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Regarded as a Marxist (S)(u)

King's reluctance to take action regarding O'Dell may be attributable to either of two factors or to a combination of both. The first involves King's reported dedication to Marxism-Leninism. In February, 1962, Stanley Levison passed the word to Gus Hall that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."⁵¹ Further, in March, 1962, Levison told a Communist Party functionary that King was concerned about a "communist label" being "pinned on us" but that, at the same time, he wanted to do everything possible to evidence friendship toward the Soviet Union.⁵² (S)(u)

Moreover, King has been described within the Communist Party as a true, genuine Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes. The feeling within the Communist Party is that King is definitely following a Marxist-Leninist line.⁵³ (S)(u)

The Second Factor

The second factor which, alone or in combination with the first, may have had a bearing on King's reluctance to dismiss O'Dell concerns King's reliance and dependence on both O'Dell and Stanley Levison for guidance. In January, 1963, for example, when King desired to hold a meeting to make a "critical review" of "where they are," he asked specifically that Levison be present and is known to have met with Levison, O'Dell, and eight other officials of the SCLC at Savannah, Georgia, later that month. During King's entire relationship with Levison and O'Dell, he clearly became more dependent on them for advice and guidance.⁵⁴ (S)(u)

Moves Being Considered

Now, Communist Party leaders are considering a new tactic by which O'Dell might be kept close to King's activities. They plan to propose to Stanley Levison that he finance and open in Atlanta a branch office of "Freedomways," a quarterly magazine established by the Party as a propaganda organ aimed at Negroes, with O'Dell in charge. The Party would use it not only as a legitimate branch office for "Freedomways," but also as a headquarters for intensified Communist Party activities in the South.⁵⁵ (S)(u)

In the meantime, Martin Luther King has been considering a replacement for O'Dell as administrator of the SCLC's New York office.⁵⁶ King's thinking on the problem focuses attention on two more individuals important in the over-all picture--Clarence Jones and Bayard Rustin--and also serves again to emphasize King's reliance on Levison.⁵⁷ (S)(u)

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Party's Role a Hidden One

In these "battles," the communists and their sympathizers usually are few in number in comparison to the total number of participants in any particular incident. The major role being played by the Party is still a supporting one, with Communist Party affiliations carefully concealed. This is in line with warnings issued repeatedly by Party leaders, who encouraged widespread participation in and support of the March on Washington, for example, but not in such a way that it would create the impression that the Party was trying to take over. 79 80 (u)

Aim to Heighten Tension

In short, the Communist Party's primary purpose has been to add fuel to the fire at the local level to keep the racial unrest at fever pitch at the national level, where the Party hopes to derive its greatest benefit through such important channels as Martin Luther King. (u)

At the intermediate level, the Party continues to utilize its other tools of propaganda and agitation to bring as much pressure as possible to bear on the over-all situation. Party newspapers and Party-sponsored publications pour out propaganda aimed at heightening the tensions. Communist-front organizations originate and circulate leaflets, circulars, and petitions, and bombard Congress and the President with letters and telegrams demanding action of one sort or another. (u)

Shift in Tactics Considered

The Party policy to conceal its role in support of racial unrest was a major point of discussion at the Party's National Executive Committee meeting in New York City, October 1-6, 1963. The meeting was dominated by reports and discussions concerning the situation and ways the Party can intensify its role in relation to it. 81 82 83 (u)

As a result of the discussions at the meeting, the Nation today is confronted with the prospect of a major shift in communist tactics. The Party visualizes the time as being ripe to accelerate its open work and increase its militancy, not only in regard to the Negro movement but also in regard to the Party's over-all activities. (u)

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Greater Militancy Urged

The Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, pointed out that the temper of the Negro people at the present time indicates an angry mood. He said the more militant elements of the Negro movement are emerging in the struggle and are having an impact on the movement. He added that the struggle must go beyond sit-ins and mass demonstrations, and he visualized civil disobedience on a national scale. He then said the Party should encourage the most advanced proposals within the Negro movement, continue mass activity in connection with it on an intensified plane, and urge the Negro people to continue taking to the streets. Davis concluded that the Party must actively inject itself into the struggle in the South, infiltrate all of the Negro organizations within the Negro movement, and provide the personnel for "some kind of a new left center that would unite the Negro people."⁸⁴ (u)

Importance of the "Link"

The Party's leader, Gus Hall, delivered the main report at the meeting, and it also constituted a challenging demand for expanded communist action. Hall observed that there are 20 million Negroes and countless whites involved in the current struggle, and, he said, they represent the most important "link" the communists can seize at this moment in history to advance the cause of com-^{85 86} (u)
munism in this Nation.

This reference to the Negro movement as a "link" the Party must seize has been repeated frequently by Party leaders at recent meetings. It is not a chance term they are using. They are following the dictates of V. I. Lenin, who once stressed that "one must be able at each particular moment to find that special link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain, and to make lasting preparations for the transition to the next link..."⁸⁷ (u)

The Party intends to grasp with all its might the link which the Negro movement in general and Martin Luther King in particular represent to make a transition in the Party's role on the national scene.⁸⁸ (u)

Period of Growth Envisioned

Gus Hall envisions the forthcoming period as a fertile one conducive to a revitalization and growth of the Communist Party. He sees it as a period in which the Party will launch a recruiting drive and a press drive, as well as one (u)

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in which the Party's organization will be renovated. In this connection, a proposal already has been made to establish new Party training schools as quickly as possible. (u)

Conclusion

In short, the current atmosphere in the Communist Party is marked by a vigorous spirit of enthusiastic optimism and a determination to launch more open, aggressive action on the national scene. As the situation now stands, Martin Luther King is growing in stature daily as the leader among leaders of the Negro movement. Communist Party officials visualize the possibility of creating a situation whereby it could be said that, as the Communist Party goes, so goes Martin Luther King, and so also goes the Negro movement in the United States. (u)

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DOCUMENTATION (All (U) except as noted below)

SOURCE NUMBER

DOCUMENTATION

1

(Info. from Hall) 100-106670-unrec. after 157; original in 100-3-75-1898

2

Political Affairs, 12/62, 4/63; 100-3-116-85; Nat. Exec. Committee, 10/1-6/63 100-3-69-

3

100-392452-210, p. D; 100-106670-162, p. 2-

4

Atlanta Constitution, 11/5/60 & 100-106670-15, 20

5

100-106670-162

6

100-106670-173

7

100-106670-49, pp. 6-9

8

100-106670-102, 128

9

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10

100-392452-190, unrec. serial after 125; 100-3-63-5387; 100-392451-bulet to DE, 2/5/58 re CPUSA-Funds (Reserve Funds) ~~(S)~~(U)

11

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12

100-392452-unrec. ser. after 125

13

100-392452-125 p. A

14

100-392452-190

15

100-392452-190, p. 90

16

100-392452-125 p. A

ENCLOSURE

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100-3-116-416

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SOURCE NUMBER

DOCUMENTATION

17

100-392452-190 p. 93

18

100-392452-190 pp. 97-100; 100-392452-210 p. C; 100-106670-162, p. 13; 100-358916-242

19

100-106670-141, 162

20

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21

100-106670-141, 162; Time, 8/30/63, pp. 11, 12

22

100-106670 unrec. ser. after 125; original in 100-438794-20

23

100-106670-unrec. ser. after 125; original in 100-438794-20

24

100-106670-unrec. ser. after 125; original in 100-438794-20

25

100-106670-unrec. ser. after 125; original in 100-438794-20

26

100-106670-40, p. 13

27

100-106670-49, p. 13; 100-358916-130, 138

28

100-106670-unrec. ser. after 176; original in 100-3-116-98; 100-358916-148, p. 3; 100-438794-15, p. 4

29

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30

100-438794-21, p. 9

31

100-106670-unrec. ser. after 125; original in 100-438794-20, p. 2; 100-106670-unrec. ser. after 163

32

100-106670 unrec. ser. after 163; airtel from Los Angeles 5/23/63

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33

Guide to Subversive Organizations, p. 193

34

100-3-116-85, p. 2

35

100-3-116-98 encl. pp. 1-2

36

100-3-116-98 encl. p. 2

37

100-3-116-98 encl. p. 2

38

100-3-116-98 encl. p. 2

39

100-3-116-98 encl. p. 2

40

100-106670-68

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DOCUMENTATION

41 - b1

b1 - 106670-80, 94

42

Airtel, Atlanta, re Hunter Pitts O'Dell, 5-16-62 (u) (X)

43

100-358916-222; 100-106670-unrec. ser. after 99

44

100-358916-222; 100-106670-unrec. ser. after 99

45

100-358916-222; 100-106670-unrec. ser. after 99

46

The Atlanta Constitution, 7-26-63, p. 1, 100-106670-A

47

CC of letter from King to O'Dell, 7-3-63, encl. with letter to Director from AAG, Burke Marshall, 9-20-63, re Hunter Pitts O'Dell (u) (X)

48

Ibid.; 100-106670-128 p. 3; 80 (u)

49

Letter from AAG Burke Marshall, 9-20-63, re Hunter Pitts O'Dell enclosing cc of letter from King to O'Dell (u) (X)

50

New York Report, 10-4-63 re Hunter Pitts O'Dell, pp. 7-8; 100-358916-222 (u) (X)

51

100-106670-26 p. 3.

52

100-106670-162 p. 3.

53

100-392452-210 p. D; 100-106670-162 p. 2

54

106670-109, III

55

Letter to AG re Stanley Levison, 9-24-63; NY Airtel to Bureau, 9-16-63 re Stanley Levison (u) (X)

56

New York Letter, 9-11-63, p. 2. re Martin Luther King

57

100-407018, unrec. ser. airtel, NY, 8-21-63; 100-106670 NY Letterhead 9-11-63, p. 2, 3

58

Airtel, New York, 9-23-63, re Martin Luther King

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DOCUMENTATION

59

Letterhead memo from New York, 9-11-63, pp. 2, 3
re Martin Luther King

60

100-106670-94 p. 2

61

100-407018 unrec. ser., airtel, NY, 8-21-63

62

Letterhead Memo, NY, 9-11-63, p. 22, re Martin
Luther King,

63

Letterhead Memo, NY, 9-11-63, re Martin Luther
King, p. 1

64

100-158790-59 p. 4

65

Letterhead memo, NY, 9-11-63, p. 2., re Martin
Luther King

66

100-158790-59 pp. 35, 39

67

Letterhead memo, NY, 9-11-63, p. 22, re Martin
Luther King

68

Ibid p. 2

69

Ibid.

70

100-106670-178, 208; 100-158790 unrec. ser., blind
memo 8-12-63, after 55

71

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72

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73

100-149163-1181, p. 2; 100-3-116-98 encl p. 1, 2

74

NY Airtel, 9-26-63, re CPUSA-Negro Question,
Communist Influence in Racial Matters

75

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77

100-106670-200

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SOURCE NUMBER

DOCUMENTATION

78 "Peace and Civil Rights," an editorial,
Political Affairs, July, 1963, pp. 6-7.

79 Philadelphia Airtel, 8-16-63 100-3-116 unrec.
serial

80 100-3-116-79, 87

81 New York Airtel, 10-4-63, re CPUSA-Organization

82 New York Teletype, 10-3-63, re CPUSA, Organization

83 Memo Sullivan to Belmont, 9-27-63, RE CPUSA
Negro Question, Communist Infiltration-Racial
Matters

84 Memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 10-7-63, re CPUSA-
Organizations

85 New York Teletype, 10-3-63, re CPUSA-Organization

86 CG 5824-S New York Airtel, 10-4-63 re CPUSA-
Organization

87 V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, (New York,
International Publishers, 1943), Vol. VII, p. 347

88 New York teletype, 10-3-63, re CPUSA-Organization
NY 4158-S*

89 New York teletype, 10-3-63, re CPUSA-
Organization, NY 4158-S*

90 New York teletype, 10-5-63, re CPUSA-
Organization, NY 4154-S*

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4:14 p. m.

October 25, 1963

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. MOHR
MR. DE LOACH
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN

The Attorney General called and advised me there was a lot of talk at the Pentagon regarding the document, Communism and the Negro--A Current Analysis, dated 10-16-63, which had been disseminated to the military and intelligence agencies by the Bureau. The Attorney General anticipated that this information would leak out as the military didn't like the Negroes.

The Attorney General felt we should get back all copies of the document. I told him we had a tally of all copies and we would get them from all agencies to which they were disseminated. The reason to be given for recalling would be revisions. I also told him if any newspapers asked about this, no comment would be made and no mention would be made that such a document existed.

4:40 p. m.

I advised the Attorney General that Liaison representatives had been sent to get all copies of this document.

The Attorney General wants all copies disseminated to Department officials recalled also.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

REC- 22

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 12:55 PM
DATE 28 Oct 63
BY OHEM

100-3-116-436

OCT 29 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/28/97 BY SP2ALM/KJS
#NNF94-15

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
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- Tele. Room _____
- Folmes _____
- Gandy _____

JEH:emmi
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1- Miss Holmes

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Exhibit No. 17

Exhibit No. 18

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

SECRET

FD-297 (1-28-57)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS DECLASSIFIED

DATE 11/28/97 BY SP2AM/KUS
NDP/4-75

Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
11:30	p.m.	I.C.	SA Howard G. Kinnally, Jr. B9252-36
			<p>DORA from Atlanta, Ga., Area Code 404, 755-8226 to LEVISON</p> <p>One of the radio stations in L.A. is insisting that Dr. KING make an appeal to the Negroes in L.A. to stop rioting and Dr. KING would like you to give me one or two notes on what he should say. They want about 5 minutes. The Negroes have broken into some gun stores and they have guns and those big army knives and are covering about a 140 block area. The police can't do anything with them. When the ministers try to stop them, they jump on the ministers. Dr. KING says that what he says will have to be something general like, "We can't win this way." Also a man from "The New York Times" called and has given me 12 questions that he would like Dr. King to answer.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr. King said in his statement the other day that several peace groups have approached him to make a statement about the situation in Viet Nam and also to appear at rallies. They would like to know which peace groups approached him. 2. They would like a text of the statement he will send to JOHNSON and HO CHI MIN. 3. They said that Dr. KING is following the path of non-violence but in JIM BEVEL's speech the other day, the editors of "The Times" got the impression that BEVEL is more militant, and they would like Dr. KING to reconcile this and would like to know if BEVEL was speaking as an individual for the conference. 4. How will the letter to the governments be transmitted? 5. Should we stay in Viet Nam if the South Vietnamese want to go away. 6. Could he be more specific about his attitude toward the escalation of the war in South Vietnam. 7. Dr. KING said in his statement that he was not blaming the other government for the war and they would like to know who is to blame. 8. What specific proposals about the machinery for discontinuing the war would he have? 9. Is he thinking seriously of going to Viet Nam, and if so under what circumstances? 10. BEVEL said something in his speech today that the civil rights movement has been legislated out of existence and they want Dr. KING's comment on that. 11. Dr. KING said that he would send a letter to the heads of government and they would like to know if he would also send a letter to the U.N. as well. 12. Will he contact U.S. officials about his plans. That is would he also contact Governors of states, Senators, and Congressmen, or diplomats.

Log # 13810-3* 6
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 Fri. 8-13-65
 Day Date
 PM

Employee's Name
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 Exempt from GDS, Category 2-34
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

Date Stamped
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 FILED.....
 AUG 16 1965
 FBI - NEW YORK

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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p>DORA to LEVISON (CONT'D)</p> <p><u>LEVISON:</u> Those questions are not too difficult to answer. The last question even gives you a clue as to the way they are thinking. They think of the whole thing in terms of he has a big plan for doing something when as a matter of fact he doesn't. His plan consists solely of this letters so much of this he is going to be able to answer by saying, "That's as far as I've gone at the present time." Most reporters will try to draw him into going further until they have a real story. He has no intention of going there at the present time. He hasn't formulated specific proposals for ending the war and hasn't said he has. These won't be too difficult to respond to in a responsible and fairly direct way. Let me call you back.</p>

NY 3810-S* 7
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 Day FRI. Date 8/13/65
 P.M.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11/28/97 BY SP2ALM/JIS
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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
11:05	AM	OG	<p>Thomas J. McGuire W3187-13 (STANLEY LEVISON) to "DORA" @ 404-755-8226 (?). L recontacted D regarding the questions posed to Martin Luther King by New York Times.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Among others, National SANE, Women Strike for Peace, Student and Faculty Group in Berkeley, Calif. When the text is finalized, a copy will be made available The emphasis James Bevel places on peace activity in relation to civil rights activity differs from mine because I am not presently proposing any change in the directions or the character of our civil rights work. He has the right to express his own analysis and has done it. These details have not been planned as yet. I believe we would have no moral or juridical basis for remaining if a sovereign government demands that we leave its territory. Escalation is expressed in so many degrees and is related to escalation on the other side so that I can discuss it only in concrete terms. It is impossible to generalize generalize. There is blame on both sides because each has made responses to readily through means of violence. It is manifested without an earnest search for reduction of violence. I am encouraged by restraint President Johnson has manifested both in act on and in words, and I believe the exercise of restraint will ultimately lead faster to constructive negotiation than will the flexing of the muscles of military power with which the whole world knows we possess in terrifying abundance. I have not formulated specific proposals for ending the war and I am not sure I have competence in that area. I have no plans to go to Viet Nam. I do not agree with James Bevel's view that the civil rights movement has been legislated out of existence. We still have so far to go I cannot see the end of the road even now. I see the need for a multiplicity of additional legislative reforms which which will take years of struggle fully to achieve.

SA B. RITZER
sent teletype
to Bureau.

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NY3810-S Page 1
SAT AM Date 8-14-65

Employee's Name

TJM
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100-11180-9-666

Date Stamp

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SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 16 1965
FBI-NEW YORK

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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p>con't W3187-13</p> <p>11. There are no plans for a letter to the U.N. because it is not a combatant nor an ally of any combatant. This does not imply that it has no role; its role is substantial but different.</p> <p>12. I have no body of plans which could be the subject of discussions. I am expressing a point of view which will be self explanatory and I sincerely hope useful for those who have the responsibility to make plans.</p> <p>(Press release on behalf of Martin Luther King regarding racial situation in Los Angeles.)</p> <p>I know that you have grievances that are hard to live with- I know that any Negro can reach the end of his patience and want to strike out and strike back. But it is not courage nor militancy to strike out blindly. Our enemies have always hoped that we would lose our heads and riot against the guilty and innocent alike. This enables them to argue that we haven't decency or good sense. I speak to you as one who had to march with other Negroes against guns, clubs, dogs and whips and who won victories over cruel and barbarous sheriffs and klansmen. We won victories because we had a greater weapon-discipline, cool heads, and iron determination not to provoked into violence. Our adversaries have always known what to when we lost our heads-it gave them a chance to beat our heads. They have never known what to do when we refused to be sucked into the trap of violence.</p> <p>Tonight the whole world is watching you. If you want all America to respect you, if you want the world to know that you are men put down your weapons and your rocks. Get a committee together to draw your demands. If you want my help I will sit with you and plan how to improve your conditions.</p> <p>Negroes in the South were not lessoppressed than you and we have run Jim Crow from thousands of places without using a rock or a bullet. We made millions of White Americans sick and ashamed of their practices and by our discipline won many to our side. You are harming yourselves not the segregationists. Tonight in the South, the segregationist is delighted. He has made you lose your temper and for a few moments of</p>

Exhibit No. 18

NY3810-S Page 2
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 Day SAT. AM Date 8-14-65

Employee's Name
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Date Stamp

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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p>con't W3187-13 emotional excitement and relief you are conducting yourself without an reason, without a name and without a goal. You are not an army of Negro people if you fight without reason. Our people are not rioters and are not looters. Come back to our ranks where there is room for honest courage and militance-where realand permanent victories have been won and will be won in the rightway.</p> <p>The man who cobbles off, who puts down his weapons and stands up with only his body is the man of courage. Don't let us down here in the South. Don't discredit brave Negroes in fails in Johannesburg. Don't set yourself back. You can still win a great victory by halting the fighting because there is more honor and dignity in looking the other side squarely in the eye and demanding your rights than there is in struggling in blind fury. In the name of brave Negroes who have died in the South over the past ten years of bitter struggle. I appeal to you to end the hostilities so that together we can march forward for real gains for our people everywhere.</p> <p>DORA stated that she would relay the statements to KING for his approval.</p>

NY3810-S Page 3
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 Day SAT. AM Date 8-14-65

Employee's Name
 TJM *[Signature]*

Date Stamp

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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
5	AM	OG	<p>Paul R. Tonra (B9252 Cuts 55-57)</p> <p><u>BEA LEVISON</u> dials "5602" and <u>UNFEMALE</u> answers.</p> <p><u>BEA</u>: This is Mrs. Levison. We are leaving around noon today for a week and I'd like to leave a number for you. We're going to be out in Hampton Bays at a place called Bennett's Cove. And the number there is 516 RA 8-0416. You can give that number to anyone who calls. Of particular importance, my husband is expecting a call from Georgia. We'll be there until next Sunday. (END)</p>
33	AM	OG	<p>Paul R. Tonra (B9252 Cuts 57-59)</p> <p><u>STANLEY LEVISON</u> tells Operator he wants to place a person to person call to Reverend Andrew Young, 404 522 1420, in Atlanta, Georgia. <u>UNMALE</u> advises that Young is not in. (END)</p>

NY3810-S*
 Log Page 4
 Sat. Date 8-14-65
 AM

Employee's Name

PRT
 OR'S

Date Stamp

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DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KIS
ON 11/28/97
#DNF94-15

Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
2:21	PM	IC	Daniel J. Maloney White 54-5- 2-3 Operator calls says there is a long distance call for Mr. Stanley Levinson Bee Levinson says he can be reached at JU 26020 End DJM.
35	PM	IC	Paul R. Tonra (R8223 Cuts 35-49) "ANDY" calls <u>STANLEY LEVISON</u> . <u>STANLEY</u> : I had only one copy and I can't find it. <u>ANDY</u> : Can you give me a couple of ideas of what you had in it? <u>STANLEY</u> : After the research committee sort of discarded it, I mentally discarded it. But I might sit down for an hour, if there is that much time, and try to reconstruct something. <u>ANDY</u> : Let me read to you what I've got. 'The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is based on the faith that all men are sons of God and therefore all men are brothers. This concept of brotherhood knows no national limitations. Men of Asia are no less brothers than men of Europe. The war in Viet Nam is a serious challenge to our concept of brotherhood. We therefore encourage Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., our President, and the Staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to proclaim our philosophy of Non Violence and assert its relevance in international conflict such as now rages in Viet Nam. We further urge that Doctor King and the Staff make possible a mature non violent understanding of the issues of this world shaking dilemma to the members of our affiliated(ph) groups: since many of these groups in southern communities have access to only the most conservative war mongering viewpoints in their local press. However, we must still affirm that the primary function of our organization is to secure full citizenship rights for the Negro citizens of this country and that our major contribution to world peace and brotherhood is to create a truly democratic society here in America. Our resources are not sufficient to assume the burden of two major issues in our society. We would therefore urge that the efforts of SCLC in mass demonstrations

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FBI - NEW YORK

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D-297 (1-28-57)

Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p>and action movements be confined to the question of racial brotherhood. In the event of continued escalation of the Viet Nam conflict, however, we respect the right of Doctor King and the administrative committee to alter this course in the interest of the survival of mankind and turn the full resources of our organization to the cessation of bloodshed and war. This we feel to be our bounden duty as ministers and laymen and adherents to the way of love and the philosophy of Non Violence.'</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: You've got everything from the standpoint of concepts in it that need to be said.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: The part Martin didn't like was where I said 'we therefore encourage'. He said that yours was more 'commending' Martin Luther King.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: Where you said you encourage Martin Luther King or encourage the affiliates?</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: 'We therefore encourage Doctor MLK, our President, and the Staff of SCLC to proclaim our philosophy of Non Violence and assert its relevance'.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: I like what you said about the primary purpose of the organization is racial brotherhood in the U.S. And yet you left yourself a perfectly proper opening in the event of, you said, escalation of the war. I would tend to add 'in the event of perilous escalation'. Because escalation has so many degrees. And I think we're all agreed that it's when it gets to be really perilous. So I think you dealt with that very soundly. As far as the ideas are concerned, I think you've got a very good balance. You deal with the confusion that Jim Bevel created. And nobody can come away from something like this in any kind of confusion about the position.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: Now can we rewrite that section about we commend. (reads again 'We therefore encourage MLK etc.)</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: At this point wouldn't it be sound to take that concept that I had in a paragraph that I wrote you in a letter.</p>

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ne	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p><u>ANDY</u>: I can't find that.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: I know that that started with one sentence I thought was important. And that is you could say we recognize, or it is clear, that Doctor King is one of the foremost moral leaders of the world. As Nobel Peace Prize laureate, as a minister of the Gospel, his conscience obligates him to express his concern that humanity could be brought to the brink of doom.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: His conscience compells him to</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: To express his concern that humanity could be brought to the brink of doom. Making these views clear is a contribution to all humanity.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: Do you want to put that 'we commend him'?</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: No.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: I'm sorry. You just dictate.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: You could say 'We commend him for making clear, we commend him for expressing his views which are a contribution to all humanity.' I'm inclined to think that that's as far as you should go in encouraging him to do this or that. I don't think you have to specifically say that he should bring it to the affiliates. I would leave that out. It's true, but I think it would be regarded as Peace mongering. Let me read this to you and see if any part of it can be included. It's a statement that Martin wrote for Look magazine on what he hopes the world would be like 25 years from now. 'I hope that world Peace will have become secure, not because a balance of terror will have paralyzed mankind but because most of the world's people will have realized that non violence in the nuclear age was life's last chance. I hope that militarism and mass ignorance will have become ugly relics of a vain quasi civilization. I would expect the world to blush with shame to recall that three decades earlier a human being was graded by the color of his skin and degraded if that color was non White. I would expect the Christain era to begin.</p>

Exhibit No. 18

NY3810-S* 3
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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
			<p><u>ANDY</u>: That's very good.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: I wonder if you could say we endorse or we recall Doctor King's statement, and then quote perhaps some part of this.</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: Let's just include it and don't quote it.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: Alright. (Rereads above statement for Andy to take down.)</p> <p><u>ANDY</u>: I'll work that in. This is very helpful. I'll get this together and get it over there right away. Thanks a lot, Stan. (END)</p>

Exhibit No. 18

NY3810-S* 4
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Date Stamp

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Time	Initial	IC OG	Activity Recorded
1	PM	OG	<p>Paul R. Tonra (B9173 Cuts 38-45)</p> <p><u>STANLEY LEVISON</u> places call to the Thomas Jefferson Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama and asks for Miss Dorothy Gaines(ph). (No answer). <u>LEVISON</u> then asks to speak with <u>Mrs. MACDONALD</u> in Doctor King's suite. He is connected with her.</p> <p><u>STANLEY</u>: I've been on the phone with Andy a couple of times about the Draft Resolution on Viet Nam. Andy had asked me for the first draft that was written and I couldn't find it. I just located it and I wondered if I could dictate it to you so you could give it to him. I know he's over at the (doesn't finish sentence). 'This convention is inspired by the appeal of all the living Nobel Peace Prize laureates calling for an end to the hostilities in Viet Nam. The text of that statement is as follows. Then just leave a blank because I think herhas that. We applaud the action of our President, Martin Luther King, the 1965 Nobel Peace Prize Winner, in signing the statement and we fully endorse its sentiments. We call on all organizations to join with us in formally endorsing the appeal, recognizing that without international peace in the nuclear age the quest of humanity for a fuller life and a moral existence can become meaningless in a few terrifying moments of total planetary destruction. We may have the power but we have no right to decree the end of the human race because nationalist egotisms dominated our sense of humanity in one insane instance of the thousands of years of the life of man. That it.</p> <p><u>Mrs. MACDONALD</u>: Thank you so much. I'll give this to Andy. (END)</p>

Exhibit No. 18

NY3810-S* 5
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 Fri. 8-13-65
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Date Stamp

~~SECRET~~ MATERIAL ATTACHED

SECRET

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SUP

TO: SAC, NEW YORK DATE: 8/6/63

FROM: SUPV. JOHN J. KEARNEY, 414 PERSONAL FOLDER SAC

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON (S)(u) (NY 1300-S* (u) JUNE
 IS-C H
 NY 100-111180 H
 BU 100-392452 H

REQUEST

Authority is requested to contact NY 1300-S* on
 8/8/63. - 6 East 39th St., Levisons office midnite to 5:00 A.M.
 (u)

LAST CONTACT

The last contact with NY 1300-S* was on 4/8/63, at
 which time valuable data concerning financial records of CPUSA
 cover companies were obtained, along with LEVISON's connection
 with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and MARTIN
 LUTHER KING. (u)

The purpose of this contact is to obtain information
 concerning LEVISON's present association with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL,
 MARTIN LUTHER KING and CLARENCE JONES. (u)

SECURITY

Full security is assured. (u)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8AM/KIS
 ON 11/28/97

Approved by Bureau per #NNF9445
 telcall Supr. J. A. Sizoo
 11:00 A.M. 8-6-63 (u)

JJK: GMM

Classified by 4915
 Exempt from GDS Category 234
 Date of Declassification Indefinite 1-17-77

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 #19

See folder 19
 SEARCHED INDEXED
 SERIALIZED FILED
 AUG 6 1963
 FBI - NEW YORK
 [Signature]

TRUE COPY

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2AUM/KLS

FBI

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ansmit in

CODE

#NNF 9475

Via CABLEGRAM

NIGHT ACTION

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Precedence)

November 10, 1964

TO LEGAT ~~Country~~
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-106670)

* Indicates DATA INSERTED (Date)
(FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY) (FFIA)

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

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHO IS TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL

PEACE PRIZE IN OSLO, NORWAY, DECEMBER TEN, NEXT, PLANS TO BE

IN ~~Country~~, DECEMBER SIX AND SEVEN, NEXT. ONE OF

HIS ADVISORS, BAYARD RUSTIN, HAS CONTACTED PEGGY DUFF, A

~~Country~~ RESIDENT WHO IS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR

DISARMAMENT. RUSTIN REQUESTED HER TO ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE FOR

~~Country~~ TO RECEIVE KING. RUSTIN DESIRES

IT NOT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS IS KING'S IDEA AND PREFERENCES ~~Country~~

TO ANNOUNCE THAT ~~Country~~ IS INVITING KING. DUFF CHECKING INTO

THIS MATTER.

RUSTIN IS DEPARTING FOR ~~Country~~ NOVEMBER ELEVEN, NEXT,

FOR PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING A CONFUSION SURROUNDING KING'S TRIP

IN DECEMBER. CONFUSION INVOLVES FACT THAT ~~Country~~

~~Country~~ DESIRES TO RECEIVE KING BUT HAS BEEN OPPOSED BY

CLASSIFIED BY 2047
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF SECURITY INFORMATION
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2

(Do not type below this line)

AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON INDEFINITE

Deletions TO PROTECT IDENTITIES OF
FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE,
COUNTRY OFFICIALS INVOLVED

SFP: bgc
(12)

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

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

TRUE COPY

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CLASSIFIED BY SP2AUM/KLS
DECLASSIFY ON: 10-25X
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COUNTRY

~~SECRET~~

CABLEGRAM TO [REDACTED]
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

CERTAIN ELEMENTS BECAUSE KING A BAPTIST. RUSTIN IS TO
ALSO DETERMINE WHETHER KING WILL BE ABLE TO MEET WITH [REDACTED]

KING IS SURROUNDED BY NUMEROUS ADVISORS HAVING PRESENT
OR FORMER COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS. HE HAS MAINTAINED AN
ASSOCIATION WITH AND RECEIVED GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL FROM
SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERS NOTWITHSTANDING ADVICE
TO KING ABOUT THEIR COMMUNIST BACKGROUNDS. KING IS ALSO

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SOME OF
KING'S ACTIONS IN THE RECENT PAST ARE OF A NATURE WHICH

[REDACTED] RUSTIN IS A FORMER
MEMBER OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND HAS BEEN CONVICTED
ON A HOMOSEXUAL CHARGE.

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO IMMEDIATELY BRIEF [REDACTED] *FFIA
CONCERNING THE BACKGROUND OF KING AND RUSTIN AND OF THEIR
INTENTIONS RELATIVE TO A KING - [REDACTED] MEETING SO THAT [REDACTED] *FFIA
[REDACTED] MAY IN TURN TRANSMIT THIS INFORMATION ON A HIGHLY

~~SECRET~~

COUNTRY

~~SECRET~~

CABLEGRAM TO [REDACTED]
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

*FFIA

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

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

RG 60

OPR/FBI/M.L. KING
TASK FORCE

Folder 48

9/29/97 SP2ALM/KCS
#NMF-94-15

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TASK FORCE TO REVIEW THE FBI MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,

SECURITY AND ASSASSINATION INVESTIGATIONS

APPENDIX B

AND INDEX TO APPENDIX C

(ALL INFORMATION UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT AS NOTED)

SECRET

January 11, 1977

CLASSIFIED BY
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2-3-4
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON INDEFINITE.....

SECRET

APPENDIX B (u)

CONTENTS

Memoranda of telephone interviews or conversations and personal interviews are contained in this appendix in alphabetical order, as follows:

Baity, James T., September 27, 1976
Barnett, James O., September 27, 1976
Baumgardner, F.J., December 22, 1976
Bloeser, Richard, July 15, 1976
Boatwright, James R., September 23, 1976
and October 20, 1976
Buchanon, John T., October 15, 1976
Canale, Phil M., September 21, 1976
Canipe, Guy W., Jr., July 7, 1976
Carlisle, John, September 20, 1976
and September 22, 1976
Crumby, W.O., September 17, 1976
Dollahite, Vernon V., July 6, 1976
Dwyer, Robert K., July 6, 1976
Ghornley, Judson E., July 7, 1976
Hamilton, Edward A., September 27, 1976
Hester, Joseph, June 23, 1976 and
July 8, 1976
Holloman, Frank, September 15, 1976
Howe, Ray, July 8, 1976
Huie, William B., September 15, 1976
Internal Security Division Representatives,
September 8, 1976
Jensen, Robert, July 7, 1976
Johnson, R.T., December 21, 1976
Lesar, James H., December 13, 1976
and December 14, 1976
Long, Richard E., December 30, 1976
Macdonald, James C., September 16, 1976
and December 22, 1976
Manuel, Philip, September 20, 1976 and
September 28, 1976
McCollough, Marrell, July 12, 1976
McFerren, John, July 9, 1976 and
November 16, 1976
McGowan, Clem J., December 23, 1976
McKay, Louis, July 8, 1976
Montedonico, Eddie L. (Attorneys for),
July 8, 1976

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Newsom, Floyd E., Sr., July 8, 1976
Peelman, J.S., December 21, 1976
Phillips, Seymor, December 21, 1976
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Redditt, Edward E., July 8, 1976
and September 28, 1976
Richmond, Willie B., July 7, 1976
and September 28, 1976
Rivalto, Arthur J., September 27, 1976
Routt, W.E., September 27, 1976
Smith, Jack, September 27, 1976
Tines, Graydon P., September 20, 1976
Stanton, Hugh, Jr., September 17, 1976
and September 23, 1976
Wallace, Norvell E., July 8, 1976
Zachary, Nevelyn E., September 15, 1976 (u)

INDEX TO APPENDIX C

Appendix C contains voluminous notes taken from FBI Files and other sources, records of the Memphis Police Department and letters of James Earl Ray to William Bradford Huie. These documents are being retained in the Office of Professional Responsibility and are summarized herein as follows:

<u>Volume No.</u>	<u>Contents</u> (ALL (U) EXCEPT AS NOTED)
I	MURKIN (HQ 44-38861)
II	MURKIN (Memphis Field Office: ME 44-1987)
III	Atlanta Field Office (MURKIN; MLK Security; COMINFIL-SCLC; CIRM; CPUSA-Negro Question; Miscel.; MLK Racial Matters and Coretta King).
IV	Field Office Files- Albany through Indianapolis (MURKIN; MLK Security; CIRM; CPUSA- Negro Question; COMINFIL-SCLC; and Levison Security) (S)(u)
V	Field Office files- Jacksonville through St. Louis (MURKIN, MLK Security; CIRM; CPUSA-Negro Question; COMINFIL-SCLC; and Levison Security) (S)(u)
VI	Martin Luther King, Jr., Security (HQ 100-106670)
VII	Stanley D. Levison Security (HQ 100-392452) (S)(u)
VIII	New York Field Office (MLK Security; Levison Security and COMINFIL-SCLC) (S)(u)
IX	CIRM (HQ 100-442529)
X	COMINFIL-SCLC (HQ 100-438794)
XI	CPUSA (HQ 100-3-116)
XII	James Earl Ray Handwritten Notes to William Bradford Huie

SECRET

Interview of Seymor Phillips

Mr. Seymour Phillips was interviewed at his office on December 21, 1976, by James R. Kieckhefer and Joseph F. Gross, Jr. Mr. Phillips was a Supervisor in the Communist Party United of the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, starting in the summer of 1961 and became Unit Chief in 1964. He is presently employed by the FBI. Mr. Phillips was cooperative and had a good recollection of his dealings with the intelligence investigation of Dr. King.

Phillips advised that in 1963 the Communist Party United was headed by Unit Chief Larry Garley and, in addition to himself, there were two other Supervisors, Robert C. Denz and William G. Shaw. With regard to the duties of the supervisors in his unit, Phillips stated that assignments were designated by subject matter and also by geographical location. The Section Chief of the Internal Security Section at this time was Fred J. Baumgardner and his #1 man was Dick Corman. The Domestic Intelligence Division then had as Assistant Director William C. Sullivan and as his #1 man, Joseph Sizoo.

Phillips was questioned in some detail on the events from August, 1963, until December of that year with respect to the initiation of technical surveillance and COINTELPRO activities against Dr. King. He related that in August, 1963, his unit assisted in the preparation of an analysis (the 8/23/63 analysis) of communist infiltration in the Negro population. Phillips also advised that he had prepared a synopsis for the analysis, but Mr. Sullivan later rewrote the synopsis which was forwarded to the Director. Phillips noted that Sullivan had previously been Chief Inspector of the Central Research Section of the Division, and had assisted in the preparation of some of the Director's publications on communism.

Following review of this analysis, Phillips stated that the Director returned for a period of time every piece of work from the Division on King or the Communist Party with cryptic remarks. Phillips advised "there was considerable traffic of this nature at this time." Phillips further stated that a separate record was kept of the "blue ink" (Hoover's remarks), but he believed this record was no longer available. It is Phillip's opinion that both the Director and Assistant Director Sullivan believed that there was communist influence on Dr. King through his relationship with Stanley Levison, Hanter Pitts O'Dell and others. He doubts very much whether the time and manpower would have been spent if they had thought otherwise. Phillips

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himself classified Levison and O'Dell as very dangerous people. (S)(u)

Several weeks later, Phillips remarked, the first monograph on King was written. It was prepared by Charles D. Brennan, then Assistant Chief of the Central Research Section (Brennan later became #1 man to Baumgardner). Phillips recalled that Baumgardner brought the Brennan draft to his unit in order to have each fact authenticated. Later, Baumgardner directed another check of the monograph to insure that the Bureau could substantiate this report on King and his associates.

Phillips then explained the supervision of the King file. He stated that the Internal Security Section was responsible for supervision of groups or organizations while the Subversive Control Section monitored individuals. Initially, Bill Forsyth, a Supervisor in the Subversive Control Section had responsibility for the King file, but Baumgardner wanted the King matter under control of the Internal Security Section. For a period of time there was dual responsibility between the two sections but later the case was handled solely by the Internal Security Section.

Phillips said that he was on leave when the meeting with agents from Atlanta took place concerning the use of COINTELPRO against Dr. King at the SOG. Phillips said he did not know why COINTELPRO was started against King. He further stated he was told, after the decision had been made, about misreport coverage of King and his associates at the Willard Hotel in January, 1964. He added that this was unusual since the Supervisor of a subject matter was held responsible for being aware of such activities, and was supposed to be able to render an accurate status report on a case at any given time.

Phillips said that the Director wanted to be kept advised of King, and that the Director probably approved every COINTELPRO activity against him. Since the Director was personally involved in the handling of this intelligence case, the importance of it could not be over emphasized. It was a "hot potato." Phillips remarked that he may have initiated some recommendations under COINTELPRO, but only if a previous type of a similar nature had been approved such as blocking an honorary degree to be given King.

Phillips stated that he received directives from Sullivan, Sizoo and Baumgardner. Baumgardner told him that he was to be advised of all activity in this case. Yet he would at times receive an immediate order from Assistant Director Sullivan and then be pressed to decide whether he should first carry out the order or first advise his

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Section Chief.

Phillips did not add anything to his previous written statement on the letter found in the "Sullivan papers."

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RC 60

OPR/FBI/M.L. KING
TASK FORCE

Folder 493

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TASK FORCE TO REVIEW THE FBI MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,

SECURITY AND ASSASSINATION INVESTIGATIONS

(ALL INFORMATION UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT AS NOTED)

APPENDIX A

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/28/91 BY SP8ALM/KIS
#NNF 94-15

~~TOP SECRET~~

January 11, 1977

CLASSIFIED BY The Attorney General
EXEMPT FROM GDS BY CLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY A-3-4
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON INDEFINITE

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP7 MAC/WB
ON 3/12/86

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SP2ALM/KIS #245852
11/28/97 DMNF94-15

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

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
IS - C

1 Xerox copy of Enclosure B placed file given to OPR 8/15/74

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

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

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

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

Enclosure

100-3-73

WCS:lml:djw

DEC 5 1963

SENT DIRECTOR

22 DEC 5 1963

~~TOP SECRET~~

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

1-77-77

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

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

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director. (u)

W. Key

W.E.S.

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

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

Date: September 25, 1963

Predication:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KIS
 ON 10/1/97 #11NF94-15

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

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

Common Agreement:

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

Enclosures sent 9-26-63

REC-40 100-3-116-100
 11 OCT 16 1963

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS .

showing communist involvement in Negro racial matters in this nation,
relative to which we can all agree. (TS)(u)

Essence of the Situation:

The essence of the situation seems to be this: We presented what facts there are in our files in the Brief in question and I know that the Director certainly would not want us to do other than this. The position taken at the time the Brief was written was that, while there is communist influence being exerted on Negroes and Negro leaders, it has not reached the point of control or domination. This historically has been the position of the Bureau in this matter in light of file reviews going back ten to twenty years. *Certainly this is not true with respect to the Heavison King connection.* (u)

The Historical Position:

For example, in a detailed document prepared on Communist Party and the Negro in 1953, we find the statement referring to "the failure of the Communist Party to attract even a significant number of Negroes in the United States to its number." Another example is to be found in an analysis in this same field prepared by the Bureau in 1956 to the effect that communist efforts have been "unsuccessful on a state or national level" in infiltrating "legitimate Negro-fraternal, protest and improvement organizations," although they made limited success in some "isolated chapters." The Director's book, Masters of Deceit, published in 1958, states: "It became obvious that the Party, despite great efforts, had failed to win over even a significant minority of Negroes." In 1960 the Director's statement to The Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, reads: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party." In 1962 similar public statements were made. On page seven of the Brief submitted to the Director under the date of August 23, 1963, this historical position was restated and it was said, "One of the bitterest disappointments of the communists has been their single failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the Party." This statement was set forth again in the cover memorandum which the Director marked (u)

The point I wish to make here is this: The fact that this has been our historical position in the Bureau for many years is no reason to assume that it is the correct position at this time, as the Director has clearly explained. Times and conditions change and, as the evidence mounts, naturally we need to change our position along with this evidence. (u)

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Interpretation:

As we know, facts by themselves are not too meaningful, for they are somewhat like stones tossed in a heap as contrasted to the same stones put in the form of a sound edifice. It is obvious to us now that we did not put the proper interpretation upon the facts which we gave to the Director.

(4)

Martin Luther King:

We have been aware of the communist influence for nearly two years on Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and in the comprehensive memorandum entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question," dated 8/23/63 we set out information to the effect that a number of Negro leaders in this country have had subversive connections in their backgrounds and that Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dealing with Stanley Levison, a concealed communist, as well as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a secret member of the National Committee of the CPUSA. As previously stated, we are in complete agreement with the Director that communist influence is being exerted on Martin Luther King, Jr., and that King is the strongest of the Negro leaders. As we have stated before in a memorandum, we regard Martin Luther King to be the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country. In addition, we know the Party is directing a major effort toward strengthening its position among the Negroes inasmuch as we have information the Party plans to intensify its efforts to exploit the racial situation for the purpose of gaining influence among the Negroes. To this end, the Party plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting. Furthermore, in the last few days Hall has advised an informant he contemplates requesting the Levison brothers to set up an office in Atlanta, Georgia, to be used by Hunter Pitts O'Dell which will serve as the office for "Freedomways," a Communist Party sponsored publication, and as headquarters for Communist Party activity in the South. (TS)(4)

RM 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

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

DATE: November 13, 1964

FROM : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

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

At 2:10 p.m., 11/13/64, Legat ~~██████████~~ telephoned concerning the subject's proposed travel abroad. ~~██████████~~ pointed out that in view of subject's position as a Nobel Prize winner, the United States Ambassadors in both ~~██████████~~ and ~~██████████~~ will probably entertain him as the guest of honor at some social function. Bates said he believes he can forestall this if he can orally brief our Ambassadors. He pointed out that the Bureau has previously advised him that we have no derogatory data concerning these Ambassadors. ~~██████████~~ will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities at approximately 2 a.m., Saturday, 11/14/64, Washington time.

ACTION:

If approved, we will tell ~~██████████~~ that he may orally brief the United States Ambassadors to ~~██████████~~ and ~~██████████~~ concerning King. The Ambassadors will be briefed concerning both King's communist connections and his ~~██████████~~. This briefing will be along the same lines that we previously authorized the Legat to furnish the ~~██████████~~ as set out in the underscored portion of Bureau cable to the Legat 11/10/64, a copy of which is attached.

Enc.

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

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2AM/KB
ON 11/29/98
#NNF9445 ← this copy only

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

WCS *Q* *V* *GR* *K* *10* *11/13/64*

REC 4 100-106670

NOV 17 1964

GAD:kuj
(10)

66 NOV 23 1964

1- ENCLOSURE

*Deletions to protect identity
of friendly FOREIGN GOVERNMENT
AND OFFICIALS INVOLVED.

~~TOP SECRET~~

RG 60

OPR/FBI/M.L. KING
TASK FORCE

Folder 46

~~DATE: 12/8/2004~~
~~FBI INFO CLASSIFIED BY: AUE60290BCE/AG/ede~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 25X b.1~~
12/08/2029
918504

9/29/97

FBI INFO
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#NAF9415

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TASK FORCE TO REVIEW THE FBI MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SECURITY AND ASSASSINATION INVESTIGATIONS

(ALL INFORMATION UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT AS NOTED)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY *The Attorney General*~~
~~EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION~~
~~SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652~~
~~EXEMPTION CATEGORY *1-2-5-2*~~
~~AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON *INDEFINITE*~~

January 11, 1977

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(S)(u)

who served as an adviser to Dr. King, portions of the FBI headquarters security file on Dr. King himself, portions of the FBI headquarters file on the assassination investigation, some Department (as opposed to FBI) files relating to Dr. King, and other Bureau documents including everything on Martin Luther King, Jr., held in the late J. Edgar Hoover's official, confidential and personal files. (T)(u)

By a memorandum to the Attorney General dated April 9, 1976, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division submitted a 51 page report of the Chief of the Civil Rights Division's Criminal Section dated March 31, 1976, embodying the results of the three-man study, limited to the above listed files, and concentrating almost exclusively on the pre-assassination surveillance of, and counterintelligence activities against, Dr. King.

The Assistant Attorney General recommended the creation of a Departmental Task Force to complete the review he and his team had begun. He also recommended an Advisory Committee of distinguished citizens to advise with the task force. The further review proposed included interrogation of material witnesses, reading all the pertinent field office files and reviewing all of the headquarters files relating to Dr. King and possibly to other civil rights activists. A recommendation was made to review tapes secured

back and complete the inquiry into the Bureau's pre-assassination relationship with Dr. King. Necessarily included again in this second stage of our review was the consideration of whether the FBI was in any way implicated in the murder directly or indirectly.

The task force made a particular point of looking at all the material in the FBI headquarters and field office files on the Assassination Investigation, the so-called "Murkin File" (Murkin being an acronym for Murder of King) 1/; the Martin Luther King Security File 2/; the Cominfil-SCLC File (Cominfil being an acronym for Communist infiltration; S.C.L.C., the initials for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) 3/; the file on Communist Influence in Racial Matters 4/ and the Stanley David Levison File 5/. The "Murkin" file was solely concerned with the murder investigation. The other four files provided a multi-focal view

1/ FBI HQ. 44-38861

2/ FBI HQ. 100-106670

3/ FBI HQ. 100-438794

4/ FBI HQ. 100-442529 and the predecessor file entitled Communist Party, U.S.A. Negro Question; FBI HQ. 100-3-116

5/ FBI HQ. 100-392452

of the Bureau's intelligence and counterintelligence activities with respect to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The scheme of citation hereinafter used will be to minimize footnotes, place the source citation in the body of the writing, and designate headquarters files by "HQ" and number and serial and Field Office files by city and number and serial, e.g.: (Memphis 44-1987-153). Exceptions to this scheme will be explained when made. (S)(u)

The more voluminous of the pertinent files in addition to the FBI headquarters files and the Washington Field Office files were located in Memphis, Atlanta, Baltimore, Charlotte, Birmingham, New Orleans, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Kansas City, St. Louis, Omaha, Chicago, Springfield (Ill.), Milwaukee and New York. These were examined in place by visits by task force personnel. The remaining files were xeroxed and forwarded for review in Washington. Pertinent newspaper clipping files maintained by the Department and by the Bureau and its field offices were scanned.

In terms of papers examined, more than 200,000 entries, many with numerous pages concerning both the murder investigation and the security investigation were covered. The five attorneys sitting together originally

4. FBI Intelligence and Local Police Activities

a. FBI Informants. Robert G. Jensen, the Special Agent in Charge of the Memphis Field Office, and Joseph Hester, case agent for MURKIN, have unequivocally assured the task force that there was no electronic surveillance of Dr. King in Memphis. It was explained that Memphis was not in the mainstream of Dr. King's SCLC activities (Interview of Special Agent Joe Hester, June 23, 1976, App.B).

However, FBI agents did observe the sanitation worker's strike activities for intelligence purposes and the Memphis Police Department (MPD) and confidential paid informants did supply information to the field office (Interview of former SAC Robert Jensen, July 7, 1976, App. B).

Our investigation disclosed that there were five paid confidential informants providing intelligence regarding the racial situation to the Memphis Field Office on a continuing basis. These individuals consisted of a shoeshine parlor operator, Memphis State University (MSU) student, a college professor, a shoe salesman and a former MPD police officer. The intelligence coverage provided by these individuals related to the activities of the Nation of Islam, Black Students Association of MSU, Students for a Democratic Society, Black Organizing Power, Black United Front, Afro-American Brotherhood, Invaders and the sanitation workers strike. There is