File #:

62-HQ-116395

Serial Scope:

1153 - Bully

Date: 11/28/88
Date: 1-27-97

DO NOT DESTROY
FOIPA# N/A
King expressed his regret that he could not spend any time with her at a SCLC retreat held at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, on September 12-17, 1967.

In addition to his regular girl friends, King has had
assignations with a variety of women--single and married--throughout the country. They generally profess "love" for King and mention how much they have missed "meeting" with him.

Their "meetings" are held in various places--hotel and motel rooms, his or her office late at night, the woman's home or apartment, and at King's home in Atlanta when his family is away. King apparently tries to keep these rendezvous clandestine, but some of his affairs have come to the attention of his associates and also to his colleagues. Several of his paramours have manifested jealousy and stated that they were tired of playing second fiddle. King, on the other hand, has indicated on several occasions that he, too, was jealous and did not want his girl friends "cooking around" with other men. (100-3-116-664; 130-176370-180; Atlanta airtel, 3/10/61.)

in new york one night the tower

in community ajudice

brought to Washington several women "parishioners" of his church. The group met in his room and discussed which women among the parishioners would be suitable for natural or unnatural sex acts. When one of the women protested that she did not approve of this, the Baptist minister immediately and forcibly raped her. On January 6-7, at least 12 individuals—nearly equally divided between men and women and including King, officers of the SCLC, and others bearing the title of "Reverend"—participated in a sex orgy. Excessive consumption of alcohol and the use of the vilest language imaginable served only as a backdrop to acts of degeneracy and depravity, many of which were committed in a communal atmosphere with the onlookers as "entertainers" as the participants. Many of those present engaged in sexual acts, natural as well as unnatural. King more than once boasted of his drunken condition as the truth of the matter. When one of the women refused to engage in an
unnatural act, King and one of the men discussed how she was to be taught and initiated in this respect. King told her that to perform such an act would "help your soul, it will help you."

King announced that he preferred to perform unnatural acts on women and that he had started the "International Association for the Advancement of Pussy Eaters." (100-106670-642; 100-3-116-762)

The following day, Las Vegas, Nevada, hotel room was the scene of another of King's sex orgies during the early morning hours of April 27, 1954. A white prostitute was engaged for King by a woman intermediary believed to be a Lesbian, (100-3-116-1512). King and an associate indulged in repeated acts of sexual intercourse with the prostitute in the presence of the woman who had engaged the prostitute. All four individuals participated in unnatural acts.

The prostitute summed up her reactions with the remark, "That was the worst orgy I've ever gone through." Three of these individuals, including King, were very intoxicated. (100-3-116-1512; 100-3-106670-414)

The incident was described by the prostitute as follows.
On the night before King was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, in December, 1964, the police were called to King's hotel because a white prostitute was caught stealing money from King's brother, the Reverend A. D. King.

One of King's aides persuaded the police to let the girl go without pressing any charges. This same aide later confided to a friend that King's group was running naked, drunk white prostitutes up and down the halls of the hotel. (NY airtel, 12/17/64, re Martin Luther King)

A social gathering was held in Oslo in honor of King.

In the presence of King and his party, Bayard Rustin, a member of the group, evidenced a keen interest in finding out where the night life of Oslo was centered. At least five other men in King's party made the same inquiry, particularly interested in learning where the "Norwegian girls" could be found.

King's wife, Coretta, has been aware of her
husband's infidelities for some years and has outwardly, at    
least, adopted a cynical attitude toward them indicating that 

she is content just to be Mrs. Martin Luther King. Periodically, 
however, she berates King for not fulfilling his marital 

"responsibilities" and on one occasion has remarked that if he 
spent ten hours a month at home, this would be an exaggeration. 

Another time, she questioned him as to his whereabouts, companions, 

and his drinking habits, adding that he was no better than his 

friends who drink. (100-16/50 cintal atlanta, 12/1/61: 670- 
739, 3150, 2723; 100-3-114=276; 1/22) 

In 1963, there was some indication that Coretta, 

herself, was having an affair which could account for her 

acceptance of the situation. (100-9-116=370)
INFLUENCED BY COMMUNISTS

Stanley Levison

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

Stanley Levison

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

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

In this clandestine role for the CPUSA, Levison was
the head of a group of concealed Party members who operated a
maze of business enterprises. The group included Levison's
twin brother, who goes by the name Roy Bennett. Levison's
group turned over thousands of dollars to the CPUSA. For
example, the group raised $95,000 for the Party during a two-
year period in 1956 and 1957.

Levison gravitated to King's SCLC in 1953 and applied
the same dedication to King's activities that he had to CPUSA
activities. For over a decade, Levison has worked indefatigably
in King's behalf. He quickly developed a close personal rela-
tionship with King, which has continued to this day. By 1953,
he was referred to as King's "Assistant Chief" and as a real-
estate man who spent half of this time helping King.

By 1961, Levison was Assistant Treasurer of the SCLC.

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

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

CONF. SOURCE

James D. Wood, who worked for the SCLC as Public Relations
Director from 1960 until he resigned in 1962, said that during
that period Levison acted primarily as King's business manager
and donated large sums of money to him when funds were low.

According to Wood, Levison was very close to King, had his
confidence, and was one of the few people who could get King
alone, give him advice, and always have the advice accepted.

King Is a Marxist SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall received a report
on King from Levison in February, 1962. Levison described King
as "a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

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

"Most Important Work"

Examples of the advice given King by Levison are numerous. For instance, on March 30, 1962, one of King's assistants contacted Levison for an opinion on the strategy King should use in attempting to influence the President to
appoint Judge William Hastie to the United States Supreme Court. Levison said that King should publicly advocate the appointment of Judge Hastie, because Negroes would expect a Negro leader to step forth and state which Negro should be appointed to the Supreme Court.

On May 1, 1962, a CPUSA functionary stated that Stanley Levison, because of his association with the King movement, "is doing the most important work in the CP today."

On May 30, 1963, King and Levison held a discussion regarding a conference King had requested with President Kennedy and the Attorney General.

Levison and the CPUSA

By June of 1963, Levison had become so involved with the SCLC and King that he decided to alter his relationship with the CPUSA. Because he felt that the Party had done little to assist in the fight for civil rights for Negroes. Therefore, he would no longer permit the Party to dominate or control
his activities in the King movement, he would not be subject to Party discipline, and he would not assist the Party financially. He said he was "disenchanted" with the Party, but he was not quitting the Party. Nevertheless, he would act on his own initiative and would not accept instructions from the Party in regard to the King movement.

The CPUSA, of course, wanted to continue control over King and the SCLC. In an effort to accomplish this, the late Benjamin Davis, who was then CPUSA National Secretary, was assigned as "liaison and intermediary" to Levison and CPUSA member Hunter-Pitts O'Dell, whose role in the SCLC will be described herinafter.

"Real Marxist-Levinist" Levison did not sever all contacts with CPUSA functionaries. About this time—June, 1963— he reported to a leading Party member on a meeting involving himself, his brother, King, O'Dell, and a representative of the Attorney General.
The Attorney General's representative pointed to Levison and O'Dell and said to King, "These men are Party members; watch out for them." According to Levison, King did not "bat an eyelash" upon hearing this statement. Levison reported that after this meeting he told King, "I congratulate you on the way you acted regarding his warning. You are a real Marxist-Leninist. This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts."

Guarded Contacts SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION ONGOING

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

March on Washington

Levison played a role in the plans that led to the celebrated March on Washington for civil rights on August 28, 1993.
Originally, Negro leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had proposed a march on the Nation’s capital sometime during the Fall of 1963. But after consultation with Levison, who agreed that "the time is now," King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of other Negro leaders for King’s proposal for an earlier march—a move that put King squarely in the forefront of the events that developed.

"Freedomways"

The CPUSA did not give up control of Levison without a struggle. In September, 1963, for instance, Gus Hall instructed Benjamin Davis to try to meet with Levison to request him and his brother to open and finance a branch office of "Freedomways" in Atlanta, with Hunter Pitts O’Loll in charge. Hall wanted this office to serve not only as a base for "Freedomways" but also as a headquarters for Party work in the South. "Freedomways" is a quarterly Marxist Negro
King and Levison met again in New York City on January 8 and February 7, 1964. On March 9 and 10, 1964, Levison spent considerable time in SCLC headquarters in Atlanta. King was occupied in the SCLC headquarters at the same time. On the evening of March 9, 1964, Levison dined at King's residence. One of the purposes of these meetings was to consider whether SCLC should hire Bayard Rustin, who will be described hereinafter.

Repudiation Refused

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

Levison commented that he had stayed away from the CPUSA in order to improve his position of influence and strength in the Negro movement, but this did not mean that he was anti-Party.

Use of Intermediary

It soon became apparent that the severance of the relationship between Levison and King was a temporary act of expediency. Starting in April, 1964, Levison's contacts with King were handled by an intermediary, Clarence Jones, who is also a frequent advisor to King. Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. During the mid-1950's, Jones held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, a defunct communist front group. Levison met with Jones on several occasions during the Spring and Summer of 1964. In his conversations with King during this period, Jones usually referred to Levison as "our friend."
On September 29, 1964, Jones met with Levison in the latter's office to discuss the SCLC. Plans were underway by the end of October, 1964, for a personal meeting involving King, Jones, and Levison. In preparation for this meeting, Jones told King to think about what role Levison could play in the future and reminded King that Levison had been helpful in the past.

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

Vietnam Issue

In early August, 1965, Bayard Rustin and Harry Wachtel, an attorney, met to discuss ways to inject King into the Vietnam issue. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. In 1949, Wachtel was
an active member of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been described as the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

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

On August 12, 1965, King announced publicly that he would appeal personally to President Ho Chi Minh to join a conference to end the war in Vietnam. He said he would also send similar letters to leaders of South Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Subsequently, a leading newspaper sent King 12 questions designed to clarify his position on Vietnam. King called upon Levison to answer the questions.
There was unfavorable public reaction to King's announcement. Because of this, his top advisors held a conference in early September, 1965, and decided that King should avoid the Vietnam issue. As will be seen, this decision had a short life. Stanley Levison, Bayard Rustin, Harry Wachtel, and Clarence Jones attended this conference.

Contacts Resumed

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

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

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

This was the beginning of Levison's influence in guiding King into embracing that facet of the communist line which links civil rights protests with anti-Vietnam-War protests. In the past two years, King has made strenuous efforts to bring about a merger of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam-War movements.
On April 13, 1967, Levison and King were in contact to discuss the progress Levison was making in the writing of the speech King was to deliver on April 15, 1967, at the rally of the Spring Mobilization Committee at the United Nations in New York City. Levison read part of the speech and King enthusiastically accepted it. King particularly liked a statement that the United States should withdraw unilaterally from Vietnam. He also enjoyed an appeal to the country to "demand insistently that our Government honor Hanoi's promise to negotiate if the bombings cease."

The CPUSA was delighted with King's speech at the United Nations Plaza. A recognized leader of 22,000,000 Negroes had openly attacked his country's policy on Vietnam. He had participated in the largest rally ever staged against the Vietnam war by being the keynote speaker.

In his speech, King called for the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam and directly assisted the CPUSA in the promotion of its goal of uniting the Negro movement with the peace movement.
Birth of Washington Spring Project

Mary Levison and King met on July 19, 1967, to discuss the Newark, New Jersey, riot. Levison suggested that King advocate a program with dramatic qualities similar to the Works Project Administration of the 1930's. This new program, implemented by the Federal Government, would employ jobless youth. King agreed that Levison's idea had merit and said he would publicly call upon the Federal Government to do something along this line.
King waited until the 10th Annual Convention of the SCLC before he made these plans public. On August 15, 1967, he delivered an address at the convention in which he urged new massive civil disobedience to include general strikes, school boycotts, and a camp-in at Washington, D. C. All this would be done to force the United States Congress to take action to improve the lot of the Negro.

Funds for Washington Spring Project

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

Levi-son was in conference with one of King's aides in February, 1968, to discuss fund raising for the Washington
Spring Project. At this conference Levison proposed that approximately 60 individuals, who had contributed $1,000 or more to SCLC in the past, be invited to a meeting at the home of singer Harry Belafonte. Levison suggested that they meet at 10200 Rock Creek Park Drive, N.W., Washington, D.C., and that 20 of the 60 be Republicans and 40 Democrats.

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

Communist Celebration

Levison had met with King in November, 1967, to discuss an invitation King had received from Hunter Pitts O'Dell to speak at a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth
JFK Law 10(a)1
FBI

Date: 12/12/63

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

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

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

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

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

Full security is assured.

REC 45

3 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136535) (414)

JFN: gmd
(5)

ce/lc: 835 RB

Approved: L JAIN, 2

Sent M Per

Special Agent in Charge

NW 55097 DocId:32899551 Page 5
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116) (100-106670)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520A)
COMINFIL
RACIAL MATTERS
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

ReBuairtel 11/27/63.

(1) AT 1379-8* assigned telephone number 522-4596, an unlisted number in residence of Dr. MARTIN KING, 563 Johnson Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Leased line obtained from Houston Street and Boulevard to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

(2) AT-1380-8* assigned telephone number 524-1378, a listed number for SCLC at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E. to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

(3) AT 1381-8* assigned to telephone number 524-1379, a number in Rotary for SCLC located at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E. to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

(4) AT 1382-8* assigned to telephone number 524-1370, a number in Rotary for SCLC located at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E., to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

(5) AT 1383-8* assigned to telephone number 524-3151, a non-listed number located in offices of SCLC at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E., to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-G
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

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

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

Full security is assured.

Approved: ____________________ Sent: M Per: ____________________
N Pov 8 Special Agent in Charge
FBI

Date: 10/25/63

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRT EL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

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

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

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

At 1:05 PM, 10/24/63, a 4176-3X was installed on telephone number UN 6-2001 and UN 6-2002, located in the office of the SCLC, 312 West 125th Street, New York, New York. Coverage on telephone number UN 6-2000 is expected to be installed Monday, 10/28/63.

REG-13 Full security is assured.

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

FJN: gmd (5)

C. C. Wick

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

Nov 6 1963
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: Mr. J. F. Bland

DATE: October 18, 1963

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

You will recall that on 7/13/63 the Attorney General advised Assistant Director Evans that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation he desired consideration be given to placing technical surveillances on Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Clarence B. Jones, a New York City attorney who is closely associated with King and involved in the racial movement.

The Attorney General at that time indicated he was not concerned with the repercussions if it should ever become known that such surveillances had been put into effect and that he thought it advisable to have complete coverage. Although, when such a request was made of the Attorney General 7/22/63 he rejected coverage on King, he has subsequently authorized technical coverage on the New York office of the SCLC as well as the Atlanta residence of King.

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

King is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA. King has been described as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly.
Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
— COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
100-106670
100-3-116

At present there are 56 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and 2 are awaiting installation. The limit is 75.

OBSERVATION:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the SCLC in Atlanta.
TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: Mr. J. F. Bland
DATE: October 4, 1963

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

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

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

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

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

The Attorney General has approved coverage on Stanley Levison, Clarence B. Jones, and the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. These installations have been extremely productive in showing the influence...
Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
100-106670
100-3-116

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

OBSERVATIONS:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

[Signature]

[Date]

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

FROM: Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General  
Civil Rights Division  

SUBJECT: Hunter Pitts O'Dell  

DATE: September 20, 1963

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

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

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

Following further conversations with Mr. Evans in June, however, I brought the matter to the attention of Dr. King very explicitly in my office on the morning of June 22 prior to a scheduled meeting which Dr. King had with the President. This was done at the direction of the Attorney General. Later that morning both the Attorney General and the President separately strongly urged Dr. King that there should be no further connection between O'Dell and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
Dr. King stated that the connection would be ended. Thereafter, the Attorney General and I both received copies of the attached letter, dated July 3, 1963, from Dr. King to O'Dell.

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

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

cc: The Attorney General
    The Deputy Attorney General
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Belmont

FROM: C. A. Evans

DATE: October 21, 1963

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

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

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

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

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

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

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Donohue
INSTRUCTIONS: This form is to be removed from file, by a Filing Unit employee only upon the return of the item.

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

Type of Mail
- [ ] Report
- [ ] Incoming letter
- [ ] Outgoing letter
- [x] Memorandum.
- [ ] Airline
- [ ] Teletype
- [ ] Enclosure (describe)

To A.A. dated 10/18/63
End: To serial 259

Removed for
- [x] Mr.
- [x] Mrs.

Removed by: [Signature]
Date of Removal: 10/18/69

Reason for Removal
- [ ] For copying (If for another agency, list agency and date of request.)
- [x] To send to: Director's Office
- [ ] To attach to
- [ ] For office use
- [ ] For change to another file
- [ ] Other (Specify)

Complete File end Serial Number: 100-106670-259
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: July 22, 1963

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

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

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

King resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta. King is on the Reserve Index. He is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA. King has been described by Levison as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion does not dare to espouse it publicly.

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

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

A separate memorandum requesting Attorney General's authority to place a technical surveillance on Clarence Benjamin Jones has previously been submitted.
Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

OBSERVATION:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

SEE ME ON EVANS TO BELMONT 7/25/63, CAPTAIN.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WHICH STATES ATTORNEY GENERAL RECONSIDERED AND DISAPPROVED REQUEST FOR TESUR.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: Mr. J. F. Bland

DATE: 10/6/64

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this installation be continued.

100-106970

WTF: mlf

07 OCT 74 19:4

07 OCT 19 1964

07 OCT 13 1964
Pertinent information concerning King's activities in Atlantic City being included in 8/24/64 summary to White House.
7:55 PM URGENT 8-23-64 AFV TO DIRECTOR FROM NE:ARK 232000

JUNE.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., CL.

RE ATLANTA TEL AUGUST 13 LAST.

KING ARRIVED ATLANTIC CITY VIA PRIVATE PLANE ON AUGUST 22 AND TESTIFIED BEFORE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. HE REMAINED IN COMMITTEE ROOM UNTIL 6:15 PM WHEN MEETING ADJOURNED. HE CHECKED INTO THE CLARIDGE HOTEL AT 7:35 PM AND OCCUPIED ROOM 1923 WHICH IS COVERED BY TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE WHICH IS BEING ASSIGNED SYMBOL NO. NK-24558. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY BERNARD LEE, WHO IS IN ROOM 1902 WHICH IS COVERED BY TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE ASSIGNED SYMBOL NO. NK-24559. REV. RALPH ABERS'ATHY IS IN ROOM 1901 WHICH IS NOT YET COVERED. KING'S ACTIVITIES DURING LATTER PART OF AUGUST 22 AND EARLY PART OF AUGUST 23 SPENT TRYING TO INFLUENCE CONVENTION DELEGATES TO SUPPORT FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN SEATING OF MISSISSIPPI GROUPS AS CONVENTION DELEGATES.

KING CALLED MR. YAMAMOTO (FH) OF THE HAWAII DELEGATION WHO IS SYMPATHETIC TO THEIR CAUSE BUT IS RELUCTANT TO COMMIT HIMSELF. KING HAS INVITED SOME MEMBERS OF THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE TO A BREAKFAST MEETING ARRANGED FOR 10 AM ON AUGUST 23, 1964, AT THE CLARIDGE HOTEL TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER. DAVE DENNIS CALLED JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, AND INSTRUCTED BILL ROBINSON TO CALL THE GREENWOOD AREA AND GET A LIST OF...
PAGE TWO, FROM NEWARK 232000

VOLUNTEERS WHO WENT TO MISSISSIPPI, AND HAVE MADE CALLS TO THEIR PARENTS IN AN EFFORT TO GET A TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN GOING TO HAVE PEOPLE SENT TELEGRAMS TO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE FOR MISSISSIPPI GROUP. HE LISTS NAMES OF DELEGATES FROM ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, IDAHO, IOWA, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, WASHINGTON, AND WYOMING WHO SHOULD BE PRESSURED. HE INSTRUCTED THEM TO WORK ON IT TONIGHT AND GET TELEGRAMS IN BEFORE NOON ON SUNDAY AUGUST 23. HE SAID THEY SHOULD REACH OUT IN SNCC, FRIENDS OF SNCC, AND CP MEMBERS, ET AL. A CALL TO ROOM SERVICE INDICATES 11 PEOPLE ARE PRESENT IN ROOMS 1901, 1902, 1923. BETTY GARVIN OF THE LOCAL SNCC HEADQUARTERS CALLED DAVE DENNIS AND RECITED EFFORTS MADE BY SNCC IN GETTING TELEGRAMS INTO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE. AS OF A.M. ON AUGUST 22, 1964, EVERY SNCC GROUP AND FRIENDS OF THE SNCC HAVE BEEN REACHED AND ASKED TO SEND NIGHT LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE. THEN CHECK OFF WITH EACH OTHER A LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ARE ON THE FENCE AND SHOULD BE PRESSURED.

KING CALLED ATLANTA FOR TOM YOUNG AND TOLD HIM TO COME TO ATLANTIC CITY. YOUNG WILL ARRIVE ATLANTIC CITY BY BUS ON SUNDAY AT TWO P.M. TO STAY UNTIL KING LEAVES ON TUESDAY AFTER THE DELEGATION SETTLEMENT PROBLEM HAS BEEN DECIDED.

MAIL COPIES SENT TO ATLANTA AND JACKSON.

RECEIVED: 8:19 PM BU.

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.
By letter dated 6/30/64 the Atlanta Office requested authority to install 3 additional technical surveillances (tesurs) on the facilities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 330 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of providing additional coverage of the SCLC and its leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. If approved, Atlanta desires to utilize SA William F. Kusch of the Miami Office to install these surveillances. Atlanta also requested 2 recorders for use in conjunction with these installations.

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

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

Atlanta desires to utilize SA Kusch to install these additional surveillances, if approved, since the Agent trained for this purpose in the Atlanta Office is known to King as well as other employees of the SCLC and full security can be assured only through having an Agent unknown in the Atlanta area handle the installation. SA Kusch has handled matters of this type in the past.
Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
   NEGRO QUESTION
   COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
100-3-116

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

OBSERVATIONS:

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

RECOMMENDATIONS:

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

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

6-23-64

Airtel

1 - Mr. Denehm
1 - Mr. Phillips

To: SAC, New York (100-151549) REC 37
From: Director, FBI (100-3-110) — 1624

COMMIHIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMIHIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERIAL SECURITY — C

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

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

Continue your efforts to obtain as much information as possible concerning any meetings which might be held in Wachtel's office. Physical surveillances may develop identities of participants in meetings and continuing contacts with highly sensitive sources available to your office as well as the Atlanta Office should develop information about discussions at the meetings in question. In the event meetings continue to be held in Wachtel's office, you may desire to consider resubmitting a request for a microphone survey. In that event include full information concerning background of Richard King if his cooperation is to be solicited.
Airtel to New York
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
100-3-110

Conf Source

It is noted that in recent request is also
made for authorization to pay Richard King, provided he
is willing to aid the Bureau, $50 for his work which
payment would also provide hotel accommodations for him.
It is not clear as to what is involved relative to
"hotel accommodations." In the future insure that requests
for authorization to make payments in matters of this type
contain full justifying information.
June 22, 1964

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5) Joe C. Lowery, Nashville, Tennessee

(6) Reverend Wyatt T. Walker, Atlanta, Georgia, Executive Assistant to King and Executive Director, SCLC
June 1, 1964

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

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

"Gail stated that about 2 a.m. on April 27, 1964 she was called by the bellman of one of the local hotels and told to go to the New Frontier Hotel and see Clara Ward, who has the Clara Ward Singers, a Negro girl group singing at the New Frontier Hotel. Gail proceeded to the New Frontier Hotel and approached Clara Ward in the lobby. After introducing herself to Gail, Clara Ward handed her $100 and said 'I have a couple of friends in town that would like to meet you and have you take care of them.' Clara Ward then stated that the reason she was paying Gail the $100 was because these two men did not believe in paying a girl for her services and for Gail to keep quiet about receiving any money.
"Clara Ward then took this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel bar where they had a drink, then Clara Ward made a phone call and shortly thereafter, Rev. Martin Luther King approached them at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.

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

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

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

\[\text{TOP SECRET} \quad \text{OBSCENE}\]

- 2 -

NW 55097 DocId: 32989551 Page 75
unknown, entered the room and had a drink and then stripped naked at the invitation of King and he had intercourse with Gail on the bed while both Clara Ward and the Rev. King watched the action from a closely position. During the monetary breaks in the action, Clara Ward would do a little feeling and stroking of her own.

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

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

On May 29, 1964, the following additional information was orally obtained from Source A. He stated that he contacted Gail again on May 29, 1964, and learned the following additional information from her.

Gail's full name is Gail LaRue (phonetic). She is 36 years old and married to one Harvey LaRue and resides with her husband in the Baltimore Arms Apartments, 131 Baltimore Avenue, Las Vegas. She has previously been married and has 4 children by her first marriage who are presently living in Sheridan, Wyoming

'Source A advised that his reason for a follow-up contact with Gail was to assure himself that there was no mistake in her identification of King. He said that Gail is absolutely certain that she entertained King on the morning of April 27, 1964, at the Sando Hotel as she presently has a magazine in her apartment with a picture of King in it. She said that even prior to looking at the magazine she knew that it was Martin Luther King she had entertained as she had seen his picture in the newspapers many times.
Source A said that he knew very little concerning Clara Ward other than the fact that she appears as an entertainer at the New Frontier Hotel and Casino with 5 other female Negro singers. According to him, the rumor around Las Vegas is that Clara Ward is a lesbian.

Source A also furnished the following additional details concerning the King - Call association as revealed to him by Call on May 23, 1954. Call said that when Clara Ward, King and she reached King's suite in the Sands Hotel, King and Ward immediately started drinking gin and vodka. Within 10 minutes after arrival in the room, King had Call completely disrobed. King and Ward also disrobed. King had Call lie on the bed and he joined alongside the bed and tried to place his sex organ in her mouth saying "here - eat this." King then called another Negro male, unknown to Call, who was in a nearby room and told him to come in and join the party. Shortly thereafter this individual appeared and he too disrobed. King then began having intercourse with Call and while this was occurring the other Negro male crawled on the bed on his knees and tried to place his sex organ in her mouth. Also while King was having intercourse with Call, Clara Ward had her hands manipulating around Call's sex organ. After King completed the intercourse the other Negro then had intercourse with Call and King got on the bed on his knees and told Call to "eat this also." She stated that the two men continued to change places. Call denied that she complied with this request, to "eat" the sex organs, but Source A stated she was not too emphatic in her denial.

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

The following is noted concerning King's presence in Las Vegas April 26 - 27, 1954. King arrived in Las Vegas at 2:37 p.m., April 26, 1954, accompanied by his Executive Assistant, Wyatt T. Gilder, and Reverend G. Mansfield Collins, editor of Atlanta, Ga., and Collins, of Los Angeles, California, his associates of King in the racial movement. Also in Las Vegas, April 26 - 27, 1954, was a parrain of King's from Los Angeles, Dolores Castillo. Although she was registered at the Riveria Hotel in Las Vegas, she is known to have spent some time in King's suite around midnight, April 26, 1954.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: Mr. J. F. Bland

DATE: May 27, 1964

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA NEGR0 QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Radiograms dated 5/21-22/64 from Atlanta indicate that Martin Luther King, Jr., is to be in San Francisco from May 23 to May 31, 1964. It was indicated that King and his party would probably stay at the Sheraton Palace Hotel while in San Francisco.

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

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

ACTION:

For your information.

JFB:1ml (5)

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Gurley
1 - Mr. Phillips
MEMO: Gaming Control Board -
Investigating Division.

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

Re: Martin Luther King

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

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

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

Gail stated that about 2 a.m. on April 27, 1964 she was called by the bellman of one of the local hotels and told to go to the New Frontier Hotel and see Clara Ward, who has the Clara Ward Singers, a Negro girl group singing at the New Frontier Hotel. Gail proceeded to the New Frontier Hotel and approached Clara Ward in the lobby. After introducing herself to Gail, Clara Ward handed her $100 and said "I have a couple of friends in town that would like to meet you and have you take care of them." Clara Ward then stated that the reason she was paying Gail the $100 was because these two men did not believe in paying a girl for her services and for Gail to keep quiet about receiving any money.
Clara Ward then took this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel bar where they had a drink, then Clara Ward made a phone call and shortly thereafter, Rev. Martin Luther King approached them at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.

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

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

The good Rev. King then laid Gail on the bed and had intercourse with her while Clara Ward sat by in the chair and watched the action. After what Gail stated seemed like hours, King rolled off and had another drink, then climbed back on again for a second go around. After awhile King rolled off again and about that time, King's partner, a Negro male, name unknown, entered the room and had a drink and then stripped naked at the invitation of King and he had intercourse with Gail on the bed while both Clara Ward and the Rev. King watched the action from a closeby position. During the momentary breaks in the action, Clara Ward would do a little feeling and stroking of her own.
Gail then stated that she was getting scared as they were pretty drunk and all using filthy language and at last she told Clara Ward she would have to go. Clara Ward then told King that as Gail had to rehearse the following morning, they would have to leave. The Rev. King then whispered in Gail's ear, "I would like to try you sometime again if I could get you away from Clara". At this time Gail and Clara left and had another drink at the bar in the Sands before parting company.

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

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

[Signature]
William H. Been, Agent

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

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

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

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

Clara Ward then took this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel where there was a Craps, on Clara Ward made a small call and sold her a drink, and then Clara Ward left. He returned for Gail at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.
Gail stated that she, the Rev. King and Clara Ward all sat down in his room and started drinking Vodka and Gin drinks and the Rev. King started telling about his "juice" around the country, which Gail stated was apparently told to impress her on what a big man the Rev. King was. After a short time drinking and bragging, the Rev. King called, by phone, to another room where as he said, "my partner is staying, sleeping off a drunk", and spoke to "his partner", with the following remark, "don't call me a black son of a bitch but get your damned ass down to my room because I have a beautiful white broad here". He then hung up and told Gail that he, the partner, the hi... he would be down pretty soon.

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

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

Gail then stated that she was getting scared as they were pretty drunk and all using filthy language and at last she told them she would have sex. King and Clara told that they will not engage in any illicit action, and added "she is one of New. Yor. "No. 1... it's a "little whores", I would like to try you sometime again if I could get you away from Clara". At this time Gail and Clara left and had another drink at the bar in the Sands before parting company.
Page Three
Re: Martin Luther King

Gail stated to this investigator that "that was the worst orgy I've ever gone through" and added that a few days later Clara Ward called her on the phone and asked her to come up to her, Clara's room for a few drinks later in the evening, which Gail stated she refused to go.
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)  
DATE: 1/27/64  
JUNE  
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SECURITY MATTER - C  

Re Bureau letter, 1/17/64.  

Due to lack of productivity, NY 4170-8*, covering the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Office, 312 West 125th Street, New York City, was discontinued at 4:00 PM, 1/24/64.
Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520) (P)

DATE: 1/8/64
JUNE

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

ODD HOUR SHIFTS
ATLANTA DIVISION

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

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

The above schedule will be followed UACB.

2 - Bureau RM

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

HGR: mel
(4)

REC 55
EX 102

See addendum page 2
ADDENDUM: Domestic Intelligence Division WTP: pag 1-20-64

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

The installation involved is located at rented space away from the Atlanta Office, necessitating that there be Bureau personnel on duty around the clock and it is not feasible to dismantle the equipment each day. It would appear logical that one Agent departing and one entering at noon each day would cause less attention and afford more security than Agents working an 8-hour shift. Therefore, it is recommended that the schedule set forth by Atlanta be approved.
TO:  DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  SM-C

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

On 6/3/65, at 1:45 PM, microphone coverage on rooms reserved for ANDREW YOUNG and KING was effected. These rooms, 3027 and 3029, were monitored from room 2227 by NY 511G-3.

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

Approved: 6 JUN 65 11:45

Sent M Per
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) JUNE

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

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SM-C

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

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

On 5/13/65, at 5:20 p.m. coverage on suite was discontinued. The source was designated NY 9078-2L and monitoring took place in suite 1750-1.
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

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

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C

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

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

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

No trespass was involved in this matter.
MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: C. D. Brennan

DATE: December 15, 1966

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

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

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

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

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

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

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35356)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C


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

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

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

Source later advised as follows:

The relationship between KING and MOORE has been going on for the past two or three years. On at least one occasion she has gone to Atlanta, Georgia, to see him. On those occasions, when arriving there learned that KING was also carrying another girl from Chicago. The name of this second girl was not known at the time to MOORE, or any others. This second girl was the former wife of CHARLIE JORDAN, the so-called 'police-king' on Chicago's south side. She is currently married to an employee of the presence of this woman at Atlanta, whereupon she had her return to Chicago. The source has no information concerning the specifics of this travel on the part of either female as to its nature or by whom it was financed.

2 - Bureau (R.I.)
2 - Atlanta (100-5583) (N.J.)
1 - Chicago
JCS: jao/mwm

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is no additional pertinent information concerning MOORE available in Chicago indices.
CG 100-35356

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

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

Chicago will remain alert for any additional information and Bureau will be promptly advised of same.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN RACIAL MATTERS

My memorandum of April 23, 1966, pointed out that a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, provided valuable intelligence information.

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

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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

This technical surveillance was installed on 11/3/63. Memorandum of 10/27/63 justifying the continuation of the installation was returned by the Attorney General indicating approval. Memorandum dated 4/23/63, recommending continuance of this technical surveillance was returned with a notation by the Attorney General dated 6/20/63, "I think this coverage should be discontinued, particularly in light of possible charges of a criminal nature against Hosea Williams and possibly others."
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

NOTE CONTINUED:

Inspector J.A. Sizoo contacted SAC Atlanta on 6/21/63, instructing that this technical surveillance coverage be discontinued immediately. It was discontinued at 1:00 p.m., 6/21/63.

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

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: W. C. Sullivan
DATE: 1/21/66

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

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

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

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

ACTION: Remove this surveillance at once 1/21.

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.

1 - M. F. Row - Room 6221 IB
100-106670 Enclosure
RFB: doh (9)

[Signature]
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
FROM: G. C. Moore  

DATE: December 29, 1967

SUBJECT:  COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
JUNE

PURPOSE:

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

BACKGROUND:

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

OBSERVATIONS:

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

Enclosure

100-438794

DMW: ekw

CONTINUED - OVER
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. Currently there are 52 telephone surveillances in operation. Thirty-four of those are in Bureau cases and 18 have been installed at the written request of the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

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

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

OK.
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: June 13, 1963

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

A New York source advised that Stanley Levison, a former director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been identified as a secret Communist Party member as late as 1963. He is of the opinion that half of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff is psychotic like Hosea Williams and James Bevel. He feels that Andrew Young, Executive Vice President, has "collapsed from the inside" and that Ralph Abernathy, the President, is as stupid as he sounds. He feels that no one in a leadership capacity in the organization can be assumed as the leadership of the organization but would like to see Andrew Young as President. He feels that the rest are hustlers and opportunists." According to Levison, the organization came to Washington, D.C. for the Poor People's Campaign with $1.000,000 and unprecedented support and now it has been discovered. He feels the purpose of the June 19, 1963, mass demonstration to give Abernathy the opportunity to make a speech like Martin Luther King, Jr. made in 1963 at a previous march on Washington, D.C. Levison stated in the source's presence, that most of the Resurrection City organization has been arranged that this cannot be detected. He has the arrangements for the June 19, 1963, demonstration as a cover. The source stated that the organization is for the organization to change direction.

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

CEG:ebb (14) CONTINUED - OVER
Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

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

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

Press reports reflect that a coalition of campus organizations led by the National Student Association, a nationwide organization of college students, pledged support for the June 15, 1969, demonstration and predicted at least 25,000 students would attend. One of our sources advised that a group from the Students for a Democratic Society, a militant youth group which has been extremely critical of United States policy in Vietnam, plans to join the campaign in Washington, D.C., tomorrow for a demonstration at the Office of Education.

The Puerto Rican Day of the Poor People's Campaign originally scheduled for June 8, 1969, is now planned for June 15, 1969, and groups of Puerto Ricans are to come to Washington, D.C., for what is planned to be a peaceful demonstration concerning Puerto Rican demands.

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

ACTION:

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

NOTE:

See memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated June 2, 1958, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr."
prepared by J. G. o.b.p.

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

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

ACTION:

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

By

[Signature]

Date

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

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

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

Re: Drew Pearson - Jack Anderson Column

Regarding Martin Luther King


Agency. This letter also notes that such coverage of King has
previously been alluded to on a number of occasions by the press,
including a column by "Washington Post" writer Richard Harwood
(February 25, 1963), in addition to other press coverage.

In connection with the appearance of the date July 16,
1963, in captioned article, as the date on which Kennedy first
instructed the FBI to conduct wiretap coverage of King, the
Attorney General's attention is drawn to the fact that a number
of individuals outside the FBI were familiar with this request.
Some of these would include Courtney Evans, who received Kennedy's
instructions in this matter, various Departmental officials who
were at that time aware of Kennedy's interest in having the FBI
institute this coverage of King, the Solicitor General, who was
recently briefed by the Director concerning our electronic coverage
of King, and certain current Departmental officials who were
completely briefed by representatives of this Bureau regarding
Kennedy's authorization of electronic surveillance coverage, in
connection with a discussion of the possible use of a plea of
immunity in the civil suit in Las Vegas against FBI Agents.

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

ACTION:

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

TO: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
   Director, FBI

FROM: Ramsey Clark
       Attorney General

DATE: May 27, 1968

SUBJECT:

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

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

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

Enclosures

100-101670

CDD: JHC:DEA

JUN 14 1968

AG: 3110: TEL:

Jun 27, 1968

51 JUN 27 1968
Kennedy Ordered King Wiretap

By Drew Pearson
and Jack Anderson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FBI Objects

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. King hurried to Washington for a showdown with Hoover. Emerging from the FBI director's office after their conference, Dr. King made a statement surprisingly favorable to the FBI. He had no criticism for Hoover. Informants have told us that Dr.

King suspected Hoover was tapping his wires. However, King never realized that the FBI had not placed taps on Dr. King's wire.

Later Kennedy was one of the most headline mourners at King's funeral.

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

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

The King wiretap was probably the most sensational of the leaks inspired or ordered by Bobby Kennedy when he was Attorney General, but it was by no means the only one.

This phase of his government career has been scrutinized only casually in the past. However, the public has a right to know all of his record before voting on his qualifications to be President.

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May 22, 1968

Mr. Bishop:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

M. A. Jones
Sen. Scott Proposes Special King Medal

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

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

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
New York Times
The Sun, Baltimore
The World
The New Leader
The New York Journal
The National Observer
People’s World

Date

---------------------------
May 28, 1968

15 - Mr. DeLoach
10 - Mr. Gale
15 - Mr. Sullivan
10 - Mr. Stafford

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

The fact that there was a wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King has been alluded to previously in newspaper articles and columns. As a matter of fact, Richard Harwood, writing in the "Washington Post" on February 23, 1968, made reference to such coverage. Allegations in his article and in various other articles were obviously repeated by Pearson and Anderson in their column of May 24, 1968.

The reference to the date July 10, 1961, as mentioned by Pearson and Anderson as the date set by Attorney General Kennedy first ordered an electronic surveillance placed on Dr. Martin Luther King, was likewise shown to many sources.

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

62 JUN 18 1968
The Attorney General

Former FBI employee Courtney Evans, who is now a temporary employee of the Department of Justice (and whose credibility is subject to serious question as a result of a number of falsifications and distortions of fact he has made publicly regarding FBI practices), was very much aware of this particular date as well as virtually all information contained in the Pearson column. As you may recall, two FBI representatives questioned Mr. Evans quite thoroughly on December 24, 1963, and on June 2, 1963, and reviewed with him numerous memoranda which he prepared in making a record of his pertinent conversations with former Attorney General Kennedy regarding electronic surveillance coverage by the FBI.

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

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

For your information, I did not bring up any reference to wiretap or microphone coverage during my meeting with Dr. King on December 1, 1964, as alluded to in Mr. Pearson's column. I am not aware of any statement made by Dr. King after this conference which was "surprisingly favorable" to the FBI.
Reports of Dr. King and his activities, involving internal security, and including infiltration and destruction by communists, were disseminated to authorized sources on a number of occasions. In handling our heavy responsibilities in the field of internal security, it would be unthinkable not to disseminate such information. Your office, the White House, the Vice President's office, the military intelligence agencies, and the Central Intelligence Agency, have been the recipients of these classified reports. As you can well appreciate, where it is necessary to disseminate to other agencies in the government, the risk of leaks is ever present.

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

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

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

TO : MR. TOLSON
FROM : C. D. DeLoach
DATE: 5/21/68
cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF WIRE TAPS AND MICROPHONES
BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY
Specific approval of wire tap on Martin Luther King Article by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, Friday, 5/24/68

Jack Anderson called and stated he wanted to speak in confidence. I told him if it concerned an official matter I could not agree with this stipulation. He stated he merely wanted to tip me off that Drew Pearson will have an article on Friday, 5/24/68, alleging that former AG Bobby Kennedy ordered the FBI to place a wire tap on Martin Luther King. He stated the article would probably hurt Kennedy a great deal.

I told Anderson we would have no comment concerning such an article; however, that I felt he was doing us a great disservice inasmuch as the article would certainly dry up Negro sources of information who have been friendly to the FBI.

Anderson stated he and Pearson were well aware of this fact; however, they felt that Kennedy should receive a death blow prior to the Oregon primary. I told him that, as he had been advised once before, the FBI would not become involved in bitter political struggles and that the record should be quite clear concerning this fact. Anderson said he well understood our position, and that he hoped Pearson's column would not affect the FBI too much. I told him that remained to be seen.

Anderson asked me if the FBI had disseminated a report concerning King's communist affiliations and sex life as of February or March 28, 1968. I told him I would make no comment. He stated he knew such a report was in existence and as a matter of fact he had read such a report. I asked for the identity of his source. He stated he must refuse to tell me. I told him we well knew that Ed Weisil, Jr. had advised him.
Mr. Tolson

Concerning specific information involving an old wire tap on King. I asked him point-blank if Weisl had allowed him to read an FBI report. He stated he had already admitted to me on one occasion that Weisl was his source in the Department, but that he must refuse to reveal the identity of the source who had allowed him to read an FBI report. The conversation ended with this statement.

We did disseminate an FBI report on King dated 3/12/63. It may be that Anderson is bluffing or it may be that he is talking about this specific report. It would be my thought that he possibly knows the date of the report, but has not been given a chance to read it. We nevertheless should maintain a strict "no comment" in the event Pearson's article appears on Friday, 5/24/63.

ACTION -
For record purposes.

All Data
FBI File
Census Data
Executive 5/23/63

"Absolutely.
We shouldn't reveal Weisl.

/
TO:         MR. TOLSON

FROM:      C. D. DeLoach

DATE:      5/17/68

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONTINUED ---- over

RECOMMENDATION

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

MAY 21 1969
Mr. Tolson

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

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

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

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

ACTION—

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

Mr. DeLoach
Miss Holmes
Mr. Sullivan

The Attorney General

JUNE

Mr. C. D. Brennan
Mr. Rozamus

Downgraded to
SECRET

Per C48W5782
Date 6/3/68

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

Jane Ellen Nasha Moses, New York City
National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at
The National Democratic Convention, Chicago, Illinois
The Midland News Agency (Communist Party, USA, Illinois
District), Chicago, Illinois
Southern Christian Leadership Conference headquarters
at Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C.
Tanganyika Mission to the United Nations, New York City
Vladimir A. Kuleshov, Washington, D. C.
William Thompson Tuttle, Washington, D. C.
Robert Albert Brown, Chicago, Illinois
African-American Heritage Association, Chicago, Illinois
Boris N. Fedor, Washington, D. C.
Leibal Borgman, San Francisco, California

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

66-8160

HJR: sss
(8)  

NOT RECORDED
29 MAY 1968

BIBLIOGRAPHY (MARTIN LUTHER KING)

Books by King

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Why We Can't Wait, 1964, New American Library. Paper 60¢
Where Do We Go From Here?, 1967, Harper, $4.95

See Also: L. Hoskins and the Editors of Quote,
Quotable Martin Luther King, Grosset, $4.95.
Magazine Article by King


"Negro and Negroes," Newsweek, February 24, 1958, p. 32.


"It's a Difficult Thing to Teach the President," excerpts from interviews, Look, November 17, 1964, pp. 61 plus.


"Two Perspectives, one Goal," accepts Nobel Peace Prize, Time, 12/18/64, p. 21.


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

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

By letter dated January 2, 1963, authority was requested to institute a telephone surveillance on the national headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, because its President, Martin Luther King, Jr., had publicly announced he would lead a massive civil disobedience in the nation's Capital in the Spring of 1963. At that time it was pointed out that these massive demonstrations could trigger riots.

By letter dated January 3, 1963, you declined authorization of this installation because, "There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security."

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

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

SEE NOTE PAGE T.10
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
television 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 C. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
same caption, dated 3/29/68 prepared by D.W.dsm.

SECRET
MARTIN LUTHER KING AT NATIONAL CATHEDRAL
MARCH 31, 1968

I need not pause to say how perfectly delightful it is to be here this morning, to have the opportunity of standing in this very great and significant pulpit, and I do want to express my deep personal appreciation to Dean Sayre and all the Cathedral clergy for extending the invitation. It is always a rich and rewarding experience to take at least a brief break from our day-to-day demands in the struggle for freedom and human dignity and ability and enjoy involvement in worship which concerns friends and goodwill all over our nation. Certainly there's always a deep and meaningful experience to be in a worship service. So, for many reasons I'm happy to be here today. I'm going to use as a subject from which to preach this morning, "Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution." The text for the morning is found in the Book of Revelation. There are two passages there that I would like to quote from the 16th chapter of that Book, "Behold, I make all things new," - "Former things are passed away.". I'm sure that most of you have read that interesting story from the pen of Washington Irving entitled, "Rip Van Winkle." The one thing we usually remember about the story is that Rip Van Winkle slept twenty years, but there is
another point in that story that all too many people overlook. There was a sign in the inn from which Rip went up into the mountains for his long sleep. When Rip Van Winkle went up into the mountains, the sign had a picture of King George, III, of England. When he came down twenty years later, the sign had a picture of George Washington, the first President of the United States. Rip Van Winkle looked up at the picture of George Washington, and looking at the picture, he was amazed. He was completely lost. He knew not who he was. And this reveals to us the most striking thing about the story of Rip Van Winkle is not merely that Rip slept twenty years, but that he slept through a revolution. While he was peacefully snoring up in the mountains, a revolution was taking place that, in point, would change the course of history. Rip knew nothing about it, he was asleep. Yes, he slept through a revolution. One of the great tragedies of life is that all too many people find themselves living amidst a great period of social change and yet they fail to develop new attitudes, the new mental responses that the new situation demands. They end up sleeping through a revolution. As a matter of fact, there is a great revolution taking place in the world today. In a sense it is a triple revolution; that is, a technological revolution in weaponry with the emergence of atomic and nuclear weapons of warfare. Then there is the human-rights
revolution, with the freedom explosion that is taking place all over the world. Yes, we do live in a period where changes are taking place. There is still the voice crying in the abyss of time saying, Behold, I make all things new. Former things are passed away. Now, when anything new comes in history, it brings with it new challenges and new opportunities. I would like to deal with the challenges that we face today as a result of this triple revolution that is taking place in the world today. First, we are challenged to develop a world spectacle. No individual can live alone. No nation can live alone; and anyone who feels that he can live alone is sleeping through a revolution. The world in which we live is geographically one. The challenge that we face today is to make the one term appropriate. Now, it is true that the geographical oneness in the days to come will be to a large extent through modern man's scientific ingenuity. Modern man, through his scientific genius has been able to go long distances through great time and change. Our jet planes have traversed in minutes distances that once took weeks and even months. All of this tells us that our world is a neighborhood. Through our scientific and technological genius we have made of this world a neighborhood; and yet we have not yet the ethical commitments to make us a brotherhood. Somehow and in some way we got to do this. We must all learn to live
together as brothers, or we will all perish together as fools. We are tied together in a single bond of destiny, thwarting any escape from the network of mutuality. Whatever people want directly, affects all indirectly. For some strange reason that I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be; and you can't be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the way God's universe is made. This is the way of its structure. John Donne caught it years ago and finished in graphic times, "No man is an island entire unto himself. Everyman is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . " and he goes on toward the end to say "For everyman's death diminishes me because I am a part of mankind. Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." We must seize this, believe it and live by it, if we are to remain awake through a great revolution. Secondly, we are challenged to eradicate the last vestiges of racial injustice from our nation. I just say this morning that racial injustice is still the black man's burden and the white man's shame. It is an unhappy truth that racism is a way of life, and a vast majority of white Americans; spoken and unspoken, acknowledge and deny subtly. Sometimes not so subtly. The disease that racism permeates and poisons the whole body politically. I can see nothing more urgent for America to work passionately to get rid of the disease of racism. Something positive must be done.
Everyone must share in its guilt; individuals and institutions. The Government must certainly share the guilt; individuals must share the guilt; even the Church must share the guilt. We must face the facts that 11:00 o'clock on Sunday morning when we stand to sing, "In Christ, there is no East nor West," we stand in the most segregated island of America. The hour has come for everybody from all of the institutions to dissect from this body its cancer, and work to get rid of racism. And now as we have to do it, we must honestly admit certain things. We must get rid of certain myths that are constantly being disseminated all over our nation. One is a myth of time. There is a notion that only time can solve the problems of racial injustices. There are those who often appear to say to the Negroes that are in the white community, "Why don't you slow up? Stop pushing things so fast. Only time can solve the problems. If you will just be nice and patient and continue praying, in a hundred or two hundred years the problem will work itself out." There is an answer to that myth: It is that time is neutral. It can be used either constructively or destructively. I am sorry to say this morning that I am absolutely convinced that the forces of ill will in our nation, the extreme Rightists in our nation, the people on the wrong ground use time much more effectively than the forces of good will. It may well be that we will have to impeach this generation. Not merely for patriotic words and devout actions of the bad people, but for the fallen silence
and indifference of the good people who sit around and wait on time. Somewhere we will come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inability. It comes through tireless efforts and persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be co-workers of God. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of social stagnation. So we must help time and realize that the time is always right to do right. Now there is another myth that still gets around. It is kind of over-reliance on the boot-strap philosophy. Now those that still feel that if the Negro is to rise out of poverty, if the Negro is to rise out of slum conditions, if he is to rise out of degradation and segregation, he must do it all by himself and so they say the Negro must lift himself by his own bootstraps. They never stop to realize that no other ethnic group has been a slave on American soil. The people who say this never stop to realize the debt they owe us who were kept in slavery 244 years. In 1863 the Negro was told he was free as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation being signed by Abraham Lincoln. He was not given any land to make that freedom meaningful. It was something like keeping a person in prison for a number of years and suddenly discovering that that person was not guilty of the crime for which he was convicted, and just go up to him and say now you are free. But you don't give him any crutch against time. You don't give him any money to get some clothes for his back or shoes for his feet. Yet this is the
very thing that our nation did to the black man. It simply set him free and just left him in ignorance, not knowing what to do. And we all know that at the same time the nation failed to do anything for the black man, through an Act of Congress, it has given away millions of acres of land west of the Mississippi which meant that it was willing to share with the white man the tools of economic force and grant power to them. They sent men to teach them to farm. Not only did they provide county agents but as the years unfolded they provided low-interest rates so they could mechanize their farms, and to this day, thousands of these very persons have been seizing millions of dollars in federal subsidies every year not to farm, and they are the very ones who tell Negroes they must lift themselves by their own bootstraps. It is all right to tell a man to lift himself by his bootstraps. But it is a cruel jest to say to a shoeless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps. We must come to see that the roots of racism are buried deep in our country. And there must be something positive and natural in order to get rid of all the effect of racism and tragedy of racial injustices. And there is another thing closely related to racism that I should like to mention as another challenge. We are challenged to rid our nation of the word poverty. Like a monstrous octopus, poverty spreads its nagging prehensal tenacles into hamlets and villages all over the world. Two-thirds of the people of the world go to bed hungry at night. They are ill-housed, they are ill-nourished.
I have seen it in Latin America; I have seen it in Africa; I have seen this poverty in Asia. I remember some years ago, Mrs. King and I journeyed to that great country known as India. And I never will forget the experience. It was a marvelous experience to meet and talk with the great leaders of India and get to talk with and speak to thousands and thousands of people all over that vast country. These experiences will remain dear to me as long as the haunts of memory linger. But I say to you this morning, my friends, there are those in Christendom — when they see with their own eyes literally millions of people are going to bed hungry every night — when he sees with his own eyes God's children sleeping on the sidewalks at night — In Bombay, more than a million people sleep on the sidewalks every night. In Calcutta more than 600,000 sleep on the sidewalks everynight. They have no beds to sleep in; they have no houses to go in. He discovers that in our vast population, more than five hundred million people, some 480 million, make an annual income less than $9000 a year. Most of them have never seen a doctor or nurse, and I know that we Americans say we are not concerned but . . . an answer came "Oh no . . " for the destiny of the U. S. is tied with the destiny of India and every other nation. We spend in America millions of dollars a day to store surplus. I know where we can store that food free of charge — in the stomachs of millions of God's children who go to bed hungry. Maybe we spend/too much of our national
budget establishing military bases around the world, rather than basing our genuine concern and understanding in order to alleviate poverty abroad. I would remind you in our nation there are 40 million people who are poverty stricken. I have seen them here and there. I have seen them in the ghettos of the north. I have seen them in the rural areas of the south. I have seen them in Appalachia. I have been in the process of touring many areas of our country and I must confess it is some situation where I literally found myself crying. I was in Marks, Mississippi the other day, which is in Quitman county, the poorest county in the U. S. I tell you I saw hundred of little black boys and girls walking the streets with no shoes to wear. I saw their mothers and their fathers trying to carry on the Head Start Program, but they had no money. The Federal Government hadn't funded them, they were trying to carry on . . . they raised a little money here and there; trying to get a little food to feed their children . . . trying to teach them something. And I saw mothers and fathers who said to me, not only were they unclothed, but they didn't get any kind of income - no old-age pension - no welfare - they didn't get anything. I said, "How do you live?" They said, "Well, we go around the neighbors and ask for a little something. When the berry season comes, we pick berries. When the rabbit season comes, we hunt and catch a few rabbits and that is how we get it."
I was in Newark and Harlem just this week and I walked into the homes of welfare mothers. I saw such conditions - no wall-to-wall carpets - wall-to-wall rats. So I stood and talked and this welfare mother said to me even the landlord won't repair the place. "I have been living here 2 years. He has not made a single repair." She pointed out how a little boy was the victim of lead poisoning. She pointed out the wall and ceilings falling, and the hole where the rats came in night after night. They have to stay awake to keep the rats and roaches from getting to the children. I said how much do you pay for this apartment. She said $125. I looked and said to myself it isn't worth $60. Poor people are forced to pay more for such living conditions. Tragedy rears so often. These 40 million people are embittered. Because America is so affluent and so rich - because there are expressways carrying away from the ghettos of the poor -

Jesus told a parable one day. He reminds us a man went to hell because he didn't feed the poor. The man was Diabees (Phonetic). He was a rich man. And there was a poor man in Nazareth who was not only a poor man, but was sick. He had sores all over his body. He was so sick that he could hardly move. He managed to get to the gate of Diabees every day, wanting to have just the crumbs that had fallen from his table. Diabees did nothing about it - Now when he died, Diabees went to hell - there was
a rock between Lazarus and Diabees. There is nothing in that parable that says that Diabees went to hell because he was rich. Jesus never made the universal indictment against all wealth. It is true that one day a rich young man came to him and Jesus told him to sell all . . . Jesus was prescribing an individual surgery and not setting forth a universal diagnosis. If you will look at that parable and all its symbolism, you will remember that the conversation took place between heaven and hell. And the angels had long-distance calls. It was Abraham talking to Diabees. Now Abraham was a very rich man. If you go back in the Old Testament, you will see he was one of the richest men of his day. Diabees didn't go to hell because he was rich. It was Diabees didn't realize his wealth was an opportunity. It was not his riches that separated him from brother Lazarus. Diabees went to hell because he passed Lazarus every day and didn't really see him. He went to hell because he allowed his brother to become invisible. Diabees went to hell because he maximized the minimum and minimized the maximum. And went to hell because he sought to be a conscientious objector in the war against poverty. This can happen to America . . the richest country in the world. There's nothing wrong with that. This is America of opportunity—to help bridge the gulf between the have and the have nots. The question is whether America can do it. It has nothing to do with poverty. What is new is that we now have the techniques and resources to get rid of poverty. The real question is whether we have the will. In a few weeks, some of us are coming to
Washington to see if the will is still alive. We are coming to Washington in a poor-peoples campaign. Everyone is bringing his pride along. The poor, the masses, we are going to bring all those who have known long years of hurt and neglect. We are going to bring those who have come to feel that life is a long and carved door with no exit sign. We're going to bring children, adults, and old people. People who have never seen a doctor or dentist in their lives. We are not coming to engage in any historic vistas. We are coming to demand the Government to adjust itself to the problem of poverty. We read one day we hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal. That they are endowed with their Creator in certain inevitable rights. That among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But if a man doesn't have a job or income, he has neither life, nor liberty, nor possibility for the pursuit of happiness. He merely exists. We are coming to ask America to be true to huge promise of prophetic signs years ago. We are coming to engage in traumatic non-violent action to call attention to the growth between promises fulfilled. To make the invisible visible. Why do we do it this way - we do it this way because it is our experience a nation doesn't move around questions of genuine equality, especially when the poor is involved until it is confronted massively. A great documentary is here to tell us that something should be done. We met here some years ago in a White House conference on civil rights. We came out with the same recommendations that we will be demanding in our campaign here, but nothing has been done
about it. The President's Commission on technology, automation and economic progress recommended these things some time ago. Nothing has been done. Even a Presidential Board which was made up of mayors of other cities of our country, the leading businessmen, have said have these things done, still nothing has been done. Crime Commissions have come out this report, just a few days ago. Nothing has been done. In summary, nothing will be done till people of goodwill put their hearts and souls in motion. I believe this will make the difference. Yes, it will be a poor peoples campaign. This is the question facing America. Ultimately, a great nation is a compassionate nation. America has not met its obligations and its responsibilities to the poor. One day we will have to stand before our God and history. We will talk in terms of things we've done. Yes, we will be able to say we built gargantuan bridges to span the seas. WE built hugh buildings to kiss the sky. Yes, we have made our submarines to penetrate oceanic depths. We brought forth many other things of scientific and technological power. It seems that I can hear God and history saying: That is not enough. But I was hungry and you fed me not. I was naked and you clothed me not. If you do it unto the least of these my brethren, you do it unto me. That is the question facing America today and I want to say one other challenge we face - simply that we must find an alternative to war and bloodshed. Anyone who feels, and I fear that a lot of people feel this way - that war can solve the social problems of mankind, is
sleeping through a revolution. President Kennedy said on one occasion mankind must put an end to war or war would put an end to mankind. The world must hear this. I pray God that America will hear this before it is too late because today we are fighting a war I am convinced that it is one of the most unjust wars that has ever been fought in the history of the world. Our involvement in the war in Vietnam has torn up progress in Geneva . . strengthened the military industrial complex. It has strengthened the forces of reactionaries in our nations. It has put us against the self-determination of the vast majority of people. Put us in a position of protection of a corrupt regime that is stacked against this world. It played havoc with our domestic destiny. This day we are spending $500,000 to kill every Vietcong soldier and every time we kill one, we spend about $500,000. While we spend only $53 a year for every person trying to rise in poverty-stricken or so-called poverty programs which is not even a good skirmish against poverty. Not only that, it has put us in a position of appearing to the world that here we are ten thousand miles away from home, fighting for the so-called freedom of the Vietnamese people, when we do not even put our own house in order. We force young black men, young white men, to fight and kill in brutal military yet when they come back home, they can’t hardly live on the block together. The judgment of God is on us today. We could go right down the line and see that something must be done, something must be done quickly. We have alienated ourselves from other nations but we end up morally and politically isolated in the
world. For a few quiet nations like Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea, and a few others, this is where we are. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind. The best way to start is to put an end to the war in Vietnam because if it continues, we will inevitably come to the point of confronting China, which could lead the whole world to nuclear annihilation. It is no longer a choice, my friends, between violence and nonviolence. It is between nonviolence and nonexistence and the alternative to this armanent, the alternative to greater suspension of nuclear tests, the alternative to strengthen the United Nations and thereby disarming the whole world may well be a civilization plunged into the abyss of nuclear holocaust. The world could be transformed into an inferno that even the mind of Dante could not imagine - this is why I am raising my cause today - working wherever I can to arouse the conscience of the nation. I remember so well when I first took my stand against the war in Vietnam, how the critics took me on. They had their say in sometimes the most vicious way. One day a newsman came to me and said, Dr. King don't you think you're going to have to stop assaulting the war and move more in line with the administration's policy. I understand that it hurts the budget of the organization. People who respected you have lost respect for you. Don't you feel that you really
ought to change your position? I looked at him and I had to say, Sir, I am sorry you don't know me. I am not the consensus leader. There comes a time when one must take the position that it is neither political nor popular but he must do it, because conscience tells him it is right. I believe today that there is the need for all people of good will to come with an active conscience. Say, in the words of the old Negro spiritual, we ain't gonna study war no more. This is the challenge facing modern man. Then we close by saying we have twelve days ahead to struggle for justice and peace. I would not yield to a politician of despair. I'm gonna maintain hope. As we come to Washington in this campaign, the cards are stacked against us. This time we will really confront a goal line. God, grant that we will be like David who stood up against Goliath in justice. Make America the truly the great America that it is called to be. I'll say to you that I'll go this spring and I believe we're going to get there. We have been scorned, but we are a people whose destiny is tied up in the destiny of America. Before the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth, we were here. Far across the page of history, before the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. Before the beautiful words of the Star Spangled Banner were written, we were here. More than two centuries, our forefathers labored here with outrages, the cotton cane, they built the homes of the families under the most humiliating and oppressive conditions. Yet out of
abundant vitalities, they continue to grow and develop. If the unexpressable cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition that we now face will surely fail. We gonna win our freedom because both the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of the Almighty God are embodied in our over-growing demand. I still can sing, we shall overcome. We shall overcome because - we shall overcome because Carlisle (Phonetic) was right. No lies can live forever. We shall overcome because true right is right. We shall overcome because . . . as we were singing earlier today, truth forever on the scaffold . . . that scaffold swayed the future behind the dim unknown standard of God within the shadows keeping watch above his own. With this faith, we will be able to transform the national course of our nation to a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. God grant that we will be participants in this newness, this magnificent development. If we will but do it, we will bring about a new day of justice and brotherhood and peace. That day the morning stars will sing together . . . and the sons of God will shout for joy. God bless you.
UNMAN: (Commentator on WOL) Black ministers from around the country recently met to attack the problems of community leadership. We join Dr. KING as he delivers the closing speech to this group.

KING: We have discussed many issues; we have deliberated; we have had fellowship together, and we have heard many eloquent, profound and passionate presentations. In a real sense, for so many of us, this has been a mountaintop experience. There are those transfiguring moments in life when we do ascend a mountaintop, where we are inspired, where we are lifted and where we feel a sense of eternity. But I want to say to you today that in a few hours we will be returning to the valley. The valley calls us. We will be returning to valleys filled with men and women who know the ache and anguish of poverty. We're going to be returning to valleys filled with thousands and thousands of young people who lost faith in America. We go back to a valley filled with black people who are in moments of despair because of their circumstances and ever again they unconsciously find themselves crying out with PAUL (LAWRENCE DUNBAR) (ph) a crust of bread and a corner to sleep in, a minute to smile, and
an ( ) to weep in, a pint of joy to a peck of trouble, and never a laugh as the moans come double, and that is life. Now these cries are in the valley that we must go back to. The fact is that the vast majority of Negroes in America are still perishing on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. Now you know what happens in the realm of semantics that different words are used when you deal with the poor, the oppressed, the separated. Whenever you have massive unemployment in the black communities, it's called a social problem. Whenever you have massive unemployment in the white community, it's called a depression. The fact is that that is a depression in the black community. Now the other thing is whenever the government provides opportunities and privileges for white people and rich people, they call it subsidies; when they do it for Negroes and poor people, they call it welfare. The fact is that everybody in this country lives on welfare. Suburbia was built with federally subsidized credit and the highways that take our white brothers out to the suburbs were built with federally subsidized money to the tune of 90 percent. Everybody is on welfare in this country. The problem is that we
all too often have socialism for the rich and (   ) free enterprise capitalism for the poor; that's the problem. As you know the economic problem is serious, and this has made for a lot of despair, made for a lot of bitterness, and a lot of anger in the black community; the situation is getting worse everyday. This anger has ended up in explosions of violence over the last few summers, and yet I don't see a riot as the answer; they don't pay off as from a practical point of view the enormity of the suffering and the loss of life far outweigh the gains that come as a result of our burned cities. We have to face this (   ) fact that no substantive change has come to America or to any city as the result of a riot; the only thing we see is a quick token poverty grant and maybe some water hydrant (squares) or what have you, and that's about it; no substantive change has come; no schools have moved toward more quality integrated education as a result. The job problem has not been solved as a result of the riots; we have to face it. So I don't see this as an answer, and yet something has to be done to get this nation to see that it has a moral responsibility to see that everybody in this country should have a job or an income. Years ago America signed a huge promissory note and placed it
in its Declaration of Independence and talked about all men being created equal, and then it went on to say they are endowed by their Creator, and you know this creed did not say some men, it said all men; it didn't say all white men; it says all men which includes black men. And it goes on to say something else which ultimately distinguishes our form of government from other totalitarian regimes; it said that each individual had certain basic rights that are neither derived from or conferred by the state. In order to discover where they came from, it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity, they are God-given. Now this is what the nation said, but it hasn't lived up to that. Eight years from now we will celebrate 200 years of independence in this country, but I wonder if the black man will be able to celebrate it. What life have we known? Too often it's a life of unemployment, of misery and poverty. What liberty have we known? Too often it is merely the liberty to move from one slum to another. I don't know if we can celebrate it eight or nine years from now. Now we're going to Washington and outline our demands; we're going to the seat of government with an outline of demands; now why do we have to go? Because, number one, we must
find an alternative, the riots on the one hand and
timid supplication for justice on the other and find a
way to transmute the ( _____ ) waves of the ghetto into
a creative and constructive force. Well, that's one
reason we need to go; people are angry; people are
frustrated; they are bewildered, and you got to give an
outlet, so we need to go to Washington for that reason.
But the other reason is that this country never moves on
the question of civil rights or genuine equality for the
black man until it's made to move through pressure; it
just doesn't happen; I wish it did; I tell you the truth,
I'm tired of marching; I'm tired of going to jail; I'm
being very honest about it. Now everybody .... not
everybody but many people are saying that something
should be done about the slums, about the economic
problems that we face in the black community. I could
mention source after source; three Presidential commissions
have said it; they said everything that we gonna ....
everything that we will demand in Washington they have
already written down on paper and said it should be
done; the Committee on Technology, Automation and Economic
Progress said it; the White House Conference of Civil
Rights said it; after the Detroit riot a group was formed
called Urban Coalition with the mayors in most of the big cities in our country, and even some of the conservative mayors agreed that a massive program has to come into being to provide jobs for everybody desiring jobs; this is what the Urban Coalition came out with. LEANSER (ph) had been one of the architects of it and others, but you had on there some of the outstanding businessmen, DAVID ROCKEFELLER, HENRY FORD, and you can go right down the line. They have asked in a document for everything that we'll be talking about in Washington. "Newsweek" magazine, for the first time in its history, broke from its past policies of not editorializing about things like this and said the time for action is now; it's urgent and they recommended all the things about that we are gonna be asking for. The Harris poll revealed that 68% of the American people feel that some kind of massive program ought to come into being to provide jobs for everyone desirous of working; it revealed that 64% of the American people feel that slums should be eradicated, and the communities rebuilt by the people who live in them which would be another massive job program. So it seems there is a consensus in the nation about this thing, and yet our Congress is sitting around fiddling while the cities are burning. They aren't going to do a single thing until we act and
until we act massively, until we create a non-violent crisis in this nation, and we are organizing right now some 15 communities. We want to start out with 3,000 poor people who have been trained in the discipline of non-violence, a thorough understanding of the demands because they must be their demands, and that would be the first wave, but you see you don't deal with hard-hearted Pharoah with just one plague; you gotta keep plaguing Pharoah, and we want waves and waves; we want to start out with this group to be sure we have a disciplined group to set the pattern and start out and then every day and every week we just want waves of people coming in bringing back grievances to Washington, saying we demand change. This is a poor people's campaign, and those who come who are a little more affluent will come in a supportive role fighting for something for poor people. And I urge you to do it because this is so much of our ministry; this is what our ministry really means. You know, you find it in your congregations; there are some among us in the middle class who kind of float out of the muddy waters and manage to get into the fresh flowing waters of the mainstream to a degree, and they forget the stench of the back waters. We must not allow our poorer brothers to be ignored; we, as preachers, must
join hands with them. PAUL KILLECK (ph) is right; sin
is separation. What represents it more than what we
see going on in our nation and in the world; we're
separated from ourselves, separated from our neighbors,
and finally separated from God, and we are going to
Washington to try to deal with some of these problems,
and I said earlier it is not MARTIN LUTHER KING; it's
these men around me, they do the work. They're men who
are humble but at the same time are dedicated to the
struggle; they are humble enough to take cuts in salaries;
I know what I'm talking about; they could make much more,
but they are doing this, and I don't mind asking you
that we need your support; I don't mind saying to you
today that we want you to leave here committed to this
church, SCLC is a church, a church in action. It is not
no accident that most of the staff members and board
members and leaders are preachers in SCLC, and I am
not saying that other civil rights organizations should
not be supported, but I am saying that it is conviction
that preachers are to be identified with SCLC because it
is a social action church, that is working in this society.
(Some applause) We need your support to get buses and
to get people into Washington. We got to feed people;
you've got to do a lot of things. If everyone of you
in your communities would help us, America will see a

- 8 -
movement that it has never seen before. After we get to moving, people will be coming from everywhere, and I want some congressman to go to the window and look out and say, I see a lot of people on these highways. Where are these people coming from? Who are they? And I want someone to go in there and say they are coming up out of Mississippi and Alabama. And I want somebody to go by there and say they are coming from the ghettos of Chicago, Detroit, Newark, New York, and Philadelphia. I want somebody to say they are coming up out of great trials; they are coming up out of years of neglect and years of hurt. Who are they? These are they. And I want somebody else to add, How many do you see out there? And I want somebody just to say, I've been trying to count them all, but it seems there need to be a number that no man can number. I am fired up over Washington .... I want you to be in Washington with us, and I am serious about this, the nation need this. And I am going on to say that these are days that demand for us as clergymen a committed empathy. And a kind of dangerous altruism. This is what is demanded of us today, a dangerous altruism; we have got to give ourselves to others. Jesus told another parable, "One day a man came to Him and raised a lot of questions, and finally he ended up saying who is my neighbor?" Now that question
could have very easily ended up in a philosophical debate. But Jesus immediately pulled that question out of mid air and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho, and He talked about a certain man that fell among thieves. You know the story, I don't have to go through it. Finally the man who helped was a man of another race. And I want to tell you a little about it because I thought about it several times when I've been in the Holy Lands. We ask the question: Why? ...did the Priest and the Levi pass, and we come out with a lot of imaginary ideas; sometimes we say that they were busy; they had to get down to some ecclesiastical conference; at other times we say that maybe they were following a religious law which said that one was not to touch a human body 24 hours before carrying on a religious service, and then sometimes we say that this is a possibility that maybe the men were going down to Jericho to organize a Jericho road improvement association, and maybe they felt that it was better to get at the problem, at the cause of the source rather than get bogged down in an individual aspect. That's a possibility, but when I think of this parable, my imagination goes somewhere else. It is possible that these men went on the other side too because they were afraid. And it's possible, you see,
that when that Levi and Priest saw that man over there, they said that maybe the man is just a faker, and maybe he is just there to lure us over for quick and easy seizure, and now they could have said that maybe the robbers are still around, and we better get on and get out of this situation. You know the words. The first question that the Priest asked; the first question that the Levi asked, was if I stop to help this man, what will happen to me? But the good Samaritan reversed the question: If I do not stop and help the man, what will happen to him? That is the ultimate question of life. So often we are thinking about our jobs, our prestige, our positions, and we find ourselves saying: If I take a stand for this cause, what will happen to me? Will my home get bombed? Will I get put in jail, or will I lose my prestige in a particular group that I am in? That is divorced from the problem. What will happen to me is so often the question that we raise. Yeah, will I get put off the poverty board? What will happen to me? But the great question is if I do not take a stand, what will happen to our brothers and our sisters who are suffering? This is the question that we all have to weigh. I have weighed it in my life; I remember when I first took my position against the war in Vietnam, almost
every newspaper in the country criticized me. They don't bother me too much now because too many people agree with me, but when I took the position at first, it was a low period in my life; I could hardly open a newspaper. It wasn't only white people; it was Negroes. I must rush on to my conclusion, but I want to say that we are not only priests, but we are prophets. When God speaks, who can but prophesy. Prophesy until slums and rat-infested ghettos be a thing of the dead past and a dark past. And every man will be able to live in a decent sanitary house. Go out and prophesy until the vital industries of Appalachia are revitalized, and the wrinkled stomachs of Mississippi are filled. Go out and prophesy. Until brotherhood will no longer be the end of a world, at the end of a prayer, but the first item of business on every legislative agenda. Go out and prophesy. Until our state houses and city halls will be filled with men who will do justly, who will love mercy, and who will walk humbly with their God. "Go out and prophecy. Until even the lion and the lamb can lie down together. And every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall be afraid. It won't always be easy. Sometimes it may cause one of your children to ask you, "Daddy, why do you have to go to jail so much?" It may mean losing a job; it may mean weary nights.
It may mean standing amid the chilly winds of adversity, but if we are followers of Jesus Christ, we know that Christianity is not a euphoria of unannoyed comfort and untroubled ease. What is it? It means taking up the cause, taking it with all its (tich) and pack agony and bearing that cross until it leaves the very marks of Jesus Christ on your body and on your soul. We need to take up the cross and follow Jesus, and finally as we leave, we are going back to a valley that is filled with despair; people have lost hope. We have the job of transforming the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of hope. When people lose hope, they die spiritually and physiologically; keep the hope, the flame of hope burning. When people lose hope, they develop a disease called give-up-itis, and they develop a kind of nihilistic philosophy, which concludes that you can't change anything, so let us go on and disrupt for disruption's sake; let us go back and tell young men and young women that it is dark now; it is dismal, but mornig will surely come; weeping may tarry for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. Oh, I believe that. Go back and tell our brothers and sisters to wait until the morning; don't give up too early; tell the black nationalists who want to give up on non-violence, don't give up yet; we haven't
tried it in the North on a massive scale yet; go back and tell them that if this building caught afire, and you got three or four buckets of water to try to put the fire out, and it didn't put the fire out, you wouldn't say that water can't put the fire out. You'd just say that you need more water more efficiently and intelligently applied. It doesn't mean that non-violence won't work; we haven't tried it on a massive scale in the North. Everything that we have set out to get through a non-violent movement, we have gotten that. It's a success story; tell them to wait until the next morning; don't give up yet. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that ( ) is long, but it bends toward Justice. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that the truth crushed to earth shall rise again. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that the Bible is right. You shall reap what you sow. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that one day the God of the universe will be able to say to those who won't listen to him; I'm not a fighter, don't play with me; I will rise up and break the backbone
of your power. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord counting out the goodness where the grapes of wrath are stored. Glory Hallelujah, His truth is marching on.

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

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

SECRET
- 2 -
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: G. C. Moore

DATE: March 29, 1968

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFRINGEMENT

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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:

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

Enclosure
100-438794
DMW: dsm (7)

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

OBSERVATIONS:

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

' "The Memphis situation gives added importance to this request."

[Signature]

[Initial]

[Initial]
MEMORANDUM

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

From: P Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

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

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

Other investigative activities should be undertaken to provide
intelligence necessary to the protection of the national interest.
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 disobedience in the Nation's Capital and in 10 to 15 major cities throughout the United States in the Spring of 1958 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.

Very truly yours,
John Edgar Hoover
Director

SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
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. G. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, same caption, dated December 29, prepared by H.W. et al.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: T. E. Bishop

DATE: 6/25/69

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Enclosures
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures
1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosures
1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosures
1 - Mr. M.A. Jones - Enclosures

(See ADDENDUM - OVER)
ADDENDUM: 6/25/69 TEB:jo

The "Detroit Free Press" newspaper of 6/25/69 has not yet arrived in Washington. Attached is a copy of the interview as it appeared in the "Detroit Free Press," which was dictated to Bishop's Office by ASAC Nally of the Detroit Office this morning.
Bishop to DeLoach  VERA R. GLASER & MALVINA STEPHENSON, KNIGHT NEWSPRS.
INTerview with Director
At 9:30 p.m. 6/24/69 Bill Barton of AP called Bishop re exclusive interview above 2 women reporters had with Director. After checking with Miss Gandy & Mr. Tolson, Bishop was advised by Mr. Hoover that we should have no comment re matter. Barton was advised. Att. is copy of UPI story reporting alleged interview. Efforts are being made to secure "Detroit Free Press" when they arrive.
REC: None. For info.
Mr. U. C. Sullivan
6/12/69.

G. C. Moore

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

The above-mentioned telephone surveillance was discontinued on April 30, 1955, when King changed residences in Atlanta. At that time matters of interest to us pertaining to King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), were being obtained through a telephone surveillance on the Atlanta headquarters of SCLC. This telephone surveillance on SCLC in Atlanta was in existence from November 8, 1953, to June 21, 1955, when former Attorney General Nicholas de Katsenbach ordered it discontinued because of the involvement of an SCLC official (Lucas Williams) in a car theft case.

Attached is a copy of Atlanta Circlet May 19, 1955, showing the discontinuance of the telephone surveillance on King on April 30, 1955.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

100-103570

1 - Mr. C. D. BaLeach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Broom
- Attn: Mr. Rosanes
① - Mr. C. L. Glass
1 - Mr. J. J. Brahm
JJD:Sec (8)
June 19, 1969

MR. G. C. MOORE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

The documents involved were entitled, "Communist Influence in Social Matters - A Current Analysis," and "Martin Luther King, Jr. - A Current Analysis." These documents were furnished to Clark by cover letters dated April 10, 1967, and March 14, 1963, respectively. Copies of the documents and the cover letters are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

100-105370

Enclosures - 4

JDB:ekw
(6)

1 - Mr. Deloach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan (Attention: Mr. Rozanski)
1 - Mr. Glass
1 - Mr. Dunn
Pursuant to your instructions, information is set forth below regarding knowledge by former Attorney General Nicholas de Katzenbach of electronic coverage on Martin Luther King, Jr.

Although we have no specific data in our files showing that Katzenbach authorized a telephone surveillance on King himself, there is ample information showing Katzenbach was well aware of our electronic coverage on King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Attached is a copy of a memorandum dated 10/27/65 (initialed by Katzenbach in the upper right hand corner) showing we had a telephone surveillance on King's organization, the SCLC. Also attached is a copy of a memorandum 12/3/65 to the Attorney General regarding electronic coverage on King at the Americana Hotel in New York City. In response to this 12/1/65 memorandum, there is attached a copy of a note from Katzenbach to the Director stating, "Obviously, these are particularly delicate surveillances and we should be very cautious in terms of the non-ENO people who may from time to time necessarily be involved in some aspect of installation."

Copies are attached of nine memoranda to the Attorney General dated 10/20/64, 10/22/64, 11/3/64, 11/9/64, 11/12/64, 11/23/64, 12/17/64, 12/31/64, and 2/2/65. These set forth for Katzenbach's information valuable data developed on King. The data involved was derived from electronic coverage on King and the SCLC.

ACTION:

For information,

100-105570

Enclosures - 12

JJDickw

(3)
Mr. V. C. Sullivan
June 16, 1969

G. C. Moore

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - CONFIDENTIAL

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

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

ACTION:

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

Enclosures - 2

100-105570

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. V. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
   Attn: Mr. Davic
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
   Attn: Mr. Rozaruz
1 - Mr. Patterson in

T.O. (3)
May 31, 1963

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

June 15, 1963

JUNE
BY LIAISON

NOMINALLY SPEAKING
The Vice President
Washington, D.C.

By order Mr. Vice President

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

On July 16, 1963, an official of this Bureau said at the Justice Department's request. On that occasion, Mr. Kennedy said he was considering the possibility of a telephone surveillance of King because of King's associations. On the basis of the facts established at that time, the possibility of such a surveillance was doubtful and he was asked to consider the repercussions if it ever became known that such surveillance had been instituted on King.

Mr. Kennedy said he was not concerned about possible repercussions and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible in view of the possible extreme influence in the racial situation. He was told that the feasibility of such coverage would be determined and an appropriate recommendation would be submitted to him.

100-106670

WCP: mms

(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

classified automatic
commodity

declassification

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:


Classified "Top Secret" because of sensitive nature of the information contained therein, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national security.
The President:  The White House  Washington, D.C.

June 26, 1963

JUNE

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

On July 14, 1963, an official of the Bureau said Mr. Kennedy at the Justice's request. On that occasion, Mr. Kennedy said he was concerned the possibility of a tele-bug surveillance at the instance of high-ranking associates. He was advised by the Bureau official that since King was in travel almost practically all the time, the productivity of such a surveillance was doubtful and he was asked to consider the repercussions if it ever became known that such a surveillance had been instituted on him. Mr. Kennedy said he was not concerned about possible repercussions and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation. He was told that

WCP: ekw

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per: 9/18/63
Date: 9/18/63
The President

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

On July 25, 1968, Mr. Kennedy changed his mind concerning his request and thought it ill-advised at that time, but on October 7, 1968, a request for authority to place a telephone surveillance on King's residence was sent to Mr. Kennedy. In October 10, 1968, he authorized this surveillance, and a surveillance on any future residence of King, by his written signature.

This telephone surveillance was installed on November 2, 1968, and was discontinued on April 30, 1969.

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

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:


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

TOP SECRET

- 2 -
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

June 10, 1969

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

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

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

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

100-106570

CNG:ekw
(10)
16

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
surveillance, and a surveillance on any future residence of Dr. King, by his written signature.

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

NOTE:

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

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

1. Mr. Markoff
2. Mr. E. C. Sullivan
3. Mr. Hall
June 19, 1939

1. Mr. E. C. Moore
2. Mr. E. O. Brendan
(Signed)
Mr. Brendan

MARK LUTHER KING, JR.
RE: SECURITIES - COMPLAINT
1. Mr. Davis
2. Mr. Glass

INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

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

There was a wiretap on King's phone at his residence in Atlanta, Georgia, from 11/19/33 to 8/29/33 with the approval of several days duration on the request of the Chief of Police in Los Angeles, California, the Chicago Police in
Atlantic City, New Jersey, and at a temporary residence of 173 E. 72nd St., New York City. A wiretap was instated at the back
quarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.)
1. E. B. P. L., 22nd St., Washington, D.C. All three wiretaps were
on the authorization of Robert Kennedy, dated 11/19/33, which is
together.

In addition, a wiretap on S.C.L.C. headquarters in Atlanta,
Georgia, was instituted from 11/3/33 to 6/21/38 on Kennedy's
authorization dated 12/31/33, attached.

A wiretap on the residence of Elijah Muhammad in Chicago
was authorized 2/2/37 by Robert Kennedy, authorization attached.
It was installed 1/7/37. On this same authorization wiretaps
were installed at additional residences of Elijah Muhammad in
Chicago, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri. The wiretap installed on
this authorization was discontinued 3/23/33.

Framcy Clark became acting attorney general on 10/2/33.

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

A wiretap was installed at King's address in Atlanta, Georgia, on 1/3/65 and was discontinued 4/30/65 when he moved. It was not reinstituted at his new address. Former Attorney General Robert Kennedy approved this 10/16/63. In addition, on Kennedy's 10/10/63 authorization, wiretaps on King were instituted at the Hyatt House Hotel in Los Angeles (6/2-8/13/64 and 7/7-5/31/64); at 1237 First St. Street, New York City, to office address, 7/14-9/1/64); and the Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 6/22-27/64. These were discontinued when King left these addresses.

Wiretaps were installed at SCLC headquarters in New York City, 10-24-63-1/8/1/64 and 7/13/63-7/31/64. The discontinuance 1/24/64 was for lack of productivity; the discontinuance on 7/31/64 was because the office moved. There was a wiretap on the SCLC Atlanta headquarters 11/3/63 to 3/21/63 when former Attorney General Katzenbach ordered it discontinued because of the involvement of an SCLC official in a car theft case. These authorizations was also given by Kennedy on 10/13/63 and 10/21/63.

Former Attorney General Clark became Acting Attorney General on 10/2/63, he was confirmed by the Senate on 3/2/67, and was sworn in 3/10/67. On 1/2/63 Clark's approval was requested for a wiretap on SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, which authority he denied on 1/3/63. Authority was again requested on 4/2/63 and authority was denied by Clark in a memorandum to the Director 1/17/63. On 5/17/63 Mr. Deloach discussed the King wiretaps with Assistant Attorney General Marvin L. Weis. However, Weis did not mention that Clark was aware of Weis's inquiry concerning the King wiretaps.

ACTION:

None: For information.
Airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta (100-6670K) JUNE
From: Director, FBI (100-438794) REC 36 ST-110

COMMUNIST INfiltrATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
15 - C

Airtel 2/7/69.

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

CEG;Fsh

(4)

NOTE:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is the organization of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. and its activities have long been influenced by communists. In the interest of national security, a request was made to the Attorney General in April, 1968, for a technical surveillance. This request was denied on 1/17/69. This technical surveillance is in line to be presented to the new Attorney General for authority, and a survey, with full security assured, to bring the data already in our possession into a current status, is desirable. Communists continue to influence the organization and the influence is increasing. Recently a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, was hired as aide to the President of the SCLC. The organization has announced plans to organize the poor of this country and has started to enlist the assistance of labor unions in this nation-wide organization. Communist advisors to the organization are dissatisfied with the present leadership and their attempts to install new leadership in this potentially powerful organization is also a matter of great interest to the national security.
To: Director, FBI (157-8423-Sub-2) JUNE

From: SAC, Atlanta (100-6670E)

 Communist Infiltration

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

IS - C

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

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

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

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

January 23, 1969

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

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

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

Enclosure

TJD:sd (8)

NOTE:

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

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 1-17-69

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

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

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

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

It is felt we should aim to have the attached document regarding King ready for delivery to President Nixon and the Attorney General on Thursday, January 23, 1969, in view of the inaugural events scheduled between now and that date. Upon approval of attached document, appropriate transmittal letters will be prepared and the document will be printed. When printed, the document will be classified "Top Secret." 35-9

ACTION:

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

TJD:sd (6) cr Enclosure
Memorandum to:     Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
                  Federal Bureau of Investigation

From:             Ramsey Clark
                  Attorney General

Re:

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

Nikolay Andrianович Feshin
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated December 13, 1963

Dimitri Ivanovich Yakubkin
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated December 16, 1963

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

Palestine Liberation Organization
Internal Security - Middle East
Your memorandum dated December 12, 1963

Ignacio Cuadras
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated November 27, 1963

DELETIONS REMAIN TO INVESTIGATIONS OF OTHER GROUP AND OR INDIVIDUAL INCLUDING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS.

NOT RECORDED 46 JAN 22 1959
Victor Marciano Santiago
Internal Security - Puerto Rican Nationalist
Your memorandum dated November 26, 1963

Abba Eban
Internal Security - Israel
Your memorandum dated October 21, 1963

Letitia Cohen, also known as Henry Cohen
Internal Security - China
Your memorandum dated October 13, 1963

Office of the Agricultural Counselor, Soviet Embassy
Washington, D.C.
Your memorandum dated October 10, 1963

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Racial Matters
Your memorandum dated September 16, 1963

Dorothy Desherry
Your memorandum dated August 21, 1963

Russell Charles Mack
Your memorandum dated August 16, 1963

Lev K. Yadroshnikov
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated August 5, 1963

Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations
Internal Security - Tanzania
Your memorandum dated July 29, 1963

Jesus Maria Perez
Foreign Office - Cuba
Your memorandum dated July 13, 1963
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Racial Affairs
Your memorandum dated June 27, 1968

Joseph Vinson
Your memorandum dated June 20, 1968

Fred Allen Hampton
Your memorandum dated June 13, 1968

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

Students for a Democratic Society
Internal Security - Students for a Democratic Society
Your memorandum dated May 21, 1963

Jerry Clyde Rubin
Security Matter - Communist
Your memorandum dated May 13, 1963

Lawrence Aloysius Landry
Your memorandum dated May 10, 1963

African-American Heritage Association
Your memorandum dated April 23, 1963

Robert Allenza Brown
Your memorandum dated April 13, 1963

Communist Infiltration
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Your memorandum dated April 2, 1963
You will recall the following information I gave you earlier concerning King's visit to Norway in Dec., 1964, which info, we received from a reliable source.

Bayard Rustin, an aide to King who accompanied King to Norway told two acquaintances of the following incident. (Rustin himself is a convicted homosexual). According to Rustin, when he was in Oslo, Norway, with Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the latter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Rustin was called down by the police one morning at 4:30 a.m. because the police had caught a prostitute coming out of the room of A. D. King, Martin's brother. A. D. King attempted to evade the police by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money. The prostitute claimed, however, that she was paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching the reputation of Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also said that members of King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.
ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

I. Bureau notified by Memphis, Tennessee Police

1. King shot 4/4/68 on balcony of Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee shortly after 6:00 pm (Memphis time)

2. Pronounced dead at 7:05 pm, 4/4/68 (Memphis time)


4. Death attributed to bullet damage to spinal cord and neck vessels.

II. Crime Scene

A. Flophouse

1. Assassin fired shot from flophouse at 422 1/2 S. Main located across street from motel.

2. Assassin rented room 5B between 3:00 pm and 3:30 pm 4/4/68 using name John Willard

3. Paid $8.50 for one week's rent.

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

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

1. Found on sidewalk near flophouse where thrown by white male who was running from scene

2. Remington game master model 760. Traced through Remington Company in Connecticut to dealer in Alabama.

3. Purchased - Aero Marine Supply Company, Birmingham, Alabama for $248.59

4. Purchaser - white male giving fictitious name Harvey Lowmeyer, and address, 1907 South 11th Street, Birmingham, Alabama.

5. Date of purchase - March 30, 1968
D. Zipper bag thrown on ground by assassin near the flophouse.

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

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

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

4. 2 cans of Schlitz beer bearing Mississippi tax stamps.

5. Hammer

6. Transistor radio

7. Numerous toiletry articles

E. White mustang car seen leaving scene of crime.


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

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

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

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

   b. Between 3:00 am and 9:00 am, 4/5/68 by white male, 5'11", 165 lbs, neatly dressed, who walked away after locking car.

   c. Speedometer on car when purchased 20,000 miles.

   Speedometer on car when found in Atlanta, 39,600 miles.
d. serviced in Hollywood, California (no date available) serviced in Los Angeles, California, 2/13/68

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

III. Evidence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Ray gave his true name and date of birth

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

3. Ray furnished little information regarding background

4. Ray paid cash for all but one consultation.
F. Arrest Record from 1949

1. Convicted of burglary in Los Angeles in 1949

2. Armed Robbery in Chicago 1952

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

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

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

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

I. Characteristics

1. "Loner" operates and travels alone

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

3. Drinks moderately

4. Avid reader of "girlie" magazines

V. Foreign Travel

A. Canada - Resided in Montreal approximately 1 1/2 months in summer of 1967

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

Birmingham, Alabama - 9/12/67 to 10/7/67
Los Angeles, California - 12/15/67 to 3/17/68
Atlanta, Georgia - 3/24/68 to 3/31/68
Memphis, Tennessee - 4/3/68 to 4/4/68

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

VII. Prison associates

A. Raymond Louis Curtis - serving life sentence for murder
   1. Curtis served time with Ray on three different occasions
   2. Says Ray told him he engaged in burglaries and payroll jobs while operating out of Quincy, Illinois
   3. Ray claimed to have hoodlum contacts in Chicago, Detroit, Tampa and Tijuana
   4. Ray allegedly told Curtis a dozen times that if 
      Martin L. King was alive when he got out of prison he would like to collect a bounty of $1,000,000 on King

B. James T. Bond
   1. States he knew Ray in Missouri State Prison
   2. Claimed Ray was dealer in amphetamine.
   3. Said Ray was avid reader of sex books
Attorney General Ramsey Clark announced today that the FBI has identified James Earl Ray, an escapee from the Missouri State Penitentiary, as Eric Starvo Galt, against whom a Federal complaint was filed last Wednesday in connection with the fatal shooting of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

Mr. Hoover said that Ray, who is 40 years of age, was reported missing from the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, on April 23, 1967. He had been received at that institution on March 17, 1960, to serve a 20-year sentence following conviction in St. Louis for armed robbery and for operating a motor vehicle without permission of the owner.
In September, 1966, while serving this sentence, he was confined for a time in the maximum security ward at the State Hospital at Fulton, Missouri.

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

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

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

Mr. Hoover said that during his criminal career, Ray has also used the names of James McBride, James Walton, W. C. Herron and James O'Conner. He is a white male; claims to have
been born March 10, 1928, in Illinois; is approximately 5 feet 10 inches tall and weighs about 163 to 174 pounds. He has blue eyes and brown hair. There is a small scar on the center of his forehead and a scar on the palm of his right hand.

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

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

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

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

Subversive Connections and Associations:

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

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

Morton Sobell was convicted on April 5, 1951, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for violation of Espionage Conspiracy statute and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.
The January 16, 1961, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an article entitled "Abolish The Un-Americans." This article indicated a petition was directed to the 87th Congress asking for the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among the signers of this petition was the name of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

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

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a self-admitted member of the Communist Party, Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court, in a State Sedition prosecution against Carl Braden identified Braden as having been known to her as a member of the Communist Party from 1951 until the time of her testimony. The "Courier-Journal," Louisville, Kentucky, a daily newspaper, on February 3, 1959, carried an article indicating that Carl Braden had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress for his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
"The New York Times," a daily newspaper, in the issue of January 24, 1959, carried an article to the effect that Frank Wilkinson was sentenced by the United States District Court, Atlanta, Georgia, to a year in jail for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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

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

The November, 1963, issue of "Through to Victory" published in Ridgecrest, California, carried an article by Carl Prussion entitled "Communist Planned Tactics of King, N.A.A.C.P." In this article Prussion made the statement that Martin Luther King, Jr., and the N.A.A.C.P. were being influenced by communist generated revolutionary tactics. Prussion identified himself as a former counter-spy for the FBI from 1947 to 1960. He made the statement that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was always set forth at communist meetings as the individual to whom communists should look and rally around in the communist struggle on the many racial issues. In a sworn affidavit Prussion made the statement "I hereby also state that Martin Luther King, Jr., has either been a member of or wittingly has accepted support from communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which gave aid to or espouse communist causes, numbering over 60."
The March, 1963, issue of the "Southern Patriot," the official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is the successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist Party front group, has several pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., at an affair described as an annual reception for New York friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The main speaker for this affair was Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

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

The "Washington Post and Times Herald," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, on April 15, 1964,
carried a column entitled "Matter of Fact," by Joseph Alsop. This article stated, "The subject of real head shaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King. His influence is very great. His original dedication to nonviolence can hardly be doubted. Yet, he has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice.

"In 1962-63 the issue of the communist role in the King organization was raised because of Hunter Pitts 0'Dell commonly called Jack 0'Dell. This man, a known communist, held posts in the Southern Christian Leadership Council, first in the South and then in the New York office, until the late Spring of 1963. King finally dropped him when he was warned by United States Government officials that 0'Dell was the genuine communist article.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Caravans

The Poor People's Campaign began with several caravans throughout the United States forming to travel to Washington, D.C. In Boston, Massachusetts, a man picketing the caravan was stabbed while it was forming. In Dayton, Ohio, following reports of missing purses and money, members of the Midwestern Caravan were searched by the caravan security force. Nine members of this contingent were sent back to Chicago because of these incidents. In Detroit, Michigan, local Negroes brought food to the caravan there but refused to give the food to caravan participants they described as "young hoodlums."

Two officials of a caravan in Mississippi were arrested in possession of narcotics and Lester Hankerson, second in command
of the caravan called the "Mule Train" was arrested in New Jersey in April, 1968, with drugs and a stolen gun in his car. Several members of the southern caravan were seen with pistols in their possession. In connection with the Midwest Caravan, large quantities of food, clothing, and blankets were found abandoned on buses used by the caravan. Campaign officials were not interested in having this material returned as they said it was all donated and they could get more on the way.

Violence

On May 20, at Resurrection City, a news cameraman was threatened for failing to enter a tent as instructed. A marshal, one of the city's own security force, told the newsperson: "If you don't get in that tent, I'll cut you with my razor." Later, Jesse Jackson, a campaign official, said the marshal was only kidding and didn't know the incident was being recorded.

The next day a resident of Resurrection City was arrested for practicing a "quick draw" with a pistol loaded with "duh-duh" bullets. During a rock-and-roll music entertainment, six fights erupted. A marshal requested police assistance in removing armed men from Resurrection City in another incident, but a Reverend Young, a campaign official, said the marshals would handle this and denied entry to the city to the police.

There have been fights during meals which caused officials to call a town meeting to discuss the fights and the marshals had to disarm a man terrorizing other residents with a meat cleaver. The "Commandos," a group under the leadership of Father James Groppi, have clubs, six or seven butcher knives, and two guns.

Residents of Resurrection City have thrown rocks at passing automobiles, damaging four cars and injuring one woman. Two newspaper reporters were beaten by teen-age residents of the city and their volkswagen radio taken. To date, it has not been returned. It was valued at over $500. A drunk lunged at Senator Edward Muskie of Maine during the Senator's visit to the city.

On June 9, a Negro man stole a camera during the afternoon and ran into Resurrection City. Marshals refused to allow police
into the city and no arrest was made. Members of a youth gang from Chicago at the city have been stealing goods there and selling the items they steal. At least four firebombs have been made at Resurrection City for use against factions of residents of the city.

Leadership

Resurrection City participants have repeatedly expressed objections to leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which organized the Poor People's Campaign, staying at the Pitts Motor Hotel in Washington, D.C., instead of at Resurrection City. Participants are also upset over heavy drinking and the presence of white and black females in the rooms of campaign leaders. Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy had obscenities shouted at him when he visited the tent city on June 7 because of the fact that he was residing at the Pitts Motor Hotel rather than in Resurrection City with his followers and because of rumors circulated to the effect that Resurrection City residents had caught him in bed with a white female.

Racial Friction

There has been friction between the Mexican-American contingent of the Poor People's Campaign and campaign Negro leaders. The Mexican-American contingent has charged racial discrimination. On June 7, Reverend Abernathy told Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Mexican-Americans, to either move into Resurrection City, which the Mexican-Americans have so far refused to do, or leave town.

While a Negro newspaper reporter was getting a story in Resurrection City, a white reporter nearby was told to leave by a Negro resident. The white reporter's notebook was taken, the pages with writing on them torn out, and the notebook thrown in the mud.

Washington, D.C.

Violence has not been confined to Resurrection City itself. Three campaign participants (two coming with a caravan)
are being held for shooting and killing two U. S. Marine officers and wounding two other persons. These three were to move into Resurrection City the night of the murder.

Members of another teen-age gang called the "Invaders" who are with the campaign from Memphis, Tennessee, invaded the Ballou High School in Washington and roamed the halls setting off firecrackers and turning in two false fire alarms. A campaign participant was arrested for refusing to pay for drinks in a Washington restaurant and pulling a knife on the waitress.

During a demonstration at the Supreme Court Building, six campaigners threw rocks and broke five windows. Three campaigners were arrested for lowering the flag to half mast and five others were later arrested for obscene language.

At the Department of Justice, campaigners met with Attorney General Ramsey Clark and one said, "We ain't got no money, man, but we got matches, man. Mr. Ramsey Clark, you better tell the police to get their guns ready. For every one of us you kill in Resurrection City, ten cities are going to burn."

This was after Andrew Young reportedly said over the public address system in Resurrection City, "We cannot survive in America unless we put an end to the present government system that will inevitably lead to our destruction."

Immoral Activity

In May, 1968, a Negro female was raped in Resurrection City. On June 1 two carloads of white females came to the city at 2 a.m. to "volunteer their services." Negro females in the city are disturbed at Negro males for sleeping with Negro females during the day and then going to hotels with white females at night. Reverend James Bevel, a campaign official, replied to the complaints with derogatory remarks about black women. He refused to apologize and was threatened by male residents. An organization has been started in Resurrection City by Negro females to try to stop Negro male residents from sleeping with white females.
A female marshal was raped at Resurrection City by three or four men and two days later two Negro female visitors were raped there. The boyfriend of one victim went to the city to confront the rapists and was met by campaign official Hosea Williams and marshals. The boyfriend was told to leave or he would be beaten.

A white female, approximately 22 years old, came to the fence at the city at night and said she wanted to do whatever she could to support the campaign. One Negro male suggested she enter the camp and engage in sexual relations with the participants. She entered Resurrection City, stayed two hours, and engaged in sexual relations with six or seven Negro men.

Current Situation

Between 800 and 900 participants remain at Resurrection City, which was built to hold 3,000 people. The permit to occupy the park originally scheduled to expire June 16, 1968, has been extended to June 23, 1968. Most of the legitimate poor people have left and in the main only "black nationalists" remain. Reverend Abernathy said on June 10 that evicting residents of Resurrection City when the permit expires would "infuriate those who would like to resort to violence" and would "only disturb those in cities around the country to the point where violence would break out."

The Poor People’s Campaign has scheduled a mass demonstration, called "Solidarity Day" for June 19. This demonstration is to include sympathizers from all over the country besides residents of Resurrection City.

The Mexican-American contingent still refuses to move into Resurrection City and the city is still working on its housing and sanitary facilities. A Negro plumber who volunteered to lay pipe there was quite critical over the refusal of residents of the city to assist him in his work.
Hosea Williams spent the night of June 16, 1968, at the Williard Hotel, Washington, D.C., in a room occupied by a white female, age 20-22, who claimed to be a secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

A white female who had resided at Resurrection City advised that one of the Poor People's Campaign marshals had pointed to Lincoln's statue in the Lincoln Memorial and said to her, "See that bastard? We're going to paint his skin black and make him look like a nigger." This individual also made an obscene reference to the Washington Monument. This female stated that several attempts were made by Negroes to have intercourse with her both voluntarily and forcefully.

Another individual described the leadership of the Poor People's Campaign as chaotic and described the campaign as "Sodom and Gomorrah all over again."

An individual reported that a gang of young Negro youths from Chicago called the Rangers was stealing goods at Resurrection City and selling the items. This gang prefers white women and uses its authority to procure them.

Over 560,000 have been spent by the Poor People's Campaign staff residing at the Pitts Motor Hotel, Washington, D.C.; $7,000 reportedly were paid to Hosea Williams to cover cash and property stolen from him at Resurrection City. Campaign officials also have reportedly been cheating on travel vouchers.

Ralph Abernathy and his family have been living recently at the Howard Johnson Motor Hotel in Washington, D.C., without the knowledge of campaign participants.
MARTIN LUTHER KING—THE TRUTH CAN NO LONGER BE HIDDEN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 16, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, for the fourth time in 14 days I rise to call on the administration to make public infor- mation concerning the illegal, immoral, and subversive activities of the late Martin Luther King.

This information is known to exist. Some of it has already been destroyed. Unless prompt action is taken, I have reason to believe that more will be destroyed or covered up.

The judiciary committee of the Congress should be given immediate access to all files of the FBI and the Justice Department before the whitewash is complete.

King's apologists no longer bother to deny involvement—in his, continued cooperation—with well-known leaders of the Communist conspiracy, both here and abroad.

The American people have learned, a little at a time, of his close association with such left-wing subversives as Abner W. Berry, Myra Horton, Ray Moubray, Bayard Rustin, Jack H. O'Dell, Carl and Anna Braden, Herbert Aptheker, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall, Dorothy Ray Healy, Mike Zagarli, John Abi, Daniel Rubin, and Arnold Johnson, all functionaries and officials of the Communist Party and all close "advisors," "alides," and "assistants" of King.

The close ties between King and such flagrant subversives as James and Dianne Bevel, Stokely Carmichael, Paul Boodi, John Hulett, James Ferman, Rup Brown, Jerry Rubin, Fred Shuttlesworth, and even Woodie Wood are no longer denied. King's close association with known sexual perverts Bayard Rustin and Ralph Abernathy is not even denied by his frantic defenders.

These facts are now too well known to the American people. The truth will not hide itself.

Instead, following the adage that the best defense is a good offense, the left has launched a vitriolic attack on the FBI in general and on J. Edgar Hoover in particular.

Mr. Hoover's monumental record of a lifetime of devoted service to his country needs no defense. History will recall him as one of the great Americans of all time. His meticulous care in the preservation of the privacy of the individual while conducting investigations vital to the security of the community he serves is a course which is an invaluable addition to our way of life.

Americans, armed with the facts, have no trouble deciding the question of credibility between this man and his detractors. The latest coyote to join the yapping is Carl T. Rowan, whose column published in the Washington Star yesterday, I insert at this point in my remarks:

RUSH HOUR FOR J. EDGAR, HOOVER, TOO.

(By Carl T. Rowan)

A society is never in more peril than when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty.

This is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public relations—or lack of it—to courtroom admissions of a variety of FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and businesses.

A justice department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance both in 1965 and 1966, but the FBI agent who supervised these surveillance told the court "it was my understanding that it went on after that."

The white truth is that Dr. King was under surveillance nearly all the time. Dr. King was personally interviewed up to the day he was slain. Lieutenant-General M. E. Cambell on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Perry Tidwell, told the court he has been on the payroll for 14 years, 18 years, five days a week to the weather, 20 hours for the weather.

This is the real story of the surveillance and the interception of phone calls and the microfilm planted in Martin Luther King's home.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which relate to both federal law and a presidential executive order, are the result of hearing on former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's effort to overturn a five-year probation sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

These buggings, which caused no city conversations in their "net," are but a fraction of the illegal wiretaps that have more fatal consequences to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why the blinding, indignant reaction on the part of most Americans?
... it is the general FBI function to place such inaction "national security.""

-- Attorney General Robert C. King, a statement that the FBI had authority to what or bug Dr. King, asserts that "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a second-rate witness is outrageous.

Attorney General "National security is more powerful than "motherhood," for it evokes fear, and men still surrender more things--including liberty--out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark's statement is that he acts as though he is surprised that Buggs, the FBI's lawyer, would think of this attitude. As for Buggs, Dr. King could possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees and publicly justifying the FBI's activities by the same sort of argument that he was using in his own defense.

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were raising the country looking to develop either a poisonous story about Dr. King, and what the buggs allegedly, had revealed?

In short, the Washington in which we are today is nothing new, it is as old as the nation itself.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the problem for this country isn't with certain agents, but with the policy that they work under.

No, it is dangerous to have one man serve three purposes, to be a policeman, a prosecutor, and a judge, and to have the power to discredit, even destroy, anyone.

Mr. Speaker, this column holds little light on King, except to suggest that which cannot be denied--much is known about his unsavory character and conduct. Rowan's inaccuracy on security is not new, and his personal attack on King is not new. However, the new is the way he and the FBI have come to be investigated.

It is clear Hoover has no interest in re- 

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It is clear Hoover has no interest in re-
Alexander Jones, executive editor of the Syracuse Herald-American, moved to the defense of the Cosmopolitan Club until: "I say this incident is a planned political effort in which the Kennedy administration was implicated in the capital, using Rowan as a sort of Freedom Rider in the National Capital on the club issue.

"I have been a member of the fine old Cosmos Club for more than 20 years and I believe I can speak with some slight knowledge of how it is run. I am aware that the club is not a political organization, but it is a forum for the exchange of ideas."

"I say that there are people who think Carl Rowan is a bumptious, self-enamored and tasteless Irishman."

"And that estimate completely discounts the color of his skin. He could be platinum blond and the people I know think he would still stand out on the scene."

"Many men have been blackballed in application for membership by the Cosmos Club committee, as they have in most private clubs."

"The only one I have ever heard of who ever made a public issue of it is this same Carl Rowan, and this is simply another indication of becoming a professional racist."

Rowan has the "normal" prejudices of a modern liberal. He believes in political conservatism and I hope he will continue in that sentiment."

"There is a deep-seated question of today's domestic turbulence is in reality a fundamental questioning of the system of American society."

"There is a deep-seated question of the system of American society."

"This incident adds another dimension to the issue. It is a question of the role of the Cosmos Club in the current political and social scene."

"I believe this pervasive and pointed questioning of values may bring about a shift in these ideas and attitudes that will ultimately bring about a real change in society."

"I believe this pervasive and pointed questioning of values may bring about a shift in these ideas and attitudes that will ultimately bring about a real change in society."

"Rowan has long championed the cause of the United Nations and its Red Cross. He has been a strong advocate of peace and international cooperation."
Dec 30, '63

Dear Bill:

man-of-the-Year now!!
(See enclosure)

Next, we'll have a Vice-Presidential Candidate or Cabinet member on our hands!

Have you decided yet if we can tell John Richardson, Pres. of Radio Free Europe, about the "script"? Marrie and I are ready to go. Best Regards

Frank Barrett
REV. MARTIN L. KING
... 'Indelible mark.'

Time Names
Rev. M. L. King
Man of Year

NEW YORK — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader who became a symbol of the Negro revolution in 1953, has been named Man of the Year by Time Magazine.

Time's editors described King in the announcement yesterday as the man who "dominated the news of that year and left an indelible mark — for good or ill" in 1956.

The news also said King was the first Negro to be so designated by Time establishment.

"We were surprised," a Time editor said. "But in Christian concepts that King has made himself the unchallenged voice of the Negro people — and the disquieting conscience of the whites, the magazine said "the voice in turn has infused the Negroes themselves with the fiber that gives their revolution its true stature."

5 Missing As Freighter Collides Off Sweden

"TEORG, Sweden (AP)"
DETROIT, June 24 (UPI)—
FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephones of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., two Knight newspaper reporters said.

"That racist columnist, Rowan," was Hoover's response to a question on who started the current dispute, which has already involved President Nixon and three former attorneys general.

In his June 15 column, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized. He branded Hoover's long tenure as FBI Director as dangerous and urged the President to replace him.

Hoover's comments were reported by two Knight newspaper reporters in the Detroit Free Press.
FBI'S HOOVER CALLS CARL ROWAN A RACIST
Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson
Knight Newspapers Special Writers.

Washington: FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist Tuesday while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephone of the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

In an interview Hoover was asked who started the current dispute which already has involved President Nixon and 3 former Attorneys General.

"That racist columnist, Rowan!" Hoover exploded.

It was one of the most revealing glimpses of Hoover's personal sentiments since he called King "the most notorious liar in the country" in 1964. That charge, at a meeting with newswomen, rocked the Nation.

Hoover also declared Tuesday that other Federal agencies had been tapping "telephones all over town for years" on their own authority until the Johnson Administrationamped down.

In his syndicated column of June 15, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized.

Rowan said the phone taps "have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize."

He branded Hoover's long tenure as the Nation's chief law enforcement officer as dangerous and urged President Nixon to replace him immediately.

Rowan was Assistant Secretary of State, Ambassador to Finland and Director of the U.S. Information Agency under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.
Until now, Hoover has made no comment on the feud with Rowan which has dominated front pages in Washington for more than a week.

Hoover's fast reaction to the Rowan column came in the form of a letter signed by his long time aide, Clyde A. Tolson.

Later Hoover told a reporter about two memoranda in FBI files which he said documented his claim that Robert F. Kennedy as Attorney General both suggested and authorized the wiretaps on King to detect possible communist contacts.

"Without that (the memoranda) it was just my word against theirs," Hoover said Tuesday. The memoranda have never been made public.

Hoover also remarked that the main question now is who originated the idea of the King phone taps.

Nicholas Katzenbach, the former Attorney General, has accused Hoover of prodding Kennedy into authorizing the taps.

"That's not true," Hoover asserted. This put Hoover into direct disagreement with Katzenbach who said last week it was false to "say or imply that this tap was the original concept of Robert Kennedy."

Both Katzenbach and his successor, Ramsey Clark, admitted however, that Kennedy authorized the tap on King's telephone on October 10, 1963.

According to Hoover, King was under electronic surveillance from early 1964 until April 30, 1965.

Clark last week called for Hoover to resign. But Hoover, who received a strong statement of confidence from President Nixon at his last press conference shows no sign of quitting.

He was relaxed and friendly at the interview which was conducted in a Washington restaurant where he was having lunch.
Hoover described Mr. Nixon as an old and good friend. He recalled they used to vacation together in Miami during the Eisenhower Administration.

Since Mr. Nixon has been President, Hoover has been a guest at the White House and at Camp David.

He said Mr. Nixon telephoned him before the press conference last week, and "personally investigated" the King wiretap authorization.

Discussing his general attitude toward electronic surveillance, Hoover said he has always been opposed to unrestricted wiretapping by Federal agencies.

He said he is opposed not only in principal but also because it tarnishes the FBI's image.

This assertion also contradicted the statements of Katzenbach and Clark, who said he was constantly goading them to tap phones.

Said Hoover: "Years ago I recommended that all tapping by any agency have the approval of the Attorney General.

"I didn't want the authority. Agencies were doing it all over town. Nobody paid any attention to me on this before President Johnson."

Asked to specify the agencies, Hoover cited "the CIA, the Defense Department, the Internal Revenue Service and other intelligence agencies."

"There was so much of it going," he said, "someone would come to me and complain. Then I would check around and would find it was one of the other agencies."
Katzenbach Disputes FBI On King Tap

Former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach charged last night that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's account of why Dr. Martin Luther King's phone was tapped is false.

Katzenbach acknowledged that the wiretap was "personally authorized by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

"But to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy is false," Katzenbach said.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in a statement that Hoover's account was unfair "because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves." Clark also said the "selected materials from FBI files" released by Hoover were "deceptive in disporting the Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King."

RFK Yielded to FBI Arguments For King Tap, Katzenbach Says

In the fall of 1963, Kennedy agreed to place a tap on King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference phone. The tap was placed on King's phone as a way of verifying or disproving the FBI mucky in which the Attorney General's draft allegations, the sources said. General Kennedy reportedly initialed each hearing in Houston.

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The second was Hoover's re-nomination to the Justice Department. This account attributes the fears raised over the FBI's role in the assassination as very similar except that the second was Hoover's re-nomination to the Justice Department. This account attributes the fears raised over the FBI's role in the assassination as very similar except that the second was Hoover's re-nomination to the Justice Department.

Hoover told the "Evening News" in the lower left-hand area that "the FBI had always been approved by the Attorney General," and that Hoover had always been approved of the Attorney General's draft allegations, the sources said. General Kennedy reportedly initialed each hearing in Houston.

Hoover reportedly showed "eavesdroppers" for the FBI to pay to King and King's aides with Marxist ideas and that the "Washington Post" had reported this two months before former Attorney General Kennedy's re-nomination to the Justice Department.

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See BUG, AL, Col. 6
It is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

A society is never in more peril than when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty. This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction — or lack of it — to recent admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

A Justice Department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance in 1961 and 1965, and that the FBI had supervised this surveillance. He said it would be as if the court "is my understanding that it went on after that."

The whole truth is that Dr. King's phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally threatened right up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Darryl Pickelt, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he had listened eight hours a day, five days a week, to the conversations of a Negro named Hamidah and she, too, had been subjected to electronic surveillance.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate both federal law and a presidential executive order, were disclosed in a hearing on former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's effort to overturn a five-year prison sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

These buggings, which started some Clay conversations in their "net," are but a fraction of the illegal wiretaps that have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why the bland, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

First, there is the general FBI justification for such tactics. "National security," Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who states emphatically that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that "the implication is that Dr. King was a security threat and a danger to the nation."

Still, that term "national security" is more powerful than "motherhood," for it evokes more fear, and men still surrender more things — including liberty — out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark's statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI agents were going before congressional committees and panel investigators by trial and error by trial.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director — immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country have something when they limit the time one man might serve in the presidency. They see personal vices as inimical to the democracy, the personal freedom, that we have come to cherish.

If it is dangerous to have one man serve three full terms, as President, it is far more dangerous to have his men take lifetime possession of a powerful police-investigative agency that prides itself on the deepest secrets of the individual, the prominent, poor, honored citizen and that is one of the richest, most powerful in the country. One of these is that the FBI, in the name of "national security," has bugged the King and Malcolm X and the Black Muslims.

When a man is left in a key job as long as Hoover has been...

Were Hoover a more thoughtful man, or as concerned about the preservation of democracy and freedom as his speeches suggest, he would have resigned long ago. He would not keep his officials in the political heat of deciding to keep him or oust him out.

It is clear Hoover has no intention of resigning. So when does the President must the courage to say: "Well done, thus good and faithful servant. Goodbye."?

The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Review
People's World
Examiner (Washington, D.C.)

Date: 8/29/69

Washington Post
It is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

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The whole truth is that Dr. King’s phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally shadowed right up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Darryl Pickett, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he had listened eight hours a day, five days a week, to the conversations of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Pickett employed both a telephone wiretap and a microphone planted in Muhammad’s home.

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Why the bland, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

First, there is the general FBI preoccupation for such tactics: “National Security.”

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who states emphatically that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that “the implication that J. Edgar Hoover was a security threat is outrageous.”

Still, that term “national security” is more powerful than “motherhood,” for it evokes fear, and men still surrender more things — including liberty — out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark’s statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees with flagging justifications by

attacking some congressmen and feeding anti-King ammunition to Southerners who despised the civil rights leader — all by way of revealing “evidence” picked up through the wiretaps and buggings?

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were revealing the country looking to newspapers editors’ poltical stories about Dr. King and what the buggings alleged had revealed?

Everybody else in Washington of any consequence knew it, and many deplored it, but no one seemed to know how to go about making the FBI bend to the laws of the land.

There is a not-too-flippant assumption in Washington that J. Edgar Hoover has been FBI director for 45 years because all the recent Presidents have assumed that he knew too much about them to be replaced. So not only was he not replaced by any of the younger, very able FBI men in the normal course of things, but President Johnson and Nixon have felt it wise or expedient to waive a law saying Hoover had reached the rocking-chair age.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director — immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country know something when they limit the time one man might serve in the presidency. They saw personal freedoms as inimical to the democracy, the personal freedom, that we have come to cherish.

If it is dangerous to have one man serve three full terms as President, it is far more dangerous to have one man take lifetime possession of a powerful police-investigative agency that prods into the deepest secrets of the most prominent, most honored citizens and has the power to discredit, even destroy, almost anyone. The kind of abuse and contempt for the law manifest in the King and Muhammad eavesdropping become almost inevitable when a man is left in a key job as long as Hoover has been.

Hoover is a more thoughtful man, or as concerned about the preservation of democracy and liberty as his speeches suggest, he would have resigned long ago. He would not keep guilty Presidents in the political bird of Credibility to keep him or ease him out.

It is clear Hoover has no intention of resigning. So when does the President muster the courage to say: “Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Go on.”?
A society is never in more peril than when the people face the ability to blot out the genuine threat to personal liberty. This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction — or lack of it — to courtroom admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

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These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate both federal law and a presidential executive order, were disclosed in a hearing on February 13, 1972. Wash Star.
HOUSTON, Tex., June 5 (AP) — An FBI agent testified in the Cassius Clay wiretap hearing today that telephone conversations of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslim sect, had been monitored by Federal agents at least four years.

Similar testimony Wednesday indicated that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, had been under electronic surveillance from 1964 until his death in 1968.

The hearing was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court to determine whether the wiretaps affected the trial in which Clay was convicted of refusing to be inducted into the Army. The former heavyweight boxing champion contended he was a Black Muslim minister and thus exempt from military duty.

Agent C. Barry Pickett of Jacksonville, Fla., did not give the specific reasons for the surveillance of Elijah Muhammad.

Charles Morgan Jr., Clay's chief counsel, sought repeatedly to obtain specific reasons, but Pickett insisted his instructions were general.

"I am trying to prove he had specific instruction to obtain information on the religious beliefs of this defendant," Morgan told U.S. District Court Judge Joe Ingraham.

Summaries of four taped conversations involving Clay were admitted into evidence Wednesday. One involved King and three involved Black Muslim officials.

Ingraham had a fifth summary in a sealed envelope but refused to admit it into the record on grounds such action could endanger national security.

The monitored conversations were not revealed by the

Justice Department until Clay appealed his 1967 conviction. Clay then received the maximum sentence of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Pickett said he monitored conversations of Elijah Muhammad while working as a clerk in the FBI office in Phoenix, Ariz., from 1962 to 1966.

"You spent four years of your life listening to conversations of the leader of the Muslim religion?" Morgan asked.

"Yes, sir."

Testimony Wednesday indicated the three Black Muslim conversations had been monitored in Phoenix. Pickett testified that he had prepared a March 24, 1964, summary of a conversation between Clay and Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslim leader was quoted as advising Clay to keep quiet after telling him he would make a better minister than fighter.

"My instructions were to monitor conversations both in the home and by telephone, and make notes of conversations by Elijah Muhammad," Pickett said. "I recorded all conversations I heard but prepared only pertinent facts to go into the legs."

"You obtained the information by electronics bugging?" Morgan asked.

"Correct."

Pickett said only summaries were prepared on each conversation.

"What to you was pertinent?" Morgan asked.

"Whatever I considered of value."

"What criteria did you employ for determining what you considered pertinent?"

"There were written instructions but not in a particular case. They were general. A guideline as to what we were to list. Facts relevant to the case we were working on."
FBI headquarters issued a statement late Friday referring newsmen to Director J. Edgar Hoover's testimony before a House subcommittee on appropriations in the years 1969 through 1968.

Hoover testified then that the taps all were authorized in advance and in writing by the Attorney General then in office. A Justice Department spokesman termed Hoover's testimony accurate in every respect.

Clark said he required the FBI, over whom he was the nominal superior, to give him every three months a list of individuals under electronic surveillance.

The names of Dr. King and Malcolm X never appeared on such a list, he said.
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The names of Dr. King and Muhammad never appeared on such a list, he said.
Didn't OK King Tap, Clark Says
Nicholas C. Chris
Los Angeles Times
Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said yesterday that while he headed the Justice Department, the FBI had no authorization to wiretap on bug the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

In an interview, Clark said: "The implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat are outrageous.

Clark also denied that he ever had authorized the FBI to bug or wiretap Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims.

Clark's statement raises the question of whether the FBI acted without authority in conducting electronic surveillance of the two Negro leaders while Clark was in office. It also suggests that the FBI may have violated the 1965 Executive Order by President Johnson prevailing that no wiretapping "shall be undertaken or continued without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General."

The first official comment on Dr. King and Muhammad had been made last week by Pres. Entwistle in his statement to the FBI on the matter.

Clay contends that FBI eavesdropped on his conversations with Dr. King and Muhammad about the situation. Confirmation that Dr. King's home phone was tapped was made when, on the day of his assassination, April 4, 1968, came a call from FBI agent E. K. Arledge. Arledge, if the tap continued until the assassination date, Nicholas indicated.

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King Wiretap Called RFK’s Idea

Hoover Cites
2 Homes Cited
Authority for FBI

(October 17) by
The Evening Star Newspaper Co.
By JEREMIAH O’LEARY
Star Staff Writer

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today disclosed that wiretapping of the Rev. Martin Luther King’s telephone was proposed by then Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy to FBI officials in June, 1963, the attorney general’s letter of Oct. 15

Hoover said the FBI has had the tapes in its files for some time. When.

Hoover cited the attorney general’s letter of Oct. 15 as evidence that the bureau had

Memorandum Cited

Hoover said the FBI has a memorandum in its files from Evans to Hoover, dated in June, 1963. Evans reported that Kennedy said he was concerned about allegations that King was a student and believer in Marxism. Kennedy, according to the Evans memorandum, expressed concern that Marxism might infiltrate the race issue in the United States because of King’s leadership of Negroes through his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Evans reported in the memo to the FBI director, Hoover said, that the attorney general was alarmed by alleged associations between King and a New Yorker who had a correspondence with a Negro nationalist leader in Canada. The man had a whatborne address.

According to the memo, the FBI had technical difficulties in installing such devices in the case of the Negro leader because he was a man who was almost constantly traveling.

Hoover said the FBI had been unable to install the device because of possible political repercussions.

The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Record
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
T—N
People’s World

Date 6-14-63

Northwest 55097 DocId:32989551 Page 234
On October 7, 1963, however, following subsequent discussions, Hoover said he sent a memorandum to the Attorney General in which he reported that it was now technically feasible to apply telephone wire taps to King's telephone at SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., and at an unnamed address in New York City. This was, in effect, a request for authorization to proceed, the director said.

Dated October, 1963

That Hoover memorandum bears the signature of "Robert F. Kennedy" in the lower left-hand corner over the handwritten date "16-10-63."

Hoover made the bombshell disclosure today as the climax to a long series of charges and counter-charges involving Justice Department officials, the FBI and Star columnist Carl Rowan over the manner in which the conversations of King were intercepted and taped by the Bureau.

Rowan charged in a column published Sunday that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King's conversations and quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The following day, Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson wrote a letter to Rowan in which he stated that the official wiretapping on King had the advance approval of Kennedy.
King Wiretap
Called RFK's Idea

Hoover Cites
2 Memos Giving
Authority to FBI

(Copyright 1963 by
The & Star Newspaper Co.)
By JEREMIAH O'LEARY

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover
today disclosed that wiretapping
of the Rev. Martin Luther
King's telephone was proposed
by then Atty. Gen. Robert F.
Kennedy to FBI officials in
June 1963 and carried out with
Hoover's approval.

Kennedy initiated the idea for
the tip in a conversation with
FBI agent Evans, then assistant
director of the FBI and liaison
director between the agency and
the Justice Department, Hoover
told The Star today.

Memorandum Cited

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dy said he was concerned
about allegations that King was
a student and believer in Marx-
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'Would it be possible to install
a listening device in an effor-
to learn more of a

the liaison man told Kennedy
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cause he was a man who was
continuously traveling.

Hoover told The Star that the
FBI did not have Kennedy at
the time that they questioned the
advocacy of undertaking the
electronic surveillance because
of possible political repercus-
sions.

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

Date 6-19-68
On October 7, 1963, however, following subsequent discussions Hoover said he sent a memorandum to Attorney General in which he reported that it was now technically feasible to apply telephone wire taps to King's offices at Lincoln University in Allentown, Pa. and at an unnamed location in New York City. This was, in effect, a request for authorization to proceed, the director said.


That Hoover memorandum bears the signature of "Robert P. Kennedy" in the lower left-hand corner over the handscript.

Hoover made the bombshell disclosure today as the climax to a long series of charges and counter-charges involving Justice Department officials, the FBI and Star columnist Carl Rowan over the manner in which the conversations of King were intercepted and taped by the Bureau.

Rowan charged in a column Sunday that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King's conversations and quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The following day, Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson wrote a letter to Rowan in which he stated that the official wiretapping on King had the advance approval of Kennedy.
King Wiretap
Called RFK's Idea

Hoover Asserts Memo to FBI Cited Concern Over Marxism

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The Evening Star Newspaper Co.)

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY
Star Staff Writer

Wiretapping of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s telephone was proposed to the FBI by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in June, 1963, and authorized by him in writing later that year. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told The Star today.

Hoover revealed the contents of two memorandums in one of which Kennedy expressed concern about possible infiltration of the race issue by Marxists and spoke of allegations that the Negro leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and followers.

That memorandum to Hoover, dated June, 1963, was written by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department. It reported the substance of a conversation Evans had just had with Kennedy in which the Attorney General asked about the feasibility of installing electronic devices on King's telephones. King headed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Evening Star
Washington, D.C.
June 19, 1969
Page 1
King Wiretap RFK's Idea, Hoover Says

Continued From Page A-1

to proceed with the wiretap proposal by Kennedy four months before. The document bears in
the lower left-hand corner the signature, "Robert F. Kennedy," and under the name the date "10-10-63."

Hoover did not indicate to The Star when the surveillance was started but said the taps were
discontinued on April 30, 1965. At that time Nicholas Katzenbach
was serving as Attorney General.

Asked about the results of the electronic surveillance today, Hoover declined comment.

The FBI director told The Star: "I have never authorized installation of electronic devices without written
authority of the Attorney General."

Today's disclosures climaxed a long smoldering controversy over the role of the FBI, a subordinate bureau of the Justice
Department, in using wiretaps on other electronic devices in investigative matters. The matter
came to a head Sunday when
Carl Rowan, a columnist for The Star, charged that the FBI had no authority to wiretap Dr. King's conversations. He quoted
former Attorney General Ken-
sy Clark, who succeeded Kat-
zenbach, as saying "The implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The Rowan charges prompted
Associate FBI Director Clyde A.
Tolson to write to Rowan early this week defending legality of the King wiretaps.

"For your information," Tolson said in his letter, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

Tolson added that the monitoring device was "secretary in the field of internal security and therefore was within the provision laid down by the President of the United States."

Evans, a Washington lawyer, was en route to Puerto Rico today and could not be reached for comment. However, Tuesday night Evans said he had no recollection of whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in a discussion with Kennedy.

Aides to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said today he would have no comment on Hoover's disclosure.

Friends of Robert Kennedy had suggested in recent days that, during 1964, in the period after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs had flagged. However, the assassination came nearly six weeks after Robert Kennedy signed the authorization for the King wiretap.

Hoover and Kennedy, after the latter became a New York senator, accused each other of being responsible for use of hidden microphones in investigations.

Evans figured in that controversy when Kennedy made public a February, 1966, letter to him from Evans which made the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility but suggested he may have directly approved the use of wiretaps on phones. That letter said the FBI sent national security wiretap requests to Kennedy for approval.

It is reliably reported that Kennedy was reminded by the FBI that his authorization was signed by him as Attorney General for telephonic wiretaps. However, Hoover did not disclose at the time any names of persons under wiretap surveillance with Kennedy's approval.

At that stage, Kennedy and Hoover broke off the public exchange of charges as if by mutual consent. This was regarded partly as due to Kennedy's realization that his signed authorizations were still in FBI files, partly to the FBI's desire not to have special attention drawn to its investigative techniques nor to engage in a battle with the Kennedy forces that could have political overtones.

The Justice Department on
Tuesday declined a direct an-
It Is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

A society is never in more peril than when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty.

This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction — or lack of it — to courtroom admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

A Justice Department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance in 1961 and 1968, and the FBI agent who supervised this surveillance told the court “it was my understanding that it went on after that.”

The whole truth is that Dr. King’s phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally checked out up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Barry Bickert, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he had listened eight hours a day, five days a week, to the conversations of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Bickert employed both a telephone wiretap and a microphone planted in Muhammad’s home.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate the legal and presidential executive order, are disclosed in a hearing before the House Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor Management field.

Boycott champion Cassius Clay’s effort to overturn a five-year prison sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

The buggings, which caught some City conversations in their “hearsay” are but a fraction of the electronic wiretaps that have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why this blind, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

First, there is the general FBI justification for such talk — “national security.”

Former Attorney General Douglas Clark, who states prominently that the FBI had no right to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that “the implication that people thought Mr. King was a security threat is just not true.”

Still, that term “national security” is more powerful than “morality,” for it evokes fear and men still surrender more things including liberty — out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark’s statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees and parliaments appropriating billions of dollars and passing anti-King legislation without a hearing?

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were roaming the country leading to newspaper editors references stories about Dr. King and the buggings already had revealed?

Everybody else in Washington of any consequence knows it, and many deplore it, but no one seemed to know how to go about making the FBI bend to the laws of the land.

There is a not-too-flippant assumption in Washington that J. Edgar Hoover has been FBI director for 43 years because all the recent Presidents have assumed that he knew too much about them to be replaced. So not only was he not replaced by any of the younger, more able FBI men in the normal course of things, but Presidents Johnson and Nixon have felt it wise or expedient to waive a law saying Hoover has reached the age of retirement.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country know something when they realize that the man who might serve in the presidency. They say personal freedom as implied in the democracy, the personal freedom of the American citizen, that we have come to expect.
NEW HAVEN, Conn., June 15 (?).—Yale University, predicting that "generations of Americans yet unborn will echo" its admiration, conferred an honorary degree today upon the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. King, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was released on bond from the St. Augustine, Fla., jail on Saturday, where he had been held after a civil rights sit-in demonstration. He was one of 13 persons who received honorary degrees at the University's 263d commencement.

The others included Peace Corps Director R. Sargent Shriver, Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), and stage personalities Alfred Lunt and his wife, Lynn Fontanne.

The University's citation to Dr. King said:
"As your eloquence has kindled the Nation's sense of outrage, so your steadfast refusal to countenance violence in resistance to injustice has heightened our sense of national shame.

"When courage and shame together shall one day have reminded the people of South, social and economic opportunity for all citizens, the memories of the long, slow, arduous and of the generations of our salvation and our admiration."

The Washington Post and
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Times
New York Post
The New York Times
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

JUN 16 1964
The Struggle to Sway King

By David S. Broder and William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writers

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

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

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

In Washington, Administration officials privately campaigned partly in search of money and headlines for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference after suffering setbacks in last year's Northern civil rights drives. Some of his long-time admirers complain he is just too surprisingly naive.

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

He was under heavy pressure from moderates to disavow the radical left who wanted him to place all the war blame on the U.S. and to merge unequivocally the movements for peace and civil rights.

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

That declaration—which drew boos from some extremists in the New York throng—placated his moderate critics within the civil rights movement and the Democratic Party, but it did not end their apprehension.

See KING, A4, Col. 1
Tactically Wrong

Furthermore, he argued, Dr. King was tactically wrong in telling people that domestic social programs, such as the War on Poverty, were "cool" and "green." He went on to say that such programs, if properly organized, could be a "bridge" to the civil rights movement.

One adviser, Bayard Rustin, a veteran pacifist, and also civil rights spokesman, said Dr. King was "cool" and "green." He said that Dr. King's role was to speak out strongly against the Administration and most importantly, to facilitate the leadership role in the Civil Rights Movement.

The new chapter opened early this year, with the killing of Dr. King in Jamaica brooding and writing a book while the Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's ambivalence finally ended in February when fighting resumed after the Tet or Vietnamese lunar New Year truce. "He got very hopeful," Young said. "There seemed to be a mood for negotiation and de-escalation. Then everything began to break down, and Dr. King got very depressed."
The NAACP accused Dr. King of making a "serious ethical mistake" in attempting to abandon one movement for another. Reports flourished over the weekend that Dr. King was seeking a reconciliation meeting with the other civil rights leaders.

He let it be known that he did not anticipate a physical merger of the peace and civil rights movements. He stepped away from radicalism by saying, "We are not playing with a radical issue as we were called in the past."

Left to Others

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

Even before Dr. King's Chicago speech, on March 17, a group of Negro newspaper publishers went to the White House to present President Johnson with a citation for his "courage in the pursuit of justice and freedom for all men." While there, they received briefings, including one on Vietnam from White House aides.

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

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

Martin told influential Negroes that the new Negro re-enlistment rate is an effective rebuttal to Dr. King's charge that Negroes are being exploited.

"As an Excuse"

Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington bureau of the Associated Press, made it clear that those who are prone to the King "will certainly use this as an excuse, but at this stage, the far-sighted members of Congress look to the kind of statement that the NAACP board made as reflecting the views of the group." Mitchell was quoted in a story.

Peace Candidate

"Without the Negro..." By Samuel Reed, Jr., in The New York Times, April 3, 1963. "The Negro has a vital role in the exciting election that is building in Nashville this week. Was this the answer? Were violence and what some call sedition what makes Stokely Carmichael run?"

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

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

But Bush, who remains close to Dr. King despite a difference of views, says flatly that this charge is untrue. "I've never known Dr. King to take a position that would hurt him... or be unprofitable," Bush declares. Administration officials also expressed concern about radical influences on Dr. King's staff, and said this position will damage the already-shaky prospects for civil rights action in Congress this year.

The extent of that damage is debatable. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), manager of the Administration bill, says "You're darn right the King speeches hurt. They shouldn't, but they have. People who disagree with a man on one issue are less inclined to go along with him on others. I'm afraid an influential voice has been lost."
a candidate if President Johnson refuses to change his Vietnam war policy.

Following Wallace?

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

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

How serious is the prospect of a Dr. King "peace candidacy" in 1968? The evidence is ambiguous. One civil rights leader outside Dr. King's circle describes him as "a sitting duck" for such a proposition. Another, closer to Dr. King, thinks..."
F.B.I. Says Kennedy Approved Wiretap On Dr. King's Phone

WASHINGTON, June 17 (AP) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation attacked as "scurrilous" today a report that its director, J. Edgar Hoover, had acted on his own in wiretapping the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The wiretap "was specifically approved in advance in writing" by the Attorney General, the late Robert F. Kennedy, the F.B.I. said.

The bureau released the text of a letter written by Clyde Tolson, associate director, to Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, who denounced Mr. Hoover on Sunday and called for the director's resignation.

The letter said: "My attention has been called that time, said that Clay at no the malicious article which time had been the target of a you wrote in The Washington Government wiretap. But a Sunday Star on June 15, 1969, spokesman said some of his concerning Mr. J. Edgar Hoover conversations were overheard. "For your information, the actions.

wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States.

"It is to be hoped that you will give the same publicity to this letter as was given to your scurrilous editorial."

The fact that the Government wiretapped the assassinated civil rights leader's phone was confirmed two weeks ago during hearings in Houston, on whether the conviction of Cassius Clay, the former heavyweight boxing champion, was tainted by illegally obtained evidence. Clay is appealing a sentence for refusing induction into the armed forces.
How Long Has This Been Going On?

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has offered as justification for tapping the telephones of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. two assertions: one, that this tapping was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General at the time it was initiated; and, two, that Mr. Kennedy instigated the wiretapping.

The first of these assertions appears to be uncontested, although Mr. Hoover has yet to produce any documentation of it. In considerable degree it relieves him of responsibility for a gross intrusion into the privacy of an honored citizen. The responsibility for this intrusion must be lodged, in fairness, with the Attorney General if he did indeed give his approval of it in advance. We regret, therefore, that in calling for Mr. Hoover's resignation recently, we imputed the responsibility to him alone—there are far better reasons than this for him to step down.

The second of Mr. Hoover's assertions has been categorically contested by two former Attorneys General, one of them Deputy Attorney General under Mr. Kennedy at the time the wiretapping was begun. Nicholas Katzenbach declared bluntly: "To say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy—that he was the moving force in this situation—or that he had any doubts whatsoever as to Dr. King's loyalty or integrity is false." Ramsey Clark similarly called Mr. Hoover's assertion "unfair and deceptive." And Mr. Clark added a comment that seems to us most significant: "He [Mr. Hoover] repeatedly requested me to authorize FBI wiretaps on Dr. King while I was Attorney General. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

How long the tapping of Dr. King's telephone continued and whether it continued beyond the date of President Johnson's order forbidding such surveillance except in cases directly affecting national security is difficult to determine. But the tapping continue under the Attorney Generalship...
of Mr. Katzenbach and under the Attorney Generalship of Mr. Clark, without benefit of their approval? Another former high Federal official, Columnist Carl Rowan, says: "Certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April 1965. As a top Government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended."

The essential facts of this controversy cannot be established through selective release of materials from the FBI's files. Mr. Hoover has a habit of calling what he does not wish to disclose "classified," while allowing discreet glimpses of material that serves his purposes. His whole handling of the wiretap problem over a period of 30 years has been, in our view, disingenuous to say the least. It began with an assertion that President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized him to tap telephones in national-security cases: but he insisted that the President's letter conferring this power was classified and therefore could not be made public; it became public only recently.

Over and over again, moreover, Mr. Hoover has said that his Bureau has tapped telephones only in connection with national security; and he has said this in terms and contexts which led readers and listeners to believe that he was tapping only in situations involving espionage or sabotage by enemy agents. If his concept of a threat to "national security" embraces the leadership of a civil rights movement, then he lacks either the judgment or the candor to direct the FBI.

Mr. Hoover has held his present job for 45 years. It entails a most dangerous power. In many respects he has served the American people ably and deserves their gratitude. But long before now he ought to have handed in his resignation. No man who does not recognize the impropriety and the danger involved in a 45-year tenure as head of a secret investigating agency is qualified to hold an office so powerful and so fraught with peril to a free people.
of Mr. Katzenbach and under the Attorney Generalship of Mr. Clark, without benefit of their approval? Another former high Federal official, Columnist Carl Rowan, says: "Certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April, 1965. As a top Government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended."

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Clay Case Testimony Reveals Long-Term Taps

Mr. Pickett did not give the specific reasons today for the surveillance of Mr. Muhammad. Charles Morgan, Jr., Mr. Clay's chief counsel, sought repeatedly to obtain specific reasons, but Mr. Pickett insisted his instructions were general.

Evidence Admitted

"I am trying to prove he had specific instructions to obtain information on the religious beliefs of this defendant," Mr. Morgan told Judge Joe Ingraham, of the U.S. District Court.

Summaries of taped conversations involving Mr. Clay were admitted into evidence yesterday. One involved Dr. King and three involved Black Muslim officials.

Judge Ingraham had a fifth summary in a sealed envelope but refused to admit it into the record on the grounds that such action could endanger national security.

The monitored conversations were not revealed by the Justice Department until Mr. Clay appealed his 1957 conviction.

Mr. Clay received the maximum sentence of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Monitored Conversations

Mr. Pickett said he monitored conversations of Mr. Muhammad while working as a clerk in the FBI office in Phoenix, Ariz., from 1952 to 1955.

"You spent four years of your life listening to conversations of the leader of to Nation roll..." Mr. Morgan asked.

"Yes, sir." testimony given yesterday indicated the three FBI wiretaps were placed on Mr. Clay's residence in Phoenix, Ariz., during a summary of a conversation between Mr. Clay and Mr. Muhammad on March 21, 1954. The Black Muslim leader was quoted as saying Mr. Clay "spent quiet after telling him he could make a better minister than a fighter."
Best Forget the King Wiretap

Enough now has been written and spoken about the wiretapping of the late Martin Luther King, the orders of the late Attorney General Robert Kennedy and the position of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The affair is best left to history and future documentation.

Our conservative columnist, William F. Buckley, is dead wrong when he asserts that a Congressional inquiry is in order. It is most positively not. Informed and intelligent Congressmen realize quite well that the whole affair should be quietly dropped.

The King wiretap was brought into the foreground again (not disclosed for the first time, as Buckley believes) through the Cassius Clay trial in Houston. Then, the syndicated columnist, Carl Rowan, asked that Hoover retire on the basis of the King wiretap testimony.

Rowan has served the Federal government well as ambassador to Finland and with the USIA and is a usually competent observer of the national scene. Yet, in this case, he can shoot all him.

The simple fact is that any FBI director, or any CIA director, will be forced to take needless, supernumerary public lumps — without answer. Occasionally, however, for the sake of these agencies, the directors must set the record straight. In this instance, Hoover was again the unfortunate victim.

The surface facts are that Robert Kennedy ordered the wiretap on King, before his death. That wiretap (in the interest of national security) was continued under Kennedy's successor, Nicholas Katzenbach.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, perhaps still smarting from the campaign chatter of President Nixon, got into the act with a denunciation of Hoover. Clark has the unfortunate habit of opening his Texas mouth, wide, when he should keep it shut.

A singular fact which should be borne in mind is that a Congressional inquiry, to be fair to all parties involved (including King, Hoover and Robert Kennedy), would also extend into the White House — bringing in both the late President John F. Kennedy and the former President, Lyndon Johnson, who has been publicity cautious enough.

The last of the Kennedys and King, the reputations of all concerned, and — above all — the nation's interests are best served by a present dismissal of chatter about the whole incident.
Calls for Black-White Brotherhood

4000 Hear Dr. King Attack Racism
From Rails of St. Paul's Cathedral

From News Despatches

LONDON, Dec. 6 — Nobel Prize-winning American Negro leader Martin Luther King warned against allowing racism to grow out of the influx of colored immigrants to the British Isles in recent years.

Mr. King made his call for black and white brotherhood before a packed congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was the first Baptist ever to mount the Anglican pulpit under Sir Christopher Wren's mighty dome.

The novelty of an American Negro preacher at St. Paul's brought more than 4000 to evensong. Persons of all races crowded the nave. Many had breakfasted with visiting Norwegian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India, said America Prize.

Mr. King warned that a doctrine of black supremacy was "too many of our white brothers," said Mr. King, "are concerned with their economic problems, their status, their powers and their way of life."

Of his own people he said: "We must not seek to rise one to one of advantage, sub-situation of one type of Churches before addressing a Christian Action meeting at St. Paul's for that of another."

The American preacher, who City Temple on the racial issue. He leaves Tuesday for Norway to collect his Nobel Prize.
Dr. King Accepts Nobel Peace Prize

‘With an Abiding Faith in America’

OSLO, Dec. 10 (UPI)—The need for man to overcome
Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize he has
pledged the cause of racial
freedom and equality in the United States.

Dr. King was visibly moved by the stirring ceremony in
by theвор ор ments scientific received awards in
in the Nobel prize in physics. (See
day in which he was pre-
related story.) The Peace
prize is given in Oslo because
and gold medal as the winner. The winner is selected by the
Auditorium of Oslo University.

The audience included to be awarded the Nobel members of his family and Peace Prize. An American friendship Kings Olav V and Ralph Bunche, Deputy Sec-
Crown Prince Harald, repre-
tative General of the United
sentatives of the government, Nations, was the first, in 1959.

The second was Chief Albert
and the cream of Luthuli, leader of the out-
Norway’s cultural and social circles.

The 35-year-old American movement in South Africa, Negro civil rights leader who was honored a decade ago, hailed the award as “pro-
found recognition that non-
the award today, the returns, and retaliation,” he to students at the university

Dr. King told the audience, Alas, to Oslo bears witness to
ence, which included the
and oppression.

Scientists Honored

Newsweek Oct. 20, 1964

The Norwegian Nobel Committee, in its annual report on

Stresses Nonviolence

Dr. King is the third Negro

Dr. King stressed the necessity of nonviolence enunciated throughout Europe, what he called the struggle. After the speech, Dr. King
for social justice and said: was presented to King O’Gara

“Someday or later all the people of the world will have hands with them while they
to discover a way to live together in peace...”

“If this is to be achieved! Dr. King was guest of

The tortuous road which Dr. King, before returning
question of our time—the faith in the future of man has led from

Montgomery, to the United States.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted “with an abiding faith in America” the $54,600 Nobel Peace Prize he has pledged to the cause of racial freedom and equality in the United States. Dr. King was visibly moved by the stirring ceremony in which scientists received awards in medicine and physics. (See day in which he was predecessor story.) The Peace Prize is given in Oslo because the winner is selected by the Norwegian Academy of Science. The audience included to be awarded the Nobel Prize members of his family and Peace Prize. An American friendship Kings Olav V and Ralph Bunche, Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, was the first, in 1959. The second was Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the outlawed African nationalist movement. The 35-year-old American movement in South Africa, Negro civil rights leader who was honored a decade ago, hailed the award as “profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the with an abiding faith in America. Dr. King told the audience, Alas, to Oslo bears witness to the need for man to overcome oppression. Scientists Honored Scientists Honored by the Norwegian Nobel Committee, in its annual report on American Negro military officers, South African students, and a group of Dr. King’s first person in the West, followers who said they had traveled to find a new sense of dignity. Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the American Negro military officers, South African students, and a group of Dr. King’s first person in the West, followers who said they had traveled to find a new sense of dignity. Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, hailed Dr. King in his speech, saying he had achieved “someday or later all the people of the world will have hands with them while they discover a way to live together in peace.” If this is to be achieved! Dr. King was guest of honor for a dinner in honor of him at the University of Oslo. The tortuous road which Dr. King, before returning to America and an audacious one, “The tortuous road which Dr. King, before returning to America.”
Crown Prince Harald of Norway, left, and King Olav congratulate the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. after he received the Nobel Prize. Watching at the ceremonies in Oslo was Mrs. King.

Dr. King Orders Scripto Co. Boycott

By Paul Good

ATLANTA, Dec. 10—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. took his fellow into the U.S. labor movement today, by proxy, by calling his first national-wide economic boycott in support of a union here.

While Dr. King was receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway, his Southern Christian Leadership Conference was mounting a boycott against the Scripto Co., one of the world's leading manufacturers of pens and cigarette lighters. The boycott, which was announced by Dr. King to stress SCLC's economic section in the South, is a challenge against the Negroes of local unions of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. They charge that racial discrimination is behind low wages for Negro workers at the Scripto plant here in the heart of the Negro section just a few blocks from SCLC national headquarters. The company says it pays competitive wages for the Southeast and labels the racial charge a "fake."

Although Dr. King is absent from the picket line, the SCLC has notified 2200 affiliates that "Dr. King feels that this is the most important thing we can do at the moment in the freedom struggle."

The boycott, which the SCLC terms an "economic withdrawal," is international in scope. While the support of other U.S. civil rights groups like CORE is being sought, pleas are also going out to Scripto plant in England, Southern Rhodesia and Mexico.

Dr. King has ordered that the boycott be adhered to firmly. The Reverend, the SCLC's national coordinator, is planning a Negro voter registration drive for the South. The boycott is not settled soon it is believed that Dr. King will.
Dr. King Accepts Nobel Peace Prize as 'Trustee'

By JAMES FERON

Special to The New York Times

OSLO, Norway, Dec. 10—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted the Nobel Peace Prize today on behalf of the civil rights movement.

"Text of speech by Dr. King appears on Page 23."

and "all men who love peace and brotherhood" The Bishop at Oslo University, said the when 24 with a Nation of the United States are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. Nevertheless, he said that he had an 'abiding faith in America' and refused to believe that mankind was "tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality." Dr. King's speech was delivered before King Olav V of Norway, Governor and diplomatic leaders, members of Dr. King's family and his associates in the civil rights movement. He spoke in English and the ceremony was televised the central Europe. The award carried a money prize equivalent to about $54,000. The 68-year-old minister, the youngest person ever to win the coveted award, said he recognized "which has not won the very love of God, but which is the essence of the Nobel Prize." Why then, award this prize to a movement "which is being watched and committed to until the struggle?

Dr. King asked. He said that "after contemplation" he had reached this conclusion. This award, which I receive on behalf of the movement, is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the cruel political and social problems of the world."

Continued on Page 23, Column 5.
DR. KING ACCEPTS PRIZE AS 'TRUSTER'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

speech the orchestra of the Norwegian Broadcasting system played excerpts from George Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess."

Then King Olav and Crown Prince Harald, who had watched the ceremony from seats in the center of the aisle, stepped forward to congratul

ate Dr. King.

Among those in the party of 30 accompanying Dr. King to Europe were his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., from At

lanta, Ga.; a sister, Mrs. Christine Farris, and a brother, the Rev. A. D. King of Birming

ham, Ala.

The ceremony of awarding the peace prize is always held

in Stockholm. According to Dr. Nobel's will, the peace prize winner is selected by a five-

member committee that is chosen by the Norwegian Parliament. Recipients of the other

prizes are selected by Swedish learned societies.

The Negro leader is the third

of his race to win the award.

The first was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, for his work as a United Nations Under Secretary, and the second was Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa.

Dr. King was hailed by Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, as an "undoubted champion of peace" and the "first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without vi

Dr. Jahn spoke in Norwegian for more than half an hour, de

scribing Dr. King's background and his fight for civil rights. He said that though Dr. King had not personally committed himself to the international con

flict, his own struggle is a clarion call for all who work for peace.

"Steadfastness Praised"

But his "cold" deed, his "cool" deed, his "cool" act, his "cool" pr

Steadfastness Praised

He who is steadfast, who clings to his quietness, is pr

He who is steadfast, who clings to his quietness, is pr

He who is steadfast, who clings to his quietness, is pr

He who is steadfast, who clings to his quietness, is pr

but instead and diploma to Dr. King as the audience of a thousand guests stood and ap

plauded. The company, by un

doubtedly, came to him on the 700th a

versary of the death in 1786 of J.A. L. von Weissenfels, a

Swedish citizen.

"After Dr. King's acceptance..."
The Department of Justice has come forward with an appalling paradox: entrusted with enforcement of the Federal laws, it holds itself to lie outside the ambit of those laws; committed to the championship of the United States Constitution, it holds itself to be free from the restraints of that fundamental charter. Expressly, the Department declared on Friday that it possesses legal power—despite a clause of the Constitution and an Act of Congress to the contrary—and without bothering to obtain judicial authorization in advance—to carry on electronic surveillance of any members of organizations who, in its opinion, may be seeking to "attack and subvert the Government by unlawful means."

No more pernicious notion has ever been propounded by an agency of the United States Government. What this comes down to is a bald assertion that the Department can take the law into its own hands whenever it thinks the national security is threatened—from within or from without. Last week, in a Federal District Court in Chicago, the Department disclosed that it had employed wiretapping or bugging devices to monitor conversations of the antiwar activists who were indicted for inciting riots at the Democratic National Convention last August. What is the Department's justification? "Any President who takes seriously his oath to 'preserve, protect and defend the Constitution,'" the Department asserts, "will no doubt determine that it is not 'unreasonable' to utilize electronic surveillance to gather intelligence information concerning those organizations which are committed to the use of illegal methods to bring about changes in our form of government and which may be seeking to foment violent disorders."

Of course, the Constitution which any President has taken an oath to "preserve" specifically forbids unwarranted searches. And the Supreme Court has plainly said that electronic surveillance constitutes a search permissible under the Fourth Amendment only when properly circumscribed and authorized in advance by a judge. Congress only last year, wishing to regularize and control electronic eavesdropping, stipulated precisely in the Crime Control Act the conditions under which bugging and wiretapping could be authorized.

Yet the Department of Justice appears to be saying that both the Constitution and the Crime Control Act can be ignored whenever the President thinks that certain groups are "committed to the use of illegal methods to bring about changes in our form of government." What could better illustrate...
the absurdity of this standard than its application in regard to the tatterdemalion crew of New Lefists who stirred up disorder in the streets of Chicago. If the President or the Department of Justice can see a threat to the Nation's security in that tawdry, loose-lipped cabal, it can see a threat in anything. And if a supposed threat to national security can justify setting aside the Constitution and the law respecting electronic eavesdropping, why can it not be used to justify setting them aside for any other purpose the President and the Department of Justice may deem expedient or convenient in the protection of national security? Will they some day think it not "unreasonable" to set aside the prohibitions against arbitrary arrest or against random physical searches of citizens' homes or against imprisonment without trial or against suppression of speech deemed dangerous? What the Department of Justice has so blandly enunciated is the rationale of dictatorship. It is the justification of every despot from Caligula to Adolf Hitler.

It has been disclosed recently that the Federal Bureau of Investigation systematically, over a period of years, tapped telephones in flagrant violation of the law and in cases having nothing whatever to do with national security. It bugged and tapped the homes and hotel rooms of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, for example. It is beside the point if, as the FBI now asserts, the Attorney General, at that time Robert F. Kennedy, authorized the eavesdropping; no Attorney General had any authority to do so. The FBI also bugged and tapped numerous persons alleged to be part of that undefined group called the "Mafia." This eavesdropping was done in violation of the Constitution, in violation of the law, in violation of a presidential order and in violation of repeated assurances by the Director of the FBI that it was not being done. J. Edgar Hoover has forfeited the confidence of the American people. He ought to resign or be removed from office.

A Federal Bureau of Investigation which eavesdrops on citizens is a peril to privacy and a menace to freedom in any circumstances. But a Federal Bureau of Investigation which does this in direct defiance of Congress is intolerable. Congress, in its wisdom, decreed last year that bugging and tapping could be done under court order. For the Department of Justice to assert now that it may bug and tap at its own discretion is to undermine the whole concept of a government of laws.
About Additional Wiretappings

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has refused to say whether it has ever tapped the telephones of any members of Congress as part of its job of "protecting internal security." Clyde A. Tolson, the FBI associate director who disclosed in a letter to me that the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King was tapped "strictly in the field of internal security," has also refused to say whether the FBI has tapped the telephones of other civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or James Farmer, formerly of the Committee on Racial Equality and now an assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

In a quiet exchange of letters with this reporter, Tolson takes the view that in revealing that the wiretap on King was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy, the FBI's purpose has "been accomplished" and "there is no need to continue this correspondence."

Thus the FBI seeks to evade the thrust of my recent column that Tolson labeled "preposterous" by resting its case on an assortment of allegations against two dead men who cannot talk back.

First, in an all-out effort to protect the reputation of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI has alleged that the wiretap on King was both suggested and approved by the late senator Kennedy.

A check of records kept on the King affair during my government days, including discussions of the matter with FBI officials, suggests that Kennedy did approve the wiretap, but that the FBI lies in saying that it was Kennedy's idea originally.

A significant point that was central to my column has been observed by the "Hoover or Kennedy?" controversy. That is my point that the FBI can, does and will tap the phone or bug the dwelling of just about any American in the name of "internal security."

Rather than meet this point, the FBI wants the wiretapping controversy to focus on King because the agency processes tape recordings and photographs that it thinks will blacken King's reputation.

(Tolson has carefully neglected to comment on my report that for years the FBI has had a small army of agents and spies roaming the country whispering the dirt about King.)

FBI strategy is based on the assumption that some of the public already hates King, others automatically despise heroes who turn out to have feet of clay, and still others are quick to adopt a holier-than-thou posture and throw the first stone. The assumption seems to be that if the FBI leaks enough degrading details about King the American people will forget the central charge in my column that the FBI found so wounding it finally decided to tell the American people part of the truth.

That charge, I repeat, is that we are a lot closer to becoming a police state than most Americans realize. Nothing illustrates this more than the current FBI genealogy.

But the issue is not whether King was a saint—perhaps this is the time for me to reveal that I have read the FBI reports based on electronic surveillance of the late Nobel prize-winner. I know how much dirt the FBI has dug up, and 99 percent of it is backyard gossip that has nothing to do with "internal security" or "criminal influence."
The question is: Should a powerful, police-investigative agency be permitted to tap an American's telephone, bug his home, and place electronic devices in his hotel rooms, just because someone in the Justice Department (Hoover, Kennedy or whoever) thinks he has “Communist associates”? Ought not there be the safeguard of some court concluding that some “clear and present danger” justifies such an invasion of a free man’s privacy?

Was there a “clear and present danger” that King would endanger the nation’s security? If so, why did the danger disappear on April 30, 1965, when the FBI claims it discontinued the wiretap? King was seeing the same “dangerous” people for almost three years after that.

The answer is that certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April 1965. As a top government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended.

The answer is that the FBI will not admit to this later surveillance because it cannot claim that it was authorized by Attorneys General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark, both of whom are alive to defend themselves.

There is a fundamental point about the King affair that is valid no matter who authorized the wiretap and buggings. If the FBI had information that King was an enemy of and menace to his country, we have courts and other proper channels in which to make whatever charges the FBI felt it could prove. This allows the accused a chance to face his accusers, to reply.

But the most frightening aspect of this whole business is to have FBI officials waging a campaign to destroy a man by rumor, by stealth, by whispers, by slander, by flashing dirty pictures in smoke-filled bars.

These are the legal and moral issues that the American public must face. And we must not be blinded to the reality by a shrill campaign to make the late Robert F. Kennedy and the late Martin Luther King the villains.
Contempt of Law

Why did the Federal Bureau of Investigation tap the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? The tapping was disclosed, beyond any contradiction, in testimony given on Wednesday in a Federal District Court. It violated an Act of Congress, the Federal Communications Act. It violated the repeated assertion by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that his agency tapped telephones only in national security cases.

John S. Martin, an attorney in the U.S. Solicitor General’s office, acknowledged in court that the civil rights leader had been under FBI electronic surveillance in 1964 and 1965 and that the four FBI wiretaps made of telephone conversations in which he participated were illegal. There can be no doubt whatever as to the illegality of these wiretaps. In point of fact, the Government did not choose to contest their illegality.

Mr. Hoover has said many times that his agency taps no telephones without express authorization from the Attorney General. Did Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, a distinguished champion of civil rights, authorize surveillance, in clear violation of law, of the country’s most respected civil rights leader?

Mr. Hoover has said many times, in congressional hearings and in public statements, that his agency taps no telephones except in cases affecting the country’s security. Will he assert that he believed the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King presented a peril to national security? He has indicated on past occasions that he takes an elastic, and sometimes a very confused, view of national security. But Martin Luther King?

It is no light matter to have the law flouted by the country’s foremost investigating agency. Contempt for the law by public agencies and public officials breeds contempt for the law by the public itself. Worse still, a contemptuous disregard for the privacy and the essential freedom of American citizens strikes dangerously at the foundations of American life. The American people cannot afford to let J. Edgar Hoover be a law unto himself, no matter how valuable his past public service. A people careless of fundamental rights can hardly be said to deserve those rights at all.
An FBI agent 22 years, Nichols said he was supervising the Atlanta surveillance of King when a conversation with Clay and Eskridge was recorded Sept. 4, 1964. The summary quoted Clay as advising the civil rights leader to take care of himself and “watch out for them whiteys.”

Martin said the three other admitted summaries were prepared by FBI agents in Phoenix, Ariz.
Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood

'King Tape' Emerges From Legend
To Underline a Danger to Liberties

FOR SEVERAL years a piece of Washington apocrypha known as "the Martin Luther King tape" was the subject of sly and ugly surmise among certain journalistic insiders. There are those who claim to have had The Tape played for them by obliging law enforcement officials. Others are said to have been given transcripts of a gathering, bugged by Government investigators, at which Dr. King and friends were present.

It was one of those repugnant but enduring stories that cling to controversial public figures. The FBI and Justice Department steadfastly denied knowing anything specific about electronic surveillance of Dr. King. Shoulders would shrug, eyebrows would arch knowingly, fingers would point discreetly in other directions. And FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover contented himself with attacking the civil rights leader as "the most notorious liar in the country."

Now the unsavory truth is out. It emerged in the form of sworn testimony by FBI agents in a Houston Federal courtroom in the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cushee Clay, now Muhammad Ali. The agents acknowledged that they had bugged on Dr. King for a period of several years.

"I WAS told to write down whatever I heard that I would consider of value," testified FBI agent C. Barry Pickett in words that should be engraved on some monument to our time. After four years of eavesdropping eight hours a day, five days a week on the telephone conversations of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, Pickett was elevated from clerk to agent.

Why was Dr. King under surveillance? No one has said. But it may be significant that the bugging began at a time when he criticized the FBI for assigning Southern agents to protect civil rights workers in the South. It is also ironic that this seemingly gratuitous invasion of Dr. King's personal life occurred at a time when many high-ranking members of the Justice Department would have expressed nothing less than roaring outrage at the thought that his phone was being tapped by Government agents. It was the time, in other words, when Robert F. Kennedy was Attorney General of the United States.

After the disclosure last week, there was an understandable rush to disavow responsibility for electronic pursuit of Dr. King. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark denied authorizing any wiretaps or bugs against Dr. King or Elijah Muhammad while he headed the Justice Department. His predecessor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach declined to say anything publicly.

Did Robert Kennedy know? The FBI's only recorded comment on the affair was to refer questioners to Hoover's testimony over a period of years that each bug was authorized in writing before installation by the Attorney General. And the Justice Department last week described Hoover's testimony as "accurate in every respect." Informally, the FBI is saying that Mr. Kennedy knew and approved. Sen. Kennedy was questioned during the Oregon primary in 1968 about the charge that he ordered Dr. King's phone tapped and his reply was equivocal.

In June, 1965, President Johnson issued an executive order prohibiting wiretapping except in "national security" investigations. In his testimony Hoover speaks of "internal security" matters. What constitutes "internal security," this column asked of an FBI spokesman, "it has to speak for itself," he replied.

There is a spectacular ambiguity about it all.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell now intends to use the authority conferred on him by Congress last year to use wiretaps in the wide variety of cases permitted under the new Omnibus Crime Act.

And when you consider the scope of the blatantly illegal wiretapping carried out by Government agents during the past few years it boggles the mind to consider how pervasive official snooping might become once it was institutionalized by local courts at the behest of local prosecutors. During the second half of 1968, for example, state officials obtained 174 wiretapping warrants, all but seven of them in New York, where authorities used wiretapping for such suspected offenses as larceny and gambling.

It is chilling to contemplate the size of the electronic dragnet that might be thrown over American citizens in the name of stamping out suspected gambling violations.

Yet President Nixon and his Attorney General have embraced the new Federal eavesdropping law with resounding public enthusiasm. They may rue it when the returns start coming in.
By LYLE DENNISTON
Star Staff Writer

A top official of the FBI has claimed that official wiretapping on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was not authorized by the Justice Department, as the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was. The letter was sent to Carl T. Rowan, a columnist for The Washington Post, and was intended as an answer to an article Rowan wrote for last Sunday's edition, attacking FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the electronic spying on King. A copy of the letter was sent to the editor of The Star.

"For your information," Tolson wrote to the columnist, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

First Revealed in Houston

Tolson added that the monitoring device "was installed strictly in the field of national security, and therefore, was within the jurisdiction of the Federal Court for the Southern District of Texas."

The first public revelation that King had been a subject of FBI wiretapping came earlier this month in a federal court hearing in Houston. Robert Nichols, a special agent in the FBI office in Atlanta, testified that he had supervised a device attached to the telephone lines at King's home that morning.

The wiretap apparently was installed sometime in 1961, and there have been indications that the wiretapping continued for some time after that, perhaps until shortly before King's assassination April 4, 1968. Kennedy was attorney general from January 1961 until Sept. 3, 1963.

If the wiretapping had been specifically approved by the attorney general, and if it was used as a means of national security investigation, it apparently was not operated in violation of legal restrictions in effect at the time.

Rowan Blasts Hoover

Tolson's letter seemed clearly designed to show that both aspects of legality had been met by the FBI. His letter was prompted by comments by the columnist that Hoover had been flouting the law by permitting the wiretap on King's phone. Rowan directly accused Hoover of "abuse of contempt of the law."

Branding this a "malicious" and "scurrilous" article, Tolson invited Rowan to give his answer wide publicity.

The FBI's new defense of itself seemed likely to start a new round of public dispute over the official responsibility for the use of electronic listening devices.

Three years ago, Hoover and Robert Kennedy, then Attorney General, approved the use of hidden microphones, as opposed to direct wiretap, for investigation.

Kennedy Released Letter

At that time, the late senator made public a letter to him dated Feb. 17, 1966, from Courtney A. Evans, who had been assistant FBI director while Kennedy was attorney general.

While Kennedy relied on that letter to help him make the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility, the letter did carry a paragraph which suggests that Kennedy had been involved directly in approving the use of wiretaps.

The paragraph read: "On Jan. 10, 1966, while you were attorney general designate, a memorandum was delivered to you furnishing a summary of the use of wiretapping by the FBI in serious national security cases. Therefore, individual recommendations in these serious national security cases for wiretap authorization were sent to you by the FBI for approval. These were the only wiretap authorizations which were ever submitted to you."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, said last night that he simply had no recollection about whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

Interest Said to Flag

If the wiretap was installed any time during 1964, and if it did have approval by the attorney general, that could have come only from Kennedy or his successor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Katzenbach could not be reached immediately for comment on the matter.

Aides to Kennedy suggested last night that, during 1964, the period after the assassination of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs flagged.

At the time, Katzenbach was Kennedy deputy at the Justice Department.

A later attorney general, Ramsey Clark, has told reporters that he personally had not given approval for wiretapping on King. Clark also has said he required the FBI to tell him every three months the names of people being monitored electronically and that King's name was never reported to him in that category.

No Document Included

If the wiretapping had continued until shortly before King's death, it would have been in operation during Clark's leadership of the department.

Tolson's letter to Rowan, while saying that the wiretap on King had "been specifically authorized" by Kennedy, did not say directly that King himself was the subject under investigation.

In addition, Tolson did not include with his letter a copy of the specific document upon which the claim of authorization apparently was based.

Testimony at the Houston hearing appeared to indicate that King himself was the subject of the wiretapping, and that this was the reason that his telephone had been tapped for long periods of time.
Wiretap Disclosures Reopen Hoover Dispute

BY OSMOND JOHNSTON
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, June 5—The disclosure that the FBI maintained a telephone tap on the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the last four years of his life again throws into question the relationship between J. Edgar Hoover and his nominal superiors in the Justice Department.

According to a policy established by former President Johnson in June, 1955, all government wiretapping activity was to be suspended except "where the national security is at stake."

Approval Needed

The order further provided that no tap then in existence was to be continued "without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General."

Reliable sources in Washington confirmed today that Nicholas Katzenbach, the Attorney General in office when Mr. Johnson issued his directive, ordered the tap on Dr. King discontinued as soon as its existence was reported to him.

Reliable reports also said that Remmy Clark, who took over the Justice Department in October, 1963, did not order the tap on Dr. King's right hand when he took office and that the order for the tap was issued by the Attorney General in office.

Nevertheless, the Cassius Clay wiretap hearing in progress in Houston produced this exchange yesterday when the existence of the tap on Dr. King was first mentioned:

"Charles Morgan, Jr., representing the former heavyweight champion, asked if the surveillance continued until Dr. King's assassination in April, 1968.

"Richard Nichols, the FBI agent who carried out the surveillance during 1964 and 1965, made no audible reply, but nodded.

"In answer to another question, Mr. Nichols indicated that the surveillance "went on after" he was removed from the assignment in May, 1965.

Different Policy

And he testified at another point that the FBI "did not follow regular policy on this particular surveillance." He did not explain further what he meant.

The Johnson directive, which was aimed at limiting the use of illegal wiretaps on government agents, was dated June 20, 1965.

Public disclosure of FBI activity in this field has in the past been adversely embarrassing to the bureau, and spokesmen have today maintained a rigid silence over the Houston disclosures.

Late in the day, however, the Attorney General's Public Information Office, which operates separately from the FBI press office, issued a denial that the surveillance of Dr. King had been initiated by attorneys general in previous administrations.

Letters From Hoover

An official spokesman called attention to a letter Mr. Hoover sent Representative H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) in December, 1965, during the course of a widely publicized dispute between the FBI director and the late Robert F. Kennedy, who was Attorney General when the wiretap on Dr. King was initiated.

"All wiretaps utilized by the FBI have always been approved in writing in advance, by the Attorney General," Mr. Hoover wrote then.

Justice Department spokesmen also pointed out today that government lawyers in Houston have been successful in blocking defense questions regarding authorization of the FBI taps disclosed there.

Disclaimed Responsibility

Back in 1966, Mr. Kennedy sought to disclaim responsibility for much of the widespread electronic eavesdropping by government agents, was carried out during the early 1960's.

To counter the Hoover letter to Mr. Gross, he made public a letter from Courtesy A. Everson, a Washington lawyer who was the FBI liaison officer with the Justice Department, leadership during Mr. Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General.

The letter said that "the only wiretap authorizations which were ever submitted to Mr. Kennedy involved 'serious national security cases.'"

The charge and countercharge between the FBI director and the former Attorney General gave added weight to reports of friction between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kennedy and his immediate predecessors.

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

Date
JUN 5 1969
rather bloody-minded people in both action and reaction has been obscured by "a 1 of historical amnesia." Perhaps, since this obscuration is still very much with us, it would be better to call it "political amnesia."

We would like to think we are a peace-loving people; at the same time we insist on venting our hostility on any individual or nation that questions our virtue and the superiority of our ways.

The Wall Street Journal (June 9) takes issue with the commission on several points. "So far from being bloody-minded," it says editorially, "the average citizen is appalled and deeply saddened at the violence he is constantly reminded of both at home and on the distant battlefields of Vietnam." The violence at home may indeed sadden him, although it probably frightens him more and makes him inclined to resort to violence of his own—certainly the enormous sales of guns to individuals indicate as much. But as for Vietnam, only a small part of the American public is concerned about the agony that has been inflicted on the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. Reports from the front that artillery and air strikes have killed several hundred of the enemy, at the cost of a few American lives, cause no public outcry. One would think that only Americans were human. The Pentagon countered a recent rise in the weekly American casualty total with a statement that half a million of the enemy had been killed. Half a million, in a country so small! Not a murmur was heard from all those "appalled and saddened" citizens The Wall Street Journal knows about.

In a dispatch from Saigon in The Christian Science Monitor (June 4), Elizabeth Pond provides some figures on American violence as applied in Vietnam with no result except the virtual ruin of the southern half of the country. The caption of the story says that there are currently 1.5 million refugees in South Vietnam and the government appropriates one-third of 1 per cent of the national budget to helping them. The policies of the government of South Vietnam can be controlled by the government of the United States; we have proof here that we not only resort to large-scale violence for phantasmal ends but do not even trouble ourselves to repair some of the damage.

This war has produced, according to Miss Pond, at least 4 million refugees, 300,000 physically disabled, 20,000 to 50,000 prostitutes, more than 50,000 orphans, "and no one knows just how many juvenile delinquents and delinquents." Apart from the dead, it has displaced up to a third of the population, rent the social fabric, and bled the country of several generations of leaders. She says the situation is "wastefully" improved over two years ago but it still is horrifying.

Of course many Americans are perturbed by all this; some are actually trying to ameliorate the distress. "An entire nation is being destroyed," asserts the White Paper of the American Friends Service Committee, but this compassion does not go down to the grass roots.

The animosity against Brown's dictum was amplified by the fact that it was true. The commission's report will be viewed more tolerantly but probably it will not be as long remembered.

[A Dirty Business]

Justice Holmes once said all that ever need be said about wire tapping when he referred to it as "a dirty business." But some taps, of course, are dirtier than others. A prime example is the wire tap that the FBI maintained on the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Evidence offered at the Cassius Clay hearing in Houston indicates that the taps began as early as 1965 and were maintained until Dr. King's death on April 4, 1968. It is clear also that the taps were maintained after President Johnson, on June 30, 1965, ordered an end to wire taps except those ordered by the Attorney General in "national security" cases. The mind boggles at the notion that Dr. King, a Baptist minister (Ph.D., Boston University, D.D., Chicago Theological Seminary), Nobel Prize winner (1964), founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, could have been involved in activities that, in the view of J. Edgar Hoover and former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, may have constituted a threat to the national security of the United States.

Incredulity is enhanced by a clear indication of what it was that prompted Mr. Hoover to request authorization of this particular wire tap. District Judge Ingraham, who is conducting the Clay hearings in Houston, would not permit FBI agent Robert Nichols to explain why Dr. King was under surveillance, but he did let him testify that the surveillance—that is, the particular surveillance which Nichols supervised—occurred at a time when Dr. King was attacking the FBI for assigning Southern rather than Northern agents to civil rights investigations. The inference is that sharp criticism of his actions is regarded by Mr. Hoover as a threat to national security.

In an entirely legitimate attempt to secure an official explanation, the Chicago Daily News propounded a series of questions to the FBI: "Why was Dr. King's phone tapped? Did J. Edgar Hoover approve? Was Dr. King considered a security risk?" In each instance the answer was: "No comment."

Not merely is the public entitled to an explanation of the kind sought by the Daily News, but the continued failure to provide it will encourage slander of the dead. Recently the regents of the University of California, over the objection of Gov. Ronald Reagan, approved naming a new hall at the Davis campus in honor of Dr. King. Rep. John Rarick (D., Ia.) promptly denounced Dr. King as "an innately" for "international communism" (Congressional Record, May 26). Rep. Robert Leggett (D., Calif.) expressed "dismay" that Rarick had given credence to the libelous and ridiculous charges that Dr. King was a Communist. On June 2, Rarick repeated the charges and, in doing so, demanded that the files of the FBI on Dr. King be made public. To this Leggett responded (June 5) by placing in the Record many pages of tributes to Dr. King. But nothing will shame or silence Rarick, who again returned to the attack with this comment: "Public acknowledgment that Martin Luther King was under FBI surveillance can be accepted in only one morn-
The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Ala., to Oslo, beats now to this truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are traveling to find a new sense of dignity. This road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new understanding of the meaning of justice as Negro and white men in America can create alliances to overcome their common problems.

Faith Is Affirmed

I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind. I refuse to accept the idea that the "sinlessness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal "oughtness" that forever confronts him.

I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life. Rather, I must be true to him who loved the world so that we might overcome our violent and violent ways and become a reality.

I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must march down the militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmored truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. This is why I reject temporary detente as stronger than evil triumph.

I believe that even amid today's mortar bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow. I believe that non-violent justice, living prelate on the blood-flowing streets of our nation, can be lifted from this dust of shame to reign supreme among the children of men.

The most of these people will never be accepted as equals in Who's Who. Yet, the oldies have not passed and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we live—men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization because those humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a courser of some precious bottle which he holds in trust for his true owners—all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty—and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

 Depths of my heart I am aware that this prize is much more than an honor to me personally.

Every time I take a flight I am always mindful of the many people who make a successful journey possible, the known pilots and the unknown ground crew.

So you honor the dedicated pilots of our struggle who have sat at the controls as the freedom movement soared into orbit. You honor, once again, Chief (Albert) Luthuli of South Africa, whose struggles with and for his people are still met, with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man.

You honor the ground crew without whose labor and sacrifices the flight's to freedom could never have left the earth.
Martin Luther King Incident Underwrites Need
To Give Agency Independence, Says Writer

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — On the surface, it may look as if the current controversy between J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of a leading Negro organization, merely concerns a question of veracity about incidents in Albany, Ga., in connection with the handling of complaints by Negroes and civil rights workers in that city. But the issue goes deeper. It involves the effort of organized groups to pressure governmental agencies into taking action to meet protests based upon passion and emotional feelings, rather than on the rules of law which require substantial evidence before arrests can be made.

The effort to convert the FBI into a political agency is not new. It has been evident in the FBI's activities of other pressure groups from time to time. Sooner or later, the FBI will have to be made an agency separate from the Department of Justice, unless the department itself becomes an independent agency.

For when it comes to the operations of the law, the citizen expects enforcement to be fair and impartial.

A case which illustrates the caution that the FBI exercises can be cited in connection with the investigation of the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi a few weeks ago. The FBI, according to information which has been given out by high officials, has collected in that case certain information of an incriminating nature. But the making of arrests has been deferred in order to gather data which could make it possible to obtain convictions.

Law enforcement is not merely a matter of using the FBI as a national police force such as is found in totalitarian countries. The Federal courts have in recent years, for example, released prisoners on the ground that they were improperly interrogated before they were arraigned.

Under the existing circumstances, the investigative agencies of the Government feel that they must be very cautious and careful before they make arrests. But this will not satisfy those who think that certain suspects should be promptly arrested and tried.

It is fair to wonder that J. Edgar Hoover restrained himself from the urge to intrude when he joined a group of women reporters this week on the general subject of law enforcement. Mr. Hoover was particularly bitter about some of the activities of Mr. King.

The FBI chief said that Mr. King had told members of his organization not to report acts of violence to the FBI in Albany, Ga., because the agents there are all Southerners and would not do anything about such complaints. Mr. Hoover's reply was that the majority of FBI agents in the South are Northerners, and that four of the five agents in Albany were born in the North.

The FBI director conceded that there have been difficulties with local authorities, some of whom, due to their prejudices, are lax in law enforcement involving violations of civil rights. But the FBI has no authority over the State and local police, and has to depend on their voluntary cooperation. In cases where the local police cannot be relied upon, the FBI may increase its success. But this does not mean that it can always gather enough evidence to bring a case against all persons suspected of violating civil rights.

Somewhat the same situation confronts the FBI in connection with the measures that might have been taken to protect the late President Kennedy against assassination. It is natural for the FBI director to present the criticism of his agency made in the report of the Warren Commission. For, as Mr. Hoover told his press conference this week, the chief executive makes a public appearance, especially when he rides down city streets in an open auto. The implication that somehow the FBI was responsible for the failure prevents Lee Harvey Oswald from shooting Mr. Kennedy is rejected by the FBI men who know the facts.

The truth is that the FBI and Secret Service combined do not have sufficient personnel to carry out the kind of'a operation which, the Warren Commission report intimates, might have been taken in Dallas.

The same thing applies to civil rights. The Federal Government can't detect all the civil rights violations that are going on. Nor does it have enough enforcement service to correct those who violate the law.

Unless a large national police force is built, or unless cases can be prosecuted which will furnish an example to the nation and have a deterrent effect, it is not likely that the FBI, by merely making a number of arrests without ample evidence, will be able to solve the major problems of law enforcement.