

**SECRET**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would be interested in the following information which has been furnished by confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past.

On December 16, 1964, Bayard Rustin suggested to Harry Wachtel that Martin Luther King, Jr., should ask President Johnson to drop him off in Atlanta, Georgia, when the President is en route to Texas after King visits with the President on Friday. Rustin and Wachtel are frequent advisors of King. Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Wachtel is Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was a member of the Communist Party, USA, in 1944.

Also on December 16, 1964, Rustin related the following to two acquaintances. According to Rustin, when he was in Oslo, Norway, with Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the latter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Rustin was called down by the police one morning at 4:30 a.m. because the police had caught a prostitute

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01


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Honorable Bill D. Moyers

coming out of the room of A. D. King, Martin's brother. A. D. King attempted to evade the police by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money. The prostitute claimed, however, that she was paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching the reputation of Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also said that members of King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.

This information is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General and other officials of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would be interested in the following information which has been furnished by confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past.

Recently Harry Wachtel conferred with Martin Luther King, Jr., and told King that he, Wachtel, had heard from Jack Greenberg, an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York City. According to Wachtel, Greenberg had been contacted by Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach concerning the "clearing" of an individual for a United States Circuit Court Judgeship in the State of Mississippi. Wachtel said that he told Greenberg that he, Wachtel, would clear the names with King. During this conference King admitted to Wachtel that he would not know the suggested judges by name and indicated that he, King, would back whoever Greenberg thought would be all right.

Wachtel is a frequent advisor to King and is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was a member of the Communist Party, USA, in 1944.

This information is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written over the typed name "J. Edgar Hoover".

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 9, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

The President may be interested in the following information which was supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On November 30, 1964, Cordy T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., was in contact with one Ben Smiley. Smiley requested assistance from King and stated that he, Smiley, and a group plan to go before the President on the Viet Nam situation. According to Smiley, the group planned to ask the President for a cease-fire, withdrawal of United States troops, massive release of prisoners and the neutral seating of (North) Viet Nam in the United Nations. Smiley told Vivian that the group included H. Shower (phonetic), Walter Mueller, John Granite (phonetic) and Douglas Deer. Smiley indicated that this group could obtain the President's assistance if King requested it because the President would not turn down a Nobel Prize winner. Vivian indicated that he would discuss the matter with King.

This Bureau's source for the above information had no further information which would identify the individuals or the group involved.

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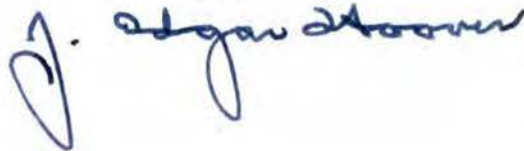
Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Vivian is a former member of the Communist Party, USA.

You will be promptly furnished any additional pertinent information obtained in this matter.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

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

King, who is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964, is currently working on the preparation of a five-minute acceptance speech. He has requested several individuals to furnish him material from which he intends to choose the best things to say. Included among these contributors are Clarence Jones, Stanley David Levison, Harry Wachtel and Bayard Rustin. All four of these individuals are frequent advisors to King.

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

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

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By SJ NARA, Date 8-29-01

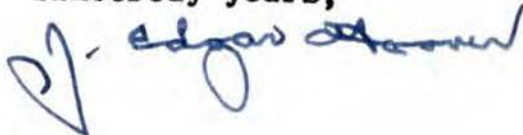
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Honorable Bill D. Moyers

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

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "J" and "H".

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



*Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.*

November 30, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501

My dear Mr. President:

On the afternoon of November 27, 1964, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at his request, made a hurried trip from New York to speak with Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach about a matter which he indicated concerned him greatly. The following is a resume of the information furnished by Wilkins.

Wilkins stated he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether or not Reverend Martin Luther King was a sexual degenerate. Wilkins said that personally he would not mind seeing King ruined, but he felt that while King was no good, the ruination of King would spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement. Wilkins stated that he personally knew King was a liar and had little respect for him. As an example, while having Thanksgiving dinner with friends, Wilkins' wife, when asked about the terrible things I had said about Reverend King being a liar, replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar."

Wilkins indicated that while the sexual degenerate and communist allegations against King are true, many of his Negro associates would rise to his defense. He felt, however, that many white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement would immediately cease their financial support. This loss, coupled with the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans, would halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

The President

According to Wilkins, he and a number of Negro leaders had, several months ago, attempted to have King accept the presidency of a small college. King refused because he was accustomed to the "hypocrisy of adulation" and to the money that is pouring in to him. King receives from \$500 to \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit and receives considerable support from both white people and Negroes. Wilkins felt the best thing Negro leaders now could accomplish would be to have King accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and retire forever as a leader of the Negroes. Wilkins indicated that he had some influence on King but not much, however, there are others within his movement who have greater influence and perhaps together they could bring some pressure to bear upon King.

Wilkins stated he was aware of King's sympathy toward the communist movement and felt this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. He stated that "Down with the Proletariat" was becoming the battlecry of militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama and the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He felt Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe the FBI could do nothing right and as a result solutions by the FBI of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins admitted that he had criticized me unjustly. He said he has a difficult time controlling his Board of Directors, consisting of 32 members, since King is a member of this Board. He stated "we're hurting" and that something must be done.

Wilkins stated he will be lecturing in California most of this week and that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and endeavor to persuade King to retire from public life.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.



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

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 25, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that a group of fifteen to twenty students who are attending the New York School for Marxist Studies have signed a petition denouncing my recent remarks concerning Martin Luther King. This petition will be sent to President Johnson.

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised in September, 1960, that the People's School for Marxist Studies was founded at a meeting of the Communist Party, USA, New York District, staff, held September 16, 1960. Classes were scheduled to begin on October 17, 1960. "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, on October 16, 1960, announced the opening of the New York School for Marxist Studies on October 17, 1960, at 853 Broadway, New York, New York.

This data is being furnished for the information of the President.

Sincerely yours,

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-24-01

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1964

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Mr. President:

Bill Moyers says he
checked with the State Department
and as far as he knows, they are
not paying any of the expenses.

Mildred

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

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 23, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought the following information would be of interest to the President.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that a Mr. Askey (phonetic) of the United States Information Agency contacted the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia, on November 19, 1964, and stated that all expenses incurred by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group traveling to Oslo, Norway, to accept the Nobel Peace Prize would be paid by the United States Department of State. Conditions attached to this payment, according to Mr. Askey, are that King visit Cairo, Egypt, and Kenya. The Department of State also desires that King cooperate in producing an article for an unknown magazine to be distributed in Africa entitled "A Day With King."

This information is also being furnished to other interested governmental agencies.

Sincerely yours,

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By Sj NARA, Date 8-21-01~~SECRET~~

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 23, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

My letter to you dated November 12, 1964, forwarded a memorandum of same date containing information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., for activities in connection with his return to the United States after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following additional information in this matter which I thought might be of interest to the President.

On November 14, 1964, Harry Wachtel told King that President Lyndon B. Johnson is presently rejecting a number of engagements, but is not rejecting "their's." Wachtel outlined some plans he is working on to honor King and said that one of them would be a dinner for King to be given by President Johnson. King agreed to the plans mentioned. In connection with the foregoing mention of the President's engagements, it will be recalled that King's associates had been endeavoring to have President Johnson greet King in New York City when King returns from Norway.

On November 17, 1964, Bayard Rustin was in contact with Frank Montero of the United States Mission to the United Nations (UN). They discussed a reception which is to be given by UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in honor of King on December 4, 1964. Montero stated that it had been decided that among the dignitaries to be present at this reception will be Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Harry Wachtel is a frequent advisor to King and the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

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

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 12, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

Enclosed is a memorandum dated November 12, 1964, which contains information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. These plans include a possible meeting between King and Prime Minister Harold Wilson of England to take place in London, England, December 6 or 7, 1964, and plans for honoring King in New York City upon his return from Norway.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the "Sincerely yours," text.

Enclosure

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 12, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway.

On November 3, 1964, Bayard Rustin contacted the secretary of Dr. Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs, United Nations (UN). Rustin stated that he was speaking on behalf of Martin Luther King, Jr., and requested to see Bunche regarding the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize by King.

Subsequently on November 3, 1964, Rustin conferred with Bunche and told him that upon King's return to New York City, after receiving the Nobel Prize, there is to be a welcoming affair at either a large dinner at a hotel or an activity at Carnegie Hall. Rustin told Bunche that King wanted to know whether Bunche would be prepared to be chairman of the welcoming committee which will include civil rights leaders and "a number of key liberals." Bunche said that he would be glad to be chairman, but that he would have to be informed as to the others who will be on the committee since there are some people with whom he will not work. Bunche told Rustin that he had sent a letter to King advising King that the Secretary General of the UN was hoping that King would visit the UN upon his return. Rustin told Bunche that he would personally meet with Bunche later and go over the details relative to King visiting the UN. Rustin also told Bunche that an invitation had been extended by the President of Brazil to have King visit Brazil on his way back to the United States. Rustin stated that he felt that this was not wise due to certain aspects of the regime in power in Brazil and inquired as to what Bunche's thoughts were on this matter. Bunche agreed that it was not a very good idea for King to visit Brazil at this time.

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RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On November 3, 1964, Rustin was in contact with Harry Wachtel concerning King's return to the United States from Norway. Rustin stated that King is considering making a speech at Carnegie Hall and selling tickets for the affair, the minimum price to be \$100. Wachtel said that King has inquired about the possibility that President Lyndon B. Johnson might attend such an affair, but that the President would not give an answer until after the election. According to Wachtel, Lee White, a White House aide, has stated relative to the President's attendance "the answer is not no." White has indicated that if the President could not attend, the President would send the Vice President in his place. Rustin indicated that a cocktail party would be held before the Carnegie Hall address by King.

Rustin and Wachtel then discussed who might assist in the arrangements. Wachtel stated that Saul Mills had handled the arrangements for a concert for "us" and had made \$45,000 for "us." According to Wachtel, Mills is interested in the King affair and has submitted a memorandum of ideas on the subject. Rustin and Wachtel agreed to meet with Mills to discuss the matter. Wachtel stated that he would send Rustin a copy of the memorandum by Mills and in reference thereto Wachtel said that he thought the plans in the memorandum were too ambitious for they included an address by King before Congress and a ticker tape parade.

Wachtel told Rustin that he is handling the details concerning King's trip to Norway and has spoken to the Norwegian Ambassador.

Rustin then informed Wachtel that King desires to have Dr. Bunche and some white person to act as cochairmen of the affair welcoming King back to the United States, but that Bunche will not accept until he knows who the white person will be. Rustin indicated that he had considered having Senators Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits as cochairmen so that there would be a nonpartisan element present. Rustin stated that after due consideration he thought it would probably be best to just have Bunche as chairman and have a subcommittee assisting him. Wachtel agreed with this idea. Rustin also informed Wachtel that King had been invited by the President of Brazil to visit that country, but that King

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RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

should tell the Brazilian President that while he would like to visit that country, he will be unable to do so on his return trip from Norway and would be unable to visit Brazil until after the beginning of the new year.

On November 7, 1964, Wachtel contacted Rustin concerning the plans for welcoming King back to the United States and Wachtel stated that he had spoken to the White House and "the Kennedy front" regarding this matter. Wachtel said that he has Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee "lined up." It is Wachtel's belief that President Johnson will come to New York City. Wachtel stated that he is waiting to hear from Senator Robert Kennedy in this matter as well.

Wachtel instructed Rustin to speak with Dr. Bunche and tell him that if the UN gave a luncheon for King, it would be better if held after King's return to the United States, but that the final decision is being left to the UN people. Wachtel suggested that if the UN affair was held before King's departure for Norway, December 4, 1964, would be a good date because it is just after the opening of the General Assembly at the UN and there will be many prominent people there. Wachtel noted the possibility of Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, being at the UN. Wachtel asked "Can you imagine Brezhnev embracing Martin like Khrushchev did Castro?" Rustin replied in the affirmative.

Wachtel stated that no plans will be made for a ticker tape parade for King until an answer is received from President Johnson. According to Wachtel, Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee should be given something to do "even if it is just selling tickets." Rustin mentioned the possible use of an armory and stated it would be necessary to contact Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York who is vacationing in Spain. Wachtel indicated that this could be done later by telephone since there will be additional ideas for the Governor's participation. Summarizing, Wachtel mentioned that Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City could have the ticker tape parade; U Thant, Secretary General, UN, could have the dinner for King; and Governor Rockefeller could have the reception for King.

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RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On November 7, 1964, Rustin was in contact with King and mentioned that he is beginning the draft of the major speech which King is to deliver and that King can complete it. On November 7, 1964, Rustin also contacted Peggy Duff, a resident of London, England, who is Executive Director of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Rustin told her that King will be in London on December 6 and 7, 1964, and that Rustin wanted to know if Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of England, would be prepared to receive King. Duff indicated that she would check into this. Rustin said that it should not appear as though this was King's idea and that it was preferred that Wilson announce that he is inviting King to visit him. Rustin inquired of Duff as to whether there is a group of "peace-minded people" in London who would work to raise money for "our work in Mississippi." Duff replied in the affirmative and Rustin explained that the reason for raising funds is that "we" are some \$2,000,000 "in the hole on the Mississippi business" and that there are about 17 churches which have to be rebuilt. Rustin suggested that arrangements might be made to have the London Embassy of some African nation have a reception for King while he is there.

On November 9, 1964, Rustin told an associate that he was departing for London on November 11, 1964, for the purpose of clarifying a confusion which has developed surrounding King's trip to Europe in December, 1964. The confusion arises from the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury desires to receive King, but has been opposed by certain elements since King is a Baptist. Rustin also indicated that while in London he is going to determine whether or not King will be able to meet with Prime Minister Wilson.

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

Harry Wachtel, also a frequent advisor to King, is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised

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RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

Saul Mills was a member of the Communist Party, USA during the period 1938 to 1947.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 6, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information concerning a contact between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Clarence Jones on November 4, 1964.

Jones said that now that the election is over they should think about what form "of struggle they should use," adding that he had been discussing it with "our friend." Jones said that he had heard rumors from responsible Democratic people in New York that King may be offered an official role in the Administration. Jones told King that King should think about this and that King must translate his moral influence into political power. King replied that he would think about the matter, taking into consideration "the movement and my personal goal." Jones also told King that King should think about what role "our friend" can play in this period, commenting that "our friend" had been helpful and has abided by the "decisions." Jones expressed the belief that "our friend" should be given some role inasmuch as "we're not in the same situation as we were with the Kennedy Administration." Jones also referred to the fact that the Civil Rights Bill is now the law. King replied "Good, after the election it would be a new situation."

Jones is a frequent advisor to King and in the mid-1950's held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. According to confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information

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NLJ 01-235

By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01

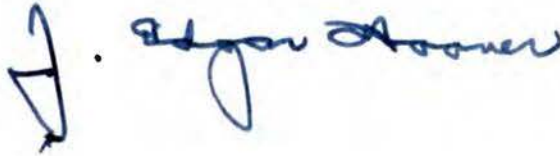
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Honorable Bill D. Moyers

in the past King and Jones frequently refer to Stanley David Levison by the term "our friend" and Jones frequently serves as an intermediary between King and Levison. As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized, with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 6, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information concerning a contact between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin on November 3, 1964.

Rustin told King that he wanted to discuss with King, at a meeting they were to have together in New York City later in the week, how to "cash in" on the election results. One of the items Rustin wants considered is how to put pressure on President Lyndon B. Johnson to get him to invite King to the White House "for being so much help in the election." Rustin expressed the belief that if King was invited to the White House and "Wilkins" was not invited, it would "leave Wilkins out in the cold." King agreed with Rustin's view.

It is the belief of this Bureau's source for the foregoing information that the "Wilkins" referred to is Roy Wilkins who is head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Rustin is a frequent advisor to King and is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Sincerely yours,

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 01-235
By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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52



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

Confidential informants of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past recently supplied the following information.

Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and some of his representatives have been negotiating with "The Saturday Evening Post" concerning the publication of an article in that magazine which will carry King as the author. Such an article was written by Clarence Jones and submitted to the "Post" for publication in King's name. The article reportedly will deal with such matters as the Poverty Bill, elections, riots and the so-called "backlash."

Jones is General Counsel of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. Jones is a frequent advisor to King and in the mid-1950's held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Recently, a number of King's associates, including attorneys representing him, have been negotiating with the "Post" in an effort to have a portion of the article which had been submitted for publication changed. The "Post," however, has indicated a reluctance to make the requested change. It is reported that the article contains some criticism of other civil rights groups and leaders and that inasmuch as King recently received the Nobel Peace Prize, the article should not be critical, but instead should try to unite all civil rights movements. It has also been indicated that King does not want to go too far in the article in condemning civil disobedience because if Senator Barry Goldwater is elected President, King may call for sit-ins and other forms of protest. There is concern in the King camp that the article, if published as originally submitted, would cause certain difficulties in the civil rights movement.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 01-235

By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

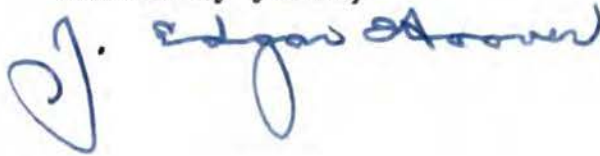
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Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Although it was originally expected that the King article would be published before the November 3, 1964, election, this was not accomplished. The October 31, 1964, issue of the "Post" contains an announcement of articles "Coming Soon in the 'Post.'" Listed is "The Negro Movement Cannot be Stopped" by Nobel Peace Prize winner Martin Luther King, Jr.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized, with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 01-235
By SJ NARA, Date 8-24-01

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34

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

Bm

October 28, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information concerning a contact on October 26, 1964, between Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Conference's Treasurer, Ralph Abernathy.

Abernathy advised King that he had been in touch with a Reverend Herbert Eatonton (phonetic) and that Eatonton had told Abernathy that Fred Shuttlesworth, Andrew Young, C. T. Vivian and James Bevel were planning a mass march on the State Capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, November 2, 1964. Abernathy told King that the march participants were preparing "to go to jail" if necessary. King indicated his displeasure over such a planned demonstration and told Abernathy that he wanted such demonstration stopped if at all possible.

Shuttlesworth, Young, Vivian and Bevel are officials of the SCLC. This Bureau's source had no further information which would serve to identify Reverend Eatonton (phonetic).

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

Sincerely yours,

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 01-235
By Sj NARA, Date 8-29-01

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 27, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has supplied reliable information in the past furnished the following information concerning a contact on October 23, 1964, between Martin Wigington and Randolph Blackwell. Wigington was described as a member of the Democratic Party Correlation Committee, Austin, Texas. Blackwell is an assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia.

Wigington indicated to Blackwell a desire for King to write "an anti-Goldwater letter" which Wigington's Committee intends to distribute in Texas among labor groups. Blackwell stated that King may go to Texas prior to the forthcoming presidential election and Blackwell inquired as to whether King would be "in any danger." Wigington stated that he would contact one Larry Goodman concerning any possible danger to King in Texas. This Bureau's source had no information concerning the identity of Goodman.

During this contact Wigington complained to Blackwell that a group from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King, and a group from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America had picketed in Fort Worth, Texas. Wigington stated that this was not a good thing at this time since all Negro and labor organizations should be working for the election of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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

Sincerely yours,

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 01-235
By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Sent to me for
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 26, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

My memorandum dated October 19, 1964, captioned "Current Racial Developments" furnished information to you that Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, believed that a tour of the country by civil rights leaders would be very worth while and King reportedly stated such a trip would be to encourage voting and not to endorse President Lyndon B. Johnson.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on October 22, 1964, that Bayard Rustin, a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450, stated he was leaving New York City on that date en route to Los Angeles, California, where he would raise funds for the A. Philip Randolph Institute. Rustin plans to remain in Los Angeles a short time and to subsequently join Martin Luther King, Jr., in his tour around the country encouraging people to vote on November 3, 1964.

A second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on October 22, 1964, that one Andy Young in Cleveland, Ohio, advised Edwina Smith, an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that the Democratic Party Committee in Washington, D. C., had raised \$10,000 which was being forwarded to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to pay for the expenses of the "get out the vote tour." Smith was requested to determine the travel expenses involved for a group of nine individuals to travel from Atlanta, Georgia, to Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio;

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable William D. Moyers

Los Angeles, California; Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Baltimore, Maryland; and return to Atlanta.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

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57



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 22, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past have furnished the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

On October 15, 1964, Harry Wachtel advised Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King, that President Lyndon B. Johnson's election is no longer assured due to the recent publicity regarding the arrest of a White House aide on a morals charge and the "resignation" of Nikita Khrushchev. Wachtel stated that it therefore becomes necessary for King to put pressure on Negroes and Negro leaders "to get out the vote" as the Negro vote could be the decisive factor in the election this year. Wachtel also told Young that he understood that the White House was preparing a telegram to send to King to congratulate him for winning the Nobel Peace Prize. Young told Wachtel that the President should call King instead of sending a telegram and that since President Johnson had not acknowledged King's receipt of the Prize as yet, he "hasn't any guts." Young further commented that former President John F. Kennedy had a better insight on civil rights than President Johnson. Wachtel agreed with this observation.

Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County

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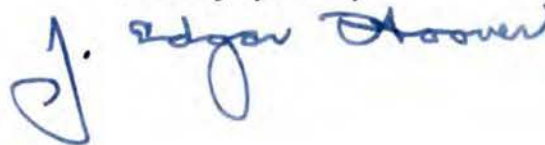
Honorable William D. Moyers

Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

On October 17, 1964, Coretta King, wife of Martin Luther King, Jr., told him that he had received a telegram from President Johnson congratulating him on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. According to this Bureau's source for this information, Coretta laughed when she informed her husband concerning this matter and stated that President Johnson probably had to be advised by someone to send the telegram.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized, with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 21, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

Enclosed is a memorandum dated October 21, 1964, entitled "Martin Luther King, Jr.," which contains pertinent information concerning the relationship between King and Stanley David Levison, the long-time communist who has been a frequent advisor to King.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the typed name.

Enclosure

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By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 21, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past have furnished the following information concerning the relationship between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stanley David Levison. Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, as of July, 1963, and has been a frequent advisor to King.

According to one of this Bureau's sources, Levison recently met with and advised Lemuel Harris, who holds a high and responsible position in the Party relative to the Party's funds operations, as follows:

Levison told Harris that when an article by columnist Joseph Alsop appeared in the press on April 15, 1964, exposing Levison's relationship with King, King told Levison that Levison was no longer of any value to him. King said that if Levison was to remain with him, his association would have to be open and aboveboard. King said that he wanted Levison to be an ardent and honest follower and stipulated that for Levison to remain as an advisor it would be necessary for Levison to make a public repudiation of communism. Levison refused to do this, thus resulting in his dismissal by King.

Levison has stated that he has kept away from the Party in order to improve his position of influence and strength in the Negro movement. Levison has voiced criticism of the Party, which criticism stems from what he believes to be the Party's failure to aid in the Negro movement. Harris has expressed the opinion that Levison is not anti-Party and it is Harris's feeling that Levison should be given an opportunity to try to regain his position of strength in the Negro field.

It is the view of this Bureau's source concerning the Levison-Harris meeting that if Levison had really desired to completely disassociate himself from the Party, Levison

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Martin Luther King, Jr.

would not have met with Harris and that Levison is "hanging on" because he has no influence as an individual but must have an organization behind him to give him strength.

The following information reveals evidences of the King-Levison relationship subsequent to April 15, 1964, notwithstanding Levison's claim to having been discontinued as an advisor to King.

On April 23, 1964, King conferred with Clarence Jones, who told King that he had instructed Adele Kanter how to conduct herself in her relationship with Stanley Levison and not to see Levison except in a case of extreme emergency. Jones also instructed Kanter that she was to clear with him, Jones, first if she felt it necessary to talk to Levison. Kanter is an employee of the New York City office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which organization is headed by King.

Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. Jones was in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL) during the mid-1950's. The LYL has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Jones is a frequent advisor to King and has often served as an intermediary between King and Levison.

On April 24, 1964, Levison conferred with Jones concerning Adele Kanter, at which time Levison told Jones that Kanter had told him of Jones's instructions to her relative to her relationship with Levison. On this occasion, Levison and Jones discussed a means whereby Kanter could secure assistance in her SCLC work from an individual who would take the place of Levison as an advisor to Kanter.

On May 19, 1964, Levison and Jones conferred concerning financial matters relating to the SCLC.

On May 22, 1964, Jones conferred with Kanter concerning the success of a program which the SCLC initiated to increase its income by a mailing of literature. Jones indicated that he was happy to hear of the program's success and that he would mention the matter to King, whom he was to see that same day, as well as the next day. In response to a

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Martin Luther King, Jr.

question raised by Kanter, Jones said that he had received a copy of a letter and Kanter stated that Levison told her to tell Jones that he, Levison, felt that Jones should give his support to the letter when its contents are discussed with King. Jones indicated that he would comply with Levison's desire in this matter. Jones and Kanter further discussed SCLC matters, during which time Kanter stated that Levison feels that "we can use people (SCLC employees) in other cities like Detroit." Kanter noted that Levison believes Jones should give this some consideration.

On June 25, 1964, Levison conferred with Jones and related that he had recently met with Kanter and had worked with her on a new statement to be issued in an effort to collect money for SCLC activities in St. Augustine, Florida; Alabama; and Mississippi. Jones suggested that Levison and Kanter contact King and secure his permission prior to issuing the statement.

On June 27, 1964, Levison conferred with Jones concerning three civil rights workers who were then missing in the State of Mississippi. Levison offered to Jones a suggestion which Levison stated was the thinking of "our friends" as to how the disappearance of the three individuals could be solved. This Bureau's source advised that no further elaboration was given by Levison as to who was meant by "our friends."

On August 5, 1964, King conferred with Jones, at which time Jones said that he was in the process of formulating some ideas relative to the civil rights movement and, in particular, its relation to Senator Barry Goldwater. Jones said that he had met with "our friend" on that same day at his, Jones's, home. King and Jones discussed the writing of an article for publication relating to this matter. It is to be noted that, according to sources of this Bureau, on many occasions in the past it has been determined that when King and Jones have referred to "our friend," they were referring to Stanley Levison.

On September 29, 1964, Clarence Jones and Adele Kanter discussed separate meetings they intended having later that date with an individual they referred to as "our friend." Jones's meeting was to relate to the SCLC and it appeared to this Bureau's source that Kanter's meeting likewise related to the SCLC. Observations by Agents of this

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Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bureau revealed that at 12:55 p.m., September 29, 1964, Levison entered the building where his office is located at 1841 Broadway, New York City. At 1:57 p.m. on the same date Jones was seen to enter the same building and take an elevator to the eleventh floor, where Levison occupies Room 1106.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 20, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that during a recent contact between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Dorothy Cotton the following views were expressed relative to possible future demonstrations in connection with the civil rights movement. Cotton is Director of the Citizenship School of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which organization is headed by King.

King stated he is opposed to any further demonstrations at this time because they would help presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. According to King, good demonstrations must include massive marches, the jailing of people and good press coverage.

King told Cotton that "The New York Times" had conducted a survey which revealed that white people are "mixed up" and confused, thus causing the "white backlash." He said that white people at this time tend to confuse demonstrations with riots and that inasmuch as he is a "statesman," he must look at the over-all picture and must act in accordance with what is good for the civil rights movement.

King told Cotton that "they" must concentrate on getting President Lyndon B. Johnson elected, "then they can riot all they want." King agreed with Cotton that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference should develop a long-range plan in Alabama but that he is opposed to demonstrations prior to the presidential election in November. King said that an unwillingness to demonstrate

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NLJ 01-235

By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

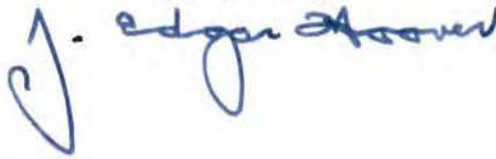
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Honorable William D. Moyers

would kill a civil rights organization but that, on the other hand, demonstrations could be overdone or be poorly timed. King stated that the attitude of Negroes at this time could lead to violence by them and that at this particular time violence would be harmful to their cause.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized, with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 20, 1964
BY COURIER SERVICE

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and his wife had discussed the absence of congratulations from "high Government officials" on the occasion of King's winning the Nobel Peace Prize. King felt that President Lyndon B. Johnson was attempting to avoid -- raising a political issue since King was such a "controversial figure," as far as the race issue was concerned, in the South. Mrs. King suggested that since the Negro people were now aware of their political power, they may not let the President "get away with this." King stated that he might "leak this" to the Negro press.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the "Sincerely yours," text.

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By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

For your information, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, recently advised that one Paul Greenberg of New York City (not further identified) had contacted the secretary of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and extended an invitation for King to appear before a mass rally at Madison Square Garden on October 15, 1964. According to Greenberg, King was invited to appear at this rally with President Johnson, former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Our source advised that no definite commitment has been made for King to appear at this rally. Detailed information regarding King has been furnished to you previously.

Sincerely yours,

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NLJ 01-235
By SJ NARA, Date 8-24-01

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and return*UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION*fw
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WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 19, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished the following information on August 18, 1964, concerning a meeting scheduled to be held August 19, 1964, between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Martin Luther King, Jr.

On August 18, 1964, Bayard Rustin contacted Joseph L. Rauh, a Washington, D. C., attorney who is associated with the newly formed Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Rustin told Rauh that he, Rustin, had arranged for himself and Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet the President but that instead the President is meeting King and other civil rights leaders on August 19, 1964. Rauh told Rustin that the President plans to take the initiative at the meeting and not permit the question of the seating of the two Mississippi delegations to be introduced. Rustin thereafter contacted Cleveland Robinson, an official of District Number 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. Rustin told Robinson that he, Rustin, feels that King should not attend the meeting unless he is prepared to "stand up to the President" and warn the President of the dire effects of a refusal to seat the Negro delegation.

King subsequently contacted Rustin, at which time Rustin suggested that King not attend the meeting and give as an excuse that he had been invited on too short a notice.

It is the belief of this Bureau's source that the two Mississippi delegations are the regular Democratic Party delegation from Mississippi and the delegation

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By *SJ*, NARA, Date *8-29-01*

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

representing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Both groups intend to represent the State of Mississippi at the forthcoming Democratic Party National Convention.

This Bureau's source also furnished the following information on August 19, 1964, concerning a contact between Rustin and Rauh on the same date. Rauh inquired about the scheduled meeting between the President and King and was told by Rustin that King would not be at the meeting. According to Rustin, King feels that it would be much stronger if he put his, King's, feelings into a long telegram, which had already been sent to the President. Rauh agreed with this course of action and confirmed that the telegram had been sent the previous night. Rauh complimented Rustin for the manner in which he handled this matter. Rauh also inquired of Rustin about "leaking it" in reference to the telegram. Rustin stated that King is coming to Washington, D. C., August 19, 1964, and is prepared to read the telegram if he is asked about his scheduled meeting with the President or what he had said to the President. It is the belief of this Bureau's source that the reference to reading the telegram is to an intention on the part of King to release it to news media.

Bayard Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He is a frequent advisor to King.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "J" and a cursive "Hoover".

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 18, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

My recent letters forwarded memoranda containing information regarding subversive influences in the New York City racial demonstrations, as well as the activities of subversive groups and individuals growing out of the demonstrations. The following is additional information in this matter. Also set out is information concerning a possible contact of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin with President Lyndon B. Johnson.

A source of this Bureau has advised that on August 16, 1964, a meeting was held at the Abyssinian Church, New York City, with approximately 1,800 to 2,000 people in attendance. The meeting was called by Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic Congressman from New York, and was under the sponsorship of the United Council of Harlem Organizations. The purpose of the meeting, which was chaired by Cora T. Walker, Republican candidate for the New York State Senate, was to plan a rally to be held at 3 p.m., August 22, 1964, at 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. It is anticipated that attendance at this rally will be from 50,000 to 100,000.

The purpose of the forthcoming rally is "to seek fulfillment of the following aims: suspension of New York City Police Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan; set up an independent civilian complaint board; more black policemen; end police brutality; and dismissal of all charges against all persons connected with demonstrations resulting from the James Powell shooting." According to this Bureau's source, certain "African

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 01-235

By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

nationalist" speakers (identities unknown to the source) at the August 16, 1964, meeting assured Congressman Powell that another catastrophe would occur if anybody attempted to bother Powell by serving a subpoena on him. This Bureau's source had no further specific information pertaining to the "catastrophe."

Another source of this Bureau has advised that the Community Council on Housing is planning a "rally" to be held September 12, 1964, at 117th Street and 5th Avenue, New York City, to protest housing conditions in Harlem. The Community Council on Housing is headed by Jesse Gray, who was an Organizer for the Communist Party, USA, from 1950 to 1958 and who has continued to maintain associations with Party leaders. Gray was one of the more militant leaders of the recent New York City disorders and demonstrations.

Still another source of this Bureau has advised that Bayard Rustin recently indicated that he and Martin Luther King, Jr., were planning to be in Washington, D. C., on August 19, 1964, "to try to convince the President to seat both delegations." It is the belief of this Bureau's source that this reference pertained to the seating of the regular Democratic Party delegation from Mississippi and the delegation of the newly formed Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the forthcoming Democratic Party National Convention. Rustin is a frequent advisor to King. He is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "J" and a cursive "Hoover".

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Lee White
Juw.
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64

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 14, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

My letter dated August 8, 1964, furnished information pertaining to the desire of Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet with the President regarding the possibility of further conflict in the civil rights field.

Enclosed is a memorandum dated August 14, 1964, which contains additional information regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 01-235
By *sj*, NARA, Date *8-29-01*



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

64-2

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 14, 1964

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., conferred with Bayard Rustin on August 13, 1964. Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington and is a frequent advisor to King. According to the source, the following transpired:

King informed Rustin that he had talked to Lee White of the White House staff on August 12, 1964, and had determined that the President would be busy on August 13 and August 14, 1964. King determined that the President was wondering if the matter could be discussed on the telephone. King commented that he had thought about the matter and now believes it is important enough for him to see the President personally and that he should not discuss the matter over the telephone. King advised Rustin that he had received the impression that the President is not only trying to avoid the issue, but is also trying to avoid meeting with King personally for fear that information would get back to the South that the President is meeting with King. King commented that he believed the President did not want a personal meeting in Washington, D. C., where the press would inform the Nation of such a meeting and for this reason it had first been proposed that a meeting occur in New York City and that consideration was also given to this matter being handled telephonically. King stated that he was a little sensitive about it.

Rustin agreed with King's comments and indicated King could not get any satisfaction telephonically and that the young people must know that King is standing up for them. Rustin indicated that "we must put up a fight." King stated he had rejected a suggestion that a presidential advisor confer with him in New York City and that it is a matter which he

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Communist Party, USA
Negro Question
Communist Influence in Racial Matters

desires to discuss with the President personally. King commented that he should have informed White that he felt it was being taken too lightly and that he believed the President was attempting to avoid the issue and to avoid seeing King. It was King's belief that political questions involved have frightened some people. King instructed Rustin to contact Lee White and advise him of King's feelings. King stated the President should know that he feels this is "downright avoiding me and the issue." King commented that in view of the importance of the matter, this is unfortunate and the President should deal with it himself. King stated he believed the President should know that he did not like it and "if we do not put up a fight they will just run over us in the next two months." King stated that the President needs the Negro vote and that he (the President) feels that "we have no way to go" but "we can certainly stay home."

Rustin agreed and indicated that he would subsequently be in contact with King regarding this matter.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 11, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Andrew Young, an assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia, recently suggested to King that it might not be good for the Democratic Party to become known as the "Negro party." Young indicated it might be good to attack the Democratic Party but not in a way to really hurt it. King agreed with this idea and plans were made to discuss this matter at a later date.

Young also informed King that the National Guard would soon leave Rochester, New York, and that when it does trouble is likely to start again. Young suggested that some Southern Christian Leadership Conference people be sent to Rochester to work toward nonviolence and distribute literature. King suggested that Young contact Bayard Rustin who is acquainted with some wealthy interests which might finance this operation. Rustin, a frequent advisor to King, is a former member of the Young Communist League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-21-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

King and Young agreed that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference should soon start working in Rochester; however, a date was not indicated. Both individuals agreed that they may also work in other large cities which are considered "powder kegs."

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

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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(80)

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 10, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past recently furnished information concerning the views of Martin Luther King, Jr., relative to the forthcoming Democratic Party National Convention and the civil rights movement.

Enclosed is a memorandum dated August 10, 1964, which reports details concerning these matters.

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

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 10, 1964

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Democratic Party National Convention

Martin Luther King, Jr., recently conferred with Bayard Rustin concerning the forthcoming Democratic Party National Convention and the following transpired:

Rustin advised King that he had been unable to ascertain what the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, organizations active in the civil rights movement, intend to do in respect to the Convention. Rustin told King that he, Rustin, was trying to avoid getting King involved in demonstrations which could alienate all "our friends." Rustin indicated that if the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality take action which leads to demonstrations and other civil disobedience, it would not be well received by the labor people and all of "our friends in the Democratic Party." Rustin indicated that most of the money which "they" receive comes from the labor people and their friends in the Democratic Party.

In discussing what position King should play at the Convention, King said that he was considering the advisability of fasting. King believes that in this way he will be doing something that will not be disruptive or border on civil disobedience. King is considering having the fast begin about the time that the Credentials Committee meets and continue until the end of the Convention.

Rustin advised King that in the event he decides to fast, he should issue a statement before the fast begins explaining why he is taking such action. King said that the fast would be a creative thing with spiritual overtones and by taking such action, it would avoid placing him in a position of "doing nothing." Rustin suggested that by fasting King would be extremely dramatic in action as it would call attention to the problem of civil rights. Rustin counseled King that

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

King should make it clear that he is dealing with a moral issue to arouse the moral conscience of the nation to the political and social factors of which the Mississippi delegation is a destructive symbol.

Bayard Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington and is a frequent advisor to King.

Civil Rights Movement

Martin Luther King, Jr., and Clarence Jones recently conferred relative to the civil rights movement and the following transpired:

Jones told King that he was in the process of "formulating some things" relative to the civil rights movement and had, in fact, just met with "our friend." (It is noted that according to this Bureau's source, when King and Jones have in the past referred to "our friend," they were referring to Stanley David Levison.) Jones told King that he thought it was important to set down in memorandum form certain key things relating to the civil rights movement and to Senator Barry Goldwater which would be included in an article Jones intends to write. King said that he thought that the impact of such an article would be greater before the forthcoming national presidential election than after. Jones indicated that he intended to have an article prepared within a matter of days. King agreed that such an article was needed and that it should give an in-depth analysis because "a lot of white liberals are confused."

King told Jones that he, King, needed an outline of the article which Jones is preparing so that King can send it to either "Look" or "The Saturday Evening Post." King told Jones that he, King, wanted to reiterate that he advocates nonviolence and thinks that it is the most "potent weapon." King indicated that he will continue such advocacy; however, King agreed with Jones that nonviolence does not exist in a vacuum and that a need now exists for white people to work to

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

provide concrete solutions to injustice. King told Jones that there is thinking now prevalent among militant civil rights leaders that if the movement gets more militant "you can somehow capture political power." Both agreed that alliances are now needed between whites and Negroes.

King further told Jones that the article being prepared should also show that it is wrong to believe that the Negro movement has alienated people. It should show instead that it has brought "latent" tensions and hostilities to the surface. King instructed Jones to analyze in his article the rioting which has recently taken place and to point out that it is easier to condemn than to determine the cause for the rioting.

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which is headed by King. During the mid-1950's, Jones was in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Jones is a frequent advisor to King and also frequently acts as an intermediary between King and Levison. As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 8, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that on August 7, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., conferred with Bayard Rustin and the following transpired:

Rustin stated that he had cleared with Joseph Rauh, Counsel for the United Auto Workers, and others, not identified, about a proposed visit of King to the White House and "they feel it is O.K." Rustin then read the following telegram which King approved for transmittal to the White House in King's name:

"Urgent matter concerning continuation of moratorium and possibility of further conflict in urban centers presents problems that should be laid before you immediately. I therefore urgently request opportunity to see you at your earliest convenience. Will have representative reach White House by telephone to work out details if appointment next week is possible."

Rustin advised King to send the telegram immediately. Rustin indicated that he will contact Mr. Lee White at the White House, probably on August 10, 1964, and make an appointment for next week provided it is convenient with the President. Rustin also advised King that when King departs the White House he should not mention to reporters the matter referred to in the telegram which will have been discussed with the President. Rustin also said that King should reach an understanding with the President that neither of them will mention the subject matter of the conference.

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NLJ 01-235

By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington and is a frequent advisor to King.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 7, 1964

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BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that on August 5, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., conferred with Bayard Rustin and the following transpired.

King inquired of Rustin whether Rustin had thought of ways to dramatize the finding of the bodies of the three civil rights workers who had disappeared in Mississippi. Rustin suggested that King immediately send telegrams to the National Council of Churches, National Council of Catholic Bishops and the Board of Rabbis requesting these groups to set aside Sunday, August 9, 1964, as a day of repentance. According to Rustin, the day should be dedicated not to feeling sorry for the three dead youths, but to urging that people of good will dedicate themselves to end all vestiges of segregation and discrimination and work for the freedom and justice of all.

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington and is a frequent advisor to King.

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

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 01-235

By *Sj* NARA, Date 8-29-01~~SECRET~~

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 30, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin recently discussed what appeared to be plans regarding action to be taken at the forthcoming Democratic Party National Convention. Rustin revealed that he had discussed this matter with Walter Reuther, the labor leader from Detroit, Michigan, who was greatly upset at the possibility that various Negro organizations might do anything which could be construed as obstructing the Convention. Rustin indicated that he had talked to many individuals but had found no one who wanted to do anything other than have a mass rally with the Negro leadership calling for what they want. King indicated that he was in agreement with this position.

Bayard Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington and is a frequent advisor to King.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

110

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1964

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., attended a mass meeting last night at the Masonic Auditorium in Jackson, Mississippi. An estimated five thousand persons attended the meeting.

Mr. Charles Evers, Field Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, advised the Jackson Police Department he thought there would be a demonstration following the meeting and stated the source of this information was a report from informants he had in the Council of Federated Organizations. He also stated there were sixty Council of Federated Organizations workers in the crowd attending the meeting whose purpose was to begin a clapping and singing demonstration in the street.

According to Mr. Evers, the Council of Federated Organizations was jealous of him for having kept Reverend Mr. King from testing public facilities in Jackson and for his causing Reverend Mr. King to confine his activities to voter registration matters.

The Jackson Police Department called out one hundred extra police officers in the event there was a demonstration. An announcement was made from the rostrum during the meeting to the effect there was to be no demonstration. It was announced that if a demonstration commenced, the doors to the auditorium would be locked and demonstrators would be met at the doors and arrested. The meeting broke up in an orderly fashion and no incidents occurred.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the "Sincerely yours," text.

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NLJ 01-235
By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01



Filed x
Re: Martin Luther King
~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Enclosed is a memorandum dated July 17, 1964, which is marked obscene and contains information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. The memorandum is classified "Top Secret" because of the extremely sensitive nature of the source from which the information was obtained. The source was in a position to furnish reliable information.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this communication becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

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(23) *Write to make + return*

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 10, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Information has been received by this Bureau indicating that Clarence Jones was preparing a speech to be delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., before the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention on July 7, 1964. In this speech King was to mention the activities in the civil rights field during the past four years indicating they were insufficient. These activities were given legislative recognition by the passage of the civil rights law, the success of which will depend on the compliance or degree of compliance and the extent of improvement in the economic condition of the Negro.

According to statements by Jones, King would suggest that President Lyndon B. Johnson make use of his powers by appointing U.S. marshals to observe voter registration in problem areas and accompany individuals who have been threatened in connection with such registration. King was also to recommend that the powers of the U.S. Department of Justice and this Bureau be more vigorously and creatively employed. In this speech King would also state that if the Communist Party and other subversive organizations could be successfully infiltrated, an intelligence surveillance could also be maintained on terroristic groups and persons subverting the U.S. Constitution.

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., did appear before the Platform Committee on July 7, 1964, at which time he asked especially for Federal protection of civil rights workers in Mississippi and advocated the use of U.S. marshals by the President and greater use of existing powers by the Justice Department and this Bureau to protect Negroes and keep terrorists under scrutiny.

Clarence Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by King. Jones, in the mid-1950's, was in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information has also been furnished to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 10, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished the following information concerning a contact had between Clarence Jones and Wyatt Walker on June 8, 1964.

Walker voiced concern over the safety of Martin Luther King, Jr., in view of threats which have been made on King's life. Walker said that King is returning to St. Augustine, Florida, on June 10, 1964, and that he should have protection. Walker indicated that what was needed was to have some outside pressure brought to bear on President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy.

Jones stated that a commitment must come from the Department of Justice that all reasonable steps will be taken to protect King's life. Jones also stated that the only pressure which will move Attorney General Kennedy will be that which comes from prominent people. Walker suggested that they contact James Baldwin and people like him. Jones agreed with this but stated he would also like to get some people in the city government of New York City and other civic-minded people. Jones indicated that he would work on something to be sent to the Justice Department in connection with the safety of King.

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By SJ NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

On June 9, 1964, Walker contacted our Atlanta, Georgia, Office and advised that King and other Southern Christian Leadership Conference officials were to depart Atlanta on the morning of June 10, 1964, en route to St. Augustine, Florida. Walker explained his reason for making contact with the FBI in Atlanta was that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office in St. Augustine had received two local calls threatening to assassinate King and that the house where Southern Christian Leadership Conference personnel, including King, were staying in the St. Augustine area had been shot into and burned. Walker said that there apparently had been no investigation by the local police or Federal officers and he expressed regret concerning this. He claimed to have already advised the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C. He also claimed that there has been a complete breakdown of law and order.

Walker admitted that to his knowledge no complaint had been made to the St. Augustine Police, State of Florida officials, or the FBI at St. Augustine. Walker was advised that the information he had furnished did not appear to be a Federal violation coming within the jurisdiction of the FBI and information concerning threats against the life of King should be furnished to local law enforcement authorities. He was also advised that if he had any information which he believed related to civil rights violations at St. Augustine, he should report the information to our Jacksonville, Florida, Office.

An Associated Press news release from St. Augustine dated May 29, 1964, reported that local authorities were aware of and had conducted investigation relative to the firing upon a cottage which King had rented in the St. Augustine area. Investigation was also conducted by local authorities concerning a fire of unknown origin in King's cottage.

Wyatt Walker is the Executive Assistant to King. James Baldwin is a well-known author. Clarence Jones has been identified as a person in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League in late 1953 or early 1954. The Labor Youth League has been designated as subversive pursuant to

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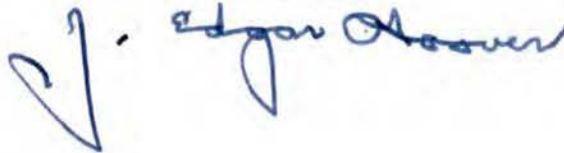
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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

Executive Order 10450. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which is engaged in raising funds on behalf of King's endeavors in the Negro movement.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "J" at the beginning.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

June 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Clarence Jones is working on the draft of a bill concerning deprived Negroes. This bill is modeled on the German War Reparations Bill and is to be presented by Martin Luther King, Jr., to the Johnson administration.

Clarence Jones has been identified as a person in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League in late 1953 or early 1954. The Labor Youth League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which is engaged in raising funds on behalf of King's endeavors in the Negro movement.

Any additional information obtained concerning this matter will be promptly furnished to you.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written over the typed name.

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By SJ NARA, Date 8-29-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 27, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past have furnished the following information relating to Martin Luther King's reaction to an article by Joseph Alsop exposing King's communist connections which appeared in the "Washington Post" and the "New York Herald Tribune" on April 15, 1964.

On April 19, 1964, Stanley Levison contacted Clarence Jones at which time Jones told Levison that King did not initially agree with the position that a failure to respond to the Alsop article could be deemed politically unwise. Jones stated that it was King's position that King did not have to respond to everything which is written. Levison replied that King does not understand how serious the matter is. Jones agreed with Levison and said that the article reflected the line of official Washington and that King's friends in Washington would find it rather inexplicable that King took no affirmative action after the article. Levison agreed and indicated that the article challenged King.

Levison also told Jones that the article in effect says that King is not doing what he said he would and, therefore, there must be an answer by King indicating that there is a misunderstanding, that only a couple pieces of evidence are being considered, and that these are being misinterpreted. Jones agreed with this position and said that some of the information was being taken out of context.

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By SJ NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

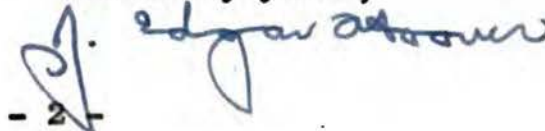
Levison inquired of Jones as to whether the situation is disturbing to King, and Jones replied that King is immensely disturbed. Jones said that he felt that the reason for King's reluctance to do anything is that King, himself, is not very clear as to what his position should be. According to Jones, it would require thinking the problem all the way through and that no action at all becomes the best escape for King, in King's mind, in order to avoid making a decision. Levison agreed with Jones and said that King's approach to the whole question has bothered him. Levison said that King does not like to feel on the defensive and, therefore, prefers to ignore the article saying he only has to satisfy his own conscience. Levison remarked that if King were to clarify the situation, it would make it a lot easier for him, but that by not answering the article, it confirms for any who are doubtful that King is guilty of all the charges made.

On April 23, 1964, Jones contacted King and they discussed a statement which was to be released by King later that day. King said that the statement would deal with "the Hoover statement" which was in apparent reference to a news release of April 21, 1964, concerning my testimony before a United States House of Representatives Appropriations Subcommittee on January 29, 1964. Jones stated he believed King was wise in issuing a statement at this time as many people are questioning the workings of the civil rights movement in light of activities on April 22, 1964, and also because of my testimony. The reference to the April 22, 1964, activities is apparently to the demonstrations which took place at the World's Fair in New York City on that day. Jones said that King's statement was a good one as "we" worked on it last night after the telephone conversation. He did not indicate whom the "we" referred to. King agreed that the statement is excellent and will serve its purpose.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which raises funds for King's activities in the Negro movement. Jones also frequently serves as an intermediary between King and Levison.

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

Sincerely yours,


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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 24, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past have furnished the following information relating to Martin Luther King's reaction to an article by Joseph Alsop exposing King's communist connections which appeared in the "Washington Post" and the "New York Herald Tribune" on April 15, 1964.

On April 17, 1964, King contacted Clarence Jones and discussed whether King had talked to the press concerning the Alsop article. King said he had not and wondered if he should not face it when he is questioned about it and just answer any questions which are raised. Jones counseled that this was a good procedure but that if too much time elapses between the charge and the answer, it might not be the most positive thing.

Jones told King that he had given very serious thought to the problem and wanted King to consider seeing Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall because Jones does not feel it would be wise if an impression was conveyed that King did not react to the article and did nothing positive about it. It is Jones' opinion that the article is a form of warning from the Administration and, therefore, may require affirmative response by King. Jones described the purpose of a conference with Marshall as setting the record straight as to the extent of contacts between King and Stanley Levison.

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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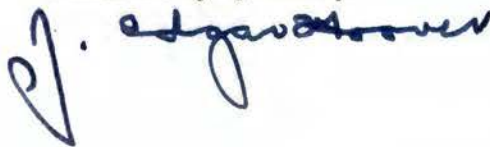
Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

King inquired of Jones as to whether he had talked with Levison and Jones replied that he had seen Levison who feels very strongly about King's seeing Marshall. According to Jones, it is Levison's belief that the situation requires some affirmative response by King lest the impression is created that King does not care, that King wants to completely dismiss the matter, or that King feels he has no obligation to do anything about it. Jones also told King that if any question is raised about the extent of King's association with Levison, it can be explained that during a transition period of the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, it was necessary for Levison to visit Atlanta. Finally, Jones remarked that in reading the Alsop article, it appears as if someone in the Department of Justice or in the Administration has now indicated a concern, is giving the reason for the concern, and desires that the message be conveyed to King. Jones told King that it is essential that King do something positive.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which raises funds for King's activities in the Negro movement. Jones also frequently serves as an intermediary between King and Levison.

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

Sincerely yours,



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past has provided the following information.

Mr. Walter Fauntroy, the regional representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Washington, D. C., has indicated to the source that Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota is publishing a booklet on civil rights entitled, "The Case for Civil Rights."

Our source has indicated that this booklet will contain speeches of the late President John F. Kennedy and some speeches of President Johnson. The source advised that Mr. Humphrey's Office has asked Mr. Fauntroy to have Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., write an introduction for this booklet which is scheduled for release on Saturday, April 18, 1964. Our source stated to us that Reverend Mr. King has agreed to write this introduction.

In view of Reverend Mr. King's background previously furnished to you, I thought you would be interested in this information. This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 14, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., made the following comments at around midnight of March 19, 1964.

King several times repeated the statement "I'm getting ready to die" and stated that he was going to give the Nation a choice.. He threatened that he intends to go to Washington, D. C., and engage in a personal hunger strike until such time as the filibuster concerning civil rights legislation in the United States Senate ends. He indicated an intention to voice his threat to the Nation in the following words. "Either you stop the filibuster and pass the Civil Rights Bill with all the restrictions in shape. Don't water it down. Or let me die."

The foregoing remarks were made by King in the company of several individuals all of whom had consumed considerable alcoholic beverages during the preceding few hours. The informant who furnished this information believed that King was in a nearly intoxicated state if not actually intoxicated when he made the remarks attributed to him.

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-24-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

You will be further informed relative to this matter should this Bureau receive any additional information indicating that King intends to carry out the hunger strike in Washington, D. C.

This information has been furnished to Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, United States Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looped initial "J".

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

March 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Recent observations by Special Agents of this Bureau and information from confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past reveal the continuing association between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stanley David Levison.

On the morning of March 9, 1964, Levison was observed arriving in Atlanta, Georgia, by train, and at 9:40 a.m. he entered the offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330-334 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Levison remained in these offices until 6:25 p.m. except for being away for lunch from 1:46 p.m. to 2:36 p.m. King was also present in these offices during much of that day, and when Levison departed at 6:25 p.m. he was in the company of King and Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It has been reported that Levison had dinner at the King residence on the evening of March 9, 1964, and our informant believes also that Levison spent that night at King's home. Levison was again present in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference offices in Atlanta on March 10, 1964. Levison departed Atlanta on the evening of March 10, 1964.

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By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

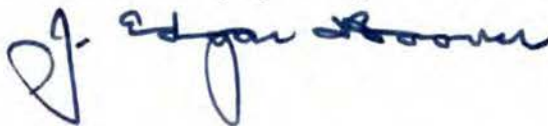
According to our informant, a principal matter discussed by King and Levison concerns whether or not the Southern Christian Leadership Conference should hire Bayard Rustin at the present time. A prime consideration relative to this hiring is that it would likely bring an attack on King because of procommunist allegations which will be made against Rustin. Notwithstanding this "risk," King decided that Rustin is to be hired but that any publicly known connection of Rustin with the organization would be delayed because of the intentions of the organization to involve itself in the filibuster taking place in the United States Senate relative to civil rights legislation currently under consideration.

Although a public announcement of Rustin's affiliation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is to be delayed, King and Levison tentatively agreed that they may commence paying Rustin a salary without giving him any "nominal duties."

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Rustin has admitted joining the Young Communist League in 1936. He is reported to have stated that he broke completely with the Young Communist League in June, 1941. The Young Communist League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Rustin received considerable publicity in New York City newspapers for his work in organizing a public school boycott there February 3, 1964. On February 4, 1964, he visited the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. This resulted in several news stories implying a continuing communist sympathy on the part of Rustin.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 9, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Recent observations by Special Agents of this Bureau and information from confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past reveal the continuing association between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stanley David Levison.

On February 28, 1964, arrangements were made for King, Levison and Clarence Jones to meet in New York City the next morning to discuss the problem of a filibuster relative to civil rights legislation. They were to also discuss whether or not the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by King, should go ahead with its plans to hire Bayard Rustin as its Northern Coordinator. At 8:58 a.m. on February 29, 1964, our Agents observed Levison enter the lobby of the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel in New York City. He made inquiry as to the room number for Martin Luther King and was informed that King was in Number 1631. At 9:17 a.m. Levison entered an elevator which later stopped on the 16th floor. At 9:18 a.m. Jones entered the Hotel and took an elevator which also stopped on the 16th floor. Levison and Jones were observed to depart the Hotel at 11:25 a.m. and King departed at 11:41 a.m.

On February 29, 1964, Levison told an associate that he, Levison, had conferred with King regarding Rustin, at which time King indicated that he might change his plans as to the hiring of Rustin because some individuals had expressed themselves with disfavor concerning King's association with Rustin.

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By Sj, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Jones has been identified as a person in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League in late 1953 or early 1954. The Labor Youth League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which is engaged in raising funds on behalf of King's endeavors in the Negro movement. Rustin has admitted joining the Young Communist League in 1936. He is reported to have stated that he broke completely with the Young Communist League in June, 1941. The Young Communist League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Rustin received considerable publicity in New York City newspapers for his work in organizing a public school boycott there February 3, 1964. On February 4, 1964, he visited the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. This resulted in several news stories implying a continuing communist sympathy on the part of Rustin.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

March 5, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past recently furnished the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Peace Corps Director Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., in preparing a report for President Lyndon B. Johnson on poverty in the United States attempted to confer with King in Washington, D. C., in late February or early March, 1964. Because of King's full schedule he was unable to see Shriver.

On February 26, 1964, a Mr. Carter of the State Department arranged an appointment with King's office whereby King will confer between 12 noon and 1:00 p.m., March 9, 1964, with Mr. Berl I. Bernhard, formerly Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights. In making this appointment Carter indicated that he was speaking on behalf of Attorney General Robert Kennedy regarding Kennedy's letter to King requesting King to participate in a memorial to the late President John F. Kennedy. Carter stated that not only King but other persons active in the civil rights movement would also be interviewed for this memorial. According to our informant, Carter furnished King's office a telephone number which is identical to that for Mr. Chester C. Carter, Deputy Examiner, Board of Examiners for Foreign Service, Office of Personnel, United States Department of State.

This information is being furnished to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 28, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

On February 24, 1964, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on that date Dora McDonald, secretary of Martin Luther King, Jr., told King that he had been invited by Willy Brandt, Mayor of (West) Berlin, to the Berlin Festival to be held September 13, 1964. McDonald stated that Arthur Schlesinger (not further identified) had written to King asking him to accept Brandt's invitation. King indicated that he is undecided about this matter at the present time.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the "Sincerely yours," text.

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By SJ NARA, Date 8-29-01



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 13, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

My letter to you, February 10, 1964, furnished information concerning the connection between Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King. Additional information relative to this matter has been developed.

On February 7, 1964, Special Agents of this Bureau observed Clarence Jones enter the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City at 12:15 P.M. Jones inquired as to the room in which Martin Luther King was registered. At 12:20 P.M. Stanley Levison entered the same hotel and met Jones in the lobby. At 12:30 P.M. Levison and Jones were joined by Bayard Rustin and these three individuals took an elevator to the eighth floor. It is to be noted that King and an assistant of his, Bernard Lee, were registered in Rooms 815 and 816 (on the eighth floor) at the Park Sheraton Hotel.

At 5:00 P.M. on the same date, Rustin was observed departing from the hotel and at 5:10 P.M. King, Levison and Jones were observed alighting from an elevator in the lobby. These three individuals walked together through the lobby and out of the hotel, engaged all the while in conversation.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, according to a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past. Clarence

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

Jones has been identified as a person in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League in late 1953 or early 1954. The Labor Youth League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which is engaged in raising funds on behalf of King's endeavors in the Negro movement. Bayard Rustin has admitted joining the Young Communist League in 1936. He is reported to have stated that he broke completely with the Young Communist League in June, 1941. The Young Communist League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 11, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on February 4, 1964, Hunter Pitts O'Dell was in contact with Edwina Smith, secretary to the Program Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on which occasion Smith told O'Dell that Martin Luther King, Jr., is quite concerned about the communist allegations that are being "leveled" at the civil rights movement in general and at King in particular. Smith told O'Dell that King had had a meeting that morning regarding this matter and King indicated he planned to meet the situation "head on" by refuting the allegations.

According to the source, O'Dell stated that the best way for King to fight any allegations of "red" infiltration of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, is to use pressure on President Lyndon B. Johnson by reminding the President that Aubrey Williams, "the guiding light of the Fund," had been heavily depended upon by the President relative to the obtaining of information for the President on the civil rights and Negro situations. O'Dell strongly urged Smith to impress this upon King so that the President could be forced to defend Williams and the Fund.

A second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that as of July, 1962, O'Dell was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee.

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

In April, 1946, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives as a communist front group, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated. A third confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the Fund is a progressive liberal organization which the source considered a Communist Party front organization. Aubrey Williams is President Emeritus of the Fund.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is stylized, with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 10, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

My letter to you February 5, 1964, advised of guidance which was being given by Stanley Levison concerning Martin Luther King's forthcoming book. As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA.

Additional information relative to this matter has been developed.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on February 1, 1964, King discussed with Clarence Jones the treatment of President Lyndon B. Johnson in King's book and Jones stated that according to "a friend," the person editing the book, Hermine Popper, believes that King should give his personal views of Johnson. Jones stated that this is particularly appropriate since the book will come out on the "threshold of the election."

It is to be noted that on numerous previous occasions when King and Jones have referred to "a friend" the reference was to Stanley Levison. Jones is the general counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization which raises funds for King's activities in the Negro movement.

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

The same source advised that Levison was in contact with Jones on February 2, 1964, concerning the manuscript of the final chapter of King's book. Jones told Levison that King wanted to use the material in the manuscript for a speech on February 6, 1964. Levison, however, counseled that King should not use the material for the particular speech involved as Levison did not believe the audience to be worthwhile. Jones agreed with this advice.

Another confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past recently advised that a representative of the publisher of the forthcoming King book was in contact with Levison relative to having Levison review portions of the book already edited. Levison agreed to meet with representatives of the publisher for this purpose.

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letter "J" being particularly large and stylized.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 5, 1964

BY LIAISON

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x

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Stanley Levison, a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963, recently discussed with Hermine Popper, Martin Luther King's forthcoming book.

Popper, who is editing the book, mentioned several items which had appeared in a letter written by King while in a Birmingham, Alabama, jail and which, according to Popper, had not actually occurred at the time. Levison gave guidance to Popper in selecting the material to be included in the book and, in addition, discussed the theme of the book which has to do with making the Negro movement for economic progress tie in with President Lyndon B. Johnson's war on poverty.

Levison and Popper also discussed the scheduled appearance of Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall of the Justice Department at the Urban League in Westchester County (New York). Popper stated she had heard that because Mr. Marshall is a Democrat King is to take his place. Popper commented that she did not want King to be used as a political pawn. Levison advised her to tell King about this matter.

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

Sincerely yours,

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By *Sj*, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

December 3, 1963

BY LIAISON

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

This will confirm information orally supplied to you by Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach on December 2 and December 3, 1963, pertinent to an appointment which Martin Luther King had with the President on the morning of December 3, 1963. This information was supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past.

King planned to meet Clarence Jones and Harry Wachtel in Washington, D. C., prior to his meeting with the President in order to discuss what King would say to the President. King planned to arrive in Washington during the night of December 2, 1963, and to be registered at the Statler Hilton Hotel under the name Bernard Lee, who is an assistant of King's.

On November 30, 1963, Jones contacted Stanley David Levison, at which time Levison asked if King had been invited to the White House and said it was very important that King get such an invitation. Levison advised Jones that King must not do or say anything which would compromise King's position of nonviolence. According to Levison, the Administration will be hurt in the next election if it does not give King a "play."

For your additional information, Special Agents of the FBI observed Jones and Wachtel enter the Statler Hilton Hotel at 9:50 a.m. on December 3, 1963, to enter an elevator and ascend. At 11:14 a.m., Jones, Wachtel, King and an unidentified Negro male of short stature exited an elevator together at this Hotel, conversed with each other while walking to the exit of the Hotel, at which time King and the unidentified Negro male immediately departed together in a taxi.

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By SJ, NARA, Date 8-29-01

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Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

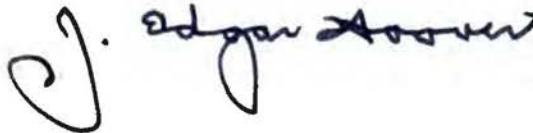
A source has described Stanley David Levison as a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, as of July, 1963.

A source has identified Clarence Jones as a person in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, a communist youth organization, in late 1953 or early 1954.

Harry H. Wachtel is the Special Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization established to raise funds for King. Wachtel was carried as a member of the National Lawyers Guild in 1945 and the name of his wife, Leonora Wachtel, was on a list of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP in March, 1944. The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication has been classified "Top Secret."

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a stylized "H".

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LBJ LIBRARY PROCESSING NOTE

Documents 90 through 104a were closed under the provisions of President Johnson's deed of gift when this file was made available to researchers from the U. S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations. These documents were returned to the file on July 2, 2002.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

September 24, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

For your information, I am enclosing
a communication which may be of interest to you.

Upon removal of the enclosure, if
classified, this transmittal form becomes
unclassified.

Sincerely yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

September 24, 1965



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A confidential source of this Bureau, who has supplied reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information which the source described as reliable:

On September 22, 1965, Louis Lomax stated in Los Angeles, California, that he and Martin Luther King, Jr., plan to depart the United States for Vietnam on September 28, 1965. It is noted that on the evening of September 23, 1965, Lomax addressed a group of approximately 500 persons at the San Bernardino, California, County Fair and made no mention of any forthcoming travel plans.

Lomax is a well-known writer and television personality who has been active in civil rights matters. He is presently a resident of the Los Angeles, California, area.

12 91
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1965
6:32 p.m.

Mr. President:

For your information.

Marvin

9/1a



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

A handwritten letter 'W' inside a circle, likely a routing or filing mark.

August 10, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

I thought the President might be interested in the remarks pertaining to the White House made by Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy on the Huntley-Brinkley television newscast over the NBC network last Thursday evening, August 5, 1965. Abernathy is Martin Luther King's chief aide and is Treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which King is President.

Abernathy referred to invitations extended to visit the White House and commented sarcastically to the effect that on such occasions they are served tea and cookies. He then emphasized that what the Negro really wants is filet mignon, lamb chops and pork chops. He also stated that the Negro is tired of eating chicken backs, chicken necks, pigs' ears and pigs' tails.

In another reference to the White House, Abernathy noted that there are 20 bathrooms over there and that they don't begrudge these to LBJ. But, he declared, there are Negro homes without one bathroom within a block and a half from where he was speaking.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "J. Edgar Hoover".

92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1965
1:30 p.m.

Mr. President:

Dr. King on news broadcast saying that
he felt negotiation settlement on Viet
Nam is best.

Marvin



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly "W", is enclosed within a hand-drawn circle.

July 16, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

My letter to you dated July 7, 1965, furnished information concerning the position of Martin Luther King, Jr., with respect to Vietnam. The following additional information is being called to your attention as of possible interest to the President.

On the evening of July 10, 1965, King appeared on a program entitled "Newsmakers" produced by the KNXT-TV News Department in Los Angeles, California. The program consisted of an interview of King by three newsmen of KNXT. King was reminded by one of the interviewers that he had recently called for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam and that Roy Wilkins and James Farmer had indicated that they did not believe the civil rights movement should be involved in the Vietnam situation. King was asked if he still maintained the same position as before regarding Vietnam.

King replied that he felt just as firmly now as ever before on the need for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam, but that he did not favor unilateral withdrawal by the United States from Vietnam. King said that while Wilkins and Farmer might not speak out, he feels that he must as he is a minister and has an obligation to speak out on moral issues. King also stated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which organization he heads, does not intend to organize demonstrations around the Vietnam situation, but that he plans to continue speaking out on it.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the closing.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535



June 3, 1965

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

I thought that the President would be interested in the enclosed copies of items which recently appeared in "The Times," a daily newspaper published in Gadsden, Alabama.

This material pertains to a report that Representative James Douglas Martin of Alabama had stated that the President would expose information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., when it would be politically expedient to do so.

The enclosures have also been furnished to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the "Sincerely yours," text.

Enclosures (2)

Martin Says LBJ Will Expose King

GADSDEN, Ala. (UPI)—Rep. James Martin, R-Ala., says Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would be "exposed" by President Johnson in a "great political-genius master stroke."

Martin, in a radio interview here, said Johnson had the key to a secret file on King's civil rights record and that the chief executive would take "political advantage" before exposing King.

"I frankly predict that after President Johnson has gotten all the political advantages out of King's records that he possibly can, in a few months from now he will expose King's record for a great political-genius master-stroke..."

The Alabama lawmaker said he met with Johnson for "about 45 minutes" prior to the Selma-Montgomery civil rights march. He said he told Johnson

of "certain left wing elements connected with King's civil rights group."

Martin said the President told him "the Communist party has not been outlawed and that this is a free country to come and go as you like."

He said he told Johnson that C. T. Vivian, one of King's top aides, had Communist connections and that several other members of the King party should have been withdrawn from the Selma movement.

Martin said Johnson "was determined to keep tight any of the secret file on King. In fact he's sitting on that file a lot tighter than they're sitting on the gold supply at Ft. Knox."

"I hope we can put pressure in the proper places," Martin said, "so that eventually the full record on King can be made available."

MAY 25 1965

LBJ Slaps Lid On King's Record

In an interview with U. S. Rep. James D. Martin, he once again more than implied that President Lyndon B. Johnson is fully aware of some unsavory characters linked with Martin Luther King and his cause.

He said in Gadsden that the President is going to use King for political advantage as long as the time is ripe, but the day will come when he will expose this man in a "great political-genius master stroke."

While in Washington last month, Martin told The Times that Johnson was aware of King's Communist ties and other distasteful associations, but he didn't want the Negro leader's records made public because "it would hurt the cause."

In a 45-minute meeting with the President, Martin said Johnson's rebark, concerning left wing elements connected with King's civil rights group, was: "The Communist party has not been outlawed and this is a free country to come and go as you like."

The Communist party may not be outlawed, but the organization is pledged to the overthrow of the government of the United States. Any connection with this element would be, to patriotic Americans, offensive and altogether objectional, putting in question any person so engaged.

As far as Johnson holding back the records on King, if this is indeed the case, it is completely unacceptable. If the man is a phony—if his character is not in keeping with the "reverend" he had prefixed to his name, then Johnson is doing millions of people a grave injustice, especially church groups and other well-meaning organizations who have endorsed him.

Mr. Johnson owes this to the American people. If he has the facts let them come first and his personal politics at a more sufferable time.

MAY 26 1965



*Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.*

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In response to his request to see me, I conferred for about an hour with the Reverend Martin Luther King in my office yesterday afternoon. He was accompanied by the following members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which he is President: Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer; Andrew J. Young, Program Director; and Walter E. Fauntroy, Director of the organization's Washington, D. C., office.

The meeting was most amicable and King indicated that he had requested to see me in an effort to clear up any misunderstandings that we might have. He apologized for remarks attributed to him criticizing the FBI and me with specific reference to Albany, Georgia. He stated that in this connection he had either been misquoted or there had been an outright misrepresentation.

He said that while some Negroes have complained to him that the FBI has been ineffective in investigating civil rights violations, he personally discounts such complaints and said he appreciated the fine work the FBI has been doing in this regard.

He said he had been critical of the FBI only in connection with instances where our Agents, who had been furnished complaints involving police brutality, were, thereafter, observed

The President

being friendly toward these same officers. He said situations like this serve to breed Negro distrust for the FBI. I advised Reverend King that I was aware that allegations of this nature had been made and that I had looked into the matter. It was determined that these charges were without basis.

Reverend King categorically denied ever having made a personal attack on me and also denied that he had ever instructed Negroes not to cooperate with the FBI. I told him that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI, the solution of cases is delayed and sometimes frustrated. He said, to the contrary, he encouraged such cooperation. He explained that Negroes in many areas are frustrated. He said he feels it is his duty to keep them from expressing their frustrations through violence. Reverend King made reference to my report to you on the rioting that took place in some of our northern cities last summer. He indicated he considers it an excellent analysis of the situation.

Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was discussed. Reverend King stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism and that he shared my concern with the problem. He described communism as a "crippling, totalitarian disease." He said that while there are "one or two" former communists currently engaged in fund-raising activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he does not tolerate communists in his organization. He cited the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and noted that he considered the success of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference more important to him than his friendship with O'Dell. Consequently, he claimed, O'Dell is no longer associated with his organization.

The President

The problems confronting the FBI in civil rights investigations were explained to the Reverend King in detail. I made it clear to him that cases developed as a result of FBI investigation must often be tried in local courts where there are difficulties involved in getting white juries to convict white defendants in connection with civil rights matters. I cited some of our experiences in this regard.

He and his associates were advised of the recent conferences held for local law enforcement officers throughout the United States for the purpose of fully acquainting them with civil rights legislation and their responsibilities in connection with same. I told him that the results of this campaign have been encouraging in the cooperation received.

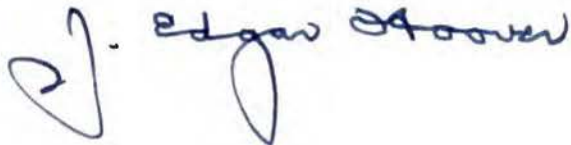
I pointed out to him that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to the FBI's role in civil rights matters. I emphasized that the FBI is an investigative agency, that it cannot recommend prosecution or make on-the-spot arrests where Federal laws have not been violated. He was advised that the FBI will not protect civil rights workers or Negroes because the FBI does not have the authority or jurisdiction to do so. He was also advised that the FBI cannot and will not exceed its authority. Reverend King was told that our investigations are conducted in a thorough and impartial manner, but if he or any of his associates knew of a Special Agent who had shown bias or prejudice, I wanted to know about it immediately.

Reverend King indicated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning to engage in voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama, on or about January 1, 1965, and that he has learned that there could be violence. I told him that our Agents would be on the scene, not for the purpose of rendering protection, but to observe and report to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that may occur.

The President

Reverend King expressed his gratitude for having the opportunity to meet me. He said he felt our meeting had been a productive one, and I told him to feel free to get in touch with me any time he thought it necessary to do so.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "J. Edgar Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive style, with the first name "J." and the last name "Hoover" clearly legible.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Moyers:

My memorandum dated October 19, 1964, captioned "Current Racial Developments" furnished information to you concerning a planned tour of the country by Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other civil rights leaders. It was reported that the purpose of the tour would be to encourage voting.

The October 27, 1964, edition of the "Los Angeles Times," a Los Angeles, California, daily newspaper, reported that King spoke in Los Angeles on October 26, 1964, and stated that civil rights demonstrations will resume after the November 3, 1964, election, "in situations that demand them." King was quoted as stating "We did call a moratorium on demonstrations for the campaigns, but naturally after the election there will be a renewal of demonstrations in situations that demand them as long as the evils are there."

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

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Martin Luther King

96

August 19, 1964

MEMORANDUM:

TO: The President

FROM: Walter

About five minutes ago Joe Rauh called Bayard Rustin and asked if King was going to see the President. Rustin said he was not and thought it better to send a telegram to the President expressing disagreement with both the President and Governor Johnson on seating the Mississippi delegation and saying if the President couldn't resolve this problem the moratorium on demonstrations was off. *Rauh* told him this was just wonderful and asked him if he could leak it to the press. Rustin told him no because King would want to release the telegram to the President himself.

WJ:ms

2.14.64, Luther Z. 1
97

THE HEARST CORPORATION

959 EIGHTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

JOHN A. CLEMENTS
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

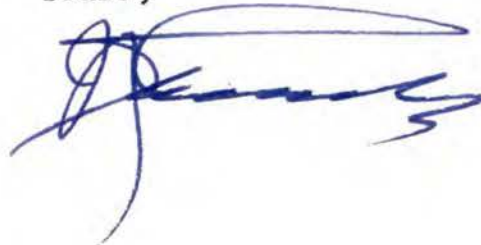
August 19, 1964

Mr. Walter Jenkins
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Jenkins:

The attached might come in handy for your
files. I understand there is a great deal more material
available if you wish it.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'J. A. Clements', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

JAC:mm
Attachments

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

Few men have ever gone so far so fast in the affairs of American public life as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., an obscure Negro Baptist preacher in Montgomery, Alabama. That was Mr. King in 1955; and it was also in 1955 that Mrs. Rosa Parks chose rather to spend some time in a cell of Montgomery's jail than to submit to a regulation of the Montgomery bus lines; namely, that Negro passengers should occupy rear seats of the buses.

Rosa Parks was challenged when she persisted in her refusal to move to the rear of a Montgomery bus. Mrs. Parks had in the recent past taken a course at Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee. Highlander was an institution for training leftist students in theory and tactics for organizing Communists, pro-Communists, militant Socialists, and sundry other organizations of radicalism. There are other lists, and sundry other organizations of radicalism. There are other facts about the Highlander Folk School which are important for an understanding of Martin Luther King and his integrationist crusade, a) after years of litigation, Highlander was closed by law, and b) Martin Luther King attended a session of the school in August-September, 1957; and c) Mr. King was still struggling toward the top position in the so-called Negro Freedom-Now movement. In the state of mind in which Mr. King found himself at that time in his career, he was not too reluctant to accept support or encouragement from any source that offered him aid. In these circumstances, Martin Luther King was an easy target for Communist and other radical infiltration.

The Communist apparatus moved in at the moment it became evident that King was ready, willing, and able to listen to anything Communist agents had to say. At Highlander Folk School, the scheming extremists had planted one Abner Berry, a charter member of the subversive apparatus. (Berry is a Negro, whose Communist Party membership was not secret in 1957; but he lived, moved, and had his being in the operations of the Popular Front -- which means that he was suave, informed,

and convincing in obeying Communist instructions.) Abner Berry was not alone in his assignment at Highlander; other Communists were present to give aid to Berry although they were greatly outranked by the talented integrationist. At any rate, Mr. King willingly and cordially listened.

If there is any substance to the claim that Martin Luther King is now a knowing and active anti-Communist, it has been a carefully guarded secret. (The story of Mr. King's reactions to his stay among the reds at Highlander Folk School was recorded in a series of photographs taken on the spot at the little red school house at Monteagle, Tennessee.)

When the State of Tennessee stepped in and destroyed Highlander Folk School, the subversive institution simply packed up whatever movable property was lying around, called its teachers and students together, changed the school's name, migrated to a spot "across the street," and settled at an address in the town of Knoxville.

The "Folk School" was interred among the hills of Monteagle; the personnel -- some of whom were connected with the school for more than 25 years -- shoved off to Knoxville, landing at the new address, 1625 Riverside Drive. At present, the institution operates under the name, Highlander Education and Research Center.

What stands out in the mass of data surrounding Martin Luther King and the Highlander Folk School is the fact that Mr. King is still a "sponsor" of Highlander Center. His attitude toward this single instance of a Communist front is characteristic; he has a penchant for sponsoring front after front.

A small part of King's record for supporting manifestos, appeals, petitions, open letters, and protests which aim at obtaining pardons, clemency, parole, new trials, and/or amnesty for any Communist/or extremist leftist who flout the law. Some of these aids rendered the Communist apparatus by Martin Luther King are as follows:

- a) Clemency Petition to JFK on Behalf of Carl Braden -- New York Post, May 1961;
- b) Braden Clemency Appeal to the President -- Southern Patriot, June 1961;
- c) SCEF Appeal to JFK for Clemency for Carl Braden -- petition, September 1961;
- d) National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell -- 4-page tabloid, November 1961;
- e) National Clemency Appeal on Behalf of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden -- press release, November 1961;
- f) Petition to JFK for a Pardon for Junius Scales -- press release, April 5, 1962;
- g) Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell -- leaflet, February 1963;
- h) National Appeal for Freedom for Morton Sobell -- leaflet, Washington, D.C., mass meeting, November 19-21, 1960;
- i) Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell -- National Guardian, November 28, 1960;
- j) National Convocation for Freedom for Morton Sobell -- The Worker, November 27, 1960.

In every instance, the individual named in the tabulation above as a recipient of Mr. King's pleas was an identified Communist. The individual involved as a defendant supported by the front apparatus of the Communist Party was pictured as a martyr of capitalist justice. The process by which the Communist law-breaker emerged from the propaganda treatment as a citizen who can do no wrong. In almost every case, a Communist who finds himself caught in a ruling-class court is comforted by the thought that he has the honorable status of victim in a capitalist frame-up. This will, as a rule, be advanced as a defense for any Communist defendant whatever regardless of the nature of the crime alleged against him.

Another item utilized by the Communists in their defense of one of their number is the formation of a front organization (sometimes many fronts, if the case drags on and on). It is a rule not often omitted, especially in cases where there is promise of prolonged litigation. (Remember the Case of the Scottsboro Boys which

the Communists helped greatly to stretch to 19 years, 2 months, 15 days, while the money-raising brigades of the Communist apparatus roamed over the face of the earth, 1) putting the word Scottsboro on every tongue, and 2) collecting more than a million dollars, only a fraction of which was ever spent on the defense of the Boys.)

The name of Martin Luther King, Jr., is almost ideal for the role of sponsor on a Communist-front organization which, according to standard specifications, is largely composed of "notables." There is no doubt that Mr. King is a "notable," more widely known than some members of the United States Supreme Court. Any private citizen who can ask for, and get, an all-day conference with the Mayor of New York City, is, indeed, a "notable." Noting the fact that Mr. King, who holds no elective office, was "negotiating" with the Mayor on the return of law and order to a large section (Harlem) of the largest city (New York) on earth.

Among the awards, honors, decorations, medals, and/or degrees received by Martin Luther King, Jr., since he took over the leadership of the bus strike (or boycott) from Mrs. Rosa Parks who inaugurated the mass action of the Negro community under the auspices of the Montgomery Improvement Association -- King's most coveted award has been the Spingarn Medal. This honor was bestowed on the young Baptist clergyman at the NAACP Convention in Detroit in June, 1957.

Martin Luther King, Jr., travelled fast and far in the Negro Freedom-Now Movement. When the young clergyman was pushed into, or worked his way up to, the front line of the movement, he was all of 25 years old. He was fresh out of theological seminary and was, in fact, looking for a pastorate in which to settle, when he landed squarely on the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. (Alexander, The Great, was almost as young as Martin Luther King.)

High Communist functionaries were quick to discover the newest boy wonder whose cosmic schedule was running exactly on time; and for once, recognizing a revolution when they saw one, wasted no time in getting aboard. At that time,

M.L. King had not yet acquired a past.

At the outset of this memorandum, attention was drawn to the fact that Martin Luther King made some kind of pilgrimage to Highlander Folk School. Whatever his conscious motives and/or interests, the objective results were that Mr. King met and hobnobbed with some of the most prominent Communists and pro-Communists then active.

The Communist infiltration of his staff was publicly acknowledged by Mr. King last summer. On July 27, 1963, the New York Times reported that Mr. King called a news conference to report that one Hunter Pitts O'Dell was no longer on the staff of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The man had been on the staff twice, the latest period of employment having been terminated on June 26, 1963. Identified as a Communist, O'Dell invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1956 and before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1958. O'Dell had been an organizer for the Communist Party in the South.

King may have been ill-advised in setting up his long negotiating conference with Mayor Wagner. While King was playing the game solo, it should be remembered that the collective leadership of the Negro Freedom-Now Movement is neither formal nor binding. It has been known for some time that jealousy, common in such circumstances, has led to murmurings along brick-and-bottle scarred 125th Street. Among those who qualify as leaders of the Movement are Martin Luther King; Roy Wilkins; Bayard Rustin; A. Philip Randolph; James Farmer; Milton A. Galamison; Fred Shuttlesworth; Ralph Abernathy; and John Lewis.

Of the nine Negro leaders named in the foregoing paragraph, one stands out as a natural leader. Although there was no effort to conceal the fact that he (Bayard Rustin) was connected in any way with Martin Luther King, it was five years before it became generally known that Rustin was secretary, advisor, and organizer to Mr. King. In his youth, Bayard Rustin had been a member of the Young Communist

League. That, he admits. Calling attention to his youthful attachment to the YCL would be somewhat pointless if it were possible to decode his ideological message for the whole Negro community and not for the "talented tenth" alone.

The question here is how much and what influence did Bayard Rustin exercise over Martin Luther King while he was secretary to the latter, from 1955 to 1960. Both men are fond of broad generalities. King has set forth his views in two books and a number of magazine articles. The self-portrait which he presents in his books is that of a scholar who has mastered the philosophy and theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Marx, and Mahatma Gandhi -- all by the time he was barely 25 years old.

Some assistance in finding out what Rustin believes/or says he believes may be found in a letter which he addressed to the New York Times a short while ago. He wants the "civil rights movement to broaden its social objectives." He wants the movement to inaugurate "over-all social reform." And, of course, he believes in the "enactment of social legislation for all Americans." He wants the poor white trash (M.L. King uses the phrase to work his Negro audiences into a frenzy) -- he wants his white allies to fight for "bolder concepts of social welfare." Rustin will tell you how "they mock the electorate," how "they will ultimately frustrate" the best Executive intentions, and, writes Rustin, "our present political alignments are the principal obstacles to social reform." Bayard Rustin reveals his total ignorance of the American system of government and how it works. He proposes, without a scintilla of imagination, that the Negro Freedom-Now Movement should capture the Republican and Democratic parties: "parties which permit themselves to be used as vehicles for the entrenchment of racist and conservative power." Rustin closes his letter to the New York Times with the suggestion that the "next marches should be on the Democratic and Republican party conventions." (New York Times, December 28, 1963)

Rustin signed his letter to the Times with the title, "Deputy Director, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom." It is much too soon to be confident in making an evaluation of the March, one that will stick. It has begun to appear that the seeds of jealousy were sown in the long tramp-tramp-tramp in Washington, D.C. By virtue of his seniority -- and seniority alone -- the leadership of A. Philip Randolph is as long as his remaining years. At this point in the Negro Freedom Story, the de facto leadership belongs to Martin Luther King, and well he knows it. If any of the aspirants succeed in crowding Mr. King out of his No. 1 spot in the Movement, Bayard Rustin seems destined to draw the Lucky Lot. Rustin has received the accolades of both King and Randolph, and their praise only confirms his estimate of himself. In signing himself as Deputy Director of the March, Rustin serves notice that he intends to hold on to the title long after it ceased to represent any functional reality.

Somewhere along the line, King's radicalism brought him into association with A. J. Muste, almost universally held to be the father of present-day militant pacifism. One of A. J.'s pacifist tentacles is called the Church Peace Mission (the CPM appears to be dormant at the present time). The Dutch-born, erstwhile nonparty Communist, dabbler in all shades of radicalism, nearing 80 years of age, the lithe but limber A.J. Muste has a favorite photograph of himself for use in his publicity: it shows him in mid-air, jumping over a guarded fence which surrounds a defense plant to which are admitted only those bearing proper credentials.

On April 6, 1962, Muste released a pamphlet entitled "A Christian Approach to Nuclear War." It called for the advocacy of unilateral disarmament (by the U.S.) and peaceful resistance to Communism. The Communist conspiracy would like nothing more than the rapid and extensive growth of these two types of action. The list of sponsors of the pamphlet includes the name of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Speaking at a session of hearings before the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, on May 24, 1962, page 2692,

Senator Strom Thurmond introduced a pamphlet issued by the War Resisters League. (Bayard Rustin is executive secretary of the WRL). Senator Thurmond described the WRL pamphlet as one of "several hundred examples of antimilitary, pro-Communist youth actions," and that it "is an all-out attack against Polaris submarines; it promotes peace marches...and it generates a wide variety of civil defense protest actions for disarmament and disloyalty...Rev. A. J. Muste and Martin Luther King are prominently named as promoters of resistance against the so-called U.S. arms race. You will note the absence of reference to Communist aggression." Featuring the names of Muste and King came naturally in a project which was under the direction of Bayard Rustin. The three men have been intimately associated in a wide variety of ultra-leftist activity for almost ten years.

All three men -- Muste, King, and Rustin -- profess to be disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. Take a long good look at their claim to be followers of Gandhi. Martin Luther King has little, if any, likeness to Gandhi, either in doctrine or behavior. Gandhi embraced the doctrine of quietism and turned it into a political weapon. M. L. King is a bombastic orator, a familiar public speaker who is forever tempted to use words for their own sake, not for understandable communication. The result is that he promises a wagon load of impossibilities. This is not so deplorable when only the "talented tenth" are deceived; they have the power to un-believe the bombast by the time the orator has reached his closing promise.

On the 2nd of June this year, Mr. King sent a telegram to Jesse Gray, director of Community Council on Housing, identified as an organizer of the Communist Party of Harlem. King wired Gray as follows: "You have my absolute support in your righteous and courageous effort to expose the outrageous condition that Negroes confront as a result of substandard housing conditions."

This is the story of Martin Luther King, Jr., who tells the whole world "that truth is not to be found either in traditional capitalism or in Marxism." And that Marx and Engels were men "afame with a passion for social justice," which is a falsehood.

Rev. King Is Declared Not a Red

Bobby Kennedy
Finds No Evidence

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—There is "no evidence" that either the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta or any of the other "top leaders of the major civil rights groups" is a Communist or Communist-controlled, according to Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Kennedy's statement to that effect was in a letter to Sen. Mike Monroney, D-Okla. The senator is a member of the Commerce committee, which is considering civil rights legislation. He made the letter public at a committee hearing Thursday.

GOVERNORS' CHARGE

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama and Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi had told the committee that racial demonstrations were attributable in part to Communists.

In his letter to Sen. Monroney, the attorney general said he based his statement "on all available information from the FBI and other sources." He singled out Dr. King in his defense of civil rights leaders because "particular accusations" were made against him.

CONSULTED HOOVER

Monroney explained that he had asked FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover about civil rights leaders following the testimony before the committee by the two Southern governors. Hoover referred the letter to the attorney general. The attorney general replied to Monroney in the letter made public Thursday. It was dated July 23, Tuesday.

Kennedy acknowledged that Communists had attempted to "infiltrate the civil rights groups and exploit the current racial situation." Then he said, "In view of the real injustices that exist and the resentment against them, these efforts have been remarkably unsuccessful."

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
July 26, 1963

Robert Kennedy Says FBI Reports/ King Is Not Red

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said Thursday there is no evidence that any top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists or are Communist-controlled.

Kennedy said Communist efforts to infiltrate civil rights groups and exploit the current racial situation "have been remarkably unsuccessful" despite the "real injustices that exist and the resentment against them" among Negroes.

KENNEDY MADE the statement in a letter to Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney, D-Okla., a member of the Senate Commerce Committee.

The group is holding hearings on the administration's civil rights proposals.

Monroney read the letter to the committee. Charges that Communist influences were at work in the Negro civil rights movement were levelled earlier before the committee by Govs. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi and George C. Wallace of Alabama.

MONRONEY SAID that after he heard several witnesses make statements concerning alleged Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement he wrote FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to call the testimony to his attention.

"I asked Mr. Hoover for information concerning the allegations as they related to the Rev. Martin Luther King and other leaders of civil rights organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality," Monroney said.

HOOVER TURNED the letter over to Kennedy, who replied:

"Based on all available information from the FBI and other sources, we have no evidence that any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communist-controlled. This is true as to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., about whom particular

accusations were made, as well as other leaders.

"It is natural and inevitable that Communists have made efforts to infiltrate the civil rights groups and to exploit the current racial situation. In view of the real injustices that exist and the resentment against them, these efforts have been remarkably unsuccessful."

Columbus Dispatch
Columbus, Ohio
July 25, 1963

Martin Luther King

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

101

February 18, 1964

MEMORANDUM:

**TO: The Honorable Burke Marshall,
 Assistant Attorney General
 Civil Rights Division
 U. S. Department of Justice**

FROM: Bill D. Moyers

Due note has been taken of the attached file on Reverend Martin Luther King which you forwarded to the White House at the direction of the Attorney General. Your interest in bringing this information to our attention is appreciated.

I assume, of course, that the Attorney General will continue to watch this situation with the utmost care.

an
Ag
72-02

~~Confidential~~

Memorandum For The Honorable Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice

From: William D. Moyers

Due note has been taken of the attached file on Reverend Martin Luther King which you forwarded to the White House, ~~at the~~ *OK* ~~the direction of the Attorney General~~. Your interest in bringing this information to our attention is appreciated.

Being ~~personally~~ familiar with the Attorney General's interest in ~~these~~ matters of this nature, I ~~am confident~~ that he has ~~been~~ made cognizant of the contents of this file. If not, you may wish to make certain ~~that he becomes fully~~ *this is done* ~~aware of the Reverend King's propensities, particularly in view of newspaper accounts in July, 1963, quoting the Attorney General as stating there is "no evidence" that Reverend King is a communist or communist controlled.~~

Determined to be an administrative marking

By ra On 7-2-62



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

January 9, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WILLIAM GILCHRIST ANDERSON, ET AL.
ALEX CARL SMITH, ET AL. - VICTIMS
OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE;
CONSPIRACY;
PERJURY;
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ACT

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., allegedly intends to get a delegation together to visit the Department of Justice and the White House sometime before February 10, 1964, if the Government does not withdraw from this case in which five persons were sentenced on December 23, 1963, in U. S. District Court, Macon, Georgia, on perjury charges.

This case arose out of the picketing and boycott in April, 1963, by Negroes against an Albany, Georgia, store owned by Alex Carl Smith allegedly because Smith, a white man, as a Federal juror voted against a Negro plaintiff in a civil damage suit. A Federal grand jury on August 9, 1963, indicted three members of the Albany movement (the Albany, Georgia, integration group) on Obstruction of Justice charges growing from this incident. Of these three, one has been placed on probation after having entered a guilty plea to charges against him in Federal Court, Rochester, New York, in September, 1963. Trial of another was declared a mistrial when a Federal jury in Albany, Georgia, became deadlocked in October, 1963. A new trial date for the April, 1964, term of Federal Court has been set. The third, a juvenile, still awaits trial.

The same Federal grand jury on August 9, 1963, indicted six other persons for perjury in their testimony before that body concerning this matter. Five of these persons were tried in Federal Court, Macon, Georgia, during November,

William Gilchrist Anderson, et al.

1963. Trial of the remaining defendant was continued until the next term of court. All of the five were found guilty and on December 23, 1963, were sentenced to varying terms ranging from a year and a day in prison to five years probation. All sentences have been appealed.

The progress of the trials in this matter has been of great interest to the Negro community. Our source alleges it is the plan of Martin Luther King, Jr., if the Government does not withdraw from these cases to get a delegation together to go to the Department of Justice and the White House. It was disclosed that petitions would be circulated and at the same time a pressure group would be sent to Washington. All of this allegedly would take place sometime no later than February 10, 1964.

The Criminal Division of the Department of Justice has actively participated in the prosecution of this matter and has been advised of this recent development.

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



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 9, 1964

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For Meeting with
Sheldon Cohen -
(Cohen will call)



Commissioner
Internal Revenue Service

104a

Date: 11-17-67

To: Hon. W. Marvin Watson

F. Y. I

Bancroft
INDIT - OUR OWN
PEOPLE
Hon. Gov.
F. Vinson
Sheldon

Sheldon S. Cohen