

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

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

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

NOTE:

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

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

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

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

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

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

April 2, 1968

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

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

*no action*

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS DECLASSIFIED

DATE 11/28/97 BY SP2ALM/KIS  
 #111F94-75

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 18, 1963

JUNE

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

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

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

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 7/23/63 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.

*[Redacted area]*

*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation - Ongoing*

Enc. *3-10-18-63*  
 100-106670  
 100-3-116  
 TDR:scp  
 (11)

~~SECRET~~

REC 37

22 NOV 12 1963

CLASSIFIED BY *2047*  
 DEPT FROM GENERAL RECLASSIFICATION  
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
 REPORT CATEGORY *2*  
 AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON *10/01/01*

*Handwritten notes and stamps*  
 100-106670-70  
 SPEC. MAIL

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP2ACM/KS*  
 11/19/97 *WINDY*  
 Key copy only

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

~~SECRET~~

At present there are *1* investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and *1* are awaiting installation. The limit is *1*

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.

*PR*  
*mcys*  
*ASH*  
*ATZ.*  
*h*  
*✓*  
*McCarthy*

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP/ML/KIS on this copy only  
ON 11/18/97  
#AARLA94-15

# Memorandum

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

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 4, 1963

JUNE

TO : Mr. J. F. Bland

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

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

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

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

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

King is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). King has been described

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation - Ongoing  
NOV 7 1963

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

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

~~SECRET~~  
CLASSIFIED BY 2047  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON \_\_\_\_\_

WTK/mga  
(11)

~~SECRET~~

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 ~~investigative-type~~ technical surveillances in operation and ~~are~~ are awaiting installation. The limit is ~~is~~

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:

*Make a good deal of change from committee on this. W*

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.

*G.K.  
10/1  
Wes*

*WKF  
JFK*

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*2/24*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

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

October 27, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

*[Handwritten signature]*

A technical surveillance was instituted on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on November 8, 1963. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a racial-type organization headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

This technical surveillance has provided considerable valuable intelligence information concerning communist influence on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference through King, as well as the communist influence evident in the outspoken position which King has taken in opposition to the United States foreign policy concerning Vietnam. Some examples include the following:

Information has been furnished relating to contacts between King and individuals with communist backgrounds such as Stanley David Levison, Harry Wachtel, Bayard Rustin, Clarence Jones and Randolph T. Blackwell. This information indicates the extent of the influence being exerted on King by these individuals with present and former communist backgrounds. Information thus obtained reveals the part these individuals play in important policy-making decisions of King relative to his organization; assistance which they render King in his writings and speeches concerning racial matters; and the advice and counsel they give King in his declarations concerning United States foreign policy.

Unless you instruct to the contrary, this technical surveillance will be continued for an additional six months.

Respectfully,

*[Handwritten signature]*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KIS  
ON 11/21/98

#NNF94-15

100-442529-1553

~~SECRET~~

REC-61

6 NOV 5 1965

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

EX-101

6 NOV 15 1965

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS DECLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/21/98 BY SP2ALM/KUS

(RI) 100-433794

#HNP94-15  
JUNE

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

April 2, 1968

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

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

DMW:dsm (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 11:15 AM  
DATE 4-2-68  
BY [initials]

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

APR 7 1968

~~SECRET~~

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

REC-22

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

(RI) 100-433794

2052

JUNE

January 2, 1958

1 - Mr. D.M.Wells

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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

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

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

DMW:ekw  
(9)

SENT FROM D. O. M
TIME 4:17 PM
DATE JAN 2 1958
BY [Signature]

Very truly yours,  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Approved

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Date

[Handwritten signature]

~~SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS DECLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/18/97 BY SP2A/MLK/S  
 HNF/445

79 JAN 10 1958  
 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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

NOTE:

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

This memorandum recommends the installation of a telephone surveillance on SCLC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia, for intelligence-type data concerning King's plans for massive civil disobedience in the Nation's Capital and 10 to 15 major cities throughout the Nation in the Spring of 1960.

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

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

June 3, 1968

BY LIAISON

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

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

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

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

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

Sincerely yours,

*100-101100-3465*

REC-21

6 JUN 4 1968

~~ENCLOSURE~~

*this copy only*

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KLS

Enclosure 1/27/98

#NMF 94-15

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

AVG:cbp  
(9)

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Forward to Mildred Stegall  
6/3/68

*WED*  
*AD*  
*F*  
*D*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Mrs. Mildred Stegall

NOTE:

See memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated June 2, 1962, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr.," prepared by AWG:ebp.

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.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

DATE: 8/21/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
IS-C

(OO: Atlanta)

ReBulet to Atlanta, 7/20/62, which requested NY to furnish the Bureau and Atlanta with observations and analysis of the extent of CP influence or infiltration of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC):  
CONF. SOURCE

On 3/10/61, [redacted] Manufacturers Trust Company, 275 West 125th Street, NYC, advised that there is an account maintained at this branch by the SCLC, whose officers are listed as MARTIN LUTHER KING, President; BAYARD RUSTIN, Secretary; and STANLEY D. LEVISON, Assistant Treasurer.

INFORMANT

[redacted] on 8/6/57, advised that STANLEY LEVISON and his brother, ROY BENNETT, were active in [redacted]

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION (SFIO)

INFORMANT [redacted] advised in October, 1961, that LEVISON continues to [redacted] (SFIO)

INFORMANT

During the period of February 9-15, 1957, [redacted] advised that the 16th National Convention, CP, USA, was held in NYC on February 9-12, 1957, and that BAYARD RUSTIN attended some of the convention sessions as a guest.

- (2-Bureau (100-438794) (RM)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5718) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-149194)

EEG:eac  
(5)

CLASSIFIED BY 2047  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2  
PERMANENTLY DECLASSIFIED ON [redacted]

REC-3

100-438794-  
16 AUG 23 1962

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

This copy  
DECLASSIFIED BY SPARC/MLK/LS  
ON 3/13/98 #777794-5

Let to NY  
2-Atlanta  
8-29-62  
HK:DD2

RAK  
MONT. SECT.  
TK

~~SECRET~~

NY-100-149194

INFORMANT

INFORMANT File #

[REDACTED] advised on 11/22/60, [REDACTED] that at a National Negro Commission meeting held on 11/19, 20/60, at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC, TED BASSETT, a representative of "The Worker", stated that the CP is now in the process of placing members of the Party in key positions in the SCLC. BASSETT continued by saying that a Western Conference of the Christian Leadership is now being formed and a CP member is the leader in this conference.

INFORMANT

[REDACTED] advised on 5/1/62, that on 4/30/62,

[REDACTED]

INFORMANT

[REDACTED] advised on 5/2/62, that according to

[REDACTED]

INFORMANT

On 7/2/62, [REDACTED] advised that SERGEANT CAULFIELD returned to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, from Atlanta, Georgia, on 5/31/62. Informant said that CAULFIELD stated that he and JOSE HUDSON met HUNTER O'DELL in Atlanta, O'DELL having flown there from NYC.

INFORMANT

[REDACTED] stated that CAULFIELD paid CP dues to O'DELL for several CP members from Louisiana. O'DELL had come to Atlanta regarding organization of the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. O'DELL thought that if an active

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-149194

MARTIN LUTHER KING movement could be organized in Louisiana, the State Senatorial District where CAULFIELD resides permanently (Lettsworth, Louisiana), CAULFIELD might be furnished as much as \$1,000.00 per month to promote this movement. The funds are to come from the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement and the object is to get every eligible Negro to register to vote. CAULFIELD reportedly met MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., while in Atlanta, and discussed with him the voter registration matter in Louisiana.

On 4/27/62, a pretext telephone call was made to UN 6-2000, which is the NYC listing for the Committee to Defend MARTIN LUTHER KING and also the listing for the SCLC at 312 West 125th Street, NYC. The pretext used was that of a person interested in contributing money to the KING committee. The person answering the phone during the conversation identified himself as JACK O'DELL, and furnished the following information:

His office is the Northern Branch of the SCLC. The Committee to Defend MARTIN LUTHER KING, at 312 West 125th Street, was organized as an "ad hoc" committee to assist in the KING defense, when he was the subject of court action. When the reason for this committee's being in existence was removed, it was formally dissolved. The same personalities then formed the Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle, which is now operated at 312 West 125th Street.

O'DELL stated that it would make no difference as to whether a person contributing money makes out checks payable to the Committee to Defend MARTIN LUTHER KING, the SCLC or the Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle, because they are all one and the same.

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-149194

INFORMANT

On 6/1/61, [REDACTED] advised that HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, who was [REDACTED] CP, USA, has quit the CP and is officially considered by the CP as being out. However, there are no hard feelings existing between O'DELL and the Party and he is still on good terms with the CP and will work with them.

SF10

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN, SINCE BY ITS NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED] A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE THEREOF. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN [REDACTED] IT SHOULD NOT BE INCORPORATED, EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM, IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

INFORMANT INFORMANT

On 7/23/62, [REDACTED]

SF10

Current investigation in NYC reflects that O'DELL is spending most of his time in the Atlanta area working with the SCLC. He was last reported in the NY area in June, 1962.

INFORMANT

On 2/11/62, [REDACTED] made available photographs of material maintained in the office of STANLEY LEVISON, 6 East 39th Street, NYC. Included in these photographs were the following:

1. Two checks, both dated 12/19/61, bearing the printed name of the "Southern Christian Leadership Conference", 312 West 125th Street, NY, NY. These checks

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-149194

are numbered 397 and 399, one in the amount of \$251.90 and one in the amount of \$150.00, are marked payable to J. O'DELL, and are signed by STANLEY D. LEVISON.

2. Copy "C" of a Withholding Tax form for 1961, in the name of JOHN HUNTER O'DELL, 312 West 125th Street, NY, NY, Social Security Number [REDACTED] indicating that he was paid \$3,050.00 in 1961 by the SCLC, 312 West 125th Street, NYC.

ELSUR

[REDACTED] advised on 6/20/62, that STANLEY LEVISON stated that in a recent conversation with MARTIN LUTHER KING, KING said he was thinking of getting another administrative assistant. LEVISON stated that in the past LEVISON had not considered it wise for O'DELL to take on such a position, but he is the only one who could do the job and should be considered for it. LEVISON stated as long as O'DELL did not have the title of Executive Director, there would not be "as much lightening flashing around him". O'DELL could be called a coordinator and still fulfill all the duties of Executive Director.

ELSUR

LEVISON stated, according to [REDACTED] that KING liked LEVISON's suggestion with respect to O'DELL taking this position, because KING felt that O'DELL must face it sooner or later, stating "that no matter what a man was, if he could stand up now and say he is not connected, then as far as I am concerned, he is eligible to work for me".

INFORMANT

INFORMANT FILE #

[REDACTED] advised on 7/11/61, [REDACTED] that HAZEL GRAY is working again at the SCLC, 312 West 125th Street, NYC.

INFORMANT

On 7/8/61, [REDACTED] stated that it had come to his attention that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had mentioned that he wanted

- 5 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-149194

to use HAZEL GRAY and her husband, JOHN GRAY, in the Kings County CP organization. The informant stated that LIGHTFOOT highly recommended the GRAYS.

On 3/10/61, MILTON BIRON, Senior Accountant, Comptroller's Office, New York City, Bureau of Excise Taxes, 120 West 32nd Street, made available an application for exemption from the New York City amusement tax, dated 1/23/61, and signed by STANLEY D. LEVISON. The exemption was requested for a "concert" to be given at Carnegie Hall on 1/27/61, for one evening performance.

The name of the applicant was given as the "Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle", 312 West 125th Street, an unincorporated association. It is stated that the applicant is a non-profit educational committee which has registered with the Charities Registration Bureau in Albany and the Department of Welfare in NYC. It says that it employs no professional fund raisers and that neither its officers nor executive directors are paid either salaries or expenses.

The, "Purposes for which applicant was organized", are listed as:

"To provide funds for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to be used for establishment of constitutional rights in the South utilizing voting registration drives, educational meetings, church and synagogue conferences, sit-in techniques, legal actions etc."

The, "Activities of the Applicant", are listed as:

"Mail solicitations, benefits, meetings, educational conferences, church collections."

~~SECRET~~

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NY 100-149194

The, "Source and Disposition of Income", is listed as:

"All income less expenses is transmitted to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or directly paid out to sources indicated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference."

A "note" attached to the application stated that the committee was created by resolution as an unincorporated association at an organizing meeting held at the home of HARRY BELAFONTE, 300 West End Avenue, in June, 1960.

The application for exemption from the New York City amusement tax was denied by letter 1/31/61, sent to the Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle, 312 West 125th Street, attention of STANLEY D. LEVISON.

NY has considered the above facts and is of the opinion that a Cominfil investigation of the NY Chapter of the SCLC is warranted, due to the dominant CP influence on the executives of the NY Chapter of the SCLC.

NY will conduct no further investigation without prior Bureau authority.

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

January 23, 1969

Director, FBI

REC-59

100-70-3559

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

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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

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

MAILED 7  
JAN 23 1969  
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

TJD:sd (8)

DECLASSIFIED BY SPANUKIS  
ON 11/19/97  
#NNF 9415 ✓

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.

Don \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ON 11/26/98

#NMF 94-15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A

The Acting Attorney General

November 3, 1964

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

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

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information on November 2, 1964:

On the morning of November 2, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., at Atlanta, Georgia, learned of a campaign which had been initiated to encourage people to vote for him as a write-in candidate for President of the United States during the election on November 3, 1964. The campaign was to take several forms, including telegrams to Negroes throughout the country; efforts to gain radio time to urge people to vote for King; and the circulation of handbills in large cities encouraging a vote for King.

According to this Bureau's source, King interpreted the actions described above as an obvious attempt to cancel out the Negro vote and to confuse Negroes in their voting. King expressed the belief that the campaign was initiated by Goldwater forces on the basis that any votes for King by Negroes would obviously lessen the number of such votes for President Lyndon B. Johnson. King held a press conference in Atlanta on the morning of November 2, 1964, at which he reportedly told the press of the foregoing and denied having any connection with the campaign on his behalf. At this conference he urged people not to pay any attention to the efforts being expended to have people vote for him.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

13 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

100-106670

6 BFP:bgc (15)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOV 3 - 1964  
COMM-FBI

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REC-37 100-106670-502

19 NOV 4 1964  
J. W. [Signature]

Q

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" as information is from a sensitive source of the Atlanta Office and while most of the information may soon become public, some protection of the source is necessary. Information was obtained from our Atlanta Office by two telephone calls 10:45 a.m. and 11:40 a.m., 11/2/64. By memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan 11/2/64 this information was immediately made known to Bureau officials and enabled Mr. DeLoach's Office to immediately alert the White House.

~~- 2 -~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KBS  
ON 1/26/98  
#77NF94-15

November 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information on November 2, 1964:

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This information is also being furnished to officials of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

NOV 4 1964

100-106670-34

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

SFP:bgc  
(11)

EX-100  
CONFIDENTIAL  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

61 NOV 13 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" as information is from a sensitive source of the Atlanta Office and while most of the information may soon become public, some protection of the source is necessary. Information was obtained from our Atlanta Office by two telephone calls 10:45 a.m. and 11:40 a.m. 11/2/64. By memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan 11/2/64 this information was immediately made known to Bureau officials and enabled Mr. DeLoach's Office to immediately alert the White House.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI  
Date: 6/25/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)  
Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-166670)  
*100-106670*

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

~~TOP SECRET~~

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

*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation  
(SFIO)*

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALMIKIS *this copy only*  
ON 11/19/97 #100-194-15

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- 7 - Bureau (*100-106670*) (RM)  
(1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
(1 - 157-286) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (INFO)(RM)  
(1 - 157- ) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-111130 (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~
- 1 - NY 157-325 (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)
- 1 - NY 100-136585 (412)

*FID*

ACB:gmg  
(20)

*WST*

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

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

SF10

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

~~TOP SECRET~~

SF10

are still Party members.

The LEVISONs

SF10

- 3 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

DATE: 2/12/62

Transmit the following via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100 - )  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)  
SUBJECT: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C (OO: Atlanta)

*SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION (SFO)*

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KIS *this copy only*  
ON 1/26/98  
#NNF94-15

On 2/12/62, <sup>*informant*</sup> ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
STANLEY LEVISON, KING's attorney and advisor, who is a secret member of the CP  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

- 4-Bureau (100- ) (RM)  
(1-100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 1-Atlanta (100- ) (DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (RM)
- 1-NY 100-111150 (STANLEY LEVISON) (415)
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~
- 1-NY 100-136585 (412)

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~SECRET~~

ACB:ume  
(11)

Classified by 2/16  
Exempt from GDS Category 7  
Date of Declassification indefinite

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

*WAT*

*Unrecorded copy in 100-392452-1*

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

SF10

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

SF 10

~~SECRET~~

JUNE

January 17, 1969

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

From: Ramsey Clark  
Attorney General

Re:

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

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

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/19/97 BY SP2ALM/KIS  
#NNF94-15

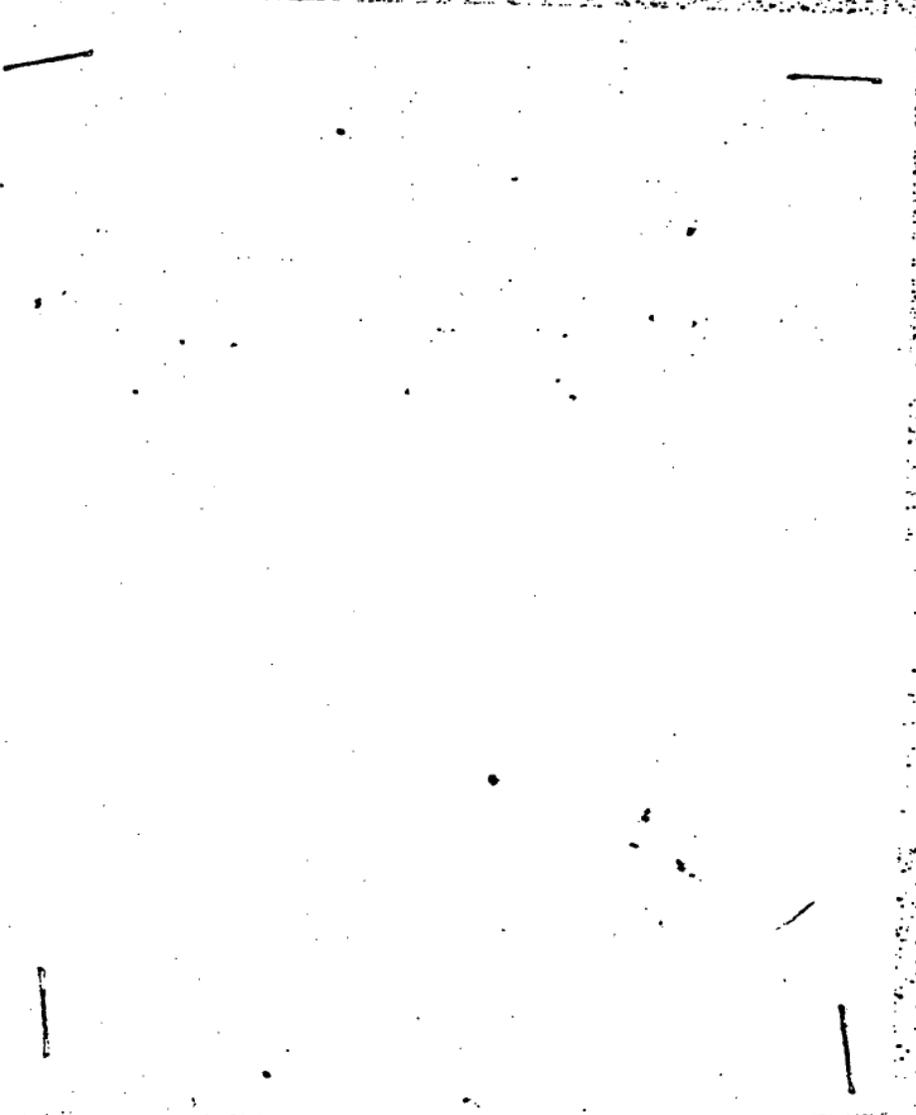
*this copy only*

FEB 7 1969



SECRET

- 3 -



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

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1-17-69

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

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

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED #1119197 BY SP2AUK/SF

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 [redacted]

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."

ACTION:

REC 99 100-106470-3559

6 JAN 23 1969

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) [initials]  
Enclosure

~~SECRET~~

*Person's  
delivered  
12/2/64*

December 2, 1964

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KIS  
ON 11/29/98  
# ONEA94-15

BY LIAISON

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

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would like to have the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., which was obtained from confidential sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC-23 11-11-64

Jones, in the mid-1950's, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Lath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

100-106670

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

REC-23/100-106670-16  
11 DEC 31 1964

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(11)

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~~SECRET~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to other officials of the Government.

NOTE:

Sincerely yours,

*ELSUR*

Classified "~~Secret~~" as the information is from highly sensitive sources such as [REDACTED]. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could affect the security of these sources who are of continuing value and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Information obtained from NYtel 11/25/64 and ATtel 11/27/64. Dissemination to the military intelligence agencies being made by separate communication.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-106670

July 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. He is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA. Levison has described King

*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence  
OPERATION*

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

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 ALM/KIS  
ON 1/26/98

*#NNF 94-15  
this copy only*

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-106670

July 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

*J. Edgar Hoover*

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*Sensitive Foreign Intelligence  
OPERATION*

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3ALM/KIS  
ON 1/26/98

*AMF 9475 this copy only*

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

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*A. J. ...  
100*

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Plastipate
- 1 - Yellow file copy
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Evans

**COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--  
A CURRENT ANALYSIS**

October 16, 1963

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KS  
ON 11/28/97  
#NMF 94-15

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

Classified by 4915  
Exempt from GDS Category 2,3,4  
Date of Declassification Indefinite 17-77

NOTE: See memo Sullivan to Belmont 10/15/63 re: COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS. CDB/dww.

CDB/kw:bb  
(8) *file*

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

*JFB*  
*S*  
*10/18*

*100-3716-416*

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A Dedicated Communist . . . . .	2
Alliance with King . . . . .	2
"The Time Is Now" . . . . .	2
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Hunter Pitts O'Dell . . . . .	3
Activities Blended . . . . .	4
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Moves Being Considered . . . . .	6
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(S) u

(S) (u)

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Exhibit No. 14

Exhibit No. 15

~~TOP SECRET~~

### Introduction

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort.<sup>1</sup> Communists are using every means possible to divert the course and force of the unrest into support of communist objectives. Long-range communist strategy looks to the establishment of a Negro-labor coalition which the communists hope to be able to manipulate as a powerful political-action weapon. Using this weapon, they aim to provoke class struggle and promote legislation which can serve as a step toward a communist system of government.<sup>2</sup> (u)

At first glance, the communist goal may seem unrealistic. But it develops realistic potential when all aspects of current communist tactics being used in connection with the current racial situation are viewed in their totality. More, it constitutes a serious national security problem in light of the fact that the individual playing a most dominant role as a leading spokesman for the estimated 20 million Negroes in this country today is knowingly, willingly, and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists. This individual--Martin Luther King--is using the communists and, in turn, is being used by them in an unholy alliance that could have serious consequences both for the Negro movement and this Nation. (u)

### Hand in Hand

The composite of information available about Martin Luther King depicts an unprincipled, opportunistic individual, as well as a man considered and described within the Communist Party as a Marxist.<sup>3</sup> (u)

In King's rise to national prominence since his leadership of the bus boycott by Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956,<sup>4</sup> he has been closely allied with communists. He has shown not only a willingness but even an eagerness to accept communist aid,<sup>5</sup> to support communist causes,<sup>6</sup> to associate and confer with prominent communist leaders,<sup>7</sup> and to work closely with and rely upon the advice and guidance of dedicated communists with concealed affiliations, despite the fact that they have been identified reliably to him as such.<sup>8</sup> (u)

Since 1958, communists close to King have blended their actions skillfully into his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and have done so clearly with his approval. (u)

~~TOP SECRET~~ (5)

A Dedicated Communist

One of the individuals, for example, who have greatly facilitated King's rise to prominence in recent years is Stanley David Levison. Ostensibly only a New York City attorney and successful businessman who has been helping King, he also is a shrewd, dedicated communist and is known as such by King.

Levison has dedicated his life to advancing the cause of communism in this Nation. Since the late 1940's, he has led a double life for the Communist Party, necessitated by a highly clandestine role with which he was entrusted to raise and handle secret funds used by the Party to finance part of its activities.

Operating in this clandestine role for years through a maze of business enterprises as head of a group of concealed Party members--a group which included his twin brother, who goes by the name of Roy Bennett--Stanley Levison turned over thousands of dollars to the Communist Party.<sup>12</sup> Just in the two-year period covering 1956 and 1957, the group raised \$66,000 for the Party.<sup>13</sup> Since 1956, the group has turned over more than \$100,000 to the Party.<sup>14</sup>

Alliance with King

Levison gravitated to Martin Luther King's organization in 1956<sup>15</sup> and applied equal dedication in support of King's activities. He quickly developed a close personal relationship with King. By 1958, he was referred to as King's "Assistant Chief" and was described as a real-estate man who spent half his time helping King.<sup>16</sup> In 1961, he was Assistant Treasurer of the SCLC.<sup>17</sup>

In his support of King's activities since 1956, Levison has expended prodigious efforts in King's behalf. He has actively involved himself in fund-raising drives for King, served as his legal counsel in certain matters, prepared speech material for him, worked on the mechanics of some of the demonstrations in which King was involved, guided him in regard to acceptance or rejection of various public appearances and speaking commitments, and helped him with matters related to articles and books King has prepared.<sup>18</sup>

"The Time Is Now"

Levison also played an important role in the evolution of plans that led to the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. Originally Negro

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leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the Negro American Labor Council, had proposed a march on the Nation's Capital sometime in the Fall of 1963.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, after consulting with Levison, who agreed that "the time is now,"<sup>20</sup> Martin Luther King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of the other Negro leaders in backing King's proposal for an earlier march<sup>21</sup>—a move that put King squarely in the forefront of the events as they developed. (S)(u)

#### Financial Support

Part of King's great dependence on Stanley Levison is attributable to the money Levison has furnished him. James<sup>22</sup> Wood, who worked for the SCLC as Public Relations Director from 1960 until he resigned in 1962,<sup>23</sup> has advised that during that period Levison acted primarily as King's business manager and donated large sums of money to him when funds were low.<sup>24</sup> He said Levison was very close to King, had his confidence completely, and was one of the few people who could get King alone, give him advice, and always have it accepted.<sup>25</sup> (S)(u)

#### Hunter Pitts O'Dell (S)

Another important communist whose advice King has relied on is Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Long active in the communist movement, O'Dell worked for a number of years as a district organizer for the Communist Party in Louisiana. In December, 1959, at the Party's last National Convention, he was elected a member of the Party's National Committee under a pseudonym.<sup>26</sup> In 1960, at which time he was working as the assistant to James Jackson, the Communist Party's National Secretary for the South, O'Dell also began to work actively in support of Martin Luther King's movement.<sup>27</sup> (S)(u)

There are two important points that should be noted in connection with O'Dell's gravitation to King's movement. Early in 1960, it was learned that efforts were being made by the Party to get O'Dell into a special type of activity. About the same time, a Party official stated that the Party was in a position to place people in Martin Luther King's organization, the SCLC. Subsequently, in 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC's New York office.<sup>28</sup> In addition, two other Party members, Hazel<sup>29</sup> Gray and Loretta<sup>30</sup> Parker, worked there under O'Dell at one time or another. (S)(u)

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Activities Blended

The operations of the SCLC's New York office illustrate how communists blended their activities into support of King. A major function of the office is the solicitation of funds for King through letters mailed out over his signature.<sup>31</sup> It appears, for example, that the mailing list for one such solicitation was that used by the publishers of the "National Guardian," a weekly publication which has been cited as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."<sup>32 33</sup> (u)

Another incident shows how the communists blended King's activities into support of their own objectives. Early in May, 1962, the Party's leader, Gus Hall, directed another Party functionary to select a full-time Party member for a special assignment in the South.<sup>34</sup> The member selected was Hosea Herman Hudson,<sup>35</sup> of New York, and, later that month, he attended a Party meeting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. (S) (u)

Twofold Purpose

At the meeting, Hudson announced that he had come to organize full-time Party members to do both Party work and mass-organization work. The purpose was twofold--to develop recruits for the Party and get all eligible Negroes registered to vote.<sup>36</sup> (u)

Hudson told an individual unaware of the underlying communist purpose in the voter registration drive that the money for the mass organization work would come from Martin Luther King's group.<sup>37</sup> However, confidentially he told two Party members that the Party had appropriated the money for the work. How the Party intended to funnel the money through King's group was revealed when Hudson arranged for the Party's Baton Rouge area leader, Sargeant Caulfield, to meet O'Dell in Atlanta several days later, at which time O'Dell told Caulfield he would pay him \$1000 a month to organize the work. Although Caulfield was unable to work full time in this capacity, O'Dell is known to have worked actively for several months spearheading the voter registration drive for the SCLC in the South.<sup>38</sup> (NY airtel 8/10/62 re Hunter Pitts O'Dell) (S) (u)

This fitted nicely into the communists' scheme of things. Only a month before, Caulfield had instructed Party members in his area to conceal their Party affiliations and join mass organizations interested in the integration movement. They were told to urge complete voter registration for all members of the groups and, then, to maintain close contacts with the leaders of these groups to influence them to follow the Party line.<sup>39</sup> (u)

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O'Dell's Exposure (S)

An opportunity for the communists to put O'Dell directly on the scene permanently in regard to the voter registration drive arose in June, 1962<sup>40</sup> when King mentioned to Levison that he was thinking of adding an administrative assistant to his staff. Levison recommended O'Dell, who was still serving as head of the SCLC's New York office, and King said he liked the idea. It is clear that, at the time, King was well aware of O'Dell's communist affiliations.<sup>41</sup> (S)(U)

[Subsequent to Levison's proposal] O'Dell went to Atlanta to work for the SCLC and used the name J. H. O'Dell.<sup>42</sup> But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations.<sup>43</sup> (S)(U)

King's Reaction

King reacted by trying to minimize O'Dell's role with the SCLC. He said most of O'Dell's work had been in the North and simply involved mailing procedures. He also tried to imply ignorance of any communist affiliations on the part of O'Dell and stated that O'Dell had temporarily resigned pending an SCLC inquiry into the matter.<sup>44</sup> (S)

O'Dell's "temporary resignation" consisted of his return to New York, where he continued to operate out of the SCLC's office.<sup>45</sup> He remained there until July, 1963,<sup>46</sup> when King advised him his "temporary resignation" was being made permanent, not, as King put it, because the SCLC inquiry had disclosed any present connections between O'Dell and the Communist Party but because of the emotional public response.<sup>47</sup> (U)

Reluctant Action

Yet it is known that, prior to his action in making O'Dell's resignation permanent, King not only had indicated he knew of O'Dell's communist affiliations but actually had received information on two separate occasions from unimpeachable sources that O'Dell was definitely a communist. In fact, it can be said that King took action on O'Dell reluctantly and only after being urged to do so most urgently and emphatically by high level and, again, unimpeachable authority.<sup>49</sup> In addition, even after O'Dell's "permanent resignation" was accepted, he is known to have transacted business for the SCLC later the same month.<sup>50</sup> (S)(U)

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Exhibit No. 13

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