> (The FBI shall:) carry out the Presidential directive of September 6, 1939, as reaffirmed by Presidential directives of January 8, 1943, July 24, 1950 and December 15, 1953, designating the Federal Bureau of Investigation to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and related matters (28 CFR 0.85 (d)).

Given this charter and the history of the sometimes overpowering influence of the views of the late Director J. Edgar Hoover on his subordinates and on succesive Attorneys General, it was understandable that a security investigation should be initiated into the possible influence of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Two of King's close advisors, at the outset of the security matter, were reported to be Communist Party members by sources relied upon by the Bureau.

The security investigation continued for almost six years until Dr. King's death. It verified, in our view, that one alleged Communist was a very influential advisor to Dr. King (and hence the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) on the strategy and tactics of King's leadership of the black civil rights movement of the early and mid-sixties. Another had no such weight although he seemed to be of use to King. But this very lengthy investigative concentration on King and on

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the principal advisor established, in our opinion, that he did not "sell" Dr. King any course of conduct or of advocacy which can be identified as communist or "Party line". King, himself never varied publicly or privately from his commitment to non-violence and did not advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by violence or subversion. To the contrary, he advocated an end to the discrimination and disenfranchisement of minority groups which the Constitution and the courts denounced in terms as strong as his. We concluded that Dr. King was no threat to domestic security.

And the Bureau's continued intense surveillance and investigation of the advisor clearly developed that he had disassociated himself from the Communist Party in 1963 because he felt it failed adequately to serve the civil rights movement. Thus the linch-pin of the security investigation of Dr. King had pulled himself out.

We think the security investigation which included both physical and technical surveillance, should have been terminated on the basis of what was learned in 1963. That it was intensified and augmented by a COINTELPRO type campaign against Dr. King was unwarranted; the COINTELPRO type campaign, moreover, was ultra vires and very probably in violation of 18 U.S.C. 241 (and 242), i.e. felonious.

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The continuing security investigation reflects also that the Attorney General and the Division charged with responsibility for internal security matters failed badly in what should have been firm supervision of the FBI's internal security activities.

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IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. As To The Murder Investigation

The task force does not fault the technical competence of the investigation conducted into the death of Dr. King. We found no new evidence which calls for action by State or Federal Authorities. Our concern has developed over administrative concomitants of the crime detection tactics.

1. The progress of such sensitive cases as the King murder investigation and the development of legally sufficient evidence to sustain prosecution are properly the ultimate responsibility of the Division of the Department having supervision of the kind of criminal prosecution involved. The Division head should delineate what progress reports he wishes. The Bureau should not be permitted to manipulate its submission of reports to serve its purposes, such as the protection of its public relation efforts, or the prevention of the responsible Division of the Department from causing the Bureau to pursue a line of inquiry which the Bureau does not approve. The Attorney General and his Assistants are the officers most accountable to the electorate and they, not the police agency, must maintain effective supervision.

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2. As a corollary of our espousal of tighter Department authority over the FBI, we recommend that the Bureau's public relations activities and press relations be controlled by the Attorney General's Office of Public Information. Clear directives to prevent the development of personality cults around particular Bureau Directors and officials should be drawn. Bureau press releases should be cleared through the Office of Public Information.

3. The task force recommends that in sensitive cases no criminal action be instituted by the Bureau without the closest coordination and consultation with the supervising Division of the Department. This supervision by the Department should be as tight as the control and consultation the Bureau had with its Field Offices as exhibited in our review of the assassination investigation.

4. It was observed that almost no blacks were in the FBI special agent's corps in the 1960's and none in the Bureau's hierarchy. This undoubtedly had the effect of limiting not only the outlook and understanding of the problems of race relations, but also must have hindered the ability of investigators to communicate fully with blacks during the murder investigation. By way of illustration had there been black agents in the Memphis Field Office participating fully in the investigation of Dr. King's murder, it is unlikely that the interviews with

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at least three black members of the Memphis Police and Fire Department would have been overlooked. It is also very probable that black citizen "lead" input would have been greater.

B. As To The Security Investigation

The task force was charged to address itself particularly to the question of whether the nature of the relationship between the Bureau and Dr. King called for criminal prosecution, disciplinary proceedings, or other appropriate action. Our responses follow.

1. Because the five year statute of limitations has long since run we cannot recommend criminal prosecution of any Bureau personnel, past or present, responsible for the possible criminal harrassment of Dr. King. (18 U.S.C. 3282). No evidence of a continuing conspiracy was found.

2. The responsibility for initiating and prolonging the security investigation rested on the deceased Director of the Bureau and his immediate lieutenants, some of whom are also deceased and the remainder of whom are retired. They are beyond the reach of disciplinary action. The few Bureau personnel who had anything to do with the King security investigation and who are still in active service, did not make command decisions and merely followed orders. We do not

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think they are the proper subjects of any disciplinary action. Some of the activities conducted, such as the technical electronic surveillance, had the approval of the then Attorney General. The Courts had not adequately dealt with what authority rested in the executive branch to initiate such surveillance in the interest of "national security". We do not think the "leg men" in the Bureau should be held to an undefined standard of behavior, much less a standard not observed by the highest legal officer of the government.

The Bureau's COINTELPRO type activities, the illicit dissemination of raw investigative data to discredit Dr. King, the efforts to intimidate him, to break up his marriage, and the explicit and implicit efforts to black-mail him, were not fully known to the Department, but were none-the-less ordered and directed by Director Hoover, Assistant to the Director DeLoach, Assistant Director Sullivan and the Section Chief under him.

In our view their subordinates were far removed from decision responsibility. Moreover, we think the subordinates clearly felt that, by reason of Director Hoover's overpowering and intimidating domination of the Bureau, they had no choice but to implement the Bureau's directions. Punitive action against the very few

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remaining subordinate agents would seem to the task force to be inappropriate in these circumstances and at this very late date.

3. The Bureau's illicit surveillance produced tapes and transcripts concerning King and many others. These may be sought by King's heirs and representatives. Worse still, they may be sought by members of the public at large under the Freedom of Information Act. We recommend that these tapes and transcripts be sealed and sent to the National Archives and that the Congress be asked to pass legislation denying any access to them whatever and authorizing and directing their total destruction along with the destruction of material in reports and memoranda derived from them.

4. The potential for abuse by the individual occupying the office of Director of the FBI has been amply demonstrated by our investigation. We think it is a responsibility of the Department in the first instance and, secondarily, of the Congress to oversee the conduct of the FBI (and the other police agencies of the government). We endorse the establishment by the Attorney General of the Office of Professional Responsibility on December 9, 1975, as an effective means for intra-departmental policing of the Bureau. We also think the permanent

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Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is an appropriate agency of the legislative arm to oversee the performance of the Bureau. Both the Office of Professional Responsibility and the Senate Select Committee should be expressly designated in their respective enabling regulations and resolutions to be a place to which Bureau subordinates may complain, confidentially and with impunity, of orders which they believe to threaten a violation of the civil rights and liberties of citizens and inhabitants of the United States.

5. It seems to us that the unauthorized malicious dissemination of investigative data from FBI files should be more than the presently prescribed misdemeanor (5 USC 552a(i)(1)). A felony penalty should be added.

Parenthetically, it should be noted here that it should be made clear that it is improper (but not criminal)

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for the Bureau to by-pass the Attorney General and deal directly with the White House.

6. The task force recommends that the FBI have no authority to engage in COINTELPRO type activities which involve affirmative punitive action following Star Chamber decisions with respect to citizens or inhabitants (See 18 U.S.C. 241 and 242). We believe that the guidelines which the present Attorney General has established to govern the FBI's domestic security investigations effectively preclude these activities. Those guidelines moreover, appear to us to permit only strictly legal investigative techniques to be employed in full scale domestic security investigations. This too we endorse.

The foregoing comprises our report and recommendations. It is respectfully submitted.

The Martin Luther King, Jr.
~~Review Task~~ Review Force

Fred G. Folsom
FRED G. FOLSOM

James F. Walker
JAMES F. WALKER

Joseph F. Gross Jr.
JOSEPH F. GROSS, JR.

William D. White
WILLIAM D. WHITE

James R. Kieckhefer
JAMES R. KIECKHEFER

January 11, 1977

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APPENDIX A

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EXHIBIT 1

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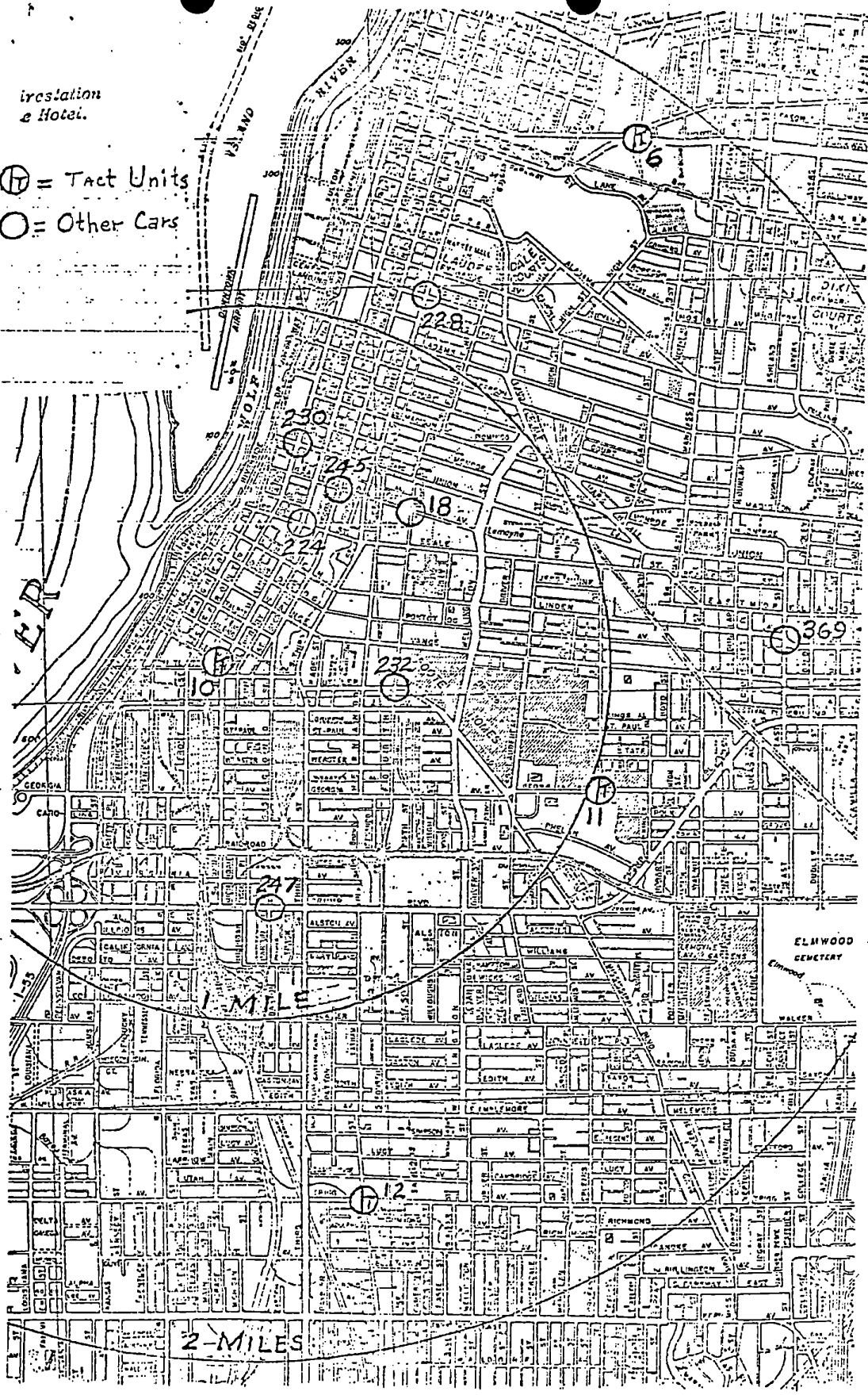

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EXHIBIT 2

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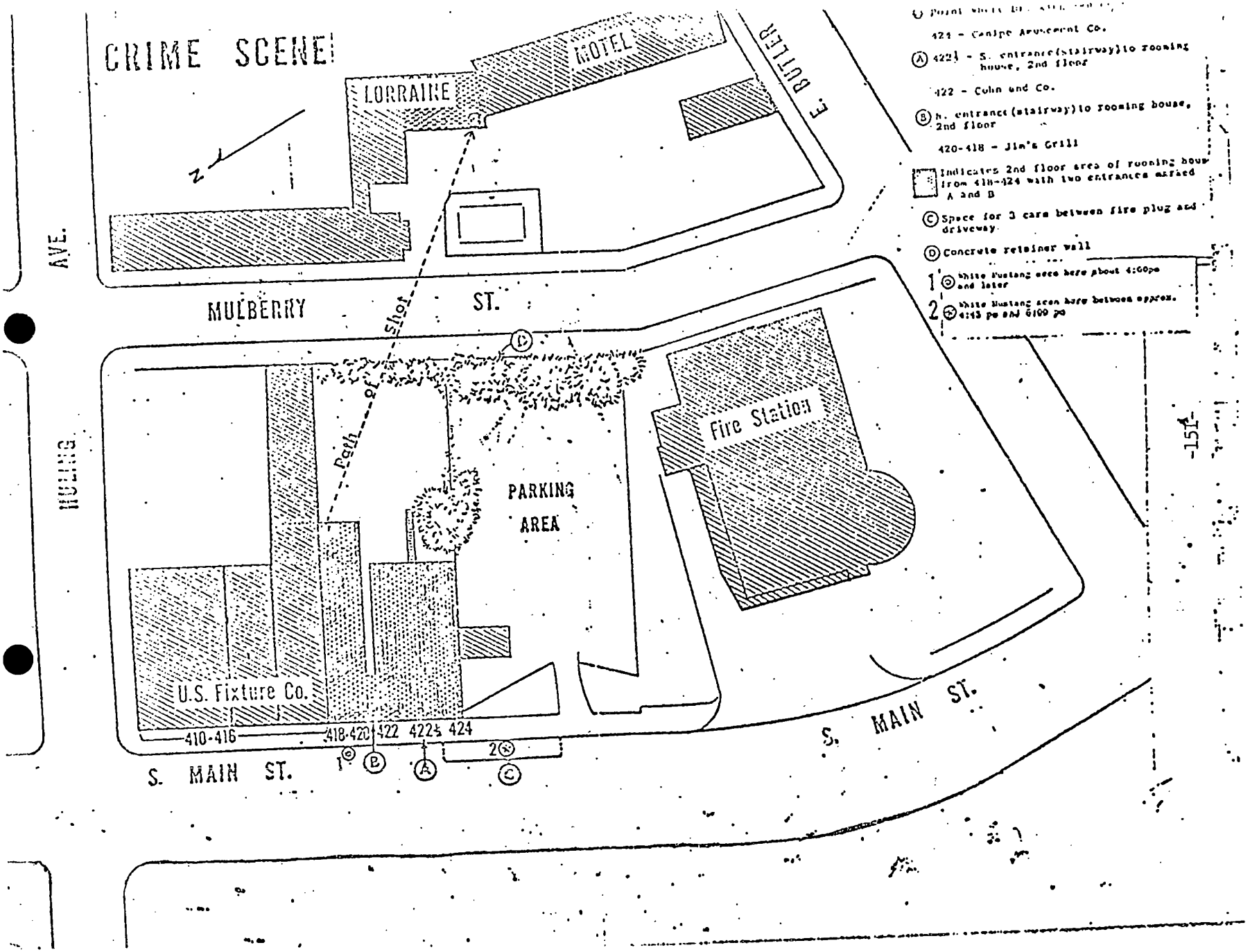

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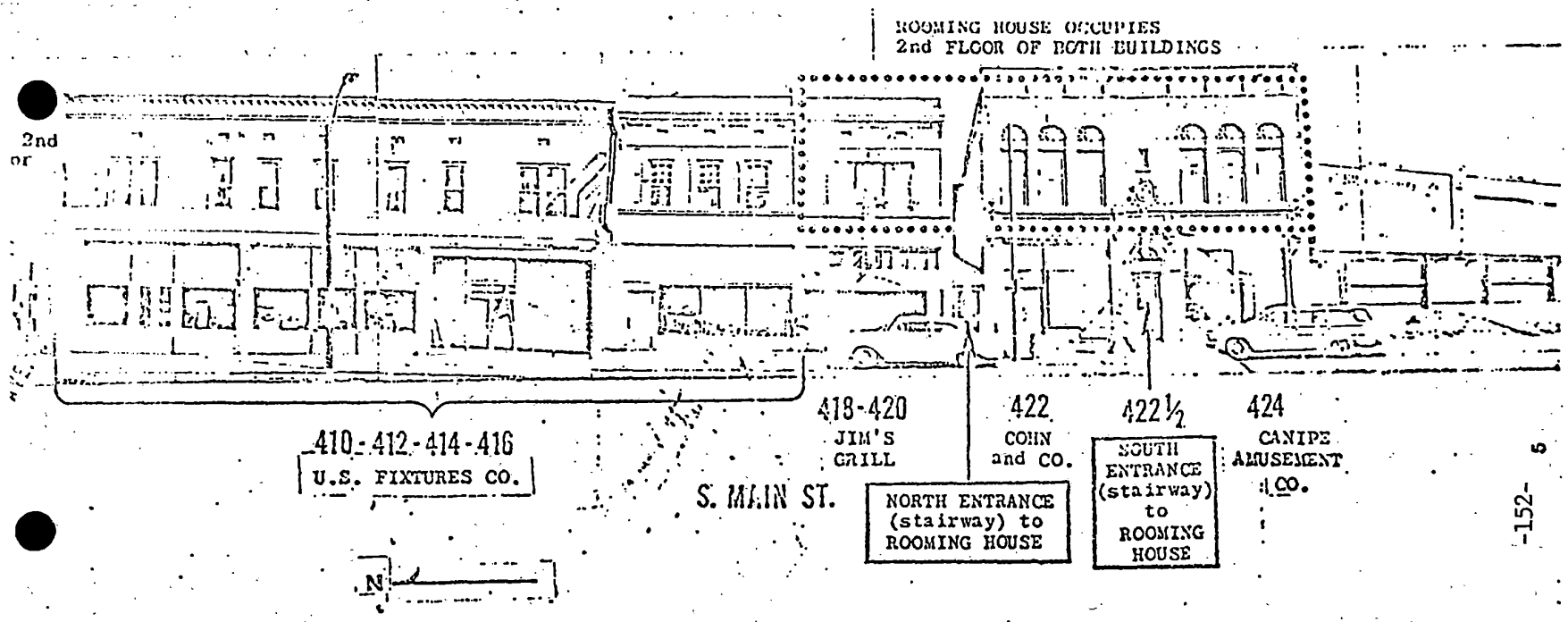

COMPOSITE PHOTO of
410-424 S. MAIN ST.

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

SECOND FLOOR PLAN of ROOMING HOUSE

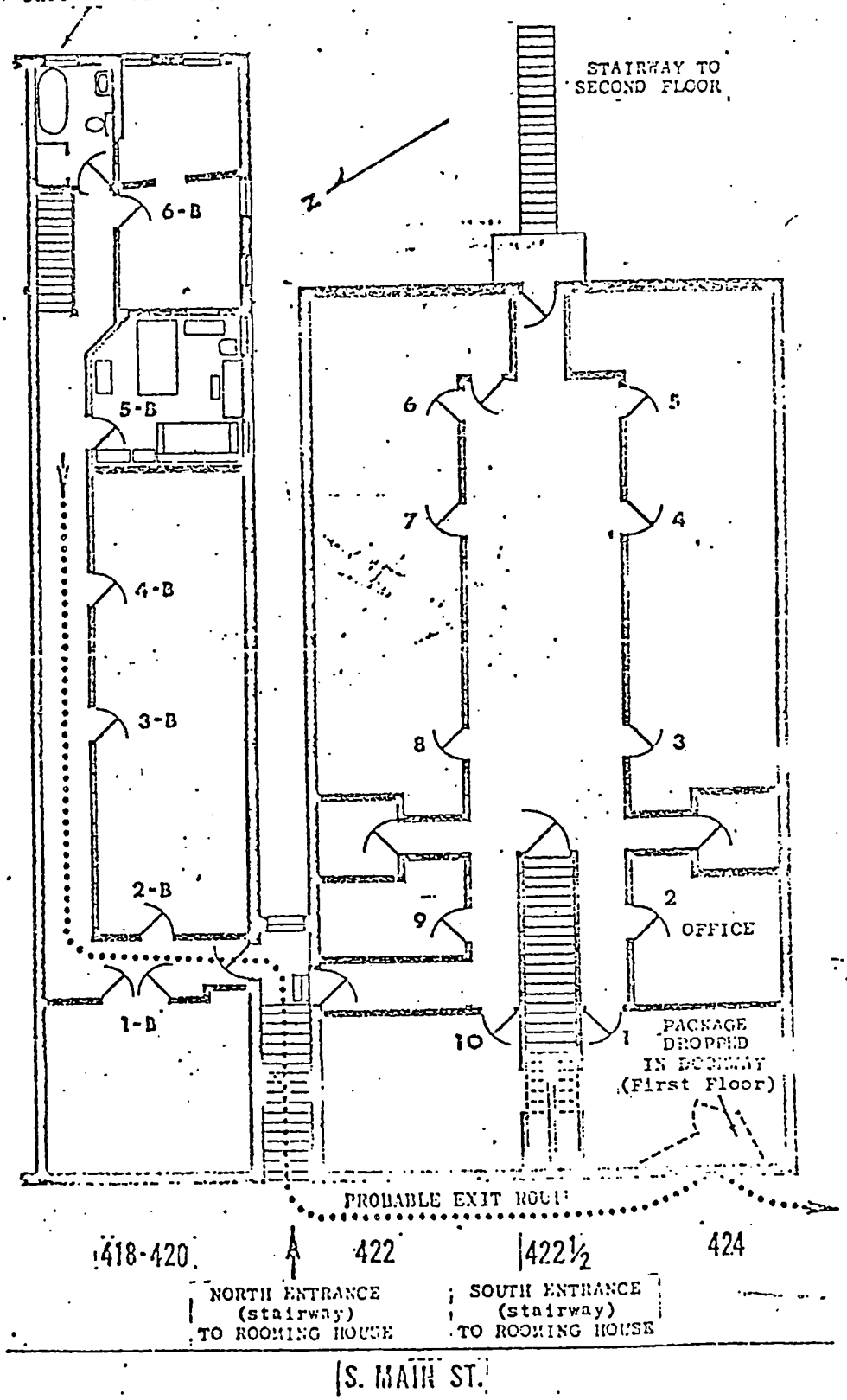

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EXHIBIT 3

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PROVISIONAL ( )

FINAL (X)

TENNESSEE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL EXAMINER

858 Madison Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

CASE NO. [illegible]

COUNTY Shelby

AUTOPSY REPORT

NAME OF DECEDENT Martin Luther King, Jr. RACE N SEX M AGE 39

HOME ADDRESS [illegible] Atlanta, Georgia
NUMBER OR STREET CITY OR TOWN STATE

COUNTY MEDICAL EXAMINER J. T. Francisco, M.D.

ADDRESS Memphis, Tennessee

DISTRICT ATTORNEY GENERAL Phil A. Canale

ADDRESS Memphis, Tennessee

ANATOMICAL DIAGNOSIS Gunshot wound to body and face with:
Fracture of mandible
Laceration vertebral artery, jugular vein and subclavian artery, right,
Laceration of spinal cord (lower cervical, upper thoracic),
Intrapulmonary hematoma, apex, right upper lobe

CAUSE OF DEATH Gunshot wound to spinal column, lower cervical, upper thoracic

NARRATIVE OF FINDINGS Death was the result of a gunshot wound to the chin and neck with a total transection of the lower cervical and upper thoracic spinal cord and other structures in the neck. The direction of the wounding was from front to back, above downward and from right to left. The severing of the spinal cord at this level and to this extent was a wound that was fatal very shortly after it occurred.

The purpose of this report is to provide a certified opinion to the County Medical Examiner and the District Attorney General. The facts and findings to support these conclusions are on file in the office of the State Medical Examiner.

SIGNED [illegible] M.D.

J. T. Francisco

ADDRESS 858 Madison Avenue-Memphis, Tennessee

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Form 388

THE CITY OF MEMPHIS HOSPITALS
AUTOPSY PROTOCOL

Autopsy No. A68-252 Service Med. Ex. Hospital No.

Name Martin Luther King, Jr. Age 39 Race Negro Sex Male

Date of Admission DOA Date and Hour of Death Unknown-Approximately 4-4-68 P.M.

Date and Hour of Autopsy 4-4-68 10:45 P.M.

Pathologist Drs. Spurgt and Francisco Assistant

Checked by Date Completed 4-11-68

FINAL PATHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS

PRIMARY SERIES:

I. Distant gunshot wound to body and face
   A. Fracture of right mandible
   B. Laceration of vertebral artery, jugular vein and subclavian artery, right
   C. Fracture of spine (T-1, C-7)
   D. Laceration of spinal cord (lower cervical, upper thoracic)
   E. Submucosal hemorrhage, larynx
   F. Intrapulmonary hematoma, apex right upper lobe

SECONDARY SERIES:

1. Remote scars as described
2. Pleural adhesions
3. Fatty change liver, moderate
4. Arteriosclerosis, moderate
5. Venous cut-downs
6. Tracheostomy

LABORATORY FINDINGS:

Blood Alcohol - 0.01%

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EXHIBIT 4

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

JAMES EARL RAY

Some Known Expenditures: April 23, 1967 - June 8, 1968

Section	Serial	Item	Amount	Date
71	5246	Rent for one week at 2731 N. Sheffield; Chicago	$13.61	4/30/67
74	5448	1959 Chrysler; Chicago	$200.00	6/5/67
74	5413	1962 Plymouth; East St. Louis	$209.50	7/14/67
74	5437X	Bourgarde Motel; Dorion, Canada	$17.28	7/17/67
19	2192	Rent for Apt. at Harkey, Apts., 2585 Notre Dame Street, Montreal at $75/mo; Montreal	$150.00	7/19/67
60	4692	Suit at English Scotch Woolen Company; Montreal	$75.06	7/21/67
19	2192	Book ordered from Futura Books in Inglewood, Calif.; Montreal	$9.00	7/24/67
17	2068	Correspondence course at Locksmithing Institute in New Jersey; Montreal	$17.50	7/28/67
74	5402	Grey Rocks Inn from 7/30 to 8/5; Canada	$195.15	8/5/67
19	2192	Formula for making glass purchase by money order to E.Z. Formula; Montreal	$1.00	8/9/67
74	5400	Granada Hotel; Birmingham	$4.50	8/26/67
21	2324	Room and board for one week	$22.50	8/26/67
6	628	1966 White Ford Mustang; Birmingham	$1,995.00	8/30/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	$22.50	9/2/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	$22.50	9/9/67
21	2324	Dance lessons; Birmingham	$10.00	9/12/67

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

Section	Serial	Item	Amount	Date
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	$22.50	9/16/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	$22.50	9/23/67
9	1135	Camera equipment, Superior Bulk Film Co.; Birmingham	$337.24	9/28/67
18	2118	Room only; Birmingham	$17.50	9/20/67
55	1422	.38 Caliber, Liberty Chief Revolver	$65.00	10/1/67
75	5496	Hotel San Francisco - 10/10; Acapulco	$6.00	10/11/67
75	5496	Pancho Villa - 10/15; Guadalajara	$3.20	10/16/67
75	5496	Pancho Villa - 10/18; Guadalajara	$3.20	10/19/67
69	5150	Hotel Rio at $4.80/day-10/19-11/6; Puerto Vallarta	$91.20	11/6/67
69	5150	Elisa Arellano to rent apt.; Puerto Vallarta	$48.00	11/ /67
69	5150	Hotel Tropicana at $7.20 day - 11/7-11/13; Puerto Vallarta	$43.20	11/13/67
6	668	Rent at 1535 N. Serrano;	$127.50	11/19/67
6	668	Utilities at 1535 N. Serrano; Los Angeles	$10.00	11/20/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman; Beverly Hills	$25.00	11/27/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman	$25.00	11/30/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman	$25.00	12/4/67
52	4143	Dance lessons at National Dance Studio; Los Angeles	$29.00	12/5/67
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	$25.00	12/6/67
52	4143	Dance lessons	$29.00	12/7/67

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

Section	Serial	Item	Amount	Date
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	$25.00	12/11/67
52	4143	Dance lessons	$29.00	12/12/67
6 22	745 2325	Dance lessons	$100.00	12/14/67
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	$25.00	12/14/67
74	5399	Provincial Motel - 12/17-12/19; New Orleans	$24.00	12/19/67
6 22	745 2325	Dance lessons	$364.00	12/21/67
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute; Los Angeles	$15.00	1/8/68
22	2325	International School of Bartending; Los Angeles	$20.00	1/19/68
22	2325	International School of Bartending; Los Angeles	$105.00	1/20/68
22	2325	Rent at St. Francis Hotel; Los Angeles	$85.00	1/21/68
12	1500	Free Press of Los Angeles	$4.25	1/29/68
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute	$7.50	1/31/68
12	1500	C.M. Hedgpeth, mail forwarding service	$3.00	2/1/68
6	668	Rent at St. Francis Hotel	$85.00	2/21/68
12	1500	Futura Books	$6.44	2/26/68
12	1500	Tiffany Enterprises	$9.98	2/26/68
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute	$7.50	2/26/68
22	2325	Locksmith Ledger	$5.25	2/26/68
12	1428	Locksmithing Institute	$15.00	3/8/68
8	1033	Room/week at 113 14th St.; Atlanta	$10.00	3/24/68

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

n

Serial	Item	Amount	Date
5502	Flamingo Motel 3/22; Selma	$8.00	3/23/68
1428	Locksmithing Institute; Atlanta	$7.50	3/28/68
5725	Travelodge Motel; Birmingham	$8.48	3/29/68
432	Purchase of rifle Birmingham	$248.59	3/29/68
1033	Room in Atlanta	$10.00	3/21/68
630	Rexall Drugstore; Whitehaven, Tenn.	$1.83	4/3/68
327	Rooming house on Main St.; Memphis	$8.50	4/4/68
46	Binoculars; Memphis	$41.55	4/4/68
4454	Rent/week at 962 Dundas St.; Toronto	$9.00	4/16/68
4454	Round trip airplane ticket; Toronto	$345.00	5/2/68

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EXHIBIT 5

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

JAMES EARL RAY

Known Income: April 23, 1967 - June 8, 1968

Section	Serial		
68	5100	Payroll checks from Indian Trail Restaurant Winnetka, Illinois	
		May 7	$ 57.69
		May 14	84.89
		May 21	84.89
		May 28	84.89
		June 4	89.63
		June 11	89.63
		June 18	95.19
		June 25	77.53
			$664.34

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EXHIBIT 6

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

READING BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bishop, Jim. The Days of Martin Luther King, Jr. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1971.

Frank, Gerold. An American Death. Doubleday & Company, New York, 1972.

Hoch, Paul, and Scott, Peter, and Stetter, Russell. The Assassinations, Dallas and Beyond. Random House, 1976.

Huie, William Bradford. He Slew the Dreamer. Delacorte Press, New York, 1968.

McMillan, George. The Making of an Assassin. Little Brown & Co., 1976.

Seigenthaler, John. A Search for Justice. Aurora Publ., Nashville, 1971.

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EXHIBIT 7

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. ROSEN

DATE: May 22, 1961

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.;

Director
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram

(6)

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent integrationist who led bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and "sit-in demonstrations," has been associated with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Congress of Racial Equality. King has not been investigated by the FBI.

Bureau files reveal: King thanked Socialist Workers Party (cited by Attorney General) for support of bus boycott; attended meetings of Progressive Party (cited by Subcommittee of Senate Judiciary Committee); and was honorary chairman of Young Socialist League campaign on behalf of victims of racist terror.

King in 1950's mentioned as potential victim of assassination plot and in 1957 attended Communist Party training school seminar and reportedly gave closing speech. King President of

*

See if we have more details.

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (to further Negro vote registration) and advised "The Civil Rights law...is meaningless unless we go out and make use of it." King thanked Benjamin Davis, Jr., Communist Party official, for giving blood when he was in a hospital following assault. King in 1960 indicated his support for Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as communist front) and in 1961 wrote article in "The Nation" which called for integration of FBI to help speed integration. King attended meetings with integration leaders in Montgomery, Alabama, 5-21-61.

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EXHIBIT 8

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

EXHIBIT 9

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
IS - C

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

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, 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 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

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

All indications are that the March was not the "end of the line" and that the Party will step up its efforts to exploit racial unrest and in every possible way claim credit for itself relating to any "gains" achieved by the Negro. A clear-cut indication of the Party's designs is revealed in its plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting.

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

100-3-116
1 - ~~100-3-76~~ (CPUSA, Negro Question)

REC 44 100-3-116-3 C
31 OCT 16 1963

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

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

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

No. I cant understand how you can so agilely switch your thinking & evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective & infinitesimal. This notwithstanding many memos of specific instances of infiltration. Now you want to load the Field down with more coverage in spite of your recent memo deprecating [illegible] influence in racial movement. I don't intend to waste time & money until you can

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EXHIBIT 10

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

9/18/63

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

While the attached memorandum bears the initials of Mr. Baumgardner, it was prepared from a rough-draft furnished to him by Mr. Sullivan.

It should be understood that Sullivan, Baumgardner, Sizoo and Belmont read the memorandum and agreed with it prior to its submission.

REC-5 [illegible]-2534

Enclosure

22 DEC 5 1963

Clyde Tolson

CT:LCB

I have certainly been misled by previous memos which clearly [illegible] showed communist penetration of the racial movement. The attached is contradictory of all that [illegible] [illegible]

2 ENCLOSURE

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EXHIBIT 11

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

To: Mr. A. H. Belmont Date: September 25, 1963

From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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

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

Predication:

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

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

Common Agreement:

First, I am sure we all are in agreement on the following which was in both the cover memorandum and the detailed brief attached: (1) for the past 44 years the Communist Party, USA, has spent enormous sums of money and ceaseless efforts to influence Negroes and to make communists out of them; (2) the 19 million Negroes in the country today constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA; (3) Negro leader Martin Luther King, _____ does have as an extremely important advisor _____ (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

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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.

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 King [illegible]

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.

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.

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
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NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Interpretation:

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

Martin Luther King:

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

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.

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

SAC Letter to the Field

I would like to set forth here briefly why I think that the enclosed SAC Letter, which was returned to us by the Director, should be sent to the field offices. My first reason is this: We need to renew our efforts and keep the pressure on and leave no stone untufned to develop every and all facts which exist in this matter. Some of these facts may not yet have been unearthed by our field offices, and will not be unless we follow up this matter evermore closely with them. My second reason why I think the SAC Letter should be sent is related to the present changing situation inthe Communist Party - Negro relations area. During the past two weeks in particular there have been sharp stepped-up activities on the part of communist officials to infiltrate and to dominate Negro developments in this country. Further, they are meeting with successes. This should be no surprise to us because since the Negro march on Washington on August 28 communist officials have been doing all possible to exploit the very troubled racial situation. As they said weeks ago, the end of the Negro march would be the beginning of evermore systematic activities on their part to penetrate and influence Negroes and Negro leaders. They are now in full force acting upon this intention of theirs expressed weeks ago. The field should be alerted to this fact and given instructions to investigate exhaustively new communist - Negro activities. The SAC Letter in question will be a great help toward this end, and it should result in our developing important facts relating to the current changes and pertinent activities going on during the past few weeks in this entire field.

Subject of Deep Concern

May I repeat that our failure to measure up to what the Director expected of us in the area of communist - Negro relations is a subject of very deep concern to us in the Domestic Intelligence Division. We are disturbed by this and ought to be. I want him

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to know that we will do everything that is humanly possible to develop all facts nationwide relative to the communist penetration and influence over Negro leaders and their organizations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the Director reconsider giving approval for sending the enclosed SAC Letter to the field.

V. O.K. b

(2) In order that other agencies and prominent government officials will be aware of the determined efforts of the Communist Party to exploit the racial situation, if the Director approves we will prepare a concise document setting forth clearly those attempts to penetrate, influence, and control the Negro movement. By setting these facts forth, succinctly and clearly, the reader cannot help but be impressed with the seriousness of the communist activities.

O.K. b

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EXHIBIT 12
(Classified)

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EXHIBIT 13

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

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

10/17/63

FILE

MR. TOLSON:

The attached analysis of Communism and the Negro Movement is highly explosive. It can be regarded as a personal attack on Martin Luther King. There is no doubt it will have a heavy impact on the Attorney General and anyone else to whom we disseminate it. It is labeled TOP SECRET. However, even such a high classification seems to be no bar today to a leak, and should this leak out it will add fuel to a matter which may already be in the cards as a political issue during the forthcoming Presidential campaign.

The memorandum makes good reading and is based on information from reliable sources. We may well be charged, however, with expressing opinions and conclusions, particularly with reference to some of the statements about King.

We must do our duty.

This memorandum may startle the Attorney General, particularly in view of his past association with King, and the fact that we are disseminating this outside the Department. He may resent this. Nevertheless, the memorandum is a powerful warning against Communist influence in the Negro movement, and we will be carrying out our responsibility by disseminating it to the people indicated in the attached memorandum.

I am glad that you [illegible] at last [illegible] such influence.

A. H. Belmont

AHB:CSH

100-5-110-45

6 OCT 23 1963

-176-

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