dishwasher and was actually sent to the club from the Bell Employment Service, Chicago, Illinois. At the time that RAY started his employment, he entered on an application that he was previously employed for the Knodel Bakery Company, St. Louis, Missouri, on the ovens and as a waiter at the Sunset Sanitarium, St. Louis, Missouri. No dates of employment were listed for either of the above two employments. The last employment entered by RAY before he came to the Sportsman Country Club was listed as a dishwasher for Keeshen's (phonetic); however, no address or city was given for this employment. RAY's home address was listed as 712 Shennadough (phonetic), St. Louis, Missouri.

At the time that RAY started his employment as a dishwasher, the maintenance work was done at the club on a contract basis by the Marx Maintenance Service, Des Plaines, Illinois. At this time, an older couple was doing the maintenance work for the Marx Company and resided at the club. This arrangement was entirely for the convenience of the club which did not wish to hire maintenance people directly. Eventually, the older couple left and RAY took over the same duties and was employed again by the convenience of the club by the Marx Maintenance Service. Eventually, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN discontinued the Marx Maintenance Service and hired RAY on a direct basis and RAY is presently making approximately \$160 a week with a take-home pay averaging anywhere from \$113 to \$145 a week. RAY is very frugile and his only expense appears to be paying the upkeep of a child by a previous marriage.

Approximately two years ago, RAY married a waitress at the club, a GJIRDIS ANNA D. OLSEN, who was formerly married to a man with the last name of STRIET (phonetic) and after her divorce from STRIET, shortly thereafter married RAY.

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HAW:jap

2.

CHAMBERLAIN described GJIRDIS OLSEN as a woman still in her twenties, mentally retarded who he believes is presently residing with her parents, possibly a Mr. and Mrs. PAUL A. OLSEN, 1344 Hazel Avenue, Deerfield, Illinois. This address and the name of her parents was given to the club by OLSEN at the time she started her employment as a waitress.

A review of RAY's cancelled checks appears that he does his banking at the Wheeling Trust and Savings Bank, Wheeling, Illinois. All the checks observed were cashed at this bank.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN advised that he has no objection to the FBI using his parking lot to maintain a constant surveillance on RAY. He also stated that he will immediately contact RAY and talk to him concerning the necessity of RAY's complete cooperation with the FBI. The patrol service used by the Sportsman Country Club is the Glenbrook Patrol Service, Glenview, Illinois, a service operated by THOMAS BUCKLIN with telephone number Park 4-3434.

RAY, according to CHAMBERLAIN, had a brother whose first name was unknown to him who, according to RAY, was employed as a bartender approximately one year ago at the Indian Lake Country Club near Ebomingdale, Illinois. The club is owned by the Braninger Organization. This brother was also a bartender supposedly employed by the Green Bakers Country Club which is located a short distance east of the Sportsman Country Club.

As to RAY's divorced wife, GJIRDIS OLSEN, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN was of the impression that RAY had to marry GJIRDIS due to her being pregnant.

RAY has no close friends at the club, associates with no one and seldom leaves the club other than on a Tuesday which is his regular day off.

CG 44-1114

HAW:jap

1.

Mrs. MARGUERITE WELCH, who resides at 287 Crestwood Village, Northfield, Illinois, home phone HI 6-6087, who is in charge of personnel at the Sportsman Country Club located on Dundee Road, Wheeling, Illinois, advised SA HARRY A. WALKER as follows on April 24, 1968:

She has been acquainted with JERRY RAY, the maintenance man at the Sportsman Country Club, since approximately September, 1964, when he started employment as a dishwasher at the country club coming to the club from the Bell Employment Service, Chicago, Illinois. RAY left shortly after his employment started; however, returned within one or two months and continued his employment as a dishwasher. He eventually became night maintenance man at the club and has always in this capacity performed his work in a capable manner and was honest in every respect; however, she is of the opinion that RAY has a low mental capacity.

RAY at no time has ever visited her home at the above address and she has had no contact with RAY since he left the Sportsman Country Club on April 23, 1968, which is his day off, until the present time. RAY on his day off which falls on a Tuesday usually takes a bus to Chicago, visits a theater, sometimes staying in Chicago and returning the next day either for lunch or dinner.

RAY has spoken of a brother who she believes is from the St. Louis, Missouri area; however, he never provided any additional information concerning this brother other than the fact that he was a bartender. RAY also had a child during his marriage to GJIRDIS RAY, nee OLSEN, a former waitress at the country club; however, GJIRDIS was pregnant by a former husband whose last name she remembers as STRIET (phonetic) and the baby was born shortly after RAY's marriage to GJIRDIS RAY, nee OLSEN. To the best of her recollection, GJIRDIS RAY no longer has this baby turning it over to a welfare agency for adoption. RAY also has an ex-wife, possibly in Nashville, Tennessee, and had a son and a daughter by this marriage who should be in the vicinity of from eight to ten years old. Approximately three years ago at Christmas during his employ-



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HAW:jap

2.

ment at the club, RAY flew to Tennessee to visit these two children; however, she knows nothing further concerning these children or their mother or where the family is presently residing in Tennessee.

RAY has no close friends at the club; however, in the past has filled in for other employees of the club in addition to his own duties when the employees wanted time off and needed someone to work in their place. He at no time spoke of other members of his family other than to say that he had a brother that was a bartender in the St. Louis area and she had no idea that RAY was incarcerated in the past. Her records revealed that RAY worked steadily during the night at the Sportsman Country Club from Wednesday evening, April 3, 1968, through Monday, April 8, 1968, without having any time off.

She is of the opinion that RAY is not cooperating with the FBI in every respect, does not feel that some of the questions asked of him are important enough for him to give any thought in answering; however, it could be that due to his low mental condition that he is not capable of answering the questions asked of him. However, she is going to talk to RAY telling him that she "thinks" that this is an extremely important part of his life to cooperate with the FBI in every respect.

CG 44-1114

HAW:jap

1.

Mrs. MARGUERITE WELCH, immediate supervisor of JERRY RAY at the Sportsman Country Club, Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois, and Mr. RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN, owner of the club, were contacted by SA HARRY A. WALKER on the evening of April 24, 1968, and given the background of JERRY RAY's visit to "Life Magazine," Chicago, Illinois. Both people who expressed surprise of RAY's contact with "Life" were advised that "Life" did not learn the identity of JERRY RAY from the FBI.

The above people also advised that before JERRY RAY left Sportsman Country Club voluntarily on April 24, 1968, for the Chicago Office of the FBI, they talked to him attempting to impress upon RAY the necessity of RAY fully cooperating with the FBI at all times in this investigation.

Both of the above people advised that one or the other will know if JERRY RAY does not report for work and if he does not, they will immediately contact the Chicago Office of the FBI.

Date April 6, 1968

1

Records of the Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, 1731 South Broadway, St. Louis, Missouri, reflect there is a current checking account in the name of ALBERT or CAROL PEPPER. The balance as of April 29, 1968, was \$186.09.

This account was opened April 3, 1967, with a deposit of \$209.08.

Prior to August 21, 1967, the balance was two figures and low three figures with no deposit larger than the opening deposit and the largest withdrawal being \$164.75. On August 21, 1967, there was a deposit in the amount of \$4628.78 and on August 23, 1967, a check was written in the amount of \$500.00. On September 5, 1967, there was a deposit of \$837.94 and on September 6, 1967, a check was written in the amount of \$3656.98. On September 12, 1967, there was a deposit of \$756.00 and on September 14, 1967, a check was written in the amount of \$1900.00. On October 9, 1967, there was a deposit of \$1056.71.

Since October 9, 1967, no deposit was made larger than a deposit of \$460.35 made November 6, 1967. Since January 22, 1968, no check was written on this account larger than the \$195.00 check written January 22, 1968.

With respect to the largest deposits as reflected below in a check of the savings account of ALBERT and CAROL PEPPER, the deposit on August 21, 1967, to the checking account in the amount of \$4628.78 coincides with a withdrawal in their savings account of \$4500.00. Deposit tickets for the checking account for August 21, 1967, reflect that the \$4628.78 deposit was made up of \$4500.00 transferred from a savings account, a check in the amount of \$105.37 and a check in the amount of \$23.41.

With respect to the deposit of \$837.94 on September 5, 1967, this deposit consisted of \$513.29 in cash, \$200.00 in cash, and a check in the amount of \$124.60. *Cash*

With respect to the deposit of \$756.00 on September 12, 1967, this consisted of a check in that amount.

Regarding the deposit of October 9, 1967, in the amount of \$1056.71, this consisted of a cash deposit of \$1000.00 and a check in the amount of \$56.71. *Cash*

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On 4/30/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
by SA EARL E. BROWN  
SA ALBERT J. RUSHING EEB: pdp Date dictated 5/6/68

2655

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-86 BY SP3/ma

2

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The other deposit of size noted above, November 6, 1967, in the amount of \$460.35, is supported by deposit tickets reflecting \$100.00 in cash and checks in the amount of \$125.00, \$87.07, \$93.95, \$6.67, \$43.40, and \$4.26.

Since January 1, 1968, the only checks written on this checking account were six in January, one in February, and two in March. Checks drawn on the account in April 1968, (six in all) consisted of the following:

April 12, 1968, in the amount of \$2.50 payable to R. J. DEVEREUX;

April 16, 1968, \$5.46 payable to Sealtest;

April 16, 1968, \$3.00 payable to Cardinal Glennon Hospital;

April 14, 1968, \$6.50 (this check could not be located to determine payee);

April 14, 1968, \$13.88 to Katz Drugs and

March 29, 1968, \$105.20 to Manufacturers Bank.

An official of Manufacturers Bank stated that the \$105.20 check dated March 29, 1968, payable to Manufacturers Bank is for a payment on the PEPPER residence they are purchasing.

One of the large withdrawals from this checking account listed above was a \$500.00 check on August 23, 1967. This was the date of posting and the check was actually drawn on August 18, 1967. It was payable to Mercantile Trust Company and contained a stamp indicating it had been processed by the Real Estate Department.

With respect to the check in the amount of \$1900.00 noted above, which was posted on September 14, 1967, this check was dated September 9, 1967, and payable to JERRY RAYNS and contains a notation "purchase of 42 acres". It was endorsed

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JERRY RAYNS followed by an endorsement which appears to be HAROLD WALKER, Trustee. This check was deposited at the Center State Bank and is the only check found wherein the body of the check was apparently not written by CAROL PEPPER, although she signed all checks mentioned herein.

ALBERT or CAROL PEPPER also maintain at the Manufacturers Bank a savings account number 5907. Bank records reflect that this account was opened September 7, 1965. The PEPPERS gave an address of 712A Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, and the only other address reflected in the savings account is 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri. At the time the account was opened ALBERT PEPPER, Social Security Number 496-38-5413, stated he was born May 29, 1941, at Chicago, Illinois, and is employed by Ace Service. CAROL PEPPER stated she was born January 30, 1941, in Missouri. It was noted that an inquiry had been made concerning this account by Missouri Liquor Control on November 27, 1967. The account was opened with a deposit of \$2570.15. The largest deposits thereafter were \$1900.00 on April 3, 1967, \* and \$344.00 on February 6, 1967. Numerous other deposits were made in smaller amounts. Withdrawals were as follows:

November 10, 1965	\$200.00
June 27, 1966	\$100.00
July 11, 1966	\$ 70.00
September 12, 1966	\$500.00
September 15, 1966	\$500.00
October 24, 1966	\$175.00
August 21, 1967	\$4500.00
September 12, 1967	\$756.00

The balance as of April 30, 1968, was \$2175.43.

Records of the Manufacturers Bank also reflect that ALBERT and CAROL PEPPER have a real estate loan, number M-1625, on the property at 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, in the amount of \$6500.00. It is payable in monthly installments of \$75.00 which payment includes escrow fee, taxes, insurance, and interest. A number of payments in addition to the regular payments have been made and the balance due on the principal

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as of April 1, 1968, is \$6080.77. This property is recorded in Book 1052, Page 167, Daily number 132, St. Louis County Court House. It is a first deed of trust. Seller to the PEPPERS was Mercantile Trust Company, Real Estate Department. Closing on this property was September 6, 1967, with a payment in the amount of \$3656.98.

The application for this loan was dated August 14, 1967, and signed by ALBERT PEPPER. The application reflects that this is a five room house, the total selling price being \$10,500. At the time of the application ALBERT PEPPER resided at 712A Shenandoah and was employed by Ace Construction Company - New Market Hardware at \$100.00 per week plus overtime. His wife was employed by "Arch. Dietries" (Project Headstart) at \$50.00 a week. On the application no liabilities were listed and assets were a \$5000.00 life insurance policy on the life of ALBERT PEPPER with his wife beneficiary; cash in a savings account of \$7256.43; a 1963 Plymouth valued at \$800.00; and furniture valued at \$800.00 or total assets of \$8856.43.

Two checking accounts were located in the name of JOHN RAY both of which were closed as of April 30, 1968.

The first account was opened November 3, 1966, with a deposit of \$339.12. At the time the account was opened JOHN RAY listed his address as 1812 Lafayette. This was changed to 712A Shenandoah and there was also a notation of an address at 1822 North 21st Street.

Three deposits were made after the account was opened ranging in amount from \$48.00 to \$68.18.

Eleven checks were drawn on this account ranging in amount from \$5.88 to \$152.00. Reference shown at the time the account was opened was JERRY RAYNS. This account was closed on July 18, 1967.

2  
JOHN RAY had a second checking account opened August 30, 1967, with a deposit of \$1300.00. He gave his address as 1807 South 11th Street. There was the initial deposit only. Fifteen checks were drawn on this account ranging from

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\$5.04 to \$550.00. The \$550.00 check was posted on February 2, 1968. The next largest check drawn on the account was posted January 26, 1968, in the amount of \$126.85. At the time the account was opened RAY stated he was unemployed. There was no activity in the account from February 9, 1968, until it was closed April 8, 1968, with a check in the amount of \$5.04.

The Manufacturers Bank also contains a closed checking account in the name of JERRY RAYNS, 1434 Menard Street, which was opened May 11, 1964, and closed May 29, 1967. At the time the account was opened JERRY RAYNS indicated he was self-employed at a second hand store. From January 5, 1966, until January 16, 1967, 10 deposits were made ranging in amounts from \$46.40 to \$500.00. The largest balance was on October 17, 1966, amounting to \$1076.28. The largest check drawn on the account was \$500.00 on November 25, 1966. After January 16, 1967, there was only one transaction, check number 344, which closed the account.

*15 this further*

Records of the Manufacturers Bank also reflect a closed savings account in the name of JERRY RAYNS or CAROL PEPPER (daughter) savings account number 88556. This account was opened September 7, 1965, with a deposit of \$300.00. At that time JERRY RAYNS listed his address as 1819 Park Avenue. He stated he was born November 24, 1899, in California and is retired. [No address was listed for CAROL PEPPER, who was said to be a housewife born January 30, 1941, in Missouri. On October 6, 1965, there was a deposit of \$100.00 and on August 30, 1966, a deposit of \$200.00. This account was closed on September 5, 1967, with a withdrawal of \$513.29.

*why put \$1900 in her account if both had joint savings.*

In the event these records are needed, a subpoena duces tecum should be directed to Mr. HARLEY E. SCHWERING, Senior Vice President, Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, 1731 South Broadway, St. Louis, Missouri.

*25-3*

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 29, 1968

1.

Mrs. ALBERT E. (CAROL) PEPPER, age 27, of 2025 Bellevue, advised interviewing Agents that she had been married to ALBERT S. PEPPER for approximately six years. She stated she had not seen JAMES EARL RAY since some time prior to her marriage and that her husband had never met her brother JAMES EARL RAY.

With reference to her brothers JOHN "JACK" RAY and JERRY RAY she stated she had not seen either of these individuals since they were visiting in St. Louis around Christmas, 1967. She advised JERRY RAY resides in the vicinity of Chicago, Illinois, and it is her understanding that JACK RAY is residing there also.

*John's  
whereabouts  
1967-  
68*

When questioned concerning her father she stated that her father, JERRY RAY, age about 59 years, is presently residing on a farm he owns which is located in the vicinity of Hannibal, Missouri. She denied knowing the exact location of this farm stating she had never visited it. However, she had visited in the general area near Hannibal some months ago at the time her father was looking for a farm to purchase in that area. According to Mrs. PEPPER she is normally in contact with her father approximately once a week at which time he calls her by telephone, usually on Saturday morning. She denied having ever made a telephone call to her father, JERRY RAY, stating that she did not know his telephone number. When questioned specifically in this respect she stated she had not misplaced his number but had never been in possession of his telephone number. She advised that her father was retired, and that his only source of income was what he received from Social Security.

With respect to other members of the family Mrs. PEPPER furnished the following information:

SUSIE RAY, age 20, was raised by some unknown well-to-do family residing in the vicinity of Quincy, Illinois. Within the past several months SUSIE was married to some unknown band leader who works out of the vicinity of the Quincy, Illinois, area.

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On 4/19/68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA HARRY C. JUNG  
SA CLETIS B. BIDEWELL CB3:bam Date dictated 4/25/68 3650



2.

SL 44-775

A sister, MELBA RAY, age 30 and single, resides somewhere in Quincy, Illinois, and has on occasion been confined in a hospital due to a mentally retarded condition. She volunteered the information that the last time she heard from MELBA was at Christmas last year at which time she was in jail in Quincy, Illinois.

According to Mrs. PEPPER another brother, FRANKLIN "BUZZY" RAY was killed in an automobile accident which occurred approximately four years ago on a bridge west of Quincy, Illinois. She stated when she last saw JAMES EARL RAY he was with this brother "BUZZY" in St. Louis approximately two or three years prior to the death of "BUZZY" RAY.

With respect to her mother LUCILLE RYAN, Mrs. PEPPER advised that she had died in the City Hospital at St. Louis approximately seven years ago of complications resulting from sclerosis of the liver and heart trouble.

Mrs. PEPPER emphatically denied having any knowledge or information whatever concerning the whereabouts of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY. She was specifically advised of the provisions of the harboring statute during the course of the interview.

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3651

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date May 2, 1968

ALBERT B. PEPPER was interviewed at his place of employment, the New Market Hardware, 4064 Laclede. PEPPER stated he had never seen subject RAY inasmuch as RAY was serving time in the Missouri State Penitentiary at the time he married CAROL RAY, subject's sister. He denied having any information whatsoever concerning the present whereabouts of subject or having been contacted either directly or indirectly by subject since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri.

With respect to subject's brother, JERRY RAY, presently residing in Chicago, Illinois, he stated he had not seen JERRY in a couple of months. When questioned concerning the subject's brother, JACK RAY, he stated he had not seen him in approximately one month. He further stated he did not mix with his wife's relatives and her contact with them was her own business.

When questioned specifically concerning any communication from the Missouri State Penitentiary addressed to the Albert J. Pepper Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, PEPPER stated he and his family formerly resided at that address but he was not aware of any mail addressed to such a stationery company. In discussing this matter, he admitted that his wife might have received such a communication but denied having any information concerning this. He mentioned the possibility that if such a letter had been sent it very well could have been stolen from the mailbox and never received as they have had in the past checks stolen from the mailbox.

PEPPER was asked if he would discuss this matter with his wife CAROL and endeavor to determine whether or not she had ever received any mail or any money mailed to her addressed to the Albert J. Pepper Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, and he agreed to do so. During the entire course of the interview, PEPPER appeared friendly, but obviously volunteered no information whatsoever.

It was pointed out to PEPPER that this matter would undoubtedly be discussed with him again at some future date and he was apparently agreeable to this suggestion.

26/

On 5/2/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775

by SA CLETIS B. BIDEWELL/mjb  
SA ROBERT S. STEWART

Date dictated 5/2/68

3657

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date May 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT B. (CAROL ANN) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, stated her new unpublished telephone number is 645-9152. She was interviewed on May 10, 1968, by SAs HOWARD C. KENNEDY and ALBERT J. RUSHING at which time she furnished the following information:

Mrs. PEPPER is the sister of subject, JAMES EARL RAY, but is 13 years younger than subject and in all of her life has had very little contact or association with the subject having seen him only approximately three or four times in her life. These three or four times when she has seen him all occurred in the City of St. Louis after Mrs. PEPPER came to St. Louis when she was 16 years old to reside with her father in St. Louis and all of the occasions when she saw the subject were brief encounters such as when she saw him on the street. She believes the last time she saw the subject was probably in 1959 or earlier when she encountered him on the street in South St. Louis at which time she was in the company of their brother, FRANK (BUZZY) RAY, who is now deceased. Her first recollection of seeing him was following his discharge from military service.

Mrs. PEPPER was born January 30, 1941, at Ewing, Missouri. She went to school at Quincy, Illinois, where she resided with her mother, LUCILLE RYAN. Mrs. PEPPER's birth certificate showed her name as RAYNES which she understands is an incorrect spelling of the name of her father, whose name is RAYNS and who now resides near Center, Missouri, to which location he recently moved from St. Louis, Missouri. Mrs. PEPPER prior to marriage, used the name CAROL RYAN, the same surname used by her mother, LUCILLE RYAN. Mrs. PEPPER is unable to account for the variations in the surnames and she is aware that various ones of her brothers and sister have used the surname RAY. So far as she knows they all had the same father although she expressed uncertainty in that regard and she assumes that the variations of the name are simply because her brothers and sisters decided to use the name RAY, a variation of the name RAYNS.

When Mrs. PEPPER was 16 years of age, she left her mother's residence in Quincy and came to St. Louis where she lived with her father at 1727 South 11th Street. She did

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DATE 3/14/80 BY SP/MS/MS/MS

On 5/10/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775

by SA HOWARD C. KENNEDY  
SA ALBERT J. RUSHING AJR/leh Date dictated 5/10/68

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not attend school after she moved to St. Louis but had various jobs including a period of employment at Kresge's, a dime store, located on Delmar Boulevard, University City, Missouri, no longer in existence. She is not now employed. Her last employment having been by the Catholic Archdiocese in St. Louis as a teacher in the Head Start Program which was conducted at St. Joseph's School on South 12th Street in St. Louis. The later employment was for a period of about one year during the latter part of the residence of Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER at 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis, from which address they moved to their present address in the Maplewood in about October, 1967.

Sometime after Mrs. PEPPER came to St. Louis at the age of 16 years to reside with her father, her mother also came to St. Louis and resided with Mrs. PEPPER's maternal grandmother, MARY MAHER, at 1913 Hickory, St. Louis. Mrs. PEPPER however, did not at any time actually reside in St. Louis with her mother, although she occasionally spent brief periods of time with her mother at the mother's address. After the death of Mrs. PEPPER's mother in early 1961, Mrs. PEPPER did reside for a period of a few months with her grandmother, Mrs. MAHER, in St. Louis, until Mrs. PEPPER was married in St. Louis to ALBERT B. PEPPER in December, 1961.

Mrs. PEPPER and her husband have two children, ALBERT, age 6, and JIMMY, age 4.

After subject, JAMES EARL RAY, was arrested and convicted on the charge for which he was sent to the Missouri State Penitentiary, Mrs. PEPPER has not ever seen him again on any occasion. For a time after he went to the penitentiary she did write letters to him on behalf of her grandmother, Mrs. MAHER and used the latter's name in the letters and she continued this practice after the death of the grandmother in 1963, continuing to use the name of Mrs. MARY MAHER, who was an approved correspondent of subject's in the penitentiary. Mrs. PEPPER estimates that after the death of her grandmother she probably wrote no more than three or four letters to the subject at the penitentiary. She is unable to recall the last such letter she wrote to him but the last time may have been as late as the early part of 1967. She occasionally received a letter from subject while he was in the penitentiary and believes she received no more than two or three letters from him. Mrs. PEPPER did not ever visit subject at

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the penitentiary or attempt to do so and insofar as she knows her husband did not ever visit him at the penitentiary. She advised she has understood from her husband that the latter has never seen the subject in his life.

Mrs. PEPPER has not at any time had any contact either direct or indirect with the subject since his escape in 1967 from the Missouri State Penitentiary. She has no knowledge of any person who has had information regarding the subject's whereabouts and stated she could furnish no such information regarding his whereabouts. She, herself, first learned that he had escaped from the penitentiary when she heard it on the radio and she knew nothing about any plans for the escape. She stated she has had no indication that anyone in her family or otherwise has been in any way in contact with the subject or had information regarding his whereabouts since his escape.

*Jerry  
John*

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER regarding whether she recalled anything about the receipt of a money order in approximately January, 1967, which was reportedly in the amount of \$15.00 and was sent by an inmate at the Missouri State Penitentiary to the ALBERT PEPPER Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis. *why*

In response to direct questions concerning this matter, she advised that she may have received a money order on one occasion but to the best of her recollection, it was for \$2.00 or \$3.00 and it may have been in payment for magazines which her brother had requested she mail to him. It was her recollection that if she received a money order it was received earlier than January, 1967. She said she never at any time mailed magazines to him and does not recall what disposition she may have made of any money order after it was received. Later in the interview she said the money order may have been for as much as \$15.00 but she does not recall. She also acknowledged that she might have cashed such a money order but she cannot specifically remember having done so. In this connection, she said her memory is very vague.

In response to soliciting by interviewing agents, Mrs. PEPPER stated that she would be entirely willing to notify the St. Louis Office of the FBI if she should at any time in

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the future receive any information which might have bearing on locating the subject. She also stated that she would be entirely willing to be interviewed further in the event there should be any additional matters on which an interview with her would be desired.

Mrs. PEPPER said that her first knowledge of the subject's involvement in this matter was when she heard the news announcement on the radio and she said she has never had any information regarding the possible involvement other than that which has appeared in the news media. She said she had never known of anything in her brother's attitude or associations which would suggest any motive for his involvement in the killing of a Negro leader such as MARTIN LUTHER KING.

1Date 5-16-68

Mrs. ALBERT B. (CAROL) PEPPER was recontacted at her residence, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri. She again specifically denied that she has had any contact with her brother, JAMES RAY, since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary in April, 1967, or that she has had any knowledge whatever of his whereabouts since that time other than what she has derived from the news media. Although Mrs. PEPPER expressed her willingness and intention to notify the FBI if she should at any time be contacted by him or if she should receive any information regarding him she stated that she would certainly not expect that he would contact her and she noted in that regard that RAY would not be aware of her current address or her new un-published telephone number. She further pointed out that other than their brother, JERRY RAY, who is in the Chicago area, she believes all of the family have moved since RAY's escape from the penitentiary and that JERRY RAY would, therefore, be the only one whose address would be known to JAMES RAY.

With regard to the Grapevine Tavern, Mrs. PEPPER commented that the tavern has barely been making expenses since it was opened about the first of the current year and, therefore, it may not continue in operation very long.

*frances*

On 5-14-68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
 by SA ALBERT J. RUSHING  
SA HOWARD C. KENNEDY AJR:amb Date dictated 5-15-68

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 5-21-68

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, was interviewed at her residence, at which time she furnished the following information:

Mrs. PEPPER has received no information regarding her brother, JAMES EARL RAY (whome she refers to as JIM), since the last previous interview with her by the FBI.

Within the past several days, police officers from the St. Louis Police Department came to see Mrs. PEPPER indicating to her that they had received some inquiry from a newspaper, possibly "The Los Angeles Times" according to Mrs. PEPPER's recollection of what they said; this inquiry having to do with the finances of the RAY family. The police officers apparently came to see Mrs. PEPPER just to find out some general information about her, and they suggested to her that if people wanted to talk to her about her finances, she might want to obtain a lawyer. A representative of "The St. Louis Post Dispatch" newspaper also came to see Mrs. PEPPER within the preceding few days, but she refused to talk to him. Mrs. PEPPER has heard from an acquaintance that there was an article a few days ago in "The St. Louis Post Dispatch" which seemed to be a rehash of the erroneous information which appeared in a "Life Magazine" article concerning the RAY family, but Mrs. PEPPER herself did not read this newspaper article.

Mrs. PEPPER and her family went to see her father at Center, Missouri, over the preceding weekend, May 18-19, 1968. She has been customarily going to see him there during weekends and usually takes him groceries. She is the one in the family who maintains contact with the father and looks after his needs. The farm which the father bought about six months ago is believed to consist of about forty acres of which a little is probably tillable, and she thinks her father will grow corn on this part of the farm, but the remainder is suitable only for livestock and grazing. She thinks that he paid some amount in the neighborhood of \$2,600 for this farm. Mrs. PEPPER is uncertain in her recollection, but believes it may be correct that she gave him a check drawn on her account in the amount of \$1,900 at the time he was purchasing this farm and which was applied to the purchase. If so, this money

*finances*

*why can't she remember if it was his # or a loan*

On 5-20-68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

SA HARRY C. JUNG

by SA ALBERT J. RUSHING

AJR:ral

Date dictated 5-20-68

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would have been his money. Mrs. PEPPER sometimes keeps his money in her checking account or savings account, and she thinks this may have occurred in this instance. On the other hand, she may have given him such a check as a loan, but she is uncertain in her recollection. Sometime before her father purchased the farm, he sold the property in St. Louis which he formerly owned at 1819 Park, this property consisting of a two-story residential building. Mrs. PEPPER believes he received something like \$2,800 from the sale of this property. She believes that the \$1,900 which she may have returned to him in the form of her check represented part of the proceeds of the sale of that property which he gave her to keep for him in her account. In any event Mrs. PEPPER is certain that she did not herself pay for any part of the purchase of the farm by her father, and if she gave him the check for \$1,900, this was a return of his money or a loan.

While Mrs. PEPPER's father resided in St. Louis before the purchase of the farm at Center, Missouri, he had various jobs, such as, service station attendant, and he also at one time operated a second-hand store where he sold junk. This business was also located on Park Avenue, but was somewhere east of Twelfth Street, a considerable distance from 1819 Park. Her father did not own the property where he conducted this second-hand business.

Until Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER moved to their present residence in the fall of 1967, Mrs. PEPPER was always employed ever since their marriage in December of 1961. During that period of time, they have practiced thrift and economy and have always endeavored to save something from their income. They opened a savings account several years ago at the Bohemian Savings and Loan Association on South Eighteenth Street in St. Louis in the same area where they resided. A few years ago when the Bohemian Savings and Loan Association was moved to a remote section of the city, they transferred their savings account to the Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, where they have continued to have a joint savings account. ALBERT PEPPER has been employed for more than three years by the Ace Construction and Engineering Company, which is affiliated with the New Market Hardware Store. His earnings in this employment is \$3 per hour, and in some weeks he works overtime on Saturdays. Mrs. PEPPER's last employment was with

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the "Head Start" School Program, and she was employed there by the Catholic Archdiocese being paid at the rate of \$60 per week. She had this employment for about a year until Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER moved in the fall of 1967 to their present address. Her last employment before that was in cleaning work at an office building at 1015 Locust in St. Louis. Because she and her husband have always endeavored to be economical and saving in the handling of their family finances, they were able to accumulate funds in their savings account. When they contracted in the fall of 1967 to purchase the house where they now live for a purchase price of \$10,500, they withdrew the necessary money for the downpayment from their savings account.

Mrs. PEPPER has no idea and no knowledge as to whether her father may ever have given Mrs. PEPPER's brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, any funds to hold for her father.

Mrs. PEPPER has no information regarding a trip to California made by her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, in the summer of 1967 and never knew or heard that he made such a trip. \*

One of the places in St. Louis where Mrs. PEPPER lived with her father prior to her marriage was 1727 South Eleventh Street. She believes her brother BUZZY lived with them there part of the time, but she is certain that her brother JIM never lived with them there. Mrs. PEPPER never had any knowledge of her brother JIM having used the name O'CONNOR, and she never knew of any bank accounts he may have had at any bank at any time. In fact, Mrs. PEPPER had so little contact or knowledge of her brother JIM that she can now recall having seen him only on possibly a couple of occasions when she was small and shortly after he was discharged from military service, and she recalls seeing him on one occasion on the street in South St. Louis at some later time after she moved to St. Louis with her father. Although Mrs. PEPPER was known as CAROL RYAN as of 1959, she has no knowledge or recollection of having received any checks from her brother JIM or from any person under the name JAMES CARL O'CONNOR, either in 1959 or any other time. She can think of no reason why she might ever have received any such checks. Mrs. PEPPER is certain that she has never had any financial dealings of any type with her brother JIM in her life.

4

SL 44-775

With regard to the matter of a money order directed from an inmate at the Missouri State Penitentiary to the Albert Pepper Stationery Company, 712 Shenandoah, St. Louis, Mrs. PEPPER has still been unable to remember anything further regarding such a matter since she was previously interviewed regarding this matter. She still does vaguely remember that someone told her one time while he was in the penitentiary that he wanted magazines sent to him, but she cannot remember having sent magazines to him and cannot recall that she was ever reimbursed for doing so. She is certain, however, that there was never any Albert Pepper Stationery Company at 712 Shenandoah.

Mrs. PEPPER has no recollection that she has ever known of a person named Y. P. WEBBE or V. P. WEBBE, and this name is not in any way familiar or significant to her.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date June 5, 1968

1

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, advised that she had received no additional information whatever bearing on the possible location of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since she was last interviewed.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to whether, in the event she should receive some pertinent information regarding her brother, she would furnish such information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Mrs. PEPPER then stated that she would have no expectations whatever that her brother would communicate with her in any way, pointing out that he did not know her current address or her current unpublished telephone number. She added that she felt that he did not believe that he could expect any help from her and she said that, as a matter of fact, she would not be at all interested or willing to help him as she did not want herself and particularly her children to be in any way involved with him. She said that if she should hear from RAY and be convinced of his innocence she might find it difficult to furnish such information to the FBI. It was pointed out to Mrs. PEPPER that in the event RAY should be innocent or there should be any extenuating circumstances the entire matter would in any event be most readily resolved through locating RAY at the earliest possible time. Mrs. PEPPER expressed understanding and agreement with this idea.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to her whereabouts and activities during the period between April and July, 1967. She said she was living at that period of time with her husband and two children at 712-a Sherandoah, St. Louis. She recalled that beginning in about the summer of 1966 and ending in about July or August, 1967, she was employed as a teacher's aide or assistant teacher in the "Head Start Program" at St. Joseph's School located at Twelfth and Russell Streets, St. Louis. In this employment she worked regularly during that period on Monday through Friday, each week, during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 or 4:30 p.m. daily. This work involved the teaching of children three to five years of age. She was employed in this work by the Catholic Archdiocese on

On 6/5/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA ALBERT J. RUSHING AJR:jfb 6/5/68  
SAA HOWARD C. KENNEDY Date dictated \_\_\_\_\_

2

SL: 44-775

Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, under Sister ANN CLARICE, Supervisor of the "Head Start Program" for this Archdiocese. She was paid for her work by check from the Archdiocese, although she understood that at least some of the funds for the "Head Start Program" were furnished the Archdiocese by the Human Development Corporation. Mrs. PEPPER recalled that she missed only one day from work during the entire period of her employment and that day was due to the illness of her youngest child.

Mrs. PEPPER said her first knowledge of the escape of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, from the Missouri State Penitentiary was when she heard or read news reports regarding the escape but she is unable to recall the approximate time she heard such reports. However, since reported identification of RAY as the alleged assassin of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Mrs. PEPPER has heard or read reports to the effect that his escape from the penitentiary was not officially reported or given publicity for perhaps several weeks after the escape occurred. Mrs. PEPPER, therefore, assumed that she herself would not have learned of the escape from news reports until perhaps several weeks after the escape.

1

Date June 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL ANN) PEPPER, residing 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, telephone 645-9152, who was contacted at her residence, disclosed the following information:

She has been truthful in previous contacts by FBI Agents with her that she does not recall having any contact at all except by personal correspondence with her oldest brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since about eight or nine years ago, prior to the time he escaped from the Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP), Jefferson City, Missouri. Her only contact with JAMES EARL RAY while he was incarcerated there was via mail. She admitted having written to him under the name of her grandmother who died after RAY was confined to the penitentiary.

She emphasized that she has never at anytime nor does she now know where her brother spent the time between about April 23, 1967, when he escaped from the MSP and July 1967, when his whereabouts have been established through investigation. She did not see or hear from him at all during that period of time, and insofar as is known to her, none of her brothers or sisters have seen him since he escaped from the MSP.

She was very much surprised when she learned that JAMES EARL RAY had been arrested in London, England. She first learned of these circumstances after being called by telephone by a woman friend, name not disclosed, on Saturday, June 8, 1968, the day of his arrest. This friend informed her of the news and she then heard the same news on television. Although she has saved most of the local papers for each day since that time, she has not read from more than one or two of them about her brother. The news is, of course, upsetting and she has formed an opinion that in many instances information is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. She is somewhat bitter towards the local press, advising that CHRIS CONDON, a St. Louis news commentator, telephoned her, probably on Monday, June 10, 1968, requesting an interview with her. She declined and on the following day, Tuesday, June 11, 1968, in the late afternoon she observed CHRIS CONDON and several other men with him, both in front of the house and in a vestibule at her house. They appeared to be attempting to gain entrance but she declined to answer the door. She observed that they took pictures of the house and then on the 6:00 p.m. television news broadcast, Channel 5, she observed pictures of her house. The pictures disclosed the house number of 2025, and the news announcement indicated the house was located on Bellevue Street in Maplewood.

On 6/13/68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

by SA (A) HOWARD C. KENNEDY : rjh Date dictated 6/14/68

2

SL 44-775

On the previous evening, CHRIS CONDON reported photographs and news concerning the Grape Vine Tavern owned by her and operated by her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, at St. Louis. She believes this news coverage is very unfair to herself and to her brother, JOHN.

At one point she commented that it is rather discouraging to know that she and many other people are paying through taxes the expenses for a representative of the United States Government to travel to London, England, in behalf of the Government for prosecution of her brother when she personally does not have money enough to afford to go there also. She said it might be possible if she had money to "help in his defense" in referring to her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, but she did not comment further. She emphasized she has absolutely no information pertaining to his activities within the past several years.

She became sad and tearful in recalling incidents of her childhood, mentioning that a Catholic children's home, not otherwise identified, was wrong in taking from her mother her three youngest children, namely MAX, SUSIE and BUZZY. MAX, if living, is now about fifteen years old. According to the recent news, MAX was adopted but she has no other information concerning him. She knows that her mother never signed papers or gave any approval for an adoption of MAX, who she heard many years ago was retarded or a "mental case." She would very much like to know the whereabouts of MAX. She has not seen her sister, SUSIE, who is married and who lives in the Chicago, Illinois, area, since BUZZY's funeral. Her mother, of course, was an alcoholic.

Her husband, ALBERT PEPPER, has indicated to her he believes they should obtain a gun of some kind "for protection" in view of recent publicity. She is afraid that Negroes may attempt to harm them. She personally directed JOHN RAY to close the tavern for a few days. JOHN RAY, she believes is at home. She talked to him by telephone when he called her from the tavern where he had stopped for a few minutes on June 12, 1968. She does not know when the tavern will reopen.

1  
SL 44-775  
HCK:amb

RE: CAROL PEPPER

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI:

On May 17, 1968, Mr. HENRY A. GRIESEDIECK, Owner and Operator of a proprietorship known as F.L.K. Investments with offices at 3638 Olive Street, St. Louis, was contacted at his place of business by SAA HOWARD C. KENNEDY. Mr. GRIESEDIECK furnished the following information:

On or about May 1, 1968, he received a \$320 check from CAROL PEPPER residing 2025 Bellevue, St. Louis, Missouri. Mrs. PEPPER is the operator of a tavern known as "Jack's Place," 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis. He recalled that this check was drawn on an account at Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, St. Louis, Missouri, but he had no further description of the check received by him. The check was forwarded in response to a statement of F.L.R. Investments forwarded to Mrs. PEPPER under date of March 27, 1968, and it was in payment for a tavern bond costing \$20 and a Missouri State Liquor License costing \$300. F.L.R. Investments serves as an agent, obtaining liquor licenses and supplying bonds, for numerous taverns and cocktail lounges in the St. Louis area.

A 320  
Check -

Manufacturers



1

Date June 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT PEPPER (CAROL ANN), residing 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, telephone 645-9152, telephonically furnished the following information at 2:30 p.m.

On inquiry as to whether her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, is in fact intending to travel to London, England, in behalf of JAMES EARL RAY, his brother, she commented that her brother JOHN is definitely not going to leave St. Louis to travel to England or anywhere else. She said he does not have funds with which to travel and although she personally "has a few dollars" she does not intend to give any of it to JOHN. She said she might consider doing so if either of them could be of any assistance to JAMES EARL RAY, but she is confident that "there is no help for him". She said that if they can in anyway help him, they will have to do so after he is returned to this country.

She said that JOHN RAY does not have a telephone where he may be reached except at the Grape Vine Tavern. He visited her home on the afternoon of June 13, 1968, and he usually telephones her once each day. He has not yet called her today and she expects to hear from him this afternoon. At the request of SA(A) HOWARD C. KENNEDY she said she will inform JOHN RAY to telephonically contact SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY at this office.

On 6/14/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775

by SA (A) HOWARD C. KENNEDY : pjh Date dictated 6/14/68

1  
SL: 44-775  
HRD:wma

CAROL PEPPER -  
EMPLOYMENT

Sister ANN CLARICE, Supervisor, "Head Start Program," for the Catholic Archdiocese, 4445 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri, advised SA JOSEPH A. DUBYAK, June 7, 1968, her records disclosed CAROL PEPPER of 712A Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, was employed as a teachers aide under that program and under her supervision at St. Joseph's School, 12th and Russell, St. Louis, Missouri, from 1966 until she voluntarily terminated such employment on August 18, 1967, due to the fact that she was moving to St. Louis County.

During this period she worked from 8:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M. each week day, except for one five-hour absence on one day in February, 1967.

Her services were satisfactory.

1  
SL 44-775  
CSD/ra1

Re: CAROL PEPPER - CREDIT REFERENCE

The following investigation was conducted by SA CHARLES S. DUKE on May 22, 1968, at St. Louis, Missouri:

Mr. DON HUELSING, Credit Manager, Beiderman's Furniture Store, 6759 Chippewa Street, St. Louis, Missouri, advised that an account, now closed, was established on June 4, 1966, for the amount of \$103 in the name of AL and CAROL PEPPER, residing at 712A Shenandoah, St. Louis, with an indicated previous address of 1324 Lami, St. Louis.

ALBERT's employment was listed as New Market Hardware on Laclede Avenue, St. Louis.

The record of Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER indicated a savings account at the Manufacturers Bank and a personal reference as JERRY RAYNS, 1819 Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

HUELSING advised that the record contained no derogatory information.

1  
SL 44-775  
CSD/ral

Re: CAROL PEPPER - CHARACTER REFERENCE

The following investigation was conducted by SA CHARLES S. DUKE at St. Louis, Missouri, on May 22, 1968:

ALENA SUTTON, 7129 Leona Street, St. Louis, Missouri, was contacted at her residence, whereupon she advised that she knew CAROL PEPPER, also known as Mrs. ALBERT PEPPER, for just a couple of years and that their association was not a social relationship but rather a teacher-parent relationship. She said that she was an instructor at the St. Joseph Church on Twelfth and Russell Streets, St. Louis, and enrolled in the project "Headstart" government program, and the program required at least one parent of one of the children attending the program to be present. She said CAROL was the parent present at this program.

SUTTON advised that she did not know where CAROL was presently residing with her husband ALBERT and two sons, ALBERT, JR., and JAMES, ages 6 and 4 respectively.

SUTTON stated that she did not know any of CAROL'S brothers or sisters and did not know if she even had any.

She stated that she last saw CAROL sometime in August of last year, and the only thing she could remember about any type of conversation about her family was something to the effect that her father was going to buy or did buy a farm up around Hannibal, Missouri, and that he probably would let her children go to the farm. She said that it was probably in Hannibal, but she was not sure.

Date June 5, 1968

1

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, advised that she had received no additional information whatever bearing on the possible location of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since she was last interviewed.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to whether, in the event she should receive some pertinent information regarding her brother, she would furnish such information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Mrs. PEPPER then stated that she would have no expectations whatever that her brother would communicate with her in any way, pointing out that he did not know her current address or her current unpublished telephone number. She added that she felt that he did not believe that he could expect any help from her and she said that, as a matter of fact, she would not be at all interested or willing to help him as she did not want herself and particularly her children to be in any way involved with him. She said that if she should hear from RAY and be convinced of his innocence she might find it difficult to furnish such information to the FBI. It was pointed out to Mrs. PEPPER that in the event RAY should be innocent or there should be any extenuating circumstances the entire matter would in any event be most readily resolved through locating RAY at the earliest possible time. Mrs. PEPPER expressed understanding and agreement with this idea.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to her whereabouts and activities during the period between April and July, 1967. She said she was living at that period of time with her husband and two children at 712-a Shenandoah, St. Louis. She recalled that beginning in about the summer of 1966 and ending in about July or August, 1967, she was employed as a teacher's aide or assistant teacher in the "Head Start Program" at St. Joseph's School located at Twelfth and Russell Streets, St. Louis. In this employment she worked regularly during that period on Monday through Friday, each week, during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 or 4:30 p.m. daily. This work involved the teaching of children three to five years of age. She was employed in this work by the Catholic Archdiocese on

On 6/5/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA ALBERT J. RUSHING AJR:jfb 6/5/68  
SAA HOWARD C. KENNEDY Date dictated \_\_\_\_\_

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SL: 44-775

Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, under Sister ANN CLARICE, Supervisor of the "Head Start Program" for this Archdiocese. She was paid for her work by check from the Archdiocese, although she understood that at least some of the funds for the "Head Start Program" were furnished the Archdiocese by the Human Development Corporation. Mrs. PEPPER recalled that she missed only one day from work during the entire period of her employment and that day was due to the illness of her youngest child.

Mrs. PEPPER said her first knowledge of the escape of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, from the Missouri State Penitentiary was when she heard or read news reports regarding the escape but she is unable to recall the approximate time she heard such reports. However, since reported identification of RAY as the alleged assassin of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Mrs. PEPPER has heard or read reports to the effect that his escape from the penitentiary was not officially reported or given publicity for perhaps several weeks after the escape occurred. Mrs. PEPPER, therefore, assumed that she herself would not have learned of the escape from news reports until perhaps several weeks after the escape.

*also told FBI in  
one interview  
that John called  
her once a day*

SL: 44-775

CAROL PEPPER - SISTER  
(and husband ALBERT PEPPER)

*3/14/86 Spinaemil*

239

CG 44-1114  
WMO:jap  
1.

Re: JERRY'S EMPLOYMENT AT  
NORTH SHORE COUNTRY CLUB

The following investigation was conducted by SAs WILLIAM M. O'BRIEN, LAURENCE SCHENCK, JR. and PHILIP R. TRACY, JR. at Glenview, Illinois, on May 3, 1968:

Mr. KARL HALLERBERG, Manager of the North Shore Country Club in Glenview, Illinois, telephone number 729-1200, advised that a check of their files was negative for JAMES EARL RAY but that these files contained the following information regarding JERRY WILLIAM RAY:

JERRY RAY was employed as a locker room man from May 15, 1962, until about February, 1964, when he left without giving any notice. RAY was engaged by Mr. VICTOR CHIGAS, who was general manager at the time and who would know JERRY RAY well. VICTOR CHIGAS is presently an investment broker for Walston and Company, Incorporated, 111 West Jackson, Chicago, Illinois, office telephone number 427-7101, home address 1326 Prairie Lawn, Glenview, Illinois, home telephone number 729-3826.

RAY listed the following information on an application form for employment, dated June 28, 1962:

Position	Locker room assistant
Social Security Number	329-30-0132
Residence Address	North Shore Country Club Glenview, Illinois
Marital Status	Married
Place of Birth	Quincy, Illinois
Date of Birth	July 16, 1935
Age	26
American Citizen	Yes
Nationality	Irish-French
Religion	Catholic
Height	5'9"
Weight	155 pounds
Color Eyes	Brown

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 3/14/80 BY SP/mae

4038



CG 44-1114

WMO:jap

2.

Color Hair	Brown
Dependents	Four, wife-children
Insurance Carried	None
Physical Defects	None
Work Time Lost Due To Illness	None
Have You Ever Been Bonded	No
Education	Grade School, Quincy, Illinois, Graduated 1952; Sheridan, Illinois, High School, did not graduate
Any Other Schooling	No
Military Service	No
References	Mr. ALBER PEPPER - Mechanic 174 Lafayette St. Louis  Mr. FRED HAINES - Furniture Mover 1818 South 12th St. Louis
Previous Employment	Rolling Green Country Club Arlington Heights, Houseman, \$50 per week, laid off, worked for Mr. CHIGAS
Person To Notify In Case of Illness	Mr. FRANK RAY 2342 Park Avenue St. Louis

Also contained in RAY's records is a memorandum dated February 15, 1964, with the notation, "Jerry Ray, 1713 Lafayette, St. Louis, Mo., ret. to work." Also written on the memorandum was the address 2342 Park Avenue, St. Louis.

Also contained in RAY's records was the following letter dated February 13, 1964:

CG 44-1114  
WMO:jap  
3.

"Dear Mr. Chigas:

"I hope this letter finds you in much better shape than my last one did.

"I had a unfortunate accident while working at Medinah Country Club, I got run into by a car and was unconious for Five days plus for six weeks had to stay in bed.

"I didn't just write to you to tell you the troubles I've had, the main reason is to see if you have any openings, if not or you can't hire me for reasons we both know of then thanks for taking time to read this letter. Tell everybody hello for me and take care of yourself.

"As Ever  
"Jerry Ray  
"1602 Mississippi  
"St. Louis, Mo."

Also contained in RAY's records is a memorandum, undated, with the following written thereon:

Mr. Jerry Ray  
L.D. OPR. 30  
Morristown, Tenn.  
586-8351  
Mrs. Carol Ray calling  
Sickness in family  
Call back after 4 o'clock  
our time

Also contained in RAY's records was a letter dated February 17, 1964, from V. CHIGAS to JERRY RAY, 1602 Mississippi, St. Louis, Missouri, as follows:

"Dear Jerry:

"We have been trying to locate you, and this short note is to say we will hire you again.

CG 44-1114

WMO:jap

4.

"Please let us know when you expect to be available for work.

"Yours very truly,"

Also contained in RAY's records was the following note:

"Mrs. C. Pepper, 1334 Lume St., St. Louis, Mo.  
Carol Satain, 605 Hilltop Dr., Morristown, Tenn.

Jerry Ray, P.O. Box 269, Glenview, Ill.  
was in this morning 6-3-64."

Mr. HALLERBERG advised that this note was probably written by GOERGE SIMCOX who was the steward at this country club at the time. SIMCOX is presently employed as a general manager for FRANCIS SHAW at the Arlington Racetrack, Western Concessions. SIMCOX had probably known JERRY RAY when they worked for this country club.

Also contained in RAY's records was the following letter which was postmarked at St. Louis, Missouri, on June 15, 1964, to the North Shore Country Club, Glenview, Illinois, from JERRY RAY, 1324 Lomi (illegible), St. Louis, Missouri:

"Thursday

"Dear Sir

"Enclosed you'll find my name and address to send my tax statements to

Jerry W. Ray  
712 <sup>A</sup> Shenadaugh  
St. Louis, Mo."

CG 44-1114

WMO:jap

5.

Also contained in RAY's records was the following note dated February 10, 1965:

"Dear sir

"please send my income tax statements as your earliest convenience

"truly yours  
Jerry Ray  
712A Shenodaugh  
St. Louis, Mo."

Mr. HALLERBERG was exhibited photographs of JAMES EARL RAY and a photograph of JERRY RAY and he advised that he was not familiar with any persons who might resemble these photographs. He stated that he would not know JERRY RAY, since he only started as manager for this country club on December 1, 1967. He stated that HERB HINZE, Locker Room Manager at this country club, would probably know JERRY RAY, since he was employed here at that time.

On May 3, 1968, Mr. HERB HINZE, home address 910 Revere Road, Glenview, Illinois, telephone number 724-4724, advised that he is the locker room manager at the North Shore Country Club in Glenview, Illinois. He stated that JERRY RAY was employed as a clean-up man in the locker room for about one or two years on an intermittent basis. A photograph of JERRY RAY was exhibited to HINZE and he stated that this was the same JERRY RAY who was employed here. Photographs of JAMES EARL RAY were exhibited to HINZE and he stated that he had not seen this individual before. He stated, however, that he recalls that JERRY RAY had taken his brother, name unknown, to see Mr. CHIGAS in order to obtain employment. He stated that he does not remember when this occurred and that he had never observed JERRY RAY's brother and could provide no further information regarding RAY's background. He described JERRY RAY as a quiet, harmless sort of guy, who was not too bright. He stated that the question of RAY's racist attitudes never came up, and that he could never believe that JERRY RAY would ever be involved in shooting anyone. He stated that he never associated with RAY outside of the country club and would not be aware of his personal activities. HINZE stated that the country club provided room and board for RAY during his employment.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, Memphis (44-1987)

Date: April 25, 1968

Re: MURKIN  
CR

FBI File No. 44-38861

Lab. No. D-561276 JK

Specimens received 4/22/68

K191 Six handwriting sample forms bearing known handwriting  
and hand printing of JERRY WILLIAM RAY

ALSO SUBMITTED: Major case prints of JERRY WILLIAM RAY

Result of examination:

Differences were noted between the "Harvey Lowmyer" signature on Q72 when compared with the known handwriting of JERRY WILLIAM RAY, K191. Because of the limited questioned writing involved and the lack of comparable letters and letter combinations in the known material, a definite opinion was not reached.

It was concluded that the other questioned writings attributed to Eric S. Galt were not prepared by JERRY WILLIAM RAY, K191.

Specimen K191 and the ALSO SUBMITTED material are retained.

St. Louis  
5/10/68 '30

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date May 9, 1968

JERRY RAY advised telephonically at 9:25 a.m. on May 7, 1968, that he had arrived in St. Louis on the evening of May 3, 1968, and that he had, after conferring briefly with his brother JOHN RAY, gone to the MacArthur Hotel in St. Louis where he had registered using the surname of RYAN.

He spent the following day with his brother, JOHN, and stayed at the St. Regis Hotel in St. Louis that night under the name of RYAN.

He spent his waking hours on Sunday, May 5, 1968, with his brother, JOHN, at his residence and the Grape Vine Tavern and that evening both he and his brother, JOHN, traveled in JERRY's automobile to the residence of their father, JERRY RAYNES, Center, Missouri, where they spent the night and returned to St. Louis on the morning of May 6, 1968.

He spent his waking hours on May 6, 1968, with his brother, JOHN, and stayed at JOHN's apartment that night.

He stated he contemplated contacting his Chicago employer telephonically later on the morning of May 7, 1968, to determine if reporters had left his employment and whether or not it might safe for him to return. He indicated he would contact Special Agent HAROLD R. DOBSON later in this regard.

He stated that, if the press was still active at his employment, he would either spend a few days with his father in Center, Missouri, or go to the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, area. He is using the surname RYAN and had experienced no difficulty with reporters since leaving Chicago.

He had contacted his sister, CAROL PEPPER, telephonically but had not seen her personally up to that time. He was aware that she had visited her father in Center on Sunday, May 5, 1968, but stated she had left prior to the arrival of himself and his brother, JOHN, which he estimated was approximately 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., after dark.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/19/80 BY SP/ma/mic

On 5/7/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
by SA HAROLD R. DOBSON :jfb Date dictated 5/8/68 2709

2

SL: 44-775

He indicated his intention of personally contacting his sister, CAROL PEPPER, on the afternoon of May 7, 1968.

He was convinced from his conversations with his father, his brother - JOHN RAY and his telephonic contact with his sister, CAROL PEPPER, that none of them had any information as to the whereabouts of the subject.

304

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date May 9, 1968

JERRY RAY telephonically advised Special Agent HAROLD R. DOBSON he had just called his Chicago employer and had learned no reporters had been seen in the vicinity of his employment on the previous day. This employer had indicated that he was welcome to return if he so desired.

He expressed the belief it would be desirable to remain in the St. Louis area for one additional day and that if a check with his employer showed his employment area free of reporters on May 8, 1968, he contemplated returning to Chicago on that date.

It was intention to stay with his brother, JOHN, that night.

He stated that at the time of making contact with Special Agent DOBSON he was en route to his sister's, CAROL PEPPER, residence to spend the afternoon with her and that he would later advise Special Agent DOBSON of the results of his conversations with her.

He stated he had never lived at Lancaster, Missouri, and had never used that city as a mailing address.

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On 5/7/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA HAROLD R. DOBSON :jfb Date dictated 5/8/68 3711



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date May 9, 1968

JERRY RAY telephonically contacted Special Agent HAROLD R. DOBSON at 6:30 p.m. on May 7, 1968, following a visit with his sister, CAROL PEPPER.

He stated she had indicated she had nothing specifically against the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which prevented her cooperation but that she and her husband were both angry with law enforcement generally because members of the St. Louis, Missouri, Police Department had disclosed the PEPPER relationship to subject to her husband's employer who had proceeded to advise other employees with the result that her husband had been regarded with suspicion by them, particularly by Negro fellow employees.

He had assured her that the FBI had not disclosed any information concerning the relatives and that the FBI had assured him that it was interested in preventing harassment of relatives by the press. He pointed out that his own harassment by the press had not been caused by the FBI and he attributed the relative lack of press harassment experience by Missouri relatives to the FBI policy of secrecy.

She told him she and her husband had even talked seriously of selling their home and leaving the area.

She also expressed her beliefs to him that subject was not guilty of the KING assassination.

He stated that he would stay with his brother, JOHN, the night of May 7, 1968, and would recontact his Chicago employer telephonically on the morning of May 8, 1968. He stated that in the event the area surrounding his employment was free from reporters at that time it was his intention to leave St. Louis for Chicago at approximately noon on May 8, 1968. He stated he would telephonically contact Special Agent DOBSON prior to his departure.

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On 5/7/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
 by SA HAROLD R. DOBSON :jfb Date dictated 5/8/68 3712

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date May 10, 1968

JERRY RAY telephonically contacted Special Agent SPURGEON J. PETERSON at 1:45 PM on May 8, 1968. He stated he had decided not to return to Chicago until approximately 2:00 PM on May 9, 1968. He indicated he would be required to go to work at the club where he is employed by 9:00 PM on that date. He stated further that he would be living at a new address in Chicago as the club had obtained new living quarters for him. He was not aware of the address at that time but would determine same on his arrival in Chicago.

He stated he contemplated spending the afternoon and part of the evening at the residence of his sister, CAROL PEPPER, and that he planned on having his evening meal there.

He stated he would call Special Agent HAROLD R. DOBSON following his visit with the PEPPERS and that he would contact Special Agent DOBSON between 10:00 AM and 1:00 PM prior to his departure on May 9, 1968.

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On 5/8/68at St. Louis, MissouriFile # SL: 44-775by SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON/mjbDate dictated 5/8/68

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3713

St. Louis  
6/25/68 302

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date May 15, 1968

JERRY RAY telephonically contacted Special Agent SPURGEON J. PETERSON at 1:40 p.m. on May 9, 1968. He stated he was leaving for Chicago in approximately fifteen minutes. He indicated his intention to return to his former employment at the Country Club but stated that he would not know until he arrives there where he will live, as telephonic inquiry with his inquiry with his employer indicated the employer has obtained a residence for him as a protection against the press.

He stated that he would contact the Chicago Division on the following day.

He advised further that in his visits to and from conversations with his father, JERRY RAYNES, his brother, JOHN RAY, and his sister, CAROL PEPPER, he had received no information that any of them had been in contact with subject following subject's escape or had any knowledge or information concerning subject's present whereabouts.

3/14/80 [Signature]

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On 5/9/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775  
by SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON :jfb Date dictated 5/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5/13/68

JERRY WILLIAM RAY was shown the new photograph of his brother, JAMES EARL RAY, in a business suit taken sometime in January or February, 1968. After viewing the photograph, JERRY stated that the photograph is a good likeness of his brother except that he remembers him being thinner in the face. In fact, this particular photograph depicts JAMES fuller in the face than JERRY has ever seen him.

JERRY advised that his father, JERRY RAYNES, Center, Missouri, left his mother in 1951 to live with RUBY CARPENTER. RUBY has a son, JEROME, who is presently in prison, Jefferson, City, Missouri, and is acquainted with the subject. JERRY also knows JEROME since he was in the reformatory at St. Charles, Illinois, with him. JERRY classified JEROME as being "off mentally" and a person who very seldom talks to anyone. JERRY believes that JEROME may have been in the hospital for the criminally insane at Fulton, Missouri, when the subject escaped from prison. JEROME is presently doing time for the murder of a Negro. JERRY also related that when his father left, JERRY was in the Boys' Reformatory at Sheridan, Illinois.

JERRY said that he does not know NEAL EDGAR AEBY, JAMES DAVID DAILEY, nor is he acquainted with the Half Way Restaurant at 1549 South Jefferson, St. Louis, Missouri. He said that he never heard his brother mention DAILEY nor does he have any information that DAILEY had ever hidden his brother from the law. JERRY also advised that he never heard of an organization named the "Coolies" nor did he ever hear his brother mention that organization. JERRY said that when he was in prison, he was involved in a fist fight with (First Name Unknown) MENARD, who worked with him in the shoe shop. He said that he could not recall this individual's first name and that there would be no record of the fight at the prison since it was not reported nor were they observed fighting. He said that on one of the occasions when he visited with his brother in prison, he told him about it and JAMES was joking with him because JAMES

On 5/12/68 at Wheeling, Illinois File # Chicago 44-1114-17  
 by SA RENE J. EDUMAINE & SA ROBERT P. PEVAHOUSE/RJD:jap Date dictated 5/13/68

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said that he was close friends with the MENARD brothers who were then in Jefferson City, Missouri, prison with JAMES.

JERRY said he visited his brother about three or four times while he was in prison in Jefferson City, Missouri, the last time being around 1964. JAMES came to Menard prison to visit JERRY on one occasion. JERRY again stated that the last time he saw his brother JAMES outside of prison was in 1951 in Quincy, Illinois, and JERRY was fifteen years old at that time. The father was still living with his mother then.

He said that he believes that WALTER TERRY RIFE and JAMES went to Leavenworth together but that LONNIE RIFE never did time with JAMES. He said that if he had given the impression that LONNIE did do time with JAMES in the previous interviews, this was in error. JERRY again stated that he himself has done time in Menard, Illinois, with both RIFE brothers.

He stated that he has no idea as to the present whereabouts of "BLACKIE" AUSTIN and doubts if his brother has maintained contact with AUSTIN nor would be in contact with him since his escape. He said that of all of the persons that he knows of, JAMES was the friendliest and closest with AUSTIN. JERRY pointed out, however, that his knowledge of this is limited since JERRY was in prison when both AUSTIN and his brother were on the street. He does know that "BLACKIE" liked his brother and has always talked about him.

In clarification, JERRY advised that his brother JOHN first came to Chicago sometime around July, 1960, and he, JERRY, came to this area around September, 1960. JOHN first worked at Murphy's Steak House. He also worked at the White Pines Country Club and JOHN's last employment in the Chicago area was the Indian Hills Country Club, Bloomingdale, Illinois. JERRY advised that he was employed with his brothers JOHN and FRANK at the Rolling Green Country Club beginning in September, 1960 and JERRY stayed there for about sixteen months and JOHN for eight or nine months. He was uncertain to the length of time that his brother FRANK worked there but believed he had left a good length

of time prior to his death in September, 1963.

JERRY advised that sometime during June or July, 1967, when he was living at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois, JOHN drove here in a 1961 Plymouth which he had bought from the father, JERRY RAYNES. At this time, JERRY owned a 1962 air-conditioned Rambler. JOHN was having trouble with the transmission in the Plymouth and they switched cars. He does recall that JOHN transferred some clothes and other items from the Plymouth to the Rambler. Also, that JOHN left some old shirts and pants and some other papers in the garage at Techny Road and JERRY hid these items above the rafters in the garage. He said that JOHN stayed a couple of days and was in either an apartment or a hotel in Chicago and did not reside at JERRY's residence while here. JOHN left with the Rambler and both cars are presently at his father's farm in Center, Missouri. JERRY said that his wife did not meet JOHN on this occasion but did meet him at Christmas time, 1967, when JERRY and his wife went to St. Louis where they had dinner at CAROL PEPPER's house and JOHN was present. JERRY advised that JOHN did not know how to find his residence in Northbrook, Illinois, and that he, JERRY, met him in the town of Northbrook and then JOHN followed him to the residence. JERRY also advised that his brother JAMES did not ever know that JERRY resided at this address in Northbrook.

In previous interviews, JERRY advised that he borrowed somewhere between \$40 and \$50 from his brother JAMES while JAMES was in prison. He reiterated that statement in this interview at which time the financial transactions from his brother's account at the Inmates Bank, Missouri State Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Missouri, were discussed with JERRY. It was pointed out to him that this list shows that his brother had sent him \$266.25. JERRY advised that this must be an error since the only amount he recognized was \$55.25 which was sent to him on June 22, 1964. He stated that at this time, he, JERRY, was in St. Louis, Missouri, and needed money to return to Chicago to obtain employment. He wrote to his brother requesting this loan and was in the process of paying JAMES back when

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JAMES escaped. JERRY suggested that the money listed to him was instead paid to his brother's attorney, name unknown, in Jefferson City, Missouri. JERRY advised that he himself did not receive money from his brother to be sent to the attorney or anyone else. JERRY advised that this attorney had been hired by his brother to handle his appeal and that he believed the attorney did visit with JAMES while JAMES was in prison. JERRY said that his brother never mentioned anything concerning Benzedrine inhalers or any type of "bennies" or dope. JAMES never mentioned being involved in any illegal drug selling while in prison nor did he ever mention that he was involved in any type of racket with a guard. He also never mentioned any guard that he was particularly friendly with and in fact, made no comment whatsoever concerning the prison officials that JERRY can remember.

JERRY also advised that his brother never mentioned reading any of the James Bond novels and in fact, JERRY did not believe his brother was much of a "reader." The only location that he can recall his brother making a comment as to how much he liked it was Tijuana, Mexico, and he believes his brother was there sometime in 1951. The brother made no mention to him at anytime as to the identity of any persons with whom he was acquainted in Mexico.

JERRY advised that when he left Chicago on this latter occasion, he stayed with his brother JOHN for two nights, with his father one night, with his sister CAROL one night, at the St. Regis Hotel one night and at the Mac Arthur Hotel one night. In conversations with his brother JOHN and sister CAROL, they both stated that they believe, from newspaper stories, that the subject is the victim of a frame-up or being used as the "fall guy." He also stated that CAROL is concerned over the newspaper articles speculating that the subject is dead and she has that opinion. He said that JOHN told him that some people came to the tavern at the time of the KING funeral requesting him to close down for that day which he did not do.

JOHN also said that if he himself receives any publicity, he will close down the tavern and leave because he feels that people will throw firebombs in his place. JERRY related that one of the newspaper reporters located and interviewed a woman named RUBY who works for his brother since JOHN had used that woman's address about three or four years ago. RUBY told the newspaper people that she did not know the whereabouts of JOHN. JERRY also said that in conversations with JOHN, JOHN told him that the subject would be "crazy" to give himself up because even if he is not guilty of the KING murder, he still would have eighteen years to do in the penitentiary at Jefferson City. JERRY explained this by stating that his brother has thirteen years left on his previous sentence and that he would get at least an extra five years for the escape.

JERRY again speculated that if his brother was KING's murderer, he would have had to have been paid because he could not see how his brother would have obtained enough money to purchase the 1966 Mustang, take the trips he was supposed to have taken and to pay \$150 for the telescope used in the murder. He said that there was just too much money coming in and in response to a direct question, he said that he did not think his brother would have been able to steal this much money because he would have had "slipped up and been caught." He explained that in his opinion, his brother was not an accomplished thief and that most of his previous scores were "small time."

JERRY advised that he is presently residing in Apartment 14, 314 Wisconsin Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois, which rooming house was recommended to the Sportsman's Country Club by WAYNE CLANDENEN (phonetic). JERRY noted that his ex-wife DJERDIS also used to reside at this rooming house. He said that he is not listed as a tenant and that the rent of \$60 per month is being paid by the country club. He advised that there is no phone at the building with the nearest one four blocks away. He said that he plans to continue his employment at the Sportsman's Country Club and will contact SA RENE J. DUMAINE on a daily basis.



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He advised that his ex-wife presently works at a restaurant near the expressway and is living in a motel in Wheeling, Illinois. He went on to say that yesterday there was a knock on the door of his apartment and when he opened it, his ex-wife was there. She said that she had found him by inquiring of the rooming house manager, the room numbers of the last two tenants and then came to talk with him. He said that they talked of personal matters with nothing of interest in this case. JERRY advised that he may have to move from this address since his ex-wife might inadvertently give out his whereabouts. He said that he was not concerned with the problem of people making threats against his safety because of what his brother did but that he was most concerned of the people who would attempt to harm him without making threats. In explanation, he made the comment, "Like that guy who shot King, he did not make any threats."

JERRY advised that he will continue to cooperate with the Bureau in furnishing information.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 6/25/68

JERRY RAY was interviewed outside the Grapevine Tavern, Illinois and Arsenal Avenue, at which time he stated he had arrived in St. Louis the previous day and spent the night with his sister, CAROL PEPPER. He indicated that during the previous week he was in Chicago, Illinois, where he had been hiding in a Chicago hotel, which he had left un-named, in an effort to avoid reporters and newscasters. He indicated that while in St. Louis he will either stay with his sister, CAROL PEPPER, or at the St. Regis Hotel under the name of JERRY W. RYAN. He exhibited to the interviewing agent a recently obtained Illinois driver's license under that name. RAY stated that he intended to visit his father at Center, Missouri, tomorrow and then intended to return to St. Louis on Thursday, June 20, 1968. He then plans to leave for Memphis, Tennessee, on Friday, June 21, 1968, where he intends to obtain employment until after the trial of his brother, JAMES EARL RAY.

RAY stated that he has not heard from his brother in London, however, did make the comment that he still does not believe that his brother killed MARTIN LUTHUR KING and that he was paid to establish the ERIC STARVO GALT identity.

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DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_

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On 6/17/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775  
by SA ROBERT A. HESS:hcv Date dictated 6/21/68

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HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

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GROUP III



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 24, 1968

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

CLASSIFIED BY 4076 WAN/m...  
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DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/6/78

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Information set forth below covers the  
established activities of captioned individual who, as  
ERIC STARVO GALT, visited Mexico during October and  
November, 1967.

MEXICAN GOVERNMENT RECORDS (C)

On April 11, 1968, at Atlanta, Georgia, a 1966  
white Mustang bearing Alabama license 1-38993, was  
recovered. This car had vehicle identification number  
6T07C190647, and on the car was Mexican tourist sticker  
bearing Folio number H294486, showing that the car had  
crossed the border at Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.

Investigation at Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, on  
April 12, 1968, showed that this automobile crossed the  
border on October 7, 1967. Documents for the automobile  
were issued to ERIC S. GALT, who had tourist card number  
7475449 and listed his address as 2608 Highland,  
Birmingham, Alabama. (C)

[At Mexico, D.F., Mexico] †

On April 24, 1968, a confidential source abroad  
advised that contact with an official of the Inspection  
Service of Mexican Immigration in Mexico City disclosed  
that this agency had searched records for all departures

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JAMES EARL RAY, aka

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by land from Mexico during the second half of November, 1967. This search included all exit points from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico, and no record was located of the departure of GALT bearing tourist card mentioned above. (C)

On July 18, 1968, the source advised that the same official was contacted on that date and reported that efforts to locate the Mexican tourist card, which should have been surrendered by GALT upon his departure from Mexico, had been unsuccessful. The official stated that his office had directly contacted every exit point along the border between Mexico and the United States, in an attempt to locate this card, with negative results. He stated, therefore, that GALT probably left Mexico without surrendering his tourist card, which is a fairly common occurrence because of the volume of traffic at all of the border crossing points. (C)

On July 18, 1968, this same source advised that contact had been maintained on a regular basis, since April 12, 1968, with headquarters of the Mexican Federal Automobile Registration Bureau at Mexico, D.F., the agency where all documents issued to vehicles of tourists are eventually received and filed. Officials of this agency have advised that, despite extensive review of their records, the tourist importation permit for the 1966 Mustang which was issued to GALT at the border on October 7, 1967, had not been returned to that agency from any border crossing point. It was the conclusion of these officials, therefore, that GALT left Mexico in the Mustang without surrendering this document. (C)

HOTEL RECORDS

[At Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco] (C)

A second confidential source abroad advised on April 14, 1968, that on that same date EDUARDO MARROQUI, owner, Hotel Rio, Morelos 86, advised that ERIC S. GALT was a guest in that hotel from October 19, 1967, through November 5, 1967. MARROQUI stated that, (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

according to his recollection, GALT was alone, and MARROQUI did not recall anything concerning GALT's car or possible friendships with other guests. (C)

On April 15, 1968, ROBERTO WONG, clerk, Hotel Rio, furnished the registration card for ERIC S. GALT, giving his address as 2608 Highland Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama. He occupied Room 212 at the rate of 60 pesos (\$4.80 U.S.) per day. The card shows his arrival on October 19, 1967, and that he checked out on November 6, 1967. It also bears the signature "ERIC S. GALT." (C)

The Document Section of the FBI Laboratory examined two photostatic copies of the registration card of the Hotel Rio in the name of ERIC S. GALT and (C) concluded that the questioned writings on the registration card were prepared by the writer of other specimens (C) received in this matter which have been attributed to ERIC S. GALT. (C)

ROBERTO WONG also advised on April 15, 1968, that there were no long-distance telephone calls charged to GALT's room. (C)

On April 17, 1968, WONG stated that he remembered GALT as a "loner" at the hotel. He said GALT was never seen around the hotel during the day and did not stay around the hotel in the evening. He did come in to eat. He was always alone, with the exception of one occasion on which LUIS GARCIA, a bartender from another hotel, came to the Hotel Rio one morning trying to find GALT since he, GARCIA, stated he had left some important papers in GALT's car. (C)

On May 9, 1968, a photograph of JAMES EARL RAY taken in California in early 1968 was shown to WONG. He identified this photograph as the same person who had lived in the Hotel Rio as ERIC S. GALT. (C)

The source advised that MARIA DE GUADALUPE DIAZ, Calle Galeano 127, was interviewed on April 25, 1968, and stated that she was formerly employed as a maid at the Hotel Rio. She recognized photographs of RAY as an individual who had been a hotel guest some (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

months ago and recalled that he had a white sports car. He said he was friendly but never asked her for a date. She said she did not recall ever seeing anyone visiting the Subject and could not recall the type of luggage he was using. She said she never observed any weapons in his room, but did recall that there were several nights when he apparently had not slept in his bed. She said she mentioned this to the hotel owner, but that there are no records kept concerning incidents of this nature and she was unable to recall the dates when GALT did not spend the night in his room. (S)

The same source advised that the records of the Hotel "Tropicana" were reviewed on April 15, 1968, and showed that ERIC GALT, with an address of 2308 Highland Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama, registered there on November 7, 1967, and departed on November 13, 1967. He occupied Room number 417 and paid 90 pesos (\$7.20 U.S.) per day. Accountant CARLOS MANZO, made these records available for review and stated that there were no long-distance telephone charges appearing on this account. (S)

On May 10, 1968, OSCAR MENDIOLA, clerk, Hotel "Tropicana," advised the source that, according to the hotel accounting department, GALT probably checked out between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. on November 13, 1967. (S)

The Document Section of the FBI Laboratory examined two photostatic copies of [the registration card of the Hotel "Tropicana" in the name of ERIC GALT.]<sup>c</sup> It was reported that although handwriting characteristics noted indicate the common authorship of the questioned "Galt" signature on this item and the other signatures in this name, a definite conclusion was not reached, partly because of the indistinctness of the photocopies and partly because of the presence of some variations. (S) u

On April 23, 1968, FELICITAS ZAVALA, Supervisor, Telefonos de Mexico, Central Exchange, advised the source that all toll tickets for long-distance calls made by anyone from the Central Exchange in Puerto Vallarta during the period from October 15, 1967, through November 20, 1967, had been forwarded to the company's offices at Mazatlan, Sinaloa, Mexico, and were kept on file there. (S)



JAMES EARL RAY, aka

At Mazatlan, Sinaloa, Mexico (X)

On May 17, 1968, a third confidential source abroad advised that a review had been made of over twelve thousand toll tickets on file at the Telefonos de Mexico offices in Mazatlan. These toll tickets represented long-distance telephone calls made from the Central Exchange in Puerto Vallarta during the period in which GALT is known to have resided there. The source stated that no record was located of any calls in the name of GALT. (X)

BANK RECORDE

At Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco (X)

On April 19, 1968, the second source caused the records of the Banco Industrial de Jalisco, S.A. to be reviewed and no account was located for ERIC S. GALT, JOHN WILLARD or HARVEY LOWMYER. Employees of this bank were unable to recognize a photograph of the Subject. (X)

On April 19, 1968, the same source was advised by PASCUAL MORAN GONZALEZ, Manager, Banco de Comercio de Guadalajara, S.C., that no record could be located in the files of that bank for any transactions by ERIC S. GALT, JOHN WILLARD or HARVEY LOWMYER. Employees of this bank were unable to recognize a photograph of the Subject. (X)

On April 25, 1968, MARCO ANTONIO ROMO, Assistant Manager, Banco de Comercio de Guadalajara, S.A., advised the source that no record is kept in that bank of travelers checks issued or cashed there. He said that he had personally reviewed the files of all Americans opening accounts in the bank for the past year without encountering the name of any individual who might be identical with GALT. (X)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

At Mexico, D.F., Mexico

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On June 28, 1968, an official of the Special Investigations Department of the Bank of Mexico advised the first source that there is only one bank in Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, with safety deposit boxes, and this is the Banco Industrial de Jalisco, S.A. This official determined that no safety deposit boxes had been rented at that bank in the second half of October or the first fifteen days of November in 1967. He also determined that the bank has no safety deposit boxes rented to anyone but Mexican citizens.

ASSOCIATES AND GIRLFRIENDS

At Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, Mexico

On April 15, 1968, LUIS GARCIA, bartender, Hotel Oceano, advised that he knew ERIC GALT when the latter was staying in Puerto Vallarta. He said that GALT came to the Oceano Hotel bar several times. He said GALT told him he had served nine years in the U. S. Army, but never went anywhere and was now just traveling around. He said GALT spoke little Spanish, had a serious demeanor, and his walk was slow and very erect. He also described him as an individual who was dark from sunburn, had a sharp nose, and wore his hair in a crew cut.

GARCIA said that he and GALT had gone out together on two separate occasions after GARCIA finished work. He said GALT always drank screwdrivers, but only one or two at a time. He said GALT was not a big spender and recalled that GALT once paid a bill with a U.S. five dollar bill, but usually paid in pesos.

GARCIA told of a night when he and GALT were at the Posada Vallarta to see a floor show and, upon leaving, saw a girl named ELISA waiting for a bus to return to downtown Puerto Vallarta. They offered this girl a ride and the three went to the Club Los Lobos where GALT became drunk or a little ill and went

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JAMES EARL RAY, aka

out to sit in the car. Afterwards, GALT took GARCIA to the latter's home and said he wanted to stay with the girl. (S)

GARCIA described the car as a white Mustang with automatic transmission and a red interior. He said the car had blue license plates with letters of another color. He said he told GALT that the plates said "La Habana," and joked with him about FIDEL CASTRO. GALT corrected him, replying that the plates were from Alabama. GARCIA also recalled that GALT complained that one tire on the car was too large. (S)

GARCIA said that he went to GALT's room at the Hotel Rio on the morning after he and GALT had picked up ELISA. He said he saw a portable typewriter there, but no firearms. (S)

On May 9, 1968, the photograph of JAMES EARL RAY which was taken in California in early 1968 was shown to LUIS GARCIA, and he told the source that this photograph was identical with ERIC GALT. (S)

On April 23, 1968, MARGARITA MONTES MEZA, a prostitute employed at the Casa Susana, Matamoros 503, advised the second source that she recalled the Subject, but could not remember his name. She said she also uses the name "La Chilindrina." She said the first night that Subject came to this house, which she estimated as being in October or November, 1967, he told her he was on a forty-day vacation in Puerto Vallarta, but did not say where he came from or where he was going. She explained that she has a very limited capability in the English language and that he could speak hardly any Spanish. She said he told her he had a car outside and wanted to take her to the Posada Vallarta where they could spend the night. She refused to leave the Casa Susana, and told him he could spend the night in her room, which he did, leaving the following morning at about 8 a.m. (S)

Continuing, MARGARITA MONTES said that she was absent from the city about eight days, and that (S)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

when she returned, the Subject was going with "IRMA," another girl employed at the Casa Susana. She recalled that one day when the Subject came in, IRMA was drunk and Subject tried to renew his association with MARGARITA. She told him he had better stay with IRMA, but he replied that he was through with IRMA. He then left the Casa Susana and she never saw him again. (C)

On May 9, 1968, a photograph of JAMES EARL RAY taken in California in the early part of 1968 was shown to MARGARITA MONTEC MEZA, and she stated that this was the same individual about whom she had furnished the above information. (C)

On April 23, 1968, ARCELIA GONZALEZ, another prostitute employed at the Casa Susana, advised the second source that she remembered the Subject as having come to the Casa Susana in about November, 1967, but did not recall his name. She said she saw him at least three times in one week, and that she slept with him on one occasion, but that he was mainly interested in IRMA. She recalled that he had a white Mustang automobile and invited her to go to Yelapa, a nearby recreation area on the coast, but she refused to go. She recalled that he was using both pesos and U.S. dollars in paying his bar bills, but was not able to remember the denominations of the bills he used. (C)

On May 10, 1968, ARCELIA GONZALEZ examined one photograph of JAMES EARL RAY in which the Subject was wearing sunglasses, and a second photograph which was taken in California in early 1968. She said she recognized the photograph with sunglasses as the person about whom she furnished the foregoing information, but she did not think the second photograph was a very good likeness. (C)

On April 23, 1968, RODIMIR BISCARA, bartender, Casa Susana, advised the second source that he recalls the Subject and that at one time he was talking about buying the Subject's Mustang. He said that he did not have sufficient money for the car and had discussed trading some land for it. He said he went out in the car with the Subject and IRMA, and the three of them went (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

to see some lots which BISCARA owned. He said that they looked at the lots, but that no serious discussion regarding the trade ever took place. He said the Subject invited him to go to Mismaloya, a beach area near Puerto Vallarta. He said that he and the Subject and IRMA all went there and spent some time at the beach. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (C)

BISCARA also stated that, while at the Casa Cusana, Subject usually drank tequila and Squirt, or a drink made from Bacardi rum. He did not recall that the Subject smoked, and stated that he knew nothing about the Subject seeking or using marijuana. (C)

On April 23, 1968, the second source was advised by JOSE MANUEL GUZMAN GARCIA, Boca de Mismaloya, that GUZMAN and his brother, ELENO, operate a cantina and beach-front recreation area. He recalled the American with the white Mustang who came to the beach with IRMA, a cabaret girl, and "RODI," a bartender from Puerto Vallarta, several months earlier. He said he did not get a good look at the American because the latter stayed on the beach, but that "RODI" said that the American was spending a great deal of money on IRMA. (C)

GUZMAN said the American came back two more times and that he had a different American girl with him on each occasion. He did not know these girls and presumed they were tourists. He said all of this activity was within the space of about one week's time, and took place several months ago. (C)

On May 3, 1968, ELENO GUZMAN GARCIA, Boca de Mismaloya, advised the second source that he immediately recognized the photograph of the Subject with sunglasses as a man who had been at this beach several months earlier in a white Mustang, accompanied by IRMA, a bar girl, and a Mexican whom he believes was RODIMIR from the Casa Cusana in Puerto Vallarta. He stated that this man had a noticeable scar on his forehead. He recalled that the Subject was fully dressed at all times and did not wear sunglasses that day. He said that the Subject spoke very little Spanish. (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

On April 17, 1968, RODOLFO GONZALEZ, photographer, Posada Vallarta, advised the second source that ELISA had been a cigarette girl at the Posada Vallarta and also worked as a camera girl. He remembered that she told him that she had an American boyfriend with a nice car, some kind of Ford. He said this man gave ELISA enough money to get a place to live by herself so he could visit her but, instead, she took the money and left for Guadalajara. (C)

On May 3, 1968, FRANCISCO PEREZ GOMEZ, captain of the main bar, Posada Vallarta, stated to the second source that he recalled the Subject only vaguely and knew very little about him or his activities. He said he did recall that the Subject was dating a girl named ELISA who worked in the bar selling cigarettes. PEREZ stated that one evening ELISA asked him to write a note for her in English to the Subject, whose name PEREZ could not recall. He said it seemed that ELISA had accepted some 500 pesos (\$40 U.S.) from the Subject to rent an apartment for them, but that she had used the money to take two of her children to Guadalajara. The note was to explain to the Subject how she had spent his money and to ask his pardon. He recalled that the Subject came into the bar, perhaps that same evening, and PEREZ delivered the note to him. PEREZ said all this took place about four or five months ago, and that he did recall the Subject had a white Mustang. He did not remember ever seeing him again, and was not certain that he could even recognize him if they should meet. (C)

On April 18, 1968, the second source was advised by Mr. and Mrs. SALVADOR MEZA, proprietors of a cheap motel at Playa la Gloria, that they remembered an American who drove a white Mustang and came to the hotel in about November, 1967, with ELISA, who was the girlfriend of the photographer at the Posada Vallarta. They said he came to the hotel once with ELISA and twice alone, and on the latter occasions took a corner room. He left about dawn and returned sometime later, locking himself in the room all day. They stated that they considered this very strange behavior. (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

Mrs. MEZA also stated that she recalls the same individual coming back a fourth time with a prostitute whose name she did not know. She said this woman had left Puerto Vallarta for Tijuana, Baja California, some time ago. (C)

[At Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico] (C)

On April 18, 1968, the third source advised that ELISA ARELLANO TORRES, age 20, was located at Guadalajara on the night of April 17, 1968. She was living at Apeninos 1764, Colonia Independencia, and stated that she was born on January 9, 1948, at Durango, Durango, Mexico. (C)

ELISA ARELLANO said that she had been employed as a cigarette girl and photographer at the Fosada Vallarta at Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, in November, 1967. She said that one night after work she was offered a ride back to the central part of town by the bartender of the Oceano Hotel and a white male American, who later identified himself to her as ERIC STAEVO GALT. She said that GALT at that time lived at the Hotel Rio, but later moved to the "Tropicana" Hotel. She recalled his automobile as a white Mustang with Alabama license plates. She stated that after this first meeting she had marital relations with GALT for about five days at a place she identified as the Hotel Las Glorias, which is located on the road to the airport from Puerto Vallarta. (C)

ELISA ARELLANO said that she parted company with GALT because he wanted her to buy marijuana, which she refused to do. She said he told her he had made various trips to Yelapa in order to buy marijuana. She said she saw him around Puerto Vallarta for about fifteen days after they parted company. She described him as a white male American, about 36 years old, five feet eleven inches tall, regular to slender build, brown hair and a thin nose. (C)

On April 18, 1968, ELISA ARELLANO told the third source that while she and GALT were going together, he had asked her to rent an apartment. She said he gave (C)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

her 600 pesos (\$48 U.S.) and was to get more money from the bank. She said she went to a person called "CHICO" PEREZ in the main restaurant of the Posada Vallarta, and asked him to write a letter to GALT apologizing and stating that she could not see him again. (C)

Continuing, ELISA ARELLANO said that she recalled that GALT only had two or three drinks during the time she spent with him, and recalled that he had a screwdriver or a vodka and tonic. She said he did not smoke, and she never saw him smoking marijuana. He told her that he had gone to Yelapa several times and he seemed to have a lack of energy, and it appeared to tire him to carry on a conversation. She described him as a complete introvert. She said he did not like noisy crowds or sounds, and stated that he did not like children. One of his favorite expressions was that he was very tired, and she thought that he might be a mental case. She said that he had no scars on his body and appeared to have thin legs with a heavy upper trunk. (C)

On June 6, 1968, ELISA ARELLANO advised the third source, after examining photographs of the Subject wearing sunglasses and the photograph taken in California in early 1968, that she recognized both of these photographs as being the same individual whom she knew in Puerto Vallarta, but that in the California photograph he appeared heavier than when she knew him. (C)

On April 21, 1968, the third source advised that IRMA MORALES, the prostitute who was formerly employed at the Casa Susana in Puerto Vallarta, had been identified as MANUELA AGUIRRE MEDRANO. She was born on December 26, 1943, at Rancho San Isidro, which is in the municipality of Atotonilco, Jalisco, Mexico. (C)

At Atotonilco, Jalisco, Mexico (C) (u)

On April 22, 1968, MANUELA AGUIRRE MEDRANO advised the third source that she was formerly employed at the Casa Susana in Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, as a (C) (u)



JAMES EARL RAY, aka

prostitute. She identified a photograph of JAMES EARL RAY as the individual known as ERIC GALT whom she had met one night at the Casa Susana. She said she could not be certain of the date, but thought it might have been about October 24, 1967. She recalled that during this first visit, GALT spent the evening with another prostitute called "La Chilindrina." (S)(u)

The next day, GALT came to the house looking for "La Chilindrina," who was out of town. He then began his friendship with MANUELA and, she stated, slept with her nearly every night for the next several days during his visits to the house. (S)(u)

She recalled that GALT was very methodical and had allowed himself 100 pesos (\$8 U.S.) for drinking money and another 100 pesos each day for a girl. She recalled that he drank beer during the daytime and gin at night. She said he invited her to go to Mismaloya, a nearby beach, and that, after postponing the trip for two or three days, they did go to Mismaloya with RODIMIR BISCARA, the bartender. She described GALT's automobile as a white automobile with Alabama license plates, and as having a red interior with reclining seats. She said this was a two-door automobile, but she could not remember the make. She said that after swimming, drinking beer and having a seafood lunch, they began the return trip to Puerto Vallarta at about 4 p.m. About half-way along the distance from Mismaloya to Puerto Vallarta, GALT stopped the car and took what appeared to be a new Polaroid camera from an ice chest in the back. He said that this was one of the first rolls of film in the camera and that there were only two pictures left. He mentioned that the camera had cost him a little less than \$80. He took a photograph of MANUELA seated at the steering wheel of the car with her skirts up. This photograph was bad and he destroyed it. A little farther on, they stopped at a place called Punta Negra, where GALT took another photograph which was also bad, and he tore it up. She recalled that this was a Saturday and that they arrived back at the Casa Sueana about 5 p.m. and GALT departed saying that he would not return that night. (S)(u)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

On the next day, a Sunday, MANUELA stated that GALT arrived at the Casa Susana about 9 p.m. She believed that this might have been on October 29, 1967. GALT drank with MANUELA and noted that there were four Negroes and some white people seated at a nearby table. These were sailors from a yacht or private boat which had stopped at Puerto Vallarta. (X) (u)

She said that one Negro was very tall and another was short and fat, about five feet four inches tall. The latter was very drunk, and the whole group was rowdy and having a good time. GALT appeared angry at the Negroes and said insulting things concerning them. He said he hated Negroes. He left his table, said something insulting to the short Negro and returned to his table. All of the individuals at the other table appeared to be talking about GALT. (X) (u)

MANUELA AGUIRRE said that GALT then went to his car and came back to the table. He went again to the table where the Negroes were seated and insulted them and returned to his own table. He asked her to feel his pocket and she felt what appeared to be an automatic-type pistol. She believed it to be something similar to a Walther .380 automatic. GALT said he was going to kill them. The tall Negro came to GALT's table and said something in a peaceful manner, but GALT replied in an insulting manner. The tall Negro then returned to his table and took the shorter Negro in his arms and took him out of the house. GALT wanted to go after them, but MANUELA told him this would not be a good idea since it was about 10 p.m. and the police were scheduled to visit the house momentarily. GALT said he wanted nothing to do with the police. (X) (u)

MANUELA AGUIRRE said that GALT visited the house again on the following day and told her that he would not see her for several days. He said he wanted to rest and would only sleep and eat. He next returned on what MANUELA recalled as a Thursday of the same week and told her that he planned to move to the "Tropicana" Hotel. He spent more than 200 pesos (\$16 U.S.) for drinks and left about midnight. (X) (u)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

On the following day, according to MANUELA AGUIRRE, GALT arrived between 8 and 9 p.m. and she, MANUELA, was drunk and said that she did not want to go to bed with him. GALT remained to drink at one of the tables and there was a photographer present, causing MANUELA to request that a photograph be taken of GALT with her. GALT did not want his photograph taken, but she insisted. He told her that he planned to go to Yelapa on Saturday or Sunday, and that he did not like to go out in Puerto Vallarta on Saturday or Sunday because there was so much noise and so many people around. (X)(u)

She said that GALT arrived at the house between 8 and 9 p.m. on the following Monday. He invited MANUELA for one drink and was very serious and impolite. He was angry with her for her actions on the previous Friday. He asked her to marry him and she refused. She said that he had previously asked her to marry him. He said that if she would not marry him he was going to invite out some of the other girls. He spent the rest of that evening with ARCELIA and went to bed with ARCELIA. (X)(u)

MANUELA AGUIRRE said that she saw GALT again about three days later, but did not talk with him. She said she did not believe that he saw ARCELIA or any of the other girls again, and that she herself did not see him again. (X)(u)

She recalled that GALT drank gin or whatever other drink the bartender at the Casa Susana served him. He did not smoke, and sometimes stated that he did not smoke anything except marijuana. She stated however, that she never saw him smoke marijuana. (X)(u)

MANUELA AGUIRRE said that GALT spoke practically no Spanish and the bartender interpreted for him. She said that GALT had an old pair of sandals that he liked very much and which he said had been bought in Europe. She said she told him to throw the sandals away and buy new ones, but he did not want to get rid of them. She recalled that he definitely could not dance. (X)(u)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

MANUELA AGUIRRE made available the photograph of GALT wearing sunglasses, which had been taken at the Casa Suzana in Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, on or about November 3, 1967. She said the photograph was taken by a traveling group known as "Foto Rapida." (S)

At Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco (S)

On April 22, 1968, CARLOS PEREZ, Foto Taurino, Hotel Oceano, advised the second source that Foto Rapida was a concern made up of four or five men who came to Puerto Vallarta in the fall of 1967 and were there less than a month. This group spent most of its time in the nightclubs, bars and other places frequented by tourists. They used only Polaroid cameras, and there were no negatives or records kept of the photographs taken. He said all members of this group had left Puerto Vallarta and that their current whereabouts was unknown. (S)

On April 24, 1968, LEOPOLDO CISNEROS, Assistant Manager, Dairy Queen Shop, Main Plaza, advised the second source that in the fall of 1967 this shop was known as the Discotheque Cafe. He recognized a photograph of the Subject immediately as an almost daily customer for a period during the fall of 1967. He said that Subject came in for three or four weeks about 3 p.m. each day and had a hamburger and a Pepsi Cola. He said that the Subject, in the beginning, usually ate a half-dozen small green chilies with his hamburger. After he stopped ordering these chilies, he told CISNEROS that a doctor had advised him to stop eating them. (S)

CISNEROS recalled that the Subject drove a white Mustang which he parked outside the shop. He said he had also seen the Subject around the Hotel Rio. He said that on two occasions, the Subject was accompanied by a heavy-set Mexican man whose name was not known to CISNEROS. CISNEROS said this man had been a regular customer in the past and is believed to be a United States citizen. When CISNEROS asked the Subject whether he had known this man in the United States, the Subject replied that he was just someone he had met on the beach. (S)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

With regard to the information that the ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Subject may have consulted a physician in Puerto  
Vallarta, the second source contacted the following  
doctors on the dates indicated with negative results: (X)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>
April, 1967	
24	Dr. ERNESTO CORDOVA IBARRA, Director Public Health Juarez 71
24	Dr. ALFONSO RODRIGUEZ G. Physician for Hotel "Tropicana" Morelos 74
(X) 24	Dr. ANTONIO R. SAHAGUN Juarez 178
26	Dr. AGUSTIN LOPEZ Y ALCALA Juarez 259
26	Dr. ANTONIO TOPETE PALFRMO Zaragoza 30
26	Dra. A. ELIZABETH ORTIZ M. Public Health Clinic and Hospital
26	Dr. LIZANDRO NAVARRO PORTILLO Hotel Rosita Building
29	Dr. PABLO MORRIS and Dra. ANA JOCEFA RAMIREZ Clinic of Las Glorias

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

FIRESTONE DELUXE CHAMPION TIRE, SIZE 7.50 X 14

In connection with the recovery of the white 1966 Mustang at Atlanta, Georgia, on April 11, 1968, it was discovered that the right front tire on this car was a Firestone Deluxe Champion, size 7.50 x 14, six-ply rating. Stamped on the tire were the words "Hecha en Mexico," with the following identifying numbers: 2-ME-2; BD-33595; N20Z031154. The tube of this tire had a stamp thereon: "G7, General Popo 7.50 x 14. Made for Helke Poc, General Popo, S.A., Mexico D.I."

At Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, Mexico (C)

On May 7, 1968, JUAN MANUEL FREGOSO GUTIERREZ, Avenida Mexico 50, advised the second source that he operates a gasoline station at the corner of 31 de Octubre and 31 de Mayo, and that his wife operates a Firestone tire store which he owns at Avenida Mexico 50. (A)

On May 7, 1968, Mrs. GENOVEVA CURIEL DE FREGOSO, proprietor of the Firestone Store, advised the second source that she did not personally recall seeing the Subject or his car since she was upstairs in her apartment at the time of the transaction. She did recall that an American came in several months earlier to buy a 7.45 x 14 tire and, since they did not have one in stock, the clerk sold him a 7.50 x 14. Mrs. FREGOSO said that this man asked for a discount because the tire was the wrong size, and the clerk called up to the apartment for authority to give the discount. Mrs. FREGOSO said she authorized a ten percent discount on the sale. (C)

Mrs. FREGOSO could recall nothing further about the actual sale, and stated that her brother had mounted the tire on the car, but could recall nothing of the incident. She said the store kept no record of tire serial numbers except to note them on the sales slip at the time of the sale for guaranty purposes. She searched invoices of tires received by the store from the Firestone factory and noted that there were no serial numbers in these invoices. She was, therefore, unable to state whether a particular tire had ever been in their inventory. (A)

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TERESA FERNANDEZ, clerk, Firestone Store, Avenida Mexico 50, advised the second source on May 7, 1968, that the photograph of the Subject wearing sunglasses was immediately recognizable as a man who came into the store one morning to buy a tire. She said he had apparently come from the General Popo Tire Store two doors away. She could not recall the date, but believed that it was in January, 1968. (C)

Miss FERNANDEZ remembered that the Subject's white Mustang had a tire which was badly road-damaged and he asked for a replacement, size 7.45 x 14. Since there were none of this size in stock, she said, he took a size 7.50 x 14 Firestone tire, but requested a discount since it was the wrong size. Miss FERNANDEZ said she spoke to Mrs. FREGOCO, who was in the upstairs apartment, and a ten percent discount was authorized. She said that, since the tire was slightly larger, and because the use of tubes is always recommended due to the difficult terrain, the Subject walked to the General Popo Store and came back with a tube which he had purchased himself. The tire was mounted outside the store by Mrs. FREGOCO's brother. (C)

Miss FERNANDEZ searched for the sales slip recording this transaction, but was unable to locate it. She said that the Subject did not give her his name, and that, since he was not a Mexican, she did not bother to ask his name or to note the serial number of the tire on the sales slip, since this is only done for guaranty purposes. (C)

Continuing, Miss FREGOCO said she lives near the Casa Susana and, after she sold the tire, she remembered seeing the same white Mustang parked on Calle 31 de Octubre around the corner from the Casa Eusana. The car was parked in front of a vacant lot and she thought this strange since she saw it there about 3 in the morning on several occasions while she was walking to work. On one occasion as she was on her way to lunch, she saw the Subject park his car and walk up and turn into Matamoros Street. She said she never saw him with any other person and that he was alone the day he came to the store to purchase the tire. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JAMES EARL RAY, aka

On May 7, 1968, ANA MARIA MADERO, clerk, General Popo Tire Store, Avenida Mexico 32, advised the second source that the code "G7" indicates that a tube with this marking will fit a 7.50 x 14 tire. She said she did not recognize the photograph of the Subject or recall his car. She could find no record of a sale of any item to ERIC GALT from October 7, 1967, to May 7, 1968. (C)

Miss MADERO stated that if she did not know the name of the person to whom she made a sale, but knew that the sale was connected with a purchase made at the Firestone Store, she normally put the name of MANUEL FREGOCO on the sales slip. In this connection, a review of the sales slips showed that a G7 tube was sold for cash to MANUEL FREGOCO on October 26, 1967, and on January 13, 1968. In each case, the price was 57 pesos (\$4.56 U.S.). (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 18 1969

TELETYPE

✓ Blue  
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

*[Handwritten initials]*

FBI MEMPHIS

705 PM URGENT 3-13-69 DND

TO DIRECTOR (44-38861) ATTN: MR. AL ROSEN, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION  
FROM MEMPHIS (44-1937)

*[Handwritten signature]*

MURKIN. - ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR

AT APPROXIMATELY TWO FORTYFIVE PM, INTERVIEW WAS BEGUN WITH JAMES EARL RAY BY SAC, MEMPHIS AT TENNESSEE STATE PRISON. INTERVIEW CONCLUDED AT APPROXIMATELY THREE THIRTYFIVE PM. RAY ON ENTERING ROOM SAID, "YOU'RE THE GUY WHO TESTIFIED. I DON'T WANT TO TALK TO YOU OR ANYBODY FROM THE FBI." RAY WAS ASKED TO SIT DOWN AND WAS TOLD IT WAS POSSIBLE WE HAD THINGS WE COULD TALK ABOUT. RAY SAID, "I'M NOT GOING TO TALK ABOUT CASE AS I'VE BEEN MISQUOTED ENOUGH." HE WAS UNABLE TO POINT OUT ANY SPECIFICS WHERE FBI HAD EVER MISQUOTED HIM. HE WAS ALSO TOLD FBI HAD NOT INTERVIEWED HIM SO IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MISQUOTE HIM. RAY INDICATED HE BETTER GO BACK TO CELL AS SAC WAS ONLY TRYING TO TRICK HIM INTO TALKING ABOUT CASE. HE WAS THEN REMINDED OF HIS GUILTY PLEA IN OPEN COURT AND WAS ASKED IF HE INTENDED TO CHARGE THIS. HE SAID NO.

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18 MAR 17 1969

RAY THEN CRITICIZED HIS ATTORNEY ART HANES, ~~SAID~~ HE SAID HANES WAS NOT GOOD ATTORNEY AS HE REFUSED TO INVESTIGATE CASE. SAC INTERJECTED THAT HIS ATTORNEY HAD HIRED INVESTIGATOR. TO

END 56 MAR 21 1969

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

*[Handwritten signature]*

2/20/86 Sp. Proc. net

PAGE TWO

WHICH RAY REPLIED, "HE'S NO GOOD EITHER, AND HE ONLY BEGAN TO INVESTIGATE A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE TRIAL." RAY STATED HANES REALLY WASN'T HIS ATTORNEY AS WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE HAD HIRED HANES<sup>S</sup> TO GO TO LONDON TO ACT AS ATTORNEY FOR RAY, IN RETURN FOR STORY CONTRACTS. RAY WOULD NOT AMPLIFY ON CONTRACTS BUT DID STATE HE HAD TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS IN CONTRACTS OUT. RAY SAID HE HADN'T RECEIVED ANY MONEY ON ANY OF THESE CONTRACTS YET. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD CONTRACTED WITH PERCY FOREMAN REGARDING POSSIBLE STORY. ALSO SAID PART OF HIS CONTRACT WITH FOREMAN WAS THAT RAY WOULD NOT EMBARRASS FOREMAN IN COURT. WHEN ASKED IF THAT IS WHY HE SAID NO MORE IN COURT WHEN HE COSE TO MAKE COMMENT, RAY SAID HE WOULDN'T TALK ABOUT IT ANY MORE.

HE THEN BECAME CRITICAL OF FOREMAN, SAYING HE WOULDN'T INVESTIGATE HIS CASE E<sup>T</sup>ITHER. SAID THAT FOREMAN CAME TO HIM WITH A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE, SAYING "YOUR BEST DEFENCE IS TO PLEAD GUILTY OR YOU'LL GET THE DEATH SENTENCE." RAY INDICATED DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS PAST ATTORNEYS. HE SAID HE WAS TRYING TO GET AN ATTORNEY IN GEORGIA NOW. HE REFUSED TO IDENTIFY THIS ATTORNEY. CSAC HAD PREVIOUS DISCUSSION WITH WARDEN LAKE RUSSELL AT PRISON AND WARDEN HAD ADVISED RAY HAD TOLD HIM HE

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PAGE THREE

WAS MAKING EFFORTS TO GET J. E. STONER, AN ATTORNEY IN GEORGIA, TO REPRESENT HIM. J. E. STONER WELL KNOWN FIGURE IN VARIOUS WHITE HATE GROUPS IN GEORGIA.)

RAY ALSO SAID HE DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ANY MORE ABOUT ANYTHING, AS HE FELT HIS ATTORNEY WOULD BE ABLE TO REOPEN HIS CASE. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD LETTER PREPARED TO SEND TO SENATOR EASTLAND AND THEN IN ABOUT TWO OR THREE MONTHS HIS CASE WOULD BE CLEARED UP. HE INDICATED HE MIGHT THEN BE WILLING TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS THE CASE FULLY.

ADDITIONAL SMALL TALK OCCURRED AND RAY BROUGHT UP FBI TV SERIES. HE WONDERED WHY FBI ALWAYS HAD TO LET THE CRIMINALS DRAW FIRST BEFORE THEY WERE SHOT. HE WAS TOLD THIS IS ONLY CONSISTENT WITH THE FACTS, AS OUR WEAPONS ARE USED ONLY IN SELF DEFENSE. HE EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM. HE THEN ASKED IF FBI THOUGHT HE WAS STUPID ENOUGH TO LEAVE HIS FINGERPRINTS IN THE AREA WHERE A PUBLIC FIGURE WAS KILLED. HE WAS ASKED IF HE WAS TRYING TO TELL SAC THAT SOMEONE PLANTED HIS PRINTS, AND IF SO HIS STORY WAS GETTING THIN AND SAC WOULD LEAVE. HE THEN RAISED SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT NOT EVER HAVING BEEN IDENTIFIED IN A

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LINEUP AND WAS NOT SURE THAT ANYONE COULD IDENTIFY HIM. HE THEN INDICATED HE HAD READ IN A CANADIAN PAPER THAT ONE CHARLIE STEPHENS COULD PROBABLY ~~WAS~~ IDENTIFY HIM AS HE THOUGHT CHARLIE STEPHENS HAD A GOOD LOOK AT HIM IN ROOMING HOUSE. HE DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THIS FURTHER.

HE THEN FURTHER CLAIMED THAT NO ONE HAD IDENTIFIED HIM WITH A PHOTOGRAPH UNTIL HE MADE SOME PHOTOGRAPHS AVAILABLE ON THE WEST COAST. THE ABSURDITY OF THIS STATEMENT WAS POINTED OUT TO HIM AS HE KNEW THE STATE HAD SEVERAL WITNESSES WHO COULD IDENTIFY HIM.

HE WAS ASKED IF HE DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ABOUT SOMETHING ELSE, SUCH AS HIS TRIP FROM LOS ANGELES TO NEW ORLEANS. HE SAID NO, THAT HE HAD MADE A MISTAKE GETTING MIXED UP WITH STEIN. HE SAID STEIN WAS ONLY A "HIPPIE." HE WOULD NOT TALK FURTHER ABOUT STEIN.

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS COVERED WITH RAY INDICATED HE SAID HE NEVER RECEIVED A PROPERTY RECEIPT FROM BUTLER OF SCOTLAND YARD, WHEN ARRESTED THERE. HE SAID THIS RECEIPT MIGHT BE OF VALUE AT SOME FUTURE DATE. HE REFUSED TO CLARIFY THIS.

RAY WOULD NOT AT ANY TIME DISCUSS CONSPIRACY OR ANY ASPECTS OF IT. HE CONTINUOUSLY CLAIMED THIS WOULD BE MATTER FOR HIS

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ATTORNEY TO HANDLE AND POSSIBLY SENATOR EASTLAND'S COMMITTEE.

HE ALSO EXPRESSED DISLIKE FOR FORMER <sup>ATTORNEY GENERAL</sup> CLARK BECAUSE OF HIS STATEMENTS BUT WOULD NOT CLARIFY WHAT STATEMENTS. HE DID, HOWEVER, SAY ABOUT CLARK THAT IF HE WAS SOFT ON CRIME AS THE NEWSPAPERS SOMETIME REPORTED THIS WAS OKAY.

AT THIS TIME SAC ASKED RAY IF HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO MEET A PAIR OF ASSOCIATES OF SAC, AGENTS JOE C. HESTER AND ROBERT F. BOYLE. RAY SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO FBI BECAUSE ALL THEY WANTED TO DO WAS TRICK HIM. RAY AT CONCLUSION OF INTERVIEW SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO ANY OTHER AGENTS AT THIS TIME. HE WAS TOLD THERE WERE TWO OTHER AGENTS WITH SAC. HE DID MEET THESE TWO AGENTS JUST PRIOR TO BEING RETURNED TO HIS CELL. HIS PARTING COMMENT WHEN GOING THROUGH CELL DOOR WAS, "TAKE A GOOD LOOK AS YOU MAY BE LOOKING FOR ME AGAIN."

SAC TOLD RAY THAT HE WOULD RECONTACT HIM AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING AND PERHAPS WE COULD AGAIN ENGAGE IN SMALL TALK. RAY SAID "MAYBE I WILL NOT TALK WITH YOU AGAIN."

ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE TO SEEK SECOND INTERVIEW IN A. M. WITH RAY.

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RAY'S COMMENT ABOUT TAKING A GOOD LOOK WAS SPECIFICALLY  
POINTED OUT TO THE OFFICERS ON DUTY IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY  
SECTION AND IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY POINTED OUT TO WARDEN RUSSELL.  
IN ADDITION, IN DISCUSSIONS WITH WARDEN RUSSELL, SAC REQUESTED  
THAT VISIT OF FBI TO TENNESSEE STATE PENITENTIARY SHOULD BE HELD  
CONFIDENTIAL. WARDEN INDICATED HE WOULD DO SO BUT, OF COURSE,  
STORY WOULD STILL GET AROUND IN THE PRISON YARD. P.

END

ERI

FBI WASH DC

P

CC-MR. ROSEN

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/30/68

BO DEL MONTE, Bartender, Rabbit's Foot Club,  
5623 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California,  
 advised that his home address is 1229 North Bronson,  
 Los Angeles, California. He advised after observing  
 photographs of JAMES EARL RAY, that RAY was identical  
 to a customer who frequented the Rabbit's Foot Club,  
 from approximately January until the middle of March  
 1968. He described RAY as wearing usually a dark suit,  
 with a bow tie. He said that his appearance was that  
 of a rural person from Alabama, who has just recently  
 come to the "big city". He said that RAY wore his crew  
 cut to long, or he was allowing his hair to grow.

DEL MONTE recalled the incident in which RAY  
 became involved in a heated discussion with a Caucasian  
 female and began dragging her towards the door of the  
 bar saying, "I'll drop you off in Watts and we'll see  
 how you like it there". DEL MONTE recalled that shortly  
 after this incident a Negro patron of the Rabbit's Foot  
 Club, and his date, were struck on the head by a rock or  
 brick while in a nearby parking lot.

DEL MONTE acknowledge that RAY often spoke  
 support for Governor WALLACE.

DEL MONTE said that RAY drank vodka straight  
 or in screwdrivers. DEL MONTE said that RAY purchased a  
 key for the key club, which is operated by the Rabbit's  
 Foot Club. He stated that he believes RAY gave him the  
 name "DOUG COLLINS", when he purchased his key. DEL MONTE  
 said that the writing of this name was by himself, and RAY  
 furnished no other information as to residence.

On 4/22/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574  
 by SA E. RHEAD RICHARDS and SA DENNIS C. LEMASTER/DCL/dp Date dictated 4/26/68

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/30/68

JAMES E. MORRISON, Bartender, Rabbit's Foot Club, 5623 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, advised that he resides at 1911 Grace Avenue, Los Angeles, California. He was shown photographs of JAMES EARL RAY, and he advised this individual is identical with a customer who frequented the Rabbit's Foot Bar. He said that he recalled this individual because of his frequency as a customer at the bar. MORRISON stated that he became engaged in a political discussion with RAY concerning ROBERT F. KENNEDY and GEORGE WALLACE. He said that RAY became rather incensed and vehemently supported WALLACE. On one other occasion, MORRISON said that RAY had a discussion with a frequent female customer of the bar whose name was PAT GOODSELL. This discussion concerned Negroes and civil rights movement. MORRISON said that RAY became very involved in the argument and began dragging her towards the door saying, "I'll drop you off in Watts and we'll see how you like it there". MORRISON said that another customer who knew the girl, separated them. MORRISON said that subsequent to this event GOODSELL died through an overdose of some type of medicine. He said that she formerly resided at the Carlton Towers, an apartment complex, in the neighborhood. He described her as:

Race	Caucasian
Sex	Female
Age	Approximately 27

MORRISON said that RAY habitually drank vodka or screwdrivers. He said that he was a very quiet customer and it was unusual for him to become involved in an argument. MORRISON said that he believes he used the name "DOUG" while at the bar.

On 4/22/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574

by SA E. RHEAD RICHARDS and SA DENNIS C. LEMASTER/DCL/dp Date dictated 4/26/68

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.



GROUP II  
(contt)

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

5/17/2011

emorandum

ROUTE IN

JUNE

A-15

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 22, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

This is a recommendation requesting the Attorney General's priority for the installation of a technical surveillance covering home telephone of Clarence Benjamin Jones, as well as the tele-  
 fones covering Jones's law firm and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, a Negro welfare organization in which Jones plays a very active part.

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, leader of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Clarence Benjamin Jones, a New York City attorney, who is closely associated with King. 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.

Jones resides at 5505 Independence Avenue, Bronx, New York, and is a partner in the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones, 165 Broadway, New York City. He is the General Counsel for the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, an organization organized to lend support to Martin Luther King. Jones is on the Reserve List. He is extremely active in racial matters and serves as the spokesman for Martin Luther King. In 1953-54 Jones was an active member of the Labor Youth League, an organization cited as subversive under Executive Order 10450. He has recently been in frequent contact with the Communist Party, USA, leaders in New York City concerning racial matters.

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Jones, our New York Office was requested to conduct a survey to ascertain if such coverage is feasible and could be conducted with full security. New York teletype 7/19/63 discloses that technical surveillance coverage of Jones's residence, law firm and the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, is feasible and can be conducted with full security.

7-22-63  
7918  
[Handwritten initials]

UNRECORDED 100-407018-21

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

DECLASSIFIED BY 60321/18/01 ON 3/18/80

Memorandum to Mr. E. A. Tamm  
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
10/23/75

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

The Attorney General has been requested to conduct a survey  
relative to the feasibility of placing a technical surveillance on  
Dr. Martin Luther King and as soon as this survey is completed a recom-  
mendation will be made relative to instituting coverage on King.

JUSTIFICATION:

In view of the Attorney General's request that our coverage  
be complete as possible, it is felt that we should institute  
coverage not only on Dr. King's residence but also his law office and  
Chandi Society for Human Rights.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General go  
forward requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on  
Dr. King's residence; law firm; and the Chandi Society for Human Rights.

*WJH* *JHK* *WV*  
*J* *WV* *CP* *V*  
*[Large Signature]*

FROM

OCT 23 1975

FBI

B-16

April 19, 1965

- 1 - Mr. J.D. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. W.T. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

rtel

B-16

to: SAC, Atlanta (100-6670-E)

JUNE

from: Director, FBI (100-442529)

#295852 J. M. ... 3/10/86  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/20/88 BY J. ...

CIRM

Reurairtel 4/15/65 which advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., was planning to move his residence during the week of 4/12/65 to a recently purchased home located at 234 Sunset Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and that he was planning to have two telephone numbers at his new residence. It was stated that it was apparent that present source at King's residence, ELSUR would be discontinued as a result of the move. Bureau authority was requested to conduct a survey on the new residence so that appropriate recommendations might follow concerning technical coverage there. You assured full security for this survey.

Bureau authority is granted for the survey provided full security is assured. Take no action relative to installation, limiting your action only to survey. Expedite so that any break in coverage may be minimized. Promptly advise Bureau of time and date of discontinuance at old residence.

Keep Bureau promptly advised of all pertinent developments.

SFP:hbl:tef  
 (6)

100-442529-933  
 APR 21 1965  
 See 50

NOTE: ELSUR is a technical surveillance on the residence of King, 553 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. It was authorized 10/15/63 and installed 11/8/63. It is noted that when we received the then Attorney General's authority for installation of this coverage, it was to be on King's residence or at any future address to which he may move. This source has, of course, been a most prolific one for extremely valuable intelligence relating to [redacted]. After receipt of the results of survey and Atlanta's recommendations, a memorandum will be prepared along with any necessary correspondence with the Attorney General.

COMM-FBI

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\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

It is prepared in response to your request. It is not for dissemination to your Comm. Sec. Its use is limited to official proceedings by [redacted]

Loe

Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12/29/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

INFORMANT

*W*  
 [redacted] has reported that Father Wassmer of the St. Peters Jesuit School in New Jersey recently contacted the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia, which Conference is headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Father Wassmer indicated that St. Peters wanted to give King an honorary degree on 6/6/65. King's secretary indicated to Father Wassmer that King would advise at a later date whether he could accept the degree.

OBSERVATIONS:

It will be recalled that we previously were able to alert proper authorities at Marquette University when that institution was considering King for an honorary degree. As a result of information furnished on a highly confidential basis concerning King, Marquette did not give King an honorary degree. It may be possible that similar action on our part in the current instance will avert the action which is contemplated by St. Peters Jesuit School.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will determine from our Newark Office what its relations are with the St. Peters Jesuit School and whether there is some individual there in high authority who can be confidentially briefed concerning King. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ will not be given an honorary degree. Upon approval, this memorandum should be routed back to Assistant Director Sullivan for the necessary telephone call to the SAC, Newark, in this matter.

SFP:jad  
(8)

100-106670

REC-34  
 EX-100  
 2 JAN 22 1965  
 100-106670-739

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

*12/30*  
*OK*  
*to check*  
*with Bureau*  
*before*  
*actual contact*

*12/30*  
 SAC Bachman advised  
 per above, He will  
 advise what contact are  
 available.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

**C-59**

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

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 1-11-65  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-14-79 BY 9803 RDD/MLG

FROM : E. D. DeLoach

100-106670-730

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
REVEREND YOUNG AND REVEREND ABERNATHY  
VISIT TO FBI HEADQUARTERS, JANUARY 11, 1965

*Boyd*  
*SP-11*

In my memorandum of January 8th, it was pointed out that Reverend Young wanted to come to Washington today together with Reverend Abernathy and see Mr. Hoover if possible. It was recommended and approved that the Director's regrets be expressed and Leinbaugh and I saw these men at 2 p.m., today.

Both Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy seemed to be highly uncomfortable during the interview. Reverend Abernathy started out as the spokesman for Mr. King but bogged down rather shortly and Reverend Young, who is much more articulate, carried most of the discussion.

Initially, Reverend Abernathy said that there were three points they wished to discuss with the FBI and he said the first of these had to do with communist infiltration into the civil rights movement. He said that they all realized that Reverend King, as the leading civil rights spokesman, was subject to persecution. He mentioned the pamphlets which had been distributed showing a picture of King at a Highlander Folk School meeting and he mentioned the constant problem of keeping communists out of the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy said that Jack O'Dell had been brought into Reverend King's organization but that O'Dell did have a bad background and communist connections and that he had, therefore, been dismissed from the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Reverend Abernathy said that there had been statements made challenging Mr. King's loyalty but that the truth is Reverend King has always attacked communism in his speeches, in his book, and that their entire movement is "clean" in this respect.

Reverend Young then spoke up and mentioned that both O'Dell and Levinson had been possible problems and he said that in the past their organization had tried to get assistance from the Department regarding the background of these individuals but had been generally unsuccessful. Reverend Young said they had the problem of evaluating such people and wondered what could be done.

I pointed out that the answer was very simple, that the FBI can't give out information and that our files are confidential. He wanted to know what the SCLC

CONTINUED OVER

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65

Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

could do to protect itself or to get detailed information regarding individuals with questionable background and he was informed that the House Committee on Un-American Activities did have extensive records which were available to all citizens and that this source could be of possible background assistance.

Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy said they hoped they could come to the FBI privately and they were told that they should always feel free to come to us at any time and they were reminded that Director Hoover had emphasized this point when he had seen them with Reverend King in November. Reverend Young made some comment about a press release. He was told that the FBI had no intention of making a release concerning their visit.

Reverend Abernathy spoke very generally, pointing out that people were always "making charges" and "innuendoes" against Mr. King. He said there are claims that Dr. King is getting rich and he is using organizational funds for his personal use. Reverend Abernathy said the fact is Mr. King receives no salary from the SCLC whatsoever. I took occasion here to point out that certainly matters relating to the usage of funds within their organization were of no concern whatsoever to the FBI and that the FBI confined its activities strictly to its statutory limitations and that we did not have time, let alone the authority to probe into other matters.

Reverend Young said it looked like there were some attempts to smear and ruin the civil rights movement; that just lately there has been some new evidence in this regard and that very obviously the activities of Mr. King and the SCLC are under close surveillance. Young said that as a recent example, King went to the home of Young's secretary while she was in the hospital so that he could do some writing in private. Reverend Young said that shortly after King arrived in the secretary's apartment he was tired, was taking pills that made him groggy and went to sleep. Shortly afterwards he was awakened by a fireman who reported there was a major fire at this address. King reported that after the fire trucks left, the phone in the apartment began ringing but that no one would answer. Young said that only he had known that King had gone to this apartment, but that he also had called Reverend Abernathy and told him where King was and that as a result of this he was certain someone had been tapping their phones.

Since Reverend Young had mentioned the possibility of surveillance, he was asked if Reverend King believed he was being followed. Young said he had no such information. He said he did feel though there must be some sort of concerted organized campaign that was being directed against King and the SCLC. Young added that the SCLC takes for granted its phones are tapped and said he realized the Government might have a legitimate interest in their official activities but wondered about the governmental interest in people's private activities.

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

I very carefully pointed out that certainly the FBI was not interested in any matter beyond the scope of our jurisdiction. I explained carefully the very limited use made by the FBI of wire taps. I pointed out that wire taps were used in certain major espionage cases, or in a kidnap case where a victim's life is at stake, that there were very few such taps, and that each and every case required the express authority of the Attorney General.

At this time both Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy interrupted to say that they, of course, knew better than to imply that the FBI would be involved.

Reverend Abernathy stated that there were three points they had wanted to discuss; communist infiltration, allegations that King was getting rich on the civil rights movement and the third point had to do with allegations about the personal life and moral character of King. Abernathy bogged down a bit at this point and said that, "We all are human beings... We all make mistakes." I tried to bring out what he meant and asked why he was making such statements. Abernathy said that he was not going to make allegations against the FBI but that some things were going on they just could not understand.

Reverend Young said that King had been receiving some letters charging him with immorality, that these letters attacked his personal life and he pointed out rather lamely that "All humans make mistakes."

I told Reverend Abernathy and Reverend Young that a lot of people did come to the FBI with rumors and stories and that as a matter of fact, we had heard allegations reflecting on Dr. King's morality but that certainly we took no action on such rumors. I emphasized that any prominent person or leader of a movement must be most careful in his private life and that such a leader's reputation should be above reproach. I also noted that these rumors regarding King were prevalent outside the FBI.

Reverend Abernathy said there had been some problems in the past; that when Reverend King goes to make a speech people always want to hold a little party or reception for him and that there is alcohol at these parties. Abernathy said as a Baptist minister King does not participate in drinking affairs but sometimes it is hard to avoid attending receptions where drinking does go on.

Reverend Young said that he was deeply concerned about irresponsible usage of personal information on the part of scandalmongers and wondered if there could be any "leaks" from the Government. He was assured that there were no leaks from the FBI, that the Director ran a tight organization and that any irresponsibility on the part of any Agent would not be tolerated. Young said he did not feel the FBI was responsible and said that just the other day King had received a letter which brought up the "female question," and added they have been getting 8 or 10 bad letters a week.



DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Here again he was asked why he was telling us this and Young replied that they were worried and concerned, that maybe they were overly concerned, but that it seemed the campaign against King had been stepped up since he had received the Nobel Prize. Young spoke about constant threats to ruin King and threats on King's life. He was told that if any threats were made which would come within the FBI's investigative authority, the full facts should be made available promptly so that the matter could be thoroughly run out and investigated.

Reverend Abernathy brought up the fact again that all men make mistakes and blunders but that King had become the symbol of nonviolence and that it would be tragic for both the North and South if King should be ruined and if some demagogue like Malcolm X would move in and take over the civil rights movement. He said it would be tragic if Dr. King were destroyed. He was asked if there was vulnerability on Dr. King's part or if he was being blackmailed. He said that everybody has skeletons in their closets and he said that Dr. King was really a moral person, that he had a deep love for all of mankind--I refrained from commenting here--and that King was very moral and that in the last year Dr. King had been especially careful to avoid any actions which could be misconstrued by racists and others out to destroy King.

Reverend Young tried to get "down to brass tacks" but was unable to do so. He spoke of the changing sex standards in the country, talked in general terms about people being tempted and making bad judgments and spoke about the spiritual nature of their movement and the fact that God uses "frail vessels" in carrying out His precepts, knowing full well the weaknesses of men. I asked him, as a minister of God, if he condoned sex degeneracy. He replied that people have different standards and different ideas as to what the sex norm is.

I made a final attempt to pin down the precise nature of their problem but neither man would come out with any specifics--only statements that "they" were trying to ruin King and the civil rights movement and that this would be tragic for the whole country. Both ministers said they knew and appreciated the fact that the FBI would not be a party to vilification of King and I said this was true, and that while we naturally were aware of rumors concerning immorality on King's part, we had no cause to look into such matters.

Reverend Abernathy said he wanted to be very frank and wanted to raise a question as to whether some Agents might overstep their authority in the South and might engage in actions which were not known to FBI Headquarters. I emphasized this was absolutely impossible, that our Agents carried a very heavy case load, that we knew what our Agents were doing at all times and always knew their whereabouts.

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Both visitors said, of course, they accepted and knew this to be a fact. They mentioned one incident of a Georgia Bureau of Investigation man checking on one of their meetings. They also mentioned the possibility that private investigators may have been hired to probe their activities.

They said they had no other problems and I assured them that they should always feel free to call on us if anything should occur within our investigative authority. Both ministers agreed to do so and added they appreciated the opportunity of stopping by.

Throughout the visit, both Young and Abernathy were ill at ease and it was obvious that neither of them could bring themselves to discuss any specific allegations of immorality on King's part.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

*Kid*

*Offm*

*A*

*✓*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~ 8

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

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 10, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. R. E. Wick
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS

PURPOSE:

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAN/mar  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

To obtain authorization for high level dissemination of a document captioned as above which shows the degree of communist influence on Martin Luther King.

Enclosed is a document captioned as above, which depicts communist influence in the civil rights field, emphasizing the key role of Martin Luther King, Jr. This document is a current revision of the previous analysis captioned "Communism and the Negro Movement - A Current Analysis" prepared and disseminated in November, 1964. In updating it, we have emphasized these areas: (1) continued reliance of King upon former Communist Party, USA, members, particularly Stanley David Levison; (2) facts relating to King's and (3) communist goal of uniting the peace and civil rights movements and King's adherence to this communist long-range objective.

King's strong criticism and condemnation of the Administration's policy on Vietnam in a speech he made at New York on 4/4/67 shows how much he has been influenced by communist advisors. His speech was a direct parallel of the communist position on Vietnam.

It is felt that the President would be interested in a summary on King which shows the degree of communist influence on him. The attached paper constitutes a complete picture and strong indictment of King in that regard.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that

- (1) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the White House and the Attorney General be forwarded to Assistant to the Director DeLoach for transmittal to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House, and the Attorney General.

Enclosure  
100-442529

RLS:DMW/jav/cst.

CONTINUED - OVER 12 MAY 16 1967

~~SECRET~~

(9)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4MCE/SP5  
ON 3/11/88

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right side of the page.

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL  
MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS  
100-442529

(2) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Secret Service be forwarded to the Liaison Section for transmittal.

*Emil  
Wes*

*d*

*Wes*

*P*

*nm*

*✓*

*GH*

*T*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

Mr. Mohr

DATE: April 8, 1964

C. D. DeLoach

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAN/mca  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
 SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Mr. Baumgardner's memo to Mr. Sullivan 4/2/64 recommended that I  
 briefly brief Senator Saltonstall in accordance with an attached "Top Secret" summary  
 regarding Reverend Martin Luther King's communist connections and make-  
 the purpose of such action was because Reverend King had been

Senator Saltonstall is on the Board of Trustees of Springfield

I called upon Senator Saltonstall at 10:30 a. m., 4/7/64 in his office. At  
 beginning of our conversation I told the Senator that my remarks should be held in the  
 strictest confidence. He agreed to this. I then mentioned that he had long been a  
 member of the FBI's and, therefore, the Director wanted me to brief him concerning a  
 matter of potential embarrassment to a college he obviously was very personally interested  
 in. Senator Saltonstall was told that captioned individual was to

He was advised that King for some time has been maintain-  
 ing close liaison with members of the Communist Party. I told him  
 that King had received guidance and counsel and had relied greatly upon one of these  
 members. I told Senator Saltonstall also that King was known to be

SENSITIVE  
 FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
 OPERATION

100-106670-349  
 11-20-80

Senator Saltonstall told me he was shocked to receive this information. He  
 stated it was hardly believable. He said if it were not for the integrity of the FBI he would  
 not believe such facts. I told him that our information was very obviously truthful and  
 based upon indisputable facts.

Senator Saltonstall told me that while he wanted to respect our confidence,  
 the information placed a great burden upon him. He stated he felt duty bound to tell  
 Dr. Olds. I reminded Senator Saltonstall that I had advised him of the above-  
 mentioned facts in strict confidence. He then inquired if I would speak to Dr. Olds. He  
 described Dr. Olds as a very outstanding individual who could be trusted implicitly.

Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Sullivan

REC-33

~~SECRET~~

Loach to Mohr Memo  
re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

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

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

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

~~SECRET~~

Loach to Mohr Memo  
re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

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

ACTION:

For record purposes.

✓

*NH17*

*From new with  
BAC*

RECEIVED  
SEP 24 1975  
FBI

~~SECRET~~

FROM : Mr. F. J. Gardner  
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

My memorandum to you March 19, 1964, concerning the commu influence in racial matters advised that we had learned that Spring College, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Yale University, New Haven Connecticut, were considering the conferring upon Martin Luther King of honorary degrees in June, 1964, but that to date no definite plan had been perfected relative to either institution. We indicated that we were initiating appropriate checks as to the availability of such established and reliable sources at these institutions which would permit the heading off of the conferring of honorary degrees to King. We indicated an intention to proceed along lines similar to that taken recently which prevented King from getting an honorary degree from Marquette University. The Director noted "OK" relative to these intentions of ours. Instant memorandum recommends that an extremely discreet contact be made with Senator Leverett Saltonstall (Republic Massachusetts) who appears to be in a position to assist the Bureau in the matter relating to Springfield College. A separate memorandum will follow relative to Yale University.

Boston SAC Handley has advised that although the Boston Office files are negative concerning Springfield's President, Dr. Gl Olds, Handley has been able to determine that Olds is very close to Sargent Shriver and Olds spends half of his time in Washington, D. C assisting Shriver in matters relating to the Peace Corps and study on poverty. Bureau files on Olds are favorable; he is a theologian and has visited Russia on one occasion.

Handley suggested Senator Saltonstall as a possible contact as he is a member of the Board of Springfield College. Saltonstall is on the Special Correspondents' List and we have had limited but friendly relations with him for a number of years. He is usually written a congratulatory letter upon his re-elections.

Enclosure

EX-115 100-106670-348 5-7-64

100-106670

REC-33

1 - Bufile 100-3-116 (Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters)

SFP:pwd

(10)

UNCLASSIFIED



RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS:

Because of Olds' close association with Shriver, it would not appear to be prudent to attempt to deal with him. It appears from our study that Senator Saltonstall is the most logical individual to deal with and that if he were personally approached by Assistant Director DeLoach and orally briefed, in the strictest of confidence, concerning King, he would be in a position to take the necessary action to prevent King from receiving an honorary degree from Springfield College.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, DeLoach should personally orally brief Senator Saltonstall in accordance with the attached "Top Secret" summary indicating King's communist connections and degenerate make-up. (This is the same summary we previously used in the Marquette University situation). It should be made clear to Saltonstall that the information is being given him in the strictest of confidence with the thought that he might desire to use it in preventing King from receiving an honorary degree from Springfield College and thus save that institution from embarrassment because of King's connections and character. It should be emphasized to Saltonstall that under no circumstances may this information ever be attributed to the Bureau.

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*  
B  
J.P.  
D.F.  
W.C.F.  
OK  
A  
J.H.W.  
✓

ROUTE IN A BLOPE

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

C-37

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

DATE: 11/12/64

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. E. Eland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

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

W. C. Sullivan

F. J. Baumgardner

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

The Bureau is in receipt of a name check request for security information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., from the Office of Security, Department of State, dated 11/4/64. The reason for the request is indicated [REDACTED]

On 11/10/64 Liaison Agent O. E. Bartlett determined from [REDACTED] State Office of Security, the specific interest of State in King [REDACTED]

Our files, of course, contain considerable information concerning King's communist connections. All but one of our investigative reports have previously been furnished to State, the sole exception being the most recent report dated 5/26/64. It is believed that we should reply to State's request by furnishing the 1/13/64 report and referring State specifically to the prior reports given that Agency. It is also believed that we should alert State concerning King's [REDACTED] and for this purpose we have prepared a "Top Secret" [REDACTED] memorandum containing pertinent information.

3rd Agency

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached letter to State be personally delivered by Liaison to G. Marvin Gentile (former Bureau SA), Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security, under cover of which State will be furnished a copy of the latest report on King and the [REDACTED] memorandum concerning King's [REDACTED] conduct.

100-106670

100-106670-529

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/20/89 BY SPANMONT/3

Top Secret - Restricted - Over - Being Located

# Memorandum

10

1 Belmont  
1 Mohr

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

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/10/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

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

We are recommending dissemination to the White House, Secretary of State Rusk and the Acting Attorney General, information concerning plans which are under way by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates (men with communist backgrounds such as Bayard Rustin) for welcoming-back festivities when King returns to the U. S. from Norway where he is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize 12/10/64.

We have received information from our reliable sensitive sources in New York City regarding recent contacts between King, Rustin, Ralph Bunche of the United Nations (UN) and Harry Wachtel, the latter being another King advisor with a communist background. Such activities are in the planning stage as a fund-raising speech by King at Carnegie Hall; King being received at the UN with the possibility that others present at the UN will include Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Communist Party Soviet Union, and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana; and a possible ticker tape parade. Bunche is being considered as possible chairman of the committee honoring King and contact has already been made with White House aide Lee White to have President Johnson present in New York City although no commitment has yet been made by the White House. Efforts also being made to have King see English Prime Minister Harold Wilson in London and to have an affair in London honoring King which will raise funds for King's work in Mississippi.

Concerning King's possibly meeting Wilson in London, Rustin is scheduled to go to London 11/11/64 to work on this matter.\* A separate memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan was prepared today (11/10/64) concerning the Wilson matter and recommending alerting the British to King's intentions and background.

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

Enc. 4-13-64 CONTINUED - OVER

SFP:jad

*informant* advised Rustin did not depart for London 11/11/64, but has space on 8:30 p.m. flight 11/12/64

REC-30

100-106670-528  
21 NOV 17 1964

70 NOV 23 1964

BY 6076 WAN/mw

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from automatic downgrading and  
Date of review 11/30/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval are letters to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, The White House; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; and the Acting Attorney General, copies to other Department officials. These letters transmit a memorandum containing a summary of pertinent information in this matter. Copies of the letterhead memoranda from which this information was obtained are being separately disseminated to CIA, the military intelligence agencies, and Secret Service.

Q  
W.C.S.  
Q V P

Memorandum

D-24

1 - DeLoach

1 - Wick

DATE: 11/3/66

1 - Sullivan

1 - Baumgardner

1 - D. Wells

Collection \_\_\_\_\_  
Control \_\_\_\_\_  
File \_\_\_\_\_  
Galt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

TO : Mr. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION: INDEFINITE  
11/28/97

**PURPOSE:** To obtain approval to alert friendly members of the news media field of the meeting between Martin Luther King, Jr. President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union.

**BACKGROUND:** You were previously advised that according to ~~source~~ on 10/17/66 Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal adviser to King, was attempting to arrange a meeting between King and Hoffa. Jones informed Hoffa's attorney that King thought Hoffa's union might want to support the civil rights movement to a greater degree because of its 450,000 Negro members. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it.

On October 30, 1966, this same source advised that Hoffa had agreed to meet with King in Hoffa's office in Washington, D. C., on either the second, third, or fourth of November, 1966. This was to be a luncheon meeting. Jones was to advise Hoffa's aide what date was agreeable with King by 10/30/66.

On 10/31/66 ~~source~~ advised that Jones was in contact with the Teamsters Union. Since King was unable to meet on any of the above dates, tentative plans were made to hold the meeting on the ninth or tenth of November, 1966. If these days are not satisfactory, an alternate meeting date was scheduled for one day during the week of November 14, 1966.

The New York Office has been alerted to notify the Bureau immediately when a date and time have been set for this meeting.

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAN

100-106670

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION

11 NOV 22 1966

DMW:deh

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

CONTINUED - OVER

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 RM/LL  
301966

~~SECRET~~

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

OBSERVATIONS: From the above, it is apparent that King is in dire need of funds. Secondly, he dislikes going to Hoffa because of Hoffa's unsavory reputation. King undoubtedly feels that this association might reflect unfavorably upon his public image. On the other hand, it would appear Hoffa might be concerned with the white backlash within his own union ranks should it become known that union funds may be expended to promote Negro objectives. It is therefore felt that both men have just reason for keeping this meeting secret. Any publicity concerning it would probably be extremely embarrassing to both parties.

It would appear that the meeting may be virtually spontaneous and time in this instance could be very critical.

RECOMMENDATION: A Bureau official be designated now to alert friendly news media of the meeting once the meeting date is learned so that arrangements can be made for appropriate press coverage of the planned meeting to expose and disrupt it.

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, 11/3/66, FJB:deh

Special Agent in Charge Donald E. Roney of the New York Office called at 3 p.m., this date. He said that through a reliable source they had learned that Clarence Jones had contacted King today. He told King that arrangements have been made for King to meet with Hoffa in Hoffa's office in Washington, D.C., for a luncheon meeting on November 9, 1966. King agreed and they then discussed the possibility of having Stanley Levison, a long-time communist and now a principal adviser to King, attend the meeting. They thought this was a good idea and would try to work it out.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

**D-22**

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

TO : Mr. Sullivan *[Signature]*

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *[Signature]*

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

DATE: 10/28/66

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

**PURPOSE:** To obtain authorization for the attached article concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.'s contacts with James R. Hoffa to be given to a friendly newspaper contact for publication.

**BACKGROUND:** As you have been advised, *[Name]* stated Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with Paul O'Dwyer, New York City attorney and brother of former New York City Mayor William O'Dwyer. Jones wanted O'Dwyer to arrange a meeting between King and James Hoffa, President, international Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it. If a meeting could be arranged, King, accompanied by Jones, would be willing to meet Hoffa at Hoffa's convenience. O'Dwyer promised to help arrange this meeting. Hoffa's previous record of freewheeling with union funds would indicate a reluctance on his part to pour union funds into the civil rights movement; a move which would accrue no direct benefit to him individually. This appears borne out by his indicated reluctance to meet with King and thereby be confronted with King's version of his (Hoffa's) responsibility to aid the 450,000 Negro members of Hoffa's union by contributing financial and moral support. Disclosure of King's transparent attempt to blackmail Hoffa with the large Negro membership of Hoffa's union, to solve the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's financial problems, would cause an uproar among leaders of organizations having large Negro memberships; pointing out their own vulnerability to such a squeeze by any unscrupulous civil rights leader. This potential collusion between large labor unions and the civil rights movement could also react to the detriment of the Negro in that through large financial donations, an unscrupulous labor leader could subvert the legitimate aims and objectives of the civil rights movement to his own purposes.

Enclosure  
100-106670  
RLS:deh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-17-81 BY SP4 JRM/ML

This document is prepared in response to your request for information by the subcommittee on the activities of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Its contents are limited to those disclosed to the subcommittee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

UNCLASSIFIED

106670

CONTINUED - OVER

12 NOV 22 1966

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

Public disclosure of King's intentions in this instance appears timely, in that it points out Hoffa's susceptibility to King's plot and the intention of King to virtually engage in extortion to obtain needed funds. Disclosure would be mutually embarrassing to both men and probably cause King's quest for badly needed funds to fail in this instance.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and the attached article be referred to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling. The article is on plain unwatermarked bond paper.

*11-7-bb*  
*fi*

*wings*

*Wings*

*OK*  
*X*

*V*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SENT

# Memorandum

**D-26**

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	
Holmes	
Gandy	

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11/9/66

FROM : R. E. Wick

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

*2/3/86* *Springer*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
PROPOSED MEETING WITH  
JAMES R. HOFFA, 11/9/66

*Slush*  
*Quartz*  
*DH*

It was previously recommended and approved that Crime Records alert friendly news media regarding a proposed meeting between King and Hoffa 11/9/66.

Through a reliable source we learned late last night that in view of publicity in the New York Daily News regarding this proposed meeting, King and his aides had decided that it would be unwise to meet with Hoffa. It was further ascertained that King was still due to arrive in Washington at 11:30 AM this morning, it being noted that he had a speech scheduled at Howard University this evening.

We alerted Julian Morrison, a very friendly reporter with the Washington News, and Sid Epstein of The Star regarding King's arrival time in Washington. The reporters cornered King as he came off the plane and quizzed him about the meeting with Hoffa. King at first told the reporters that the meeting had been cancelled and he seemed to be flustered at the reporters' appearance. He then ducked into a mens' room at the airport with his aides and upon emerging told the reporters that there had been discussion regarding his meeting Hoffa but that he had no further comment at this time, and he had decided to hold a press conference later on this afternoon at the Statler Hotel. King then left the airport with Clarence Jones who had come down earlier from New York, and with an attorney with Jones by the name of Philip Sipsor, who identified himself as a labor lawyer.

Morrison advised at 3:15 PM this afternoon that he had finally gotten through to King's party at the Statler and had talked to King's aide Reverend Andrew Young. Young at this time informed Morrison that the meeting between King and Hoffa was off and he claimed that the meeting had been cancelled last night.

Enclosure  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

**UNCLASSIFIED**

NOV 17 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

...proceedings by ...orized person...  
...your Committee. Its use is limited to ...  
...Committee and the content may not be disclosed ...  
...without the express approval of the FBI.

Wick to DeLoach

Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Security Matter - C

Proposed Meeting with James R. Hoffa 11/9/66

Morrison pressed him for details and Young said that the proposed purpose of this meeting had been "misinterpreted." He said King had wanted to have an off-the-record discussion with Hoffa regarding the problems of the Negroes in the Teamsters and Young claimed that King's outfit had worked closely with the Teamsters in Atlanta and Chicago and they felt it was time for them to meet the Teamster head. Young said it was difficult for King to have a private conversation with anyone in view of his prominence and reiterated that the whole matter had been "misinterpreted and distorted." Reporter Morrison continued to press Young and Young finally acknowledged that King might try to have a meeting with Hoffa at some other time.

Morrison advises that The News will carry a picture tomorrow of King arriving in town, together with the information set out above. The Star is also going to report this meeting.

It is felt that our counterintelligence aim to thwart King in receiving money from the Teamsters has been quite successful to date.

The above is for your information, and certainly highlights the excellent results which have been achieved through close cooperation between the Domestic Intelligence Division and Sales Records. We have just received a copy of the late edition of today's Star which carries the story by Ronald Sarff, captioned "King Denies Going to Hoffa for Funds."

V.  
K.  
W.  
excellent.  
K.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*Sec. 6*  
*King Security*

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 27, 1966

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

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

~~Enclosed is an article which we have prepared concerning Martin Luther King. It is based entirely on public source information and we are recommending that it be referred to the Crime Records Division with the idea that it can be given to a friendly newspaper contact such as David Lawrence, who is Editor of the U. S. News and World Report.~~

The article was prepared because the cry of "black power" is a most timely issue in the country today. This issue has split the civil rights movement and has caused civil rights leaders to take sides for and against "black power." However, Martin Luther King has been attempting to straddle the issue, based on advice given him by his advisors with communist backgrounds. The attached article indicts King for his failure to take a stand on the issue and at the same time exposes the degree of communist influence on him.

It is felt the public should again be reminded of this communist influence on King, and the current controversy among civil rights leaders makes this timely to do so.

The attached article has been prepared with no letterhead relating it to the FBI and is on unwatermarked bond paper.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-38 100-106670-2760

That this memorandum and the attached article be referred to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling.

Enclosure

CDB/pcn  
(6)

NOV 15 1966

NOV 18 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/19/86 BY SP-10/MS/ML

ENCLOSURE

U.S. News and World Report  
of this notice. Suspect  
copying news - [unclear]

Is the civil rights movement dead? Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), says it is. He reportedly commented to that effect during a panel discussion on October 25, 1966, at a Philadelphia conference of radio-television broadcasters sponsored by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Association. In addition, McKissick is quoted as having added that "what we have now is a black revolution, for black people to take what they can for themselves."

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY *Sprmax MPR* ON *2/2/86*

If the movement is dead, as McKissick asserts, he is one of the individuals most responsible for its demise. McKissick has loudly echoed the "black power" cries of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and it has been their demands for revolutionary action which stopped the civil rights movement in its tracks.

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 LMM/mae  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

In so doing, they have brought to a halt ten years of concentrated effort on the part of moderate Negroes and whites who support the movement. When the movement began, it seemed to signify the end of an era of disenchantment and disillusionment for Negroes throughout the land and the beginning of a period in which true justice and equality for all would be established in fact as well as in name.

Thanks to the McKissicks and the Carmichaels, progress toward that goal has stopped and the big question today is whether the movement is "dead as a doornail" as McKissick claims or whether the setback is temporary in nature.

Classified by *6076 LMM/mae*  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite *11/21/87*

on \_\_\_\_\_  
 to \_\_\_\_\_  
 by \_\_\_\_\_  
 for \_\_\_\_\_  
 in \_\_\_\_\_  
 Room \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

CDS: deh

SEE NOTE PAGE SEVEN

~~SECRET~~  
 ENCLOSURE  
 (4)

✓  
*ds*  
*W*  
*W*

Responsible civil rights leaders have been appalled at the harm done by the cries of "black power." In addition, they have taken a strong stand in an effort to fight the wrong. Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney M. Young, Jr., joined forces and issued a public statement in which they clearly and unequivocally denounced "black power" and its inherent danger to both the Negro and the Nation.

Unfortunately, their courageous action was undermined by the one man in the civil rights movement who holds in his hands the power to silence the rabble rousers and give the movement renewed momentum. That man, of course is Martin Luther King, Jr., whose activities have invested him with the mantle of leadership in the movement since it began in Montgomery in 1955.

At first it appeared King had wholeheartedly joined with Wilkins, Randolph and Young in their renunciation of "black power." He reportedly endorsed their statement which appeared in "The New York Times" on October 14, 1966. For the first time in many months, millions had reason to believe and hope that the civil rights movement had rid itself of a cancerous growth and would resume its progress with renewed health and vigor.

Much to the amazement and dismay of many, King killed this hope almost immediately. Within three days after the statement appeared denouncing "black power," "The New York Times" reported that King had "clarified" his position concerning it. Reportedly, he agreed with it in essence but did not wish to be included as a signer.

King's palliating and ambiguous position on the issue is difficult to understand or justify. Those who cry "black power" have continually claimed it has been misunderstood and misdefined. But the record is clear that it stands for open advocacy of violence, insistence on an all-Negro organizational structure in civil rights groups, and reverse racism.

It is equally clear that these things are direct contradictions of the principles underlying the legitimate civil rights movement: a nonviolent approach, combined Negro-white action, and the elimination of racism.

The great American tragedy of our time would be the failure of Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet the current challenge which "black power" represents to the civil rights movement. His failure to do so would mean that for some reason King is willing to let the legitimate civil rights movement die. This, in turn, would seem to indicate that King's goal is different than that of Wilkins, Randolph and Young.

It appears that King's decision to straddle the fence on the issue of "black power" was a carefully calculated one. "The Atlanta Journal" of October 13, 1966, reported that King, as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was having an important meeting with his advisors. Undoubtedly the move Wilkins, Randolph and Young proposed to make through the issuance of public statement was known to King and he was seeking advice on what his stand should be.

It may have been that King's advisors deemed it best for him to avoid condemning anyone. Or, they may have felt that with the battle lines drawn between McKissick and Carmichael on the one hand and Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the other, everyone would suffer and only King would stand to benefit and would be left the unchallenged leader. Or, they may have had still other interests in mind.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the newspaper article identified King's advisors as Bayard Rustin, Clarence Jones, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel.

If these individuals constitute Martin Luther King, Jr.'s brain trust, the civil rights movement may well be dead and King's supporters and followers, both Negro and white, may well rue the circumstances of fate that led them to bank so much on one man.

The backgrounds of Rustin, Jones, Levison and Wachtel raise serious questions regarding their degree of influence over Martin Luther King, Jr. The Congressional Record of August 13, 1963, for example, indicated that Rustin is a past member of the Communist Youth League and attended the national convention of the Communist Party as an observer in 1957.

In addition, Rustin reportedly traveled to Russia in 1958 to participate in a communist propaganda spectacular called "Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons."

Upon his return, he played a key role as an organizer of a student march on Washington which the east coast communist newspaper, "The Worker," hailed as a communist project.

There is no doubt that King has relied heavily on Rustin for guidance for a long time. In fact, Rustin reportedly was King's part-time aide for a five-year period from 1955 to 1960.

There are reports that Stanley Levison also has acted as a counselor to King for a long period of time.

As a matter of fact, he once held a position as a vice president in the SCLC. The Congressional Record of July 21, 1966, indicated Levison [REDACTED] member of the Communist Party as late as 1963. SFIO

It also indicated that Clarence Jones is an attorney who, during the 1950s, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, which has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization under Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel reportedly is a New York attorney, like Stanley Levison; and has become active in King's behalf through his acquaintance with Levison.

The spectre of communist influence on King is not a new development. The nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Alsop referred to it in April, 1964, in a column concerning King's employment in the SCLC of an individual named Jack O'Dell. Alsop stated that King had been warned by Government officials that O'Dell was a "genuine communist article," and warned too that an even more important associate



of his was "known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party."

Such associations and, more particularly, guidance from such individuals could well explain King's failure to take a strong stand in opposition to McKissick and Carraichael. They have been exhorting their followers not to support the Administration's action in Vietnam, to refuse serving if drafted, and to tear apart our cities with violent acts of civil disobedience. These demands well serve communist aims to bring about a communist victory in Vietnam and to divide the masses along class lines to foment disorder in the streets.

Such guidance would help to explain also why King split with men like Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the issue of whether civil rights leaders should be speaking out on matters of foreign policy or whether their role should be confined to civil rights matters. It will be recalled that King attempted to project his views to criticisms of fighting in Vietnam but the responsible civil rights leaders took a stand in opposition to him.

It would appear that King's advisors have a broader goal than the civil rights movement in this country. There is talk that King will travel extensively abroad to areas such as Latin America to speak out in behalf of the poor, Negro and white alike, in underdeveloped countries.

Perhaps being the recognized leader of 22 million Negroes in this country is not enough. If the image of him can be projected as the "savior" of the downtrodden throughout the world, his prestige and influence will grow to a degree which will enable him to dictate demands in a voice that will ring loud and clear through the halls of Congress and in the White House. Much would depend on the backgrounds of his advisors and the nature of the demands they would be whispering in his ear.

Should that come about, the religious groups, foundations and others who have contributed millions to support King and his activities could find that their generous support had spawned a monster seeking to devour them.

The saddest part of it all is that the American Negro may well be left in the lurch with his dreams of true equality and justice in a united country free of prejudice and bigotry shattered.

To repeat, Martin Luther King, Jr., could be the great American tragedy of our times.

NOTE: See memorandum captioned MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., SECURITY MATTER - C dated 10/27/66, CDB/pcn.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

D-30

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Wick  
DATE: 10/24/66

Administrative routing table with various checkboxes and initials.

TO : Mr. Sullivan  
FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Sullivan  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - D. Wells

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

CLASSIFIED BY 6090 [initials]  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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

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

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

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

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

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WANT/mmc  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
CONTINUED OVER

100-106670

DWJ: dch

SECRET

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not to be disseminated outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official purposes and is not to be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

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

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

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

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

*I doubt this will accomplish anything.*

I doubt this will accomplish anything. D.

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

*I Agree*  
*11/15* V.  
I agree.  
D.

*Will be contacted*

*agree*  
*11/25*

Memorandum

D-31

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

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 10/25/66

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Wick

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING;  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

POSSIBLE GRANT OF \$3,000,000 FROM FORD FOUNDATION  
CONTACT WITH JOHN BUGAS, VICE PRESIDENT,  
FORD MOTOR COMPANY

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

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

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

UNCLASSIFIED

100-106610-2754

CDD:CSH (4)

CONTINUED OVER

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

Mr. Tolson

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

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

**ACTION:**

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

*also. We would not meet  
where with Bundy.*

*Handled  
11/2/64*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*C-38*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Sullivan	_____
Bland	_____
Baumgardner	_____
Phillips	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 11, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

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

OBSERVATIONS:

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

ACTION:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

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

**CONFIDENTIAL**

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE TWO.

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

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

*B. W. G. H. A. M. J. V.*

9/12/64  
 Cuddeback, DeLoach, Sue Thompson about  
 he is on vacation and not in city until  
 9/28/64. (Cuddeback in Spearman + President  
 Carter Publishing Co.)

9/22/64  
 Spoke with Cuddeback. He will check out  
 and all info known just as soon as possible.



W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9-17-64

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-80 BY SP-6/BJM

CDB:skw  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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REC-35

100-106670-479

ENCLOSURE

64 OCT 13 1964 33

UNCLASSIFIED

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*J. G. W. V.*

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 1/19/68

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Bowers

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Appointment with  
Senator Robert C. Byrd (D.-W.Va.)  
1/19/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/18/86 BY SP-6/BJM

At his request I met with Senator Byrd in his office at 11 a.m. today. Also present was Mr. Barksdale, Senator Byrd's staff member on research and speech writing.

Senator Byrd outlined to me his responsibilities in the supervision of the District of Columbia Government. He told me he was extremely concerned over the pronouncements made recently by Martin Luther King that massive civil disobedience would be staged in the nation's capital this summer. The Senator indicated it was time that King "met his Waterloo" and that he felt this summer would do the trick. He stated this, of course, depended upon whether or not the President would allow sufficient force to "knock King down."

Senator Byrd asked me if the FBI could prepare a speech for him on the subject of King which he could give on the Senate floor next week. He stated thereafter he would like to be kept up to date on the activities of King so that further speeches could be made. He reminded me that he was a great supporter of Mr. Hoover and the FBI. He reiterated his responsibilities in connection with the D.C. Government and told me that, while other senators and congressmen were aiding and abetting the alleged civil rights cause, he had constantly sounded forth a warning as to the attachments to subversive causes which many so-called civil rights leaders had.

I told Senator Byrd and Mr. Barksdale that, while we appreciated his great interest, the pressure of work would prevent us from being of assistance and we, therefore, could not prepare the speech he had in mind. I stated if any items of a public source nature came to our attention which we felt would be of interest to the Senator, we could, of course, refer him to the appropriate source which contained these items.

CD:CSH (6)

100-706670

CONTINUED-----OVER

NOT RECORDED

167 MAY 15 1968

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COPIES MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/18/86 BY SP-6/BJM

Mr. Tolson

Using generalities, I briefed the Senator and Mr. Barksdale, in a very few moments, about the swing to the left of various alleged civil rights organizations such as SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I told them that the Director had pointed this out on many occasions and that the Director clearly felt that the more these groups needed money and publicity, the further left they would swing in order to gain such objectives.

I told the Senator and Mr. Barksdale they should feel free to call us at any time; however, we of course were restricted in what we could furnish them. The Senator expressed appreciation and asked that his best regards be extended to the Director.

Mr. Barksdale is a former editor of a newspaper in West Virginia. He deplored the attacks upon the Director and the FBI by the Charleston, West Virginia Gazette, and stated this paper makes little impression upon the people of West Virginia.

**ACTION:**

For record purposes.

*[Handwritten initials]*

Sect. 7  
Ki Security

~~SECRET~~

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 14, 1967

Case	_____
Priority	_____
Subject	_____
Level	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

FROM : C. D. Brennan

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

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

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAN/mae  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2, 3  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
 11/2/78

PURPOSE

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

BACKGROUND

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

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4RMA/mae

EX-112

REC-4100-106670-289

ON 1-21-81

3/2/76 Spina/mae

CDB/pcn

(5)

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED -- OVER

14 APR 20 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED?

~~SECRET~~

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

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

### OBSERVATION

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

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

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

CONTINUED -- OVER

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION

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

W.C.S.

ADDENDUM: 4/14/67 - WCS:chs:

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

Mr. Malone, New York, should handle -

ms.  
4-17

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Loach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/30/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

- 1 - G. C. Moore (Attn: T. Rushing)
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - W. J. McDonnell

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/19/86 BY SP3mac/prg

By memorandum in captioned matter dated 10/17/67 (attached), our Atlanta Office advised of information received from a confidential source 10/16/67 to the effect that the Department of Labor was negotiating a contract with Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the amount of \$67,000 to train Negroes in the Atlanta, Georgia, area for employment. The Director approved the furnishing of such information to the Secretary of Labor together with a copy of the "Top Secret" document entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters--A Current Analysis" dated 4/10/67, the latter for the Secretary's confidential information. This document set forth in detail the extent of communist influence within the SCLC and King's involvement with such elements and his unsavory moral background.

Mr. James J. Reynolds, Undersecretary of Labor, was contacted by Liaison 10/23/67 and furnished a copy of the Atlanta memorandum mentioned above together with the "Top Secret" document. Reynolds was asked whether or not Labor was, in fact, negotiating such a contract with the SCLC and he responded that he would immediately look into this and advise the Bureau.

Mr. Reynolds recontacted Liaison <sup>DEC 30</sup> 10/25/67 at which time he advised that the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, had, in fact, recently negotiated a contract with the SCLC in the amount of \$61,000 such contract to provide for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. Reynolds explained that while this contract was between the Community Action Group and SCLC, it had, in fact, been approved by the Labor Department. The amount of the grant was \$61,000, \$13,000 of which would go to the SCLC for administering the program and \$48,000 to the grocers for on-the-job training. Reynolds stated that King had set up the program by contacting grocers and getting assurance that they would set aside 15% of the employment openings for on-the-job training of Negro youths.

79 NOV 21 1967

Enclosure WJM:kw (6)

100-438794

UNCLASSIFIED

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Reynolds advised that upon receipt of the information provided by the Bureau and ascertaining that such a contract was in effect, he immediately conferred with Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. Both agreed that there was no way at this time that the contract could be gracefully canceled without causing severe and embarrassing repercussions. He stated, however, that in view of the information received, both he and the Secretary are in agreement that steps will be taken to insure that no further contracts will be awarded to King's group.

Reynolds stated that both he and the Secretary appreciated very much the Director's bringing this information to their attention. Reynolds stated that he had heard of King's immorality and sex escapades but did not realize the extent to which he was under communist influence. He conjectured that this possibly explains King's recent anti-Vietnam campaign. He remarked that he had considered King an opportunist motivated by financial considerations but now he could only conclude that communist elements were, to a large extent, "calling the shots" for King.

The sensitive nature of the information furnished was emphasized with Mr. Reynolds.

ACTION:

For information.

*P* *WCS* *4/1*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

823

# Memorandum

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

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

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/1/65

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

100-106670-797  
Sullivan  
Spencer  
Sprengle

CONTINUED

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

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

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

100-106670

SFP:jad  
(9)

CONTINUED - OVER

UNCLASSIFIED

100-106670-797

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

*Handwritten scribble*

*Handwritten scribble*

*Handwritten scribbles*

*I see no need  
to further  
explore and  
speculate.*

*Handwritten scribbles*

*↑  
concern  
of*

823-793

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/1/65

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

*Reference*  
*5-17-65*

Martin Luther King, Jr., is ~~is~~ the leading figure in the civil rights movement in this country today. He is of vital interest to us because of the communist influences upon him. His actions and expressions (both private and public) are of importance in several different areas of the Bureau's operations such as relating to the communist influences in racial matters, racial matters generally, civil rights matters, and the like. Because of King's position, we must be, in many respects, extremely guarded in our efforts to gain information concerning King's activities. King frequently travels about the country and speaks to public gatherings. He often times discusses the future plans of himself and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It is well, therefore, to avail ourselves of the coverage which may be given King through a review of news media, sources and through contact with established reliable sources.

We recently received information divulging a series of King's appointments for the period 1/20/65 through 6/19/65. These include many public gatherings such as at universities and colleges, churches, and the like. We are, therefore, recommending a letter to the appropriate offices instructing that they report information available from news media and established sources concerning King's appearances in their respective territories. By receiving letterhead memoranda with such information, we are also able to make prompt dissemination to such interested other agencies as the Department and the military intelligence.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-9 100-106670-793

Attached for approval is a letter to the appropriate offices covering the territories in which King is scheduled to travel.

Enclosure

100-106670

SFP:jad  
(7)

11 FEB 5 1965

INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*King Security*

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 21, 1965

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

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

This morning Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, and a long-time admirer of the Director, dropped by the office to discuss with me Martin Luther King, Jr. ~~With Bureau approval, I gave McGill some of the past reports concerning King's connections with Communism and his immoral behavior.~~

McGill told me that on being advised of the facts concerning King, he has remained completely silent. As a result, he is being questioned by associates in Atlanta, Georgia, as to why he is not speaking out in favor of King and why he is not taking an active part in the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. McGill said that he would never disclose a confidence and, therefore, his only reply is that he no longer is an admirer of Martin Luther King. Further, he has talked with some other men who have told him of their knowledge of King's immorality and their concern about it. In view of this, he is free to speak a little bit more in detail and says he has done so for it can be attributed to the men with whom he has spoken.

McGill said that these men are Adlai Stevenson, Ralph Bunche, and Harry Ashmore of the "Arkansas Gazette." He told me that Adlai Stevenson advised him without being questioned about King that he is aware of King's immoral activities. Stevenson told McGill that he considers King to be a "very dangerous man" to the civil rights movement and that something should be done about it. Ralph Bunche told McGill that he has never been an admirer of King's although he thinks King has done some good things; that a few months ago he began hearing very disturbing stories about King's immoral behavior. Bunche believes that King should be maneuvered out of the civil rights field or else he will do it serious damage. Mr. Ashmore, likewise, informed McGill that he had heard some time ago about King's incredibly immoral activities. Ashmore is very disturbed over it and wishes something could be done but he has no specific course to recommend.

Mr. McGill told me that following my first discussion with him a few weeks ago he contacted a banker friend in Atlanta who was helping to finance the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. The banker was disturbed and said he would contact some other bankers also

closure sent 1-22-65

CS:lml; (7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

FEB 4 1965

100-106670-781

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
FEB 12 1965  
FBI - ATLANTA

REC-12  
2/12/65

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

involved and see if support could be quietly withdrawn. McGill's friend and some of the bankers did take steps to withdraw but this was very quickly relayed to bankers in Haiti who were on the threshold of an important financial deal with the Atlanta, Georgia, bankers. They took the position that if the Atlanta bankers did not support the Martin Luther King party, their financial deal with these Georgia bankers was off. As McGill said to me, the almighty dollar is still extremely important and especially so with bankers, and as a result they got cold feet and decided to go ahead with financing King's party.

McGill told me that Archbishop Hallinan, Catholic leader in Georgia, an Episcopal clergyman and a Jewish rabbi are also quite active in support of this party for King. He said that he is certain that not one of these three is aware of King's immoral behavior. I told him that in view of what Stevenson, Bunche, and Ashmore had told him, he might want to explore very confidentially and discreetly the subject matter with these three men. He said he would do this.

McGill told me that he thinks it is too late now, especially in view of the financial interest of the Georgia bankers in the Haiti deal, to prevent the banquet from taking place. However, McGill said he would do what he could to encourage key people to limit their praise and support of King as much as possible.

McGill also told me that he is taking steps through Ralph Bunche to get key Negro leaders to unite in opposition to King and to gradually force him out of the civil rights movement if at all possible.

Mr. McGill said that he would like to have President Johnson know three things-- (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that the banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta but that it has gone so far that it is probably not possible to head it off; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed and this will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, McGill and others are so interested and have worked so hard for, and likewise, it will do injury to different citizens of the country who have been supporting King not knowing that he is of such low moral character.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Mr. McGill said that if he had had time to see President Johnson before leaving Washington, he would have told him these three things, but that he wanted the Director to know that he is free to quote him on these three points to the President and free to put all three things in any communication that goes to the White House from the Bureau.

It is very refreshing to meet a man of McGill's stature in the field of journalism who is so sincere and honest and desirous of doing the right thing. He is a very admirable man. Repeatedly, Mr. McGill told me that he will continue to stay with this problem and to think about it, hoping that he will devise some plan or course of action that will help to take King out of public life. McGill told me in a visibly disturbed manner that this problem centering around King has caused him to wake up at night from time to time and he is very upset over it. McGill explained that while he has never been close to King or an active supporter thereof, he has been completely identified and very active in furthering civil rights and better conditions for the Negroes. He thinks that King's behavior now known to him when publicly exposed will do irreparable damage to such social causes that he and others have been sponsoring throughout a lifetime.

RECOMMENDATION:

Enclosed will be found a letter to the White House setting forth McGill's discussion for approval and forwarding. Inasmuch as McGill mentioned only the President's getting this information, we do not contemplate any further dissemination.

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of  
P

o

WEX

D-19

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

January 22, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - F. J. Esangardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

*Springer, 2/1/65*  
*1/21/65*  
*1/21/65*

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

100-106670-756

Dear Mr. Moyers:

On January 21, 1965, Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, asked a representative of this Bureau to communicate the following information to the President. Mr. McGill, who expressed great admiration for the President, advised that in the recent past he has learned from several sources about the incredibly immoral activities of Martin Luther King, Jr. Mr. McGill explained that he was shocked to learn of this and immediately realized that serious consequences King's misbehavior could have for the civil rights movement in which Mr. McGill has been actively interested for years.

REC'D-READING ROOM

Jan 27 11 20 AM '65

Mr. McGill made three points: (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of King, and of King's deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that a banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta, but that arrangements have now reached the point it is probably not possible to prevent the banquet; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed. Mr. McGill believes that an exposure of King will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, Mr. McGill, and others are so interested and have worked so hard for; and likewise it will do injury to countless citizens of the country who have been supporting King, not knowing of King's strange behavior.

3

WCS/STP:jad  
 (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.



Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Mr. McGill told this Bureau's representative that if it had not been necessary for him to leave Washington, D. C., immediately, he would have liked to convey this message to the President in person. However, in view of the necessity for his heavy departure, he asked that his views be transmitted to the President by the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See cover memorandum Mr. W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont, dated 1/21/55, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - Communist," prepared by WCE:ml.

RECEIVED  
FEB 2 1955

FEB 2 1955

101

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

(B-47)

# Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 15, 1966

C. D. Brennan

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 JRM/KR*

ON 10/28/81 ro

(S) [unclear] 3/1/86

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 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, 553 Johnson Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on November 8, 1963, and discontinued on April 30, 1965, when King moved from this address. It was not reinstated on his new residence.

100-106670-2820

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, 1965, when Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach ordered it discontinued since he thought it might be prejudicial to the possible prosecution of Rosa Williams, a Southern Christian Leadership Conference official, under Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles Statutes.

EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

100-106670

DMW:jmw

(7) 1967

SENT DIRECTOR

~~SECRET~~

CONTINUED - OVER

JUNE MAIL  
6 JAN 23 1967

2820

~~SECRET~~

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

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.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

U

U. S. STATES GOV.

Memoranda

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAH/...  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/7/77

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 22, 1962

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. McGowan
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Harrington
- 1-Mr. Rampton

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

U

CLASSIFIED BY 6080 J...  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/18/84

B O

Correspondence received from the Atlanta and New York Offices relating to the activities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has indicated the Communist Party (CP) has been attempting to exert influence on Dr. Martin Luther King, the southern integrationist leader and through him the SCLC. Dr. King is the President of SCLC which is actively engaged in the integration movement in the South. Stanley David on the CP, and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a member of National Committee of the CP, are influential with Dr. King. Both have been identified in the past as officers of SCLC.

SENSITIVE Foreign Intelligence Operations

The New York and Atlanta Offices were instructed to make a complete review of all available information concerning CP interest in the SCLC and to furnish the Bureau recommendations concerning a communist infiltration investigation of this organization. Both offices have recommended a communist infiltration investigation of SCLC due to the dominant CP influence on the executives of the New York Chapter of SCLC and the fact that four CP members are presently associated with SCLC and that at least one of these members is an officer in the organization.

It is believed a communist infiltration investigation of SCLC is warranted to determine the CP influence in that organization.

RECOMMENDATION:

CLASSIFIED BY 6080 J...  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/7/77

That the attached letter to Atlanta with copies to pertinent field offices authorizing a communist infiltration investigation of SCLC be approved. The field is being cautioned that this investigation must be limited to and directed toward determining the extent of communist infiltration of the SCLC and any information developed concerning the integration or racial activities of SCLC must be reported under the racial matter classification.

This document is prepared in response to a request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use in official proceedings by any Committee and the courts may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI 2A 1962

~~SECRET~~

100-438794

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

SAC, Atlanta (100-5713)

October 23, 1962

Director, FBI (100-438794) - 9

- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Harrington
- 1 - Mr. Rampton

**COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(OO: ATLANTA)**

DECLASSIFIED BY 8972 TDK/TK  
ON 5/15/84  
9/3/86 Sp99mme

Re ATlet 10/11/62 and NYlet 8/21/62. No copies of the last named letter were sent to New Orleans, Mobile or Savannah.

Based upon the information furnished in relets, Atlanta and New York are authorized to conduct a communist infiltration investigation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Also, New Orleans is authorized to determine whether the SCLC has established a branch in the New Orleans territory and whether Communist Party (CP) members forced it or are infiltrating it. New Orleans should contact appropriate sources and furnish the Bureau and Atlanta a resume of information developed and include recommendations concerning a communist infiltration investigation in New Orleans territory in accordance with the instructions contained in Section 873 of the Manual of Instructions.

Atlanta and New York should be guided by the instructions in the above-cited section of the Manual in conducting this investigation. New York and Atlanta should promptly prepare a report to reach the Bureau not later than 45 days from the date of receipt of this letter. Atlanta, as office of origin, need not incorporate in its report information developed by the New York office inasmuch as New York will be submitting reports concerning the New York chapter and any ramifications developed concerning the national organization. New York should include in its report, under appropriate topical heading, all information developed relating to the New York chapter and, where appropriate, include a separate section concerning any references to the activities of the national organization. Atlanta will report all information concerning the organization which it develops within its territory using appropriate headings.

- 2 - New York (100-142194)
- 2 - New Orleans
- 1 - Mobile
- 1 - Savannah (100-5027)
- 1 - 100-3-796 (COMMFIL Mass Organizations)

*McGowan*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

This document contains information which is classified as CONFIDENTIAL and its disclosure to unauthorized persons is prohibited.

~~SECRET~~

Letter to Atlanta  
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
100-435794

All offices are cautioned that any information developed concerning the SCLC relating to racial matters must be reported under the racial matters caption. It should be noted that the Bureau maintains a separate file on SCLC relating to racial incidents (157-652). All investigation under the caption of this letter must be limited to and directed toward determining the extent of communist infiltration of the SCLC.

NOTE ON VELLET:

CLASSIFIED BY 6090 *ed/ RJA*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
*11/7/77*

Review of correspondence received at the Bureau under various captions relating to the activities of SCLC and its leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., indicated the CP has been attempting to exert influence on King and through him the SCLC. New York and Atlanta were instructed to make a complete review of all information concerning this matter and to furnish to the Bureau recommendations concerning a communist infiltration investigation. ReNYlet recommended a COMINFIL investigation of the New York chapter due to the dominant CP influence on the executives of the New York chapter of the SCLC. ReAtlet also recommended a COMINFIL investigation of SCLC due to the fact that four CP members are presently associated with SCLC and that at least one of these members is an officer of SCLC and close to King. (S) u

It is believed a communist infiltration investigation is warranted. See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated October 22, 1962; RJR:ceb.

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY *6076 WAN/mmc*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
*11/7/77*

*det. Sec 1*

EXEMPT FROM

SEC 3.3(S)

~~SECRET~~

DOJ

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAM/jm  
EXEMPT FROM GCS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/7/78

~~SECRET~~

July 20, 1962

SAC, Atlanta

Director, FBI

(100-new)

- 1 - Mr. Kitchens
- 1 - Mr. Harrington
- 1 - Mr. Rampton

100's RYDICA  
6-12-88  
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

(OO: ATLANTA)

CLASSIFIED BY 6080 elc  
EXEMPT FROM GCS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Prior correspondence received from Atlanta and New York indicates Stanley David Levison, the Communist Party (CP), and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who has had prior connections with CP, are influential with Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

It is noted O'Dell is employed by SCLC and is in charge of the New York office of this organization. Early this year the New York Office furnished information the New York Friends of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (NYF, SCLC) had been organized by CP members; however, this organization ceased activity on 2-22-62 and the matter was closed subject to reopening and reporting in the event additional information was developed concerning its continued existence. This latter organization was organized to give some financial support to the SCLC.

Atlanta and New York are instructed to review files, contact sources and determine whether the CP is exerting any influence on the SCLC through Levison and O'Dell or others and/or whether the Party is making any attempts to infiltrate this organization. The Bureau should be furnished a comprehensive summary of the information available to each office concerning all

- 1 - Atlanta (100-5718) (SCLC, RM)
- 3 - New York (1 - 100-147322) (NYF, SCLC)

- 1 - 100-437326 (NY, SCLC)
  - 1 - 100-437326 (SCLC, RM)
- RJK:blw (12) 1/7-...

REC 437714-1  
16 JUL 23 1962

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination to the public. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee. It is not to be disclosed to any person and the contents are not to be discussed with any person.

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP

JUL 30 1962  
COMM-FBI

Letter to Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Individuals connected with the CP who are influential in or have a position in the SCLC. Sources who have previously furnished information concerning the influence of Levison and O'Dell on King and "King's group" should be recontacted, where appropriate, to pin down whether such influence is exerted on King, the SCLC or the individuals working with King on the integrationist movement. The extent and place of this influence should be clearly shown for purposes of evaluating whether a communist infiltration investigation should be conducted on the SCLC. (S) W

New York should furnish the Bureau and Atlanta its observations and analysis of the information it has developed to assist Atlanta in making its recommendations. Atlanta, upon receipt of New York's reply, should furnish the Bureau the results of its review and its recommendations as to whether a communist infiltration investigation is warranted in accordance with the instructions contained in Section 87 E of the Manual of Instructions. No investigation of this nature should be conducted, however, without Bureau authority.

The Bureau has opened a separate file on this matter and correspondence relating to the communist infiltration of SCLC should be directed to this file rather than the Racial Matters file (100-427079)-157-652

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Levison has been identified as Associate Director of SCLC and ~~was identified as~~ the CP. O'Dell is being considered for a position as administrative assistant to King and is employed by the SCLC, in charge of the New York office. O'Dell has been identified as a CP member in the past and [was elected under a pseudonym to the National Committee of the CPUSA at the] (S)

(NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3)



~~SECRET~~

Letter to Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

[17th National Convention of the CP in December, 1959. In May, 1960, INFLUENCE] reported that CP policy then was to concentrate on Martin Luther King and the CP felt it was to the Party's advantage to assign outstanding Party members to work with the Martin Luther King group. [§] As late as 11-21-61 the Atlanta Office has advised no information has been developed on which to base a security inquiry on SCLC. In view of the continued activity of Levison and O'Dell and the fact they exert influence on King it is deemed advisable to again ask for a review of the appropriate field office files to determine if any CP direction and infiltration of the SCLC has developed. (S)u

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718) (C)

Date: 11/21/61

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Memphis airtel to Bureau, 9/26/61.

~~INFORMANT~~ CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES

who has furnished reliable information in the past, ~~all sources of information of the Atlanta Office, have no information regarding the SCLC Annual Convention in Nashville, Tenn., held September, 1961.~~

New York letter to the Bureau, 9/27/61, entitled "CP - USA, SOUTHERN REGION, IS - C" states that ~~stated on 9/24/61 that GEORGE MEYERS, self-admitted head of the CP - Southern Region, said he has had nothing to do with the MARTIN LUTHER KING organization~~

Individual Racial Matters where the SCLC may be involved are opened if warranted under separate case captions. There is ~~no information on which to base a Security Matter inquiry or racial matters investigation of the SCLC at this time.~~

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAH/brw  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE 11/7/78

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAH/brw  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE 11/7/78

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (info) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (info) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Knoxville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (info) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (info) (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (info) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (info) (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (info) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (info) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) 11/7/78 JLS.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2/ADK/OK  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

REC-75

RPN:aab  
(14)

The Attorney General

April 10, 1967

Director, FBI 100-442529-2139

D-9

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed current study entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis."

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

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED ON 11/7/78 BY 607 WAT/AR

3/3/86 Sprmaem

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Commission. It is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and is not to be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express consent of the FBI.

kept in  
Nat Archive

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*(C-34)*

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

DATE: 12/3/64

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

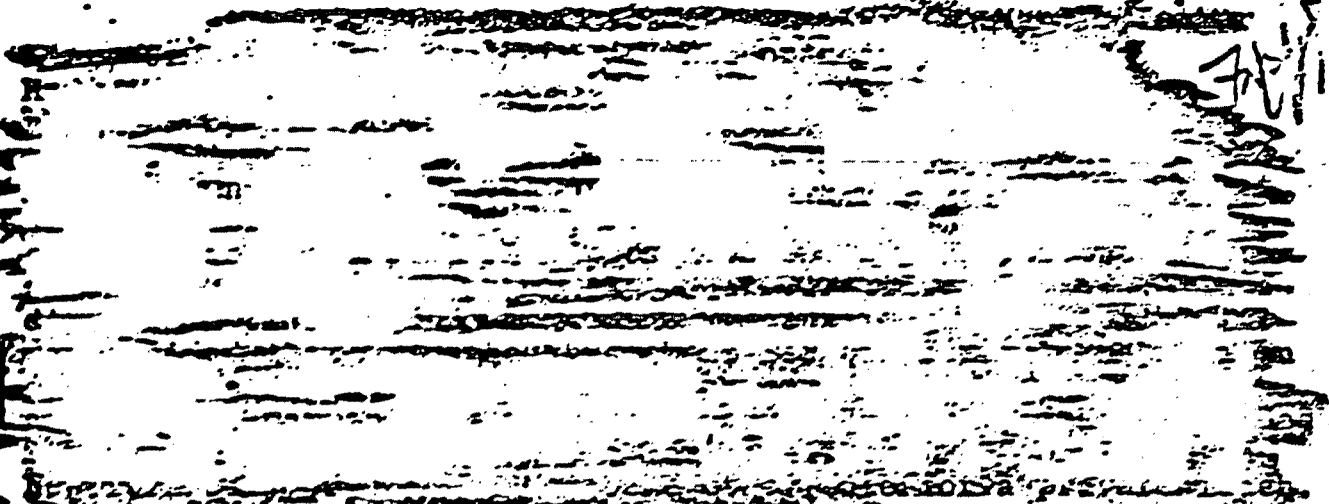
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

*S. F. Phillips*  
*W.C.*



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

OBSERVATIONS:

*100-106670-643*

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

Enclosure *L*

REC-10

*100-106670-643* *(WA)*

*10-11-69*  
*S.F.P.*

100-106670

DEC 29 1964

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

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

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

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

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

*subject  
King  
Dr.* → ||

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*werys* *P. as* *Wd* *v.* *Jo*

*D. Hm*

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: December 16, 1961

FROM : F. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/18/80 BY SP/SP/IR/ML/...

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

Last evening, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ, New York City Headquarters, while en route from the South, stopped at the National Airport for a couple of hours to discuss with me the subject of Martin Luther King. As I have reported in previous memoranda, he has been informed concerning certain basic facts relating to King's ~~background~~ and his connections with communism.

Last night Dr. Espy told me that he has been working on this matter whenever the opportunity presented itself and he said he wanted the FBI to know that steps have been taken by the National Council to make certain from this time on that Martin Luther King will never get "one single dollar" of financial support from the National Council. Further, Dr. Espy told me that since our first conversation he has heard from some ~~other~~ sources concerning King's moral depravity. In view of this, he felt that he was free to discuss the matter with a few key Protestant clergymen, including Dr. Carson Blake, Presbyterian leader who has been active in the civil rights movement. Naturally, said Dr. Espy, they were horrified and Dr. Blake said that he could not see how a Christian clergyman could give any more support to a man like King. Dr. Espy also told me this week he intends to confer with Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the purpose of persuading Wilkins that the Negro leaders should complete isolate King and remove him from the role he is now occupying in civil rights activities. In Dr. Espy's opinion, the most effective way to dethrone King and get him out of the public eye is to have the important Negro leaders united in their determination to do this

Dr. Espy in a few weeks will be leaving for Africa and will return from there in about 2 or 3 months. I will meet again with him at that time.

100-106670-636

As I have previously said, Dr. Espy, a Baptist theologian, is a very fine man in every respect. He has a most sensitive

- WCS:mis (C)
- REC-33
- 1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Mohr;
- 1-Mr. DeLoach; 1-Mr. Sullivan;
- 1-Mr. D. E. Moore; 1-Mr. J. A. Sizoo;
- 1-Mr. Phillips

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

Memo to Mr. Belmont  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

conscience and he is a person on whom considerable reliability can be placed. I know the extent of his concern about King and I feel positive that he will try to do as much as he can to remove King from the powerful social position he now occupies. Dr. Ispy deplored to me very strongly the fact that King was able to be named "Man of the Year" by "Time" magazine, was the recipient recently of the Nobel Prize, secured an audience with the Pope, and has been the recipient of different awards from both Protestant and Catholic groups. I agreed with him most heartily and said it was too bad those people responsible for giving such recognition to King were not more circumspect. He replied that it was probably due to their lack of knowledge concerning King's communist connections and his moral depravity, but he believes this condition is being corrected, at least among the clergymen.

ACTION:

For information: ✓  
W.C. ✓  
D.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

**C-57**

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

**TO :** Mr. Mohr

**FROM :** C. D. DeLoach

**SUBJECT:** MARTIN LUTHER KING  
APPOINTMENT WITH DIRECTOR  
3:35 P.M., 12-1-64

DATE: December 2, 1964

**UNCLASSIFIED**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/80 BY [signature]

At Reverend King's request, the Director met with King; Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King; and Walter Fauntroy, SCLC representative here in Washington, at 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64, in the Director's Office.

I met King and his associates in the hallway outside the Director's Office. An attempt was made to rush them directly through the reception room, however, King slowly posed for the cameras and newsmen before proceeding.

Upon being introduced to the Director, Reverend King indicated his appreciation for Mr. Hoover's seeing him then stated that Reverend Abernathy would speak first. Reverend Abernathy told the Director it was a great privilege to meet the distinguished Director of the FBI--a man who had done so much for his country. Reverend Abernathy expressed the appreciation of the Negro race for the Director's fine work in the field of civil rights. He stated that the Negroes had problems, particularly in the South, and, therefore, had requested a discussion with the Director at the very time their people were continuing to "rise up from their bondage."

Reverend King spoke up. He stated it was vitally necessary to keep a working relationship with the FBI. He wanted to clear up any misunderstanding which might have occurred. He stated that some Negroes had told him that the FBI had been ineffective, however, he was inclined to discount such criticism. Reverend King asked that the Director please understand that any criticism of the Director and the FBI which had been attributed to King was either a misquote or an outright misrepresentation. He stated this particularly concerned Albany, Georgia. He stated that the only time he had ever criticized the FBI was because of instances in which Special Agents who had been given complaints in civil rights cases regarding brutality by police officers were seen the following day being friendly with those same police officers. King stated this, of course, promoted distrust inasmuch as the police sometimes "brutalized" Negroes.

Enclosure - sent 12/2/64

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones

18 DEC 21 1964

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

②: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

Reverend King stated he personally appreciated the great work of the FE which had been done in so many instances. He stated this was particularly true in Mississippi. He added that FBI developments in that State have been very significant. The FBI is a great restraining influence. Reverend King denied that he had ever stated that Negroes should not report information to the FBI. He said he had actually encouraged such reporting in many instances. He claimed there were good relationships in many communities, especially Atlanta, Georgia, between Negroes and the FBI. He stated he would continue to strongly urge all of his people to work closely with the FBI.

Reverend King stated he has never made any personal attack upon Mr. Hoover. He stated he had merely tried to articulate the feelings of the Negroes in the South in order to keep a tradition of nonviolence rather than violence. He added that the Negro should never be transferred from a policy of nonviolence to one of violence or terror.

Reverend King said that the Director's report to the President this summer on rioting was a very excellent analysis.

Reverend King advised that Negroes are currently laboring under a very frustrating situation. He stated that, "We sometimes are on the verge of temporary despair." He added that it was a challenge and a duty for him to keep the Negro from coming to a boiling point. He stated that sometimes the cries coming from the Negro represent a real feeling of lonesomeness and despair. He, however, has pointed out that the path to success is nonviolence rather than violence.

Reverend King stated he has been, and still is, very concerned regarding the matter of communism in the civil rights movement. He stated he knew that the Director was very concerned because he bore the responsibility of security in the Nation. Reverend King stated that from a strong philosophical point of view he could never become a communist inasmuch as he recognizes this to be a crippling totalitarian disease. He stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism. He claimed that when he learns of the identity of a communist in his midst he immediately deals with the problem by removing this man. He stated there have been one or two communists who were engaged in fund raising for the SCLC. Reverend King then corrected himself to say that these one or two men were former communists and not Party members at the present time. He then identified "Jack O'Dell" as an example. He stated that he had insisted that O'Dell leave his staff because the success of his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was far more important than friendship with O'Dell.

The Director interrupted King to state that the FBI had learned from long experience that the communists move in when trouble starts. The Director explained that communists thrive on chaos. The Director mentioned that his riot report to the President reflected the opportunistic efforts of communists. He then stated that communists have no interest in the future of the Negro race and that King, of all people, should be aware of this fact. The Director said that he had made briefly of communist attempts to infiltrate the labor movement.

Wach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re. Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

The Director told King and his associates that the FBI shares the same despair which the Negroes suffer when Negro leaders refused to accept the deep responsibility they have in the civil rights movement. He stated that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI this sometimes frustrates or delays successful solution of investigations. The Director told King that he had personally gone to Mississippi to meet with Governor Paul Johnson inasmuch as there had been practically no liaison between the Department of Justice, the President and the State of Mississippi beforehand. The Director stated that upon meeting Governor Johnson the Governor explained honestly that he was a segregationist, however, abhorred violence. The Director stated that he had told Governor Johnson they had a common meeting ground inasmuch as he was in Mississippi to put an end to violence and brutality. The Director told Governor Johnson that he would like to do this in collaboration with the State Police, however, if the FBI could not receive such cooperation we would do it on our own. The Director then made reference to watermoccasins, rattlesnakes and redneck sheriffs, in that order, who still exist in Mississippi who represent the trashy type of characters who are promoting civil rights violations. The Director told King that we had trained twenty representatives of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol and that this had represented a good move to promote better cooperation and solution of civil rights cases.

The Director told Reverend King that the FBI had put the "fear of God" in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). He told King that we knew of the identity of the murderers of the three civil rights workers and that these murderers would soon be brought to trial. The Director then spoke of the terror in Mississippi backwoods and of the fact that sheriffs and deputy sheriffs participate in crimes of violence. He summarized by telling King that we, therefore, are under the same strain that sincere Negro leaders are under. The Director added that the KKK constantly damns the FBI and that we have currently been classified as the "Federal Bureau of Integration" in Mississippi.

The Director told King that many cases, which have been brought about as a result of FBI investigation, must be tried in State Court. He spoke of the difficulty in obtaining a verdict of guilty in instances in which white juries are impaneled in cases involving white men. The Director spoke of the KKK involvement in the Lemuel Penn case just outside of Athens, Georgia. He stated this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice in that the defendants, despite the open and shut existence on the part of the FBI, had been acquitted.

The Director made it clear to Reverend King and his associates that the FBI could not state whether a conviction would be obtained or not in the case involving the murdered three civil rights victims. He stated, however, that the FBI has excellent evidence in this case. The Director then explained that it was most necessary for the FBI not to "jump the gun" unless we had sufficient evidence in which a case could be brought to trial.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director made reference to Reverend King's allegation that the FBI deals or associates with law enforcement officers who have been involved in civil rights violations. He stated emphatically that, "I'll be damned if the FBI has associated with any of these people nor will we be associated with them in the future." The Director explained that the FBI, not only because of the very nature of the law but also because of the background of our investigative employees, was in full sympathy with the sincere aspects of the civil rights movement. He stated that the FBI constantly needs cooperative and assistance in order to solve cases. He added that he made it a point, several years ago, to transfer northern Special Agents to southern offices. He stated that, for the most part, northern-born Agents are assigned civil rights cases in the South. The Director added that he feels that our Special Agents, regardless of where they are born, will investigate a case impartially and thoroughly. He mentioned, however, that it was unfair to the Agent and the FBI to "have a strike against him" in that criticism had been leveled over the fact that southern Agents would not give Negroes a "fair shake." The Director stated that such criticism was entirely unjustifiable and that no case had ever been brought to our attention proving such a fact.

The Director made reference to the recent case in McComb, Mississippi, in which nine men had been charged with burning churches and violence against Negroes. He stated this again was a miscarriage of justice. He added that the judge's decision in releasing the defendants because they had learned their lesson and were merely youths was entirely wrong and that it caused some people to question where youth really began. He explained that some of the defendants had been in their 40's. The Director added that a deal probably, of course, had been made, however, this would certainly not represent any deterrent to future actions of violence by these men.

The Director explained that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to what the FBI can and cannot do in the way of investigations. The Director emphasized that the FBI cannot recommend prosecution or declination of prosecution. He stated that Agents cannot make "on the spot" arrests. He stated that the FBI merely investigates and then the Department of Justice determines whether prosecution be entertained or not. The Director added that the question is sometimes raised why prosecution is not scheduled sooner. He stated this, of course, was not the responsibility of the FBI in any way whatsoever. He pointed out that our civil rights investigations are conducted in a very thorough and expeditious manner once the Department has authorized such investigations.

The Director spoke of the FBI's successful penetration of the KKK. He stated that the FBI has interviewed all members of the KKK in Mississippi and has served notice to these members that if trouble occurs we plan to come to them first. He stated our penetration of the KKK has been as successful as the manner in which we infiltrated the communists and the Soviet espionage services. He stated that our progress in infiltrating the KKK has been so rapid that Klan members now suspect each other and are fighting among themselves. The Director mentioned that we have two confessions in the killing of the three civil rights workers. He added that the Klan in Mississippi has failed in their effort for some time because the members of this organization are apprehensive.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

as to the identity of FBI informants in their midst. The Director stated he had personally been an enemy of the KKK for a long time.

He spoke of the FBI's case in Louisiana in the late 1920's in which FBI evidence successfully culminated in the conviction of the top Klan leader. He stated the KKK fully concentrated on Negroes, Jews and Catholics, however, concentration now is strictly on the Negro race.

The Director told the group that in the Lemuel Penn case the defendants have recently been indicted and are to stand trial in Federal Court. He stated the trial would begin sometime next week. He mentioned that the same defendants were responsible for beating Negroes and participation in other acts of violence. The Director added that the FBI's success in infiltrating the KKK has been so extensive that we now sometimes know in advance what the KKK plans to do and take preventive measures accordingly.

The Director explained that in Alabama the FBI cannot deal with the Highway Patrol because of the psychoneurotic tendencies of the Alabama Governor. He stated that the State of Georgia has a good Governor and that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, while not comparable to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, has cooperated with the FBI.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that FBI representatives have held several thousand law enforcement conferences in which southern police officers have been educated as to civil rights legislation. He stated this has clearly assisted law enforcement, particularly the FBI, however, admittedly, this represents slow progress, but progress nevertheless. He added that this educational campaign will be continued and that it will eventually take hold. The Director gave the example of a Mississippi Sheriff who recently broke a case as a result of FBI training.

The Director made it very clear to Reverend King and his associates that FBI Agents conduct very thorough interviews in civil rights cases. He stated he would like to know immediately if any of our Special Agents ever act in a supercilious manner or if they mishandle a complaint regarding civil rights. He stated that if the facts reflect that our Agent is in the wrong he will be called on the carpet fast. The Director asked that Reverend King or any of his representatives feel free to call the FBI at any time they have such complaints.

The Director told Reverend King he desired to give him some advice. He stated that one of the greatest things the Negro leaders could accomplish would be to encourage voting registration among their people. Another thing would be to educate the people in the skills so that they could compete in the open market. The Director mentioned several professions in which Negroes could easily learn skills. The Director also told King he wanted him to know that registrars in the South were now more careful in their actions. He stated that there were less attempts now to prevent Negroes from

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

registering inasmuch as the FBI is watching such actions very carefully. The Director told Reverend King that the FBI was making progress in violations regarding discrimination in eating places. He gave as a specific example a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, in which surveillances have taken place to ascertain if out-of-state cars are being served at this particular restaurant. The Director stated he personally was in favor of equality in eating places and in schools. He stated emphatically, however, he was not in favor of taking Negro children 10 or 12 miles across town simply because their parents wanted them to go to a school other than those in their specific neighborhood.

The Director told Reverend King that in due time there will be a complete change in the mores of community thinking in the United States regarding the racial problem. He stated that meanwhile the FBI will continue to handle its responsibilities in a thorough and impartial manner. He reiterated that the FBI cannot encourage prosecution in Federal Court despite the fact that some local courts cannot be trusted. He added that some judges cannot be trusted.

The Director praised the Georgia papers that declared the verdict of the Penn case to be a travesty of justice. He added that the Jackson, Mississippi, paper had contained several editorials deploring violence against Negroes and participation in church burnings. The same editorials declared this was no way to solve racial problems. The Director stated that his statements made at a press conference in Jackson, Mississippi, this summer to the effect that he was in Mississippi to see to it that an end was put to the violence of bombings and burning churches had had some effect upon backwoods terrorists.

The Director told King that he wanted to make it very clear that the question is often raised as to whether the FBI will protect civil rights workers or Negroes. He stated that he has in the past and will continue to answer such questions on the basis that the FBI does not have the authority nor the jurisdiction to protect anyone. He stated that when the Department of Justice desires that Negroes be protected this is the responsibility of U. S. Marshals. The Director reiterated that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and cannot and will not extend itself beyond legislated jurisdiction. The Director repeated very emphatically that while our investigations are very definitely thorough and impartial he wanted to state once again that if Reverend King or any of his associates ever knew of a Special Agent showing bias or prejudice he wanted to know about this matter immediately.

The Director explained that we have civil rights cases not only in the South but also in the northern cities. He gave examples of New York and Chicago. He stated that there have been some cases in Miami, Florida.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-6.

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment with Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director spoke once again of the necessity of the Negro educating himself in order to compete in manual and professional skills. He mentioned the example of a shoeshine boy in Miami, Florida, who turned out to be, after questioning by the Director, a graduate of Howard University. This shoeshine boy, a Negro, explained to the Director that he could not get a job above the level of shoeshine boy because of the color of his skin. The Director stated this, of course, was wrong and that under no circumstances did he, or anyone in the FBI, share the opinion that the Negro, or any other race, should be kept down. The Director spoke of his pride in Negro Agents and particularly mentioned Special Agent Aubrey Lewis, the former Notre Dame track star who is currently assigned to the New York Division.

The Director spoke of a Miami Special Agent who was transferred to that office from St. Louis. This Agent explained to the Director on one occasion that he was first a little upset about being transferred to Miami because he felt that his race would be against him. He stated, however, much to his surprise, that the white people in Miami treated him with the greatest of courtesy while people of his own race referred to him as a "fink" simply because he was a representative of law enforcement.

Reverend King interrupted the Director at this point and asked if this same Negro Agent is still assigned to the Miami Division. The Director replied in the affirmative. The Director stated that at a recent dinner Father Hesburgh, the President of Notre Dame University, explained to the Director that his institution had difficulty getting Negroes on the football team because their grades were never high enough. The Director told Reverend King the same thing is true of Negroes who apply for the position of Special Agent. He stated in most instances they lack the qualifications, however, we are very happy to hire any Negro who was qualified for the position. The Director told Reverend King that we, of course, could not let down our qualifications simply because of the color of a person's skin.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that the problems that exist and the Negro leaders have is a mutual problem. He stated in most instances in civil rights matters we have learned that "you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't." The Director stated nevertheless the FBI would continue to do its job. He stated that we additionally are very proud of 10 or 11 Indian Special Agents and of a number of Special Agents who have Mexican blood in them. He stated that the color of a man's skin makes no difference to the FBI whatsoever, however, we do merit the cooperation and assistance of all groups and it is most unfair when these groups are taught not to cooperate with the FBI.

The Director mentioned that he wanted to make it very plain that the FBI will not tolerate any of our personnel being slapped around. He gave an example of the Lombardo case in New York where one of our Agents was jumped by five hoodlums in a church. He stated these hoodlums were immediately taught a lesson. The Director mentioned that in the war with hoodlums, for every man we lose we make certain, through legal means of course, that the hoodlums lose the same number or more

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

The Director proudly spoke of the ability of Agents to outshoot and outfight hoodlums and other individuals who attempted to take advantage of our personnel. He stated the KKK is afraid to "mix" with our Agents. He mentioned that the Klan was "yellow." He stated they are brave as long as they have the majority with them but afraid when they face an equal number.

The Director spoke of the Mack Charles Parker case in Poplarville, Mississippi. He stated that our evidence in this case had been turned over to Governor Coleman, the then Governor of that State. He mentioned that Governor Coleman was a decent type of individual who had immediately seen to it that a State Court received the evidence contributed by the FBI. The Director mentioned that our evidence in this case was excellent, however, the Grand Jury refused to indict the subjects involved in the lynching of Parker.

The Director told Reverend King that in many instances our Agents have been spit upon, they have been refused food and lodging and many things are done to thwart hard-hitting investigations by the FBI. He stated that nevertheless we continue to gather evidence in an expeditious and thorough manner.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the Negroes have a real problem in bringing down the current system of segregated voting tests in the South. He stated it was most important that there be kept alive in the Negro communities a ray of hope. He stated that the Negro people should not be allowed to fall into an atmosphere of despair.

The Director explained that this was a very important point. He stated that real progress has been made in higher wages, voting registration and housing matters. The Director pointed out, however, that such progress has not been emphasized by the rabblers who constantly attempt to stir up the Negroes against the whites. The Director gave as an example the communist, Epton, in New York City. The Director stated that Epton is sometimes pointed to as a person the Negro should emulate because of his militancy. The Director stated this was wrong and it is also wrong to "mislead" Negroes.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the SCLC does not want Negroes like Epton in their movement. He stated that Reverend King, more than anyone else, has prevented people like Epton and the Muslims from taking over the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy stated that actually the Negroes are a part of the Federal Government, therefore, anything that represents the Federal Government is an encouragement to the Negro. He added that even the side of a post office building or a Federal courtroom is an encouragement to the Negro. He mentioned that when a Negro receives information that a case in which he has been brutally mistreated is going to Federal Court he feels encouraged over the fact that he will get a fair trial. Reverend Abernathy continued that the same problem is true when a Negro sees an FBI Agent. He stated that the Negro feels open encouragement inasmuch as the FBI will not only fairly handle his case but will serve as a great deterrent to violence.



DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director stated that the KKK today is represented by common white trash. He stated that the Klan was actually worse than the Communist Party inasmuch as the Klan resorts to violence while the communists usually emulate termites in their activities.

The Director reiterated that King and his associates should feel free to call him at any time when they have knowledge of possible civil rights violations. King replied that over the past few years he has noted amazing signs of progress in the civil rights field. He stated he has been very surprised to see some communities comply with the new civil rights statutes. He stated there still are some pockets of resistance particularly in the South. He added that the SCLC is planning to stimulate voting registration activities in Selma, Alabama, in the near future. He mentioned that some members of his organization have been successful in infiltrating this white community and have learned there is a great potential for violence in Selma.

The Director interrupted King and briefly detailed five cases in which the FBI has gathered evidence in Selma, Alabama. The Director identified these cases fully, and specifically the case against Sheriff James Clark. The Director mentioned that these cases came about as a result of FBI investigation and that we were continuing our investigations in Selma, Alabama. He mentioned that one case would come to trial December 9, 1964. The Director particularly made reference to the fact that we have three excellent cases in Selma at the present time.

Reverend King inquired as to whether his representatives should notify the FBI when they arrive in Selma, Alabama. He quickly corrected himself that he knew his representatives should contact the FBI upon arrival, however, he asked the Director what would be the possibilities of FBI Agents being in Selma, Alabama, inasmuch as there appeared to be a potential for violence. The Director specifically asked Reverend King when his activities would take place. Reverend Abernathy indicated such activity would take place around January 1, 1965. The Director clearly explained that FBI Agents would be in Selma, not for the purpose of "protecting" anyone, but for the purpose of observing and reporting to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that might occur. Reverend King expressed appreciation in this regard.

Reverend King stood up and stated he wished to express his personal thanks for a most fruitful and necessary meeting. The Director told Reverend King that he should get in touch with us at anytime he felt it was necessary.

Reverend King mentioned that there were representatives of the press in the Director's reception room. He turned to me and asked if the FBI planned to make any comment regarding the meeting. I told him that the Director had instructed that we make no comment whatsoever. Reverend King asked the Director if there would be any objections if he read a short prepared statement to the press. The Director told Reverend King this, of course, was up to him.

Loach to Mohr 12-2-64

Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

In proceeding to the reception room, Reverend King pulled out a press release, hand-written in ink, out of his right coat pocket. This press release obviously had been prepared prior to the time Reverend King arrived at FBI Headquarters. A previous memorandum has been sent through reporting verbatim the comments by King in the Director's reception room.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President concerning the meeting between the Director, Reverend King and his associates.

*OK*

The General Investigative Division, Civil Rights Section, should take due note of the proposed activities in Selma, Alabama, and should instruct the appropriate office to make certain that Agents are on hand to observe activities in Selma Alabama, on or around January 1, 1965.

*Handled by  
wital to 110  
12-10-64  
WLM/cac*

*yes. JK JAM P ✓*

Memorandum of C. D. DeLoach, Crime Records Division

ADDENDUM:CDD:dgs. 12/10/64

*C-58*

I fully agree that this work should eventually be done, particularly if an additional controversy arises with King. I see no necessity, however, in this work being done at the present time inasmuch as the controversy has quieted down considerably and we are not in need of transcriptions right now. In view of the transcription already accomplished, and because of the above-mentioned reasons, I would recommend that we hold off doing this tremendous amount of work until there is an actual need.

*I think it should be done now while it is fresh in the minds of the specially trained agents.*

*Done. We have prepared 321 pp of transcripts (231 pp in item #1-W70 + 90 pp for item #6-LA) 3/27/65*

*257 10 14*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 12/14/64

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ATTN: \_\_\_\_\_

F: \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

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

100-106670-

57

*[Handwritten initials and scribbles]*

Mr. Jack N. Rogers, Committee Counsel, Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana, called re to advise he was sending to me airmail a letter directed to "Friends of SCLC Everywhere," attacking Mr. Hoover and the FBI on behalf of Martin Luther King. A copy of this is enclosed. This attack is sponsored by "The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was the successor organization to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited as a communist front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated 6/16/47. Bufiles show that its successor, The Southern Conference Educational Fund, is described as a progressive, liberal organization which one of our sources who has furnished reliable information in the past considers a communist front organization in that it has followed the Communist Party line, particularly in regard to the racial question.

The enclosed letter refers to the Director's criticism of Dr. Martin Luther King and urges all recipients to write a letter or send a telegram to President Johnson expressing the hope that Johnson will remove the Director. The letter also carries a critical article on the Director published in the "Washington Post" on 11/21/64.

It is evident from the enclosed document that it will be given widespread dissemination. This just highlights what to me is an indisputable fact and that is this Bureau has not yet emerged victorious in its conflict with Martin Luther King. I think we are deluding ourselves if we believe that King and his followers and supporters around the country have run for cover and are not attacking the FBI in one way or another. In view of this situation, realism makes it mandatory that we take every prudent step that we can take

Enclosures sent 12-18-64

REC-18

- WCS:mls (6)
- 1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Sullivan;
- 1-Mr. DeLoach; 1-Mr. Baumgardner;
- 1-Mr. Rosack

100-106670-627

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-4-80 BY SP-10/ML/ML

Memo to Mr. Belmont  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

to emerge completely victorious in this conflict. We should not take any ineffective or half-way measures, nor blind ourselves to the realities of the situation.

This new attack on the Director and the Bureau should certainly be called to the attention of the President as it is very likely he will be receiving critical letters and telegrams. Enclosed will be found a letter to Mr. Moyers and also a letter for the Acting Attorney General.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letters be approved for dissemination.

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# UNCLASSIFIED

6-27

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

DATE: 12-8-64

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
POSSIBLE APPEARANCE BEFORE  
BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE CONGRESS  
IN JUNE, 1965, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

100-106670-624

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED

You will recall that shortly after the Director's interview with the women reporters, Dr. Robert S. Denny, Associate General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) and a personal friend of SA C. Benjamin Fulton, contacted Fulton concerning King. Dr. Denny pointed out that the Program Committee of BWA had been encouraged by some members to invite King to speak at the 1965 Congress in June next year at Miami Beach. About one half of the Program Committee members objected, pointing out that it was their feeling if Director Hoover had publicly identified King as a "notorious liar," there most certainly must be even worse derogatory information concerning him which would make his appearance on the program questionable. You instructed SA Fulton to furnish Dr. Denny the general facts relating to King's ~~background~~. On this basis and without revealing the details and source, Dr. Denny was able to get the King matter tabled at that time.

On 12-7-64, Dr. Denny again contacted Fulton and advised that the matter has been brought up again. He pointed out that while he objects to having King on the program and has made his position known, unless he is able to share the information with at least Dr. Josef Nordenhaug, the General Secretary of BWA, and perhaps one other program official, either Dr. Theodore F. Adams, Program Committee Chairman and minister of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, or perhaps Dr. E. H. Pruden, minister of the First Baptist Church of Washington, D. C., and a prominent leader in the American Baptist Convention, it is unlikely that he can keep the Program Committee from extending King an invitation. He would like for us to make the general facts relating to King's moral degeneracy, similar to what we told him, known to Dr. Nordenhaug and either Dr. Adams or Dr. Pruden, whichever is available. Dr. Denny advised that we may have explicit faith in the reliability and discreetness of these men and that he knows they would be exceedingly grateful for the Bureau's consideration in this matter.

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

This, of course, would be only brief oral statements concerning King's ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~. You will recall the Director earlier on a memorandum dated 11-27-64 disapproved the proposal of arranging for Dr. Denny and Dr. Nordenhaug to listen to sources we have concerning this matter.

Bufiles reflect no derogatory information concerning Dr. Nordenhaug. We have had friendly relations with Dr. Pruden and very cordial relations with \_\_\_\_\_ Dr. Adams.

RECOMMENDATION:

That approval be granted that through Dr. Denny arrangements be made for Dr. Nordenhaug and either Dr. Adams or Dr. Pruden be given the general facts relating to King's ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ on a discreet and confidential basis.

*12-10-64  
L.A. Jones - 12-10-64  
Mr. Nordenhaug  
Pruden & Denny  
Present. G.P.F.*

*V. A Q  
G.P.F.*

*G.P.F.*

Kept in  
Post Archival



C-56

118

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	

Date: December 1, 1964  
 To: Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
 From: J. A. Sizoo  
 Subject: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

UNCLASSIFIED

100-40/6670-588

Reference is made to the attached memorandum DeLoach to Mohr dated 11/27/64 concerning DeLoach's interview with Roy Wilkins, and to your informal memo, also attached.

Mr. Wilkins stated to DeLoach that he was faced with the difficult problem of taking steps to remove King from the national picture. He indicates in his comments a lack of confidence that he, alone, could be successful. It is, therefore, suggested that consideration be given to the following course of action:

That DeLoach have a further discussion with Wilkins and offer to be helpful to Wilkins in connection with the problem of the removal of King from the national scene;

That DeLoach suggest that Mr. Wilkins might desire to call a meeting of Negro leaders in the country which might include, for instance, 2 or 3 top leaders in the civil rights movement such as James Farmer and A. Philip Randolph; 2 or 3 top Negro judges such as Judge Parsons and Judge Easty; 2 or 3 top reputable ministers such as Robert Johnson, Moderator of the Washington City Presbytery; 2 or 3 other selected Negro officials from public life such as the Negro Attorney General from one of the New England states. These men could be called for the purpose of learning the facts as to the Bureau's performance in the fulfillment of its responsibilities under the Civil Rights statute, and this could well be done at such a meeting. In addition, the Bureau, on a highly confidential basis, could brief such a group on the security background of King and his ~~associates~~. ~~The use of a tape, such as contemplated in your memorandum, together with a transcript for conveyance in following the tape, should be most convincing.~~

INFO FROM ELSUR

The inclusion of U.S. Government officials, such as Carl Rowan or Ralph Bunche, is not suggested as they might feel a duty to advise the White House of such a contemplated meeting. It is believed this would give us an opportunity to outline to a group of influential Negro leaders what our record in the enforcement of civil rights has been. It would also give them, on a confidential

ns/uls  
 enclosures

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

NA

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

basis, information concerning King which would convince them of the danger of King to the over-all civil rights movement. Wilkins is already well aware of this. This group should include such leadership as would be capable of removing King from the scene if they, of their own volition, decided this was the thing to do after such a briefing. The group should include strong enough men to control a man like James Farmer and make him see the light of day. This might have the effect of increasing the stature of Roy Wilkins, who is a capable person and is ambitious.

There are refinements which, of course, could be added to the above which is set forth in outline form for possible consideration.

*WCS*

ROUTE 114

\$20

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

**UNCLASSIFIED**

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

DATE: 11/30/64

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

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 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Memorandum from D. J. Brennan, Jr., to Mr. Sullivan, 11/13/64, recommended, and the Director approved, that Legat Bates, London, be authorized to orally brief the United States Ambassadors in London and Oslo concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. The briefing was concerning both the communist influences on King and King's degenerate nature. Bates had requested such permission because he anticipated that the Ambassadors might consider entertaining King while he is in Europe to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and Bates believed he could forestall such action by the Ambassadors if they were briefed. (Eya)

Assistant Legat Minnich, London, telephoned early today (11/30/64) and advised that Bates would also like to brief our Ambassadors at Stockholm and Copenhagen as King is to also visit these cities. The Legat's office, London, will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities tomorrow (12/1/64) (A)(W)

Our Ambassador at Stockholm is a career Minister, J. Graham Parsons. The Ambassador at Copenhagen is Mrs. Katherine Elkus White. We have nothing unfavorable in our files concerning these two Ambassadors which would preclude giving them the same briefing we previously gave the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Our relations with the Ambassadors are friendly and it is believed that Bates should be permitted to brief them. (A)(W)

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief our Ambassadors in Stockholm and Copenhagen along the same lines as he previously briefed the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Upon approval this memorandum should be routed to Liaison for the necessary advice to Bates via cost-free telephor facilities. (A)(W)

100-106670

SFP:jad  
(10)

100-106670-566

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 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

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ON 1/28/86

REC-341 DEC 4 1964



D-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

# Memorandum

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

DATE: 3/8/67

TO: Mr. Sullivan *WCSB*

FROM: C. D. Brennan *CB*

**UNCLASSIFIED**

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

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

*show back C.D. Brennan*

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

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

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

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

15 APR 4 1967

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

Encl.  
100-106670  
DMW:deh

CONTINUED - OVER

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATIONS:

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

Crime  
Records

WJG

WJG  
S.H.D.

✓

TEB

Q.K.

✓

Handwritten signature

1) Memorandum King Security - Mr. Loach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Copy -  
Counsel -  
Exec -  
Files -  
Gen -  
Ident -  
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Lab -  
Legal -  
Plan -  
Spec -  
Training -  
Tele. Room -  
Holmes -  
Gandy -

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 8/30/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

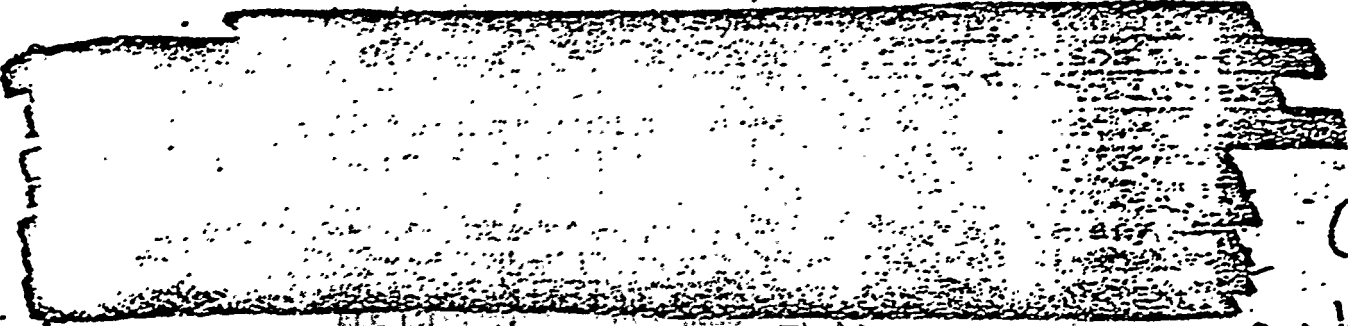
- 1 - C. D. Brennan (D. M. Wells)
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. M. Fitzgerald

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

1) D. J. Brennan

This is to recommend that we furnish to General Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps, the attached copy of Bureau "Top Secret" monograph entitled, "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis."

2nd Agency



OBSERVATIONS:

Classified by 6080  
Declassify on OADR

General Greene has always been very friendly and cooperative with the Bureau. As Commandant of the Marine Corps he is also a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is felt it would definitely be to the benefit of General Greene and to the Bureau to furnish him the enclosed monograph which has previously been disseminated on a high level to the White House, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, and the Secret Service. In addition, approval was given recently to furnish a copy of the document to the Australian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

2nd Agency

RECOMMENDATION:

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/13/77

That attached monograph be furnished by Liaison to General Greene.

100-106670

Enc.

JMF:jad  
(6)

REC 18

11 SEP 12 1967

9/1/67

54 SEP 15 1967  
returned to Mr. King with thanks  
9/1/67  
maintained  
924 01D

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 602604  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

**C-41**

**SECRET**

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

DATE: 6/29/65

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

100-106670-7515-15715

We have just obtained information by chance which, if proven true, will give us a golden opportunity to discredit King because of his communist connections

On 6/27/65 Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips, Domestic Intelligence Division, was engaged in a golf game with

**Confidential sources**

Classified by SP-6/RCM  
Declassify on OADR 3/3/80

Phillips has known these two individuals only a short period of time; they are aware of his employment in the FBI. He initiated a conversation about King by observing that a friend of his, Representative James Martin, Republican of Alabama, had told him that he, Martin, had discussed King with the President and that the President is reluctant to expose King's communist connections because of the harm it would do to the civil rights movement. (It will be recalled that there was recent newspaper publicity wherein Martin was critical of the President on the King matter and he furnished details to the White House and Attorney General.)

[Country of Friendly Foreign Intelligence Service]

Conf. source observed that an acquaintance, a who is employed conf. source had told him the following which had been related to her by who is a banker in According to the banker, King has a numbered account in his bank with a balance of over one million dollars. said he was surprised to have received this information because he thought it most indiscreet for a bank official to divulge such information, even to, inasmuch as identities of holders of numbered accounts are the most closely-held type of information existing in banking circles. Without showing undue interest, Phillips ascertained that (1) is a spinster, hence her name is also (2) banker holds the position of Executive Director of the unknown bank; (3) holds a responsible secretarial position and is considered by as most reliable.

Information in Bufiles and from Public Sources:

has no adverse information identifiable with or Credit records reveal a is secretary to the; employed there

100-106670

SFP:deh  
(10)

This is a preliminary response to your request and is for administrative use only. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the FBI and should not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

CONTINUED - OVER

**SECRET**

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.  
100-106670

[ALL EXCISING EXCEPT CONF. SOURCE ON THIS PAGE TO PROTECT FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, ITS REPRESENTATIVE AND COUNTRY]

For over 30 years. In November, 1964, just after the Director spoke out concerning King and other matters, [redacted] Conf. Source  
"you Mr. Hoover!" She was thanked for her remarks by letter. [redacted] Telephone Directory has no listing for any [redacted] Conf. Source  
Rand McNally Bankers Directory identifies officials of several banks but no [redacted] listed. In connection with our investigations under the Criminal Intelligence Program, we have developed information that some [redacted] banks do have numbered accounts. We do not have any sources that can give us specific information about such numbered accounts. (C)

Our investigation of King and related matters has given us some cause to suspect a possible skimming off of funds by King from the vast amounts he collects on behalf of the civil rights movement. This would certainly be consistent with the opportunistic and [redacted] nature of King. However, we have never been able to develop any evidence to support such a suspicion. We do know that one of his favorite vacation haunts is [redacted] and he has made at least two trips there in the past several months. [redacted] is under [redacted] control and a [redacted] of [redacted] is based there to service [redacted] investigative needs, including those of [redacted] representative in Washington, D.C., has previously been briefed by us concerning King and would appear to be our best channel for attempting to establish whether or not King does have a large sum of money concealed in a [redacted] bank. (S)

OBSERVATIONS AND PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION:

If we can prove that King is hoarding large sums of money, we would have available possibly the best information to date which could be used to discredit him, especially in the eyes of his own people. Depending on exactly what evidence is developed, we may take the action to discredit King ourselves (through friendly news sources, or the like) or we might turn the information over to the Internal Revenue Service for possible criminal prosecution. This bridge can be crossed when we reach it. For the present, we propose taking this matter up with [redacted] with the request that he initiate, on a highly confidential basis, investigation to establish the truth of the allegation. (S) We believe that there is a

MM 12 1965

CONTINUED - OVER  
- 2 -

FBI



Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.  
00-106670

~~SECRET~~

sense of urgency in this matter and should not delay our action because it is entirely likely that other individuals may have been in receipt of this information and inquiries by others, such as an ambitious newspaper man, could well interfere with our designs. There is also the possibility that [redacted], who also overheard [redacted] remarks and is friendly with Congressman Martin, may tell Martin and thus set into motion inquiries from another direction. (X)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Sources

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will immediately discuss this matter with [redacted] and expedite inquiry. You will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

[Protect Friendly Foreign Intelligence Service] (S)

*B. [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

1041

NOV 12 1953

FBI

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**D-29**

**Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

Tolson	
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	
DeLoach	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Evans	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

TO : Mr. Sullivan

**UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE: 3/2/65

FROM : F.J. Baumgardner

*(June)*

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

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

The Governor of Massachusetts is John A. Volpe (R). He was elected 11/3/64 and had previously served as Governor from 1961-1963. No adverse security information concerning Volpe in Bureau files. Relations with him have been cordial and in January, 1961, upon his first election as Governor he was sent a congratulatory letter and a copy of "Masters of Deceit" by the Director. Pursuant to your request of SAC Handley, Boston, for discreetly-obtained available information concerning a planned "Day" for King, ASAC Whittaker, Boston, today (3/2/65) telephoned the following information to the Bureau. Arrangements for a "Day" for King have already been firmed up. It is to be 4/23/65. An award is to be made to King, the nature of which has not yet been determined. Neither has the place for the testimonial yet been determined. There is no information that the invitation to King has been definitely extended as yet. SAC Handley has met the Governor who is cordial and friendly to the Bureau and Handley believes that the Governor could be safely contacted on a highly confidential basis and briefed concerning King with the end result that the affair for King will be watered down.

**OBSERVATIONS:**

Because of the known communist influence on King coupled with ~~the known communist influence on King~~, it is believed that it would be in the interest of the Bureau to have SAC Handley personally meet with the Governor and brief him concerning King. Although arrangements have progressed so far for the King Day that the affair will likely come off, our briefing of the Governor will likely induce him to minimize the affair and especially the award for King.

100-106670  
SFP:lat (8)

REC 37

100-106670-938

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. **CONTINUED** limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to ~~any person~~ without the express approval of the FBI.

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

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, this memorandum should be routed back to Assistant Director Sullivan who will telephonically contact SAC Handy and have him brief the Governor on a highly confidential basis and with the proviso that under no circumstances may there ever be any attribution to the FBI for the information furnished him. The Governor will be told that King for some time has been associated with and under the influence of present and former communists and that King, although a clergyman and a family man. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ The Governor will also be told that King and other civil rights leaders plan to go to Boston this Spring to ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ in that area.

B

W.C.D.

W.C.D.  
D

V.

Handled  
3-3-65  
W.C.D.

UNCLASSIFIED

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

B-15

- To: Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- 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

*Handwritten signatures and initials, including "W.C. Sullivan" and "J.W. Boardman".*

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/86 BY SP-1/AS/DAK

REC-13

22 NOV 8 1963

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.  
October 18, 1963

Please Refer to

*Handwritten:* 13-14

*Handwritten:* 13-14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

The office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is located at 330 Auburn Avenue Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia. Martin Luther King, Jr., is President of this organization. He is closely associated with member of the Communist Party, USA.

In view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at its current address or at any future address to which it may be moved.

*Handwritten:* (\$)u

Respectfully,

*Handwritten:* 100-106670-258

*Handwritten signature:* J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED

*Handwritten signature:* [Signature]

DATE

*Handwritten:* 10/21/63

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON 5/10/96

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*Handwritten:* 11/2/78

MAINTAINED BY 6076WAM NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**B-14a**

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**Memorandum**

**TO :** Mr. Belmont

**DATE:** October 10, 1963

**FROM :** C. A. Evans

**JUNE**

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

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach
- Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

The Attorney General was contacted at his request this afternoon. He had before him our memorandum of October 7, 1963, requesting authority for technical surveillances on Martin Luther King at his residence at Atlanta and at the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president, at New York City.

The Attorney General said that he recognized the importance of this coverage if substantial information is to be developed concerning the relationship between King and the Communist Party. He said there was no question in his mind as to the coverage in New York City but that he was worried about the security of an installation covering a residence in Atlanta, Georgia. He noted that the last thing we could afford to have would be a discovery of a wire tap on King's residence.

I pointed out to the Attorney General the fact that a residence was involved did not necessarily mean there was any added risk because of the technical nature of the telephone system. He was informed that the Bureau had had years of experience in this field and that we continually reviewed our procedures to insure that every measure possible to secure such installations was taken. It was nevertheless noted that of necessity we had to deal with established contacts in the telephone company to get the necessary leased lines, but once again we had procedures which minimized the risks to the nth degree.

REC-??

5 NOV 7 1963

After this discussion the Attorney General said he felt we should go ahead with the technical coverage on King on a trial basis, and to continue it if productive results were forthcoming. He said he was certain that all Bureau representatives involved would recognize the delicacy of this particular matter and would thus be even more cautious than ever in this assignment. He asked to be kept advised of any pertinent information developed regarding King's communist connections.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan

100-106670-254

**SECURE**

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Our memorandum requesting authority for this surveillance signed by the Attorney General and handed to me. It is attached.

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten checkmark]*

*[Handwritten checkmark]*

ORIGINAL OF ENCLOSURE  
REMOVED FOR DIRECTOR'S OFFICE -  
SEE 100-106670-3596

Note: Orig. of Enclosure  
in the Bureau's files (62-115689)  
17/13/73 (file)  
RKH:ld

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

B-13

A  
B-13

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 7, 1963

Please Refer to

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

Martin Luther King, Jr., resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, and is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The New York office of the SCLC is located at 312 West 125th Street, New York City. He is closely associated with member of the Communist Party, USA.

*(Handwritten initials)*

In view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on King at his current address or at any future address to which he may move.

It is further requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the SCLC office at the current New York address or to any other address to which it may be moved.

Respectfully,

*(Handwritten signature)*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

100-106670-250

APPROVED *(Handwritten signature)*  
DATE 10/10/63

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY *(Handwritten)*  
ON 3/10/80

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

11/7/78  
CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WPH/9  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 243  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

Handwritten initials in a circle

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: June 25, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

JUNE

Handwritten circled "A-20"

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The Attorney General orally informed me today that he had been considering the request he made on July 16, 1963, for a technical surveillance on Martin Luther King at his home and office and was now of the opinion that this would be ill advised.

At the time the Attorney General initially asked for such a surveillance, he was told there was considerable doubt that the productivity of the surveillance would be worth the risk because King travels most of the time and that there might be serious repercussions should it ever become known the Government had instituted this coverage. These were the very thoughts that the Attorney General expressed today in withdrawing his request.

With reference to the other technical surveillance requested at the same time, namely, the one on Clarence Benjamin Jones, the Attorney General felt this was in a different category and we should go forward with this coverage. It is noted that this was previously approved in writing by the Attorney General.

The memorandum we sent to the Attorney General on July 23, 1963, requesting authority for the King surveillance has been retrieved and is attached.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

Handwritten notes: "Springer 3/10/86", "ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED", "DATE 5/20/80 BY SP1/RSK/108/AM"

We will take no further action to effect technical coverage on Martin Luther King, either at his home or at his office at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in the absence of a further request from the Attorney General.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

REC-39

Handwritten file number: 100-106670-710

3 AUG 6 1963

CAE:van This document is prepared in response to your request for information outside your Committee. Its use is limited to your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

A-17

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

File, Please Refer to  
No. 100-106670

July 23, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

A-17

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., resides at 503 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 350 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. He is closely associated with Stanley Levison, [redacted] Communist Party, USA.

(S) u

[redacted]

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

Pursuant to your request that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on King, it is requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on King at his current residence or at any future address to which he may move. It is further requested that authority be granted to place a technical surveillance on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which King is President or at any future address to which it may be moved.

Respectfully,

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAA/94  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2+3  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

FROM

OCT 17 1975

100-106670-165 FBI

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

DECLASSIFIED BY [signature]  
ON 3/10/84

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

**C-42**

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

January 8, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Kleinkauf
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

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

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont 12/24/63 summarized the results of a conference held at the Seat of Government 12/23/63 between Bureau officials and Supervisors and field representatives designed to explore how best to carry on our investigations of captioned matter to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. We completely analyzed avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing Martin Luther King, Jr., as an effective Negro leader. One of the avenues explored was that concerning any facets of the financial operations of King and the organizations through which he operates which investigation might reveal either violations of the law or other potentials for discrediting King or otherwise neutralizing his effectiveness.

Bufiles contain two items of particular significance. A Washington Capital News Service release dated 10/22/63 reveals that King's integration organization had an income of more than \$735,000 during the past fiscal year and spent only about half of it. It is stated that in a report of the financial status of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which King is President, King disclosed that the organization had a balance of \$351,992.20 left 8/31/63 at the end of the fiscal year from a total income of \$735,534.02. Another such news release dated 11/4/63 revealed that Representative George Andrews (D-Ala.) asked the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to investigate the tax status of the SCLC. Andrews is quoted as saying, "Thousands and thousands of dollars are collected and spent each year, by so-called civil rights organizations and many people are beginning to suspect they could be a front for a full-grown racket."

It is noted that King's operations revolve principally around the SCLC. However, fund-raising operations on his part are further augmented by the activities of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, which commenced operations in 1962.

- Enc.
- 100-3-116
  - 1-100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
  - 1-100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

REC-43 ON 1/8/64  
 DECLASSIFIED BY SP-6/MLP/STP  
 24882  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 11-15-80

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that an examination of recent income tax returns of King might well reveal information which could assist the Bureau in its efforts to discredit King or neutralize his effectiveness. This is possibly applicable also if the income tax returns of the SCLC and the Gandhi Society were reviewed. In view of the possibility that the SCLC has already been under some investigation by IRS, a request for the results of such investigation is indicated. We also had information in late 1963 that the Gandhi Society was negotiating with IRS relative to tax exemptions and therefore the results of any IRS investigation of that Society would be worth procuring. *AM*

To date we have been most discreet and circumspect in our handling of the King investigation, as well as corollary investigations such as revolving around organizations, because of the position King has not only as a clergyman, but also as a "respected" Negro leader. It is therefore essential that our current requests of the IRS which are herein being recommended be handled in a manner which would provide for optimum security so that neither King nor any other unauthorized individuals may become aware of the Bureau's interest and so that no embarrassment may come to the Bureau. For this reason, the attached memoranda are classified "Secret."

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the Liaison Section obtain two uncertified copies of each of the income tax returns available for the past five years pertaining to King, the SCLC and the Gandhi Society. Attached hereto are three memoranda for the use of the Liaison Section.

*h. j. s.*  
*had*  
*Handled with WE Maudsl. 1-13-64 RJP*  
11/10/78 6076 WAMP  
CLASSIFIED BY  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan & \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 29, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

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

PURPOSE:

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAF/9K  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication revealing the Ford Foundation is giving Martin Luther King, Jr.'s group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a quarter of a million dollars.

BACKGROUND:

DECLASSIFIED BY 10/18/83

Informant

In October, 1966, [redacted] advised McGeorge Bundy, President of the Ford Foundation, was about to give SCLC a \$3 million grant in December, 1966. According to the source, the Ford Foundation was sympathetic to the financial problems of SCLC.

EX-113

1-106670-316

With your approval, John Bugas, former Special Agent in Charge of the Detroit Office and presently Vice President of the Ford Motor Company, was briefed as to the subversive backgrounds of King's principal advisors. Bugas expressed alarm and indicated that although the Ford Motor Company had little control over the Ford Foundation he, nevertheless, would immediately attempt to get in touch with Bundy and do something about this matter. Bugas advised that when he confronted Bundy with this matter, Bundy was rather highhanded in the conversation. Bugas indicated his company had quite a number of "hard blows" from the Ford Foundation over the years and most certainly a liaison between this foundation and Martin Luther King, Jr., would be a serious blow to the company. No additional information was received concerning this matter until recently. We did not disseminate this information so that our counterintelligence measures would not be divulged.

Enclosure 11-30-67

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

At a staff meeting recently, King announced the Ford Foundation had granted his organization a quarter of a million dollars. King did not state how this money was going to be used. *u*

OBSERVATIONS:

It is interesting to note that King's group will only get \$250,000, a large sum, but considerably smaller than the original amount. Perhaps our measures had some effect in causing this reduction. In view of King's current announcements indicating he will hold a camp-in at Washington, D. C., across from the White House, it is felt the President would be extremely interested in the source of these new funds being made available to SCLC. *u*

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Defense McNamara; the Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Army, Navy, and Air Force. *u*

*SMW*

*W* *ways* *ph* *Jan 24 32*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Memorandum

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

FROM : G. C. Moore *gc*

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

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

DATE November 24, 1967

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

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan *WCS*  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 10/24/82

ON 10/28/82 RSP/CA

3/3/86 SP/MA/MAE

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing the following information.

*Informant*

BACKGROUND AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ advised recently Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), announced to his staff that they will all attend a retreat from November 27, 1967, to December 1, 1967, at Frogmore, South Carolina, the purpose of this being to discuss ways and means of implementing a program of massive civil disobedience in Washington, D. C., in February, 1968.

King plans for a personal delegation to present their demands to the Secretary of Labor requesting prompt Congressional action concerning Negroes' problems. If demands are not met, massive civil disobedience would then start in Washington, D. C. If this activity fails to obtain Congressional action or is quelled by authorities, similar demonstrations would commence throughout the Nation in ten different unidentified cities.

Enclosure *11-27-67*  
 EXEMPTED  
 100-106670 *10/5*

REC 7

12 NOV 29 1967

1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

CONTINUED - OVER

DMW:ekw

(7)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/2/84  
 CLASSIFIED BY 10076 WAA/90m  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

In order to be effective, 2,000 people must be trained between now and early February, 1968. Also, black nationalist organizations' activities must be neutralized in order that SCLC's demonstration will be successful. King felt that if this program fails it would probably benefit the black nationalist movement. u

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Labor Wirtz; Secretary of Defense McNamara; Army; Navy; Air Force; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General: Doar, Vinson, and Yeagley. u

DMW

WCS

N

Jo  
P. W. S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. P. T. Basher

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/7/67 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WWH/Alv  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing information regarding a contract in amount of \$61,000 funded and approved by Department of Labor and negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with Martin Luther King's organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Also included is information indicating recent immoral conduct on the part of King.

BACKGROUND:

Recently [redacted] advised that the Department of Labor was negotiating a contract with the SCLC to train Negroes in the Atlanta, Georgia, area for employment.

The Director approved furnishing W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, a copy of the "Top Secret" document entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis" dated 4/10/67. This document sets forth in detail the extent of Communist influence within the SCLC and King's involvement with such elements and his unsavory moral background.

Mr. James J. Reynolds, Undersecretary of Labor, subsequently advised Liaison (SA W. J. McDonnell) that the Department of Labor had recently approved a contract in the amount of \$61,000 negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with the SCLC. The contract is for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. SCLC will receive \$13,000 for administering the program and the grocers will receive \$48,000 for providing on-the-job-training.

Enclosure 8-8-67  
100-106670  
1 - 100-438794  
PTB:lmr (6)

REC-60 100-106670-3138

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CONTINUED - OVER

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

Memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTERS - COMMUNIST

Reynolds advised that upon receipt of the document covering King, he conferred with Secretary of Labor Wirtz. Both agreed that there was no way at this time that the contract with SCLC could be gracefully canceled without causing severe and embarrassing repercussions. He stated, however, that in view of the information received, both he and the Secretary are in agreement that steps will be taken to insure that no further contracts will be awarded to King's group.

*Informant* ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ has advised that King recently completed a tour throughout the United States with the purpose of participating in benefit programs to raise funds for the SCLC. While on this tour, King took an excessive dosage of sleeping pills and his conduct on the tour was "quite atrocious." According to the source, King not only "traveled, ate, and drank first class but slept with his secretary and others." *JS*

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; and Assistant Attorney J. Walter Yeagley.

*JS*  
*pt*  
*W.C.S.*  
*JS*  
*W.C.S.*



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 8, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Contract Awarded

The Department of Labor recently approved a contract in the amount of \$61,000 negotiated by the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The contract provides for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will receive \$13,000 for administering the program and the grocers will receive \$48,000 for providing on-the-job-training.

Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was instrumental in establishing this program. He contacted grocers and obtained their assurance that they would set aside 15 percent of the employment openings for on-the-job-training of Negro youths.

King Emotionally Upset

Martin Luther King, Jr., recently completed a tour throughout the United States for the purpose of participating in benefit programs to raise funds for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

According to a confidential source of this Bureau, King, while on the tour, experienced difficulty sleeping and as a consequence he resorted to the use of sleeping pills. The source stated that in one instance King was scheduled to depart by air at 9 A.M.; but due to having taken sleeping pills the previous evening, "they" could not awaken King until 2 P.M. the following afternoon.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 Pcd/177P  
ON 12/14/77

DECLASSIFIED BY 11/18/85  
GROUP 1

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~ 70-3138

RE: 11/2/75  
CLASSIFIED BY 2076 JMT/19P  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The source also stated that King's conduct on the tour was "quite atrocious." He said King not only "traveled, ate, and drank first class but slept with his secretary and others." Furthermore, according to the source King frequently flew into a rage over relatively insignificant matters. (S)w

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

# Memorandum

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

- 1 - Mr. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Marion
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

DATE: October 18, 1967

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

## SECRET

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

### PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination to friendly news media sources is a copy of a Negro newspaper editorial attacking Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

### BACKGROUND:

King's group is in desperate need of funds. In an effort to combat this problem, King has organized a variety show starring Harry Belafonte, well-known Negro vocalist with a subversive background, to tour seven major cities in the United States. The proceeds will go to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. King is touring with the group and speaks during each performance.

The attached editorial entitled "Think Twice Before Going to Coliseum Tuesday Night" appeared in the "Forward Times," the leading Negro newspaper in Houston, Texas. This paper attacks King for his stand on Vietnam and claims his appearance in Houston is "an imposition on the community." King is also referred to as "a misguided 'Moses' who has lost himself." In addition, the article claims King's position regarding the Vietnam war "borders upon treason." Further, "a man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him."

Enclosure

100-106670

DMW:ekw  
(8)

Classified by 6080 Red/TAP  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

13 NOV 3 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

57 NOV 1967

ENCLOSURE CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAA/SJK  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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

OBSERVATIONS:

*Informant*

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ has advised us that this news item is extremely irritating to King. In addition, the advanced ticket sales were slow in Houston, Texas, prior to the performance on October 17, 1967. This newspaper story may have caused many of the citizens of Houston to "think twice before going" and indeed, not go at all. *(S)u*

It is felt that if this article is given wide-spread publicity as how thinking Negroes really feel about King, two objectives can be accomplished. ~~One, publicize King as a traitor to his country and race. Secondly, reduce his income from these shows since he has five more performances to give; namely, Chicago, Illinois, October 19; Cleveland, Ohio, October 21; Washington, D. C., October 23; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 26; and Boston, Massachusetts, October 27.~~ \*

RECOMMENDATIONS:

\* The attached be forwarded to Crime Records Division for dissemination to appropriate ~~friendly news media sources.~~

*Small*

*V. [unclear]*

*P*  
*OK*  
*H*

*JS*

*nt*

*Handled with Ed Mowry -  
Newspaper Clinic -  
10/23/67  
[unclear]*

~~SECRET~~

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING TO COLISEUM TUESDAY NIGHT

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

"FORWARD TIMES"  
HOUSTON, TEXAS



Date: 10/14/67  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: Julius Carter  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: 100-104

Being Investigated

100-104-70-3129

3/29/81 J. J. M. M. M.

ENCLOSURE

1/29/81 J. J. M. M. M.

Several weeks ago FORWARD TIMES made an editorial expression which stated, among other things, that Dr. Martin Luther King had strayed off onto an extremely dangerous course which ran in the opposite direction from the civil rights leadership course that vast numbers of citizens had come to know and respect him for over a wide span of years.

Now, we wish to make it crystal clear that this newspaper, of course, respects and upholds Dr. King's right to take a position that is, what we think to be, contrary to good judgement. If he wishes to be the spokesman for the 'peaceniks', that's his business. When, however, Dr. King joins with others and tries to impose that poor judgement upon the entire Negro community which is already beset with more in-depth and complicated problems than can apparently be coped with, at that point we call it our business.

FORWARD TIMES takes the position that Dr. King's visit to Houston next Tuesday night is an imposition upon this community of the first order. We also think that the fact that he is shrouding his "remarks" behind a big name popular singer like Aretha Franklin suggests subterfuge. If Aretha Franklin, who is now at the peak of fame, permits this group of 'peaceniks' to use her name to further their efforts, all that we can say is, "that's her business." If she wakes up later and finds that she has acted just like Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally, all that we can say is that she brought it all upon herself.

Our concern is not so much with what course Dr. King and Miss Franklin elect to follow. What concerns us is that the in-

nocent public, if not properly forewarned, might be taken in by their visit to Houston. We think that if what Dr. King has to say isn't within itself meritorious enough to draw a crowd, he shouldn't be coming to town in the first place to say it. As it stands now, Aretha Franklin's name has been added to the show and many people will pay the fee expecting to hear her sing. She will be the 'bait' to help get the crowd inside the Coliseum. Once inside, the trapped ticket purchasers will have to sit quietly while Dr. King spews about the "immorality" of the war in Viet Nam. Whether we like it or not, the United States of America is at war with a determined aggressor. How we got into this war matters little at this point. The bold truth is that we are shooting 'live' ammunition at them and they are shooting the same type back at us with remarkable effectiveness.

Looking at the conflict logically and realistically, we cannot escape the fact that we have absolutely no course open to us but to disregard all of the babble of weaklings. We, as bonafide American citizens, must take a stand with our country. In our actions, in our conversations and in our preachments, we must give no aid and no comfort to the enemy.

We must remember that all wars are immoral and when Martin Luther King preaches about how immoral the American bullets are and fails to offer us an alternative for stopping those immoral bullets being fired at our boys, we have got to take the ex-civil rights worker to task for his oversight.

There is no middle ground here for any misguided "Moses" who has lost himself. King got lost just outside of Chica-



GROUP II

Third Revision

Reviewed by Projects Unit, DCRS, and copy  
returned 11/15/78 to HSCA representative  
Lew Darisi.

31

RECEIVED  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
DIVISION  
NOV 16 1978

NOV 16 1978

1 #



44-30001 JA 1-0301  
FBI  
LABORATORY

STATUTORY DECLARATION IN LIEU OF GUARANTOR

I, RAMON GEORGE SA EVD  
of 404 DUNDAS ST. W. - TORONTO, ONT.

do solemnly declare that:

1. The statements contained in the attached application for passport are true and correct;
2. There is no one in Canada, eligible under the Canadian passport regulations to vouch for passport applications, who knows me well enough to vouch for my application. The reason for this is that

I HAVE BEEN IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES  
.....  
.....  
.....

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath, and by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act.

Declared before me  
at TORONTO in the  
Province of ONTARIO  
this 16<sup>th</sup> day of APRIL  
AD 1965  
.....  
Commissioner for Oaths or a Notary  
Public  
(Strike out inappropriate)

.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/18/86 BY SP-10/86

6-19-68

Airtel

To: SAC's, Newark (44-854) - Enc.  
Memphis (44-1987)  
REC-19  
From: Director, FBI (44-38861)

MURKIN

Re Newark airtel 6-11-68, submitting bank newsletter for examination.

Four latent fingerprints of value were developed on the newsletter. These latent fingerprints are not identical with the fingerprints of James Earl Ray, FBI #105942G or Jerry William Ray, FBI #862851A.

Newsletter enclosed to Newark.

- 1 - Newark (137-6829)
- 1 - Newark (137-6826)
- 1 - Chicago (44-1114)
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

JUN 19 1968  
COMM-FBI

GJB:mmm  
(11)

*1 XEROX copy given to OPR. 9-21-76*

*BT*

# 245882

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

2/28/80

*Spinacris*

*(Handwritten mark)*

*(Handwritten mark)*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

UNCLASSIFIED

Date May 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT B. (CAROL ANN) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, stated her new unpublished telephone number is 645-9152. She was interviewed on May 10, 1968, by SAs HOWARD C. KENNEDY and ALBERT J. RUSHING at which time she furnished the following information:

Mrs. PEPPER is the sister of subject, JAMES EARL RAY, but is 13 years younger than subject and in all of her life has had very little contact or association with the subject having seen him only approximately three or four times in her life. These three or four times when she has seen him all occurred in the City of St. Louis after Mrs. PEPPER came to St. Louis when she was 16 years old to reside with her father in St. Louis and all of the occasions when she saw the subject were brief encounters such as when she saw him on the street. She believes the last time she saw the subject was probably in 1959 or earlier when she encountered him on the street in South St. Louis at which time she was in the company of their brother, FRANK (BUZZY) RAY, who is now deceased. Her first recollection of seeing him was following his discharge from military service.

Mrs. PEPPER was born January 30, 1941, at Ewing, Missouri. She went to school at Quincy, Illinois, where she resided with her mother, LUCILLE RYAN. Mrs. PEPPER's birth certificate showed her name as RAYNES which she understands is an incorrect spelling of the name of her father, whose name is RAYNS and who now resides near Center, Missouri, to which location he recently moved from St. Louis, Missouri. Mrs. PEPPER prior to marriage, used the name CAROL RYAN, the same surname used by her mother, LUCILLE RYAN. Mrs. PEPPER is unable to account for the variations in the surnames and she is aware that various ones of her brothers and sister have used the surname RAY. So far as she knows they all had the same father although she expressed uncertainty in that regard and she assumes that the variations of the name are simply because her brothers and sisters decided to use the name RAY, a variation of the name RAYNS.

When Mrs. PEPPER was 16 years of age, she left her mother's residence in Quincy and came to St. Louis where she lived with her father at 1727 South 11th Street. She did

5/10/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775

SA HOWARD C. KENNEDY  
SA ALBERT J. RUSHING      AJR/leh      Date dictated 5/10/68

2/28/89

FBI - ST. LOUIS

9

SL 44-775

not attend school after she moved to St. Louis but had various jobs including a period of employment at Kresge's, a dime store, located on Delmar Boulevard, University City, Missouri, no longer in existence. She is not now employed. Her last employment having been by the Catholic Archdiocese in St. Louis as a teacher in the Head Start Program which was conducted at St. Joseph's School on South 12th Street in St. Louis. The later employment was for a period of about one year during the latter part of the residence of Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER at 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis, from which address they moved to their present address in the Maplewood in about October, 1967.

Sometime after Mrs. PEPPER came to St. Louis at the age of 16 years to reside with her father, her mother also came to St. Louis and resided with Mrs. PEPPER's maternal grandmother, MARY MAHER, at 1913 Hickory, St. Louis. Mrs. PEPPER however, did not at any time actually reside in St. Louis with her mother, although she occasionally spent brief periods of time with her mother at the mother's address. After the death of Mrs. PEPPER's mother in early 1961, Mrs. PEPPER did reside for a period of a few months with her grandmother, Mrs. MAHER, in St. Louis, until Mrs. PEPPER was married in St. Louis to ALBERT B. PEPPER in December, 1961.

Mrs. PEPPER and her husband have two children, ALBERT, age 6, and JIMMY, age 4.

After subject, JAMES EARL RAY, was arrested and convicted on the charge for which he was sent to the Missouri State Penitentiary, Mrs. PEPPER has not ever seen him again on any occasion. For a time after he went to the penitentiary she did write letters to him on behalf of her grandmother, Mrs. MAHER and used the latter's name in the letters and she continued this practice after the death of the grandmother in 1963, continuing to use the name of Mrs. MARY MAHER, who was an approved correspondent of subject's in the penitentiary. Mrs. PEPPER estimates that after the death of her grandmother she probably wrote no more than three or four letters to the subject at the penitentiary. She is unable to recall the last such letter she wrote to him but the last time may have been as late as the early part of 1967. She occasionally received a letter from subject while he was in the penitentiary and believes she received no more than two or three letters from him. Mrs. PEPPER did not ever visit subject at

SL 44-775

the penitentiary or attempt to do so and insofar as she knows her husband did not ever visit him at the penitentiary. She advised she has understood from her husband that the latter has never seen the subject in his life.

Mrs. PEPPER has not at any time had any contact either direct or indirect with the subject since his escape in 1967 from the Missouri State Penitentiary. She has no knowledge of any person who has had information regarding the subject's whereabouts and stated she could furnish no such information regarding his whereabouts. She, herself, first learned that he had escaped from the penitentiary when she heard it on the radio and she knew nothing about any plans for the escape. She stated she has had no indication that anyone in her family or otherwise has been in any way in contact with the subject or had information regarding his whereabouts since his escape.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER regarding whether she recalled anything about the receipt of a money order in approximately January, 1967, which was reportedly in the amount of \$15.00 and was sent by an inmate at the Missouri State Penitentiary to the ALBERT PEPPER Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis.

In response to direct questions concerning this matter, she advised that she may have received a money order on one occasion but to the best of her recollection, it was for \$2.00 or \$3.00 and it may have been in payment for magazines which her brother had requested she mail to him. It was her recollection that if she received a money order it was received earlier than January, 1967. She said she never at any time mailed magazines to him and does not recall what disposition she may have made of any money order after it was received. Later in the interview she said the money order may have been for as much as \$15.00 but she does not recall. She also acknowledged that she might have cashed such a money order but she cannot specifically remember having done so. In this connection, she said her memory is very vague.

In response to soliciting by interviewing agents, Mrs. PEPPER stated that she would be entirely willing to notify the St. Louis Office of the FBI if she should at any time in

SL 44-775

the future receive any information which might have bearing on locating the subject. She also stated that she would be entirely willing to be interviewed further in the event there should be any additional matters on which an interview with her would be desired.

Mrs. PEPPER said that her first knowledge of the subject's involvement in this matter was when she heard the news announcement on the radio and she said she has never had any information regarding the possible involvement other than that which has appeared in the news media. She said she had never known of anything in her brother's attitude or associations which would suggest any motive for his involvement in the killing of a Negro leader such as MARTIN LUTHER KING.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

11/15/78 WPH/72 -  
UNCLASSIFIEDDate 5-16-68

Mrs. ALBERT B. (CAROL) PEPPER was recontacted at her residence, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri. She again specifically denied that she has had any contact with her brother, JAMES RAY, since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary in April, 1967, or that she has had any knowledge whatever of his whereabouts since that time other than what she has derived from the news media. Although Mrs. PEPPER expressed her willingness and intention to notify the FBI if she should at any time be contacted by him or if she should receive any information regarding him she stated that she would certainly not expect that he would contact her and she noted in that regard that RAY would not be aware of her current address or her new un-published telephone number. She further pointed out that other than their brother, JERRY RAY, who is in the Chicago area, she believes all of the family have moved since RAY's escape from the penitentiary and that JERRY RAY would, therefore, be the only one whose address would be known to JAMES RAY.

With regard to the Grapevine Tavern, Mrs. PEPPER commented that the tavern has barely been making expenses since it was opened about the first of the current year and, therefore, it may not continue in operation very long.

5-14-68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

SA ALBERT J. RUSHING

SA HOWARD C. KENNEDY

AJR:amb

Date dictated 5-15-68



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 5-21-68

1

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, was interviewed at her residence, at which time she furnished the following information:

Mrs. PEPPER has received no information regarding her brother, JAMES EARL RAY (whome she refers to as JIM), since the last previous interview with her by the FBI.

Within the past several days, police officers from the St. Louis Police Department came to see Mrs. PEPPER indicating to her that they had received some inquiry from a newspaper, possibly "The Los Angeles Times" according to Mrs. PEPPER's recollection of what they said; this inquiry having to do with the finances of the RAY family. The police officers apparently came to see Mrs. PEPPER just to find out some general information about her, and they suggested to her that if people wanted to talk to her about her finances, she might want to obtain a lawyer. A representative of "The St. Louis Post Dispatch" newspaper also came to see Mrs. PEPPER within the preceding few days, but she refused to talk to him. Mrs. PEPPER has heard from an acquaintance that there was an article a few days ago in "The St. Louis Post Dispatch" which seemed to be a rehash of the erroneous information which appeared in a "Life Magazine" article concerning the RAY family, but Mrs. PEPPER herself did not read this newspaper article.

Mrs. PEPPER and her family went to see her father at Center, Missouri, over the preceding weekend, May 18-19, 1968. She has been customarily going to see him there during weekends and usually takes him groceries. She is the one in the family who maintains contact with the father and looks after his needs. The farm which the father bought about six months ago is believed to consist of about forty acres of which a little is probably tillable, and she thinks her father will grow corn on this part of the farm, but the remainder is suitable only for livestock and grazing. She thinks that he paid some amount in the neighborhood of \$2,600 for this farm. Mrs. PEPPER is uncertain in her recollection, but believes it may be correct that she gave him a check drawn on her account in the amount of \$1,900 at the time he was purchasing this farm and which was applied to the purchase. If so, this money

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5-20-68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

SA HARRY C. JUNG

SA ALBERT J. BUSHING

AJR:ral

Date dictated 5-20-68

SL 44-775

would have been his money. Mrs. PEPPER sometimes keeps his money in her checking account or savings account, and she thinks this may have occurred in this instance. On the other hand, she may have given him such a check as a loan, but she is uncertain in her recollection. Sometime before her father purchased the farm, he sold the property in St. Louis which he formerly owned at 1819 Park, this property consisting of a two-story residential building. Mrs. PEPPER believes he received something like \$2,800 from the sale of this property. She believes that the \$1,900 which she may have returned to him in the form of her check represented part of the proceeds of the sale of that property which he gave her to keep for him in her account. In any event Mrs. PEPPER is certain that she did not herself pay for any part of the purchase of the farm by her father, and if she gave him the check for \$1,900, this was a return of his money or a loan.

While Mrs. PEPPER's father resided in St. Louis before the purchase of the farm at Center, Missouri, he had various jobs, such as, service station attendant, and he also at one time operated a second-hand store where he sold junk. This business was also located on Park Avenue, but was somewhere east of Twelfth Street, a considerable distance from 1819 Park. Her father did not own the property where he conducted this second-hand business.

Until Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER moved to their present residence in the fall of 1967, Mrs. PEPPER was always employed ever since their marriage in December of 1961. During that period of time, they have practiced thrift and economy and have always endeavored to save something from their income. They opened a savings account several years ago at the Bohemian Savings and Loan Association on South Eighteenth Street in St. Louis in the same area where they resided. A few years ago when the Bohemian Savings and Loan Association was moved to a remote section of the city, they transferred their savings account to the Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, where they have continued to have a joint savings account. ALBERT PEPPER has been employed for more than three years by the Ace Construction and Engineering Company, which is affiliated with the New Market Hardware Store. His earnings in this employment is \$3 per hour, and in some weeks he works overtime on Saturdays. Mrs. PEPPER's last employment was with

SL 44-775

the "Head Start" School Program, and she was employed there by the Catholic Archdiocese being paid at the rate of \$60 per week. She had this employment for about a year until Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER moved in the fall of 1967 to their present address. Her last employment before that was in cleaning work at an office building at 1015 Locust in St. Louis. Because she and her husband have always endeavored to be economical and saving in the handling of their family finances, they were able to accumulate funds in their savings account. When they contracted in the fall of 1967 to purchase the house where they now live for a purchase price of \$19,500, they withdrew the necessary money for the downpayment from their savings account.

Mrs. PEPPER has no idea and no knowledge as to whether her father may ever have given Mrs. PEPPER's brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, any funds to hold for her father.

Mrs. PEPPER has no information regarding a trip to California made by her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, in the summer of 1967 and never knew or heard that he made such a trip.

One of the places in St. Louis where Mrs. PEPPER lived with her father prior to her marriage was 1727 South Eleventh Street. She believes her brother BUZZY lived with them there part of the time, but she is certain that her brother JIM never lived with them there. Mrs. PEPPER never had any knowledge of her brother JIM having used the name O'CONNOR, and she never knew of any bank accounts he may have had at any bank at any time. In fact, Mrs. PEPPER had so little contact or knowledge of her brother JIM that she can now recall having seen him only on possibly a couple of occasions when she was small and shortly after he was discharged from military service, and she recalls seeing him on one occasion on the street in South St. Louis at some later time after she moved to St. Louis with her father. Although Mrs. PEPPER was known as CAROL RYAN as of 1959, she has no knowledge or recollection of having received any checks from her brother JIM or from any person under the name JAMES CARL O'CONNOR, either in 1959 or any other time. She can think of no reason why she might ever have received any such checks. Mrs. PEPPER is certain that she has never had any financial dealings of any type with her brother JIM in her life.

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With regard to the matter of a money order directed from an inmate at the Missouri State Penitentiary to the Albert Pepper Stationery Company, 712 Shenandoah, St. Louis, Mrs. PEPPER has still been unable to remember anything further regarding such a matter since she was previously interviewed regarding this matter. She still does vaguely remember that someone told her one time while he was in the penitentiary that he wanted magazines sent to him, but she cannot remember having sent magazines to him and cannot recall that she was ever reimbursed for doing so. She is certain, however, that there was never any Albert Pepper Stationery Company at 712 Shenandoah.

Mrs. PEPPER has no recollection that she has ever known of a person named Y. P. WEBBE or V. P. WEBBE, and this name is not in any way familiar or significant to her.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNCLASSIFIED

Date June 5, 1968

11/15/78 W.H.H./K.P.

1 Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL) PEPPER, 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, advised that she had received no additional information whatever bearing on the possible location of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since she was last interviewed.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to whether, in the event she should receive some pertinent information regarding her brother, she would furnish such information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Mrs. PEPPER then stated that she would have no expectations whatever that her brother would communicate with her in any way, pointing out that he did not know her current address or her current unpublished telephone number. She added that she felt that he did not believe that he could expect any help from her and she said that, as a matter of fact, she would not be at all interested or willing to help him as she did not want herself and particularly her children to be in any way involved with him. She said that if she should hear from RAY and be convinced of his innocence she might find it difficult to furnish such information to the FBI. It was pointed out to Mrs. PEPPER that in the event RAY should be innocent or there should be any extenuating circumstances the entire matter would in any event be most readily resolved through locating RAY at the earliest possible time. Mrs. PEPPER expressed understanding and agreement with this idea.

Inquiry was made of Mrs. PEPPER as to her whereabouts and activities during the period between April and July, 1967. She said she was living at that period of time with her husband and two children at 712-a Shenandoah, St. Louis. She recalled that beginning in about the summer of 1966 and ending in about July or August, 1967, she was employed as a teacher's aide or assistant teacher in the "Head Start Program" at St. Joseph's School located at Twelfth and Russell Streets, St. Louis. In this employment she worked regularly during that period on Monday through Friday, each week, during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 or 4:30 p.m. daily. This work involved the teaching of children three to five years of age. She was employed in this work by the Catholic Archdiocese on

6/5/68

at St. Louis, Missouri

File # SL: 44-775

SA ALBERT J. RUSHING AJR:jfb

6/5/68

SAA HOWARD C. KENNEDY

Date dictated

SL: 44-775

Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, under Sister ANN CLARICE, Supervisor of the "Head Start Program" for this Archdiocese. She was paid for her work by check from the Archdiocese, although she understood that at least some of the funds for the "Head Start Program" were furnished the Archdiocese by the Human Development Corporation. Mrs. PEPPER recalled that she missed only one day from work during the entire period of her employment and that day was due to the illness of her youngest child.

Mrs. PEPPER said her first knowledge of the escape of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, from the Missouri State Penitentiary was when she heard or read news reports regarding the escape but she is unable to recall the approximate time she heard such reports. However, since reported identification of RAY as the alleged assassin of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Mrs. PEPPER has heard or read reports to the effect that his escape from the penitentiary was not officially reported or given publicity for perhaps several weeks after the escape occurred. Mrs. PEPPER, therefore, assumed that she herself would not have learned of the escape from news reports until perhaps several weeks after the escape.

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Date June 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT (CAROL ANN) PEPPER, residing 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, telephone 645-9152, who was contacted at her residence, disclosed the following information:

She has been truthful in previous contacts by FBI Agents with her that she does not recall having any contact at all except by personal correspondence with her oldest brother, JAMES EARL RAY, since about eight or nine years ago, prior to the time he escaped from the Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP), Jefferson City, Missouri. Her only contact with JAMES EARL RAY while he was incarcerated there was via mail. She admitted having written to him under the name of her grandmother who died after RAY was confined to the penitentiary.

She emphasized that she has never at anytime nor does she now know where her brother spent the time between about April 23, 1967, when he escaped from the MSP and July 1967, when his whereabouts have been established through investigation. She did not see or hear from him at all during that period of time, and insofar as is known to her, none of her brothers or sisters have seen him since he escaped from the MSP.

She was very much surprised when she learned that JAMES EARL RAY had been arrested in London, England. She first learned of these circumstances after being called by telephone by a woman friend, name not disclosed, on Saturday, June 8, 1968, the day of his arrest. This friend informed her of the news and she then heard the same news on television. Although she has saved most of the local papers for each day since that time, she has not read from more than one or two of them about her brother. The news is, of course, upsetting and she has formed an opinion that in many instances information is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. She is somewhat bitter towards the local press, advising that CHRIS CONDON, a St. Louis news commentator, telephoned her, probably on Monday, June 10, 1968, requesting an interview with her. She declined and on the following day, Tuesday, June 11, 1968, in the late afternoon she observed CHRIS CONDON and several other men with him, both in front of the house and in a vestibule at her house. They appeared to be attempting to gain entrance but she declined to answer the door. She observed that they took pictures of the house and then on the 6:00 p.m. television news broadcast, Channel 5, she observed pictures of her house. The pictures disclosed the house number of 2025, and the news announcement indicated the house was located on Bellevue Street in Maplewood.

On 6/13/68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

by SA (A) HOWARD C. KENNEDY : djh Date dictated 6/14/68

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On the previous evening, CHRIS CONDON reported photographs and news concerning the Grape Vine Tavern owned by her and operated by her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, at St. Louis. She believes this news coverage is very unfair to herself and to her brother, JOHN.

At one point she commented that it is rather discouraging to know that she and many other people are paying through taxes the expenses for a representative of the United States Government to travel to London, England, in behalf of the Government for prosecution of her brother when she personally does not have money enough to afford to go there also. She said it might be possible if she had money to "help in his defense" in referring to her brother, JAMES EARL RAY, but she did not comment further. She emphasized she has absolutely no information pertaining to his activities within the past several years.

She became sad and tearful in recalling incidents of her childhood, mentioning that a Catholic children's home, not otherwise identified, was wrong in taking from her mother her three youngest children, namely MAX, SUSIE and BUZZY. MAX, if living, is now about fifteen years old. According to the recent news, MAX was adopted but she has no other information concerning him. She knows that her mother never signed papers or gave any approval for an adoption of MAX, who she heard many years ago was retarded or a "mental case." She would very much like to know the whereabouts of MAX. She has not seen her sister, SUSIE, who is married and who lives in the Chicago, Illinois, area, since BUZZY's funeral. Her mother, of course, was an alcoholic.

Her husband, ALBERT PEPPER, has indicated to her he believes they should obtain a gun of some kind "for protection" in view of recent publicity. She is afraid that Negroes may attempt to harm them. She personally directed JOHN RAY to close the tavern for a few days. JOHN RAY, she believes is at home. She talked to him by telephone when he called her from the tavern where he had stopped for a few minutes on June 12, 1968. She does not know when the tavern will reopen.



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Date June 14, 1968

Mrs. ALBERT PEPPER (CAROL ANN), residing 2025 Bellevue, Maplewood, Missouri, telephone 645-9152, telephonically furnished the following information at 2:30 p.m.

On inquiry as to whether her brother, JOHN LARRY RAY, is in fact intending to travel to London, England, in behalf of JAMES EARL RAY, his brother, she commented that her brother JOHN is definitely not going to leave St. Louis to travel to England or anywhere else. She said he does not have funds with which to travel and although she personally "has a few dollars" she does not intend to give any of it to JOHN. She said she might consider doing so if either of them could be of any assistance to JAMES EARL RAY, but she is confident that "there is no help for him". She said that if they can in anyway help him, they will have to do so after he is returned to this country.

She said that JOHN RAY does not have a telephone where he may be reached except at the Grape Vine Tavern. He visited her home on the afternoon of June 13, 1968, and he usually telephones her once each day. He has not yet called her today and she expects to hear from him this afternoon. At the request of SA(A) HOWARD C. KENNEDY she said she will inform JOHN RAY to telephonically contact SA PATRICK W. BRADLEY at this office.

On 6/14/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL 44-775

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SL: 44-775  
HRD:wma

CAROL PEPPER -  
EMPLOYMENT

Sister ANN CLARICE, Supervisor, "Head Start Program," for the Catholic Archdiocese, 4445 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri, advised SA JOSEPH A. DUBYAK, June 7, 1968, her records disclosed CAROL PEPPER of 712A Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, was employed as a teachers aide under that program and under her supervision at St. Joseph's School, 12th and Russell, St. Louis, Missouri, from 1966 until she voluntarily terminated such employment on August 18, 1967, due to the fact that she was moving to St. Louis County.

During this period she worked from 8:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M. each week day, except for one five-hour absence on one day in February, 1967.

Her services were satisfactory.

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SL 44-775  
CSD/ral

Re: CAROL PEPPER - CREDIT REFERENCE

The following investigation was conducted by SA CHARLES S. DUKE on May 22, 1968, at St. Louis, Missouri:

Mr. DON HUELSING, Credit Manager, Beiderman's Furniture Store, 6759 Chippewa Street, St. Louis, Missouri, advised that an account, now closed, was established on June 4, 1966, for the amount of \$103 in the name of AL and CAROL PEPPER, residing at 712A Shenandoah, St. Louis, with an indicated previous address of 1324 Lami, St. Louis.

ALBERT's employment was listed as New Market Hardware on Laclede Avenue, St. Louis.

The record of Mr. and Mrs. PEPPER indicated a savings account at the Manufacturers Bank and a personal reference as JERRY RAYNS, 1819 Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

HUELSING advised that the record contained no derogatory information.

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SL 44-775  
CSD/ral

Re: CAROL PEPPER - CHARACTER REFERENCE

The following investigation was conducted by SA CHARLES S. DUKE at St. Louis, Missouri, on May 22, 1968:

ALENA SUTTON, 7129 Leona Street, St. Louis, Missouri, was contacted at her residence, whereupon she advised that she knew CAROL PEPPER, also known as Mrs. ALBERT PEPPER, for just a couple of years and that their association was not a social relationship but rather a teacher-parent relationship. She said that she was an instructor at the St. Joseph Church on Twelfth and Russell Streets, St. Louis, and enrolled in the project "Headstart" government program, and the program required at least one parent of one of the children attending the program to be present. She said CAROL was the parent present at this program.

SUTTON advised that she did not know where CAROL was presently residing with her husband ALBERT and two sons, ALBERT, JR., and JAMES, ages 6 and 4 respectively.

SUTTON stated that she did not know any of CAROL'S brothers or sisters and did not know if she even had any.

She stated that she last saw CAROL sometime in August of last year, and the only thing she could remember about any type of conversation about her family was something to the effect that her father was going to buy or did buy a farm up around Hannibal, Missouri, and that he probably would let her children go to the farm. She said that it was probably in Hannibal, but she was not sure.

SL 44-775  
ECK: amb

RE: CAROL PEPPER

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI:

On May 17, 1968, Mr. HENRY A. GRIESEDIECK, Owner and Operator of a proprietorship known as F.L.R. Investments with offices at 3638 Olive Street, St. Louis, was contacted at his place of business by SAA HOWARD C. KENNEDY. Mr. GRIESEDIECK furnished the following information:

On or about May 1, 1968, he received a \$320 check from CAROL PEPPER residing 2025 Bellevue, St. Louis, Missouri. Mrs. PEPPER is the operator of a tavern known as "Jack's Place," 1982 Arsenal Street, St. Louis. He recalled that this check was drawn on an account at Manufacturers Bank and Trust Company, St. Louis, Missouri, but he had no further description of the check received by him. The check was forwarded in response to a statement of F.L.R. Investments forwarded to Mrs. PEPPER under date of March 27, 1968, and it was in payment for a tavern bond costing \$20 and a Missouri State Liquor License costing \$300. F.L.R. Investments serves as an agent, obtaining liquor licenses and supplying bonds, for numerous taverns and cocktail lounges in the St. Louis area.

UNCLASSIFIED

Date 4/15/68

TOMAS LAU, Director, International School of Bartending, 2125 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed at this location and furnished the following information:

He stated his records reflect that ERIC S. GALT attended the International School of Bartending from January 19, 1968 through March 2, 1968, graduating from same on the latter date. He attended school Monday through Friday from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

LAU's records further reflect that on January 19, 1968 GALT paid \$20 in cash and on January 20, 1968 paid \$105 in cash for this course. GALT's Application for Admission to the School, which is dated January 19, 1968, reflects an address of 1535 North Serrano and telephone number 469-8096, which address and telephone number were scratched out and replaced with an address of 5533 Hollywood Boulevard and with a telephone number of 464-1131. The application further reflects that GALT furnished a prior employment as Mr. WILKER 751 South Figueroa, with a salary of \$50. He listed the following references:

MARIE DENINNO  
5533 Hollywood Boulevard  
Hollywood, California

RITA STEEN  
5666 Franklin  
Hollywood, California

CHARLEY DENINNO  
5666 Franklin  
Hollywood, California

On this application, GALT listed his age as 36 years with a birth date of July 20, 1931 and that he was a citizen of the United States. He listed his marital status as single, number of children none and his Selective Service classification as III-A. He listed his education as high school, and describes

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On 4/15/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574

by SA RICHARD J. RAYSA and SA THEODORE J. ALBEARE TJA/amb Date dictated 4/15/68

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DATE 11/21/86 BY SP-3/MSK

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himself as 175 pounds, 5'10" and as having no physical defects. This application was signed by ERIC S. GALT.

IAU made available the above application, indicating he observed GALT complete and sign this application in his office on January 19, 1968. IAU also made available the Installation Notice dated January 19, 1968 at Los Angeles, California, payable to International School of Bartending in the amount of \$125 for a six week bartending course and signed ERIC S. GALT and TOMAS REYES LAU. IAU stated he also observed GALT sign this document on January 19, 1968.

IAU also made available a color photograph and negative dated March 2, 1968 depicting GALT and LAU together in IAU's office on March 2, 1968, the date of GALT's graduation from the International School of Bartending.

IAU recalls GALT driving a dark, possibly black, late and small model Ford having red interior bearing out of state license plates, possibly black and white in color.

IAU recalls that approximately one week after GALT's graduation on March 2, 1968, GALT telephonically contacted him (IAU) at which time LAU advised him that he had a possible job opportunity for him as a bartender. GALT advised LAU that he was leaving town within two weeks for an undisclosed destination to visit his brother and did not wish to take a job at this time. GALT stated that he would return to Los Angeles and check with LAU regarding employment at that time.

IAU stated he had no information which would indicate that GALT has held a position as a bartender in the Los Angeles area. IAU stated that while GALT was a student at this school, he did not observe him to associate closely with any other student. IAU continued that GALT did not talk about himself, his past experiences or any associates.

IAU furnished the following description was GALT:

Name	ERIC S. GALT
Sex	Male
Race	Caucasian
Date of birth	July 20, 1931
Citizenship	United States
Height	5'10"
Weight	180 to 185 pounds
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown, close cropped, greying at temples
Build	Husky
Complexion	Light
Education	High school
Marital status	Single
Characteristics	Neat and clean shaven; well dressed; right handed; speaks with slight southern accent; thin lips; well coordinated; no visible jewelry



11/15/78 WAH/OPr  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MLK Ex. # \_\_\_\_\_

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Date 4/14/68

Mr. RODNEY ARVIDSON, owner - operator, National Dance Studio, 2026 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California, telephone 591-5651, advised as follows:

He recalled ERIC GALT as a dancing student who enrolled at National Dance Studio during the first week of December 1967, and who subsequently quit taking lessons quite abruptly on approximately February 12, 1968.

ARVIDSON stated that during this period of time he had several occasions to talk with GALT and on at least one occasion he interviewed GALT for approximately two hours, in an attempt to benefit him socially through his dance lessons at the studio.

Through his conversations with GALT, ARVIDSON stated that he was told by GALT that he had been in Mexico and as he, ARVIDSON, recalled he believed it was in the early part of 1967. ARVIDSON stated that he believed GALT informed him that he owned a restaurant in Mexico City. ARVIDSON stated that he spoke Spanish fluently and when he conversed with GALT in Spanish, GALT did not reply, leading ARVIDSON to believe that GALT was not conversant to any degree in that language. ARVIDSON stated that GALT used rather poor language, leading him, ARVIDSON, to believe that he had achieved education no higher than high school.

ARVIDSON recalled that he never saw GALT in any attire other than shirt and tie. He often wore a very expensive pair of alligator shoes which ARVIDSON believed were loafer cut. GALT told him sometime during their conversations that he was a merchant seaman and that he very much desired to return to the sea.

Upon terminating his dance instructions, GALT stated that he wanted to attend bartending school in order

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On 4/13/68 at Long Beach, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574

by SA GEORGE E. AIKEN, JR./kaf Date dictated 4/14/68

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that he may open his own restaurant, and his dance instructions were conflicting with his desires to attend bartending school.

ARVIDSON stated that GALT was somewhat backward socially and was a poor dancing student because he was ill at ease with others. GALT could never seem to relax while in a mixed group or around other people. ARVIDSON recalled that GALT was driving a white automobile, make and model unrecalled by ARVIDSON.

ARVIDSON stated since GALT was a student for such a short period of time he did not obtain a photograph of him, which was customary for all students enrolled in the dance studio.

GALT did not smile readily, was pleasant but very evasive. He would not talk about himself at all and would not look the individual he was conversing with in the eye. He was bashful and a true introvert and smiled with a crooked smile. To ARVIDSON's recollection, GALT never appeared at the dance studio with any associates, male or female.

ARVIDSON stated that he was of the opinion that GALT was a complete loner, was transient, although he seemed to have money. ARVIDSON recalled that in each instance when GALT paid for dance instruction as agreed, he removed a roll of bills from his trouser pocket and paid his account as agreed.

ARVIDSON stated that ARDELLE, a part-time dancing employee, instructed GALT more than any other of the National Dance Studio employees. ARVIDSON stated that ARDELLE was the nickname of SHARON RHOADS, 5411 Don Ricardo Drive, Los Angeles, residence telephone 293-2616. ARVIDSON stated that RHOADS was employed by Charter Title Company, located on Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, California, business telephone O F 9-0326.

Date 4/14/68

Mr. RODNEY ARVIDSON, owner - operator, National Dance Studio, 2026 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California, telephone 591-5651, was interviewed at his place of business, at which time he provided the following official National Dance Studio records for review by SA GEORGE E. AIKEN, JR.:

A National Dance Studio "Enrollment Agreement and Contract for Dancing Instruction", reflected that ERIC GALT, residence 1535 North Serrano, Los Angeles, California, telephone 469-8096, on December 14, 1967, executed an enrollment agreement, agreeing to take a course of 50 hour lessons for the total amount of \$499. The course consisted of 25 private hour lessons and 25 party or group technique hour lessons.

GALT paid \$100 on account and agreed to pay the balance of \$399 under the following terms:

\$149 due December 18, 1967;

\$50 per week until the contract was paid in full.

The National Dance Studio agreed to give the above stated 50 hour lessons within four months from the date of execution and stipulated that this course of 50 hours of dance instructions expired on March 14, 1968. The contract was signed by ERIC S. GALT and A.S. JORGENSEN, Dance Instructor.

National Dance Studio Card Number 66429; a dance analysis card used by instructors, in the name of ERIC GALT, 1535 Serrano, reflected that the dance student had previously had dance lessons in the State of Alabama, had taken fox trot and cha cha dancing. It was dated December 5, 1967, and reflected that GALT's dancing counselor was Miss LIPTON and instructor was ARDELLE.

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On 4/13/68 at Long Beach, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574  
by SA GEORGE E. AIKEN, JR. /kaf Date dictated 4/14/68

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ARVIDSON was shown three photographs, a composite drawing of the KING assailant furnished from Memphis, Tennessee, a description of the assailant of KING from Birmingham, Alabama, and a photograph of JEROME WALLACE VERNON. He was asked by SA GEORGE E. AIKEN, JR., if any of the above three photographs appeared to be similar in facial characteristics to ERIC GALT. After viewing the photographs, Mr. ARVIDSON chose the photograph submitted from Memphis, Tennessee, as being very similar in facial characteristics to GALT. He stated that the eye region, the nose region, and ears look very similar to GALT; however, the hair line and chin line were a little bit different. When he looked at the photograph, he stated the above mentioned photograph furnished from Memphis, reminded him of GALT very much.

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On the reverse side of the dance analysis card the following notations had been noted by an employee of National Dance Studio: "Had a restaurant in Mexico"; "Leaving in a couple of months to work on a ship - wants to travel". The card also reflected that a box adjacent to the letter "S" had been checked indicating that GALT was single.

A National Dance Studio Bookkeeping Card, in the name of ERIC GALT, 1535 Serrano, telephone 469-8096 and subsequently noted 464-1131, reflected the following transactions:

<u>LESSON NO.</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>PAYMENTS</u>	<u>BALANCE DUE</u>	<u>BALANCE OWED</u>
1 - 2	12/5/67	LIPTON & ARDELLE	\$29		
3 - 4	12/7/67	ARDELLE			
5 - 6	12/12/67	ARDELLE			
7	12/14/67	ARDELLE			
8	12/21/67	ARDELLE			
	12/14/67 12/25/67		\$100	\$399	\$100
1	12/21/67	ARDELLE	\$364	Discount	\$455.70
2 - 3	12/26/67	ARDELLE			\$437.10
4 - 5	12/27/67	ARDELLE			\$418.40

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<u>LESSON NO.</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>PAYMENTS</u>	<u>BALANCE DUE</u>	<u>BALANCE OWED</u>
6 - 7	12/28/67	NORTON			\$399.80
8 - 9	12/28/67	ARDELLE			\$381.20
10 - 11	1/2/68	ARDELLE			\$362.60
12 - 13	1/3/68	ARDELLE			\$344.00
Illegible	1/3/68	MC KAY			-
14 - 15	1/9/68	ARDELLE			\$326.40
16 - 17	1/11/68	NORTON			\$307.80
18 - 19	1/11/68	HARRIS			\$289.20
20 - 21	1/15/68	ARDELLE			\$270.66
22 - 23	1/16/68	HARRIS			\$252.00
24 - 25	1/18/68	HARRIS			\$233.40
26 - 27	1/18/68	HARRIS			\$215.80
28 - 29	1/22/68	ARDELLE			\$197.20
30 - 31	1/23/68	HARRIS			\$178.60
32 - 33	1/25/68	ARDELLE			\$160.00
34 - 35	1/25/68	HARRIS			\$141.40
36 - 37	1/29/68	ARDELLE			\$122.80

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<u>LESSON NO.</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>PAYMENTS</u>	<u>BALANCE DUE</u>	<u>BALANCE OWED</u>
38 - 39	1/30/68	ARDELLE			\$104.20
Illegible	1/31/68				Illegible
40 - 41	2/1/68	NORTON			\$85.60
42 - 43	2/5/68	ARDELLE			\$67.00
44 - 45	2/6/68	HARRIS			\$48.40
46 - 47	2/8/68	ARDELLE			\$29.80
48	2/12/68	ARDELLE			\$18.60

SHARON RHOADS, employed at Charter Title, 9033 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; was interviewed by SAs GEORGE E. AIKEN, Jr. and E. RHEAD RICHARDS in the vicinity of her employment on April 16, 1968, at which time she advised as follows:

She stated that she was employed on a part-time basis as an evening dance instructor at the National Dance Studio located at 2026 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California.

She stated that she recalled one ERIC S. GALT as a former student whom she instructed. She stated that as she recalled, GALT was her dancing pupil from about the first week in December 1967 through approximately the middle of February 1968.

In recalling GALT, she offered the following information concerning him:

She said that GALT was a very neat person and that he dressed immaculately, often in expensive clothes. He always appeared at the dance studio cleanly shaven, wearing white shirt and tie, and either a sport coat and slacks or a suit. She stated he also owned an expensive looking pair of alligator loafers, which he often wore with a sport suit. She stated that his hands were very well kept, and his nails may have been professionally manicured, but she could not state this with absolute certainty. She stated, however, that she had never seen his hands soiled or his fingernails dirty. His fingernails were well filed and trimmed and were worn short and neat. She stated that he was left handed inasmuch as she had noticed him on two occasions writing, and at the time she observed him writing, she made a mental note that he was a "south paw."

4/16/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 44-1574

SAs GEORGE E. AIKEN, Jr. and E. RHEAD RICHARDS/GEA/eb

Date dictated 4/17/68

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GALT was very ill at ease in crowds and gave her the impression that he prefers to be either alone or with no more than one other individual. He was an introvert and was very hard to converse with. She stated that in the approximate two months that she knew him, only towards the last did he feel confident enough with her that he would joke with her. She stated that toward the end he showed somewhat of a humor, which she believed very few people knew he had. He was always ill at ease around others and could not relax while in conversation with any other individual. He always fidgeted, pulled at his ears, played with his hands, and looked in every direction but at the person with whom he was conversing. She stated that he smiled with a one-sided smile and that he smiled very infrequently.

He would never talk about himself, but in general conversations she was led to believe that he came to Los Angeles from Mexico, possibly around Mexico City. He told her that he was unemployed; was a former merchant seaman; that he wished to return to sea, and that he received sufficient proceeds from the sale of a bar that he could "get along without being gainfully employed."

RHOADS stated that she was of the opinion that GALT entertained the thought of asking her for a date on many occasions, but his backwardness prevented him from actually doing so. During the dancing lessons he always centered his conversations around dancing techniques and never talked in general terms about himself. She believes he was a Southerner, and she recalled that possibly the first or second week during January 1968, he did not attend dancing instruction, and upon his return, stated that he had visited a brother in the State of Louisiana. RHOADS stated that during the two month period that she knew GALT, he changed residences twice in Hollywood, California. She at no time associated with GALT socially. She was not acquainted with any of his associates, and through conversations, GALT told her that he had no particular "hobby."

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She stated that GALT seemed to compensate for his social inaptness by his attire and placing his schedule on precise projects which he was participating in.

As an example, she stated that GALT took dancing lessons she believed to overcome some of his shyness. He pursued the dancing lessons quite vigorously, doubling up on the number of lessons normally taught per week so as to take the maximum number of lessons in the shortest possible time. He abruptly quit dancing, telling her that he had enrolled in bartending school and was having a conflict in his schedule.

RHOADS was of the opinion that he had toyed with his dancing lessons sufficiently to satisfy himself and was "running off on another tangent." She also stated that GALT was not sufficiently busy she believed to have not pursued both courses, because GALT told her that he slept rather late, had lunch, took a nap in the early afternoon, went to bartending school in the late afternoon, and would then attend dancing lessons in the early evening. This, he explained to her, was his typical day, which was not a busy, productive, or strenuous one in her mind.

She stated that GALT was very slow in his mental processes. He often did not understand jokes and did not react favorably to a friendly gesture extended to him. RHOADS stated that during one conversation with GALT she made mention that it was odd that he did not wear any jewelry, that is ring or watch, since he was so well dressed otherwise. GALT replied that he detested jewelry of any sort, and to her knowledge, she never saw him wear a watch, ring, or cuff links, or any other items of jewelry.

RHOADS could remember nothing else of the mannerisms, background, etc. of GALT. She stated that GALT was a white male, weighing about 165 pounds. She stated that he had brown hair; was in his middle 30s; had a medium complexion, and spoke with a Southern accent. She stated that from his diction she believed him to be high school educated. To her knowledge, he spoke no foreign language.

His hair was short but not a flattop or Butch haircut. She stated that she could not recall whether or not he had a part in his hair but for some reason doubted that his hair was parted. His eyes were described as pretty and blue in color.

She stated that should she remember any further information pertaining to GALT, she would immediately contact the Los Angeles Division of the FBI.

CG 44-1114

HAW:jap

1.

Mrs. MARGUERITE WELCH, immediate supervisor of JERRY RAY at the Sportsman Country Club, Dundee Road, Northbrook, Illinois, and Mr. RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN, owner of the club, were contacted by SA HARRY A. WALKER on the evening of April 24, 1968, and given the background of JERRY RAY's visit to "Life Magazine," Chicago, Illinois. Both people who expressed surprise of RAY's contact with "Life" were advised that "Life" did not learn the identity of JERRY RAY from the FBI.

The above people also advised that before JERRY RAY left Sportsman Country Club voluntarily on April 24, 1968, for the Chicago Office of the FBI, they talked to him attempting to impress upon RAY the necessity of RAY fully cooperating with the FBI at all times in this investigation.

Both of the above people advised that one or the other will know if JERRY RAY does not report for work and if he does not, they will immediately contact the Chicago Office of the FBI.

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11/15/78 WAH/jr

CG 44-1114  
HAW:jap  
1.

Mrs. MARGUERITE WELCH, who resides at 287 Crestwood Village, Northfield, Illinois, home phone HI 6-6087, who is in charge of personnel at the Sportsman Country Club located on Dundee Road, Wheeling, Illinois, advised SA HARRY A. WALKER as follows on April 24, 1968:

She has been acquainted with JERRY RAY, the maintenance man at the Sportsman Country Club, since approximately September, 1964, when he started employment as a dishwasher at the country club coming to the club from the Bell Employment Service, Chicago, Illinois. RAY left shortly after his employment started; however, returned within one or two months and continued his employment as a dishwasher. He eventually became night maintenance man at the club and has always in this capacity performed his work in a capable manner and was honest in every respect; however, she is of the opinion that RAY has a low mental capacity.

RAY at no time has ever visited her home at the above address and she has had no contact with RAY since he left the Sportsman Country Club on April 23, 1968, which is his day off, until the present time. RAY on his day off which falls on a Tuesday usually takes a bus to Chicago, visits a theater, sometimes staying in Chicago and returning the next day either for lunch or dinner.

RAY has spoken of a brother who she believes is from the St. Louis, Missouri area; however, he never provided any additional information concerning this brother other than the fact that he was a bartender. RAY also had a child during his marriage to GJIRDIS RAY, nee OLSEN, a former waitress at the country club; however, GJIRDIS was pregnant by a former husband whose last name she remembers as STRIET (phonetic) and the baby was born shortly after RAY's marriage to GJIRDIS RAY, nee OLSEN. To the best of her recollection, GJIRDIS RAY no longer has this baby turning it over to a welfare agency for adoption. RAY also has an ex-wife, possibly in Nashville, Tennessee, and had a son and a daughter by this marriage who should be in the vicinity of from eight to ten years old. Approximately three years ago at Christmas during his employ-

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CG 44-1114

HAW:jap

2.

ment at the club, RAY flew to Tennessee to visit these two children; however, she knows nothing further concerning these children or their mother or where the family is presently residing in Tennessee.

RAY has no close friends at the club; however, in the past has filled in for other employees of the club in addition to his own duties when the employees wanted time off and needed someone to work in their place. He at no time spoke of other members of his family other than to say that he had a brother that was a bartender in the St. Louis area and she had no idea that RAY was incarcerated in the past. Her records revealed that RAY worked steadily during the night at the Sportsman Country Club from Wednesday evening, April 3, 1968, through Monday, April 8, 1968, without having any time off.

She is of the opinion that RAY is not cooperating with the FBI in every respect, does not feel that some of the questions asked of him are important enough for him to give any thought in answering; however, it could be that due to his low mental condition that he is not capable of answering the questions asked of him. However, she is going to talk to RAY telling him that she "thinks" that this is an extremely important part of his life to cooperate with the FBI in every respect.

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CG 44-1114  
RJD:jap

1.

RE: POSSIBILITY SUBJECT AT BROTHER  
JERRY'S HOUSE, NORTHBROOK, ILLINOIS  
APRIL, 1967

On the evening of May 3, 1968, DAVID ALLEN, 1929 Washington Avenue, Wilmette, Illinois, phone AL 1-5761, advised SA RENE J. DUMAINE that JERRY RAY was formerly married to a friend of his wife's. He said that according to his wife, approximately one year ago in April, 1967, the subject was with JERRY RAY and his wife in Northbrook, Illinois.

Mrs. LINDA ALLEN also telephonically advised that she had attended school with Mrs. GJERDIS RAY, who is presently residing at 314 Wisconsin Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois.

Mrs. ALLEN related that Mrs. RAY had told her that sometime in April, 1967, a brother had stayed with JERRY RAY when she and JERRY were residing at 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook, Illinois (from March to September, 1967). The brother stayed there for approximately one week and that although she, LINDA, rented a house in Northbrook, Illinois, next to RAY, she never physically observed the brother. She did remember that GJERDIS had told her that JERRY and the brother would go to Chicago on numerous occasions but would not take her with them. Mrs. ALLEN advised that one neighbor who was residing there at the time still lives there in the house to the west of where the RAYs used to live. She did not know whether or not the landlord was still in the area but that information could be obtained from the ex-landlord.

2/28/86

The following investigation was conducted by SA ROBERT K. MC QUEEN and SA O. ARTHUR GRAN:

AT LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS.

ROY WILSON, Caretaker, rooming house at 314 Wisconsin, advised on May 6, 1968, that GJERDIS D. OLSEN, also known as GJERDIS RAY, occupied Apartment 72 from about November, 1967, to 3:00 p.m., Saturday, May 4, 1968, when she "sneaked off" without notice and without paying \$180 that she was

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41 U.S. 111-111-

arrears in rent. She left in a station wagon driven by her mother, which WILSON had noted parked that morning a block away. She had a red car of her own, and had worked a short while last fall at Scottie's Restaurant, Lake Forest. Her father, a retired Navy man, supposedly worked at Great Lakes. WILSON said he never noted any menfolk visiting GJERDIS. At the time she left, she had just had a phone, number 234-9047, installed the week before.

A check of Civil Service and Navy Exchange, personnel records and of registered station wagons at Great Lakes Naval Training Center failed to identify parents of GJERDIS RAY, nee OLSEN. NICOL LAMBERT, Owner, Scottie's Restuarant, Lake Forest, was located May 7, 1968. He said GJERDIS RAY had been employed only a few days as a waitress in late 1967, at which time she was rooming at 314 Wisconsin, phone 234-9894; however, other waitresses had since reported seeing her around town occasionally, most recently keeping company with a dark-skinned Negro whom she identified as her boyfriend, name not given. LAMBERT located 1967 withholding certificate for GJERDIS RAY, Social Security Number 348-40-1527, on which was listed address of 1344 Hazel Avenue, Deerfield, Illinois, telephone 945-0356.

AT DEERFIELD, ILLINOIS.

Located at 1344 Hazel, as he came home for lunch from his two-day-a-week "manpower" job as maintenance manager at Recreation Department, United States Naval Hospital, Great Lakes, PAUL ALFRED OLSEN, Age 69, advised as follows:

GJERDIS RAY is the daughter of his brother who was killed in Whitehall, Montana, in 1949. He and his wife adopted GJERDIS at age 11 months. They also adopted GJERDIS' brother, NORMAN DALE OLSEN, now age 22, and living in Houston, Texas, and working as an auto painter. Both of the children were slow to learn, left school early, and have been constant sources of trouble for their stepparents.

GJERDIS got married three years or so ago to a DAVID STREET, had a baby by him, then got a divorce for non-support. Then she married JERRY RAY whom she met at Sportsmans golf course two years ago. Last year she put her baby up for adoption through a Methodist home in Lake Forest.



3.

She and JERRY separated six months ago, and she later got a divorce. She has since lived by herself and not at her "parental" home because Mr. and Mrs. OLSEN are "fed up" and did not approve of her chasing around, staying out late, etc.

Mr. and Mrs. OLSEN had become attached to the baby, and visited GJERDIS and the baby a few times at Northbrook, at the place on Techny Road. OLSEN saw JERRY RAY a few of those times but did not like him because once OLSEN got stuck in the snow right outside the Techny address, and JERRY would not "even bother to help push" him out. OLSEN never met any relatives of JERRY RAY and first knew that JERRY had a brother, JAMES RAY, when he read it in the newspapers a few weeks ago. GJERDIS never mentioned having met JAMES, and OLSEN was unaware of a visit by one of the RAY brothers to the Techny Road address. He recalled that shortly after they were married, JERRY RAY and GJERDIS went to Missouri to see JERRY's relatives with the intention of living there but he heard no more about this.

OLSEN concluded that he feels there is something wrong mentally with GJERDIS, who just moved from Lake Forest to a motel in Des Plaines and who is working as a waitress at the Kopper Kettle, Highland Park. Mrs. OLSEN works as a babysitter at the J. D. SIMMONS residence, B2724 Birchwood Lane, Highland Park, phone 945-5029.

Interviewed separately May 7, 1968, at B2724 Birchwood Lane, Mrs. PAUL OLSEN verified generally what her husband had said and added that GJERDIS is highly nervous and emotional, takes pills and is under doctor's care, principally because of the strain of having placed her baby out for adoption last summer in an attempt to preserve her marriage with JERRY RAY. She said GJERDIS, who was born April 12, 1948, married JERRY RAY in Chicago in about January, 1967, and they first lived at Arlington Heights before moving to 2897 Techny Road, Northbrook. Before GJERDIS and JERRY were separated in the fall of 1967, Mrs. OLSEN visited them about three times, but at no time saw any of JERRY's relatives. When the papers related, much to her surprise, a few weeks ago that JAMES RAY and JERRY RAY were brothers, she recalled the following

two incidents, the dates of which she could not precisely place:

The first was GJERDIS' relating to her about the trip she and JERRY took to St. Louis where JERRY visited a brother and his father who lived near there. GJERDIS told of "waiting in a theater" for JERRY while he went with his brother on some sort of mission. This trip was shortly after the marriage, probably in the early spring of 1967, which Mrs. OLSEN related to a time when GJERDIS had just quit working for Culligan's in Arlington or Northbrook.

The other incident concerned a phone call GJERDIS made to Mrs. OLSEN from Northbrook, in which she said that "something funny" was going on because she, GJERDIS, had discovered some strange clothes left in the garage by JERRY's brother from St. Louis; further, that this brother had taken JERRY's car and left. GJERDIS told Mrs. OLSEN that she "just don't understand" and that she had not really seen the brother.

When the publicity about JAMES EARL RAY came out, Mrs. OLSEN and GJERDIS tried to set the time of the foregoing car incident and figured that it must have been April, 1967, because "he (JAMES RAY) didn't escape until late in April" and they chose to assume that it was brother JAMES who was there at the time.

Mrs. OLSEN concluded that she is certain that GJERDIS has never in her life seen JAMES EARL RAY from what she has told and indicated to her (Mrs. OLSEN). She cautioned that GJERDIS' mind would "wander" when agents talked with her and she would not be able to recall specific dates and places.

It is noted that Mrs. OLSEN as well as her husband pledged complete cooperation and said they would immediately contact the FBI should they hear or learn any information re subject.

GJERDIS DOROTHEA ANNA OLSEN (she has again assumed her maiden name), date of birth April 12, 1948, at St. Paul, Minnesota, who would frequently go off on unexplained tangents in response to questions, was interviewed outside her place of employment, Kopper Kettle, Routes 41 and 22, Highland Park. She said she had been "expecting" agents, that she really had no "good" information, but that she would cooperate in any way. She advised as follows:

Since May 4, 1968, she has been residing at Randel's Motel, Apartment 12, Des Plaines, but intends to move in the near future to Waukegan. She drives a 1962 Plymouth with 1968 Illinois license HK 6917. She married WILLIAM STREET, Mundelein, Illinois, August 31, 1966, and gave birth to his baby October 13, 1966. She divorced him in Chicago in about January, 1967, after having met JERRY RAY who was working at Sportsmans. In about Christmas, 1966, she and JERRY went to St. Louis and visited his father and his sister, MELBA, and her husband. There was another man there, probably a brother, but she never heard his name. She first knew of a brother, JOHN, when in early 1967, at the Techny Road address, she happened to see a clipping in which it was mentioned that JOHN RAY was in some kind of trouble. She never talked to JERRY about this, however, and she never knew there was a JAMES RAY until after it "came out in the papers." She has seen numerous pictures of JAMES RAY since and "is quite sure" she has never seen him before. As to her waiting in a theater in St. Louis, she responded only that she did go to a movie one time rather than go with JERRY on some sort of errand.

After the publicity about JAMES, she and her mother recalled the incident wherein a brother from St. Louis, name unknown to her, came and left some clothes and his car. This brother was about 45, had dark hair like JERRY, but was not JAMES. She and her mother figured it was about April, 1967, when this occurred. The brother came driving a 1961 red Plymouth tudor, with white top, and he traded cars with JERRY, taking JERRY's 1963 or 1964 Rambler, which JERRY had bought from the second chef at Sportsmans. This was a cream-colored four door. The brother left in this car, saying he

was going to Los Angeles. She did not see him again. JERRY was to have been sent the title for the 1961 Plymouth but later he took this car back to St. Louis and left it and got the car which he is now driving.

GJERDIS, who had to return to work at her boss' request, concluded that she would be available at any time for further interview, but she was very certain "I have never seen JAMES." She said JERRY has been ruined by the publicity and she would like to "find him" to talk to him and "settle him down."

SL: 44-775

CAROL PEPPER - SISTER  
(and husband ALBERT PEPPER)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/18/86 BY SP/mae/mre

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 29, 1968

1.

Mrs. ALBERT E. (CAROL) PEPPER, age 27, of 2025 Bellevue, advised interviewing Agents that she had been married to ALBERT S. PEPPER for approximately six years. She stated she had not seen JAMES EARL RAY since some time prior to her marriage and that her husband had never met her brother JAMES EARL RAY.

With reference to her brothers JOHN "JACK" RAY and JERRY RAY she stated she had not seen either of these individuals since they were visiting in St. Louis around Christmas, 1967. She advised JERRY RAY resides in the vicinity of Chicago, Illinois, and it is her understanding that JACK RAY is residing there also.

When questioned concerning her father she stated that her father, JERRY RAY, age about 59 years, is presently residing on a farm he owns which is located in the vicinity of Hannibal, Missouri. She denied knowing the exact location of this farm stating she had never visited it. However, she had visited in the general area near Hannibal some months ago at the time her father was looking for a farm to purchase in that area. According to Mrs. PEPPER she is normally in contact with her father approximately once a week at which time he calls her by telephone, usually on Saturday morning. She denied having ever made a telephone call to her father, JERRY RAY, stating that she did not know his telephone number. When questioned specifically in this respect she stated she had not misplaced his number but had never been in possession of his telephone number. She advised that her father was retired, and that his only source of income was what he received from Social Security.

With respect to other members of the family Mrs. PEPPER furnished the following information:

SUSIE RAY, age 20, was raised by some unknown well-to-do family residing in the vicinity of Quincy, Illinois. Within the past several months SUSIE was married to some unknown band leader who works out of the vicinity of the Quincy, Illinois, area.

UNCLASSIFIED

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On 4/19/68 at Maplewood, Missouri File # SL 44-775

SA HARRY C. JUNG

SA CLETIS B. BIDEWELL

CBB:bam

Date dictated 4/25/68

3650

2.

SL 44-775

A sister, MELBA RAY, age 30 and single, resides somewhere in Quincy, Illinois, and has on occasion been confined in a hospital due to a mentally retarded condition. She volunteered the information that the last time she heard from MELBA was at Christmas last year at which time she was in jail in Quincy, Illinois.

According to Mrs. PEPPER another brother, FRANKLIN "BUZZY" RAY was killed in an automobile accident which occurred approximately four years ago on a bridge west of Quincy, Illinois. She stated when she last saw JAMES EARL RAY he was with this brother "BUZZY" in St. Louis approximately two or three years prior to the death of "BUZZY" RAY.

With respect to her mother LUCILLE RYAN, Mrs. PEPPER advised that she had died in the City Hospital at St. Louis approximately seven years ago of complications resulting from sclerosis of the liver and heart trouble.

Mrs. PEPPER emphatically denied having any knowledge or information whatever concerning the whereabouts of her brother, JAMES EARL RAY. She was specifically advised of the provisions of the harboring statute during the course of the interview.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date May 2, 1968

ALBERT B. PEPPER was interviewed at his place of employment, the New Market Hardware, 4064 Laclede. PEPPER stated he had never seen subject RAY inasmuch as RAY was serving time in the Missouri State Penitentiary at the time he married CAROL RAY, subject's sister. He denied having any information whatsoever concerning the present whereabouts of subject or having been contacted either directly or indirectly by subject since his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri.

With respect to subject's brother, JERRY RAY, presently residing in Chicago, Illinois, he stated he had not seen JERRY in a couple of months. When questioned concerning the subject's brother, JACK RAY, he stated he had not seen him in approximately one month. He further stated he did not mix with his wife's relatives and her contact with them was her own business.

When questioned specifically concerning any communication from the Missouri State Penitentiary addressed to the Albert J. Pepper Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, St. Louis, Missouri, PEPPER stated he and his family formerly resided at that address but he was not aware of any mail addressed to such a stationery company. In discussing this matter, he admitted that his wife might have received such a communication but denied having any information concerning this. He mentioned the possibility that if such a letter had been sent it very well could have been stolen from the mailbox and never received as they have had in the past checks stolen from the mailbox.

PEPPER was asked if he would discuss this matter with his wife CAROL and endeavor to determine whether or not she had ever received any mail or any money mailed to her addressed to the Albert J. Pepper Stationery Company, 712a Shenandoah, and he agreed to do so. During the entire course of the interview, PEPPER appeared friendly, but obviously volunteered no information whatsoever.

It was pointed out to PEPPER that this matter would undoubtedly be discussed with him again at some future date and he was apparently agreeable to this suggestion.

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On 5/2/68 at St. Louis, Missouri File # SL: 44-775

SA CLETIS B. BIDEWELL/mjb

SA ROBERT S. STEWART

3667

Date dictated 5/2/68



REC 25

1 - Foreign Liaison  
1 - Mr. Long

JUNE 11, 1968

44 34451-4390

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO LEGAT, LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

MURKIN

THE FOLLOWING IS BEING SET FORTH FOR THE INFORMATION AND INVESTIGATIVE ASSISTANCE OF LEGAT, LONDON:

JERRY RAY, SUBJECT'S BROTHER

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JERRY RAY

INDICATED THE FOLLOWING: SINCE SUBJECT HAD TO SERVE EIGHTEEN YEARS IN PRISON, HE CERTAINLY HAD NOTHING TO LOOSE IF SOMEONE DID OFFER HIM A LOT OF MONEY AND WOULD GET HIM OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO KILL A PERSON HE DIDN'T LIKE ANYWAY. THIS ANSWER WAS TO A DIRECT QUESTION [REDACTED] - "DID YOUR BROTHER KILL KING?" THAT SUBJECT RECEIVED SOME MONEY IN ADVANCE WHICH HE MAINTAINED IN A SAFE DEPOSIT BOX AT UNKNOWN LOCATION, WHICH WAS WITHDRAWN WHEN "SUBJECT LEFT." IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT FROM WHERE HE LEFT WHEN HE WITHDREW THE MONEY COULD NOT BE CLARIFIED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUBJECT'S BROTHER JERRY INDICATED SUBJECT RECEIVED EITHER

REL:hw (4)

VIA TELETYPE

JUN 11 1968

ENCIPHERED

70 JUN 12 1968

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT, LONDON  
RE: MURKIN

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND OR FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

"IT BROKE SUBJECT'S HEART TO ABANDON THE MUSTANG."

JERRY RAY AT NO TIME DURING DISCUSSIONS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MADE A STATEMENT THAT HE HAD  
DIRECT KNOWLEDGE THAT SUBJECT KILLED KING OR WHO MADE THE  
MONEY AVAILABLE.

NEWARK OFFICE DOES NOT DOUBT WORD [REDACTED] BUT HAS  
NO WAY TO EVALUATE JERRY RAY'S INFORMATION.

NEWARK OFFICE FEELS PERHAPS THIS INFORMATION COULD  
BE USED IN DIRECT INTERVIEW OF SUBJECT, HOWEVER TO APPROACH  
JERRY RAY ABOUT ABOVE WOULD [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UNDOUBTEDLY STOP THE FLOW OF  
INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM JERRY RAY.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JERRY INDICATED THAT HE WILL VISIT  
HIS BROTHER IN ST. LOUIS AND FEEL THEY WILL HAVE NO TROUBLE  
OBTAINING A GOOD ATTORNEY BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICITY.

SINCE JUNE SEVEN, LAST, NEWARK OFFICE HAS CONSISTENTLY  
BEEN [REDACTED] IN AN EFFORT TO CLARIFY ANY VARIATIONS

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT, LONDON  
RE: MURKIN

IN INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JERRY RAY [REDACTED]

NORMAN MC CABE, DIRECTOR OF SECURITY, RCA,  
CAMDEN, NJ, ADVISED THAT MANUFACTURER'S SERIAL NUMBERS  
AS FURNISHED OF TWO ONE SIX V S, THREE ONE TWO AND J I S  
ZERO ZERO SIX P ARE NUMBERS FOR RCA BATTERIES AND NOT  
FOR TRANSISTOR RADIOS. THE FIRST NUMBER IS THE BATTERY  
SERIAL NUMBER AND THE J I S NUMBER IS A VOLTAGE  
DISCLOSURE CODE NUMBER. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TRACE SUCH  
NUMBERS. MC CABE ADVISED THAT INSIDE THE CASING OF RCA  
PRODUCED TRANSISTOR SETS IS PLACED ON A PIECE OF GLUED  
PAPER THE SERIAL NUMBER, MODEL NUMBER, AND BATTERY  
INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SET. OCCASIONALLY A SERIAL NUMBER  
OR IDENTIFICATION NUMBER IS PLACED ON THE PRINTED CIRCUIT  
BOARD OF THE SET. THESE NUMBERS MUST BE OBTAINED TO  
EFFECT ANY POSSIBLE TRACING OF AN RCA MADE TRANSISTOR  
RADIO. THE ACTUAL POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING WHERE THE  
RADIO WAS SOLD IS REMOTE BUT IF RCA COULD OBTAIN THESE  
NUMBERS THEY WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IN THIS REGARD.  
IF THE NUMBERS ARE OBTAINED AT LEAST THE DATE AND PLACE

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT, LONDON  
RE: MURKIN

OF MANUFACTURE CAN BE ESTABLISHED. MC CABE ADVISED THAT THE TRACING OF A TRANSISTOR RADIO MANUFACTURED BY THAT COMPANY WILL BE DONE BY RCA AT INDIANAPOLIS AND HE SUGGESTED THAT TO EXPEDITE SUCH A TRACING ANY FUTURE CONTACTS THIS REGARD BE HANDLED AT INDIANAPOLIS.

NEW YORK OFFICE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] JUNE NINE, LAST, A LONG DISTANCE PERSON-TO-PERSON CALL WAS PLACED FROM JIM TATUM, HOUSTON, TEXAS, TO SUBJECT, JAMES EARL RAY, LONDON ENGLAND. CALL WAS PLACED FROM FOLLOWING NUMBER.

[REDACTED]  
CALLER EVENTUALLY CONTACTED CANON ROW POLICE HEADQUARTERS, PHONE NUMBER NINE THREE ZERO - ONE ONE ONE THREE, LONDON, ENGLAND, AND AFTER BEING DENIED ACCESS TO RAY, ASKED TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE WHO COULD FURNISH INFORMATION REGARDING RAY. HE WAS REFERRED TO CHIEF OF DETECTIVES SUPERINTENDENT BUTLER BY THE NIGHT STATION OFFICER, HOWEVER, DECLINED TO CALL BUTLER. HOUSTON OFFICE IDENTIFYING JIM TATUM AND DETERMINING HIS INTEREST IN SUBJECT RAY.

VIA TELETYPE  
JUN 9 1968  
ENCIPHERED

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	_____

WASHINGTON --01-- 5-55 PM RCM  
URGENT 6-9-68  
TO DIRECTOR, CHICAGO AND MEMPHIS  
FROM NEWARK (44-854)

MURKIN

*McDonnell*  
*Long*

JERRY RAY, SUBJECT'S BROTHER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DURING DISCUSSIONS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JERRY RAY INDICATED THE FOLLOWING-

SINCE SUBJECT HAD TO SERVE EIGHTEEN YEARS IN PRISON, HE CERTAINLY HAD NOTHING TO LOOSE IF SOMEONE DID OFFER HIM A LOT OF MONEY AND WOULD GET HIM OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO KILL A PERSON HE DIDN'T LIKE ANYWAY THIS ANSWER WAS TO A DIRECT QUESTION [REDACTED] "DID YOUR BROTHER KILL KING"?

THAT SUBJECT RECEIVED SOME MONEY IN ADVANCE WHICH HE MAINTAINED IN A SAFE DEPOSIT BOX AT UNKNOWN LOCATION, WHICH WAS WITHDRAWN WHEN "SUBJECT LEFT". IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT FROM WHERE HE LEFT WHEN HE WITHDREW THE MONEY COULD NOT BE CLARIFIED [REDACTED] SUBJECT'S

BROTHER JERRY INDICATED SUBJECT RECEIVED EITHER ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND OR

44-2021-4390

END PAGE ONE.

REC 36

JUN 12 1968

*3/5/70* *Spencer*

*ec - Long*

*6-11-68* *50*

PAGE TWO.

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

"IT BROKE SUBJECT'S HEART TO ABANDON THE MUSTANG". JERRY RAY AT  
NO TIME DURING DISCUSSIONS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MADE A STATEMENT THAT HE HAD DIRECT KNOWLEDGE THAT SUBJECT  
KILLED KING OR WHO MADE THE MONEY AVAILABLE. ?

NEWARK DOES NOT DOUBT WORD [REDACTED] BUT HAS NO WAY TO EVALUATE  
JERRY RAY'S INFORMATION.

NEWARK FEELS PERHAPS THIS INFORMATION COULD BE USED IN DIRECT  
INTERVIEW OF SUBJECT, HOWEVER TO APPROACH JERRY RAY ABOUT ABOVE WOULD

[REDACTED]  
UNDOUBTEDLY STOP THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM JERRY RAY.  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JERRY INDICATED  
THAT HE WILL VISIT HIS BROTHER IN ST. LOUIS AND FEEL THEY WILL HAVE  
NO TROUBLE OBTAINING A GOOD ATTORNEY BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICITY.

END PAGE TWO.

PAGE THREE.

SINCE SIX SEVEN LAST NEWARK HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN IN [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] IN AN EFFORT TO CLARIFY ANY VARIATIONS IN INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY [REDACTED] JERRY RAY [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END...EFH

FBI WASH DC

FBI

Date: 6/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (44-387) 1  
(ATTN: FBI IDENTIFICATION DIVISION)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (44-854) (P)

SUBJECT: MURKIN  
(OO: Memphis)

*1 Xerox copy given to CPR 9-31-78  
with identification of FBI exposed  
through the document.  
PEN/lmb*

Re Newark teletype to Chicago dated 6/7/68, and Newark teletype to the Bureau, Memphis and Chicago dated 6/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau is a form newsletter bearing the heading, "The Royal Bank of Canada Monthly Letter."

For the information of the Bureau, JERRY RAY, subject's brother, was encouraged by [redacted] to travel from Chicago, Ill., to Camden, N.J., on 6/5/68, to visit her. This was their first meeting and JERRY RAY performed his travel by plane.

RAY stayed with [redacted] where [redacted] has a room. The landlady for this room is [redacted] who resides at the same location.

On 6/7/68, [redacted] said to [redacted] and [redacted] upon his arrival on 6/5/68, JERRY RAY had with him the 5/3/68, issue of "Life" magazine, which contains a cover story re instant matter. He also had a second issue of "Life" which had New York City Mayor JOHN LINDSAY on the cover. That issue contained additional information concerning MURKIN.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (Info)
- 1 - Chicago (Info)
- 5 - Newark
  - (1 - 137-6829)
  - (1 - 137-6826)

ENCLOSURE

REC-19

JUN 13 1968

4595

JEO/eag

(11)



As he unpacked the magazines, JERRY RAY said [REDACTED] [REDACTED] "Just between you and me, I saw my brother right after he escaped. We had a meeting place where he would meet on my days off." RAY did not say if these alleged meetings occurred after his escape from prison or after the murder of KING.

JERRY RAY also said he had visited his brother who owns a tavern in St. Louis, Missouri, after the assassination and before his first interview by the FBI. He stated that before the FBI contacted him, he saw the photograph of an individual identified as ERIC STARVO GALT with his eyes closed. He recognized this man as being identical with his brother JAMES EARL RAY.

JERRY RAY said if he told the FBI everything he knows, "with all of their resources" they would be able to "track him down." He stated, "I do not know where he is right now. I do not think I'll ever see him alive again." He explained his brother would probably not permit himself to be captured alive. JERRY RAY added that he did not want the subject apprehended because of the additional bad publicity it would result in for the RAY family. RAY further said he does not refer to the subject since the assassination by his real name but calls him STARVO or GALT. He did not explain why he does this.

RAY also said, "I tell the FBI only enough to keep them off my back."

On 6/5/68, RAY speculated [REDACTED] that the subject would probably flee the country to Mexico or Canada. He also said the subject was too hot for him to be in touch with now.

On 6/6/68, [REDACTED] asked JERRY RAY if his brother shot KING. He replied, "This is his business. I didn't ask him. If I was in his position and had 18 years to serve and someone offered me a lot of money to kill someone I didn't like anyhow and get me out of the country, I'd do it."

Later the same day JERRY RAY commended [REDACTED] even if the subject confesses to committing the murder of KING, he, JERRY RAY, would not agree with him. He did not further explain this statement, [REDACTED] advised.

RAY said he now carries a gun from his room to his car. He keeps the gun in the trunk of his car. When he walks

to his room from his car, he removes the gun from the car's trunk and takes it with him. He said he carries the weapon for personal protection.

RAY said the subject is a supporter of Presidential Candidate GEORGE WALLACE. He said the subject once drove a man to Alabama from possibly the California area so he could vote for WALLACE. He then identified this man by his photograph which appears in the 5/3/68, issue of "Life." It is noted [redacted] said the magazine states this man's name is CHARLES STEIN. JERRY RAY, [redacted] did not say when the trip to Alabama occurred.

JERRY RAY said he was considering moving his residence again to a place where the press and possibly the FBI would be unaware of. He also said he was thinking of beginning to use the alias of JERRY RYAN. He then displayed a new Illinois driver's license in the name of JERRY RYAN. He said he recently obtained that license for his own use. He did not further explain why he might change his address and begin to use an alias. He did not say he intended to leave his present job.

On 6/7/68, [redacted] said on 6/6/68, [redacted] asked JERRY RAY if he thought his brother shot KING. RAY replied by pointing out if he were in his brother's position of having an 18 year sentence to serve once he was apprehended and someone offered him money to kill someone he did not like and thereafter be able to leave the country, he would do it. RAY further volunteered at this point the subject might have fled to Canada or Mexico. He did not say anything further about where he thought the subject was.

Then [redacted] asked JERRY RAY where the subject got the money to buy instant white Mustang with. JERRY RAY replied, "They gave him part of the money. He put the money in a safety deposit box, but when he left, he drew it all out. It broke his heart to have to leave the white Mustang."

On 6/9/68, PCI also said on 6/6/68, [redacted] recalled RAY commented the subject was paid either \$100,000 or \$500,000. JERRY RAY said this while [redacted] and he were discussing if the subject killed KING. According to [redacted] JERRY RAY did not further explain his comment regarding the \$100,000 or \$500,000 sum. Neither PCI was able to extract a direct statement from JERRY RAY that the subject killed KING.

On 6/9/68, [redacted] said [redacted] received a telephone call from JERRY RAY. He said he was calling to alert [redacted] in

NK 44-854

the event [redacted] did not know, the subject had been arrested. He also said he did not think the RAY family would have any difficulty obtaining a lawyer to represent the subject because he was certain several good ones would want the job because of the publicity they would receive.

NK 44-854  
JEO:lgd

JERRY RAY also told [redacted] he intends to visit the subject with his brother who owns a tavern in St. Louis when the subject is returned to the United States.

[redacted] received the impression from JERRY RAY that he did not know the subject was traveling as he was just before his arrest.

JERRY RAY also said he intends to travel to St. Louis, Missouri to confer with his brother who owns a tavern there within the next week. He said he will do this so he and his brother can agree on how they should handle inquiries from the Press. He said he might consult with an attorney himself so he would not mistakenly say anything in public which might be detrimental to the subject's case.

On 6/10/68, [redacted] advised [redacted] received on 6/3/68 an airmail special delivery envelope from JERRY RAY postmarked in Wheeling, Ill., on 6/1/68. The envelope contained a money order from JERRY RAY to [redacted] in the amount of \$40.00. The money order was about 8½" long by 3½" wide. The paper the money order was on was yellow in color and had a white edge. Across the bottom of the face of the money order was "PERSONAL MONEY ORDER" written in black letters. PCI said [redacted] could not recall noticing what kind of a money order it was.

[redacted] stated on 6/3/68 [redacted] cashed the money order at the First Camden National Bank and Trust Co. bank located in the 2800 block of Mt. Ephraim Ave., Camden, N.J. [redacted] accompanied [redacted] and put [redacted] name and the number of [redacted] account at that bank on the money order when it was cashed.

This money order represents one of several instances where JERRY RAY has mailed money orders or cash to [redacted] for [redacted] personal use. It is noted for the Bureau's information JERRY RAY is apparently quite fond of [redacted] and this is probably the reason he sends [redacted] money.

The money order was enclosed in a four page form-type newsletter bearing the heading of "THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA MONTHLY NEWSLETTER". Beneath this heading appears the information this newsletter represents Vol. 49, No. 5,

NK 44-854  
JEO:lgd

and the organization's head office is in Montreal. The newsletter is for May, 1968, and contains an article entitled "TECHNOLOGY AS A WAY OF LIFE". The article deals generally with the various aspects of technology's affect on contemporary living.

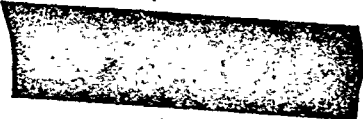
Across the front of the newsletter is written in ink, "Look inside, I am at the post office and didn't have any paper." [redacted] said this is the only message from JERRY RAY which appeared in this piece of correspondence.

[redacted] said [redacted] recalled receiving the communication containing the described newsletter after learning the subject had been in Canada prior to his apprehension. [redacted] said that JERRY RAY indicated to [redacted] during his visit he obtained and sent the money order from the Wheeling, Ill. area.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

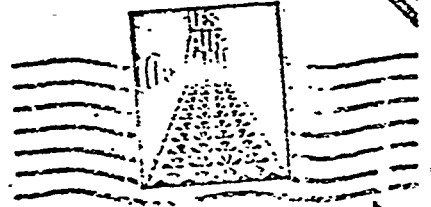
The FBI Identification Division is requested to process the enclosed newsletter for latent impressions and compare any of value which are developed with the subject's fingerprints.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.



AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

Jerry Ray  
3535 Dundee Road  
Northbrook, Illinois  
ZIP CODE 60062



000 VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Marynie Fellers  
2420 Arnold Street  
Camden, New Jersey 08104

*Handwritten mark resembling a stylized 'E' or '3'.*



DECLASSIFIED BY Spmacmre  
ON 3/6/86

*Handwritten signature or initials.*

*Handwritten signature or initials.*

#11

May 10, 68.

Dearest Margie:

Just a few lines to say hello and hope this letter finds you & the baby in good health. I hope you got the money in time. I mailed it yesterday from St. Louis. Maybe I should have put a St. Louis Return address on it. Since the money order was purchased in St. Louis I hope you didn't have any trouble cashing it.

Margie this is important to the three of us so please tell me how much it would take care for you and the baby to live on. By that I don't mean just to get by on, I mean to have everything you want and neither of you wanting for nothing. In your answer you tell me and I'll send that amount each week. I think you would prefer staying home and taking care of the baby.

u  
X

Money

44-1114-406 F

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 16 1968	
FBI - CHICAGO	



DECLASSIFIED BY J.P. Macomber  
ON 8/5/86

2

If that's your wish then that's what you should do, you shouldn't ever work unless you desired to do so.

In your answer also tell me all about the baby and don't leave out anything.

I'm awfully sorry about not writing in the past nine days but we've really been moving around, I just arrived back up

here yesterday evening and the people I work for has got me living here in Lake Forest Illinois, in which is about ten miles from where I work.

I still get my mail where I work as actually I don't live here, the Club I work for pays my rent plus I don't ~~live~~ live here, that's so the newspaper

reporters don't find out where I am at. I'll continue to live here for a month and if the newspaper lit up then I'll move back into the Club.

Love  
10/11/11



3

if they keep the publicity on then I'll  
just leave my job and move to  
London. Even if everything goes along  
okay here I might eventually move up  
there, that was the main reason I  
wanted you to fly down for a visit  
because if you found you preferred living  
down here or vice versa then that  
would be where we lived in case we  
decided to get married, as I also  
believe it's the woman who decides  
where to live, a man can adjust to  
any city or state and he should live  
where she prefers. I'll pick your letter  
up tonight and will answer it over  
the week-end, I didn't get it last  
night as I got in too late.

Margie I don't know what your  
feelings are concerning my brother being  
accused of killing Martin Luther King.

LOVER

4.

As I told you in one of my previous letters, I don't hate colored men for there being superior to us in many fields. But I guess down deep without knowing it I do a little. It's kind of hard to take at times when they show you up in front of other people. For instance when I go into Chicago in which is only 20 miles away. Everyone in a while one will bump into you on purpose and automatically you apologize to him because if you don't you know he will beat you silly. One in a while I used to go into a few different nightclubs - everyone in a while a negro man would walk in and usually he would pick out whatever girl appealed to him the most and tell the person she was with to get lost, whether it would be Bay Friend or Huston I don't know  
James

5.

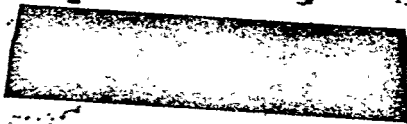
But whoever it was they would leave the place and fast

The negro man and the girl would usually dance until closing time then dance together most of the time you could tell she didn't want to leave with him but she didn't have any choice

Enough for that as I think we can find more pleasant things to talk about. Call you on the phone tomorrow or Sunday.

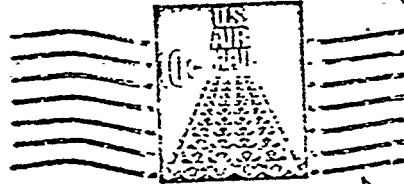
Let me know in your answer if you like to live in Camden or prefer to live somewhere else. also don't forget to tell me how much it costs for you and the baby to live on comfortably and tell me all about her. answer when you get time.

as always  
Jimmy



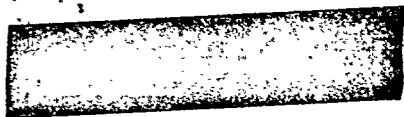
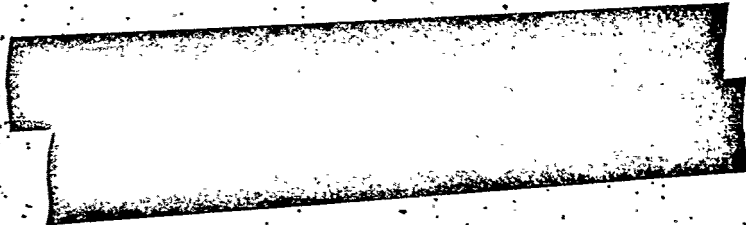
AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

Jersey Roy  
3535 Dundee Road  
Northbrook, Ill  
ZIP CODE 60062



VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Marjorie Fettes  
2420 Schald Street  
Camden, New Jersey 08104



2/5/68 Sprague

May 18, 68.

Dear Margorie?

I received your letter a few days ago and was very happy to get it, I would have answered it right back but I wanted to think things out I haven't been doing nothing else but thinking for the past few days. I hope you'll agree with the decision I finally reached.

Margorie after social security and income tax is withheld from my check I clear one hundred & twenty two dollars per week, they really tax me heavy because I am single, if I had a wife and a child I would clear around one hundred and thirty eight dollars per week - plus if I stay working here until January 1, 1969 it means and extra 5 hundred & fifty dollars.

at Christmas I'll at least get a two hundred dollar Bonus plus a two week paid vacation.

Margorie I think it would be best for us if we at least give this a try and that's it stay here until January 1, 1969 and then

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
MAY 28 1968  
FBI - CHICAGO

2

You make the decision whether I should stay here or we should move to Camden or Florida. You'll get this letter Monday and I'll phone you Monday night between eleven & twelve o'clock. I want you to think these things over so when I phone you'll know what you are going to do. I think a Round trip plane ticket up here would cost around a Hundred & ten dollars give or take a few dollars, next week I'll mail you a Hundred dollars plus the following week I would mail you the same amount if you would fly up for a one or two day visit. You wouldn't have to rent a car as I would meet you at the airport. I know we would have a wonderful time as whatever you decide to do we would do it as there's nice supper clubs, nightclubs, Drive-ins or anything else you might desire. Don't mistake the suburbs for Chicago as out here there's practically no crime plus you go for a week at a time without seeing  
| away

3.

any colored people. Most people who live out here are rich but theres also quite a few like myself who work for a livery and live out here because we "dont like Chicago" a person could live a lifetime without ever seeing Chicago as there everything out here that they are in the city. after we meet and get acquainted and find out how much we enjoy each others company plus if we think we should get married in the near future or on the other hand I just dont appeal to you or theres something about me that you dont like and you think I wouldnt make a suitable husband. Either way you wont come out the loser as if you decide we should get married in the near future then we could both drive to consider and pick up all of your belongings and drive back here and get settled down or you could fly back and have me pick you up at a later date.

if you decide we shouldnt get married then  
I love you

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

41

slom going to give you my car to keep, its  
not a new car but its in perfect condition plus  
youll like it as its a 1960 Desoto and they was  
a expensive car. I wouldnt be hurrying as I  
also have a 1961 plymouth at my Dad Farm  
in Massint and I would go upon pick it up.  
I would make sure you would have enough  
money to stop at a Motel at night plus for  
Food and what ever else you might need. or  
if you thought it would be to long of a drive  
then you could Fly back, thats why slom  
sending you enough money for a Round trip  
Ill talk to you more about it Monday night  
please dont ever get the idea that slom  
just out for excitement or good times as  
what I want is a wife and about three  
kids, I just have that one and I only see  
him a couple times every year. please  
think this over careful and slom keeping my  
finger crossed for for your answer Monday  
night - as ever Jerry.





## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

200001

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 13, 1978

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (HSCA)

In the course of a file review conducted at the St. Louis FBI Office in an unrelated matter, a St. Louis informant file was reviewed. This file contained a contact memorandum dated March 19, 1974, which set forth information relating to several criminal matters and also contained the following paragraph:

"During the Fall of 1973, five or six months ago, date not recalled, Beyers came to the shop inquiring as to whether they could get together to talk, and they later did so at Pizza and Cream, Clayton, Missouri, in the area of a Broad-Dugan Paint Store, where informant had traveled on business. Beyers talked freely about himself and his business, and they later went to informant's house where Beyers told a story about visiting a lawyer in St. Louis County, now deceased, not further identified, who had offered to give him a contract to kill Martin Luther King. He said that also present was a short, stocky man, who walked with a limp. (Later, with regard to the latter individual, Beyers commented that this man was actually the individual who made the payoff of James Earl Ray after the killing.) Beyers said he had declined to accept this contract. He did remark that this lawyer had confederate flags and other items about the house that might indicate that he was 'a real rebel'. Beyers also commented that he had been offered either \$10,000 or \$20,000 to kill King.

Extensive further research in the St. Louis indices and files failed to reveal this information was in any way disseminated and the information simply reposes in the informant file.

2/27/86

J. Macmillan

14

FBI/DOJ



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 20, 1978

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (HSCA)

In connection with the HSCA's investigation into the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the St. Louis Office of the FBI surfaced information during a file review in an unrelated matter which it is believed is of interest to the Committee. This information concerning a St. Louis informant discussing with (first name not furnished) Beyers several individuals who may have information germane to the HSCA's investigation was furnished to FBI Headquarters, in the attached memorandum dated March 13, 1978.

In order to facilitate the Committee's evaluation of the information contained in above-mentioned memorandum, the St. Louis Office was asked to furnish background data on Beyers. On March 17, 1978, the St. Louis Office telephonically furnished the following:

NAME: Russell George Beyers  
DOB: August 19, 1931  
FBI NUMBER: 101-311E

The information contained in the memorandum of March 13, 1978, was discovered as a result of a file review conducted for background data on Beyers who was recently arrested by the St. Louis Police Department for his alleged participation in the burglary of a St. Louis museum.

Where information is not provided, it is because it is not retrievable or is not being furnished pursuant to the Memorandum of Understanding.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

3/21/78

J. M. ...

15

LATENT PRINTS  
(Memphis Evidence)

## Photo number

1. One palm print on black rifle box, Q1  
Identified as palm print of Birmingham gun store clerk Donald F. Wo
2. One fingerprint on side of rifle, Q2  
Identified as left thumb of James Earl Ray
3. One fingerprint on side of telescopic sight, Q2  
Identified as ~~right~~ fingerprint of James Earl Ray  
RIGHT RING
4. One fingerprint on binoculars, Q14  
Identified as left thumb of James Earl Ray
5. One fingerprint on front page of Memphis newspaper "Commercial Appeal  
for 4-4-68, Q19  
Identified as left index fingerprint of James Earl Ray
6. One fingerprint on after shave lotion bottle, part of Q24  
Identified as right index fingerprint of James Earl Ray
7. One fingerprint on Schlitz beer can, Q53  
Identified as right middle fingerprint of James Earl Ray
8. One fingerprint on board, Q71  
Identified as fingerprint of SA Franklin L. Johnson
9. One fingerprint on lift marked in part "Lifted from Dresser top"  
Identified as fingerprint of Memphis police officer
10. One fingerprint on lift marked in part "Rt. side of fireplace(front)"
11. One fingerprint on front Rebel Motel Registration card for 4-3-68 in  
name of Eric S. Galt, Q86  
Identified as fingerprint of SA John W. Bauer
12. One fingerprint on back of same registration card  
Identified as fingerprint of motel clerk

#3

RECEIVED  
FBIHQ  
OCT 31 1978

5/17/2011

GROUP II

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

~~RECEIVED~~

~~RECEIVED~~

9/15

ENTIRE FILE REVIEWED  
FOR HISTORICAL  
DECLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

GROUP II

HSCA LETTER 10/30/78

FBIHQ COPY

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 5/2/2001

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bassett *HMS*

DATE: 11/8/78

FROM : D. Ryan *DR*

- 1 - Mr. Boynton
- 1 - Intelligence Division (Attn: Mr. Steinbeck)
- 1 - Legal Counsel Division (Attn: Mr. Heller)
- 1 - Mr. Bassett
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Foster

SUBJECT: HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (HSCA)

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Top. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asst. Dir.:  
 Adm. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Crim. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plan. & Insp.   
 Rec. Mgnt.   
 Tech. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Training \_\_\_\_\_  
 Public Affs. Off. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Director's Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

**PURPOSE:** To furnish information concerning the documents the HSCA has indicated it may publicly disclose when the public hearings reconvene on 11/9/78, concerning the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

**SYNOPSIS:** HSCA is scheduled to reconvene its public hearings on the assassination of Dr. King on 11/9/78. As the HSCA has done previously, copies of those documents which may be referred to or made public during those hearings were furnished to Mr. Robert L. Keuch, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, by HSCA letter dated 10/30/78; with the request that the Department review them. Mr. Keuch, in turn, requested that the FBI ascertain whether there would be any objection to the public release of those documents. He requested that the FBI advise him of the results of that review by 11/6/78.

*REC-21 62-117290-1321*

The material, as furnished, was broken down into five groups. The material contained in Groups 1 and 5, reflects various aspects of the criminal investigation into the King assassination, including photographs of various documents; FD-302's reflecting interviews of witnesses and relatives; and investigation into the financial records of those relatives. Group 2 contains documents from various security files pertaining to King which appear to cover the gamut of the security investigation of King. Because of the nature of these documents, they were reviewed for classification by the Projects Unit, Document Classification and Review Section (DCRS), Records Management Division (RMD). Group 3 contained FD-302's reflecting the interviews of several witnesses, a teletype reflecting the interview of James Earl Ray; and a letterhead memorandum reflecting investigation conducted in Mexico. Because of the sensitive nature of Legat operations, this letterhead memorandum was also reviewed for classification by the Projects Unit.

DEC 5 1978

*3* ENCLOSURE  
Enc. (3)

*3/18/80 Sprague*  
*4*  
*W. B. ...*

TWB:am  
6 DEC 23 1978

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED  
SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 7.

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

FBI/DOJ

6 DEC 23 1978

GROUP II

UNCLASSIFIED

SAC, Memphis (157-1092)

3/15/68

Director, FBI

REC 69  
157-9146-X26  
~~157-6-17~~

1 - Mr. Parkis

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtels and letterhead memoranda concerning this matter.

It is noted at the Bureau that in several of the letterhead memoranda submitted in connection with this matter Special Agents of the FBI have observed marches and demonstrations. It is assumed at the Bureau that Agents were at the scene of these demonstrations in connection with other business inasmuch as there has been no authority from the Bureau for Agents to be present observing such activities. It is, of course, necessary that your office maintain sufficient close liaison with law enforcement agencies to be made currently aware of all developments; however, without specific Bureau authority, Agents should not observe demonstrations as a part of intelligence-gathering activity.

CAP:bjr  
(4)

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/11/86 BY SP1MAC/mce

157-9146-X26

In Memphis, Tennessee, Negro sanitation workers have been on strike since early February, 1968. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is supporting the strikers. There have been a number of marches and demonstrations in connection with this labor dispute. There is no outstanding instructions for Special Agents to observe.

MAILED 7  
MAR 15 1968  
COMM-FBI



§18

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland

The Acting Attorney General

November 3, 1964

Director, FBI

- 1 - F. J. Baumgardn
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/6/82 BY [signature]

355  
232

Confidential informants of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past recently supplied the following information. U

Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and some of his representatives have been negotiating with "The Saturday Evening Post" concerning the publication of an article in that magazine which will carry King as the author. Such an article was written by Clarence Jones and submitted to the "Post" for publication in King's name. The article reportedly will deal with such matters as the Poverty Bill elections, riots and the so-called "backlash." U

Jones is General Counsel of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. Jones is a frequent advisor to King and in the mid-1960's hold a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 12958

100-442529

Recently, a number of King's associates, including attorneys representing him, have been negotiating with the "Post" in an effort to have a portion of the article which had been submitted for publication changed. The "Post," however, has indicated a reluctance to make the requested change. It is reported that the article contains some criticism of other civil rights groups and leaders and that inasmuch as King recently received the Nobel Peace Prize, the article should not be critical but instead should try to unite all civil rights movements. It has also been indicated that King does not want to go too far in the article in condemning civil disobedience because if Senator Barry Goldwater is elected President, King may call for sit-ins and other forms of protest. There is concern in the King camp that the article, if published as originally submitted, would cause certain difficulties in the civil rights movement. U

100-442529

100-106670

① - 100-106670 (King)

NOT RECORDED  
145 OCT 4 1964

SFP:jad  
(16)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

GROUP 2  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

DUPLICATE YELLOW

79 NOV 5 - 1964

The Acting Attorney General

Although it was originally expected that the King article would be published before the November 3, 1964, election, this was not accomplished. The October 31, 1964, issue of the "Post" contains an announcement of articles "Coming Soon in the 'Post.'" Listed is "The Negro Movement Cannot be Stopped" by Nobel Peace Prize winner Martin Luther King, Jr. ✓

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President. ✓

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" because most of the information reported is from highly sensitive sources in the racial field such as [redacted] and [redacted]. They are of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could expose the informants and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Separate dissemination being made to the military intelligence agencies and Secret Service. U

*informants*

*4042 4/212*

*Issued to Jones & Ruster*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**C-63**

CLASSIFIED BY 1076 WAH/OP - FBI  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE Date: 2/24/66

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	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 ATTENTION: Assistant Director WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO  
 RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
 - SM-C (Security matter - Communist)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-6/ML/...  
ON 3/12/86

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

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

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 2/23/66

EXCISION MADE BECAUSE OF SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED CONFIDENTIALITY OF THIS INFORMATION WHICH DOES NOT PERTAIN TO KING BUT IS RATHER SOURCE'S OWN OBSERVATIONS RE SOME PRIESTS IN SOURCE'S ALCHESE.

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

REV 10

100-106670

2385

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

**CONFIDENTIAL**

EXCISIONS

• SAME AS #91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

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

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

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

Bureau will be kept advised of developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 JAH/mj  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/6/78

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~ **62**

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 2/18/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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

100-106670-2309  
11/17/78  
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1000/...

Sergeant Edward McClellen, Human Relations Unit, Chicago, Illinois, Police Department, advised that on 2/3/66 Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), met with Reverend John P. Cody, Archbishop of the Chicago Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church. The meeting was in the nature of a courtesy visit, at King's request, during which King reportedly informed the Archbishop of the nature and purpose of his campaign to end segregation and discrimination against the Negro in Chicago. King has selected Chicago to be the site of the first SCLC invasion into the northern civil rights problem. It is recognized by King that the future of his organization may well rest in the success or failure of the SCLC Chicago program.

King stated at a press conference, after his meeting with the Archbishop, that he and Archbishop Cody were in substantial agreement upon the goals they were both seeking and intended to keep in touch with each other. King declared he was hopeful of the active participation of priests and nuns in connection with his SCLC program in Chicago and had gained the impression from the Archbishop that such participation was a matter of individual conscience and would not be a matter of discipline insofar as the Diocesan hierarchy was concerned.

King continues to rely heavily on the advice of his New York foursome, Stanley Levison, Harry Wachtel, Clarence Jones and Bayard Rustin, in connection with all major SCLC problems and activities. These individuals have all been members of the Communist Party or Communist Party front groups in the past. As long as King utilizes these advisors with subversive backgrounds, the danger remains that his SCLC activities will be influenced by communist-oriented thinking. Should communists or communist sympathizers succeed in influencing the SCLC Chicago program, it would be a major breakthrough for the communists in the civil rights field.

100-106670

RFB:deh

(8)

52  
CLASSIFIED BY 6186 led/TAP  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
CONTINUED - OVER

FEB 25 1966

~~SECRET~~

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

~~SECRET~~

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

King's meeting with Archbishop Cody has been discussed with Special Agent in Charge Marlin W. Johnson of our Chicago Office. Johnson has given assurance that he can talk to Archbishop Cody in complete confidence and Archbishop Cody will not violate this confidence. Bureau files show that Archbishop Cody, while serving as a Bishop in the St. Louis Archdiocese in the early 1950's,

*CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE* At that time, he reportedly had an excellent knowledge of the Communist Party.

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*① Informant  
re: King's  
11-53-53  
11-23-53  
11-24-53*

*WPH  
J  
AOK  
A  
J  
/*

~~SECRET~~

JFK Law 10(a)1

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*King Security*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

DATE: 2/20/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *gem*

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY *11/2/78 W26 WAK/gh - 6/1/80*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication containing information concerning the progress of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to organize a massive civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1968.

BACKGROUND:

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP/ma/cm*  
ON *3/12/80*

King in the past has publicly announced he will conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign he calls the "Washington Spring Project" in early April, 1968, to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

*5 - D. R. Kelly*

King is currently holding the first of two workshops from 2/19-23/68 at Miami, Florida. He has invited approximately 150 Negro ministers throughout the nation to attend this meeting. The Ford Foundation recently gave King's organization a \$230,000 grant to hold these workshops in an effort to develop responsible leadership in the Negro ghetto areas of the nation's major cities. It has been determined that King plans to discuss the Washington Spring Project at this workshop.

Dr. John A. Morsell, Assistant Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has advised his organization is not supporting the Washington Spring Project and is taking no part in it. He advised the NAACP

Enclosure *2-21-68*  
DMW:lmr

REC-52 CONTINUED -- OVER

(7) *[Signature]*

EX 101

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

36 *NA* 100-106670

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

has tried, without success, to dissuade King from executing the Project. Dr. Morsell is afraid that King cannot control the demonstrators and there is a likelihood that the overall demonstration will be taken over by extremists.

King appears to be concentrating his attention on the South where he has chartered a small twin-engine aircraft to help speed him about urging people to support his campaign.

*Informant* advised recently that the entire Washington Spring Project seems to be suffering from indecision, petty bickering among the staff members and the idiosyncrasies of King's ego. This source advised that King is worried about the lack of progress being made by his recruiters. He is concerned about the success of the program. He has instructed his staff to seriously consider whether or not they can successfully carry out the Project. If they cannot then it will be necessary to establish a reason as to why he finds it necessary to discontinue the Washington Spring Project. (P) u

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosures be forwarded to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Agriculture Freeman; Secretary of Labor Wirtz; Secretary of Defense; Secret Service; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Pollak, Yeagley, and Vinson; the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department; and to the Departments of Army; Navy; and Air Force.

*gmc*

*WCP*

*P*

✓

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNCLASSIFIED

SAC, New York (100-129802)

2/21/68

Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

1 - Mr. W. G. Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES)

ReNYairtel 2/9/68, a copy of which was furnished Atlanta.

Your proposed counterintelligence action set forth in reairtel is excellent and shows that your office is alert to the necessity to suggest effective counterintelligence measures whenever the occasion arises. Your suggested article has been given to cooperative news sources and you should be alert for publication of this information in your area. Promptly furnish the Bureau with copies of any news articles which relate to this matter, along with any tangible results.

1 - Atlanta (100-5586)

WGS:cst  
(5) *wt*

EX-105 REC-66 100-3-104-34-1660

NOTE:

New York furnished a suggested article concerning the appearance of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., at a fund-raising affair sponsored by CP-controlled Freedomways Associates. The article raised the question as to whether King was courting the communists to bolster his civil disobedience campaign. It was also pointed out that Jack O'Dell, former close associate of King's and a leading CP figure, is one of the officers of Freedomways Associates. Crime Records Division has furnished the article to cooperative news sources and New York is being requested to be alert for the publication of any articles relating to this matter.

FEB 21 1968

MAILED 2  
FEB 20 1968  
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/19/86 BY SP11MSP/MSJ

*WGS*

UNCLASSIFIED  
FBI

Date: 2/15/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-34)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670D)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE-PROGRAM  
IS - C  
(FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.)

*R. [Signature]*  
*D. [Signature]*

Re New York airtel to Bureau 2/9/68 captioned as above and Atlanta airtels and LHM's 2/12/68 and 2/15/68 captioned "WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM".

Re New York airtel suggests a communication which the Bureau might release through its mass media contacts. Re Atlanta communications reflect as of 2/7/68 and 2/12/68 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., evidenced considerable skepticism as to the probable success of SCLC's WSP.

Atlanta is of the opinion that New York's suggested communication is excellent and has no desire to materially amend it.

The communication submitted by New York is designed, or course, to cause the reader thereof to ask himself the question whether KING is inviting CP assistance for the Washington Spring Project. It is felt possible additional impact might be given this question if New York's communication is introduced by pointing out that recently (For example, during the 2/6 and 7/68 Executive Board meeting in Washington, D. C.) it is understood KING evidenced some discouragement as to the probable success of the Washington Spring Project.

- 3- Bureau (RM)
  - 2- New York (100-129802) (RM)
  - 1- Atlanta
- AGS:jhs  
(6)

100-3-104-34-166

REC-9

15 FEB 16 1968

ST 100  
C. Bishop

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-19-86 BY [Signature]

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNCLASSIFIED



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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE February 15, 1968

C. D. Brennan *CD*

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam
- 1 - Mr. W. G. Shaw

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST  
(FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES)

*R. B. Bishop*  
*C. D. Brennan*

This is to recommend release of the attached article to sources in the mass news media field regarding Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who is scheduled to give the keynote address at a fund-raising activity sponsored by Communist Party-controlled Freedomways Associates, publishers of the magazine, "Freedomways," which is self-described as a quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement. The objective is to show that King appears to be courting the communists to bolster his forthcoming civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1968.

The communist publication, "National Guardian," recently publicized the fact that King is to give the keynote address at the 100th anniversary celebration of the birth of the late W. E. B. DuBois, well-known Negro educator who joined the Communist Party, USA, at the age of 93. This affair is scheduled to be held on 2/23/68 in Carnegie Hall, New York City, and is sponsored by Freedomways Associates. The main purpose of this affair is to raise money to help finance "Freedomways" magazine, and information has been received indicating that with King as the keynote speaker the affair will undoubtedly be a financial success.

Although no information has been received as to the contents of King's speech, it is reasonable to assume that he will comment on the matter with which he is primarily concerned at the present time, namely, his campaign of civil disobedience planned for the Spring of 1968 in Washington, D. C.

Enclosure

REC-59 100-3-104-34-1662

100-3-104-34

FEB 21 1968

WGS:cst (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/19/86 BY [signature]

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

It is believed that the publicity given to King's appearance at Carnegie Hall on 2/23/68 in behalf of the communist publication, "Freedomways," could serve to show King's affinity for the communist movement and, thereby, place his planned civil disobedience campaign in the proper context.

The attached proposed article goes directly to the heart of this matter. It is proposed that this article be released to appropriate sources in the mass news media field through the Crime Records Division. The proposed article raises the question as to whether King is courting the communists, to bolster his civil disobedience campaign. In this connection, it is pointed out that Hunter Pitts (Jack) O'Dell, former close associate of King's in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is one of the editors of "Freedomways." In 1963, King reluctantly released O'Dell from his post in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference when it became publicly known that O'Dell was a leading figure in the Communist Party. It is further pointed out in the proposed article that the Communist Party, with its years of experience in agitation and fomenting conflicts, would be a powerful ally for King in his efforts to promote civil disobedience in Washington, D. C.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and the attached article be routed to the Crime Records Division for release to appropriate sources in the mass news media field.

*2/16/68*  
*W.C.S.*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

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

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

February 15, 1968

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam 1 - Mr. Shaw

Is Martin Luther King, Jr., courting Red favor to bolster his civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D. C.? "Freedomways," the communist-backed publication in the civil rights field, is holding an affair in New York City to raise money to help finance its operations. This affair is advertised as an observance of the 100th birthday of the late W. E. B. DuBois, the well-known Negro educator who flirted with left-wing causes for many years before he publicly announced he had joined the Communist Party, USA, at the age of 93. This announcement was greeted with great fanfare by the Communist Party, USA, press, so it is understandable why the 100th anniversary of the birth of W. E. B. DuBois was chosen as the setting to raise funds that will ultimately benefit the Communist Party, USA.

It is no coincidence that King's old friend from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Jack O'Dell, is one of the editors of "Freedomways" magazine. O'Dell, it is recalled, was reluctantly released by King from his post in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1963, after it became public knowledge that O'Dell, a leading Communist Party figure, was a member of King's hierarchy in the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Communist Party, USA, has only recently issued a new and more militant line concerning the civil rights struggle in this country. The Party would welcome any opportunity to involve itself in a program such as King has proposed for Washington, D. C. With its years of experience in agitation and fomenting conflicts, the Communist Party would be a powerful ally for King in his efforts to promote civil disobedience in the Spring of 1968. It appears that King has chosen effectively, if not wisely.

100-3-104-34

WGS:cst  
(10)

NOTE: See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated February 15, 1968, captioned "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, IS - C, (Freedomways Associates)," prepared by WGS:cst.

UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

Date: 2/9/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-34)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-129802)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS-C  
(FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/19/96 BY [signature]

Re New York letter and LHM, 1/29/68, captioned, "Freedomways Associates, Inc., IS-C", reflecting that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is to give the keynote address at the 100th anniversary celebration of the birth of W.E.B. DU BOIS, on 2/23/68, in Carnegie Hall, New York City, which affair is sponsored by Freedomways Associates, Inc.

This affair has been publicized in newspapers such as "The Village Voice" and the "National Guardian".

There can be little doubt that the main purpose of this affair is to raise money to help finance the magazine "Freedomways", published by Freedomways Associates. The NYO has received indications that the affair is going to be a financial success and the fact that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., is advertised as the main speaker would help to insure its success.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-104-34) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (157-2052) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-144189) (FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-129802) (41)

JFO:gmd  
(8)

REC-69

20 FEB 20 1968

C. C. Bishop

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-129802

The NYO has not received any indication, to date, about the contents of KING's speech. However, it is reasonable to assume that he will comment on the two items with which he is primarily concerned at the present time, namely, the campaign of civil disobedience which his organization, the SCLC, is planning for the spring of 1968, in Washington, D.C., and the involvement of the United States in the Vietnam war which he opposes. It is believed that if publication is given to KING's appearance at Carnegie Hall on 2/23/68, on behalf of "Freedomways", linking it with his Washington, D.C. campaign, it could serve as a disruptive measure adversely affecting both "Freedomways" and KING's spring project in Washington, D.C. It is suggested that the Bureau, through its contacts with the mass media, release the following communication:

Is MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. courting Red favor to bolster his civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D.C.? "Freedomways", the Communist-backed publication in the civil rights field, is holding an affair in New York City, to raise money to help finance its operation. This affair is advertised as an observance of the 100th birthday of W.E.B. DU BOIS, the well-known Negro educator who flirted with left-wing causes for many years before he finally announced his official joining of the Communist Party. This announcement was greeted with great fanfare by the CP press, so it is understandable why the 100th birthday of W.E.B. DU BOIS was chosen as the setting to raise funds that will ultimately benefit the CP.

It is no coincidence that KING's old friend from the SCLC, JACK O'DELL, is one of the editors of "Freedomways" Magazine. O'DELL, it is recalled, was reluctantly released by KING from his post in the SCLC in 1963, after it became public knowledge that O'DELL, a leading CP figure, was a member of KING's hierarchy in the leadership of the SCLC.

The CP has only recently issued a new and more militant line concerning the civil rights struggle in this country. The Party would welcome any opportunity to involve itself in a program such as KING has proposed for Washington, D.C. With its years of experience in agitation and fomenting conflicts, the CP would be a powerful ally for KING in his efforts to promote civil disobedience in the spring of 1968. It appears that he has chosen effectively if not wisely.

SAC, Albany

UNCLASSIFIED - 18

August 23, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-110)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- ~~1 - Mr. Callahan~~
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
 (DUE 11/1/64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-86 BY SP7mach/ce

The Bureau has always recognized that there is communist influence in the racial movement. Our investigations of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), allied groups and individuals sympathetic to communism have borne this out. Simultaneous with the increasing tempo of activities in the racial field, we witnessed a stepping up of communist activities to influence the racial movement. These activities have taken a variety of forms ranging from mere general verbal support to actual direct-action influence. The subversives involved are also of various shades—some are bona fide current members of the CPUSA or such a basic revolutionary group as the Socialist Workers Party; some are former members of these groups; and still others encompass a wide variety and degree of subversive associations and connections, past and present.

Our investigations developing this type of information have also been under the title of a variety of matters such as CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters; communist infiltration of various organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the like; investigations of numerous subversive individuals active in the racial movement; investigations of communist fronts and other miscellaneous organizations; and a great many racial disturbances and other racial matters which we have investigated under the Racial Matter character.

REC 20

2253

There has been no letup in the activities... our investigative attention. Rather, there have been increasing evidences of a continuing upsurge in racial disturbances. The news media of recent months mirror the civil rights issue as probably the number one domestic issue in the United States spectrum. There are clear and unmistakable signs that we

Enc. ENCLOSURE

2 - All offices (Enc.)

SEE NOTE PAGE 6

(ORIGINAL ON PLASTIPLATE)

SFP:kmj  
(119) 964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

AUG 27 5 23 PM '64

RECORDED & INDEXED



Letter to Albany

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

INTERNAL SECURITY

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-110

are in the midst of a social revolution with the racial movement as its core. The Bureau, in meeting its responsibilities in this area, is an integral part of this revolution. Making our work more difficult has been the controversial nature of the issues involved.

With the foregoing as a background to underscore the extreme importance of this matter, the Bureau desires to regain emphasis the absolute necessity for affording all aspects of this matter prompt, decisive, imaginative, comprehensive and intensive investigative effort, as well as insuring that the Bureau is properly advised, on a continuing basis, of all pertinent developments. The Bureau's responsibilities as to disseminating this information have been in mind and pertinent instructions submitted in a memorandum suitable for dissemination.

In addition, the Bureau desires the field to compile in a single investigative report pertinent information developed to date, with subsequent reporting by the submission of investigative reports on a continuing basis. These reports should include references to the Bureau reported in the section entitled "Communist Party - Internal Security - (C)" of the quarterly report submitted to the CIA, as well as information being separately reported under the many other titles referred to in paragraph 10, page one, of instant communication. It will not be necessary to include a section concerning this matter in the quarterly reports; however, there should continue to be a reporting of this information under the various other titles. It is recognized that there will be some duplication in reporting. However, this is necessary in order to adequately investigate and report the extensive matters and at the same time provide for a coordinated reporting, thus facilitating the necessary evaluation and analysis by the Bureau and other agencies and officials of the Government.

The Bureau is closing its subfile, 100-3-110, and opening a new file, 100-442529, which will be devoted exclusively to this matter and be entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters, Internal Security - (C)" (code name "CIRT"). This instruction is effective immediately and is applicable not only to the reports discussed herein but to all communications in this matter. Note that "CPUSA" has been dropped from the

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

title as we are concerned with all communist efforts, whether they be of the Communist Party or other communist groups. Each field office should likewise close its file or subfile relating to the CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, and open a new file or subfile relating to this matter. This new file shall serve as a repository for all pertinent information and thus facilitate the submission of the required quarterly reports.

The initial investigative report in this matter, as succeeding reports, will be designed to precisely spell out the full extent of the communist influence. It will separate words and intentions from actions; note participation from direct influence; and keep them separate from the mere "do-gooder." It will serve as an in-depth factual analysis of the entire problem of communist influence in racial matters. It will not include information concerning legitimate efforts in the United States where there is no communist taint. Material for the initial report is, for the most part, already available--it is spread throughout the CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, file and related files mentioned above. The field's task, then, is the comprehensive review of all pertinent files; the cataloging and coordinating of all pertinent information in accordance with a preliminary outline and certain guidelines; and the submission of same to the Bureau.

A secondary purpose to be accomplished by the review and preparation of the initial report will be to enable the field, and the Bureau as well, to make a self-analysis of all facets of our investigation in this area so that we may expand and intensify our investigations of those phases indicating a need thereof.

#### Instructions—Guidelines

All offices are instructed to review all pertinent files, pending and closed, which will uncover the type of information desired as indicated by the outline which is an enclosure to this communication. While those files mentioned above should contain most of the information needed, they are only intended as a guide and should not be considered as all-inclusive.

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

(1) The initial investigative report is intended to primarily depict the current situation rather than serve as a historical-type document. We are therefore principally concerned with the racial movement during the past year and three quarters. Use the period commencing 1/1/63 as a general guideline; however, extraordinary situations arising earlier should be considered for inclusion. Likewise, if a current situation had its genesis prior to 1/1/63 sufficient information prior to that date should be used to make the current situation meaningful.

(2) Generally speaking, it will be necessary for only the office covering an activity to report it, as well as the characteristics of persons involved. For example, if a racial demonstration took place in Cleveland with Cleveland residents involved, it should be reported by the Cleveland Office. If a New York Office informant reports on the Cleveland matter to the New York Office, it should not be reported by the New York Office but be mentioned by Cleveland in its submission as Cleveland will already have been sent such information by the New York Office. On the other hand, for such a far-flung activity as the 3/28/63 March on Washington, it will be incumbent upon each office having subjects who attended or otherwise participated to include the information in its submission.

(3) The attached outline should be followed as to the numbered and lettered items. Where further breakdowns by numbers and letters are practical, it will be permissible to do so.

(4) When an activity by an organization is reported under II, the details should not be repeated under III concerning the organization. It will be necessary only, under III, to refer to the particular activity as appearing under II.

(5) Where specific pertinent information set out in the outline is not available through file review, immediate discreet inquiry should be made to obtain same. For example, if the officers of an organization covered under III in the outline are not known, secure their identities. Only established reliable sources may be contacted in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

(6) It may be necessary in some instances for an office reporting on an activity to secure characterizing information regarding individuals and/or organizations from offices covering

END

- 4 -

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INDEX OF WHICH  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

these individuals or organizations. This should be done as soon as possible so that there will be no delay in the submission of the item by the originating (as to activity) office.

(7) An original and eight copies of all reports should be submitted by each field office. Any office which has absolutely no information to report, either in the initial report or the quarterly progress report, is permitted to so advise the Bureau by letter in lieu of a report. If any positive information, however limited, is available, it must be submitted by report.

(8) The initial investigation report should be submitted to reach the Bureau by 11/1/51. Thereafter, quarterly reports should be submitted to reach the Bureau by February 1, May 1, August 1 and November 1 of each year.

(9) All main headings developed in reports in the attached outline must be covered in all reports. If there is no information to report on a particular main heading, the heading should appear, followed by a statement "No information developed."

(10) As to individuals involved, we are concerned primarily with subversive characterizing data which coincides with the period of activity. For example, if an individual organized, participated in or was otherwise associated with a racial activity on 1/1/51, his membership in that and other subversive groups as of that date would be more pertinent. Of course, if a subversive connection as of the date of activity cannot be established, the next best thing would be to establish a subversive connection as soon prior to the activity as possible. Generally speaking, characterizations of individuals should be as succinct and pointed as possible. For example, if an individual's Party membership is ascertained, a long recitation of other connections, such as with various groups, would be unnecessary. Good judgment must be exercised in characterizing individuals, as with all other parts thereof; to the collection of facts for the reports. If a person makes a particularly key position in the racial movement and, besides, a Party member also has a long history of communist activities, it may be well to very briefly summarize his subversive background. When characterizing

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/19/84 BY [signature]

Letter to Albany

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

INTERNAL SECURITY

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-116

a person as a Party member, indicate the highest position held in the Party. When referring to former Party members, include dates of membership.

(11) The term "communist" should be interpreted in its broad sense as including persons not only adhering to the principles of the CPUSA itself, but also to such splinter and offshoot groups as the Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor and the I.W.O.

(12) The characterizations of individuals and organizations should be handled in the same manner as presently prescribed for security reports.

(13) Unless otherwise indicated herein, the regular report writing rules for security reports shall be applicable.

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 8/25/64 captioned as above, SFP:kmj.

URGENT 11-19-62 9-40 AM EST JP

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE NOVEMBER FIFTEEN LAST CONCERNING REPORT OF DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY PROFESSOR, SPELMAN COLLEGE.

AN ARTICLE APPEARING ON PAGE EIGHTEEN OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION MORNING OF NOVEMBER NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, TAKEN FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES QUOTED REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. IN WHICH HE SAID HE AGREED WITH THE REPORT ISSUED NOVEMBER FOURTEEN LAST IN ATLANTA BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL THAT THE FBI HAD NOT BEEN VIGOROUS IN LOOKING INTO DENIALS OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN ALBANY AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS. STATED QUOTE "AGENTS OF THE FBI IN ALBANY, GA. SIDED WITH SEGREGATIONISTS UNQUOTE. QUOTE "ONE OF THE GREAT PROBLEMS WE FACE WITH THE FBI IN THE SOUTH" UNQUOTE HE SAID QUOTE "IS THAT THE AGENTS ARE WHITE SOUTHERNERS WHO HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE MORES OF THEIR COMMUNITY. TO MAINTAIN THEIR STATUS, THEY HAVE TO BE FRIENDLY WITH THE LOCAL POLICE AND PEOPLE WHO ARE PROMOTING SEGREGATION. EVERY TIME I SAW FBI MEN IN ALBANY, THEY WERE WITH THE LOCAL POLICE FORCE," UNQUOTE.

AS THE BUREAU IS AWARE THE ALBANY RA IS MADE UP OF

END PAGE ONE

UNCLASSIFIED

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside of your agency. It is the property of the FBI and should be returned to the FBI upon completion of your review.

REC-10

919

PAGE TWO

FIVE AGENTS, ONE FROM INDIANA, ONE FROM BOSTON, ONE FROM KINGSTON,  
N. Y., ONE FROM MINNEAPOLIS AND ONE FROM CA. CLIPPING BEING  
FORWARDED SPECIAL TODAY. RECOMMEND NO FURTHER ACTION IN THIS  
MATTER.

END AND ACK PLS

WASSESS

9-45 AM OK FBI WA TAT

TU DISC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

0-17P 3-3-65  
Ltr w/R Rev 3-4-65  
347

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

DATE: 2/18/65

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE

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

100-106670-917

This informative memorandum reports high lights of recent pertinent conversations between Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his associates having communist backgrounds, as furnished by our reliable, sensitive sources.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-8 JAP/CA/LLMB 3-11-86

## King's Conferences with President, Vice President and Attorney General 2/18/65

Bayard Rustin told a confidante of his that while in Washington, with King for conferences with President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and Attorney General Katzenbach on 2/9/65 he, Rustin, wrote all of King's material and kept "everyone in line." Rustin boasted that following conferences he was stopped by Humphrey and complimented for his "great contribution to the conference." Humphrey told him that he could contact him any time and went so far as to introduce his (Humphrey's) assistant as the man Rustin should contact about an appointment. Humphrey said to Rustin "I think you are a valuable person in our country and we must keep in touch."

**Comment:** The Vice President has already been briefed concerning Rustin's communist background and record as a homosexual. We cannot of course, discount completely the possibility that Rustin's remarks were an exaggeration to impress his listener.

## King and Negro-Jewish Relations

King has advised his close advisor Clarence Jones that he had accepted two speaking engagements. One is to address the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal 3/4/65 at New York City. The other would be a address before the American Jewish Committee 5/20/65, New York City. At the March affair King is to be given the Eleanor Roosevelt Award. King indicated that Jones and "our friend", (probable reference to Stanley Levison) could work on the speeches. King told Jones that he had accepted these engagements because some of his Rabbi friends have been telling him that Jews were not supporting the civil rights movement. King believes this is in part due to anti-Semitic statements being made by Negroes such as Malcolm X (the Muslim leader). King thought it would help improve the situation if he spoke before these groups.

REG-3 100-106670-917 MAR 3 1965

**Comment:** We are having the field attempt to verify any actual participation by Levison in the preparation of speeches for King.

79 MAR 4 - 1965

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

CONTINUED - OVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

King's Fund-raising Activities:

King told Jones that he would be in California 2/25-27/65 to attend a big fund-raising project. It will include a showing of the movie "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and it would "scare the house of about \$28,000." In addition, there are two or three wealthy people trying to get 50 couples to give \$1,000 (presumably each couple) and they have 26 commitments already. King claimed that his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), needs the money desperately. They also discussed a group in New Rochelle, New York, which King said already had \$5,000 and desired to use it for a fund-raising project to earn even more. Jones told King that the advertisement which appeared in "The New York Times" 2/5/65 soliciting funds on behalf of the SCLC cost \$2,000. King said that his office had already received \$12,000 as a result of this advertisement. U

Friction Between King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

In discussing the current racial situation in Alabama, King told Jones that SNCC was again saying that King likes to come into a situation at the last minute, get all the publicity and the benefit of contributions. SNCC claims that King makes "grandstand plays" after SNCC has done all the hard work. King asked Jones if something could be done about this through Harry Belafonte (noted Negro singer). According to Jones, Belafonte is about the only person that SNCC will listen to and that he has heard Belafonte stop SNCC workers who tried to attack King's integrity. King said that he did not like for SNCC to fight against the idea of having a leader for the whole movement. King stated that the movement must have a leader because any ideology is fostered around having a leader around whom supporters can rally. Jones believes that he can arrange an unpublicized meeting between SNCC, SCLC and Belafonte. U

Comment: The naked boldness of King's egotism is vividly reflected in his pronouncements about the movement needing a leader (obviously King himself). U

RECOMMENDATION:

This is for your information. We are disseminating this information to the Department and the intelligence community. U

8  
N. M. J.  
also to Watson.  
K

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Kept in  
Nat Machine

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

7-20

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

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

DATE: May 24, 1965

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

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

100-106670-1403

Atlanta letterhead memorandum (LHM) 5-21-65 advised that Alfred Kuettner of the United Press International (UPI), has been in touch with King's office relative to a possible article to be written by Kuettner. SAC Ponder of our Atlanta Office telephoned me about noon today (5-24-65), made reference to the LHM, and stated that Alfred G. Kuettner has conferred with King and plans to write either a series of three articles about King or one article in three parts.

- (1) Martin Luther King, Jr. - Who Is He?  
This will be on King's background.
- (2) Where Does King Go From Here?  
Kuettner speculates as to King's interest in speaking and writing in that in recent speeches King indicates he is moving into international affairs and fancies himself as some sort of an authority.
- (3) King's Associates.

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

*Handwritten signature*

Kuettner has requested assistance concerning King's associates and desires public source material to use as well as any other information we can give him on a confidential basis which would serve to orient him. The latter information will not be used by him in his article.

Ponder recommends that the Bureau assist Kuettner. He stated that Kuettner has been an SAC Contact of the Atlanta Office since March, 1960, and that Ponder is absolutely certain that Kuettner will not violate our confidence; that Kuettner is completely reliable and will write an objective article or articles concerning King. Ponder pointed out that Kuettner is UPI's authority in the South on the Negro movement and his articles carry a great deal of influence and Ponder does not believe that he would prepare anything flattering or favorable to King. Ponder further noted that several weeks ago Kuettner prepared an article on the Selma to Montgomery march which exposed sexual irregularities on the part of certain of the marchers. Dufiles contain no adverse information on Kuettner.

Enclosures

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents must not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

100-106670

NW 68486 DocId:32989735 Page 74

CONTINUED OVER

2 MAY 27 1965

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

OBSERVATIONS:

Attached are two documents which it is believed should be made available to Kuettner. Document number 1 contains only public source information which Kuettner could use without, of course, any attribution to the FBI. Document number 2 is a short summation concerning King's communist connections with particular emphasis on his communist advisors. This document would not be used insofar as Kuettner's article would be concerned but would be merely for orientation purposes. There would be no loss of security to our sources by making this information available to Kuettner.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached two documents be furnished to Ponder for the use of Kuettner with the limitations as set forth above. If approved, this memorandum should be referred back to the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate advice to Ponder. The documents are attached to instant memorandum.

*SAC Ponder  
was advised  
5/25/67 - 6:40 pm  
Jaw*

*Wes  
OK.  
Rag*

*For dissemination  
Personal file of  
B*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

**D-32**

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

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 8-14-65

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

*Blaise Spinaemine*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/14/80 BY SP4 SEM/8

*Pa. DE*

SUBJECT: **SPEAKER JOHN MC CORMACK  
BRIEFING RE MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SATURDAY, 8-14-65  
AT 2 P. M.**

*5-Phil*

At his request, and with the Director's approval, I briefed Speaker John McCormack regarding the background and activities of Martin Luther King today in the Speaker's rooms.

The briefing lasted approximately 45 minutes. It covered King's as well as his connections with members of the Communist Party. The identity of the members of the Communist Party who have had control over and association with King were brought out. The latest incident in which King has advised the press that he will write a letter to General Ho Chih Minh of the North Vietnamese, in an attempt to establish himself as a "peacemaker" was related to Speaker McCormack. The communists' efforts back of this incident, and those individuals perpetrating the incident were mentioned.

Speaker McCormack was quite calm about the entire briefing. He stated he had heard much in the way of rumor previously; however, he wanted to know if the information he had received was accurate. He stated he now recognized the gravity of the situation and that something obviously must be done about it. He inquired as to whether the President knew these facts. I replied in the affirmative.

The Speaker stated that he thought that "Edgar Hoover did not call King a notorious liar for nothing." He stated he now recognized why the Director branded King as he did. He added that he was in complete sympathy with the Director taking this action.

The Speaker spoke lengthily concerning the desperate need to educate Negroes today with the fact that they cannot defy the law and get away with it.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:mm

(5)

UNCLASSIFIED

REC-42

EX-100

100-106670-1782

5 SEP 1 1965

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

Continued

**C-40**

SAC, New York (100-151548)

February 16, 1954

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

- 1 - Mr. Haack
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

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

*Sp/186 Sp/maemo*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-17-80 BY SP/186/SP/maemo

*6W*  
*ST*

As receiving offices are aware, Martin Luther King has for some time been working on a new book to be published over his signature. Editorial work relative to the book is being done by one Herman Foyner (phonetic) in New York City. There have been numerous references in communications originating with the New York Office in captioned and related matters pertaining to the book. Some mention has also been made in communications from Atlanta.

It is entirely possible that with the publication of the book the Bureau may desire to take some action, possibly in the counterintelligence area or otherwise, which may be assigned to discredit King or otherwise neutralize his effectiveness because of the communist influence upon him. At that time it may be necessary to incorporate into a single communication all pertinent references to the book, with particular emphasis upon the communist influence being given, as for example the counsel which Stanley David Levison has already exerted relative to the book.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-151548-100

In order to facilitate the preparation of a communication such as the Bureau has in mind, receiving offices are now instructed to review appropriate files and tabulate references to the forthcoming book. These references should be correlated along with any future ones of the same nature. At a later date the Bureau will issue further instructions as to the preparation of the communication it has in mind.

It is intended that this matter will be handled by the New York Office, with Atlanta assisting by furnishing necessary references to New York for incorporation in the document.

2 - Atlanta (100-6520)

**UNCLASSIFIED**

100-1066  
 NOT RECORDED  
 184 FEB 17 1954

- 1 - 100-140000 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
- 1 - 100-350000 (Stanley David Levison)

**UNCLASSIFIED**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 10, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

*ST  
BT*

*GC Moore*

This is to recommend copy of document showing Communist Party, USA, interest in the Poor People's Campaign be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

BACKGROUND:

The Poor People's Campaign (PPC) was initiated by the late Martin Luther King, Jr., as a massive civil disobedience campaign to force passage of legislation favorable to Negroes. We have just received, and disseminated to appropriate interested agencies, a Communist Party, USA, (CPUSA) document concerning the PPC. (Copy attached)

This document is signed by William L. Patterson for the Party's Negro Work Department. It is addressed to all Districts of the Party, all National Committee (NC) members, Heads of all Negro Work Departments, and Chairmen of all commissions. The first heading in the document reads, "All-out Support to the Poor People's March."

The document calls for "mobilization in support" of the PPC. The CPUSA wants to organize the unemployed and the South as a followup to the PPC.

Enclosure

REC-116: 100-448006-122

TJD:res (9) R52

REC-116  
MAY 17 1968  
MAY 13

100-448006

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan (mass media)
- 1 - Mr. Fulton (mass media)
- 1 - Mr. Glass

CONTINUED - OVER

99 MAY 21 1968 T. J. Deakin

UNCLASSIFIED

*9/11/81 1388 RAM/AM  
5/16/86 Spruance*

*14 2 10 1968  
MINIEN*

*REC-116  
L-0-1  
117*

*196*

*5-189*

Memorandum G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
100-448006

PROPOSAL:

To show CPUSA interest in the PPC it is suggested a copy of the attached CPUSA document be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

For the background information of the news source an article in the 1/24/67 issue of "The Worker," the east coast communist newspaper, page two, identified William L. Patterson as the Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, National Negro Commission.

ACTION:

That attached copy of CPUSA document regarding PPC be furnished news source on confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

*280 7/7 JCS WCL P TSB*

ADDENDUM: CRIME RECORDS DIVISION: TEB:jo 5/13/68

If approved, this document would be given, on a very confidential basis, to columnist Robert Allen, Hall Syndicate, who is very trustworthy and who is a great friend of the Bureau. His attention would be drawn to the fact that in the January 24, 1967, issue of "The Worker," William L. Patterson, who is the person who issued this document, is publicly described as Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party, USA.

*Handled with Bob Allen, Hall Syndicate, 5/14/68 TSB*

*P V OK. TSB*



185

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 29, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(MARTIN LUTHER KING)

*3/30/68 [unclear]*  
*9/16/81 8:583 RAm/AMK*

**PURPOSE:**

To publicize ~~hypocrisy on the part of Martin Luther King.~~

**BACKGROUND:**

Martin Luther King has urged Negroes in Memphis, Tennessee, to boycott white merchants in order to force compliance with Negro demands in the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis.

When violence broke out during the march King led in Memphis on 3-28-68, King disappeared. There is a first class Negro hotel in Memphis, the Hotel Lorraine, but King chose to hide out at the white owned and operated Holiday Inn Motel.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

The above facts have been included in the attached blind memorandum and it is recommended it be furnished a ~~cooperative news media source by the Crime Records Division for an item showing King is a hypocrite. This will be done on a highly confidential basis.~~

Enclosure

TJD:ted  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan (Mass Media)
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

REC-20

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
\*  
OK 110  
A-93  
MAR 31 1968  
D...  
H...

UNCLASSIFIED

March 29, 1968

DO AS I SAY, NOT AS I DO

Martin Luther King, during the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis, Tennessee, has urged Negroes to boycott downtown white merchants to achieve Negro demands. On 3-29-68 King led a march for the sanitation workers. Like Judas leading lambs to slaughter King led the marchers to violence, and when the violence broke out, King disappeared.

The fine Hotel Lorraine in Memphis is owned and patronized exclusively by Negroes but King didn't go there from his hasty exit. Instead King decided the plush Holiday Inn Motel, white owned, operated and almost exclusively white patronized, was the place to "cool it." There will be no boycott of white merchants for King, only for his followers.

93

SAC, Detroit (100-34655)

4/1/68

REC. 36

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

EX-106

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

3/16/86 [unclear]

8313 Rem/DR

Reurairtel 3/23/68

Detroit is authorized to continue pretext calls to Frank Ditto, Detroit organizer of the Washington Spring Project. The Bureau appreciates the ingenuity and initiative shown in this matter.

However, it is not possible to authorize the expenditure of \$200 "earnest money" to convince Ditto that a fictitious businessman will pay for transportation for the Project, transportation that would not materialize. Detroit should consider other methods of using this established pretext to disrupt Ditto's plans.

TJD:sib *sib*  
(4)

NOTE:

Detroit has established the pretext contact with Ditto of a fictitious businessman, G. L. Whyte, who is purportedly sympathetic to Martin Luther King's March on Washington. Ditto has been so taken in as to furnish G. L. Whyte with considerable information about the march. Detroit now suggests offering to pay for two buses to bring the marchers to Washington, Whyte would make arrangements and, of course, no buses would show up. Detroit suggested sending Ditto \$200 from Whyte to show Whyte's good faith. This would leave Ditto with \$200 of our money, and he could always arrange for two more buses on his own.

MAILED 34  
APR 3 1968

UNCLASSIFIED

*ha* *109*

FBI

Date: 3/23/68

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	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34655)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

*D. DeLoach*  
*D. Mohr*

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, ET AL, dated 3/4/68, Detroit teletype to Bureau 3/20/68, and Detroit airtel and LHM to Bureau 3/21/68, captioned WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, Re.

As a counter intelligence action relating to the Washington Spring Project (WSP), 4/22/68, Washington, D.C. Detroit proposes the utilization of the following technique, which in part, has already been instituted. Background data regarding this matter is hereby set forth:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., on 3/14/68, spoke at Grosse Pointe, Michigan, sponsored by the Grosse Pointe Human Relations Council, at which time he was warmly received and afforded a standing ovation from the over 2,500 spectators who attended his speech. Previous investigation regarding WSP had determined that KING and FRANK DITTO, local leader and Detroit organizer for the WSP, would possibly confer for purpose of determining a course of action in connection with Detroit's role in the WSP. In an effort to determine if any plan of action was devised at this time, the following pretext was utilized:

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Detroit
- JFK/msl  
(5)

REC 23 100-448006-94  
EX 106  
MAR 25 1968

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

DE 100-34655

A stenographer of the Detroit Office, at the request of SA JOHN E. KING, placed a telephone call on March 20, 1968, to DITTO's place of employment "for her employer, G. L. WHYTE, requesting to speak to Mr. DITTO." When DITTO answered, the stenographer went through the business routine of advising "Mr. WHYTE" Mr. DITTO was ~~was~~ on the line.

From this point, SA KING advised DITTO that he was a local white businessman with the fictitious name of "G. L. WHYTE" who was in complete sympathy with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and his Washington "camp-in." He was further advised that the caller had heard Reverend KING's speech at Grosse Pointe and was deeply moved by KING's speech. "G. L. WHYTE" further advised DITTO that he wanted to assist in the Washington "camp-in" in any way possible, especially from the financial end. DITTO was advised that the caller, under no circumstances, wanted his identity disclosed and any financial assistance offered this project was to be on a strictly confidential basis. He was told that the caller had colored employees in his company and would make these people available to participate for a brief period in the WSP at the caller's expense.

Further, that it was conceivable the caller would be in a position to help out with the financial end of travel of individuals from Detroit in connection with the WSP. DITTO sounded favorably impressed and stated that he fully understood and appreciated the efforts of the caller to assist in this matter. DITTO reassured that no mention would be made of any donations from this source. He expressed a deep feeling of gratitude and described the caller as one "deeply concerned with the under privileged group of humanity." It was mentioned to DITTO the caller did not want to be publicly identified as it could possibly render harm to his business and bring about retaliatory action from the white extremists involving possible physical harm to his wife and family.

It was at this point that DITTO volunteered the information set out in re LHM. He offered to furnish the caller with further information regarding WSP after his meeting with KING.

DE 100-34655

Prior to terminating the interview, it was established that DITTO would be telephonically contacted by the caller following his scheduled conference with KING in Detroit. It is the opinion of the contacting Agency that if KING actually comes to Detroit on 4/4/68, that this return telephonic recontact with DITTO would be productive and pertinent data regarding WSP could be obtained from him.

In addition to the above, it is suggested that the following action be taken prior to 4/4/68:

1. A plain unmarked envelope with \$100.00 in cash, carefully wrapped, in commercial type stationery, be mailed to FRANK DITTO, care of East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ESVID), 10833 Mack Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, place of employment, registered, special delivery, marked personal on envelope. The stationery covering the money would have typewritten on it "To help the cause of humanity in my own humble manner. G. L. WHYTE."

2. After the scheduled 4/4/68 meeting between KING and DITTO, another personal telephone call to DITTO will be placed in the same manner as the initial call. Further detailed information regarding WSP will be solicited from DITTO. He will be apprised of the interest the caller has in Dr. KING's Washington "camp-in." Inquiry will be made at this time regarding "the good will gesture sent DITTO by the caller."

3. In the event it appears DITTO is receptive to what has thus far transpired, another \$100.00 in cash will be mailed to DITTO in the same manner as described above. The enclosed notation on this letter would read "To be put to the best use in your good endeavors. G. L. WHYTE."

4. Through "G. L. WHYTE's" show of good faith by giving FRANK DITTO \$200.00 in cash "with no strings attached," he would be receptive to "G. L. WHYTE's" offer of making available to DITTO two chartered buses to

DE 100-34655

transport Detroit area people to Washington for the WSP. The availability of these buses will be handled by "G. L. WHYTE" on a strictly confidential basis and that no one other than DITTO is to be made aware of the donor. DITTO is to advise any inquiry regarding these buses that they are being sponsored by ESVID or through Reverend KING. DITTO will be contacted by "G. L. WHYTE" prior to the date of departure for those traveling to Washington, at which time DITTO will advise "G. L. WHYTE" of the time and location where he wanted these two buses to be sent.

It is believed that this technique has the potential to achieve the following results:

1. It would create a deep resentment on the part of the people to be transported to Washington against DITTO, Reverend KING, and the WSP when they are all set to go and no buses show up at the designated location, especially since DITTO and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., are supposedly solely responsible for their transportation.

2. The resentment and confusion derived would undoubtedly strike at the heart of DITTO's recruiting since it is his reasonable to assume he will have his closest followers and friends traveling to Washington at no expense to them personally.

3. Doubt and suspicion would be cast upon further and future efforts of recruiting other individuals not personally involved in this incident, thereby resulting in elimination of some of these individuals planning to participate in the WSP.

All possible precautions will be taken to preclude any embarrassment to the Bureau in the handling of this matter. No further action will be taken without prior Bureau authority and the Bureau will be immediately advised of any tangible results.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 26, 1968

FROM: G. C. Moore

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	

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

**D-44**

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

PURPOSE:

*Handwritten notes:*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/16/81 BY 583 RMM/ANL

To recommend item be furnished cooperative national news media source by Crime Records, designed to curtail success of Martin Luther King's fund raising for the Washington Spring Project.

BACKGROUND:

Martin Luther King has now scheduled the Washington Spring Project, his "poor people's march on Washington, D. C.," for the latter part of April, 1968. King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has sent out a mailing to 70,000 potential financial contributors. King asked these 70,000 to contribute to the Washington Spring Project for the feeding and housing of the marchers.

At the same time, churches in the Washington, D. C., area have said they will feed and house King's marchers.

SUGGESTION:

That the above facts be given a cooperative news source by the Crime Records Division so that a story could be

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

REC-D 912405

REC 38

100-41111-1

15 APR 9 1968

EX 106  
UNCLASSIFIED



Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

given nation-wide circulation that King does not need contributions from the 70,000 people he solicited. Since the churches have offered support, no more money is needed and any contributed would only be used by King for other purposes. This item would need nation-wide circulation in order to reach all the potential contributors and curtail their donations. A sample item is attached.

ACTION:

That the facts about King's solicitation of funds unnecessarily be given a cooperative news source by the Crime Records Division.

*Wied*

*NW*

*Handled 4/0/68  
rdr*

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), today finds himself in the embarrassing position of having too much money, or at least the probability of too much money. The SCLC sent out a huge mailing to its contributors pleading for funds for the Washington Spring Project, the "poor people's march on Washington." Thousands of contributors were urged to support the march financially in order to feed and house the demonstrators. But the churches in the Washington, D. C., area have offered to house and feed the demonstrators.

Now the contributions are beginning to roll in from the mailing and King doesn't need the money. An embarrassment of riches has befallen King, who will only use the money for other purposes. The churches had better come through with all the housing and support the demonstrators need, because there will be little money left for the "poor people" by the time the march rolls around.

*3/16/68*  
*3/16/68*  
*3/16/68*  
*3/16/68*

*100-448006-5*

4/3/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. Rushing  
1 - Mr. Glass

To: SAC, Memphis (157-1092)

From: Director, FBI

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/86 BY SP-6 macme

Reurairtel and letterhead memorandum 3/21/68 and your teletype 3/28/68.

Referenced teletype 3/28/68 reported that prior to the start of the sanitation workers' march on 3/28/68, James Elmore Phillips, LeMoyn College student, Memphis, Tennessee, and one Sam (LNU) and others were heard near Clayborn Temple to say that some of the marchers should break windows and loot. Phillips, Sam (LNU) and others went into an alley behind the Clayborn Temple and obtained sticks and bricks. This group remained behind the line of marchers when the march started.

157-9146-70

On 2/16/68 Phillips and Charles L. Cabbage advised Agents of your office that they were part of a small governing body of a black power group known as Black Organizing Power which they said is affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

REC 22

~~157-6-28-1111~~  
APR 3 1968

Referenced letterhead memorandum 3/21/68 reported that James Bevel, one of Martin Luther King's key workers, had been in Memphis since 3/18/68 working with Harold Middlebrook in organizing college and high school students to participate in the sympathy march for the strikers. On 3/20/68 Bevel and Middlebrook

APR 3 - 1968  
COMM-FBI

CEG:srs/bff  
(6)

*de*

1 - 157- MEM (Black Organizing Power)

UNCLASSIFIED

Airtel to SAC, Memphis  
RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

were taken to LeMoyné College by Phillips and Clinton Jamerson, also of Black Organizing Power, where Bevel spoke to some students. Bevel gave a virulent black power talk to the students. Four students from Owens Junior College were also at the meeting. Bevel urged the LeMoyné College students to appear at Clayborn Temple as early as 7 a.m. the morning of the march.

In connection with your inquiries into the disorder that occurred on 3/28/68, you should be alert for any information that subversives were involved or that the disorder was preplanned by militants. Your inquiries should also cover whether LeMoyné College students were involved in preplanning the disorder and whether James Bevel had a hand in inciting the disorder.

Any inquiries concerning students of LeMoyné College should, of course, be conducted in accordance with current Bureau instructions regarding investigations on college campuses.

If you have not already done so, initiate an investigation of Black Organizing Power to determine the basic aims and objectives of that organization, to establish the identities of the leaders, and to develop background information about them.

The inquiries into the disorder should be promptly handled and submitted to the Bureau in a letterhead memorandum. Your inquiries concerning Black Organizing Power should be reported under that caption.

UNCLASSIFIED

HSCA LETTER 11/7/78

FBIHQ COPY

F.B.I.

Date: 4/3/68

Agency G-2, *void* O&L, CRD

Crim. Div. 4/11/68

Date Forw. 4/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

How Forw. *ds*

via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

By *Pat [illegible]*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

*4-d 1-8360*

*Darker*

① SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

RM

(OO: Memphis)

*Donna Marie 3/10/80*  
*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED*  
*HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED*  
*DATE 12-10-81 BY SP4 JRM/AM*  
*Sp6 Bja [illegible] 11-2-84*

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 4/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 3 copies, for Atlanta 3 copies, and for Chicago 1 copy, of LHM captioned as above and dated 4/3/68.

*UN*

Copies are being disseminated to USA, Memphis, and Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

*Confidential Source*

Source one furnishing information in the enclosed LHM is ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~, (PROTECTED at her request).

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM) (Info)
  - (1 - SCLC)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)
- 1 - Chicago (SCLC) (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)
- 3 - WFO (Encs. 3) (RM) (Info)
  - (1 - SCLC)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)
- 9 - Memphis
  - (1 - 157-1092)
  - (1 - 157-1097, Washington Spring Project)
  - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)

REC-105 157-9146-69  
*157-128-1130*

1 APR 5 1968

**RACIAL INT. SECT.**

(COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2)

(19)

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ME 157-1092

MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

- 1 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-4528, (CHARLES L. CABBAGE)  
1 - 157-1023, (DONNIE DELANEY)  
1 - 100-4105, (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)  
1 - 157-109, (SNCC)  
1 - 66-1687 Sub A, (Dissemination File)

*ident data*

LEADS:

ATLANTA, CHICAGO AND WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISIONS (INFORMATION)

Information copies are being furnished above offices since they are interested in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will follow and report pertinent activities regarding instant case.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
April 3, 1968

*Sp 6/26 Sp 9/maemre*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/10/81 BY *Sp 6/26/81*  
*Sp 6/26/81*

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

*intelligence personnel*

On April 1, 1968, [redacted] Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that at approximately 2:30 p.m., April 1, 1968, approximately 450 supporters of the Memphis sanitation strike, which originally began February 12, 1968, all carrying placards marched single file on the sidewalks from Clayborn Temple located at 280 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee, to Main Street and to City Hall on the north end of Main Street, thereafter returning to Clayborn Temple where they dispersed. He stated there were no incidents and no arrests.

A first source advised that Hosea L. Williams, Director of Voter Registration, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); James L. Bevel, who is in charge of SCLC "Nonviolent Action"; Jesse Jackson, Director of "Operation Breadbasket"; J. T. Johnson, the Mississippi organizer of the SCLC "Washington Spring Project"; and James Orange and R. B. Cottonreader, both field staff members of the SCLC, held a press conference April 1, 1968, in the company of Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Memphis, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, who represented the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), which is the Memphis ministerial group leading the strike support.

Source one advised that representatives of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the striking union, were also present, including national officials Joseph Paisley, Joseph Ciampa, William Lucy, and Thomas Oliver Jones, President of Local 1733 which is the local striking union. Also present were Charles L. Cabbage and Donnie Delaney.

157-9146-69  
~~UNCLASSIFIED~~



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On February 16, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage advised a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he is the head of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group in Memphis, Tennessee. On March 5, 1968, Donnie Delaney advised representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he is a part of this same group.

Source one advised that Hosea L. Williams was the main spokesman and stated that every effort would be made by a task force of the SCLC which is in Memphis during the week beginning April 1, 1968, to escalate the strike support activity in Memphis, Tennessee. James Orange stated that he would set up a series of youth workshops in the various churches in Memphis which would be attended by youths and adults and that these persons would be trained in SCLC techniques and would also be trained as parade marshals for any subsequent marches which would be held under the auspices of SCLC and the COME group. James L. Bevel stated that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the SCLC, would come into Memphis on Tuesday, April 2, 1968, and would probably remain until Friday, April 5, 1968, and would probably march in a mass march to be sponsored by COME and SCLC on that date.

Source one stated that some of the press raised the question as to whether SCLC was attempting to take over the strike and related racial activity in Memphis, Tennessee, and Bevel and Hosea Williams emphatically denied this claiming that they are operating in Memphis at their "own expense." Hosea Williams stated that the SCLC would have to get the garbage men justice and that it would probably have to have daily marches in this effort.

Source further advised that Reverend Jesse Jackson stated that SCLC and its supporters would start a concerted drive to get all Negroes in Memphis, some 250,000, to transfer their bank accounts and insurance policies from white institutions to Negro institutions. He stated that this group would also attempt to see that Negro businessmen obtained a greater portion of Negro business and that if they did not "shape up" they would have to "ship out."

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one interpreted this to mean that Negro businessmen would have to prepare themselves to discharge their business responsibilities should new business from their own people be brought to them.

Source one advised that Williams, Bevel and Jackson kept emphasizing that this is not a "takeover" on their part and that they are in Memphis at the invitation of the COME group. They described themselves as a catalyst who are here in Memphis to unite "black power."

Source one advised that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., stated that the leaders would have to recognize every black person in Memphis, including the youth, as a "force in this movement."

Source one advised that in response to queries from the press as to who is financing the obviously expensive SCLC operation in Memphis, Hosea Williams replied that SCLC is paying the bills from its treasury and that any money raised as a result of SCLC activity in Memphis will go to the sanitation workers.

Source one further advised that Bevel answered a press inquiry relating to a recent statement by Memphis Police and Fire Director, Frank C. Holloman, in which Mr. Holloman described the March 28, 1968, disruption on Beale Street in Memphis which spread into other Negro neighborhoods of Memphis as in effect a "war." Bevel in commenting on Holloman's statements stated, "We're here as political psychiatrists. We see the Mayor and his group as patients who are mentally sick." Bevel also stated that all of the trouble in Memphis can be attributed not to black militancy and irresponsibility, but to the over-all white racism which he claimed exists in Memphis. He stated that Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb feels inferior because he obviously does not understand black people. He added that the city tried to settle its problem with the Army and with tanks when the real problem was poverty. He emphasized "poverty is the key issue."

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that some of the press raised questions with the ministers as to how they explained away the mass stealing, looting and vandalism which occurred on March 28, 1968, on the part of Negroes in Memphis; and Bevel stated that all men have a right to steal. He stated that it is obviously correct for the white race to steal; that they have been cheating and stealing from the Negroes economically for centuries; and he concluded by stating, "We believe in black power and advocate its use." He did not elaborate as to what he meant.

On the late night of April 1, 1968, Memphis Chief of Police James C. Macdonald advised that the City of Memphis was giving serious consideration to legal actions which could be taken to prevent future mass marches. He stated that the city was considering asking for a court injunction, preferably a Federal Court injunction, prohibiting any mass marches led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., or other persons prominent in the march which preceded violence on Thursday, March 28, 1968, in Memphis. He stated that any such injunction would specify the conditions under which a march could take place and that the city is further considering the resumption of the curfew which was originally imposed on March 28, 1968, and which was lifted April 1, 1968. Chief Macdonald also stated that the city was considering placing some of the strike support leaders under peace and financial responsibility bonds.

Chief Macdonald stated that Memphis Juvenile Court Judge Kenneth Turner was calling for an investigation of a report that one or more ministers provided taxicabs to take youths from their schools to the March 28, 1968, march which would be in violation of the truancy laws. He said adults who were doing this could be charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Chief Macdonald stated that Judge Turner's decision came after remarks by a student, Alvin White, of 1546 Orr who stated that he skipped school to take part in the march and had told Judge Turner that a minister, name not known to him, had provided taxicabs to take some of his friends and himself to Clayborn Temple AME Church so they could be in the march.

Chief Macdonald stated that approximately 31 Negro youths appeared in Judge Turner's Court on April 1, 1968, in connection with truancy and other charges growing out of the March 28, 1968, incident; and that Judge Turner continued 8 cases, dismissed 7 for lack of prosecution, dismissed 8 for lack of evidence, took 2 under advisement, sentenced 4 and remanded 2 to the Shelby County Grand Jury.

The information hereinbefore not received from the Police Department, Memphis, Tennessee, was furnished to representatives of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis Police Department and to representatives of the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

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.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 3 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI MEMPHIS

111X 1137AM URGENT 4-3-68 SAB

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

FROM MEMPHIS 157-1092 2P

- 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 \_\_\_\_\_

*Sp 6 machine 3/16/68*  
 ALL INFO  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/16/81 BY SP4 JRM/lu  
 Sp 6 machine 11-7-84

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

REPRESENTATIVES OF EASTERN AIRLINES ADVISED REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND SCLC STAFF MEMBERS DOROTHY COLETON, ANDREW J. YOUNG, BERNARD LEE AND RALPH D. ABERNATHY ARRIVED MEMPHIS FROM ATLANTA, GA. NO RETURN OR OUTGOING RESERVATIONS FOR ANY OF ABOVE KNOWN AT THIS TIME.

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT STRATEGY MEETING HELD NIGHT APRIL TWO LAST ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE

FOR EQUALITY (COME), THE MINISTERIAL GROUP IN MEMPHIS SUPPORTING SANITATION STRIKE, BY REPRESENTATIVES OF SCLC,

WHICH WAS HOSEA WILLIAMS, AND BY REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN

FEDERATION OF COUNTY, STATE AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, SPOKESMEN BEING WILLIAM LUCY AND JESSE EPPS, FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

THEPEOP. AT THIS STRATEGY MEETING, THE MASS MARCH ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR APRIL FIVE NEXT TO BE LED BY KING WAS RE-SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, APRIL EIGHT, REASON BEING THAT UNION REPRESENTATIVES

*GC Moore*  
*Tolson*  
*D. Sullivan*  
 APR 5 1968  
 REC-69  
 157-1092-28  
 151-9146-62A

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE TWO

FEEL THAT STRIKE HAS BECOME A RACIAL ISSUE AND THAT THERE IS DEFINITE NEED FOR A MORE UNIFIED SUPPORT BY UNION PEOPLE ASSUMING MORE ACTIVE ROLES IN STRATEGY AND DECISION. EPPS IS ARRANGING THROUGH UNKNOWN UNION OFFICIALS TO BRING TWO CHARTERED PLANE LOADS OF "UNION PEOPLE," MANY OF WHOM WILL BE OF WHITE RACE, FROM NEW YORK CITY AREA DUE TO ARRIVE MEMPHIS SOMETIME APRIL SEVEN NEXT, AND THAT EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO PLACE AS MANY WHITES AS POSSIBLE IN THE FRONT OF THE MASS MARCH. SOURCE ONE ADDED KING SCHEDULED TO HAVE STRATEGY MEETING WITH ABOVE GROUP AT NOON APRIL THREE AND TO DELIVER ADDRESS AT MASS SUPPORT RALLY MASON TEMPLE, NIGHT APRIL THREE.

NEW YORK AT NEW YORK, WILL THROUGH LOGICAL SOURCES INCLUDING AIRPORT OFFICIALS DETERMINE SPECIFICS OF GROUP OR GROUPS WHICH MAY BE LEAVING NEW YORK AREA TO COME TO MEMPHIS TO PARTICIPATE IN MASS MARCH AND RELATED STRIKE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES. ADVISE MEMPHIS AND BUREAU OF POSITIVE INFORMATION BY TELETYPE. AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

P. END.

CAP

FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EAC  
DATE 11/6/78

2:30 PM 4-2-68 URGENT VCS

TO DIRECTOR AND MEMPHIS

FROM ATLANTA

DECLASSIFIED BY SP/maemce

ON 3/11/04

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C.

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAK/mce  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

ON EVENING OF APRIL ONE LAST AT ONE THREE EIGHT SEVEN-R ADVISED HE  
HAD LEARNED THAT HOSEA WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF VOTER REGISTRATION AND  
POLITICAL EDUCATION, SCLC; JESSE JACKSON, NORTHERN DIRECTOR, PROJECT  
BREADWASKET, SCLC; JAMES BEVEL, SCLC STAFF MEMBER AND JAMES ORGARGE,  
SCLC FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, WERE CURRENTLY IN MEMPHIS. MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR., PRESIDENT, SCLC, AND RALPH D. ABERNATHY, VICE PRESIDENT  
AND TREASURER, SCLC, CONTEMPLATED DEPARTING ATLANTA APRIL TWO INSTANT  
VIA AIR EN ROUTE TO MEMPHIS. DETAILS RE TRAVEL OF KING NOT AVAILABLE  
BUT INFORMANT GAINED IMPRESSION HE AND ABERNATHY WOULD DEPART DURING  
LATE MORNING. DURATION OF KING'S STAY IN MEMPHIS NOT KNOWN BUT SCLC  
"ACTION COMMITTEE" MEETING SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN MEMPHIS APRIL  
THREE NEXT. (P) u

KING AND SCLC ARE DETERMINED TO LEAD ANOTHER MARCH IN MEMPHIS WHI  
WILL BE NONVIOLENT IN ORDER TO PROVE TO NATION THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHE  
DATE OF MARCH NOT KNOWN BUT SOURCE PRESUMED IT WOULD NOT BE UNTIL AFTER  
END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED  
198 APR 11 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

APRIL THREE NEXT MEETING. HOSEA WILLIAMS IN CHARGE OF CURRENT EFFORTS  
IN MEMPHIS "REORGANIZE" SANITATION WORKERS IN ORDER THAT ENSUING MARCH  
WILL BE PEACEFUL.

ABOVE INFORMATION TELEPHONICALLY FURNISHED MEMPHIS.

AT ONE THREE EIGHT SEVEN-R  
INFORMATION FROM ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ CONFIDENTIAL. (S)

LHM FOLLOWS.



RECEIVED: 2:57PM EXR



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	_____

FBI WASH DC

*Handwritten:* TELETYPE

FBI MEMPHIS

517 PM URGENT 4-1-68 DND

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MEMPHIS (157-1092)

*Handwritten:* Sonm... 3/20/86  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/3/81 BY [Signature]

*Handwritten:* J. Edgar Hoover

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

RE ME TELS MARCH THIRTYONE LAST.  
*Handwritten:* intelligence personnel

ON APRIL ONE INSTANT, [REDACTED] INSPECTIONAL

BUREAU, MEMPHIS PD, ADVISED FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF SOUTHERN

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE STAFF CURRENTLY IN MEMPHIS REGISTERED AT

LORRAINE MOTEL: R.B. COTTONREADER, JAMES ORANGE, REV. JESSE

JACKSON AND JAMES L. REVEL, ALSO REGISTERED IN THIS MOTEL OVER

WEEKEND OF MARCH THIRTY AND THIRTYONE WERE CHARLES L. CABBAGE, JOHN

BURRELL SMITH AND CHARLES STEVEN BALLARD, ALL OF WHOM HAVE AS RECENTLY

AS FEBRUARY SIXTEEN LAST ADMITTED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF FBI BEING

ON GOVERNING BODY OF BLACK ORGANIZING POWER (BOP) AND OVERALL BLACK

POWER GROUP IN MEMPHIS WHICH THEY SAY IS AFFILIATED WITH STUDENT NON

VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

REC 35

*Handwritten:* 157-9146-55

IT IS REPORTED THAT AT TWO THIRTY P.M. APRIL ONE INSTANT,

APPROXIMATELY FOUR FIVE ZERO SUPPORTERS OF MEMPHIS SANITATION STRIKE

CARRYING PLACARDS MARCHED FROM CLAYBORN TEMPLE SINGLE FILE TO MAIN

STREET AND CITY HALL, MEMPHIS, WHERE THEY WERE RETURNING TO TEMPLE. THERE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE TWO

WERE NO INCIDENTS AND NO ARRESTS.

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF VOTERS REGISTRATION, SCLC; JAMES L. BEVEL IN CHARGE OF SCLC "NON VIOLENT ACTION"; JESSE JACKSON, DIRECTOR OF "OPERATION REDBASKET", SCLC; J.T. JOHNSON, THE MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZER OF THE SCLC, "WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT"; JAMES ORANGE AND R.B. COTTONREADER, BOTH FIELD STAFF MEMBERS SCLC HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE, MEMPHIS APRIL ONE INSTANT IN THE COMPANY OF REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., REPRESENTING COMMUNITY ON MOVE FOR EQUALITY (COM), THE MEMPHIS MINISTERIAL GROUP LEADING STRIKE. FIELD REPRESENTATIVES OF STRIKING AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES ALSO IN ATTENDANCE ALONG WITH CHARLES CABBAGE OF BOP. WILLIAMS STATED THAT REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WOULD ARRIVE IN MEMPHIS APRIL TWO NEXT, TIME NOT SPECIFIED, BUT SCLC WOULD CONDUCT DAILY MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN MEMPHIS, THAT A MASS MARCH WOULD BE HELD APRIL FIVE NEXT TO BE LEAD BY KING AND THAT KING WOULD POSSIBLY REMAIN IN MEMPHIS UNTIL APRIL FIVE NEXT. JAMES ORANGE WILL INSTITUTE A SERIES OF SCLC "WORK SHOPS" IN VARIOUS CHURCHES. WILLIAMS STATED THAT THE STRIKE ACTIVITY IN MEMPHIS WILL BE ESCALATED. JESSE JACKSON STATED THAT ALL MEMPHIS NEGROES WILL BE IMPLORED TO TRANSFER BANK ACCOUNTS AND INSURANCE ACCOUNTS FROM WHITE INSTITUTIONS TO BLACK INSTITUTIONS AND THAT SCLC

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

WILL ORGANIZE NEGRO BUSINESSES TO TAKE OVER ALL NEGRO BUSINESS IN COMMUNITY AND THAT THESE GROUPS WILL "HAVE TH SHAPE UP OR SHIP OUT". WILLIAMS DENIED SCLC IS ATTEMPTING TO "TAKE OVER" MEMPHIS, CLAIMED SCLC HERE AT INVITATION OF COME AND IS MERELY SERVING AS A CATALYST AND IT IS "HERE TO UNITE BLACK POWER".

JAMES L. BEVEL STATED SCLC IN MEMPHIS TO SERVE AS A POLITICAL PSYCHIAIRIST AND THAT SCLC SEES MEMPHIS MAYOR HENRY LOEB AS A "SICK INDIVIDUAL". HE CLAIMED THAT WHITE RACISM RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL PROBLEMS IN MEMPHIS. HE CLAIMED THE CITY TRIES TO SETTLE PORBLEMS WITH THE ARMY AND TANKS WHEN THE REAL PROBLEM IS POVERTY AND THAT THE ARMY IS CALLED IN WHEN NEGROES LOOT WHEREAS THE WHITE RACE HAS BEEN STEALING FROM THE NEGROES ECONOMICALLY FOR CENTURIES. BEVEL CONCLUDED "WE UNEQUIVOCALLY BELIEVE IN AND ADVOCATE BLACK POWER".

\* PENDING

~~CORR-PAGE ONE LINE ONE AND OTHER PLACES IN IT WORXXX WORD EIGHT SHLD BE "TINES" RPT "TINES"~~

END

CAB

Included in letter to White House  
and Attorney General. Date 4-2-68

FBI WASH DC

TU CLRFP

*Handwritten signature/initials*

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	_____

R-13

URGENT 4-1-68

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM, JACKSON, JACKSONVILLE,  
 KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOUISVILLE, MOBILE, NEW ORLEANS,  
 SAVANNAH, ST. LOUIS

FROM MEMPHIS

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN.; RM.

INFO RECEIVED FROM MEMPHIS, TENN., PD INDICATES NUMEROUS  
 OUTSIDE AGITATORS IN MEMPHIS ARE PLANNING TO COME TO MEMPHIS  
 IN ANTICIPATION OF CONTEMPLATED MASSIVE MARCH TO BE HEADED BY  
 REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WEEK OF APRIL ONE THROUGH FIVE,  
 SIXTY EIGHT.

ALL RECEIVING OFFICES EXPEDITIOUSLY SUBMIT TO MEMPHIS  
 NAMES, DESCRIPTIONS AND PHOTOS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS LISTED ON  
 AGITATOR INDEX.

ALL OFFICES FURTHER REQUESTED TO NOTIFY MEMPHIS IMMEDIATELY  
 OF ANY KNOWN PLANS OF AGITATORS WHO PLAN TO COME TO MEMPHIS. P.

RECEIVED: 1:25 PM RNK

*REC-65 157-9146-54*  
 APR 4 1968  
 DATE 11-16-84  
*157-9146-54*

UNCLASSIFIED

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY  
DATE

FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: .....

*[Handwritten signature]*

Transmit the following in 116/17

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CLASSIFIED BY 6876 WRA/...  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

*Rate 3*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

REC-22

*T. [Handwritten]*

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

*60476*

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/29/68

*D. [Handwritten]*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies,  
for WFO 3 copies, and for Atlanta 3 copies of LHM captioned  
as above and dated 3/30/68. Copies are being furnished to  
regional offices of military intelligence.

Information in LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY,  
111th INTC, 3rd Army, Memphis, and Lt. GEORGE FEATHERS,  
Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tenn.

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, -RAO, -CD,  
ACSI, OSI, SS

ENCLOSURE

Room 836 HOW FORM: 9 & D  
DATE FORM: APR 4 1968  
BY: CA? G02 *2 Oct*

- 3 - Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
- (1-SCLC) (1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (1-Washington Spring Project)
- 2 - WFO (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
- (1-SCLC) (1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (1-Washington Spring Project)
- 12 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
- (1 - 157-556) (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
- (1 - 157-166) (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
- (1 - 100-4105) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) *157-9146-50*
- (1 - 157-1097) (Washington Spring Project)
- (1 - 100-4525) (CHARLES ...)
- (1 - 100-4579) (CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR)
- (1 - 157-1019) (CHARLES HARRINGTON)

*Ident Data*

WHL:mnr  
(21)

- 1 - 157-109 (SNCC)
- 1 - 66-1687 Sub (Dissemination File)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*3 copies made for review  
at FBIHQ by HSC-A*

ME 157-1092

Source 1 is [REDACTED]

Source 2 is [REDACTED]

(requested identity be protected)

Source 3 is [REDACTED]

Source 4 is [REDACTED] (characterization of  
JAMES L. BEVEL)

*Informants*  
LEADS: *Confidential Sources*

ATLANTA AND WFO DIVISIONS (INFO)

Information copies are submitted in view of these offices' interest in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 30, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: - SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EC  
DATE 11/6/78

Reference communication captioned as above made at  
Memphis, Tennessee, March 29, 1968.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux,  
Assistant Chief, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department,  
advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., male Negro, TENN.  
pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and one of  
the main leaders of the Community on the Move for Equality  
(COME), the Memphis Negro Ministerial Group leading the  
support of the sanitation workers, Memphis, Tennessee, who  
have been on strike since February 12, 1968, informed Lux  
that a downtown sympathy march for the strikers was planned  
for the afternoon of March 29, 1968.

Lawson stated that the march would be restricted  
to sanitation workers and adult sympathizers and that every  
effort would be made to eliminate the young element which  
created problems leading to window breaking, looting, and  
general vandalism which disrupted the massive march on  
March 28, 1968, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President,  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Later on the afternoon of March 29, 1968, Henry  
Lux advised that the march did take place running from  
Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, to the vicinity of the  
Memphis City Hall on Main Street with approximately 200  
individuals participating. There were no incidents. The  
Memphis Police Department and representatives of the Ten-  
nessee National Guard who are still on duty in Memphis as  
a precautionary measure, guarded the entire parade area,  
the marchers remaining on the sidewalks and observing all

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1000/ALB  
ON 12/9/81 SP-1000/ALB  
SP-1000/ALB

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAR/mar  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/6/78

157-9146-50

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

157-9146-50

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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traffic restrictions. There were no arrests and no incidents. Lux pointed out that no permit is required for marches of any kind within the city of Memphis and that the Memphis municipal authorities are considering the possibility of passing an ordinance of this type.

Also, on March 29, 1968, Chief of Police James C. MacDonald of Memphis advised that there have been no serious troubles during March 29, 1968. He had instructed all of his officers to disperse small groups of youngsters in various sections of the city and that there were still sporadic outbursts of window breaking, minor looting, general vandalism, and the setting of trash fires. One squad car was fired on by unknown Negroes in the vicinity of Dison and Rile in south Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968, according to MacDonald, but the individuals firing the shots were not identified. He stated that throughout the day the Memphis Police Department received numerous calls of reported looting, vandalism, and fire settings and fire bombings, although investigation by representatives of the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis Fire Department indicated that most of these incidents were minor. He pointed out that the major damage in connection with the March 28, 1968, disturbance was confined to a three to four block area on Beale Street in downtown Memphis with store fronts being damaged and practically all of a three block area. He stated that liquor stores are still closed, that National Guardsmen are guarding the stores which have been looted and where windows have been broken, that the merchants are boarding up the fronts of most of these establishments to preclude further vandalism and looting and he feels that with the presence of the Tennessee National Guard, along with the assistance of the Shelby County Sheriff's Office and his department, that the situation is well in hand and that, with the exception of sporadic outbursts of vandalism, he does not anticipate any immediate trouble in Memphis.

On the night of March 29, 1968, Assistant Chief Henry Lux advised that there were approximately 33 additional arrests on March 29, 1968, by the Memphis Police Department on charges including miscellaneous looting, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and threatened breach of peace. He



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

reported that in City Court, Division II, more than 200 persons charged in the past two days appeared before City Judge BERNIE Weinman on charges ranging from drunkenness to assault on police officers. Judge Weinman bound 40 defendants over to the state, dismissed 46 others, and continued the cases against 118 until later in the month of April, 1968. The largest bond was \$5,000 set for Gordon L. Odom, Jr., of 336 South Parkway East on a charge of third degree burglary, this being set by City Judge Ray Churchill. Other bonds he set ranged from \$250 to \$2,000.

During the evening of March 29, 1968, the police received numerous calls of reported fire bombings, vandalism, and looting over a wide area primarily in the Negro neighborhoods but many of these proved to be unfounded on investigation. Lux advised that the curfew imposed by Mayor Henry Loeb on the night of March 28, 1968, continued on the night of March 29, 1968, but that it was a loose curfew in that any individual on the streets who had identifications would have nothing to worry about provided he could give a plausible explanation as to his purpose in being there. This meant that theatres, places of amusement, and restaurants and other functions normally operating at night would be uninterrupted. He stated that riot damage resulting from the March 28, 1968, window breaking and looting was estimated by insurance officials at approximately \$400,000 not including the miscellaneous fires. He pointed out fortunately none of the fires were serious. This would not, of course, include losses due to interrupted business days because many office managers, store owners, government agencies, including Federal, state and county, dismissed their employees early both on March 28 and 29, 1968, in order to avoid trouble. He stated that the Memphis city buses were operating throughout March 29, 1968, but would stop around 7:00 P.M. and that in the near future it was anticipated that they would be operating of a full-time basis.

Lux advised that Tennessee National Guardsmen are bivouacked at the National Guard Armory on Central near the Mid-South Fairgrounds and on the military side of the Memphis Metropolitan Airport. He stated that there are approximately 4,000 troops from the west and middle Tennessee National Guard units on duty in Memphis. He had no knowledge as to when they would be pulled out, but predicted that they

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

would at least remain in Memphis over the week end of March 30-31, 1968.

He pointed out that school absenteeism in the city school system in Memphis on March 29, 1968, was nearly 40,000 and that the largest number of truants were at the predominantly Negro high schools.

Lux stated that the only injury reported during the day was to Memphis Police Patrolman E. W. MAXWELL, whose finger was severely cut while he was arresting a drunk young Negro who was fighting with other officers on Polk Street north of Chelsea, which is in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. He stated that at about 1:15 P.M., officers arrested two white youths, namely Samuel R. Waddell, age 20 of 2581 Kallien, Larry Williams, age 20 of 1669 Combs. He stated that he had been informed that officers seized a .22 caliber rifle in Williams living room. He did not have the details of the arrest. He stated many of those arrested for looting were youngsters ranging from 8 to 12 years of age. These were being turned over to Memphis Juvenile Court.

MEMPHIS, TENN.  
The Memphis Commercial Appeal newspaper, Saturday morning issue, March 30, 1968, reported in detail concerning activities of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 29, 1968, and stated in a story on page 1 by Reporter Thomas BeVier that King came to Memphis to star in what was billed as a "dress rehearsal" for his April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Crusade" on Washington, D. C. The story continued, "By his own non-violent standards, the rehearsal was a flop." The story stated that King in a press interview March 29, 1968, reported that he would be back in Memphis as early as April 3 and not later than April 5, 1968, for another mass march and was quoted as saying, "We are going to have a massive non-violent demonstration in Memphis." The story stated that the question being asked in Memphis, the nation, and the world is whether - with the increasing militancy of black youth - anyone can say with certainty that a non-violent demonstration will stay that way.

King stated in the interview, "I am convinced we can have a non-violent demonstration" but was reported as adding that it would be impossible to "guarantee" that

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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there would not be any violence. The story stated that it was significant that King was more than a half hour late for his 11:30 A.M. press conference because he was meeting with three members of a Black Power group, which the paper referred to as "The Invaders." BeVier stated that these three young men refused to give their names and stated that they would give their own press conference at a later time.

The story continued that King was staying in a \$29 a day room at the Holiday Inn Rivermont, also known as the Rivermont Hotel. King claimed to the newspaper that he did not realize when he came to Memphis that there were those in the Negro community who were "talking about violence." He stated, "We (SCLC) had no part in the planning of the march. Our intelligence was nil." He said that if he had known there were persons likely to start violence, he would have had them made parade marshals, a move which he said had been successful in other marches.

He was reported as being critical of the press for reporting that he left the march in haste after the trouble started on March 28, 1968. He claimed that he left calmly because he said, "I will not lead a violent march." He said that while he "walked" with aides to a car, he was "agonizing over what had happened." The story reported that Assistant Police Chief Henry Lux had earlier said over the police radio at approximately 11:27 A.M., Thursday, March 28, 1968, that the march was apparently without leadership as Dr. King had asked for a police escort away from the march a few minutes after the first report of violence during the march. King was reported in the story as saying he did not think the riot "will in any way affect" his Washington plans for his Poor People's Crusade to commence April 22, 1968. He said he is undecided as to how much of his SCLC staff he can spare to organize the next massive march in Memphis early in April 1968.

The story said that later in Washington, D. C., Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's top lieutenant, said that the main thrust of the Washington demonstration would be delayed for about two weeks and that steps would be taken to avoid violence and that a "symbolic delegation," including King would reach Washington on April 22, 1968. The story continued

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that King claimed that Thursday, March 28, 1968, march was "poorly planned" which the paper said amounts to criticism of Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr., whom Dr. King himself had called "the leading non-violence theoretician in the country." The paper reported that Lawson is in charge of the strategy for the Memphis Negro ministers, also known as COME, and is pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and continued that Lawson did not entirely agree with King's assessments.

The story stated for instance that King had said that the Black Power advocates with whom he met earlier had said that there had been a lack of communication between them and the ministers and that they felt "rejected." Rev. Lawson was quoted by the paper as saying, "There has been communication. I don't accept that," referring to King's statement. The paper said that it was Rev. Lawson who had originally asked King to come to Memphis and that for about 10 years Lawson has served in an advisory capacity with SCLC. It stated that Lawson agreed with King that a non-violent demonstration is possible and pointed out that this was one of the reasons King was asked to come to Memphis. Lawson stated, "We didn't bring in Rap Brown (national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), we brought in King." He was reported to have further said that there were other reasons for bringing in King, one being to give the movement in Memphis a "national image" and another was to strengthen the leadership of the Memphis ministers.

The same March 30, 1968, issue of The Commercial Appeal newspaper had a lead editorial on page 6 entitled, "King's Credibility Gap," which stated that "Martin Luther King on the night of March 18, 1968, told an overflow crowd at Mason Temple: 'You know what? We may have to escalate this struggle a bit.' Dr. King then urged a total work stoppage in Memphis by Negroes 'in a few days' and called for all Negro public school students to cut classes at the same time. 'Try it and they will hear you,' said Dr. King. The escalation came Thursday when Dr. King led a supposedly non-violent protest march from Clayborn Temple to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, and a block north on Main. He got what he asked - to an embarrassing extent. Negro students did play truant by the thousands and were joined by hundreds of other young Negroes in their 20's who turned the march into a riot and left Beale Street and a short section of Main in utter ruin. Photographs and eyewitness accounts identify those who did the destruction and the looting - the children and young people whom Dr. King had told to stay out of school. Having fled the melee, King later issued statements

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associate himself from the violence that he

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had instigated. The claim will not hold water. Dr. King's pose as leader of a non-violent movement has been shattered. He now has the entire nation doubting his word when he insists that his April project - a shanty-town sit-in in the nation's capital - can be peaceful. In short, Dr. King is suffering from one of those awesome credibility gaps. Furthermore, he wrecked his reputation as a leader as he took off at high speed when violence occurred, instead of trying to use his persuasive prestige to stop it.

"There are many other second thoughts about the Beale Street incident of Thursday. More and more it is evident that Memphis police were well prepared, alert and firm when firmness was vital. What might have spread into far reaches of the city was blocked within minutes.

"The city administration with the help of the legislature and Gov. Buford Ellington got a curfew law which effectively restored general calm and peace.

"As always, there is another side to the coin. Memphis Negroes do need broader participation in Memphis government, and better job opportunities in our city. The sanitation strike, which has been the takeoff point for trouble-making, must be settled soon.

"Mediation and conciliation in the strike have been attempted without significant results. OBstnacy and stubborn position-taking will not lead to a settlement. There must be give-and-take.

"It would help if the Negro church ministers who have more or less taken over the cause of the sanitation employes would get them back to work. Then mediation might be attempted in a more reasonable atmosphere.

"The city should shut no doors. It, too, must mediate, if the issue is to be settled without further damage to Memphis."

In connection with the above mentioned Commercial Appeal story with reference to "The Invaders," source 1 who is extremely close to the leadership of the Black Power movement in Memphis, advised that this group technically

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is known as the Black Organizing Project (BOP) and is affiliated with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which has national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It is led by John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage. *CU*

*MEMPHIS, TENN.*  
In connection with another investigation conducted February 16, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage and John Burrell Smith introduced themselves to representatives of the FBI and introduced the governing body of the BOP organization as Charles Laverne Cabbage, 1924 Rile; John Burrell Smith, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Owen College student; Curtis Carter, LeMoyné College student, residence 377 E. McLemore; Charles Steven Ballard, 1830 Kansas Street, a student at Owen Junior College; Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis State University student; Verdell Ronald Brooks, Owen College student, residence 1512 Ball Street; James Elmore Phillips, 1592 Short, student at LeMoyné College; Clinton Roy Jamerson, 1397 Davis Street; Charles Harrington, 2075 Rile, a student at Owen College; and they mentioned an additional person who was not present, namely Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507 Fontaine, Memphis.

*MEMPHIS, TENN.*  
Cabbage and John Smith advised that some of their followers wear the words "The Invaders" on their jackets and John Smith stated that he personally wears these words on his jacket but that this is merely a name which some of them have adopted and that it is all part of the BOP organization. *TENN.*

As recently as March 30, 1968, source 1 stated that many teenagers in Memphis have put the word "Invaders" on backs of their jackets, although they are not necessarily connected with the BOP organization. They do this more or less as a symbol of their self-professed affinity with Black Power. Source 1 pointed out therefore that the mere fact that one wears the word "Invaders" does not mean that he is a part of any organized movement, that the only known organized Black Power movement in Memphis is that of BOP headed by Cabbage and John B. Smith and the above mentioned governing body. He pointed that, for example, at LeMoyné College their group is known as BOP, at Owen College it is known as the Afro-American Brotherhood and at Memphis State University, which has approximately 1500 Negro students, it is known as the Black Student Association (BSA). *CU*

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Source 1 was not certain as to the 3 individuals who met with King but believes that they were Charles L. Cabbage, Charles Harrington, and a young male Negro in his early twenties, light skinned, with a "dog type" face, clean features, Afro hairdo, about 5'9" to 5'10" tall, slender, and who had introduced himself earlier in the summer of 1967 as Miller. These 3 shortly prior to the time that King interviewed Black Power people had attempted to gain an audience but Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Salary Division of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, A.M.E. Church, 274 Hernando, next door to Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, which has been the headquarters of the strike supporters since February 12, 1968. Cabbage was insistent on seeing Ralph Jackson and that Jackson's assistant, a Rev. Johnson, refused to allow him to see Jackson stating that Jackson was completely "fed up" with Cabbage and his Black Power associates, that Jackson originally had attempted to have rapport and communication with them and had even offered to get them financial support out of New York City but that after the ruckus started on March 28, 1968, Cabbage, John B. Smith, and their associates came back to the temple after the ministers had attempted to get the marchers to return and virtually took over the temple, took over the microphone, and would not cease and dismiss when some of the ministers asked them to do so. *RU*

Therefore, Jackson's assistant Rev. Johnson, who lives at 5183 Horn Lake Road, refused to take them to see Dr. Jackson.

Source 1 pointed out that since around March 1, 1968, the BOP group headed by Cabbage and Smith has been in close contact with the sanitation strike and had been working in cooperation with the COME group that Rev. Lawson and Dr. Jackson, the two prime leaders of the COME group, have allowed them to attend strategy meetings and have met with them on numerous occasions. In fact, source 1 pointed out it is significant that a mass strike support meeting was held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando on the night of March 5, 1968, attended by some 500 to 600 individuals and that one of the main speakers and masters of ceremony was Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., and at this mass meeting Charles Laverne Cabbage and some 30 to 40 of his purported followers were openly and with the consent of the ministers



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in charge of the meeting, passing out a 5 page mimeographed pamphlet entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, Black Thesis, Black Power!:" which eulogized H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC. A portion of this document stated that the civil rights tactics of 1963 are not sufficient in the form of pressure on political structures and in dealing with what it referred to as extreme violent reaction of city powers in this community. It claimed that the so-called self-appointed part-time civil rights and part-time preachers inevitably "quit the struggle too soon." It said that "civil disobedience implies an entirely new set of priorities and responsibilities of which the current Negro leadership could no longer accept." It claimed that the current strike support movement in Memphis had turned into a big revival with the preachers having the followers so busy singing, praying, and marching that they do not do anything about the real issues. It asked the question, "Why has the community let the preachers take over and try to lead in a fight which? There must be some real fighting. We all know the preachers can't fight or won't fight." It then printed a letter dated March 21, 1968, from Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, from H. Rap Brown in which he said, "We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit's. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every black death there must be a Dien Bien Phu." It continued, "Aggression is the order of the day" and concluded "America: If it takes my death to organize my people against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you and God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life!"

Following this was a detailed drawing captioned "Molotov cocktail" showing in detail how a Molotov cocktail can be made by inserting a plain rag into the neck of a bottle which contains gasoline with a base of dirt or washing powder. Source 1 pointed out that none of the ministers present at this meeting made any effort whatsoever to restrain Cabbage and his followers from distributing this material nor did any of them make any statements to the audience that they should ignore such material.

On March 30, 1968, a second source advised that he had reliably learned that the 3 so-called "Invaders" who were reported in the Commercial Appeal as having

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had an audience with Martin Luther King, Jr., on the morning of March 29, 1968, were the hereinbefore identified Charles Laverne Cabbage, the hereinbefore identified Charles Harrington, and Calvin Leroy Taylor, a male Negro who resides at 347 West Waldorf and who is a senior at Memphis State University. Taylor works part-time as a copy boy at the Commercial Appeal newspaper. Taylor has recently told source 2 that he is a part of the BOP group, which is affiliated with SNCC and that he has been serving as a liaison representative of BOP with the COME group, with the Negro ministerial group, which is coordinating the strike support. Taylor further stated that when Harrington, Cabbage, and Taylor had an audience with King that their purpose in seeing King was to tell King that they wanted more of the "action" in Memphis feeling that they were not getting enough of the action. Taylor refused to elaborate but source 2 conjectured that by this Taylor meant that the Black Power group wanted more of a position of leadership and more policy making position in the over-all Negro movement in Memphis.

Source 2 also advised that the newsmen in Memphis and other officials will interchangeably use the word "Invaders" when they are actually referring to BOP and pointed out that it had been ascertained that actually the Black Power movement in Memphis uses several names, such as Afro-American Brotherhood, Black Student Association, BOP, and Invaders and that Taylor has told him confidentially that actually there are only about 12 to 15 hard-core BOP people in Memphis and that the others are merely followers or people who tend to imitate them. Source 2 also stated that he had reliably learned from several individuals who in the March 28, 1968, march when the trouble began, that the actual BOP people did not participate in any of the vandalism or looting although prior to the meeting several of them, exact identities not known to source 2, had been agitating the young high school age Negroes who were preparing to participate in the march by indicating that there should be trouble and that Memphis was not worth saving and that it should burn, and other inflammatory utterances to this effect.

On the afternoon of March 29, 1968, a third source advised that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, Bernard Lee, Special Aide to King, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large, SCLC, all departed Memphis, Tennessee, aboard an Eastern Airlines flight 398

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at 3:20 P.M. CST, March 29, 1968, their destination being Atlanta, Georgia. This source stated that to the best of his knowledge they went directly from the Rivermont Hotel to the Memphis Metropolitan Airport.

Source 1 on March 30, 1968, recalled that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., obviously would have been aware of the presence of a militant Black Power group in Memphis and based this opinion on the following information:

King in his March 18, 1968, speech before the strike supporters at Mason Temple had urged all high school students to remain away from school to participate in the massive march which he planned to lead in the future and urged all workers in Memphis to stay away from their jobs and march and at no time did he call for a completely non-violent march. Source further recalled that James Bevel, who for several years has been on King's staff and who was last known by source 1 to have the title of "in charge of non-violent action," was in Memphis with King's party on March 18, 1968, and remained in Memphis until at least March 20, 1968. Source 1 recalled that on March 20, 1968, Bevel along with Rev. Harold Middlebrook of 257 Walker, a former member of King's staff in Atlanta and now a resident of Memphis and one of the leaders of the COME group appeared at LeMoyné College, a Negro institution of some 600 students in Memphis, being brought there by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, members of the governing body of BOP. There Bevel and Middlebrook met with various LeMoyné students at the student center at noon on March 20, 1968, meeting with approximately 75 to 100 students. Bevel was the main speaker and gave what informant described as a virulent Black Power talk claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negro in the United States in some form of genocide and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in the form of foreign than it does to black countries such as those making up the continent of Africa. Bevel further claimed, according to source 1, that while Negroes or black men as he referred to them welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these whites are not really sincere as they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro and he suggested that his listeners read several Black Revolutionary books, and particularly urged them to read the book entitled, "The Wretched of the Earth" by Frantz Fanon, which informant

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described as a bible to revolutionary and militant Negro activities. *GU*

Source 1 stated that he personally knew that John B. Smith of BOP, along with Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks of BOP and a new supporter of the group, one Milton Mack and another BOP member Samuel Carter, were all present with Middlebrook and Bevel at this meeting. Bevel urged all of these listeners to actively participate in the future scheduled march to be led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Furthermore, at this meeting John B. Smith and his followers stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools and urging that these walking students participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march to be led by King. On leaving LeMoyné Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they also planned to canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, Christian Brothers College, and Owen Junior College, all institutions of higher learning in Memphis, Tennessee, in order to solicit support, not only for their organization but also for the proposed mass march to be led by King. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group had also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis. *GU*

Source 1 recalled also that Bevel at the LeMoyné meeting urged the students to read "Muhammad Speaks," official newspaper of the Nation of Islam (NOI), headed in Chicago, Illinois, by Elijah Muhammad, pointing out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of Black Power philosophy with the exception of the religious aspect whereby Muhammad claimed Allah as his god. He told students to ignore the religious aspects and merely follow the economic and political aspects propounded in Muhammad's program. Bevel also bragged that within the next year he hopes to form a new nationwide Black Power organization in the United States which would supersede SNCC and would take in the remnants of the varied uncoordinated Black Power groups now existing in the United States and wanted to build a united black front effort having tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Source 1 pointed out that Bevel, will an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk and shocked some of the women who were present resulting in some of the women leaving the meeting. *GU*

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Source 1 pointed out that Middlebrook definitely is very close to the SCLC, Bevel, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. He stated that Bevel is a most effective speaker particularly with regard to influencing young people and that in his talk he preyed on their feelings of avarice and envy claiming that the white man would purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods of this country and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, and to control raw materials and to utilize his talents. (S) u

JAMES BEVEL (S) u

Bevel, in early March 1966 was observed to be present at the offices of the Westside W.E.B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Club as a communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them. (S) u

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. Bevel stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will be socialists. (S) u

(Source 4, 3/66) (S) u

(A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America and the Nation of Islam are set forth in the appendix section of this communication.)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The foregoing information was furnished orally to a representative of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department and to a representative of the Intelligence Corps, Third Army, both Memphis, Tennessee, on March 30, 1968.

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI MEMPHIS

413PM URGENT 3/29/68 CAF

TO DIRECTOR ATTN: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN

FROM MEMPHIS (157-1092) 3P

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	_____

*M.E. Nichols*

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, RM. RACIAL MATTERS

*M.A. [unclear]*

RE MEMPHIS TEL CALL TO ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN.

AT TIME INCIDENTS BEGAN IN MARCH HELD IN MEMPHIS, MARCH TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT, MARTIN LUTHER KING, AT HEAD OF MARCH, WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID, "I'VE GOT TO GET OUT OF HERE." THIS STATEMENT FURNISHED BY LT. ARKIN OF MEMPHIS PD, WHO ALSO ADVISED KING WAS OBVIOUSLY SCARED.

*M*

EX-116

REC-68

~~157-6-28-1114~~

FURTHER DETAILS AS TO INCIDENTS AT START OF MARCH SECURED FROM LT. M. E. NICHOLS OF MEMPHIS PD WHO WAS IN VICINITY AND OBSERVED ACTIVITIES. HE REPORTED DR. KING MADE NO EFFORT TO QUIET MOB AND HIS ONLY CONCERN WAS TO RUN AND PROTECT HIMSELF. LT. NICHOLS HAS ADVISED THAT DR. KING, RALPH ABERNATHY, BERNARD LEE, AND TWO OTHER NEGRO MALES UNKNOWN TO HIM WERE AT HEAD OF MARCH. WHEN TROUBLE BEGAN, THIS GROUP TRIED TO COMMANDEER A WHITE PANEL TRUCK TO GET THEM AWAY FROM MARCH. DRIVER OF TRUCK REFUSED TO HELP. A WHITE PONTIAC WHICH WAS OCCUPIED BY TWO NEGRO FEMALES FOLLOWED THE PANEL TRUCK IN THE CROSS TRAFFIC. ONE OF KING'S

1 APR 9 1968

*tr. [unclear]*

END PAGE ONE  
Includes letter to White House  
and Attorney General. Date: 3/29/68

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*5. [unclear]*

PAGE TWO

AIDES MANAGED TO STOP PONTIAC. AIDE ASKED IF THE WOMEN WOULD ASSIST IN GETTING DR. KING OUT OF DANGER. THE WOMEN AGREED.

THEREAFTER, ONE OF KING'S AIDES SLID BEHIND STEERING WHEEL. THE OTHER FOUR NEGRO MALES, INCLUDING DR. KING, GOT IN REAR SEAT OF PONTIAC. CAR WAS DRIVEN TO BEALE AND FRONT STREET, AT WHICH POINT IT WAS SURROUNDED BY ABOUT FIFTY INDIVIDUALS CONSISTING OF NEGROES AND NEWS REPRESENTATIVES. LT. NICHOLS, WHO WAS ON MOTORCYCLE, CLEARED CROWD FROM AROUND PONTIAC AND ASKED DRIVER OF PONTIAC WHERE HE WAS GOING. DRIVER SAID HE HAD DR. KING IN BACK SEAT AND HE HAD TO GET AWAY. THE OFFICER WAS ASKED TO ESCORT THEM TO HOTEL SHERATON PEABODY. LT. NICHOLS EXPLAINED THAT DUE TO RIOTING THEY COULD NOT GET TO SHERATON PEABODY AND ASKED IF THEY WANTED TO GO TO ANOTHER PLACE. THE NEGRO DRIVER ASKED JUST TO GET THEM AWAY FROM TROUBLE.

11-23  
12 11 01  
LT. NICHOLS THEN ESCORTED THEM TO RIVERMONT MOTEL. LT. NICHOLS WENT TO DESK CLERK AND ASKED IF SHE HAD SPACE FOR FIVE NEGROES INCLUDING DR. KING. THE DESK CLERK TOLD LT. NICHOLS THE NEGROES COULD REMAIN IN THE LOBBY AND EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO OBTAIN ROOM FOR THEM. AFTER THE FIVE NEGROES, INCLUDING DR.



PAGE THREE

KING LEFT THE PONTIAC, THE TWO NEGRO FEMALES DROVE ON. LT. NICHOLS DID NOT OBTAIN NAMES OF THESE TWO FEMALES AND FEELS CERTAIN THEY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH DR. KING AND WERE NOT A PART OF DR. KING'S PARTY. LT. NICHOLS STAYED AT THE RIVERMONT HOTEL AND KNOWS THE TWO FEMALE OCCUPANTS OF THIS CAR DID NOT RETURN TO THE RIVERMONT WHILE HE WAS THERE.

INTERESTING OBSERVATION MADE BY MEMPHIS OFFICE IN THAT DR. KING IN HIS ROLE AS LEADER AT MOMENT OF DISTURBANCE AND TROUBLE WAS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN PRESERVATION OF HIMSELF AND MADE NO EFFORT TO QUIET GROUP THAT WAS FOLLOWING HIS LEADERSHIP. SOMEWHAT INCONSISTENT WITH STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM DURING TALK THAT THE BLACK MAN SHOULD SUPPORT HIS OWN BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS, DR. KING FIRST SOUGHT RESIDENCE AT SHERATON PEABODY AND ENDED UP STAYING AT RIVERMONT HOTEL, WHICH IS PART OF HOLIDAY INN CHAIN. IN PAST HE HAS STAYED AT THE LORRAINE MOTEL, WHICH IS A QUALITY NEGRO MOTEL, MEMPHIS.

DR. KING, ACCOMPANIED BY RALPH D. ABERNATHY AND BERNARD LEE, DEPARTED MEMPHIS BY EASTERN AIRLINES APPROXIMATELY THREE TWENTY PM THIS DATE. DESTINATION ATLANTA. ATLANTA ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY.

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC

APR 4 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1968

TELETYPE

BI WASH DC

BI MEMPHIS

1256AM URGXENT 3-29-68 DGB

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MEMPHIS (157-1094)

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	✓

*Spencer 3/26/68*  
*4/26/80*  
*Spencer*

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, RE: *Local Matter*

*intelligence personnel*

RE MEMPHIS TELS, MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF MARCH TWENTY EIGHT ACTIVITIES;

ON MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, [REDACTED] INSPECTIONAL BUREAU,

MEMPHIS POLICE DEPT., ADVISED THAT THE MASS MARCH TO BE LED BY

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IN SUPPORT OF SANITATION WORKERS

STARTED AT AROUND ELEVEN AM CST WITH ESTIMATED FIVE TO SIX

THOUSAND WORKERS, MANY OF WHOM WERE NEGRO TEENAGERS. MARCH

STARTED AT CLAYBORN TEMPLE, LOCATED HEART OF NEGRO AREA, AND

KING JOINED MARCH AFTER IT PROGRESSED ONE BLOCK. HE WALKED WITH

MARCHERS TO VICINITY BEALE AND MAIN STREETS, MADE NO SPEECHES

PRIOR TO MARCH, MADE NO KNOWN UTTERANCES DURING MARCH, AND BY

TIME HE REACHED ABOVE POINT RAMPANT BREAKING OF STORE WINDOWS

AND LOOTING WAS BEING PERPETRATED BY MARCHERS, WHEREUPON KING

AND A FEW ASSOCIATES RAN TO A NEARBY CAR AND LEFT MARCH, PROCEEDED

TO RIVERMONT MOTEL WHERE THEY REMAINED THROUGH AFTERNOON AND

EVENING. BY NOON, POLICE HAD BROKEN UP CROWD, BEING FORCED TO USE

TEARGAS, BUT SPORADIC LOOTING HAS CONTINUED THROUGH AFTERNOON

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APR 4 1968

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PAGE TWO

AND EVENING, PRIMARILY CONFINED TO SOUTH CENTRAL AREA <sup>OF</sup> MEMPHIS,  
A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AREA, <sup>R</sup> PRIMARY TARGET OF LOOTERS BEING  
LIQUOR STORES AND SMALL GROCERIES.

TENNESSEE STATE LEGISLATURE TODAY PASSED CURFEW BILL, WHICH  
WAS INVOKED BY MEMPHIS MAYOR HENRY LOEB, EFFECTIVE SEVEN PM,  
AND THIRTY FIVE HUNDRED TENNESSEE NATIONAL GUARDSMEN FROM MEMPHIS  
AND WEST TENNESSEE ARE CURRENTLY ON DUTY IN MEMPHIS OPERATING AS  
TACTICAL UNITS, BEING ACCOMPANIED ON THEIR PATROLS BY REPRESENTATIVES  
OF MEMPHIS PD.

SCHEDULED MASS RALLY TO FEATURE <sup>ING</sup> ~~KNOW~~ NIGHT OF MARCH TWENTY  
EIGHT CANCELED. AT TWELVE MIDNIGHT, MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, THREE  
HUNDRED ARRESTS, PRIMARILY RELATING TO LOOTING AND CURFEW VIOLATIONS  
HAVE BEEN MADE BY POLICE DEPT. FOUR INDIVIDUALS  
HAVE BEEN SHOT, ONE OF THESE, A SIXTEEN YEAR OLD BOY, WAS KILLED  
IN ACT OF LOOTING A STORE. THREE OTHERS WERE SHOT, TWO BY  
POLICE OFFICERS AND ONE BY A STOREKEEPER WHILE LOOTING, NONE  
SERIOUSLY INJURED.

PAGE THREE

EASTERN AIRLINES ADVISED THAT KING, RALPH ABERNATHY, AND BERNARD LEE, FAILED TO LEAVE MEMPHIS ON EASTERN FLIGHT THREE NINE EIGHT, NINE ZERO FIVE CST, DUE TO ARRIVE ATLANTA ELEVEN ZERO THREE PM EST. THIS ALSO CANCELS KING'S AND LEE'S FLIGHT FROM ATLANTA SIX TWENTY AM MARCH TWENTY NINE DUE TO ARRIVE BALTIMORE SEVEN FORTY TWO AM. ~~REDACTED~~

*intelligence personnel*

MEMPHIS PD, ADVISED KING PLANNING TO STAY IN MEMPHIS AT RIVERMONT HOTEL TONIGHT, FUTURE PLANS UNKNOWN AT PRESENT TIME. P.

~~CORR PAGE TWO, PARA ONE, LINE ONE WORDS EIGHT, NINE, AND TEN SHLD BE "AREA OF MEMPHIS" AND LINE TWO, PARA ONE, WORD FIVE SHLD BE "PRIMARY"~~

~~PAGE TWO PARA THREE, LINE ONE WORD SIX SHLD BE "KING" AND LINE THREE WORD THREE SHLD BE "PRIMARY" AND A PERIOD SHLD BE BETWEEN "DEPT. AND FOUR" OMEXXX ON LINE FOUR.~~

~~PAGE TWO PARA ONE LINE THREE WORD ONE SHLD BE "LIQUOR"~~

END.

HFL

FBI WASH DC

*1-11-68 Transition*

P

FBI

Date: 3/29/68

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	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
 (Type in plaintext or code) *PLAINTEXT*

Via TELETYPE URGENT  
 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS ATLANTA  
MEMPHIS

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1395)

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT.

*Handwritten notes:*  
No direct  
with

ON FRIDAY, MARCH TWENTYNINE INSTANT SCLC, WDC CALLED A  
 PRESS CONFERENCE FOR THREE THIRTY PM THAT DATE. CONFERENCE  
 PRESIDED OVER BY REV. ANDREW J. YOUNG, WHO WAS THE PRIMARY  
 CONFEREE. ALSO PRESENT WAS REV. FAUNTROY AND AN UNIDENTIFIED  
 AND UNADDRESSED NEGRO MALE. YOUNG STATED THAT HE HAD RECENTLY  
 SPOKEN TO MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THERE HAVE BEEN NO CHANGES MADE  
 CONCERNING THE WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, AS A RESULT OF RECENT  
 VIOLENCE IN MEMPHIS IN CONJUNCTION WITH NEGRO PROTEST. YOUNG  
 SAID SCLC ACCEPTED PORTION OF BLAME FOR NOT RECOGNIZING THE  
 POTENTIAL THREAT OF THE "INVADERS" TO MAKE A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT  
 TO EMBARRASS THE LOCAL LEADERS. YOUNG ATTRIBUTED THE ERROR TO

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

REG:tab  
(6)

REC-118  
 EX-118  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/10/84 BY [Signature]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

WFO 157-1395

PAGE TWO

NOT SUPPLYING ADEQUATE STAFF AND INSTRUCTION PRIOR TO THE DEMONSTRATION. YOUNG STATED THIS WILL NOT OCCUR IN WDC.

YOUNG STATED GUILT OF MEMPHIS PD EVIDENT AND MOST SERIOUS SINCE GROUP OF TWENTY TO THIRTY INSTIGATORS OF VIOLENCE NOT ATTACKED DIRECTLY. MEMPHIS PD ATTACKED THE ENTIRE MARCHING BODY OF TWENTY THOUSAND PEOPLE.

THE WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT WILL COMMENCE AS PLANNED ON APRIL TWENTYTWO, WHEN MARTIN LUTHER KING WILL COME TO WDC WITH A "SMALL GROUP" AND PRESENT PETITIONS TO CONGRESS AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES RE THE PLIGHT OF THE POOR. A GROUP OF THREE THOUSAND POOR, ORGANIZED INTO GROUPS OF TWO HUNDRED, WITH EACH SUCH GROUP PROVIDED WITH TWENTY MARSHALS WHO WILL WEAR DISTINCTIVE ARMBANDS, WILL DEPART FIFTEEN CITIES AND SOUTHERN RURAL AREAS ON APRIL TWENTYFIVE NEXT. DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES, GROUPS SHOULD ARRIVE WDC MAY ONE TO THREE NEXT. POOR TO COME FROM CHICAGO, DETROIT, PITTSBURGH, BOSTON, NEW YORK,

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)WFO 157-1395  
PAGE THREE

NEWARK, PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE AMONG OTHERS, AS WELL AS FROM SIX RURAL AREAS OF THE SOUTH IN MISSISSIPPI, LOUISIANA, GEORGIA, ALABAMA, NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

REV. YOUNG STATED THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING HAD SPOKE TODAY TO MEMBERS OF THE INVADER GROUP WHICH CAUSED THE TROUBLE IN MEMPHIS, AND DESCRIBED THEM AS "HOSTILE KIDS". YOUNG SAID HE WILL GO TO ATLANTA TOMORROW FOR ADDITIONAL PLANNING SESSIONS AND THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING WILL BE IN WDC THIS SUNDAY AND GIVE A SERMON, CONTEXT UNKNOWN, AT THE WASHINGTON NATIONAL CATHEDRAL.

YOUNG QUESTIONED IF SCLC WILL DEFY A COURT INJUNCTION REQUESTED TO BE FAVORED BY SEN. BYRD OF WEST VIRGINIA, TO STOP THE MARCH. YOUNG STATED IT DEPENDS ON WORDING OF INJUNCTION AND HOPED COURTS WILL NOT RESPOND TO "FASCIST PROPOSALS OF SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS". YOUNG STATED THE FINAL EVIDENCE WILL REVEAL THAT THE MOST SERIOUS VIOLENCE IN MEMPHIS WAS CAUSED BY THE POLICE. YOUNG STATED HE HAS SPOKE WITH NBC SAFETY DIRECTOR MURPHY AND FOUND HIM AN

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

WFO 157-1395  
PAGE FOUR

INTELLIGENT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER, HOPLS MPD WILL BE SAME, BUT THAT IS PD PROBLEM. YOUNG ADDED REGARDING RACIAL MILITANTS, THAT HE CANNOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY VIOLENCE BROUGHT ABOUT BY OTHERS, AND HAS NOT AND DOES NOT EXPECT TO RECEIVE A GUARANTEE FROM STOKELY CARMICHAEL AGAINST RACIAL VIOLENCE.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



EXHIBIT

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	_____

1116 PM URGENT 3-30 1968

TO DIRECTOR  
FROM ATLANTA

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EOC  
DATE 11/6/78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM., ATLANTA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN DASH  
TWO NINE TWO FOUR.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C., ATLANTA FILE ONE ZERO ZERO - FIVE  
FIVE EIGHT SIX.

*Informant*

ON EVENING OF MARCH THIRTY, SIXTYEIGHT [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ADVISED MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. AND OTHER SCLC OFFICIALS  
MET IN ATLANTA MOST OF ENTIRE DAY MARCH THIRTY, SIXTYEIGHT TO DISCUSS  
CAPTIONED PROJECT AND POTENTIAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY MEMPHIS DISTURBANCE  
MARCH TWENTY EIGHT SIXTY EIGHT. INFORMANT NOT PRESENT AT THIS  
MEETING AND HAS NO KNOWLEDGE WHETHER STANLEY LEVISON PRESENT.  
INFORMANT EXPECTS TO LEARN MORE DETAILS RE THIS MEETING BY EVENING  
OF MARCH THIRTYONE SIXTY EIGHT IN WHICH CASE BUREAU WILL BY  
IMMEDIATELY ADVISED. *EOC* *157*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

[REDACTED] RELIABLE, ADVISED EVERYONE 1968  
MARCH THIRTY SIXTY EIGHT HE HAD SPOKE THAT DATE TO MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, SR. AS TO WHETHER WSP WOULD STILL BE HELD IN VIEW OF MEMPHIS  
DISTURBANCE.

*Informant*

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAA/mec  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/6/78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

KING, SR. ANSWERED IN AFFIRMATIVE AND SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHY IT SHOULD NOT BE HELD. THIS SOURCE ALSO SPOKE SAME DATE TO ROLAND SMITH, ATLANTA EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER, WHO STATED WSP WILL STILL BE HELD EVEN THOUGH HE AND SOME OTHER BOARD MEMBERS WERE OF OPINION INSISTANCE OF CARRYING THROUGH WSP WAS NOT AT ALL PRACTICAL VENTURE FOR MLK, JR. CH. SCLC. *(S)*

RECEIVED: 11:31 PM 68F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 30 1968

ENCIPHERED

543 PM URGENT 3-30-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD  
FROM MEMPHIS

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	_____

*G. H. [unclear]*

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT.

REWFC TELETYPE MARCH THIRTY, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

*nothing*

FOR INFO OF BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES, MEMPHIS  
DIVISION HAS DETERMINED IDENTITY OF THREE SO-CALLED "INVADERS"  
WHO SPOKE WITH DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER KING PRIOR TO HIS PRESS  
CONFERENCE AT HOLIDAY INN - RIVERMONT MOTEL, MARCH TWENTYNINE  
LAST. THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE: CHARLES L. CABBAGE, CURRENTLY  
ON AGITATOR INDEX, AND REQUEST HAS BEEN MADE TO MAKE SECURITY

*TRAIN*  
*1-27*  
*D. [unclear]*

INDEX SUBJECT OF HIM. SECOND PERSON IS CHARLES HARRINGTON, WHO  
IS PRESENTLY STUDENT AT OWEN JUNIOR COLLEGE, NEGRO JUNIOR COLLEGE  
IN MEMPHIS. HARRINGTON HAS BEEN INTERVIEWED AND IS SELF-ADMITTED  
MEMBER OF GOVERNING BODY OF BLACK ORGANIZING PROGRAM (BOP), WHICH  
HE HAS DESCRIBED AS THE OVER-ALL BLACK POWER GROUP IN MEMPHIS. THIRD  
INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED AS CALVING LEROY TAYLOR, WHO IS SENIOR  
STUDENT AT MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY, MEMPHIS. TAYLOR IS  
ALSO EMPLOYED AS COPY BOY AT "COMMERCIAL APPEAL." HE CLAIMS  
THAT HE SERVES AS LIAISON BETWEEN THE MILITANTS IN MEMPHIS AND  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE C.O.M.E. GROUP IN MEMPHIS.

END PAGE ONE

*REC-68*

APR 5 1968

NO COPIES TO [unclear]  
62 APR 11 1968

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/6/76 BY [unclear]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

C-55

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

TO: Mr. Mohr

DATE: November 27, 1964

## UNCLASSIFIED

FROM: C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ROY WILKINS  
 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
 OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)  
 APPOINTMENT 11/27/64  
 FBI HEADQUARTERS  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

*3/10/86 original filed in 62-78270-16*  
*7/2/84 Sp10BJA RNS*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/28/79 BY SP10BJA

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p.m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI, I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p.m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know. Wilkins added that he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether King was a sexual degenerate or not.

Wilkins told me that he personally did not mind seeing King ruined. He stated the important part of the matter, however, was the fact that if King was ruined the entire civil rights movement would be ruined. Wilkins stated that he personally believed that King was a "liar" and that he had little respect for him. He quoted an example of his wife stating last night at a Thanksgiving dinner with friends, upon being asked if she knew of the terrible things that "Edgar Hoover had said about Reverend King being a liar." Mrs. Wilkins replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar." Wilkins continued that while King is no good, his ruination will spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement.

100-106670 -  
 NOT RECORDED - FROM

Wilkins told me that despite the sexual degeneracy and communist allegations against King, many of his associates

Tolson  
 Belmont  
 Enclosure

COPIES SENT TO: [redacted]  
 response to your request for [redacted] for [redacted]  
 Its use is limited to official purposes only

ORIGINAL FILED IN

...ch to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

ould jump to the defensive and defend King. On the other hand, however, many of the white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$100 to \$50,000 to this movement will immediately cease their financial support. Wilkins added that the loss of financial support will be tremendous, however, the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans would be even worse. He stated the combination of the two would, of course, halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that he and a number of the Negro leaders had attempted several months ago to get King to accept the presidency of a small college. He stated King had refused to do this because he was accustomed to the hypocrisy of adulation and to the money that was pouring in to him. He stated that King for some time now has received from \$500 to a \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit. He mentioned that King receives considerable support from wealthy Negro and white people alike. He stated that obviously the best thing that the Negro leaders could do now would be to get King to accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not serving as an emissary. He stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were others within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not oppose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being circulated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to prevent the outbreak of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. My point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King. In highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that...

Loach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. He stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

Wilkins stated that he had long noted King's sympathy toward the communist movement. He told me this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 22-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win any battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is to retire from public life. He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is confident that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight, therefore, for the good of the civil rights cause King should make definite plans to leave public life and merely be Pastor of a Negro church in the future. I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him; however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give

Loach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

t to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disastrous, particularly to the Negro movement and that he hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

*[Handwritten mark]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

RECEIVED FROM

UNCLASSIFIED

6/27/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany  
From: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-86 BY SP-6/SP-6/SP-6

RACIAL MATTERS

157-6-93

In order that the Bureau's information will be complete and absolutely correct, it is essential that all offices promptly advise the Bureau concerning racial demonstrations, meetings, parades, protests, or other racial matters, results of court action, and any other pertinent information concerning racial activity. Offices should be taken to furnish pertinent information so that it will be received prior to midnight on the day of occurrence. Activities which occur after midnight should also be immediately reported to the Bureau so that there will be sufficient time at the Bureau to review and coordinate the information prior to the beginning of the next regular work day. When activities continue through the night, the Bureau is to be telephonically advised of the current status of the activities before 7:00 a.m., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

JUN 28 4 51 PM '63

Each office must also assume responsibility for following up scheduled racial activity and promptly advising the Bureau of subsequent developments. Whenever the Bureau has been advised that a meeting, demonstration, or other pertinent activity will take place, coverage must be continued and the Bureau promptly informed as to whether the anticipated activity actually occurred, and pertinent details of what transpired. If a planned racial activity is cancelled or postponed, the Bureau should also be promptly advised.

VY

157-6-93

3 - All Continental  
WLM:kak:cac  
(4)

MAILED 25  
JUN 28 1963  
COMM-FBI

19 JUL 1 1963

Note: See Rosen to Belmont memo 6-26-63, same caption.



~~SECRET~~ 7/18/66

3

11/7/78  
CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WJA/JP (S)  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Ryan

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-129802)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(STANLEY DAVID LEVISON)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD  
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
ON 11/7/78 JP

*Wanted to be*  
*Classified by Spr...*  
*Declassify on...*  
*SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTEL. OPERATIONS*

The position of communist Stanley David Levison as mentor and behind-the-scenes advisor to Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, enables him to indirectly exert subversive influence upon the legitimate Negro freedom movement. Immediate steps should be taken to discredit, expose or otherwise neutralize Levison's role as a communist. (S) W

You are instructed to immediately assign on a full-time basis an enterprising, imaginative Special Agent, who has proven his ability as a security investigator, to carefully review the Levison case file seeking possible counterintelligence approaches. If necessary, this review should be expanded to develop new investigative approaches. A special effort should be made to locate material of a public source and compromise nature. Consideration should be given to initiating spot physical surveillances on Levison to determine his contacts and pattern of activity both as relates to subversion and his personal life. (S) W

Advise by return mail the identity of the Special Agent assigned to this important task. If circumstances warrant, you should assign additional personnel to this project to insure it is completed at an early date.

Within 45 days, you should submit to the Bureau a detailed summary of Levison's personal and subversive background with emphasis on items presenting counterintelligence potential. (S) W

1 - New York (100-111133)

SI-114

SEP 10 1966

1 - 100-392452 (Levison)

REC-13

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

DE:jav:lma (7)

~~SECRET~~

19 JUL 19 1966

100-3-104-34-1295

~~SECRET~~

Airtel to SAC, New York  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
100-3-104-34

With your summary, you should include possible counter-intelligence recommendations looking towards the immediate or systematic neutralization of Levison. (S)

Bear in mind that considerable information regarding Levison has been furnished by

SOURCES and no action may be taken which might result in their compromise. (S)

Do not initiate counterintelligence action without prior Bureau authorization.

NOTE:

We are making a comprehensive review of Levison's Bureau case file for counterintelligence potential. Levison currently resides at 535 West End Avenue, New York City, and he is an attorney operating the Park Management Company, realtors, at 1341 Broadway, New York City. (S) u

RECEIVED FROM

SEP 9 1957

FBI

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

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

DATE: 9-8-64

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

**C-28**

*Mr. [unclear]*  
*Siph [unclear]*

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. D. J. Brennan
- Mr. Eland
- Mr. Baumgardner

REC-52 100-106670-45  
DATE 9/15/64 9803 ROR/RP

SEP 21 1964

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Mr. W. C. Sullivan *W.C.S.*

DATE: August 31, 1964

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

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

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

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

*9803 ROOM*  
*3/12/86*  
*Spinaemia*

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

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

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

100-106670-450

Enc.  
100-442529 (CIRM)  
100-106670

REC-15

CONTINUED - OVER

SFP:kmj  
(10)  
4 SEP 1 1964  
ENCLOSURE

UNCLASSIFIED

SEP 16 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*  
S. J. Mc...  
G.K.  
H. J.  
W.E.S.  
V.  
J.P.C.

*Sullivan's handling*  
*1:30 PM*  
*[Signature]*

**TRANSFER - CALL**

**3421. HANDLE**

**FILE WITH CARE.**

4-49 (Rev. 4-27-71)

FBI/DOJ

Serials in File \_\_\_\_\_

Up to date with \_\_\_\_\_

Looked UTD by \_\_\_\_\_

Serial not in File \_\_\_\_\_

Abstract not in File (Red Serial)

There will be no abstract (Green Serial)

Name	BAKER	Room	6980
Subject	H.F. S.C. INC 16	UTD	
Serial	130		

844

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 3, 1962

Evans  
Belmont  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

**SECRET**

Mr. J. F. Bland

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (McGowan)
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Haack
- 1 - Mr. Kitchens

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Deputy Attorney General (DAG) White has requested that Assistant Director Evans discuss with him the association of the Reverend Martin Luther King and Levison since he feels some action should be taken. (S) U

The Attorney General (AG) by letter dated 1/8/62 was advised that Stanley David Levison, a member of the Communist Party (CP), is allegedly a close adviser of the Reverend Martin Luther King, prominent southern Negro leader, and wrote the speech that King delivered at the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations convention. The AG was also advised that Levison reportedly, through his association with King, was involved in a sensitive foreign intelligence operation.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

Information has since been received on 1/29/62 from James Earl Ray, General Secretary, CPUSA, has claimed authorship of King's speech. (S) X(C)

New York and San Francisco have been requested to contact informants involved to see if they can throw any additional light on specifically who was responsible for preparation of the speech. Although it is logical to assume that Levison consulted Hall concerning the speech; thus, both may have had a part in its preparation. (S) X(C)

BACKGROUND:

INFORMANT EX 101 REC-33

Classified by SP-6/mmc  
Declassify on: OADR 9/23/94  
1678 RFA/MLL/AWS  
264,516

Levison, a New York businessman and attorney, is in the Security Index. [redacted] and [redacted] have furnished information since 1952 concerning [redacted]

Levison's connections with the CP are known only to the informants and to a very few national leaders of the CP. (C)

OBSERVATIONS:

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 JAH/10/11/79  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

13 FEB 16 1962

The purpose in advising the AG of Levison's connection with King was to alert him and the President that Levison was apparently involved in his association with King as a sensitive foreign intelligence operation.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

392452  
dtb:djs  
1/11/62

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CC MR. TOLSON  
news comm. to Belmont 2/16/62

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/11/94 BY SP-6/mmc

DATE 10/11/94 BY SP-6/mmc



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(F)

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
92452

~~and of the possible communist influence~~  
ng. This has been accomplished. (S) U

It appears that White desires to furnish King, or  
one close to him, some information about Levison and to suggest  
that King break off his relations with Levison. [Since  
Levison's connections with the CP are known to only a few top CP  
functionaries, the disclosure of any specific information about his  
activities which might get back to Levison or to the CP would tend  
to identify ~~the CP~~, who are vital to the internal  
security of the country. However, if White or the AG feel a  
compelling need to furnish King information about Levison, it is  
believed that it would minimize the risk to the informants if King  
is told in strict confidence that Levison has in the past been a  
member of the CP and that indications are he is still under its  
influence. White should be advised that under no circumstances  
should specific information as contained in the Director's letter be  
discussed with King, since it would definitely endanger our informant  
and the national security. (S) (C)

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to Assistant Director  
Casper for his guidance in discussing this matter with DAG White.

*Handwritten initials and signatures:*  
JAH, JCH, [unclear], [unclear], [unclear]

*Handwritten note:*  
King is no good any  
more. Under no circumstances  
should we in  
any way endanger

*Handwritten signature and date:*  
Memo Eval. A. Belmont  
2/6/52 - CAE:MAW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Get [unclear]

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

CLASSIFIED BY *11/7/84*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY *2*  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

**SECRET**

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

TO: Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 24, 1963

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

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley
- 1-Mr. Ryan

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

In view of the influence the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), exerting on the racial situation, particularly through Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Director approved a conference be held between representatives of our Atlanta Office and Seat of Government personnel.

Recognizing the delicacy of this entire situation because the prominence of King, the primary purpose of the conference was to explore how best to carry on our investigation to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. Included in the discussion was a complete analysis of the avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader and developing evidence concerning King's continued dependence on communists for guidance and direction.

The conference was held at the Seat of Government on 12-23-63. It was attended by Security Supervisor Henry Rowse and Robert Nichols from our Atlanta Office. The Seat of Government representatives were Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Inspector Joseph A. Sizoo, Section Chief F. J. Baumgardner and Supervisors T. Gurley and David Ryan. The conference lasted from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Assistant Director Sullivan briefed the conference on the work at hand. He pointed out the necessity for good judgment and discretion in conducting any investigation concerning this matter. He made it clear it was necessary for us to continue obtaining evidence of the CPUSA's influence on King and, through King, influence on the Negro people. Mr. Sullivan also stressed the fact that, although King is a minister, we have already developed information

Mr. Sullivan pointed out that the field should continue to gather information concerning King's personal activities, such as

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

22 JAN 8 1964

**SECRET**

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
3-116

~~SECRET~~

King drunk ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ in  
that we may consider using this information at an opportune  
in a counterintelligence move to discredit him.

During the discussion which followed, the men from the  
outlined in detail the operation of the SCLC in Atlanta and  
manner in which it is managed by King.

Our discreet approach to this case has been necessitated  
King's prominence and the delicate situation which surrounds the  
the racial movement. A wrong move could well result in extreme  
embarrassment to the Bureau. As a result of the conference, it was  
decided we need to develop additional information in the following  
as:

- (1) We must determine and check out all of the employees  
of the SCLC.
- (2) We must locate and monitor the funds of the SCLC.
- (3) We must identify and check out the sources who  
contribute to the SCLC.
- (4) We must continue to keep close watch on King's  
personal activities.
- (5) We will, at the proper time when it can be done  
without embarrassment to the Bureau, expose King  
as an ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ opportunist who is not a sincere  
person but is exploiting the racial situation for  
personal gain.
- (6) We will explore the possibility of utilizing additional  
specialized investigative techniques at the SCLC office.

Our technical coverage on King and the SCLC is producing  
valuable information. It was decided that, in view of this fact  
since we could not engage in active investigation at this time  
without embarrassment to the Bureau, we would hold in abeyance open  
investigation as outlined above for another 90 days. During this  
time, we will utilize the information obtained from our technical  
coverage and conduct whatever investigation can be made discreetly.

STR 0 1215

- 2 -

DOJ  
~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
-3-116

~~SECRET~~

This conference proved to be most beneficial, and the members from the field expressed their appreciation for the opportunity being brought into the Seat of Government for the purpose of covering this entire matter. They were both enthusiastic about the case and stated the conference was of exceptional benefit to them and will be of assistance in setting the future course of the investigation.

CON:

We will continue to give this case priority attention at the Seat of Government and in the field and will expose the case for the clerical fraud and Marxist he is at the first opportunity. At the end of the 90-day period, or sooner if conditions permit, we will make a further recommendation as to whether we are in a position at that time to take further action against King and the SCLC without embarrassment to the Bureau.

*4876* *J.P.S.*  
*Jan*  
*GR*  
*Wes*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

RECEIVED FROM

DEC 1975

~~SECRET~~

QUESTIONS TO BE EMPLOYED AT CONFERENCE  
12/20/63 RE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
12-23-63 RACIAL MATTERS

(C-4)

- (1) Can colored Agents be of any assistance to us in the Atlanta area and, if so, how many will be needed?  
*James*
- (2) Possibilities of contacting anonymous sources at the home of King and/or his friends? *Sources always have* — *well consider*
- (3) a) What do we know about the background of King's girlfriends and their husbands? *Need to know more*  
b) Could we convert any of their weak points to strong points for us?
- (4) Does the office have any contacts among ministers, both colored and white, who are in a position to be of assistance and, if so, in what manner could we use them?  
*from*
- (5) Does the office have contacts among newspaper people aggressive enough to be of assistance to us; that is, aggressive enough to photo King with his girlfriends and/or communists with whom he is in contact?  
*will consider*
- (6) Would tesurs and/or risurs on King's girlfriends help to set up a counterintelligence move, bearing in mind the possibility of telephoning the girlfriend's husband when King is known to be at the residence of said girlfriend?  
*explore*
- (7) What do we know about King's housekeeper? In what manner can we use her?  
*check*
- (8) What are the possibilities of using Mrs. King?  
*will consider*
- (9) What do we know about the background of people presently employed in the office of SCLC and can we use any of them?  
*will make secret checks*
- (10) Are there any disgruntled employees at SCLC and/or former employees who may be disgruntled or disgruntled acquaintances?  
*follow*
- (11) What is the setup of the SCLC office? Do King's girlfriends visit him there and, if so, do they use the front door or back door? What is the possibility of setting up a photo-fisur on the door used by girlfriends, if used often enough, and using a friendly newspaperman or TV station to record this activity? (This would be similar to CBS activity in Boston several months ago when that company made a film of police officers visiting bookie joints in the Boston area.)  
*invest*

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/86 BY SP/MS/MS

guy

100-3-116-684, 7A

(12) What are the possibilities of placing a good looking female plant in King's office?

*will disk*  
(13) Do we have any information concerning any shady financial dealings of King which could be used to our advantage? Has this point ever been explored before?

*ie will photos*  
(14) Discuss the possibility of having an Agent accompany King and any individuals who might travel together. In this manner, the Agent would be aware of the identity and/or description of the companion and would preclude the possibility of embarrassment in the event of a counter-intelligence move, bearing in mind that when King leaves with a girlfriend she could disembark at some point along the route and King could be joined by his wife prior to reaching his final destination.

*do.*  
(15) Instruct that in the future Atlanta is to call information to other offices when King is traveling rather than send a teletype and instruct the other offices to do likewise. In this manner the vague object of attempting to expose King can be explained.

*one*  
(16) Full and complete discussion on the fact that we are attempting to expose King because of communist influences brought to bear on him and that in addition to being aware of his travels and activities, we are most interested in exposing him in some manner or another in order to discredit him.

(17) A discussion on the direct approach to King through the use of high officials, such as Robert F. Kennedy and Assistant Director Sullivan as a combination, pointing out to him the tremendous responsibilities which he has as a Negro leader and confronting him with some of the information which we have. There are many dangers inherent in such an approach but it cannot be discounted and some discussion should take place as to the dangers and advantages.

(18) When it is known that King and various communists or subversives will meet in Atlanta, consideration should be given to the use of all investigative techniques in covering such meet. Consider all counterintelligence possibilities to neutralize or disrupt such meeting, and submit your plans to the Bureau for approval.

(19) Full and complete consideration must be given to any influence which communist front groups are exercising to the racial situation.

(20) Are all employees of ECDC with subversive backgrounds or connections being given appropriate attention? Are new employees of ECDC checked out for subversive background and/or possible use as sources?

(21) Because of the Bureau's responsibility for timely dissemination of pertinent information to the Department and other interested agencies, it is more than ever necessary that all facets of this matter receive prompt handling. The success of our efforts is dependent upon the judicious application of all available investigative techniques coupled with meticulous planning, boldness and ingenuity, tempered with good judgment. Our discretion must not reach the point of timidity.

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B-36

CLASSIFIED BY 0076 WAK/mad  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

FBI

Date: 2/25/64

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY ER

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

DATE 4/4/78

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)  
(Immediate Personal Attention  
Assistant Director W. C. SULLIVAN)

JUNE  
7/2/78  
H. K. ...  
(at)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-51914A)

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

DECLASSIFIED BY [Signature]  
ON 3/11/80

In order that the Bureau be fully apprised concerning the special assignment in Honolulu in the above-captioned investigation and for the possible future use of the Domestic Intelligence Division and the FBI Laboratory, it is believed desirable that the following chronological order of events be set forth, including difficulties encountered, effectiveness of the investigation, and the utilization of personnel.

Supervisor HARRY F. CLIFFORD, JR. of the San Francisco Office was fully briefed at a special conference in Assistant Director SULLIVAN's Office at the SOG on Monday, 2/3/64. He committed as much of the information as possible to memory and did not rely on making extensive notes. He arranged with the Bureau where the Atlanta Office would provide those serials necessary to him at San Francisco prior to his departure for Honolulu. He arranged his return trip to San Francisco via Los Angeles where he was met at the airport by two Security Supervisors who were given the necessary information in order that the Los Angeles Office would be prepared to carry out its part in the special assignment investigation.

3 - Bureau (AM-RH)  
1 - San Francisco

HFC/ir  
(4)

100-3-116-1049  
100-3-116-1049  
P Phillips

57 MAR 20 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3 Review

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SF 100-11414A  
HFC/jr

Upon his return to San Francisco, he selected the following personnel based upon recommendations by the Domestic Intelligence Division, by the FBI Laboratory, and upon his own experience with the men involved: SA FORDYCE G. LYMAN, because he is the most experienced, most ingenious, the most unruffled, most competent sound man for this type of operation in the San Francisco Office; SA ROBERT U. KAHN, because in both the Security and Criminal Intelligence Programs he has shown unusual ingenuity, persistence, and determination in making microphone installations; SA ALBERT P. CLARK, who has been a leader of the old San Francisco Underground Squad in conducting contacts with highly confidential sources, running physical surveillances, and has been absolutely fearless in these types of operations for more than twelve years; SA RICHARD E. STEPHENS, who has just recently completed an advanced course in technical photography and because he has had many years experience in overcoming photographic problems in connection with espionage cases and the Anagram Program.

A conference was had with these Agents, the proposed investigation outlined, the possible problems to be encountered discussed, and each was given a specific assignment in order to prepare himself for the special investigation in Honolulu. The need for the utmost security was emphasized.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN were scheduled to leave San Francisco by air for Honolulu 2/12/64, to be followed on the following Saturday, 2/19/64, by the other three Agents.

In accord with instructions received from the Bureau, on 2/11/64 SA CLIFFORD telephonically contacted SAC PRICE in Honolulu to advise him of the details of the arrival of SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN and to point out that a team of five men would eventually be operating in Honolulu. In this conversation no classified information was discussed.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN arrived in Honolulu on the afternoon of Wednesday, 2/12/64. They proceeded to the office where the background of the investigation and the Bureau instructions in connection therewith were outlined over a period of several hours to SAC PRICE. Mr. PRICE was immediately cooperative to the fullest extent possible. He readily understood the delicacy of the situation and pledged all-out support of the Agents on special assignment.

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr.

The Honolulu Office had received sufficient correspondence from Mainland Offices so they could be aware in a general way of what type of investigation was to be conducted concerning the principal Subject's (KING) visit to Honolulu. It was apparent to the Honolulu Office from the copies of communications in its file that the Bureau had an intense interest in the extra-curricular activities of the Subject and the communist influence upon him and, therefore, the Honolulu Office was in a position to account for the principal Subject's public activities, appearances, speeches, etc.

SAC PRICE pointed out upon the arrival of SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN that Honolulu was in the midst of the peak of its winter tourist season. The various airlines had just inaugurated a flat \$100.00 tourist flight to Hawaii and all of the principal hotels were filled to overflowing with tourists. He believed that it would be difficult to obtain, many days in advance, a block of rooms whereby coverage of the Subject could be effected, but he indicated that he did have the official and personal contacts whereby a beginning could be made immediately.

Through its public sources, the Honolulu Office had determined that the University of Hawaii had planned to put the Subject and his party up at the Hilton Hawaiian Village for the days and nights of 2/18 and 19/64, and the morning of 2/20/64, while he was making public appearances. Supervisor CLIFFORD requested that if possible he and SA LYMAN be quartered in the Hilton Hawaiian Village. It was immediately determined by pretext telephone calls that the Hilton Hawaiian Village was filled to overflowing and was actually asking some of its guests to move elsewhere if possible.

It was pointed out to Mr. PRICE that if at all possible it was imperative for SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN to at least be in the same hotel where the Subject was scheduled to be a guest in order that full security could be established and in order that the equipment could be tested. By the evening of 2/12/64, through SAC contacts Mr. PRICE was able to obtain a room in the establishment for SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN.

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

The Hilton Hawaiian Village is a complex of five steel and concrete towers, each approximately fifteen stories tall, linked together by a series of 2-story concrete motel-like buildings with perhaps 75 independent shops, restaurants, bars, etc. around a huge open-air lobby. An inspection of the halls and the rooms revealed that the dividing walls were made of four inch concrete blocks. The Hilton Hawaiian Village has approximately 1100 separate accommodations, rooms, suites, and pent houses with room for approximately 2500 people. Literally hundreds are moved in and out of the hotel every day according to a fixed schedule, whereby they spend a certain length of time at this hotel in Honolulu, move out to other islands to make way for other tourists to come in, and return to the Hawaiian Village when the other tourists move out.

Through Mr. ED HASTINGS, a SAC contact, and a personal friend of SAC PRICE, Mr. PRICE began a most discreet inquiry to determine where the Subject and his party were to be located. It was discovered that the hotel is booked up so full and has so many commitments on a continuous basis, that it ordinarily books blocks of rooms and suites by type and price rather than making individual assignments to guests who have made reservations; thus, it would know that on a certain day it would need, for example, 100 \$20.00 rooms, 50 \$25.00 rooms, and 40 \$30.00 rooms, but would not individually assign them until after the individual guest had registered at the hotel. This was the case with regard to the MARTIN LUTHER KING party. No specific space had yet been assigned and for security reasons it was determined best by the SAC and by the Agents on special assignment, that as far as possible, the hotel be allowed to follow normal booking procedures.

In the meantime, SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN proceeded to establish their identities as tourists in the hotel and its environs. The Honolulu Office has ten cars assigned to it, all of which are relatively well known and all of which are equipped with 2-way radios. The Agents on special assignment explored the possibility with the SAC and experienced Agents of the Honolulu Office of switching license plates on one of their cars and utilizing it on the special assignment, but the considered opinion of all concerned was that security might be lost by such an arrangement and it was, therefore, resolved to rent a Hertz car right at the hotel for use during the special assignment.

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

Under secure conditions, SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN unpacked and experimented with all of the Bureau equipment sent out or brought out to Honolulu under conditions as closely approximating what was anticipated in the actual investigation. They found that all of the equipment worked well and would be effective if we could arrange to be no more than one room away from the Subjects of our interest. Due to the heavy concrete construction of the towers composing the hotel, approximately one-half of the radio transmitting equipment would not be effective at any great distance because its signal was somewhat overshadowed by a powerful local TV station.

Over the weekend of Saturday, 2/15/64, and Sunday, 2/16/64, the experiments continued and in the meantime, SAC PRICE most discreetly pushed his efforts to have definite space assigned to the Subject's party and to locate the special assignment Agents along side the Subjects.

The Kahala Hilton Hotel is the newest and perhaps the most luxurious in the entire Hilton chain. It was opened for business in January, 1964, has luxurious suites furnished at great cost, and is situated in an isolated area with its own man-made lake between a golf course and the sea. It is of solid concrete construction, ten stories high, and because of its prices attracts principally wealthy individuals who generally are older than the average tourist.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN personally made a most discreet survey of the hotel during the afternoon and evening hours and discovered that at best it was a most sedate and formal place with almost no activity or action in the halls, elevators, and public places. Upon the arrival of the remaining three Agents on

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

special assignment in Honolulu, they were quickly acquainted with the situation at the Hilton Hawaiian Village and on Sunday evening, 2/16/64, made as much as a survey as was possible of the situation at the Kahala Hilton.

It was possible to obtain a room for these Agents in another tower approximately 100 yards away from the room occupied by SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN. On Sunday afternoon experiments were conducted with the equipment over this extended space and it was found that most of the equipment worked very well even at that distance through concrete walls and glass windows, but that the TV station interfered with some of the equipment on certain wave lengths.

On Monday, 2/17/64, SAC PRICE was able to arrange that the Subject and his party be placed in Suites 404 and 405 of the ocean tower building of the Hilton Hawaiian Village Hotel and that SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN would be given the suite numbered 406 along side that to be occupied by the principal Subject (405) and that the other three Agents would be given the suite numbered 403. One complicating factor was that no place else in the entire complex did the hotel have unoccupied space available allowing the designation of four rooms in a row for our purpose.

Another complication was the fact that the Subjects were due to land at the airport at 12:50 p.m., Tuesday, 2/18/64, and could be expected to be at the hotel at approximately 1:30 p.m. on that date, but three of the four rooms were occupied and could be expected to be occupied until the checkout time of 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 2/18/64.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN were able to move into Room 406 in the early evening of Monday, 2/17/64. The hotel arranged to move the guests out of Room 403 late that same evening and the other Agents were able to move in to Room 403. Investigation revealed that the occupants of Suite 405, which was designated for KING, were members of a folk dance group which was having its final dance in the ballroom on the second floor of the same building. By running most discreet surveillances and by utilizing a passkey obtained by SAC PRICE through the door connecting Room 406 with 405, the Agents were able to establish double wasp

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

coverage in Room 405 during the evening of Monday, 2/17/64, while the folk dancing party was going on. This provided the necessary coverage which was activated when the principal Subject and his party entered Room 405 at 2:12 p.m., Tuesday, 2/18/64. This coverage enabled us to contact a highly confidential source that evening which supplemented the information received from the microphone coverage. In order to obtain clear reception and if possible to overcome the Subjects' playing of the TV, on Tuesday morning, 2/18/64, a minirite was installed in another location in the Subject's suite and monitored from Room 406.

It had been determined that SA J. STEPLING ADAMS of the Honolulu Office had conducted an Anti-Packeteering investigation concerning SAM GIACOMINI at the Kahala Hilton Hotel in January, 1964, and had established excellent working relationships with members of the staff on the working level at that hotel. At the request of Supervisor CLIFFORD, SA ADAMS was sent out to the Kahala Hilton Hotel and checked on reservations held by the hotel for all expected guests for the period from 2/19/64 through 2/25/64, and determined that there were reservations for single suites (each suite will sleep at least two people) for KING, WALKER, KEARSE (who accompanied the party to Honolulu), and DOLOPES EVANS from Los Angeles. No reservation could be found for DOLOPES SHEFFEY, but apparently she could have fit in the room with EVANS since there were two beds in the room. Once this was discovered, through SAC PRICE's contacts, it was possible to arrange on Tuesday, 2/18/64, that specific rooms be designated for the above individuals and that we select adjacent rooms as desired.

This hotel, being a luxury hotel, was about 75% full and not as crowded as the other Honolulu hotels. Three of the Agents on special assignment accompanied SA ADAMS to the hotel on Wednesday morning, 2/19/64, and arranged the situation in such a way that by renting three rooms ourselves as of that date, we could cover the four rooms requested by the Subject's party. These three Agents then checked into that hotel and worked all day Wednesday and nearly all night that same night, Wednesday-Thursday, 2/19-20/64. By 11:00 p.m. they had succeeded, most discreetly, in making nine different installations under most secure conditions in the four rooms to be occupied by the Subjects.

100-51914A

/jr

Just as they completed their job it was discovered through the installations at the Hawaiian Village Hotel that

three Agents then had to spend the rest of the night and by morning hours removing the installations they had worked hard to make.

Shortly after midnight Thursday morning, 2/20/64, the installations at the Hawaiian Village provided information that

This information was provided telephonically to the Los Angeles Office and enabled the Los Angeles Office to anticipate where the Subjects would be and make, with Bureau permission, the proper installations at the Ambassador Hotel.

In accord with Bureau instructions, SAs CLIFFORD and [redacted] gathered together the necessary material on the morning Thursday, 2/20/64, and preceded the Subjects to Los Angeles Air. In Los Angeles they aided the Los Angeles Agents in identifying the Subjects and their voices on the evening of Wednesday, 2/20/64, and the early morning of Friday, 2/21/64, then later spent the day of Friday and Friday evening working with the Los Angeles Agents in order that their coverage would be as efficacious as possible.

SAs CLIFFORD and LYMAN returned to San Francisco from Los Angeles on Saturday, 2/22/64. The remaining three Agents moved the more bulky equipment, packaged it for shipment to Bureau, San Francisco, and other offices, cleared out of the [redacted] [redacted], and arrived back in San Francisco on Sunday afternoon, 2/23/64.

The cooperation of the Hilton Hotel system was such that the Bureau was not charged for the rooms at the luxury [redacted] Hotel that were used by the Agents all day Wednesday, Wednesday night, and Thursday morning, nor for the four rooms [redacted] we had blocked out the day before and offered to pay rent if they would be saved for the Subjects.

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

SAC PRICE of Honolulu, with funds from the San Francisco confidential fund, is settling the bill for the rooms used for experiments and for the towers at the Hawaiian Village Hotel and will forward the bills to SA CLIFFORD, who will voucher and blue slip same.

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) No matter what its size in population, Honolulu is basically a resort small town and all the Bureau personnel who participated in the investigation agreed that the Bureau was extremely wise in designating this operation to be handled as a special assignment in a semi-undercover capacity by Special Agents from another territory who were not known as Special Agents in the Honolulu area. The Honolulu Office and the San Francisco Agents are convinced that such an assignment could not have been carried out with full security by the Honolulu Agents themselves because they are too well known in this comparatively small town.
- (2) Although using only five Agents to make technical surveys, technical installations, provide their own security, conduct discreet nearby fisurs of Subjects and potential subjects, and contact anonymous sources means that the manpower is spread very thin especially where two separate hotels are involved, it is believed that the use of an experienced coordinated special assignment crew may very well be the best way to attack this problem.
- (3) The SAC and the local FBI Office are indispensable to the successful operation of such a special assignment. The two big questions that the local SAC has to be in a position to answer are: (a) Exactly where is the Subject going to be? and (b) Can we get a room next to him? Agents on special assignment cannot walk in cold in any area, much less a crowded resort area, and accomplish this with full security. It is the considered opinion of the Agents who participated in this special assignment that we would have been spared much anxiety



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-51914A  
HFC/jr

and last-minute improvisation if the Honolulu SAC could have been advised in advance, with utmost security, that he would be called upon to determine where the Subject was staying and to obtain adjacent space for the Agents on special assignment. This is a suggestion for the Bureau to consider in the event it plans future special assignments of this sort. This one worked well due to the excellence of the contacts.

(4) The playing of TV sets in the room and the operation of individual air conditioning units both presented a considerable problem which made some of the conversations almost, if not completely, unintelligible. These particular Subjects seemed to have a tendency to turn the TV on most of the time when they were in the room, particularly in the evening hours. We do not believe that it would be wise to make either the TV or the air conditioning inoperable in a subject's room where a discreet installation is made with full security, but misur coverage becomes almost ineffective no matter where it is placed if the TV is blasting away.

Transcripts of those parts of the conversations which are pertinent to this investigation are being forwarded under separate cover as soon as possible.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

13-28

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. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 6, 1964

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

J U N E

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

On this past weekend (1/4-5/64) it was determined that Martin Luther King, Jr., would be staying at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., from Sunday to Tuesday (1/5-7/64). Because of the importance of our investigation of the communist influence in racial matters and the intelligence and counterintelligence possibilities which thorough coverage of King's activities might develop and because time was of the essence, I authorized Washington Field Office to make effort to secure microphone coverage of King provided full security would be assured.

On 1/6/64 Security Coordinating Supervisor L. W. E. Sherndorf of the Washington Field Office advised that they had been able to effect coverage on 1/5/64 with full security and that the Bureau would be kept promptly advised of the results of this coverage. Expenses involved however, no telephone instrument is being utilized in this operation.

ACTION:

For information. You will be promptly advised of positive results achieved.

100-3-116

1 - 100-106370 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [unclear]
- 1 - Mr. [unclear]
- 1 - Mr. [unclear]
- 1 - Mr. [unclear]

*3/17/64 by [unclear]*  
 ALL INFORMATION  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/20/80 BY [unclear]

**UNCLASSIFIED**

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

JUNE

TO : MR. BELMONT

DATE: 7/16/63

FROM : C. A. Evans

cc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Evans

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

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 CLASSIFIED BY 1259 OAP/lu  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE 7/18/74

The AG was contacted at his request late this afternoon. He said that Clarence Benjamin Jones, a NY attorney who has had close association with Martin Luther King, and with Stanley Levinson Marshall had been in to see Burke Marshall about the racial situation. According to the AG, Jones had indicated he had some reservations about talking with Levinson on the phone. Marshall thought he might have been referring to a possible telephone tap, and passed it off by telling Jones this was something he would have to take up with Levinson.

The purpose of the AG's contact was that this brought to his attention the possibility of effecting technical coverage on both Jones and Martin Luther King. I told the AG that I was not at all acquainted with Jones, but that, in so far as King was concerned, it was obvious from the reports that he was in a travel status practically all the time, and it was, therefore, doubtful that a technical surveillance on his office or home would be very productive. I also raised the question as to the repercussions if it should ever become known that such a surveillance had been put on King.

The AG said this did not concern him at all; that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible. I told him, under the circumstances, that we would check into the matter to see if coverage was feasible and, if so, would submit an appropriate recommendation to him.

If you approve, we will have a preliminary survey made to see if technical coverage is feasible with full security.

~~SECRET~~

CAE:CEH (4)

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAK/ann  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

08/16/70 HQ  
 DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 STR/CO  
 11/16/80

11:17 PM URGENT 3-28-68 ARK

TO DIRECTOR (157-126672) AND MEMPHIS [redacted]  
FROM ATLANTA (156-5536)

DECLASSIFIED BY [signature]  
ON 2/11/06

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C.

- 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 \_\_\_\_\_

Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tennessee. RM.

Informant

*Robbie  
T. [unclear]*

*D. Miller*

[redacted] FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION  
AT FOUR THIRTY PM MARCH TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT.

INFORMANT'S INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM DISCUSSION SHORTLY  
BEFORE WITH ROSEA WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF VOTER REGISTRATION AND  
POLITICAL EDUCATION, SCLC, CURRENTLY IN ATLANTA, WHO DURING LATE  
AFTERNOON MARCH TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT, CONFERRED TELEPHONICALLY  
WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT, SCLC; RALPH D. ABERNATHY,  
VICE PRESIDENT AND TREASURER, SCLC; AND BERNARD LEE, SPECIAL AIDE  
TO THE PRESIDENT, SCLC.

KING, ABERNATHY, AND LEE ARE CURRENTLY IN ROOM EIGHT ZERO ONE,  
HOLIDAY INN, MEMPHIS.

WITH REFERENCE TO RACIAL DISTURBANCE IN MEMPHIS MARCH  
TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT, KING IS EXTREMELY DEJECTED. HE AND  
ABERNATHY STRONGLY FEEL DISTURBANCE ON THIS DATE DELIBERATELY PLANNED

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
COPIES  
DISTRIBUTING  
DATE 5-24-77

157-9146  
EX-115  
NOT RECORDED  
22 APR 29 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-9146-2274

PAGE TWO

BY NEGROES WHO ARE NEITHER SYMPATHETIC TO KING OR SCLC. IDENTITY OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS NOT KNOWN.

ABERNATHY, LEE AND WILLIAMS ARE GREATLY CONCERNED FOR WELFARE OF KING, PARTICULARLY ON NIGHT OF MARCH TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT, WHEN HE EXPECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN MARCH OR DEMONSTRATION WITH SANITATION WORKERS. AT PRESENT TIME KING DOES NOT FEEL HE SHOULD LEAVE MEMPHIS. DURATION OF STAY AND FURTHER DETAILS IN THIS CONNECTION NOT KNOWN.

ACCORDING TO WILLIAMS, HE, ABERNATHY, AND LEE STRONGLY FEEL SAME ELEMENTS WHICH CAUSED DISTURBANCE IN MEMPHIS EARLIER MARCH TWENTYEIGHT MAY CAUSE PERSONAL HARM TO KING EVENING OF MARCH TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT. *Informant*

INFORMATION FROM ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ MEMPHIS; HOWEVER, SHOULD ADVISE LOCAL AUTHORITIES IF NOT ALREADY KNOWN THAT KING CONTEMPLATES PARTICIPATING IN MARCH OR DEMONSTRATION EVENING OF MARCH TWENTYEIGHT AND THAT IN VIEW OF EARLIER DISTURBANCES IN MEMPHIS ON THIS DATE, SEVERAL RANKING SCLC OFFICIALS APPREHENSIVE FOR PERSONAL WELFARE OF KING.

PAGE THREE

FOREGOING INFORMATION TELEPHONICALLY FURNISHED MEMPHIS MARCH  
TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYEIGHT.

RECEIVED: 11:39PM RM

Sect. 80; Serial after 3283  
King Security

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 3/28/68

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

FROM : G. C. Moore *her*

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

*C. Moore*

A sanitation workers strike has been going on in Memphis for some time. Martin Luther King, Jr., today led a march composed of 5,000 to 6,000 people through the streets of Memphis. King was in an automobile preceding the marchers. As the march developed, acts of violence and vandalism broke out including the breaking of windows in stores and some looting.

This clearly demonstrates that acts of so-called nonviolence advocated by King cannot be controlled. The same thing could happen in his planned massive civil disobedience for Washington in April.

ACTION:

~~APR 2 1968~~

*X* ENCLOSURE Attached is a blind memorandum pointing out the above, which if you approve, should be made available by Crime Records Division to cooperative news media sources.

*(on a strictly confidential basis)*

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

TDR: fnd (6)

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

*Wied*  
*100-106670*

NOT RECORDED  
109 APR 4 1968

*D. Deakin*

*D. Deakin*

UNCLASSIFIED

FROM MR. MOORE

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, injected himself into the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis, Tennessee, and the result of King's famous espousal of nonviolence was vandalism, looting, and riot.

Previously, King involved himself in this strike, called for a general strike, and called for a mass march. Today he led the mass march in an automobile at the head of the line. Negroes began shouting "black power" and trouble began. King, apparently unable or unwilling to control the marchers, absented himself from the scene; window breaking and looting broke out.

Police officers were forced to use gas to break up the march and to control the crowd. It was necessary to activate the National Guard. Martin Luther King claims his much-heralded march on Washington, scheduled for April 22, 1968, will also be "nonviolent." He says he has persuaded militant black nationalists to abandon violent extremism in Washington, D. C., during the march. Memphis may only be the prelude to civil strife in our Nation's Capitol.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/86 BY [signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-100670

ENCLOSURE



CLASSIFICATION RETAINED

6076 WPM/mca  
FBI

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2

Date: 3/29/68

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Transmit the following in 11/6/78 (Type in plaintext or code)

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	
Mr. Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

AIRTEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) BY DATE 4/16/78

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106770)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

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

CLASSIFIED BY 6080 LAD/BJY  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

ReNYteletype 3/29/68.

There are enclosed for the Bureau eleven copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) containing information from [redacted] on 3/28/68, concerning a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. on what KING's position should be on the rioting that occurred in Memphis, Tennessee on 3/28/68. (S)u

The source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is [redacted] Informants

An information copy of this LHM is being sent to the Richmond Office, since it is indicated that KING will probably cancel a scheduled appearance in Virginia on Saturday (March 30, 1968).

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) (1-157-8428) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 2-Atlanta (100- ) (Encls. 3) (RM) (1-100-5718) (COMM-FIL SCLC)
- 1-Richmond (100- ) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM) (1-157- ) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 2-Washington Field (100- ) (Encls. 2) (RM) (1-157- ) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)
- 1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (41)
- 1-New York (100-149104) (COMM-FIL SCLC) (43)
- 1-New York (100-155735) (CIRM) (41)
- 1-New York (157-2052) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) (43)
- 1-New York (100-136585)

100-106670-3272

20 MAR 29 1968

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED  
165 MAR 3 1968

APR 9 - 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

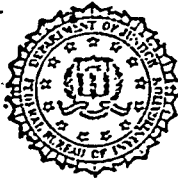
~~SECRET~~

This LHM is classified "SECRET" because it contains information from [redacted] a source engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the US and Communist influence therein. It also is classified "SECRET" because it contains a concentration of information from [redacted] in the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON.

(S) Informants

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
March 29, 1968

Bufile 100-106670

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EAC  
DATE 11/6/78

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Security Matter - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on March 28, 1968, that, late on that date, Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King, Jr. discussed the violence that occurred in Memphis, Tennessee on March 28, 1968, following King's leadership of a protest march through downtown Memphis. King indicated that he has become so depressed over the developments in Memphis that he has considered calling off the Washington March (his self-described Poor People's Campaign, scheduled to begin in Washington, D.C. on April 22, 1968). (S) u

Levison told King that his depression was aggravated because he is physically exhausted as a result of his recent strenuous program. He counseled King not to be on the defensive over the events in Memphis but, on the contrary, should take the position that the majority of people in the Memphis March did not join in the rioting that took place, proving the ineffectiveness of King's leadership and his policy of non-violence. Levison emphasized that the Washington March will be different in that King will have organized this march and his forces can stress the importance of non-violence. Levison suggested that Saturday morning (March 30, 1968) would be a better time to meet in Atlanta to discuss the Memphis incident, rather than meeting on Friday night (March 29, 1968) because it will give King time to rest. (S) u

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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.

CLASSIFIED BY 6080 LCD, RJS  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
12/20/71

SECRET

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAA/mac  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
11/6/78

Classified by SP/ncp/mk  
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

King agreed in every respect with Levison's evaluation. (S)u

The source also ascertained that, prior to conferring with King, Levison spoke with the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, an aide of Dr. King's, who advised Levison that King has cancelled a scheduled appearance in Washington, D.C. on March 29, 1968. Abernathy also noted that King is scheduled to be in Virginia on Saturday (March 30, 1968) but will probably cancel that appearance. Abernathy continued that it was a mistake for the King forces not to have a staff in Memphis to train people in non-violence. He said it also was a mistake on the part of the King forces not to have been more aware of the local situation. (S)u



(S) Sensitive Foreign (S)  
Intelligence Operation

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

Mr. Bishop

DATE: 3/18/69

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

M. A. Jones

*Handwritten notes and signatures*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

BACKGROUND:

Today, March 18th, Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) who is a member of the House Committee on Internal Security advised Mr. DeLoach that 30 bills have been introduced into Congress to declare a holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday, January 15th. Ashbrook further advised that a bill concerning this matter will soon be voted out of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary. In this connection he advised that Congressman Charles E. Wiggins (R-California) and Byron G. Rogers (D-Colorado), members of the Subcommittee, will be contacting the Bureau in the near future to request an "off the record" briefing concerning King. They are in a position to keep any such bill from being reported out of committee--if, as stated by Congressman Ashbrook, they realize that King was a scoundrel.

*69-10358*

Byron G. Rogers

Rogers was born in Texas in 1900. He was U.S. Attorney for the District of Colorado 1934-36, and thereafter was Attorney General of the State of Colorado. He was elected to the 82nd Congress in 1950 and has been re-elected to subsequent Congresses.

The Bureau investigated Rogers in 1933 and 1934 in connection with his appointment as U.S. Attorney for the District of Colorado and the investigation was favorable. We have had cordial relations with him since he has been in Congress.

Charles E. Wiggins

Wiggins is from El Monte, California, and was elected to Congress in 1966. We have had cordial relations with him and he met the Director and had a picture taken on 6/26/68. On 12/9/68 Wiggins presented a plaque to the Director in behalf of Rosemead, California, and he was cordially thanked.

*Sp. Machine 3/18/69*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/13/81 BY SP4 JRM/UC

REG-87 100-106670-3586  
 APR 25 1969

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Callahan

APR 28 1969  
 (11)

*Handwritten marks and numbers*  
 5-67

UNCLASSIFIED RECOMMENDATION Page 2 COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 69-10358

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

RECOMMENDATION:

That if and when Congressmen Wiggins and Rogers contact the Bureau that they be invited in for a confidential briefing concerning Martin Luther King. They will be referred to public source newspaper articles if they desire to have any material for usage.

7/12/68  
contact made  
Wiggins  
copy  
JTB

ASAC

TJW

This is a delicate matter -  
but can be handled very  
cautiously -

↑      ✓  
I agree. It must be handled  
very cautiously.  
JTB

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**SECRET**

Memorandum

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

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 18, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

JUNE

- 1 - Mr. Rozamus
- 1 - Mr. Ridgeway

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

*Rozamus*  
*David C H*

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6876 CLARENCE JONES  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

This is to advise you of past electronic surveillances that we had installed for the purpose of securing intelligence data concerning the late Martin Luther King, Jr., former President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

King had been in close association with individuals having a Communist Party background during his rise to prominence in the civil rights field. Among such individuals was his principal advisor Stanley Levison, a communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as recent as July, 1963. Clarence Jones, another close advisor of King, had been a member of the Communist Party 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 Youth Communist League in the early 1940's and is an admitted homosexual. In order to determine the subversive influence in racial matters, the following microphone and wiretap coverage was placed in effect which provided coverage on the activities of King and the SCLC:

<u>Installed</u>	<u>Discontinued</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
11/8/63	4/30/65	Wiretap	563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
1/5/64	1/8/64	Microphone	Willard Hotel, Washington
1/27/64	1/27/64	Microphone	Shroeder Hotel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
2/18/64	2/20/64	Microphone	Hilton Hawaiian Village, Honolulu, Hawaii
2/20/64	2/21/64	Microphone	Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, California
2/22/64	2/24/64	Microphone	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California
3/19/64	3/20/64	Microphone	Statler Hotel, Detroit, Michigan
4/23/64	4/24/64	Microphone	Senator Hotel, Sacramento, California
4/24/64	4/26/64	Wiretap	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California
7/7/64	7/9/64	Wiretap	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles, California

Classified by 6084 Sullivan  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite 10/23/77

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-6/BJD/...  
ON 3/15/06

115

REC 8

9388

3

100-106670  
RLR:sss

**SECRET**

CONTINUED - OVER

~~SECRET~~

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

<u>Installed</u>	<u>Discontinued</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
7/7/64	7/9/64	Microphone	Hyatt House Motel, Los Angeles California
8/14/64	9/8/64	Wiretap	125 East 72nd Street, New York, New York
8/22/64	8/27/64	Wiretap	Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City New Jersey
9/28/64	10/2/64	Microphone	Manger Hotel, Savannah, Georgia
1/8/65	1/11/65	Microphone	Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York
1/28/65	1/31/65	Microphone	Americana Hotel, New York, New York
3/29/65	3/31/65	Microphone	Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York
5/12/65	5/13/65	Microphone	Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, New York, New York
10/14/65	10/15/65	Microphone	Astor Hotel, New York, New York
10/28/65	10/30/65	Microphone	New York Hilton Hotel, New York, New York
11/29/65	11/30/65	Microphone	Americana Hotel, New York, New York

In addition to the above coverage of King, the following coverage was afforded the SCLC.

<u>Installed</u>	<u>Discontinued</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
10/24/63	1/24/64	Wiretap	New York Office
11/8/63	6/21/66	Wiretap	Atlanta Headquarters
7/13/64	7/31/64	Wiretap	New York Office

All of the above wiretap surveillances were authorized under the signature of the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy who on 10/10/63 authorized the coverage of King's residence and another future address to which he may move, and the New York Office SCLC. He also authorized wiretap coverage of King and the Atlanta headquarters of SCLC on 10/21/63. These authorizations were given during the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

Attorney General Kennedy did not sign any microphone surveillance requests. Microphone surveillances were authorized by Bureau officials acting on general authority relating to the Attorney General.

ACTION:

None. For information.

2

GR

JG

~~SECRET~~

Wes



~~SECRET~~

100-106670-224X

Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 1/21/66

W. C. Sullivan

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

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

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-108100/DC

ON 5/22/90

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 3235 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:

*Please see surveillance at JUNE*  
*over 1.7.1*

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.

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAK/...

EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

1 - M. F. Row - Room 6221 IB

100-106670  
Enclosure

RF DeLoach  
(9)

*No one here approved*  
*Yes, I have had*  
*surveillance again not to*  
*include a unit*  
*with...*

EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
 12/21/78

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: March 20, 1968

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON RACIAL MATTERS

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

*Informing 8/10/84*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2/21/81 BY SP4/RM/14

We all know the great gravity of Martin Luther King's march on Washington next month. It could end in great violence and bloodshed. This being the capitol city it would do us irreparable propaganda damage around the world.

This Division has been preparing to carry out its intelligence responsibilities relative to this march in the most effective manner possible. We have been girding ourselves for this task ever since King's announcement to march on Washington. We should leave no stone unturned.

In view of the above, I would like the permission to talk confidentially to Bishop Lord of the Methodist Church and to Cardinal O'Boyle of the Catholic Church. I know Lord personally. I suggest this, because both Protestant and Catholic leadership in Washington give clear signs of being almost totally unaware of the lawlessness and the violence-prone elements who will be involved in this march. I would like to make them discreetly aware of this particular factor. Further, I would like to sow the idea that as eminent church leaders they have an enormous responsibility relative to assisting and maintaining law and order. I want to drop the hint that it is not enough for these church leaders to approve publicly as they have done of the social justice goals inherent in this march on Washington. I want to leave them with the thought that they will not be fulfilling their responsibilities unless they make it evident publicly that the church leaders of this city will not approve of any violence or lawlessness.

- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Sizoo
- Mr. G. C. Moore
- Mr. Sullivan

157-8428-415  
 100-106670  
 NOT RECORDED  
 184 MAR 27 1968

MAR 27 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

RACIAL INT. SEC.

WCS:emd

(6) *over*

54 APR 2 1968

# UNCLASSIFIED

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I feel very strongly that I can do some good here. Therefore, I do hope that the Bureau will not deny me the permission to see what I can accomplish in this extremely vital area. If I can bring something of this nature about on the part of these church leaders, it may make the work of this Bureau somewhat less heavy and difficult at the time of the march.

RECOMMENDATION:

That I be given the permission to do as indicated above.

*W.C.S.*  
*OK.*  
*H*  
*Jo*  
*nm*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

829 notes  
before 1198

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

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 23, 1965

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

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

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

You will recall that in December, 1964, with the Director's approval and ~~after~~ first checking with the White House, we disseminated to the Heads of the intelligence community a paper captioned as above which depicted the communist influence in the Negro movement. Emphasis was given in the paper to the communist influences on Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as facts relating to his immoral nature. *Chojan*

As you are aware, LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida, is Director, Community Relations Service (CRS), Department of Commerce, and in this position serves as something of a "mediator" in problems relating to the racial field. He has been a key individual relative to the situation in Selma, Alabama. Information of interest to the CRS is regularly being disseminated to that agency. We just received reliable information concerning a conversation between Martin Luther King, Jr., and ~~Coretta~~, Coretta, during which ~~she~~ she expressed to the ~~Senator~~ Senator and said that Collins was blinded by prejudice. We have disseminated the information concerning the King conversation to CRS.

It is believed that, in view of Collins' important position relative to the racial movement, he should have the benefit of the paper which we have already given to the White House and the Heads of the intelligence community. Our relations with Collins have been friendly; he is a long-time admirer of the Director and the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval is a letter to Collins enclosing a copy of the paper captioned as above.

100-442529 Enclosures

SFP:pah (10)

100-442529-932

APR 21 1965

UNCLASSIFIED

INT. SEC. 1

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 27, 1963

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

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Denz

Tolson

Belmont

Mohr

Casper

Callahan

Conrad

DeLoach

Evans

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele. Room

Holmes

Gandy

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 8/22/63 set forth information pertaining to communist influence and participation in the March on Washington 8/28/63. The purpose of instant memorandum is to bring the Director up to date concerning the Party's latest plans with respect to this March.

Gus Hall, leader of the Communist Party (CP), USA, has now decided to participate in this March. Hall plans to participate quietly and with no publicity. As an example of the Party's desire to participate in the March under a veil of secrecy, nine Party functionaries, headed by James E. Jackson, Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker," east coast communist publication, are attempting to gain accreditation as "press representatives" of "The Worker" rather than as March participants.

Information available to us as of 8/27/63 indicates that in excess of 100 CP members plan to participate in this March. While the majority of these individuals will come from the New York and Philadelphia areas, individuals in such widely scattered areas as Buffalo, New York; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; States of Oregon and Washington; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; and the New England area plan to attend.

Information received on 8/22 and 23/63 indicates that it has been rumored among Puerto Rican independentists in New York City that the New York Junta of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) (designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450) desires to have one of its adherents participate in the March and to join the March leaders who will be received by the President. If successful this adherent, in the presence of the President, would attempt to create some unspecified type of disturbance to publicize NPPR demand for a free and independent Puerto Rico. Information concerning the NPPR has been furnished to the local Secret Service by our Washington Field Office and was promptly telephoned to Mr. John Nolan, Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General.

UNCLASSIFIED

157-970-992

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE  
100-3-116

At this point, there is no information available indicating that the Nation of Islam, an antiwhite hate group, plans to participate in this March. Approximately six members of the Socialist Workers Party from Cleveland plan to participate.

All pertinent information received concerning communist influence in this March has been furnished to the Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshall and J. Walter Yeagley, the military agencies and, where appropriate, to the Attorney General himself.

We will have sources in attendance at this March and any pertinent information developed by them will be furnished to the Washington Field Office and it will be appropriately furnished to the Department.

ACTION:

This matter is being followed closely and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments. Pertinent information received will continue to receive appropriate dissemination to the Department and military agencies.

*J. J. [unclear]  
[unclear]  
[unclear]*

*Wep . V.  
[unclear]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*(Handwritten circled number: 260)*

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

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: May 19, 1965

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/18/86 BY SP-10/BJW/STP

SUBJECT: DR. ARCHIBALD J. CAREY, JR.  
REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

*(Handwritten signatures and initials)*

Pursuant to instructions, I saw Dr. Carey, who is known to Mr. Tolson and the Director, at 12:30 p. m. today in my office.

Dr. Carey told me that he knew that time was limited at FBI Headquarters so he would come right to the point. He stated he had come to see us on behalf of Martin Luther King. He added that King was in Chicago last weekend and stayed in Carey's home, and at that time indicated every evidence of great disturbance. King told Carey he had been reliably informed there was a massive effort to discredit him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This effort is to begin this week.

Carey told me that he wanted to enlist the sympathies of the FBI in not letting any effort to discredit King occur. He said he wanted to beg the usage of our good offices to prevent such an occurrence from happening. He stated he was asking for our assistance based upon good reasoning. He then mentioned those reasons as: (1) Reverend King is a good man. (2) Reverend King stands as a "symbol" to the Negro race today. (3) Reverend King is a "safety valve" at the present time. He explained this by indicating that Reverend King's articulate voice was preventing more of the militant and violent Negroes from committing serious acts in the United States.

I interrupted Dr. Carey at this point and told him he had known us for a long time and that I felt certain that he knew in his own mind that the FBI had plenty to do without being responsible for a discrediting campaign against Reverend King. Dr. Carey agreed that he did know us better and stated that he had doubted King's allegations from the very beginning. I told Carey that Reverend King had criticized us very unfairly, particularly concerning the background and investigative actions of our Southern Agents. I briefed Carey very thoroughly on this point. I further told Dr. Carey that King had later denied that he had made such allegations upon having an appointment in Mr. Hoover's Office. I told Dr. Carey that the Director had given Reverend King some very good advice insofar as his moral responsibilities were concerned.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

*(Handwritten file numbers and dates)*  
161-2040-30  
JUN 2 1965

CDD:dgs (6)

UNCLASSIFIED CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

UNCLASSIFIED COPY

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 5/19/65  
RE: Dr. Archibald J. Carey, Jr.  
Reverend Martin Luther King

I went into the entire situation with Dr. Carey and told him not only of the many successes we had enjoyed in this particular field, but also of the discouragements and humiliations that extremists on both sides attempted to subject us to. Dr. Carey showed great interest and indicated that he would be one that would attempt to remedy that situation.

Dr. Carey called me at 3:35 p.m. this afternoon and stated he wanted to use about ten seconds in mentioning two additional things: (1) He stated that he had talked to King telephonically and remonstrated with King about the fact that King should make a greater effort to praise the FBI for its excellent work in the civil rights field. (2) Dr. Carey stated he wanted to be very immodest for a second. He added that he felt he had done a great deal for the current administration and that despite the fact that he was the president of a savings and loan association; minister of a large Negro church; and head of other business interests, he would still appreciate it if the Director would say a good word for him to the President. Dr. Carey stated he knew John Macy of the Civil Service Commission very well and felt that Macy would be on his side if any appointment came up. I told Dr. Carey that the Director, of course, regarded him very highly and would naturally keep his request in mind, although it might be presumptuous for the Director to make such recommendations to the White House. Dr. Carey stated he could understand this. He again pledged his loyalty and friendship.

ACTION:

Dr. Carey is the third individual that King has had come see us relative to requesting that we not expose him. Roy Wilkins, Jim Farmer and Reverend Abernathy have all been here for the same purpose. It is obvious that King is becoming very disturbed and worried about his background, else he would not go to such great efforts to have people approach the FBI. I did not commit the FBI in any manner insofar as exposing King is concerned. To the contrary, I let Carey flatly know of King's derelictions insofar as false allegations against us are concerned and of the fact that King and other civil rights workers owed the FBI a debt of gratitude they would never be able to repay. For record purposes.

Well handled.  
J  
JFM

- 2 - UNCLASSIFIED



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*King Security*

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 19, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *hc*

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

*wcs*  
*Spector*

Through liaison it has been determined that the recent monograph entitled "Martin Luther King, Jr., A Current Analysis," dated March 12, 1968, has been received very favorably by the intelligence community. Because of this, liaison has received requests from various agencies for copies of this monograph. We feel that the monograph would be helpful to other Government agencies with intelligence responsibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that copies of the monograph on Martin Luther King, Jr., be furnished the following agencies by liaison: Central Intelligence Agency; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Major General Carl C. Turner, Provost Marshal, U. S. Army; General Leonard E. Chapman, Commandant, U. S. Marine Corps.

100-106670

DMW:ekw  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach.
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

*DMW*

*get to WCS*

*Returned in April 1968*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*3/19/68*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/80 BY [signature]

REC 59

100-106670-3254

14 MAR 26 1968

UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

D-17

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 19, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

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

Through liaison it has been determined that the recent monograph entitled "Martin Luther King, Jr., A Current Analysis," dated March 12, 1968, has been received very favorably by the intelligence community. Because of this, liaison has received requests from various agencies for copies of this monograph. We feel that the monograph would be helpful to other Government agencies with intelligence responsibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

100-106670-3254

It is recommended that copies of the monograph on Martin Luther King, Jr., be furnished the following agencies by liaison: Central Intelligence Agency; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Joint Chiefs of Staff; Major General Carl C. Turner, Provost Marshal, U. S. Army; General Leonard E. Chapman, Commandant, U. S. Marine Corps

Returned  
in April 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/11/81 BY [signature]

UNCLASSIFIED

Sept 19, Serial 307  
King Security

UNCLASSIFIED

3/21/68

CODED

TELETYPE

URGENT

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

- TO SACS
- ATLANTA ✓
  - BALTIMORE ✓
  - BIRMINGHAM ✓
  - BOSTON ✓
  - CHARLOTTE ✓
  - CINCINNATI ✓
  - CLEVELAND ✓
  - COLUMBIA ✓
  - DETROIT ✓
  - JACKSON ✓
  - LOUISVILLE ✓
  - MILWAUKEE ✓
  - MOBILE ✓
  - NEW YORK ✓
  - PHILADELPHIA ✓
  - PITTSBURGH ✓
  - RICHMOND ✓
  - WFO ✓

PERSONAL ATTENTION  
ALL OFFICES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/11/81 BY SP4/AR/DA

VIA TELETYPE  
MAR 21 1968  
ENCIPHERED

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-4-3006)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

REFERENCE IS MADE TO TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH EACH

SAC DURING THE PAST WEEK GIVING INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT. THIS IS TO

PERSONALLY URGE EACH SAC TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IN CARRYING

OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN YOU IN REFERENCED TELEPHONE CALLS

AND TO CARRY OUT THESE INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

TJD:dsm (7)

NOTE: Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project is scheduled to begin the end of April, 1968, and instructions

Teletype to Atlanta  
Martin Luther King  
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED

have been issued the above offices telephonically concerning the discharge of our responsibilities in connection with this march. This is to insure each of the above SACs discharges his responsibilities in this matter.

APR 11 11 50 AM '68  
FBI - ATLANTA

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*King Security*

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GCM*

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

DATE: 3-5-58

*ga*

Pursuant to the Director's question as to why bringing up to date this monograph may take until 3-14-58, the following is set forth for consideration:

This section made an immediate analysis of the problem and discovered that there have been so many changes and developments in regard to organizations, leadership, and activities affecting Martin Luther King's operations that to do a truly first-class job would require not bringing the monograph up to date, but rewriting it from the very beginning. This is what the section is engaged in doing now. However, if the Director feels that urgency is paramount in this matter, this section will be only too glad to work around the clock and rewrite the monograph in a minimum of time. This would mean completing it about Friday, 3-8-58.

RECOMMENDATION:

If the Director so desires, as indicated, this section will be glad to complete it on a crash basis as described above.

*Spencer 3/11/68*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/3/81 BY SP/DRN/ML

ADDENDUM: WCS:lml 3/5/68

It is to be noted that our analysis of the racial situation in Washington (which involves King) will be finished on Thursday of this week.

- GCM:hrt
- (5)
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Bishop
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. D. H. Wells

REC-75

UNCLASSIFIED

*W.C. 3237*

11 MAR 15 1968

100-156670-32  
 3-11-68  
 GCM Moore & W.C. Sullivan  
 MM Stogall, WH 3-13-68  
 AG, CC, DAG, ARES, JSD, CRM Div, CR Div  
 3-13-68 FTR:jsd

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

DATE: 2/29/68

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

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

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

**D-15**

*C. Moore*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

Mr. Tolson has suggested, and the Director agreed, that the monograph on Martin Luther King, Jr., be brought up to date.

This is an excellent suggestion and we have already started the necessary research. Bringing this monograph up to date and disseminating it at high level prior to King's "Washington Spring Project" should serve again to remind top-level officials in Government of the wholly disreputable character of King.

As you know, King's "Washington Spring Project" was originally scheduled for early April, 1968. However, our Washington Field Office has developed information that King's group is experiencing difficulty in recruiting individuals to participate in the demonstration and the date for the project has now tentatively been set for April 27, 1968.

Because of the importance of doing a thorough job on this, we will conduct an exhaustive file review to bring together the most complete and up-to-date information and to present it in a hard-hitting manner. To make the brief timely, we will have it completed and ready for dissemination by March 14, 1968.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

TDR:lmr  
(6)

REC-117

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

3231  
3251

UNCLASSIFIED

MAR 2 1968

54 MAR 12 1968

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/18/81 BY SP4 JRM/MLK  
#845852 Sparrowme 3-11-86

Field Office - Confidential  
Black Nationalist -  
Hate Groups

SAC, JACKSON (157-9097)

3/11/68

SECTION CHIEF GEORGE C. MOORE  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE, SOG

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT  
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/81 BY SP8MAC/mjs

At 5 PM, 3/11/68, GEORGE C. MOORE, Section Chief, Racial Intelligence, Division 5, SOG, advised ASAC ELMER F. LINBERG and Supervisor JAMES D. INGRAM AS follows:

He advised that the following proposal was sent to the Director:

The racial conference at the SOG discussed the Washington Spring Project headed by MARTIN LUTHER KING and recommended that the facts about the Project be brought to the attention of possible participants through a rumor campaign. We would use our informants, without their knowledge, to spread the story about lack of funds and organization. Fears of economic reprisal and personal safety should dissuade potential participants. We would point out also that the Project is strictly for MARTIN LUTHER KING's benefit which is actually the case. He thinks he can regain lost prestige by this demonstration. Some suggested rumors would consist of:

The participants would be told that their names would be taken in Washington and welfare checks from the Government discontinued.

333

157-9097-363

Possible threats of violence and bodily harm to the participants would be spread. Also information showing that the Washington Negro Community is incensed and furious with respect to this march on Washington by outside Negroes.

The above are a few of the type of rumors that can be used and you should tie in any rumor of this nature to your local problem. Also think of other counterintelligence methods and secure telephonic approval from the Bureau prior to utilization.

2 - 157-9097.

1 - Counterintelligence Black Nationalist

UNCLASSIFIED

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

MAR 11 1968

B-21

FILE (66-293)

6/23/66

SAC JOSEPH K. PONDER

ELSUR

Inspector JOSEPH A. SIZOO, Domestic Intelligence Division, called at 11:45 a.m. on 6/21/66. He instructed that our technical coverage on SCLC and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. be discontinued immediately. He said this coverage should be discontinued in such a way that it can be re-established on short notice, but it is not to be re-established without specific Bureau instructions.

I told SIZOO we would discontinue this operation at once, but that we would not remove any of our equipment from the plant, and that we would leave an Agent on duty round the clock to insure the security of the installation. We will continue to man the plant for security reasons for about a week at the end of which time we will check with the Bureau for further instructions if none have been received in the meantime.

I called SA DAVIS then on duty at the plant at 11:55 AM and he at that time discontinued this source. The Bureau was subsequently advised by teletype that this source was discontinued at 11:55 a.m. 6/21/66.

1 - 66-293  
① - 100-6670-E

JKP:hld  
(2)

*hld*

*6/28/66 J. Ponder*

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

100-6670E-104

UNCLASSIFIED

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>15</i>	FILED <i>15</i>
JUN 23 1966	
FBI-ATLANTA	



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

B-32

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: 1-13-64

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

JUNE

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

*copy was made with orig. has been located*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/20/86 BY [signature]

*Part of [unclear]*  
*5/1/64*

In connection with captioned case, we had a microphone surveillance cover the activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., and one of his associates while they were at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., 1-5/7-64. The results of this coverage are contained in a letterhead memorandum, a copy of which is attached.

In accordance with the Director's instruction that the Attorney General be given the results of this coverage, it is suggested that Assistant Director Evans personally deliver to the Attorney General the copy of the letterhead memorandum which is attached.

The attached document is classified "Top Secret" to minimize the likelihood that this material will be read by someone who will leak it to King. However, it is possible despite its classification, the Attorney General himself may reprimand King on the basis of this material. If he does, it is not likely we will develop any more such information through the means employed. It is highly important that we do develop further information of this type in order that we may completely discredit King as the leader of the Negro people.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be routed to Mr. Evans so that he may furnish the Attorney General, personally, a copy of the letterhead memorandum. It is suggested Mr. Evans deliver this memorandum personally so it won't be passing through the hands of office personnel who might talk about it.

- cc.
- 100-3-116
- 2 ENCL.
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Evans
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Bland
- Mr. Baumgardner

*No. A copy need not be given a...*

100-3-116-761

This document prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the official proceedings by the Committee and the courts.

22 JAN 24 1964

UNCLASSIFIED COPY FILED

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

Inasmuch as King is seeking an appointment with President Johnson and as we have previously alerted the President concerning King's communist connections in particular, it may be the Director will want Mr. DeLoach to show a copy of the letterhead memorandum to Mr. Jenkins.

OK.  
W.C.S.

~~1/14/64 - [unclear]~~  
[unclear]

Handled with Jenkins  
1/14/64 - the President

FJL:fk

# DECODED COPY

Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

A-16

A-16

*Handwritten notes and signatures*

AIRGRAM  CABLEGRAM  RADIO  TELETYPE

URGENT 7-24-63  
 TO DIRECTOR  
 FROM SAC ATLANTA 242045

JUNE. COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS.  
 REBUTEL JULY 23 LAST.

SURVEYS COMPLETED. SERVICE FURNISHED TV RESIDENCE  
 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 565 JOHNSON AVENUE, ATLANTA, BY  
 TRUNK USING NON-LISTED NUMBER. PUBLIC UTILITY WILL  
 FURNISH LEASED LINE TO FIELD OFFICE HEADQUARTERS FOR  
 SWITCHING. TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE FEASIBLE WITH FULL  
 SECURITY. NO OTHER TECHNICALS IN EFFECT ON RESIDENCE.

SERVICE FURNISHED TO OFFICE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN  
 LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, 330 AUBURN AVENUE, ATLANTA, BY FOUR  
 TRUNK LINES. PUBLIC UTILITY WILL FURNISH LEASED LINES  
 TO FIELD OFFICE HEADQUARTERS. TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE  
 FEASIBLE WITH FULL SECURITY. NO OTHER TECHNICALS IN EFFECT  
 ON SOLO OFFICE.

INSTALLATIONS RECOMMENDED. ADVISE IF DESIRED AND IF  
 FORWARD ATLANTA FOUR DIAL RECORDERS COMPLETE, THREE  
 REPLAY RECORDERS AND ONE PLAYBACK UNIT.

RECEIVED: 5:36 PM FM

REC-23

AUG 2 1963

100-442524  
 100-3-116-48

This document is prepared in response to...  
 information...  
 Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitable...

UNCLASSIFIED

*BB*

January 14, 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 \_\_\_\_\_

*C-49*

MR. HOOVER:

RE: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Pursuant to the Director's instructions, I showed <sup>file</sup> the attached report concerning the \_\_\_\_\_ engaged in by Dr. King to Walter Jenkins of the White House this morning at 11:00 a. m. Jenkins read the entire report word for word. I told him that the Director thought perhaps the President might like to know about this matter strictly in confidence. Jenkins stated he would tell the President this afternoon about this incident. He stated that it certainly opened his eyes and he felt it was one of the most repulsive incidents that he knew of. I told Jenkins that the Director indicated I should leave this attachment with him if he desired to let the President personally read it. Jenkins mentioned that he was sufficiently aware of the facts that he could verbally advise the President of the matter. Jenkins was of the opinion that the FBI could perform a good service to the country if this matter could somehow be confidentially \_\_\_\_\_ to members of the press. I told him the Director had this in mind, however, I also believed we should obtain additional information prior to discussing it with certain friends.

RESPECTFULLY,

C. D. DE LOACH

*clg*

*Gene  
MHI*

*1/16/64  
R.D.  
R.D.  
1/16/64*

Enclosure

CDD:dgs  
(2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/20/86 BY SP3MAC/ML  
*copy was marked without orig.  
having been located!*

**UNCLASSIFIED**

100-3-116-762  
100-3-116-762

62 JAN 24 1964

REC-103

**ENCLOSURE**

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

**UNCLASSIFIED**

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1957

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
INTERNAL SECURITY

- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Trainor
- 1 - Mr. B. A. Wells
- 1 - Mr. C. W. Thompson
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups

- 2 - Atlanta
- 2 - Baltimore
- 2 - Boston
- 2 - Buffalo
- 2 - Charlotte
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Cincinnati
- 2 - Cleveland
- 2 - Detroit
- 2 - Jackson
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Memphis
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - New Orleans

- 2 - Philadelphia
- 2 - Phoenix
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Richmond
- 2 - St. Louis
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Washington Field Office

MAILED 2  
AUG 25 1957  
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, and the Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as Stokely Carmichael, E. "Rap" Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford.

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," (Bufile 100-3-104), which is directed



Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the program entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," (Bufile 157-9), which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

FBI

Date: 3/4/68

UNCLASSIFIED

AIRTEL

(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence  
for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

PERSONAL ATTENTION FOR ALL THE FOLLOWING SACS

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 2 - Atlanta      | 2 - Minneapolis   |
| 2 - Baltimore    | 2 - Mobile        |
| 2 - Birmingham   | 2 - Newark        |
| 2 - Boston       | 2 - New Haven     |
| 2 - Buffalo      | 2 - New Orleans   |
| 2 - Charlotte    | 2 - New York      |
| 2 - Chicago      | 2 - Omaha         |
| 2 - Cincinnati   | 2 - Philadelphia  |
| 2 - Cleveland    | 2 - Phoenix       |
| 2 - Denver       | 2 - Pittsburgh    |
| 2 - Detroit      | 2 - Portland      |
| 2 - Houston      | 2 - Richmond      |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - Sacramento    |
| 2 - Jackson      | 2 - San Diego     |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Kansas City  | 2 - Seattle       |
| 2 - Los Angeles  | 2 - Springfield   |
| 2 - Memphis      | 2 - St. Louis     |
| 2 - Miami        | 2 - Tampa         |
| 2 - Milwaukee    | 2 - WFO           |

*Spencer 2/4/68*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

9-16-87 8382 DM/HR

*File - 5  
T 20*

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Albany	Memphis
Atlanta	Newark
Baltimore	New Orleans
Boston	New York
Buffalo	Philadelphia
Charlotte	Phoenix
Chicago	Pittsburgh
Cincinnati	Richmond
Cleveland	St. Louis
Detroit	San Francisco
Jackson	Washington Field
Los Angeles	

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

### GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

#### TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)  
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)  
Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

#### INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Date: 3/8/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520)  
SUBJECT: -COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*G.M.W.*  
*DEAD!*

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has recently opened an office in Baltimore, Maryland, in connection with the proposed march on Washington by SCLC. A racial source of this office has advised that prominently displayed in the office are photographs of MARTIN LUTHER KING, MUHAMMED ALI ~~and~~ CASIUS CLAY. Copies of the publication "Muhammed Speaks" and other literature of the National of Islam (NOI) are available in this office. Additionally, there is indication that a representative of the NOI in Baltimore has been in contact with SCLC representatives here.

It is recalled that in 1966, KING and ELIJAH MUHAMMED were not able to resolve their differences at a widely publized meeting of the two.

At the present time, the SCLC is making very poor progress in either getting organized, finding sufficient people with funds to back the project, and in general finding enough residents in Baltimore to go along with the idea of such a march. Again according to our source, the leaders of the SCLC here are talking of picking a particular area of the City of Baltimore and concentrating on that area to gain support with the thought that thereafter to spread to other parts of the city.

*100-448006-24*

1-804 92D with encl.  
(3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) (Encl. 1)  
1 - Baltimore  
MEG:rlj

REC-4

MAR 10 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-16-81 BY SP8 ROM/ANR  
OTHERWISE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge



BA 157-2520

Sources have advised this office that the presence of literature and photographs connected with the NOI, along with KING, have raised the question as to where all the money is going to in connection with this and other projects.

Attached to this airtel is a sketch of a suggested leaflet. It is requested that this be considered by the Bureau and that a refinement of this sketch be made with either a photograph or possibly a caricature and that a sample copy be furnished to this office. It is specifically noted that this office does not desire to use this leaflet at the present time; but, if the SCLC does make any headway in a particular section in Baltimore City then this office would make a recommendation of anonymous distribution of this leaflet in quantity.

UNCLASSIFIED

3/14/68

Airtel

- 1 - T. D. Ruzhing
- 1 - T. J. Deakin

To: SACs Atlanta  
 Baltimore (157-2520)  
 Chicago

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) -24

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

REC-4  
 3/11/68 [Signature]  
 3/11/68 [Signature]  
 3/11/68 [Signature]

ReBAairtel 3/8/68.

For the information of Atlanta and Chicago referenced airtel pointed out that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) recently opened an office in Baltimore, Maryland, in connection with Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project. Baltimore advised that photographs of Martin Luther King and Muhammed Ali (Cassius Clay) are displayed in this office and literature of the Nation of Islam (NOI) is available at the SCLC office. The NOI newspaper, "Muhammed Speaks," is also available at the office. Baltimore suggested that a cartoon concerning the unusual alliance of the SCLC and the NOI be circulated in Baltimore if the campaign for the Washington Spring Project takes hold in Baltimore. The Bureau is holding this suggestion in abeyance at this time.

Because of the past conflict between Martin Luther King and the NOI, Baltimore is requested to consider the possibility of alerting a newspaper source to this situation. If a newspaper publicized the apparent alliance between King and the NOI, a militant, black nationalist group, it might prove embarrassing to King. Of course, the publicity should not be in a Negro newspaper that might only publicize the Washington Spring Project to King's advantage.

MAILED 6  
 MAR 14 1968  
 COMM-FBI

TJD:llm  
 (9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

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

57 MAR 21 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

100-448006-24

Airtel to SAC Atlanta  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
(100-442006)

Atlanta is requested to comment on this suggestion and advise the above offices and the Bureau by return airtel. Advise what King's reaction might possibly be to this publicity. Chicago is requested to advise of any possible NOI reaction by return airtel, and thereafter, Baltimore should expeditiously submit recommendations for alerting a completely cooperative and reliable newspaper source who would publicize this situation as outlined above. Since the Washington Spring Project is scheduled to begin April 22, 1968, each office should promptly reply.

No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority. The Bureau appreciates Baltimore submitting this suggestion and recognizing the counterintelligence potential in this situation.

UNCLASSIFIED

3/25/68

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

airtel

To: SAC, Chicago

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reference is made to telephone conversation with you during the past week giving instructions concerning Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project. This is to personally urge you to do everything possible in carrying out the instructions given you in referenced telephone calls and to carry out these instructions as soon as possible.

TJD:dsm *[Handwritten initials]*  
(6)

*[Large handwritten letter B]*

NOTE:

Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project is scheduled to begin the end of April, 1968, and instructions have been issued Chicago telephonically concerning the discharge of our responsibilities in connection with this march. This is to insure Chicago discharges its responsibilities in this matter.

*3/1/68 Sprague*  
*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-16-81 BY 1888 RAM/AR*

REC 8 100-448006-33

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 22 1968

MAILED 11  
MAR 22 1968  
COMM-FBI

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

*[Handwritten initials]*

FBI

Date: 3/21/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE 11/6/78

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR; FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

ReBuairtel 3/14/68.

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAM/gp  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Chicago has carefully reviewed the Nation of Islam (NOI) file concerning the suggestion in referenced airtel concerning publicity circulated to possibly embarrass Washington Spring Project (WSP) efforts in Baltimore through a suggested alliance between forces of MARTIN LUTHER KING and the NOI. Additionally, highly placed NOI sources at Chicago, specifically ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ the latter of whom was not available until 3/20/68, were also contacted in this connection and the matter was indirectly pursued with them. *(informants)*

By way of background, as the Bureau is aware, KING and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, head of the NOI, met briefly in Chicago during 2/66 under amicable circumstances, primarily as a result of MARTIN LUTHER KING's then recent entry onto the Chicago civil rights scene. The meeting produced no tangible results insofar as cooperation, unity or program was concerned, however, did receive considerable local publicity. The meeting was basically for the purpose of showing unity within the Negro community. *(u)*

KING suffered no adverse publicity as a result of this meeting although within several days MUHAMMAD, at an annual NOI Convention, made remarks critical of KING for being too close to

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-64  
EX-116

100-448006-39

2 MAR 25 1968

JCS:mam  
(5)

C. C. Bishop

51 APR 10 1968

Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/12/83 BY SP-10/BJA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 157-2209

the white man. In reaction to these remarks publicly, KING glossed over this criticism and to some degree capitalized on it, indicating that in his efforts to build unified support for the cause of the Negro, he was in contact with all segments of Negro opinion. Indeed, as recently as 8/67, MUHAMMAD indicated a desire to again meet with KING to discuss the unity of the Negro.

As the Bureau and Atlanta are aware, KING and CASSIUS CLAY were in personal contact in Louisville, Kentucky, in 5/67, in the course of open housing demonstrations held under SCIC auspices. A Chicago NOI source has advised that the meeting was not pre-arranged, but resulted from the fact that both KING and CLAY were in Louisville at the same time. HERBERT MUHAMMAD, son of ELIJAH, desired to enlist KING's support for CLAY in his resistance to the draft and arranged this meeting, which was characterized as full of joking and horseplay. *AS*

In subsequent newspaper publicity concerning this meeting, KING was quoted as having praised CLAY for his refusal to be inducted into the armed forces, coupling this reference to attacks on our policy in Vietnam. The NOI publication "Muhammad Speaks" was one of the papers which contained KING's favorable remarks, including a comment that CLAY had given up \$1,000,000 in order to stand up for what his conscience dictated as right.

In short it would appear generally to be true that contact between KING and the NOI is not a heretofore unknown happening and it would appear that any effort to utilize this situation in Baltimore must indicate more than casual associations or contacts, but in order to embarrass or inhibit WSP efforts should indicate a close working relationship or partnership between the two groups.

It should be kept in mind also, however, that as the above sources note, although CLAY is nationally known for his adherence to the NOI, he is also somewhat universally acclaimed and embraced by most groups within the Black Nationalist Movement, CORE and SNCC as examples, as well as the black community generally and has achieved somewhat the status of a martyred black folk hero.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referenced airtel requested specific comments concerning NOI reaction to exposure of joint type efforts with KING's WSP.

As the Bureau is aware, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has publicly stated that the white man has given him a million dollars worth of free publicity. This comment was specifically prompted by a television series about MUHAMMAD, and the NOI which had nation-wide exposure, as well as being generally a reflection of constant expose type articles concerning the organization. ~~ELIJAH MUHAMMAD~~ <sup>informant</sup> has stated that MUHAMMAD has been openly upset over a period of such lack of publicity given him and his organization by the white press. It would appear, therefore, that any disruption program as envisioned would in all probability, have no real effect on the NOI and the most that would be forthcoming from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD or one of his spokesmen would be a simple denial of such support for the WSP. "Muhammad Speaks" is one of the principal sources of finance for the NOI and its presence in WSP offices in Baltimore is believed a reflection of NOI diligence in assuring wide-spread circulation of this paper and would not in any way embarrass or compromise the NOI. *ATU*

The above is furnished for the information and consideration of the Bureau and other offices interested in this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAM/9/82  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

DECLASSIFIED BY 8983 RAN/ANK

ON 1/26/82

(S. Macmillan 1/28/82)

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta 3/14/68.

Baltimore's suggestion of utilizing a cartoon to depict the apparent alliance between SCLC and the NOI has, as the Bureau noted, definite merit. However, Atlanta is of the opinion the Bureau's suggestion of a pertinent newspaper article is more appropriate under the circumstances and might lend itself to wider circulation than a cartoon. The impact on KING of printed matter is apt to be greater than material presented in a cartoon no matter how skillfully it may be presented.

On 2/23/66 KING met with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in the latter's residence in Chicago for the purpose of enlisting MUHAMMAD's aid in fighting Chicago slum conditions. Atlanta's highly confidential sources at that time never developed any pertinent information describing KING's reaction to or evaluation of this meeting. Chicago sources reported the meeting was not successful in developing any mutuality or cooperation mainly because of religious and philosophical differences between KING and MUHAMMAD. In particular, ~~reported~~ reported MUHAMMAD essentially agreed to the meeting for publicity purposes and was gratified that KING came to him.

It is noted that during an SCLC retreat held in Atlanta in the middle of January 1968 regarding the WSP KING stressed that obtaining jobs or income for Negroes would represent a mere fraction of that which America owes

- (3- Bureau (RM)
- 1- Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)
- 1- Chicago (RM)

REC-68 100-448006-40

- 2- Atlanta (100-7182) (1 - 157-2924) 1509

EX-116

Sent

AGS:jhs

M Per

(7)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/19/82 BY 60322 UC/STW



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-7182

the Negro throughout its history. He declared America owes an incalculable sum to the Negro who throughout his long years of involuntary servitude labored to build this country. This language almost suggests some degree of adherence to teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

It is suggested the proposed publicity might be slanted to convey the thought that the apparent alliance between SCLC and the NOI possibly grew out of the former meeting between KING and MUHAMMAD; that in connection with the WSP SCLC is "pushing" the NOI in Baltimore. This, of course, would raise a question as to the sincerity of KING's current statements that the WSP is to be based on nonviolent techniques because the position of the NOI toward the white man is basically one of annihilation. (EJW)

While KING is currently seeking the cooperation of other organizations to assist with SCLC's WSP he has shown no willingness to use SCLC to assist any other organization.

In effort to finance the WSP, SCLC plans to seek financial contributions from Negro churches. Establishing the thought of an alliance with the NOI which is opposed to Christianity may well discourage a favorable reaction on the part of some Negro churches.

It is felt KING's reaction to the proposed technique would be positive for counterintelligence purposes. KING considers himself a devotee of the nonviolent philosophies of the late MAHATMA GANDHI. To publicly align him and/or SCLC with the NOI should trouble him on this basis. It is further conceivable that MUHAMMAD may see fit to respond to this publicly which should embarrass KING further. (U)

On 3/14/68 ~~advised~~<sup>advised</sup> RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC, had recently commented he felt the SCLC staff employees assigned to Baltimore for WSP recruitment were inexperienced and not taking advantage of opportunities available to them (not explained). This might indicate a current weakness in the SCLC organization in Baltimore and that the proposed technique is timely. (EJW)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 3/25/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

... the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY: ETC DATE: 11/6/78

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MOBILE

MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

CLASSIFIED BY 11/16/78 6076 WAA/gh  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY ✓  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

DECLASSIFIED BY 8288 PAM/TAK  
ON 1/24/82

ReBuTelCall to me 3/12/68, and BuRad 3/21/68. Springfield 2/14/86

I have considered this matter, discussed it with appropriate agent and supervisory personnel of the Mobile Office and the following is proposed as a counterintelligence move on KING's Washington Spring Project.

KING has quite a following in and around the Selma, Ala. area and has appeared recently in Selma on one occasion at the church of Reverend L. L. ANDERSON, who, at the time of KING's appearance, was running for mayor of Selma. ANDERSON was tentatively endorsed by KING and was subsequently defeated in his race for mayor of Selma.

Reverend FREDERICK DOUGLAS REESE, who is head of the Dallas County Voters League and is quite influential among the Negro community in the Selma area, did not endorse ANDERSON for mayor and informed sources indicate he more or less contributed to the defeat of ANDERSON. REESE has been known to make derogatory remarks concerning KING and was allegedly miffed that KING did not advise him, REESE, of his, KING's, contemplated visit to Selma.

In view of the above, it is felt that if some method can be devised whereby REESE can be advised of certain items relative to the Washington Spring Project, he would take action to discourage individuals from participating therein.

③ - Bureau  
2 - Mobile  
WMA:Amd

REGISTERED

REC 48

100-448006-63

(5)

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8 APR 4 1968

5-T87

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Informant*  
It is not believed that REESE could be contacted by a Bureau Agent, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ *(JH)*

It is, therefore, proposed that an anonymous letter be directed to REESE at his home address, 1566 Range, Selma, Alabama 36701, wherein it is called to the attention of REESE that KING is merely using the Negroes of the Selma area for his own personal aggrandizement; that he is not genuinely interested in their welfare, but only in their donations; that in all probability the individuals going to Washington for the Spring Project will be left stranded without suitable housing or food. The letter should also play up the possibility of violence, particularly the fact that although CARMICHAEL and BROWN of SNCC have a so-called gentlemen's agreement with KING not to take over this action, there exists a strong possibility that such will occur. There is also the possibility of RAM and NOI taking over the project since it lacks organization and direction. The letter should also point out that KING was in Alabama on about 3/21/68, and did not make his schedule in the Selma and adjoining counties area, which was another indication that KING was talking out of both sides of his mouth. *(JH)*

It is felt that this letter should be mailed from either Washington or Baltimore since, if the letter is mailed from anywhere in the south, REESE may feel it is the work of the Klan or some other racist group. It is felt that Baltimore would probably be the best since a letter from Washington would indicate the possibility of the government doing this. *(JH)*

Simultaneous with mailing the letter from Baltimore, it is proposed that a copy of the letter to REESE, together with a cover letter, be mailed to ROSWELL FALKENBERRY, Editor and Publisher, Selma Times-Journal, Selma, Alabama. The cover letter should indicate that attached was a letter directed to REESE and that he, FALKENBERRY, might want to contact REESE relative to REESE's receipt of the letter and what it said. *(JH)*

The thought behind this is to give FALKENBERRY a chance to interview REESE concerning receipt of the letter and thereby create a news story which could legitimately be published and read by the Negro community in the Selma area. It is known that the Selma Times-Journal has a large circulation among the Negro community in Dallas and adjoining counties and has taken a rather liberal attitude in connection with civil rights movements. *(JH)*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By handling as above, we would eliminate the possibility of these rumors being attributed to the FBI.

Consideration has been given to some method of discouraging ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ From our contact *Informant*  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ who is a liaison source, it is the opinion of contacting agents that he is so sold on the project that it is almost impossible to disillusion him. (X)

It is also felt that some method of getting an article in the "Southern Courier" along the lines of the above would have a discouraging effect on the Negro community in and around Montgomery, Ala., since the Courier is very widely read. Consideration is being given to the method of accomplishing this.

The Bureau is requested to consider the proposal set forth above and advise.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
April 2, 1968

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

Airtel

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY CEC  
DATE 11/16/77

To: SAC, Mobile *DE*

From: Director, FBI *100-448006-63*

Subject: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

DECLASSIFIED BY 8883-RAM/ANL  
ON 11/24/82  
2/11/86 *Spencer*

CLASSIFIED BY 2076 WPH/PR  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Reurairtel 3/25/68.

You are authorized to send the two anonymous letters set out in reairtel. Prepare the letters on commercially purchased stationery and take all necessary precautions to insure they cannot be traced to the Bureau.

When the letters and envelopes are prepared, send them to the Baltimore Office for mailing. For the information of Baltimore these two letters are designed to bring the true nature of the Washington Spring Project to the attention of Negro leaders in Selma, Alabama. Mail the letters the same day they are received from Mobile.

The Bureau appreciates Mobile's suggestion. Advise the Bureau, under the above caption, of results.

2 - Baltimore

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OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*confidential source*

TJD:srs/rsz (3) *LSZ*  
NOTE:

SAC, MO, recommends that an anonymous letter showing the true nature of Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project be sent to Rev. Frederick Reese in Selma, Ala. Reese has made derogatory remarks about King. ~~REDACTED~~ Instead, this letter would be sent from another city (CA) with a copy to the editor of the local newspaper, the "Selma Times-Journal" to give the newspaper an opportunity to interview Reese about the letter and possibly publicize its contents. This newspaper has a wide Negro leadership. The letter will note the march is for King's personal aggrandizement, he is interested mainly in donations, there is no provision to house or feed marchers, and there might be violence if black nationalists take over the march.

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

APR 2 1968  
COMM-FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# UNCLASSIFIED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 4/4/68

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

*2/4/86 J. Macmor*

SUBJECT: ( )  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*9/16/81 883ROM/ANM*

*Baptist  
p. 3-4*

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, dated 3/4/68,  
and Jackson letter to the Bureau, dated 4/4/68.

In accordance with instructions from Item #5 of Page 5 in the first reference above, the following suggestions are forwarded as possible counterintelligence actions against previously determined field wide targets:

I. SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

MARTIN LUTHER KING

*un*

A. KING has changed the date of his Washington Spring Project (WSP) on several occasions; he has, on occasion, announced his anticipated presence at various locations, and then send a top aide instead of appearing himself; he has periodically changed the dates of his appearances in certain geographic areas. Many times, announcements were made when KING was to be at a specific WSP meeting in order to draw a crowd, when actually it was known in advance by KING that he would not attend.

REC-59 100-448006-72

2 - Bureau (RM) (AM)  
2 - Jackson (100-980)  
TF/bjk  
(4)

6 APR 8 1968

APR 15 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

*SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED*

It is felt the above considerations can be exploited to cause confusion in the efforts of KING and his group, and to cause Negro dissatisfaction with his operating procedures. This could be accomplished by the following:

1) When KING is actually to be at a gathering, have informants circulate false information as to time, date and location of KING's appearance, or variations of each, i.e., correct time and place, but different location, correct location, but different date, et cetera.

2) Have informants circulate information that KING is to be at announced local meetings of SCLC groups when, in fact, he will not be present.

3) Announce, through informant, when KING is to be at specific place, that this is only a guise to draw a crowd, and only local leaders will be present, excluding KING.

B. KING and his top aides dress expensively, generally travel via first class means, and stay at first class accommodations usually in predominately white areas of cities he visits. Recently, in Memphis, KING ran from his followers when violence erupted during a march he was leading there. It is felt the above two considerations could be linked to discredit KING and his aides with poor Negroes who he is seeking support from. This could be accomplished by the preparation of a flyer showing photographs of KING and aides dressed well, next to photographs of Negroes poorly clothed; under the photograph would be data concerning his expensive tastes, accommodations, use of private airplane, and related data; with this information would be information concerning

KING's deserting his followers during the Memphis riots. The key note message would be that KING and his aides are out for their own financial and physical welfare primarily. Flyers could be prepared from newspaper photographs of KING and his aides, or from some photographs available at various field offices. Distribution could be by anonymous mailings to poor Negro leaders, or by placement of copies at Negro meeting places by informants.

## II. STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

This group has discouraged its members from associating with whites. Information has been developed that some leaders and top functionaries, since the establishment of this policy, have periodically maintained close associations, to include residing with white girl friends. Information concerning these associations could be capitalized on by counterintelligence measures to show the hypocrisy of these leaders and to discredit the individuals involved with their new "Black only" oriented associates in the same organization, and to discredit them with leaders of other Black Nationalist organizations with whom they may be seeking support or rapport.

Specifically, efforts could be undertaken to obtain photographs of the principals involved with their white girl friends. The flyer could then be prepared containing this photograph or photographs. Under the photograph could be information regarding the principals' position with SNCC, followed by quotations of top SNCC leaders regarding associations with whites or Black Separatists statements. The flyers could be mailed anonymously to pertinent National and local leaders of SNCC and/or to leaders of other Black Nationalist organizations advocating Black separatism, rather than simply



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# UNCLASSIFIED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 4/2/68

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2252) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*F. P. [unclear]  
(info)*

Re Bureau airtel dated 3/4/68.

1. SA FRANCIS G. KAHL has been designated coordinator of the counterintelligence program against Black Nationalist - Hate Groups for the Los Angeles Division. (u)

2. The following Black Nationalist Hate type groups are active in the Los Angeles area at this time. They are given a priority listing based upon an evaluation of their size, aims, and propensity for violence. It is believed that counterintelligence action should be instituted first against those organizations heading the list. This target evaluation is based upon the opinions of the agents handling these organizations as well as information from informants in contact with these groups. (u)

*2/4/86 Sp Macmea  
ALL INFO  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/16/81 BY 8883RAM/ANX*

US

This organization is probably the fastest growing group in the Los Angeles area. It has about 200 members, of which approximately 20 are considered "hard core." The group claims to be culturally oriented, however, its leaders make rabble rousing speeches designed to appeal to the emotions of their listeners with suggestions of revolution and violence. It is rated as having a potential for violence. (u)

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

*100-448006-76*

REC-59

This is a newly reorganized and reactivated group with an estimated 30 members. It is rated as having a potential for violence based on the composition of its leadership and membership rather than its size. (u)

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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OTHERWISE.

8 APR 5 1968

FGK/pjs

*100-448006-76*  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

LA 157-2252

and otherwise exploit minor frictions and differences. For example, a rank and file member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), might be asked during an interview if there was anything to the rumor that STOKELY CARMICHAEL plans force MARTIN LUTHER KING out of the SCLC and take it over, or even some more plausible type of rumor. It is felt that such activity might be useful in preventing the formation of a coalition. (u)

Agents assigned to work racial matters have been fully advised of the importance of the counterintelligence program. Any suggestions or ideas will be submitted to the Bureau for approval, in accordance with Bureau instructions. (u)

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

C-24

UNCLASSIFIED

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

DATE: March 4, 1964

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

This memorandum recommends that an extremely discreet contact be made with the Chapcellor of Marquette University to prevent its awarding of an Honorary Degree to Martin Luther King, Jr.

We recently learned that Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is considering the awarding of an Honorary Degree to King. The University had proposed giving King a Degree on 6/7/64 but King was unable to make that date since he had another commitment on the same day. At the present time negotiations between Marquette and King are in a state of suspense relative to the selection of a date. Marquette, however, is favorably disposed toward giving King such a degree.

Marquette is the largest Jesuit university in the country and the Director, on 6/11/50, at Milwaukee, was presented with an Honorary Degree on behalf of Marquette University by the then President of the University, Reverend Edward J. O'Donnell. O'Donnell has for some time been an SAC contact of the Milwaukee Office and most favorably disposed toward the Director and the Bureau. On 2/19/62 Father O'Donnell was replaced as President of Marquette and was designated Chancellor of the University. Father O'Donnell is a personal contact of SAC Baker of the Milwaukee Office and Baker advises that the Father can be relied upon completely if we were to make any information available on a strictly confidential basis.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is shocking indeed that the possibility exists that King may receive an Honorary Degree from the same institution which honored the Director with such a Degree in 1950. We ought to take positive steps to head this off if at all possible within the framework of the security of our information and sources. By making pertinent information concerning King available to Father O'Donnell at this time, on a strictly confidential basis, we will be giving the University sufficient time to enable it to take positive action in a manner which might avoid embarrassment to the University.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-18-80 BY SPY/ARM/UC

100-106670-312

Enc. 3  
100-106670

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REGRO QUESTION, COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

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

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that SAC Baker be telephonically apprised of the information in the attached blind memorandum which succinctly sets forth the facts concerning not only King's communist connections but his ~~connections~~ as well. Baker should be instructed to personally, and in the strictest of confidence, orally brief Father O'Donnell on the basis of the information in the blind memorandum. It will be emphasized to Baker that he should in turn emphasize to Father O'Donnell that under no circumstances might this information be traced back to the Bureau.

*G*  
*W*  
*W*  
*ORCB*  
*K*  
*V. K...*  
*Handled with F.A.C.*  
*Baker - 3/6/64*  
*J...*

C-39

November 3, 1964

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

Mr. DeLoach:

**RE: MATTHEW CULLIGAN**  
**CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD**  
**CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

62-45750-17

As you know, there has been a bloody power struggle within the Curtis organization aimed at deposing our good friend, Joe Culligan, Chairman of the Board, and, until about a week or so ago, President. Bitter charges of mismanagement were hurled at Culligan by a dissident group of top officials headed by Clay Blair, Jr., Editor in Chief of "The Saturday Evening Post" and all Curtis magazines, and Marvin D. Kantor, \$80,000 a year Senior Vice President in charge of the magazine division. In a nutshell, Blair and Kantor have been fired; Norman Ritter, Assistant Managing Editor, and Thomas R. Marvel, Chief of Editorial Production, have been suspended. Culligan, who has been actively looking for a top executive to assist him in running the affairs of Curtis for sometime, resigned as President while retaining his job as Chairman of the Board. It is expected that a new President will be named soon.

This top management revolt, which has been brewing for some months, erupted openly during the early part of October when the press reported that fifteen officials in a letter to the Board of Directors accused Culligan of mismanagement. At the present time, it appears that Culligan has retained the confidence of the Board of Directors, has seized the initiative, and is making a thorough house cleaning.

Culligan has been a good friend of the Director and the Bureau for a number of years. He has demonstrated his support and admiration on numerous occasions and has been most cooperative with us. It was he who offered to feature a lead article in a May issue of the "Post" concerning the Director's 40th Anniversary, with a photograph of Mr. Hoover on the cover. Earlier, through Culligan, we squelched the unfavorable article against the Bureau being written by free-lance writer, Dan J. Marlowe, submitted to the "Post" concerning our investigation of Nussbaum and Wilcoxson. More recently, through Culligan, we postponed publication in the "Post" of an article based upon the assault of our Agent Foley in New York by the Lombardozzi family. Early in 1964, we received word of an article being published in the "Post" by Martin Luther King. Through Culligan, we forestalled publication of this article. More recently, with the Director's approval, I contacted Culligan on September 22, 1964, concerning another article our sources told us that Martin Luther King was preparing for the "Post" At that time, Culligan,

- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Sullivan

S:mm

(4)

NOV 9 1964

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

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was in the midst of this rebellion, had told us that he would endeavor to assist us but indicated at the same time that a possible contractual agreement existed with King. Culligan had been previously discreetly briefed concerning King's domination by communist influences and of his ~~contractual agreement with King~~. Culligan has advised that a contract did exist with King for the "Post" article and that the recalcitrant group within Curtis had insisted that publication of it be carried through because of King's recent Nobel Peace Prize. Although he was completely sympathetic with our aims and regretted his inability to be of service in this specific instance, he pointed out that we should feel free to call upon him in the future if there is any way in which he can be of help to the Bureau. Culligan advised that the King article was scheduled for early publication sometime after election.

In connection with this "Post" article by King, our sources have indicated that since he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize he has attempted through some of his associates to change the "Post" article in an effort to soften criticism made by him against other civil rights groups and leaders. King feared that such criticism would cause difficulties in the civil rights movement. The "Post" however, has resisted King's efforts to make these changes.

P *[Handwritten signature]* W. H. Stapleton ✓

MR. TOLSON:

(B)

UNCLASSIFIED

The attached analysis of Communism and the Negro Movement is highly explosive. It can be regarded as a personal attack on Martin Luther King. There is no doubt it will have a heavy impact on the Attorney General and anyone else to whom we disseminate it. It is labeled TOP SECRET. However, even such a high classification seems to be no bar today to a leak, and should this leak out it will add fuel to a matter which may already be in the cards as a political issue during the forthcoming Presidential campaign.

The memorandum makes good reading and is based on information from reliable sources. We may well be charged, however, with expressing opinions and conclusions, particularly with reference to some of the statements about King.

must do duty. H

*W. ... do our duty.*  
This memorandum may stagger the Attorney General, particularly in view of his past association with King, and the fact that we are disseminating this outside the Department. He may resent this. Nevertheless, the memorandum is a powerful warning against Communist influence in the Negro movement, and we will be carrying out our responsibility by disseminating it to the people indicated in the attached memorandum.

am glad that recognize last that there exists such influence. H

*W. ... Belmont*

100-3-116-415

FBI

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JUL 1965

FBI

*W. ... Belmont*

# Memorandum

## ~~SECRET~~

(B-3)

W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Rosen
- 1-Mr. Casper
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Eland
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Morley
- 1-Mr. Kleinkauf
- 1-Mr. Phillips

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

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST  
 DECLASSIFIED BY SP-3/MLW

This memorandum recommends increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro. The history of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is replete with its attempts to exploit, influence and recruit the Negro. The March on Washington, 8-28-63, was a striking example of such communist activity as Party-leaders early put into effect efforts to accrue gains for the CPUSA from the March. Well-documented information concerning the Party's influence on a principal march leader, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is but an example. The presence at the March of around 200 Party members, ranging from several national functionaries headed by CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall to many rank-and-file members, is clear indication of the Party's main target (the Negro) today.

All indications are that the March was not the "end of the road" and that the Party will step up its efforts to exploit racial unrest and in every possible way claim credit for itself relating to any "gains" achieved by the Negro. A clear-cut indication of the Party's designs is revealed in its plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "earnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting.

The entire field is being alerted to this situation in a proposed SAC Letter (attached). The field is being instructed to intensify our coverage of communist influence on the Negro by giving fullest consideration to the use of all possible investigative techniques. In addition, the field is being told to intensify its coverage of those communist fronts through which the Party channels its influence and to intensify its investigations of the many Party members and dupes who engage in activities on behalf of the Party in the Negro field. Further, we are stressing the urgent need for imaginative and aggressive tactics to be utilized through our Counterintelligence Program--these designed to attempt to neutralize or disrupt the Party's activities in the Negro field. Necessity for prompt handling of all facets of this matter to insure timely dissemination to the Department and other interested agencies is also being emphasized.

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 NPA/K...  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

100-3-75 (CPUSA, Negro Question)  
 (260551)

## ~~SECRET~~

31 OCT 16 1963

U.O.J.



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

~~SECRET~~

The proposed SAC Letter requires key security offices to submit to the Bureau, within 30 days, an analysis of their current coverage of communist activities in the Negro field plus details of their plans for intensification. Also, those 16 offices participating in the Counterintelligence Program on a regular basis are being required to include in their next monthly letters due 10-15-63 their plans to neutralize or disrupt Party activities in the Negro field.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, attached SAC Letter go forward apprising the field as above and urging full implementation so that the desired results may be achieved. Also attached for approval are necessary Manual changes.

*Yes* *Wes* *K* *Out*  
*no. I can't understand how you can go*  
*so easily switch your thinking and evaluation.*

No. I can't understand how you can go so easily switch your thinking and evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective and infinitesimal. This notwithstanding many memos of specific instances of infiltration. Now you want to load the field down with more coverage in spite of your recent memo deprecating C.P. influence in racial movement. I don't intend to waste time and money until you can make up your minds what the situation really is.

*as you*  
*for movement*  
*infinitesimal*  
*bring many*  
*instances*  
*in your report*  
*you will have*  
*coverage in spite of movement*  
*memory creating of influence*  
*in racial movement which intend*  
*to waste time & money until you can*

~~SECRET~~

action during your Committee. It is limited to information received by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to any other person without the express approval of the FBI.

B-4

To: Mr. A. H. Belmont

Date: September 25, 1963

From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

~~SECRET~~

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

Downgraded to Secret  
CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WPH/GR  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Predication:

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum dated 9/16/63 and to the attached proposed SAC Letter.

On returning from a few days leave I have been advised of the Director's continued dissatisfaction with the manner in which we prepared a Brief on the above-captioned matter and subsequent memoranda on the same subject matter. This situation is very disturbing to those of us in the Domestic Intelligence Division responsible for this area of work, and we certainly want to do everything possible to correct our shortcomings. We absolutely will not be stubborn about admitting any mistakes we have made or be stiff-necked and unbending concerning our analysis of this matter. The Director indicated he would not approve our last SAC Letter until there was a clarification and a meeting of minds relative to the question of the extent of communist influence over Negroes and their leaders. In this memorandum I will seriously and sincerely try to clarify a most regrettable situation. It is prepared not on official office memorandum but rather on plain bond believing that this discussion need not be made a matter of official record.

Common Agreement:

First, I am sure we all are in agreement on the following which was in both the cover memorandum and the detailed brief attached: (1) for the past 44 years the Communist Party, USA, has spent enormous sums of money and ceaseless efforts to influence Negroes and to make communists out of them; (2) the 19 million Negroes in the country today constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA; (3) Negro leader Martin Luther King, reported to be a Marxist, does have as an extremely important advisor, [redacted] Communist Party member; (4) we are right now in this nation engaged in a form of social-revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists; and (5) the Communist Party could in the future make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negro to the serious detriment of our national security. In addition to the above, the material furnished contained many pages of specific examples of communist policies, programs and activities.

*Sensitive foreign intelligence operation*

~~SECRET~~ S-5

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY,  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

~~SECRET~~

...ing communist involvement in Negro racial matters in this nation,  
relative to which we can all agree. (S) W

Essence of the Situation:

The essence of the situation seems to be this: We presented what facts there are in our files in the Brief in question and I know that the Director certainly would not want us to do other than this: ~~The position taken at the time the [redacted] was that, while there is communist influence being exerted on Negroes and [redacted] in [redacted]. This historically has been the position of the Bureau in this matter in light of file reviews going back ten to twenty years.~~ *... is not true with [redacted]*

The Historical Position:

For example, in a detailed document prepared on Communist Party and the Negro in 1953, we find the statement referring to "the failure of the Communist Party to attract even a significant number of Negroes in the United States to its number." Another example is to be found in an analysis in this same field prepared by the Bureau in 1956 to the effect that communist efforts have been "unsuccessful on a state or national level" in infiltrating "legitimate Negro-fraternal, protest and improvement organizations," although they made limited success in some "isolated chapters." The Director's book, Masters of Deceit, published in 1958, states: "It became obvious that the Party, despite great efforts, had failed to win over even a significant minority of Negroes." In 1960 the Director's statement to The Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, reads: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party." In 1952 similar public statements were made. On page seven of the Brief submitted to the Director under the date of August 23, 1963, this historical position was restated and it was said, "One of the bitterest disappointments of the communists has been their single failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the Party." This statement was set forth again in the cover memorandum which the Director marked.

The point I wish to make here is this: The fact that this has been our historical position in the Bureau for many years is no reason to assume that it is the correct position at this time, as the Director has clearly explained. Times and conditions change and, as the evidence mounts, naturally we need to change our position along with this evidence.

-2- ~~SECRET~~

DUJ

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Interpretation:

As we know, facts by themselves are not too meaningful, for they are somewhat like stones tossed in a heap as contrasted to the same stones put in the form of a sound edifice. It is obvious to us now that we did not put the proper interpretation upon the facts which we gave to the Director.

Martin Luther King: *SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION*

We have been aware of the communist influence for nearly two years on Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and in the comprehensive memorandum entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question," dated 3/23/62 we set out information to the effect that a number of Negro leaders in this country have had subversive connections in their backgrounds and that Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dealing with Stanley Levison, as well as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a secret member of the National Committee of the CPUSA. As previously stated, we are in complete agreement with the Director that communist influence is being exerted on Martin Luther King, Jr., and that King is the strongest of the Negro leaders. As we have stated before in a memorandum, ~~we are confident that King is to~~

~~be an effective Negro leader in the country.~~  
In addition, we know the Party is directing a major effort toward strengthening its position among the Negroes inasmuch as we have information the Party plans to intensify its efforts to exploit the racial situation for the purpose of gaining influence among the Negroes. To this end, the Party plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting. Furthermore, in the last few days Hall has advised an informant he contemplates requesting the Levison brothers to set up an office in Atlanta, Georgia, to be used by Hunter Pitts O'Dell which will serve as the office for "Freedomways," a Communist Party sponsored publication, and a headquarters for Communist Party activity in the South.

- 5 - ~~SECRET~~ U O J

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

~~SECRET~~

C Letter to the Field

I would like to set forth here briefly why I think that the enclosed SAC Letter, which was returned to us by the Director, should be sent to the field offices. My first reason is this: we need to know the facts and keep the pressure on and leave no stone unturned to develop every and all facts which exist on this matter. Some of these facts may not yet have been unearthed by our field offices, and will not be unless we follow up this matter evermore closely with them. My second reason why I think the SAC Letter should be sent is related to the present changing situation in the Communist Party - Negro relations area. During the past two weeks in particular there have been sharp stepped-up activities on the part of communist officials to infiltrate and to dominate Negro developments in this country. Further, they are meeting with successes. This should be no surprise to us because since the Negro march on Washington on August 28 communist officials have been doing all possible to exploit the very troubled racial situation. As we have said weeks ago, the end of the Negro march would be the beginning of evermore systematic activities on their part to penetrate and influence Negroes and Negro leaders. They are now in full force acting upon this intention of theirs expressed weeks ago. The field should be alerted to this fact and given instructions to investigate exhaustively new communist - Negro activities. The SAC Letter in question will be a great help toward this end, and it should result in our developing important facts relating to the current changes and pertinent activities going on during the past few weeks in this entire field.

Subject of Deep Concern

May I repeat that our failure to measure up to what the Director expected of us in the area of communist - Negro relations is a subject of very deep concern to us in the Domestic Intelligence Division. We are disturbed by this and ought to be. I want him

- 4 -

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JUN 1950

DO!

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

~~SECRET~~

to know that we will do everything that is humanly possible to develop all facts nationwide relative to the communist penetration and influence over Negro leaders and their organizations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the Director reconsider giving approval for sending the enclosed SAC Letter to the field.

V. - ok  
H

(2) In order that other agencies and prominent government officials will be aware of the determined efforts of the Communist Party to exploit the racial situation, if the Director approves we will prepare a concise document setting forth clearly those attempts to penetrate, influence, and control the Negro movement. By setting these facts forth, succinctly and clearly, the reader cannot help but be impressed with the seriousness of the communist activities.

10

V.

Q

WEB  
ok  
H

RECEIVED FROM

JUN 11 1953

131

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

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

Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION

IS - C

11/4/78  
CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAH/GR  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON 3-12-86

Reference is made to the enclosed material on which the Director has written: "This memo reminds me vividly of those I received when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro and cohorts were not Communists and not influenced by Communists. Time has proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, Hall, Levison, Rustin, Hall et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists."

The Director is correct. We were completely wrong about believing the evidence was not sufficient to determine some years ago that Fidel Castro was not a communist or under communist influence. On investigating and writing about communism and the American Negro, we better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us.

I do think that much of the difficulty relating to the memorandum rightly questioned by the Director is to be found centered in the word "influence." We do not have, and no Government agency or private organization has, any yardstick which can accurately measure "influence" in this particular context, even when we know it does exist such as in the case of the obvious influence of Communist Stanley Levison over Martin Luther King and King's influence over other Negro leaders. Personally, I believe in the light of King's powerfulagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders over all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.

REC-5

3537

On determining membership of Negroes in the Communist Party, we are not confronted with the same problem. We do have here accurate yardsticks for establishing membership. Of course, our standards are very exacting. This means there are many Negroes who are fellow-travelers, sympathizers or who aid the Party, knowingly or unknowingly, who do not qualify as members. These we must not ignore. The old communist principle still holds: "Communism must be built with non-communist hands." Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence.

Closure

ml:djv

(5)

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~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

~~SECRET~~

That would stand up in testimony in court or before Congressional committees that the Communist Party, USA, does wield substantial influence over Negroes which one day could become decisive.

The memorandum which the Director penetratively questioned, while showing in the details the communist impact on Negroes, did suffer from such limitations. These limitations we will make every effort to lift in the future. The great amount of attention this division is giving to communist activities directed toward the Negro could enable us to do this.

For example, here at the Seat of Government, the Negro - communist question takes up as a whole the time of one supervisor and during the past few weeks four men have been so occupied. Additionally, (1) specialized instructions are regularly given the field on communist infiltration of the Negro; (2) monographs have been written on the subject and widely disseminated; (3) regularly disseminated are memoranda and reports; (4) August 21, 1963, we devoted the entire Current Intelligence Analysis to the communist plans for the Negro March of August 28, 1963, (149 copies of this Analysis were disseminated to 44 agencies of the Government); (5) much material on the issue is given to Agents at Home-Service; and (6) an SAC Letter is under preparation in this Division now giving the field the benefit of what we learned from the Negro March in Washington and issuing instructions for increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro.

As the memorandum pointed out, "this Nation is involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists." Nineteen million Negroes constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA. This is a sombre reality we must never lose sight of. We will do everything possible in the troubled future to develop for the Director all available facts relating to Negro membership in the Communist Party, plus the more complex and difficult to ascertain influence of communist organizations and officials over the leaders and masses of Negroes.

We regret greatly that the memorandum did not measure up to what the Director has a right to expect from our analysis.

COMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

~~SECRET~~



# Memorandum

A-200

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

W. C. Sullivan

~~SECRET~~ DATE: August 23, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Rosen
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to the Director's request, there is attached a detailed memorandum concerning the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to exploit the American Negro.

There is set forth below in this cover memorandum a synopsis of the detailed memorandum.

*Alvaro Spruance*  
DECLASSIFIED BY *[Signature]*

SYNOPSIS ON 3/12/85

The 19 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, USA. Since 1919 communist leaders have devised countless tactics and programs designed to penetrate and control the Negro population. It has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars propagandizing the Negroes in a variety of ways. These colossal efforts have been related to "equal opportunity" and "self-determination" policies (the latter being discontinued in 1959 with the approval of Soviet Russia because it was ineffective), front organizations, parades, demonstrations, articles, pamphlets, books, films, speeches, civil rights, "peaceful coexistence," et cetera. These efforts, among other things, have resulted in establishing today such active Negro communist front groups as the African American Heritage Association, Freedomways Associates, and Southern Conference Educational Fund (not yet cited by the Attorney General). Additionally, efforts have been and are being made to infiltrate with limited degrees of success such legitimate Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Other legitimate Negro organizations not known to be infiltrated, influenced or controlled but are targets include Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Enc. 100-3-75

REC-5 100-3-11-2537

F:skw  
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CLASSIFIED BY 6056 WAM/DA  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
3-75

~~SECRET~~

While much propoganda is issued, there is no known substantial implementation of Communist Party aims and policies among Negroes in the labor field. The Communist Party has done all possible to exploit a great number of events and issues among Negroes such as the Scottsboro Case; Emmett Till Case; Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; 1956 March on Washington, D.C.; 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; "sit-in" demonstrations; "freedom riders"; and school integration campaigns. While not the instigator and presently unable to direct or control the coming Negro August 28 March on Washington, D.C., communist officials are planning to do all possible to advance communist aims in a supporting role. Martin Luther King, a key figure in the March, does have as an advisor, Stanley Levinson, Party member.

*A SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION.*

Despite tremendous sums of money and time spent by the Communist Party, USA, on the American Negro during the past 44 years, the Party has failed to reach its goal with the Negroes. The Director, on January 26, 1960, said publicly: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of our communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propoganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism."

Negroes represent ten per cent of the population of the United States or 19 million. If one was to apply this breakdown to Gus Hall's figure of 10,000 Communist Party members today, it would give to the Party 1,000 Negro members. (Applied to our classified figure of 4,453 active Communist Party members, the estimated number of Negro communists would be 445. This would not, of course, include communist sympathizers, supporters or dupes but only those included under our very strict and exacting Party membership requirements.) Despite the obvious failure of the Communist Party of the United States to appreciably

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

~~SECRET~~

infiltrate, influence or control large numbers of American Negroes in this country, the fact remains that the 19 million Negroes in this country constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party of the United States. It would be foolhardy on anybody's part to ignore this very significant truth. Further, we are right now in this Nation involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists. The Communist Party in the next few years may fail dismally with the American Negro as it has in the past. On the other hand, it may make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negroes, to the serious detriment of our national security. Time alone will tell.

W.C.S.

W.C.S.

W.C.S.

W.C.S.

W.C.S.

memo reminds me  
of those I re-  
member when Castro took  
Cuba. You contended  
that Castro and his  
followers were not Communists  
and not influenced by Com-  
munist. Time alone proved you  
wrong. I for one can't ignore  
memos re King, O'Dell,  
Seymour, Rustin, Hall et al  
showing only an infinitesimal  
influence on the efforts to  
control the American Negro by  
Communists.

This memo reminds me  
vividly of those I received  
when Castro took over Cuba.  
You contended then that  
Castro & his cohorts were  
not Communists & not in-  
fluenced by Communists.  
Time alone proved you wrong.  
I for one can't ignore the  
memos re King, O'Dell,  
Seymour, Rustin, Hall  
et al as having only an  
infinitesimal influence  
on the efforts to control  
the American Negro by  
Communists.

H (S)M

~~SECRET~~

(S)M

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~ 20a

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 23, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Rosen
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Eland
- 1-Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to the Director's request, there is attached a detailed memorandum concerning the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to exploit the American Negro.

There is set forth below in this cover memorandum a synopsis of the detailed memorandum.

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP1003A*

SYNOPSIS

ON 3/12/85  
3/12/86 Spmaomce

The 19 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, USA. Since 1919 communist leaders have devised countless tactics and programs designed to penetrate and control Negro population. It has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars propagandizing the Negroes in a variety of ways. These colossal efforts have been related to "equal opportunity" and "self-determination" policies (the latter being discontinued in 1959 with the approval of Soviet Russia because it was ineffective), front organizations, parades, demonstrations, articles, pamphlets, books, films, speeches, civil rights, "peaceful coexistence," et cetera. These efforts, among other things, have resulted in establishing today such active Negro communist front groups as the African American Heritage Association, Freedomways Associates, and Southern Conference Educational Fund (not yet cited by the Attorney General). Additionally, efforts have been and are being made to infiltrate with limited degrees of success such legitimate Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Other legitimate Negro organizations not known to be infiltrated, influenced or controlled but are targets include Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Enc.  
100-3-75

REC-5 FEB 5 100-3-11-2537

PJB:skw

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

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAP/P...  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

~~SECRET~~

While much propaganda is issued, there is no known substantial implementation of Communist Party aims and policies among Negroes in the labor field. The Communist Party has done all possible to exploit a great number of events and issues among Negroes such as the Scottsboro Case; Emmett Till Case; Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; 1956 March on Washington, D.C.; 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; "sit-in" demonstrations; "freedom riders"; and school integration campaigns. While not the instigator and presently unable to direct or control the coming Negro August 28 March on Washington, D.C., communist officials are planning to do all possible to advance communist aims in a supporting role. Martin Luther King, a key figure in the March, does have as an advisor, Stanley Levinson, Party member. (S)4

*A SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION.*

Despite tremendous sums of money and time spent by the Communist Party, USA, on the American Negro during the past 44 years, the Party has failed to reach its goal with the Negroes. The Director, on January 26, 1960, said publicly: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism." (S)4

Negroes represent ten per cent of the population of the United States or 19 million. If one was to apply this breakdown to Gus Hall's figure of 10,000 Communist Party members today, it would give to the Party 1,000 Negro members. (Applied to our classified figure of 4,453 active Communist Party members, the estimated number of Negro communists would be 445. This would not, of course, include communist sympathizers, supporters or dupes but only those included under our very strict and exacting Party membership requirements.) Despite the obvious failure of the Communist Party of the United States to appreciably

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

infiltrate, influence or control large numbers of American Negroes in this country, the fact remains that the 19 million Negroes in this country constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party of the United States. It would be foolhardy on anybody's part to ignore this very significant truth. Further, we are right now in this Nation involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists. The Communist Party in the next few years may fail dismally with the American Negro as it has in the past. On the other hand, it may make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negroes, to the serious detriment of our national security. Time alone will tell.

*W.C.S.*  
*10/13*  
*of*

memo reminds me  
ly of those I re-  
d when Castro took  
Cuba. You contended  
that Castro and his  
s were not Communists  
ot influenced by Com-  
ts. Time alone proved you  
I for one can't ignore  
mos re King, O'Dell,  
on, Rustin, Hall et al  
ing only an infinitesimal  
on the efforts to  
at the American Negro by  
ommunists.

*H (S) W*

*which memo reminds me  
rigidity of those received  
when Castro took over Cuba.  
You contended then that  
Castro & his cohorts were  
not Communists & not in-  
fluenced by Communists.  
Time alone proved you wrong.  
I for one can't ignore that  
memo re King, O'Dell,  
Levinson, Rustin, et al  
et al as having only an  
infinitesimal impact on  
the American Negro by  
Communists.*

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

INT

Memorandum

CLASSIFIED BY *[Handwritten]*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY *[Handwritten]*  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

- 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
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 8, 1964

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *(E)*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R.F. Smith

SUBJECT: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.  
280 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK  
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

DECLASSIFIED BY *[Handwritten]*  
ON *[Handwritten]*

We know that Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, a self-avowed Marxist, represents a very real security problem to this country. In addition to his Marxism, Dr. King, as we know, for some time now has been surreptitiously receiving guidance from concealed members of the Communist Party of the United States. Apart from the security factor, he is a disgrace to the Negro people of this country because of his personal misconduct while at the same time purporting to be a minister of the gospel. Obviously he has the capacity to deceive people very successfully. This was made evident most recently by his being selected by "Time" Magazine as the man of the Year.

Further, we know that he has been able to cleverly deceive both very important Protestant and Catholic organizations, securing thereby support from them which gives him added stature. It should be very clear to all of us that Martin Luther King must, at some propitious point in the future, be revealed to the people of this country and to his Negro followers as being what he actually is--a fraud, demagogue and scoundrel. When the true facts concerning his activities are presented, such should be enough, if handled properly, to take him off his pedestal and to reduce him completely in influence so that he will no longer be a security problem and no longer will be deceiving and misleading the Negro people.

When this is done, and it can be and will be done, obviously much confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people. There will be embarrassment, frustration, confusion, resentment, et cetera. Because of this and the emotional reaction that will set in, it is not unlikely that movements like the Nation of Islam could benefit greatly. Further, other ridiculous developments similar to the Old Father Divine and Daddy Grace organizations may appear. The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction. This is what could happen, but need not happen if the right kind of a national Negro leader could at this time be gradually developed so as to overshadow Dr. King and be in the position to assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited.

WCS:djv  
(3)

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REC 55

71-56942-19

**SECRET**

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
Re: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

~~SECRET~~

For some months I have been thinking about this matter. One day I had an opportunity to explore this from a philosophical and sociological standpoint with Dr. Frank E. Barnett, whom I have known for one year. As I previously reported, Barnett is a very able fellow, former Oxford scholar and professor, and one on whom I can rely. I asked Barnett to give the matter some attention and if he knew any Negro of outstanding intelligence and ability let me know and we would have a discussion. Barnett has submitted to me the name of the above-captioned person, Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.

Enclosed with this memorandum is an outline of Pierce's biography which is truly remarkable for a man so young, having been born September 8, 1922. On scanning this biography, it will be seen that Pierce does have all the qualifications of the kind of a Negro I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership. I won't go into all his accomplishments and qualifications in this memorandum, for it will only take a minute or two to scan the enclosed biography.

On first blush I know it can be said it is not the concern of the Bureau what happens to the Negroes when Martin Luther King has been discredited. This can be said, but I think it is a very short-sighted view. It is our concern if large numbers of them go into the hands of Islam and other extremist groups with which we are concerned as an investigative agency. It is our concern if the Communist Party would be able to capitalize upon this confusion. Further, from a positive and constructive standpoint it would be of great advantage to have leading Negro people a truly brilliant, honorable and loyal Negro who would lead the 50 million Negroes away from communism. I think in a very good sense this necessarily must be of great interest to us. It would be most helpful to have a man like Pierce leading the Negroes to whom we could go, if necessary, and rely upon in sensitive matters over which this Bureau has jurisdiction.

I want to make it clear at once that I don't propose that the Bureau in any way become involved openly as the sponsor of a Negro leader who would overshadow Martin Luther King. As far as I am concerned, this is not an issue at all. But I do propose that I be given permission to explore further this entire matter with Frank Barnett and any other person known to both Barnett and myself who could be helpful. If this thing can be set up properly without the Bureau in any way becoming directly involved, I think it would be not only a great help to the FBI but would be a fine thing for the country at large. While I am not specifying at this moment, there are various ways in which the FBI could give this entire matter

~~SECRET~~



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

~~SECRET~~

the proper direction and development. There are highly placed contacts of the FBI who might be very helpful to further such a step. These can be discussed in detail later when I have probed more fully into the possibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That approval be given for me to explore this whole matter in greater detail, as set forth above.

OK. *W.C.S.*  
d

See biography outline enclosed *WCS*

ADDENDUM (1/9/64), WCS/csh:

Mr. Pierce has been investigated by the Bureau as a Departmental Applicant (for the position of Assistant US Attorney, Southern District of NY), and no derogatory information of any kind was developed. The investigation showed, as does the biography, that he has a remarkably fine record.

W.C.Sullivan

*I am glad to see that "light" has finally been shed on the delayed, some of the... and... to get over the... Communist... recent... There would not be...*

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# SECRET

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

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: January 17, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen

11/6/79  
 CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WPH/10/92  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

NN

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
 ALBANY, GEORGIA  
 RACIAL MATTERS

*McDonnell*  
*L.H. [unclear]*

Reference is made to the memorandum of Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr, January 15, 1962, pointing out the attempts made to interview Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to give him the truth concerning the role of the FBI in the Albany situation. Numerous attempts were made to contact him and he has completely evaded all attempts to reach him to set the record straight.

King's comments have been previously brought to the attention of Mr. Perl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and it was pointed out to him that there is no basis in fact for King's remarks. In addition, it was pointed out that four of the five Resident Agents at Albany are from northern states and one is from Georgia.

As has been indicated by Mr. DeLoach's memorandum, interviews with publishers of the newspapers who carried Reverend Mr. King's lies have been conducted and they have been set straight. As pointed out, no further need to contact Reverend Mr. King exists inasmuch as he obviously does not desire to be given the truth. The fact that he is a vicious liar is amply demonstrated in the fact he constantly associates with and takes instructions from Stanley Levison who is ~~the Communist Party in New York.~~

### RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the conduct of Reverend Mr. King in completely evading any attempts to learn the truth of this Bureau's role in the Albany situation, it is recommended that in addition to the action taken above, the attached letters to the Attorney General and to Mr. Bernhard be sent pointing out the evasive conduct of King.

Enclosures - 2  
 157-6-2

# SECRET

1 - Mr. Mohr  
 1 - Mr. DeLoach

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your organization. Its use is limited to official proceedings by authorized personnel. Its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

UNCLASSIFIED

00

November 23, 1962

*Spencer 2/1/60*

8/30/61

*Spencer*

157-6-2-964

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

Dear John:

I certainly regret that we haven't had a chance to get together in the last several months. Both Mr. Hoover and I remember with a great deal of pleasure your visit to FBI headquarters. Perhaps on my next visit to Chicago we can get to get in for lunch, if your schedule permits.

I wanted to call to your personal attention an article entitled "FBI Files With Bites, Snags King" which appeared in the November 23, 1962, issue of your newspaper which contains a number of false and unwarranted assertions by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., about the FBI and the work of its Special Agents in the South. As I know you are interested in fairness and accuracy, I thought you may wish to pass along to your readers the true facts with respect to Dr. King's charges.

One of the unfounded statements by Dr. King during his New York interview was "Since the FBI agents have sided with segregationists, they have not investigated killings and other intimidations of Negroes who are fighting for equality in Albany, Ga., or surrounding areas." Perhaps Dr. King has had a lapse of memory in recalling that in August and September 1956 Negro churches were burned in Georgia and Arkansas were discharged into several houses. Based upon indications that the purpose of these acts was to drive white Negroes from voting, the FBI instituted extensive investigations which led to the prompt solution of the burning of a church in Tallapoosa County, Georgia, on September 17, 1956, and to the charging of two persons with another church burning--one near Leesburg, Georgia, on August 18, 1956.

You may also be interested in knowing that two of our Special Agents in Albany, Georgia, were arrested while conducting an interview on September 3, 1956, in connection with the attempted burning of the Tallapoosa County church on that date. The individuals were arrested for assaulting Federal Agents.

JMM:mf  
(8)

(See NOTE third page)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for distribution.

Mr. John H. Songstake

officers in official performance of their duties and he is presently out on bond awaiting Federal Grand Jury action. These two Agents were both born, reared and educated in the North.

Mr. King also asserts, "One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South is that the agents are white Southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community." His solution was for the federal government to consider assigning agents from other parts of the country to the South and "who are at least in agreement with the law of the land," according to the newspaper article.

While FBI Agents throughout the country carry out their investigative responsibilities irrespective of their state of origin, four out of the five Agents assigned to the Albany, Georgia, Resident Agency come from states other than Georgia--New York, Indiana, Massachusetts and Minnesota.

The other statements by Mr. King reveal a total ignorance, not only of the true character of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, but also of the FBI record in protecting civil rights.

As an example of merely one aspect of our extensive operations in the civil rights field, I cite the matter of voting. In the past several months, the FBI has conducted investigations involving more than 100 counties in which racial discrimination was alleged to exist. The Department of Justice has been furnished the results of these investigations; and based upon them, over 30 suits in counties of five states have been filed by the Department for the purpose of ending racial discrimination in voting.

As a result of FBI investigations and court actions based thereon, thousands of previously disfranchised Negroes have been enabled to register to vote in accordance with their rights under the Constitution and laws of the United States. For example, in one area where no Negro had voted in 40 years, Negroes entered polling places in September, 1962, and cast ballots.

It should always be borne in mind that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency. Our investigations are conducted with dispatch and thoroughness. Contrary to many beliefs, we do not render prosecutive opinions nor handle the prosecution of cases. This, of course, is proper in a Republic such as ours.

Mr. John H. Sengstacke

You may be sure that the FBI will continue to carry out its investigative responsibilities to the utmost in both a reasonable and realistic manner. However, irresponsible charges do little to promote such goals. I trust my comments will serve to put the issues raised by Dr. King in their proper perspective, and I know you would want to have these facts in view of your record in reporting the news in an impartial and objective style.

Please give me a call upon the occasion of your next trip to Washington. It would be good to see you again.

Sincerely,

C. D. DeLoach

*former publisher*

NOTE: John H. Sengstacke is on the Special Correspondents' List. Sengstacke met the Director in April, 1960, when the Director appeared in Chicago for a speech. He was very much impressed with Mr. Hoover and Mr. Sengstacke has expressed much admiration for the Director and the FBI. He was congratulated by the Director when he was elected President of the National Newspaper Publishers Association in 1960. SAs Joseph H. O'Rourke and Paul J. Mohr were the Agents assaulted by Virgil Edmund Puckett, and this case is being closely followed by the General Investigative Division. In June, 1962, Sengstacke was appointed to the President's Advisory Committee to end any discrimination against military personnel and their families. In July, 1962, the White House was furnished a copy of pertinent information in Bufiles regarding Sengstacke.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: January 15, 1963

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION, Albany, Ga.,  
RACIAL MATTERS (Article by  
Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
critical of FBI)

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

CLASSIFIED BY 11/6/84  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Mr. Belmont's memorandum of November 26, 1962, reflected the alternatives in interviewing Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had criticized the work of the FBI in relation to the Albany situation. The Director approved the suggestion that Mr. Sullivan and I handle the interview with Rev. King.

Following approval, I immediately tried to contact Rev. King telephonically on November 27, 1962.

Rev. King does not have a phone at his residence. We then attempted to contact him at his church in Atlanta. His secretary advised, upon being told who was trying to contact him, that Rev. King was "off in another building writing a book." She further stated that Rev. King preferred not to be disturbed and that it would be impossible to talk to him. That same day I called the SAC at Atlanta and instructed him to attempt to contact Rev. King and set up an interview for Mr. Sullivan and me. The SAC Atlanta advised the following day, November 23, that Rev. King had left instructions with his secretary that he did not have time for an interview, that he was moving around the country. The secretary further advised the SAC that Rev. King would call us when he was willing to sit down for an interview. Rev. King has not called since that date.

It would appear obvious that Rev. King does not desire to be told the true facts. He obviously used deceit, lies and treachery as propaganda to further his own causes.

DECLASSIFIED BY 104 JRM/LL  
ON 11-5-80

Realizing the above, I recommended, the Director approved, that I talk with Mr. MacKay, publisher of the four Afro-American newspapers. This interview was handled and reported by memorandum. The interview was based on the fact that the Afro-American newspapers had published Rev. King's lies, quoting him exclusively. In talking with Mr. MacKay I carefully went over each allegation by Rev. King and set him straight with respect to these lies. MacKay offered no

- Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1/15/63

Memo DeLoach to Mohr  
: Racial Situation, Albany, Ga.,  
Racial Matters (Article by  
Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
critical of FBI)

document and in the following week's issue of his newspapers quoted us for  
the record. A letter was also prepared to John H. Sengstacke, Publisher, "  
Chicago Defender," dated November 29, 1962, (copy attached) *handled*  
setting the *operated*  
record straight. Sengstacke, whom we know most favorably, published the letter  
setting the lie to Rev. King's allegations.

NOTION:

The record concerning Rev. King's allegations has been covered.  
Interviews with the publishers of the newspapers who carried Rev. King's lies  
have been conducted and they have been set straight. I see no further need to  
contacting Rev. King inasmuch as he obviously does not desire to be given the  
truth. The fact that he is a vicious liar is amply demonstrated in the fact  
he constantly associates with and takes instructions from Stanley Levison who  
is a member of the Communist Party in New York. (S)

*SENSITIVE Foreign  
INTELLIGENCE OPERATION*

*Wed*

*1/15*

*concur*

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

# SECRET

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 11/20/62

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/19/01 BY 60322 UCBAW

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	

10. J. B. S.

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

There are no facts to support this and it is noteworthy that the comment by King would appear to dovetail with information which has been furnished to this Bureau indicating that King's advisers are Communist Party (CP) members and he is ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ [SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE] OPERATION

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

DETAILS:

# SECRET

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAM/JR  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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

57-6-2 ENCLOSURE

Mr. Mohr

This document is prepared in response to your request and is for official proceedings by the FBI. It may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.



~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

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

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

*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence  
operation.*

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

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

~~SECRET~~

*ELSUR*  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
On 9/10/62 ~~2:30~~ advised that on the afternoon of that date Clarence Jones, a member of the Labor Youth League in 1954 (a cited organization) and Levison were discussing burning of churches in the South, both expressed the opinion that King should not be silent in this matter but should send a hot wire to "Kennedy" expressing his indignance at the Government's failure to control one small community. This was furnished to the Attorney General on 9/11/62. *(S) u*

RECOMMENDATION:

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

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

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

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

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

ACTION:

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

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 28 1968 *DM.*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI GASH D\*

FBI MEMPHIS

410PM URGENT 3-28-68 MCP

REC 27 UNCLASSIFIED

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM MEMPHIS 157-1092 5 P

~~RE MEMPHIS TELETYPE MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT CONCERNING MARCH AND RIOT, MEMPHIS.~~  
SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN.; RM.

RE MEMPHIS TELETYPE MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT CONCERNING MARCH AND RIOT, MEMPHIS.

ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

LI. E. H. ARKIN, INSPECTIONAL BUREAU, MEMPHIS POLICE DEPT., ADVISED MARCH TWENTY EIGHT THAT BY APPROXIMATELY TWELVE NOON, CST, THE DISRUPTIVE MOB WHICH HAD BEEN BREAKING STORE WINDOWS AND LOOTING BEALE ST. AND SOUTH MAIN ST., HAD BEEN CONTAINED AND THEN WAS DISPERSED AFTER CONSIDERABLE TEAR GAS WAS USED IN VINCINITY OF PONTOTOC AND HERNANDO STREETS IN FRONT OF CLAYBORN TEMPLE.

HE STATED THAT ONE OF THE LOOTERS, LARRY PAYNE, MALE NEGRO, AGE SIXTEEN, ELEVENTH GRADE STUDENT AT MITCHELL ROAD SCHOOL, WAS SHOT WHILE LOOTING AT NINE HUNDRED SOUTH FOURTH ST., AND WAS PRONOUNCED DEAD ON ARRIVAL AT JOHN GASTON HOSPITAL, ONE TWENTY PM. FIRST REPORT PAYNE SHOT BY POLICE OFFICER, HOWEVER SECOND REPORT REFLECTS PAYNE SHOT BY STOREKEEPER. THIS BEING CHECKED

*157-1116-157*

REC 27

APR 2 1968

APR 30 1968

MEMPHIS PD

END PAGE ONE

WFO

NO OFFICE FOR THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/19/86 BY SP-6/MLC

END PAGE ONE

PAGE TWO

ARKIN ADDED THAT AT EIGHT FIFTY FIVE AM, MARCH TWENTY EIGHT INSTANT, THE MEMPHIS PD RECEIVED CALL FROM A MRS. E. R. HODGSON WHOSE MAID HAD STATED THAT A GROUP OF YOUNG NEGRO MALES FROM MITCHELL ROAD SCHOOL, WHICH IS LOCATED IN SHELBY COUNTY SOUTH OF MEMPHIS CITY LIMITS, HAD PLANNED TO PILFER ONE OF DOWNTOWN STORES DURING THE MARCH. THE MAID IS EDNA EDWARDS, <sup>E</sup>FRMALE NEGRO, AGE SEVENTEEN, WHO ATTENDS MITCHELL ROAD SCHOOL.

ARKIN ADDED THAT ON MORNING OF MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, SOME NEGRO STUDENTS AT HAMILTON HIGH SCHOOL, MEMPHIS, ATTEMPTED TO INDUCE THROUGH VERBAL INTIMIDATION OTHER STUDENTS TO LEAVE SCHOOL TO PARTICIPATE IN MARCH, THAT A DISTURBANCE DEVELOPED AND WHEN POLICE CALLED TO SCENE SOME OF THE AGITATORS PLANNED TO INTERFERE WITH POLICE BUT THAT POLICE WERE ABLE TO DISPERSE CROWD AND MADE ONE ARREST OF A THIRTY EIGHT YEAR OLD NEGRO. CIRCUMSTANCES NOT KNOWN TO ARKIN.

ONE NEGRO WOMAN, POSSIBLY A TEACHER, WAS ALLEGEDLY HIT ON HEAD BY A STUDENT AND WAS TAKEN TO JOHN GASTON HOSPITAL FOR TREATMENT.

AFTER POLICE USED TEAR GAS TO DISPERSE CROWD, THE CROWD WAS DISPERSED AND ARKIN FEELS THAT POLICE CURRENTLY HAVE SITUATION

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

UNDER CONTROL WITH THE EXCEPTION OF REPORTED SPORADIC WINDOW BREAKINGS AND POSSIBLE LOOTINGS, WHICH POLICE ARE CURRENTLY CHECKING OUT.

SOURCE ONE ADVISED THAT PRIOR TO START OF MARCH, SOME YOUNG MALE NEGROES, INCLUDING JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS, LEMOYNE COLLEGE STUDENT, MEMPHIS, AND ONE SAM (LAST NAME UNKNOWN), AND OTHER, IDENTITIES NOT KNOWN, WERE HEARD NEAR CLAYBORN TEMPLE TO SAY THAT SOME OF MARCHERS SHOULD BREAK WINDOWS AND LOOT. SOURCE OBSERVED PHILLIPS, SAM, AND OTHERS, ESTIMATED TO BE FIFTEEN TO TWENTY, TO GO INTO ALLEY AREA BEHIND CLAYBORN TEMPLE AND OBTAIN STICKS AND BRICKS. THIS GROUP REMAINED BEHIND THE LINE OF MARCHERS.

(LT. ARKIN ALSO ADVISED THAT A RELIABLE SOURCE OF THE MEMPHIS PD REPORTED SOME OF THIS GROUP SEEN NEAR CHURCH WITH STICKS.)

SOURCE ONE ADDED THAT AS MARCH PROGRESSED WEST ON BEALE ST. THAT HE OBSERVED UNIDENTIFIED NEGROES, VARYING IN AGE FROM FIFTEEN TO TWENTY FIVE, BREAK WINDOWS AT PAUL'S TAILOR SHOP, THIRD AND BEALE, AND TAKE THEREFROM A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF CLOTHING AND SUIT CLOTH. HE HEARD MUCH WINDOW BREAKAGE WEST ON BEALE

END PAGE THREE

-3-

PAGE FOUR

AT THIS POINT SOME OF THE NEGROES, PARADE MARSHALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF POLICE DEPT. ATTEMPTED TO DISPERSE MARCHERS AND TURN THEM BACK TOWARD CLAYBORN TEMPLE.

SOURCE ONE ADDED THAT AT THIS SAME VICINITY AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER HE SAW A TEENAGE GIRL LYING ON A SIDEWALK AND ABOUT SAME TIME HEARD A NOISE LIKE A GUNSHOT AND THAT RUMOR IS RAMPANT IN NEGRO COMMUNITY THAT A NEGRO POLICE OFFICER SHOT THIS GIRL. LT. ARKIN HAS NO VERIFICATION OF THIS.

SOME OF MARCHERS CONGREGATED IN CLAYBORN TEMPLE BUT COULD NOT LONG REMAIN, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, DUE TO HEAVY SATURATION OF TEAR GAS USED BY POLICE IN THIS AREA BUT UNIDENTIFIED MINISTER TOLD THE REMAINING CROWD TO NOT ALLOW DISRUPTION OF THE MARCH TO DAMPEN THEIR EFFORTS; THAT THE MASS RALLY SCHEDULED FOR CLAYBORN TEMPLE, SEVEN FIFTEEN PM, MARCH TWENTY EIGHT, WOULD BE HELD AS SCHEDULED, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT STATE THAT KING WOULD SPEAK.

SOURCE ONE HEARD CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, A SELF-PROFESSED BLACK POWER LEADER IN MEMPHIS, TELL SOME OF CROWD AS THEY LEFT TEMPLE THAT THEY SHOULD NOT RUN AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT START A JOB THEY DID NOT PLAN TO FINISH. SOURCE CONSTRUED THIS AS A CALL FOR TROUBLE.

PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

ON FEB. SIXTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT, IN CONNECTION WITH ANOTHER INVESTIGATION, CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE AND JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS ADVISED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MEMPHIS FBI THAT THEY ARE A PART OF A SMALL GOVERNING BODY OF A BLACK POWER GROUP KNOWN AS "BLACK ORGANIZING POWER", WHICH IS AFFILIATED WITH STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

THE INFORMATION FROM SOURCE ONE WAS FURNISHED TO ARMY INTELLIGENCE AND LT. ARKIN. SOURCE ONE HAS FURNISHED SOME INFORMATION WHICH HAS BEEN CORROBORATED THROUGH INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION IN PAST AND SOME INFORMATION WHICH IS UNCORROBORATED. P. END.

BFH

FBI WASH DC\*

Included in letter to White House and Attorney General. Date 3-29-68  
OEG:lyi

Kevin Maroney  
FIV advised  
3/28/68 JFM

1cc HU  
1cc AC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# UNCLASSIFIED

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 28, 1968

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS' STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTER

*G. C. Moore*

Negro sanitation workers have been on strike at Memphis, Tennessee. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has previously been in Memphis and had called for a general strike and a mass march.

At 12:40 P.M. today ASAC C. O. Halter telephonically advised that the scheduled march started about 11:00 A. M., Central Standard Time. He stated that King was present and that an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 people were taking part. The march had proceeded only a few blocks when the marchers started breaking windows in business stores and establishments and some looting was taking place although he did not know the amount. The window breaking and disturbance has spread over into a white neighborhood and is continuing.

ASAC Halter advised that the above is the only information available at the time and that he would keep the Bureau currently advised of developments.

ACTION:

The above information has been furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and the military. This matter will be followed closely.

PLC:ekw

(8)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Cox
- 1 - Mr. Trainor

*PKC*

REC-59

6 APR 5 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

*5- [Signature]*

*T. J. [Signature]*  
*D. Wells*  
*DeLoach*

24882  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/1/80 BY SP8MAC/mk



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SANITATION WORKERS' STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

ADDENDUM:

At 1:05 P.M. ASAC Halter telephonically advised he had now received information that King did not walk in the march but was in an automobile at the head of it. However, he left the march very shortly after it started when the trouble began and Negroes began shouting, "Black Power." Halter advised that there was considerable looting on Main and Beale Streets. The police used gas to break up the march and at the time of his call the situation was fairly well under control although the Negroes were dispersing into other areas of Memphis. He advised that the National Guard had been called and the Memphis Unit would be activated, in about two hours. The Jackson, Tennessee, Unit will be activated in about six hours. Halter said he had no information as to the extent of injuries at this time.

The above information has also been furnished to the Department and the military.

PLC

W.C.V.

D

D. J. H.

✓

11/6/78  
CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAT/PLM  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 3/29/68

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY EAC  
DATE 4/6/78

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)  
DISSEMINATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

*Robinson*  
*T. J. Baker*  
*help*

(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 3/28/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta  
2 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Copies are being furnished U. S. Attorney, Memphis;  
U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; and Regional Offices of  
Military Intelligence.

AGENCY: CD, IIA, IIC, IIB, CO,  
ACSI, OSI, SS

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) **ENCLOSURE**
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2)
- 12 - Memphis

HCW FORM: \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE FORW: APR 4 1968  
BY: CAP. G. S. [Signature]

(1 - 157-1092)  
(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas) *icc Room 836 9 & D*

*Ident Data*  
(C)

- (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
- (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CABAGE)
- (1 - 157-1038, SAMUEL CARTER)
- (1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH)
- (1 - 157-1018, CLIFTON H. JAMERSON)
- (1 - 157-103, SNCC)
- (1 - 66-1637 Sub A, Dissemination File)

157-4146-45  
27  
2 APR 2 1968

*C. Bishop*

WHL:gmh  
(17)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
FACIAL INT. SECT

DECLASSIFIED BY [Signature]  
ON 11-16-84

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WT. 157-1092

*gjh*

Source one is [redacted] *Informants*

Source two is [redacted]

Source three is [redacted]

Source four is [redacted] Confidential Sources

Information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to [redacted] 11th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

LEADS:

*Intelligence Personnel*

ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the fact that it is origin in the case re MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EAC  
DATE 4/16/78

On March 28, 1968, a first source advised that the sanitation strike, Memphis, Tennessee, has been in progress since February 12, 1968, and that it has gradually deteriorated into a racial conflict. The source stated that the vast majority of the 1300 strikers were members of the Negro race. Source one also stated that the strike support had been primarily taken over by Negro groups in Memphis, Tennessee, primarily consisting of approximately 125 Negro ministers, members of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which has adopted the name Community on the Move for Equality (COMA), and source recalled that daily marches in support of the strike have been held originating at Clayborn Temple, a church of the African Methodist Episcopal Church located at 280 Hernando, Memphis, Tennessee, this being the strike support headquarters. Nightly rallies have been held at various Negro churches and such nationally known leaders as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), have come to Memphis to address large rallies of strike supporters.

Source one recalled that Reverend King spoke at a mass rally in Mason Temple on the night of March 18, 1968, at which time he called for the Memphis Negro community to have a massive downtown rally during which all Negro employees would stay away from work and all school children would stay away from school and scheduled this march for March 22, 1968. This march was cancelled at the last minute due to a 16-inch snowfall in Memphis on that date and was later re-scheduled for Thursday, March 28, 1968.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JRM/abw  
ON 12-9-81  
SP4 JRM/abw

CLASSIFIED BY SP6 WAH/Plm  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

157-9146-45

ENCLOSURE

157-9146-1404

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one stated that a concerted effort had been made on the part of the strike support leaders to induce people to stay away from work and to induce school children to stay away from school and participate in the march. *AM*

Source one, along with Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both advised on March 28, 1968, that preceding the march high school age students from several Negro high schools in a rather boisterous manner left school to head downtown to participate in the mass march scheduled for March 28, 1968, to begin at 10 a.m. At Hamilton High School, a predominantly Negro high school, some two hundred to three hundred youngsters took to the streets, began throwing rocks, and resulted in police being called. They threw rocks and bricks at the police, injuring several police and as a result the police had to use considerable force, according to Lieutenant Arkin, to quell this disturbance. First reports were that tear gas was used on the students, although Lieutenant Arkin stated that this definitely was not true. *AM*

Source one and Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the start of the march was delayed until approximately 11 a.m., due to the late arrival in Memphis of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to head the march. He did not arrive until approximately 10:22 a.m. at the Airport, and in fact did not join the march until it had proceeded one block north on Hernando from Clayborn Temple. *AM*

Source one, source two and source three, all of whom were in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple immediately prior to the start of the march, pointed out that approximately five thousand to six thousand people congregated near the Temple for the start of the march and they estimated that at least half of these people were teenagers and of school age. Among the marchers were individuals who sources, who are familiar with many people in the Negro community, would describe as common criminals and both sources one and two recognized several as being people who have been in and out of penal institutions for various law infractions in the past.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The march was ostensibly under the control, according to these three sources, of the COME group. The COME group handed out literally hundreds of prepared placards made of cardboard and carried on long 4-foot pine poles. It was apparent to these three sources prior to the march that many of the youngsters were planning to use the placards as sticks and clubs because they were indiscriminately ripping the cardboard away, leaving a 4-foot pole in their hands which many of them waved in a threatening manner.

In fairness to the march marshals and ministers leading the march, all three sources heard several of them caution the people in the crowd against violence and some of the youths would utter obscenities at those who were cautioning them. Sources one, two and three observed in the vicinity of the Temple several individuals in Memphis who have identified themselves with the black power movement.

For example, source three observed John Henry Ferguson <sup>TE 1111</sup>, who has already been arrested three times in connection with incidents in connection with the strike, a young male Negro, and John Burrell Smith, an Owen College <sup>TE 1111</sup> student, and self-acclaimed leader of the Black Power movement, at the Mosque. Ferguson made fun of the marchers, saying that he had more important things to do, inferring that he was going to engage in violence. Source one, who is particularly close to the black power movement, which he said refers to itself as Black Organizing Power (BOP), <sup>TE 1111</sup> an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, <sup>TE 1111</sup> commented that in fairness to the BOP group these individuals did not organize any violence as such. However, these individuals have repeatedly made inflammatory statements during recent weeks and he recalled that on the night of March 5, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage, before approximately 1500 people at a strike support rally in Clayborn Temple, passed out to the audience a leaflet containing an inflammatory letter from H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the SNCC.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and also containing a professional type drawing showing in detail how one could make a Molotov cocktail.

Source one stated also that in recent weeks, John B. Smith has been bragging that he and his followers have been urging high school students to remain away from school when the mass march to be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was to be held. Source one pointed out that prior to the start of the March 28, 1968, march that John Smith and some of his associates were in his opinion inciting to violence in that they were indiscriminately giving out the 4-foot pine poles to various teenage youngsters in the area and John Smith was heard by source one to tell these youngsters, identities not known, not to be afraid to use these sticks. He did not elaborate as to what he meant.

MEMBER BLACK ORGANIZATION POWER

On March 28 and again on March 29, 1968, source two advised that prior to the start of the march, the parade marshals agreed to put the sanitation workers strikers in the front of the march with the remainder of the people to follow behind. He stated that several of the marshals kept cautioning the youngsters to be peaceful and that he personally saw two self-admitted BOP people, James Elmore Phillips and Samuel Carter both students at LeKoyne College, male Negroes, and other unknown associates; and that they were making remarks sometime between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. near the Clayborn Temple that they were going to "tear this S.O.B. town up today." Phillips made some general statements about some high school students being "chicken" and staying in school rather than marching and he stated that the white people who were participating in the march were fools for marching because if any trouble started that the Negro marchers would turn on them first.

Source two stated that the march started at approximately 11 o'clock a.m., and that Phillips and Carter and some of their unknown associates remained behind. As

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TOILET WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

the march progressed north of Linden on Hernando, Phillips and another associate from LeMoyne College, understood to be in the BOP group, Clinton Roy Jamerson, went back into an alley and obtained some sticks and bricks. At this point, they moved on up ahead of source two. He did not see them thereafter. Source two added that the march progressed peacefully, although it was definitely not well organized in that the marchers were walking all over the street and sidewalks and that there was no order whatsoever to the line of march. He stated that the march headed north on Hernando to Beale, west on Beale toward Main Street, and that by the time he reached Third and Beale many of the teenagers had ripped the signs off their poles and were waving them wildly as clubs.

On March 28, 1968, source one advised that the above mentioned Samuel Carter is a self-admitted member of the BOP group and also on February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation James Elmore Phillips, Charles L. Cabbage, Clinton Roy Jamerson, and John Burrell Smith all admitted to representatives of the FBI that they were members of the Governing Body of BOP which they admitted was affiliated with the SNCC, with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. (S)

Source two continued that on reaching Third and Beale Street, the head of the march had already progressed as far west as Main Street and he observed unknown young Negroes using the long sticks to break windows in Paul's Clothing Store at Third and Beale and that he could hear windows breaking further west on Beale Street, a 2-block area consisting of pawn shops, clothing stores, and dry goods stores. Almost as if spontaneously Negroes who had been in the march began looting these stores and breaking windows and running in all directions. Some of the parade marshals were urging them to reverse their direction and return to Clayborn Temple in an effort to break up the crowd. Police officers were also urging them to cease and desist and return to the Temple. By this time, which would have

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

been approximately 11:15 a.m., according to source two, much confusion reigned, people were running in all directions, and the police were doing the best they could to stop the looters and move them back toward Clayborn Temple. Various Negroes started rumors that the police had shot a teen-age girl but source later determined that this was not true.

Source two returned to the Temple, along with several hundred of the marchers.

On March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin stated that when the front of the march had proceeded to Beale and Main Street, there was complete disorder on the part of the marchers; they were all over the sidewalks and all over the streets; and that at this point Martin Luther King, Jr., who had joined the march at Hernando and Beale with the Vice President of the SCLC, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, and others unknown at that point to Lieutenant Arkin, were still marching at the head of the march. As the windows of store fronts were broken out and sporadic looting began, King remarked that he had to get out of there. He and some of his associates ran on ahead and jumped into an old Pontiac automobile and were escorted away from the march by a Police Lieutenant to the Rivermont Hotel, an exclusive new hotel on the Mississippi River front operated by Holiday Inns of America. Lieutenant Arkin stated that King left the march at about 11:15 a.m. and had checked into the Rivermont by 11:24 a.m.

Lieutenant Arkin added that by approximately noon the Police Department had broken up the crowd, being forced to use tear gas particularly in the vicinity of Clayborn Temple, after some of the marchers who had run into the Temple began throwing rocks and bricks at police from the roof top of the Temple and also began throwing from the streets, and when the police would start after them they would run into the Temple.

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SEWING MACHINE WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source two recalled that prior to the start of the march some of the associates of Phillips and Phillips were making remarks near Clayborn Temple to the effect that some of the marchers should break windows and loot.

Source three stated that after the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple, after the looting started, the so-called black power group, including many apparent unorganized teenagers, virtually took over the Temple and Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., one of the leaders of the CORE group, was unable to control them. One of these individuals made the statement, "We're going to take over this town."

The "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, issue of March 29, 1968, in a story by Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar" staff writer, who observed portions of the disturbance on Beale Street where the major portion of the early looting occurred, stated that he saw the Memphis police take an awful lot off the looters in the way of bricks and bottles and that he heard some reports of police being rough on citizens, but he did not see any police brutality. He stated that many of the officers were taking a lot and doing it bravely.

Another story in the "Press-Scimitar" issue of March 29, 1968, by Staff Reporter James E. Reid, described the rampant window breaking and looting which occurred from the South Main Street area around Beale Street, east on Beale to Hernando, and pointed out that Memphis police officers formed a line in an effort to move the crowd back and that they gave ample warning. The story reported that many of the crowd instead glowered at the officers who tried to move them from the area and that when the officers pushed against the crowd, many of the crowd pushed back. Reid reported that he saw one officer there felled in the melee, and that the crowd was then out of control with many of the crowd having long wooden sticks. He stated that police officers with megaphones asked the crowd to move and stated, "For your safety, move back."

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MEMPHIS WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Some of the officers pleaded, according to  
Roid. He stated that many of the officers had earlier  
pelted with rocks and bricks and had restrained  
themselves from using clubs or gas. He stated that  
considerable force was needed by the police in order to  
control the crowd which had virtually turned into a mob  
and that it was necessary for the police to strike several  
of the Negroes with night sticks in order to control them.  
He stated that he saw Lieutenant D. W. Williams of the  
Police Department turn from a small group of Negroes  
with his face covered with blood and saw other officers  
falling along the way. He stated that the officers  
observed by him reverted to force only after everything  
else had failed, yet he heard some of the Negroes in the  
crowd yell, "Police brutality." He stated that some of  
the owners of businesses, who had their windows smashed  
and their merchandise stolen as they took refuge from the  
violent mob that surged through the streets, were heard  
to remark that no one was complaining about "mob brutality."  
He stated that many officers were struck by bottles, sticks  
and large rocks thrown by the crowd and that those in the  
crowd who responded quickly to the officers' command to  
move on met with little or no physical persuasion from the  
officers. He stated that, in fairness, most of the crowd  
did move quickly.

Source three added that this source remained  
near Clayborn Temple throughout the march and observed  
numerous teen-age Negroes with sticks and also observed  
some of them literally tear some old iron beds apart, making  
iron pipes from the parts thereof, and making statements,  
"We're going to get some white bastards today," whereupon  
they ran down and caught up with the march and joined it.  
Source three pointed out that the march was extremely  
poorly organized; that the march leaders had no control  
over the marchers, even before they started; and that it  
was obvious that there would probably be trouble.

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ASSOCIATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Lieutenant Arkin on March 28, 1968, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department had between 8 and 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, observed John B. Smith and some of his black power associates near the Clayborn Temple with sticks and bricks.

Source two added that he heard Charles L. Cabbage tell some of the crowd as they left the Temple, after the marchers returned to the Temple, that they should not run from the police and that they should "not start a job that they did not plan to finish." Cabbage did not elaborate but source two construed this as a call for trouble.

A fourth source advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee, administrative aide to King, were scheduled to leave Memphis at 9:05 p.m., Central Standard Time, via Eastern Airlines, en route to Atlanta, Georgia, and were scheduled to leave Atlanta, Georgia, on the early morning of March 29, 1968, to fly to Friendship Airport in Baltimore, Maryland.

Source one advised that after the trouble on Beale Street, the mass rally scheduled for Mason Temple on the night of March 28, 1968, which was to have featured Martin Luther King, Jr., as the main speaker, was cancelled.

On the late night of March 28, 1968, source four advised that King, Abernathy and Lee had failed to catch the above-described flight and that no one had cancelled his reservations, and that to his knowledge King was still staying at the Rivermont Hotel.

During the afternoon and evening of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that sporadic looting continued in the south-central area of Memphis, which is predominantly a Negro area, and that the main targets of the sporadic vandalism were liquor stores and small grocery stores and sundry stores.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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On the late night of March 28, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that there had been numerous small fires set but none of them were serious. He stated that the Memphis Fire Department was able to extinguish the fires without trouble. He pointed out that during the afternoon of March 28, 1968, the Tennessee State Legislature in a special session passed a statute which would give Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb authority to apply a curfew and that such a curfew was ordered to begin at 7 p.m., March 28, 1968.

Lieutenant Arkin further advised that by 6 p.m., March 28, 1968, approximately 3500 members of the Tennessee National Guard consisting of the Memphis unit and West Tennessee units had arrived and was on duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Guardsmen were preparing to patrol Memphis in tactical units, each unit to be accompanied by one or more officers of the Memphis Police Department.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Inspector G. P. Tines, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised from records, as yet incomplete at the Memphis Police Department regarding the following statistics relative to the racial disturbance in Memphis from approximately 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, to 12 noon, March 29, 1968, as follows:

A total of 150 fires were set; most were small in nature, primarily trash fires. Approximately 30 of these were estimated by the Memphis Fire Department to have been caused by Molotov cocktails or some similar incendiary device. There have been over 300 arrests, exact count not as yet completed, primarily consisting of charges of looting, violation of curfew, arson, disorderly conduct, and related offenses. An approximate total of 60 individuals, many of whom were arrestees, have received medical attention for various injuries received in connection with the looting

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

and over-all disturbance. In addition, over 300 reported cases of looting and rather major vandalism have been reported to the Memphis Police Department by merchants throughout Memphis, again most of these being confined to the south-central area of Memphis, which is a predominantly Negro area. Inspector Tines emphasized again that the incomplete count shows that most of these were liquor stores, small grocery stores, sundry stores, and related establishments, plus numerous clothing stores and related stores in the Beale Street and South Main Street area, described hereinbefore.

Inspector Tines advised that five officers of the Memphis Police Department were injured sufficiently to require hospitalization and that there were scores of minor injuries to officers requiring only on-the-spot field first aid.

Inspector Tines continued that there was a total of four individuals who were shot while in the process of looting, or as a result thereof. They are as follows:

Larry Payne, male Negro, age 16, 3023 Parker Road, an 11th grade student at Mitchell Road School, which is actually operated by the Shelby County Board of Education, just south of the Memphis City Limits. He was pronounced dead on arrival at John Gaston City Hospital, 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968. He was shot by an officer of the Memphis Police Department as he attacked this police officer with a butcher knife after he had looted a Sears Roebuck store on South Third Street. He had run from this store into the vicinity of the Fowler Homes on South Fourth Street. Another shot but not killed was A. A. Sundry, Negro male, residence 303 Vance, who was wounded in the neck by a police officer while looting a store. Sundry was not seriously injured as the injury was superficial. Another shot but not killed was Alan Hintrell, Negro male, age 17, residing 988 Springdale Street, Memphis. He was shot by a citizen while looting a store at 1250 Thomas about 4 p.m., March 28, 1968, by the store manager James Taylor. Taylor was charged by the police with assault to murder. He was shot after a beer bottle was thrown through the store window. Tines stated that Hintrell is in serious condition with a shotgun slug in his back.

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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Another shot but not killed, according to Tines, was Elf Dennis Payne, age 21, male Negro of 1835 Castalia, Ant. 3. He was shot by a policeman while looting a grocery store near Greenwood and Walker and is in fair condition.

Tines added that a preliminary count of available arrest tickets, which is definitely not a complete list, indicates that at least ten Negroes arrested had pistols or revolvers on their persons and that numerous others had other lethal weapons such as knives.

Lieutenant Arkin advised that at approximately 1:20 p.m., March 28, 1968, the Memphis Transit Authority which operates the Memphis City Bus System, after receiving numerous complaints from its bus drivers that they feared for their personal well being due to the disorder, coupled with the fact that many of them had been individually robbed in the past, decided as a safety measure to stop the movement of City Buses for the remainder of March 28, 1968.

The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" Newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, in a front-page story, by an unidentified writer, reported that many of the looters and window breakers were black power advocates, and that several wore jackets of the "Invaders," a local black power group. This story did not give any basis for its statement to this effect.

On March 28 and 29, 1968, source one and source two, along with Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, all of whom are familiar with many phases of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee, advised that a small group of the BOP followers have put the word "Invaders" on their jackets but that many high school age students have done this for effect and are not necessarily affiliated with the BOP movement.

Sources one and two, along with Arkin, added that thus far there is no evidence that any of the BOP group participated in the looting and in fact source one who is particularly close to this group advised that he saw many of them immediately after the initial rioting and looting

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SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

started and that they definitely had not personally been involved in the looting. Source one pointed out that as mentioned hereinbefore these individuals had done much by their previous statements and actions outlined above to incite some of the more ignorant and greedy youths who were in the march.

Source one, who is particularly close to the Negro ghetto area, stated that in his opinion and in his conversations with numerous Negroes who observed portions of the disturbance and who are familiar with their actions, that the looting was not organized as such. He observed that in his opinion approximately 1 per cent of the marchers engaged in looting and violence and that many of these were people who were criminally inclined and who had been in previous trouble. He stated that in his many years of experience he would say that probably the first breaking of the first window was enough to set off the crowd which had been emotionally worked up by its long wait for the start of the march and by the general festive air surrounding the march which was on a balmy spring day and was participated in by several hundred youths who obviously had cut school in order to participate. *Exe*

The information set out hereinbefore has been orally furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Memphis, Tennessee, and the information not received from the Memphis Police Department has been orally furnished to Inspector G. P. Tines and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**Title:** SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference:** Memorandum prepared at  
Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

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

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ON *12/19/81*  
*8/1/86 SP/MS/ML*

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

# UNCLASSIFIED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 4/4/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*D. Gravelle  
(info)*

*1/28/86 Sp...  
DATE 9/16/81*

ReBulet 3/4/68, setting forth goals and targets of the Counterintelligence Program.

In accordance with the instructions set forth in reBulet, the following data is submitted:

1) SA ARLAND A. MOSEL has been designated as the coordinator of this program. This letter sets forth the combined specific thoughts, views and efforts of Special Agents assigned those organizations and individuals coming within the category of primary targets of the program, as well as the general views of all Special Agents handling racial matters in Washington Field.

2) Succinct Summary

SNCC in WDC has a staff of six people located at 1234 U Street, N. W., with LESTER MC KINNIE as Director. STOKELY CARMICHAEL announced new policy of SNCC to attain unity among Negroes and then Black Power. Muhammad's Mosque #4 of the NOI has about two hundred members, and preaches "white devils" will be destroyed; however, officials also advocate policy of no participation in demonstrations or public gatherings. The New School of Afro-American Thought has about ten dues paying members; DONALD T. FREEMAN now Director of the New School and Gaston T. Neal is the

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- ② - Bureau
- 8 - WFO
- (1 - 100-41626) (SNCC)
- (1 - 100-42300) (SCLC)
- (1 - 100-22829) (NOI)
- (1 - 100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- (1 - 100-46722) (H. RAP BROWN)
- (1 - 100-46918) (LESTER MC KINNIE)

EX-116

REC-68 100-448006-66

(1 - 157-461) (RAM)

4 APR 8 1968

*RACIAL INT. SEC.*

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

WFO 157-1292

In regard to SNCC, WFO is probing for weaknesses which may be uncovered through sources in endeavoring to ascertain the identity of individuals who may be dissatisfied because of personality clashes and/or those who may be disenchanted with volunteer services for SNCC and have sought a salary; and those who may be suspect of "working for the man", i. e., suspect of being an informer.

In regard to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, WFO has carefully considered him from a counterintelligence standpoint since his arrival in WDC to take up residence in January, 1968. However, no positive program has been developed due to the fact that the sedition investigation has been under active consideration from a prosecutive standpoint, and it was felt that a simultaneous counterintelligence program if operational against CARMICHAEL might tend to aggravate possible future prosecution and possibly lead to embarrassment. WFO feels that a positive counterintelligence program would be warranted against CARMICHAEL, especially in the absence of any prosecutive action against him. In assessing CARMICHAEL for potential counterintelligence, WFO has concluded that to be effective, such a program must discredit him in the Negro community where he enjoys considerable popularity, and would seemingly have to be stronger than alleged immoral or un-American political inclinations.

Concerning the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Washington Spring Project (WSP) office in WDC, sources who are familiar with SCLC operations have been instructed to look for opportunities to plant seeds of discontent and dissension between the SCLC and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) workers there, particularly in the realm of funds; and to give rise to rumors that KING seems to be getting the lion's share of the funds, whereas the AFSC and the poor people who are to participate are getting little or nothing in the way of financial aid. It has been developed that WSP recruiter J. T. JOHNSON, since transferred, was at the center of a controversy concerning dissension in the office. WFO is in the process of developing further plans exploiting this dissension.

WFO 157-1292

With regard to MARTIN LUTHER KING, WFO will continue to be alert for all possibilities to secure information of value in counterintelligence and for use in the program. It is felt, however, that the office of origin in this matter is in a better position to fully evaluate and be aware of possibilities to exploit in this program.

There is no organized Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) activity in the WDC area which has risen to the surface; however, in the event any situation should arise which would lend itself to a counterintelligence move, steps will be taken to fully pursue that matter.

A source has advised that the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is not currently active in WDC; that it has no organizational structure or planned program of activity. CORE has held no meetings in the past year.

WFO is also looking for opportunities to develop positive information concerning H. RAP BROWN in this area in order to possibly effect a workable counterintelligence operation.

5) As noted above, WFO will continue to exploit all possibilities and opportunities to institute a successful counterintelligence program on the mentioned targets and upon the formulation of a specific plan on any particular organization or individual, will submit same by separate letter for the Bureau's approval.

With reference to Bulets of 3/18/68 and 4/2/68, in the above caption outlining counterintelligence situations with reference to SNCC and the Black United Front, these matters will be taken up by separate letters to the Bureau.