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2 1 OCT 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: General Counsel

ATTENTION :

Mr. Richard H. Lansdale

FROM

Sidney D. Stembridge

Acting Director of Security

SUBJECT

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Department of Justice Request

1. Reference is made to your request of 4 October 1976 (OGC 76-5403) in relation to a Department of Justice investigation concerning the past activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which were directed at the late Reverend Martin Luther King. Reference asked that the Office of Security determine through its files the nature and extent of any contact between the Agency and the FBI concerning Reverend King.

- 2. A search of our files has disclosed numerous FBI documents which either mention or concern Reverend king as well as a limited number of internal Office of Security documents which relate to FBI/CIA interest in Reverend King. Forwarded herewith as Tabs A through J are copies of each of these documents. A brief description of these documents together with an explanation of the Office of Security files from which these documents were obtained appears below:
  - a. Tab A consists of both Office of Security and FBI originated documents from our file on Reverend Martin Luther King (OS#353 062) and which appear to relate to referenced request. No sanitization has been effected on these documents.
  - b. Tab B consists of documents taken from the Office of Security file on Mr. Jay Richard Kennedy (0S#172 527) and which appear to relate to referenced request. It should be noted that Mr. Kennedy was a confidential informant of the Office of

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Security circa 1958 through 1969 and reported to this Office primarily on matters pertaining

The documents within Tab B refer to The Reverend Martin Luther King, together with other civil rights leaders, and it is presumed that the substance of the information contained within these documents was passed to the FBI through our routine liaison channels. Limited sanitization has been effected on two of these documents to delete certain information which is completely unrelated to civil rights and/or the Reverend King.

- c. Tab C consists of a 23 May 1967 FBI study entitled "Racial Violence Potential in the United States This Summer," which refers in part to Reverend King. This document was obtained from the Office of Security file on Stokely Carmichael (OS#493 507). No sanitization has been effected on this FBI document.
- d. Tab D consists of several FBI documents which refer to either Reverend King and/or Mrs. Coretta (nee: Scott) King obtained from Volumes IV, VII, XIV, XIX of the Office of Security file entitled "Vietnam Peace Drives" (OS#467 849). No sanitization has been effected on these documents.
- e. Tab E consists of a 23 August 1961 FBI document entitled "Southern Conference Educational Fund" which mentions Reverend King and was obtained from the Office of Security file concerning the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (OS#358 151). No sanitization has been effected on this document.
- f. Tab F consists of two FBI documents from the Office of Security file on Mrs. King (OS#541 487). Both of these documents appear to be portions of two separate FBI documents—the first being an excerpt from a 2 July 1968 electronic message and the second being page five of an FBI memorandum identified only by

the number "NY 100-95954." Mrs. King's file does not contain either of these documents in their entirety. No sanitization has been effected on these documents.

- g. Tab G consists of a 15 June 1965 FBI memorandum entitled "Demonstrations Protesting United States Intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic" which mentions Mrs. King. Cited document was obtained from the Office of Security file on the Congress of Unrepresented People (OS#466 698). No sanitization has been effected on this document.
- h. Tab H consists of a 5 January 1968 FBI memorandum entitled "Demonstrations Protesting United States Intervention in Vietnam" which mentions Mrs. Coretta (nee: Scott) King. This document was obtained from the Office of Security file pertaining to the Women's Strike for Peace (OS#356 394) and has not been sanitized.
- i. Tab I consists of two internal Agency documents and selected pages from an FBI document, all of which concern and/or refer to Reverend King and the FBI's interest in that regard. These documents were obtained from the Office of Security file pertaining to the Black Power Threat (OS#534 051). The selected pages from the FBI document appear to have been extracted from a December 1967 FBI memorandum entitled "The New Left: Road to Anarchy," and the entire document could not be located. No sanitization has been effected on these documents.
- 3. Also attached hereto as Tab J is a copy of an Agency dispatch from the JMWAVE Project in Miami, Florida, to Headquarters, dated 15 July 1966. This dispatch relates to a joint Dade County Police Department/FBI surveillance of Reverend Martin Luther King which occurred on 19-20 May 1966 and was obtained from the Office of Security file relating to the Peace Center of Miami (OS#333 467). The information within the dispatch concerning the surveillance had been provided to JMMAVE officials in confidence by a representative of the Dade County Police

Department, without the knowledge of the FBI. This dispatch should be coordinated with the Latin America Division/Directorate of Operations prior to our showing the dispatch to the Department of Justice.

- 4. Please note that all of these documents are forwarded to you on an "on loan" basis and retain their present classification. It is our recommendation that the Department of Justice be allowed to review the attached documents here in leadquarters in the presence of representatives from both the Office of Socurity and your Office. Should the Department of Justice determine through this review that they require copies of any of the attached material, additional coordination and/or sanitization could then be accomplished prior to transmitting any of these documents to the Department of Justice.
- 5. We defer to you as to whether any coordination with the FBI is necessary prior to showing the attached FBI memoranda to the Department of Justice. Please contact Mr. Bruce L. Solie, Chief, Security Analysis Group, extension 7682, when arrangements for the Department of Justice review of this material have been established. Mr. Solie will insure that an Office of Security representative is present during the review.

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Sidney D. Stembridge

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MEMORANDUM FOR

: Deputy Director for Support.

SUBJECT

The Militants: An Up-date on the Black Power Threat

- 1. This memorandum is for information only.
- 2. By memorandum entitled "Threat to CIA by Some Black Power Elements," dated 11 December 1967, I advised you of the results of inquiries with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the review of existing materials in the Office of Security concerning militant "Black Power" organizations and personalities. I specifically noted those groups and personalities which have expressed hostility against this Agency and its operations.
- 3. Since that time additional significant information has been received which reflects increased activity on the part of the militants, coupled with threats for what they have termed "The Bloody Summer." Although the ranks of the extremists are still proportionately small, their threats of violence must be given greater weight than might normally be attributed to their small percentage of the U.S. Negro population. A review of these recent developments is attached for your information.
- 4. In addition to the new information on the extreme militants, we have also noted two scheduled developments for the months of April and May which will be of interest to you. They are:
- a. Beginning on 22 April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) will initiate their "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, D.C. On that day, Dr. King has indicated he will lead "waves of the nation's poor and disinherited" into the city for prolonged, disruptive and "non-violent" demonstrations to demand government action for "jobs or income for all." He has indicated that his initial cadre of up to 3,000



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volunteers will remain in the nation's capital "until America responds." In what Dr. King calls the "last resort for nonviolence," SCLC reportedly plans lobbying and other action against the Capitol, a shut-down of all government buildings, transportation tie-ups and school boycotts. It has been threatened that if troops are used to quell these actions, Dr. King will call for demonstrations in other key cities of the nation. As the campaign escalates, SCLC has indicated it will call in peace groups to strengthen the program.

Significantly, Dr. King's campaign will begin early in the announced "International Days of Protest," 21-30 April 1968, sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a group in which Dr. King, Mrs. King, and Rev. James Bevel, a King aide, have been particularly active. The National Mobilization Committee is known to include members of the Communist Party, USA, and other subversive groups. Present plans for the ten-day Vietnam protest call for local and regional demonstrations and concentrated organizing efforts around the country, as well as coordinated protests abroad. As part of the campaign, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, and SNCC's Black Anti-war Anti-Draft Union have issued a call for a national student'strike for peace in Vietnam and against racism at home and abroad, "26 April. On 27 April the sponsors have called for a unified demonstration of the full force of the movement with organized protests and marches in major U.S. cities.

Spearheading the Washington campaign is Rev. Bernard Lafayette, Jr., 27, a member of the civil rights movement since he was a teen-ager. He was an original member of the Nashville, Tennessee, student movement in 1960 and participated in the much-publicized "Freedom Rides." As field secretary for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, he led voter registration and community organizing campaigns in Mississippi and Alabama. His most recent work has been with the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago and as director of the Neighborhood Service Project in the Roxbury section of Boston.

Joining Lafayette in coordinating the Washington protests is the Rev. James Bevel, who reportedly will direct the "non-violence" during the campaign. Bevel, it will be recalled, was released from his duties with the SCLC more than a year ago to become National

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Director of the aforementioned National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the united front organization which includes a broad grouping of organizations of diverse political philosophies, including Communist, Socialist, pacifist and civil rights. It was this organization which sponsored the 15 April 1967 demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco and the Pentagon protests of 21 October 1967. Politically, Bevel has leaned far to the Left. He has vigorously protested U.S. policy in Vietnam and has called the President a murderer. Although not specifically declaring himself to be a member of the Communist Party, he stated on 5 March 1966, in reply to a question about Communist Party membership, that "every thinking American should be." He has also stated: "We here will decide what the Government will be when we take over." His wife, also active in the Vietnam protest movement, was one of the "peace ladies" who met with North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives in Southeast Asia in 1966.

Despite Dr. King's statements the Washington protests are for "jobs or income for all," there can be little doubt the activity will be closely interlinked with the "peace" movement, particularly at the stage when "peace" groups are formally invited in as the activity escalates. The FBI has noted that Dr. King has shown not only a willingness, but even an eagerness to accept Communist aid, to support Communist causes, to confer with high-ranking Communist functionaries, and to rely heavily upon the advice and direction of dedicated Communists with concealed affiliation. It notes, specifically, that one of these Communist advisors wrote King's vicious denunciation of U.S. policy in Vietnam which he delivered before the 15 April 1967 rally held in New York City by Bevel's National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (then called the Spring Mobilization Committee). According to the FBI, Dr. King is regarded in Communist circles as "a genuine Marxist-Leninist who is following the Marxist-Leninist line."

b. Close on the heels of the initiation of Dr. King's Washington campaign, and possibly well-timed with the proposed formal call for participation by "peace" groups as that campaign escalates, are the "National Days for Black Unity Against the War in Vietnam, 19-20 May 1968." Sponsored by the Peking-line Progressive Labor Party and certain to attract the more militant factions, the protest calls for nationwide demonstrations "against the war in Vietnam and slum land-lords." The announced highpoint of the protests is a day of widespread

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work stoppage and demonstrations on campuses and in cities throughout the United States, tentatively set for 19 May. A potential for disturbance exists since the Maoist sponsors will have had almost a month to observe and assess the effects of Dr. King's Washington campaign.

5. I will continue to keep you advised on significant developments in this area as they come to our attention. You will be pleased to know FBI liaison has been most cooperative and effective in providing this office with timely information about the various domestic militants and protest groups.

← Charles W. Kane

Acting Director of Security

Attachment as stated

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21 July 1965

In connection with another matter, a source of this office talked to Mr. Jay Richard KENNEDY at his residence, New York City, on 13 July 1965. (Various topics were covered during the interview and have been reported under separate memoranda.) Following are Mr. KENNEDY's comments (not verbatim) concerning James FARMER of CORE which Mr. KENNEDY indicated should be forwarded in part to the President. In this connection, it should be noted that the source made it specifically clear to Mr. KENNEDY that he had no access to the White House, or any channel to the White House, but that he would report Mr. KENNEDY's comments in his usual channel into his own particular office within the Agency.

Mr. KENNEDY pointed out that James FARMER, who is head of CORE, is the number one target of the Maoist Communists and that by target Mr. KENNEDY specifically meant that FARMER either had to be assassinated or "engulfed" and taken over by the Peking-line Communists. (Mr. KENNEDY stated that this was obvious since FARMER is the only known non-violence advocate who is an outstanding anti-Communist and the foremost negro leader who commands a national following. (Mr. KENNEDY stated Martin Luther KING has already shown his hand by attacking the Administration and advocating a pull-out in Vietnam (KENNEDY insists that KING is compromised by his moral background and is probably controlled by Peking-line Communists); A. Phillip RANDOLPH is out of the United States and is very inactive; Harry BELAFONTE, of course, is a Communist and undoubtedly Peking controlled; and Whitney YOUNG and Roy WILKINS have no popular grass-roots type of following.

Mr. KENNEDY stated that the effort to "get" FARMER was obvious in the recent CORE convention at Durham, North Carolina, where efforts were made to remove FARMER as head of CORE and where the convention had adopted an anti-Administration "pull-out of Vietnam" line. (Mr. KENNEDY stated obviously this was Peking-line inspired and the remarkable about-face that FARMER forced on the convention not only showed FARMER's control and courage, but very clearly targeted him to the Peking-line Communists. (Mr. KENNEDY pointed out it must be remembered that while the convention was going on, Martin Luther KING issued a public statement denouncing U. S. policy and advocating pulling out of Vietnam.

Further, Mr. KENNEDY commented that FARMER's wife, Lulu, who is a white woman, had called Mr. KENNEDY from Durham and that Mr. KENNEDY had, in addition to offering advice, offered to come to Durham at that time. Mr. KENNEDY commented he cannot state the exact effect his talk with Mrs. FARMER had (which is apparently unknown to James FARMER), but it was obvious that FARMER's reversing the CORE convention stand followed in the wake of this telephone call. Further, according to Mr. KENNEDY, FARMER, immediately upon arriving in New York from Durham, called Mr. KENNEDY.

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Subsequently, according to Mr. KENNEDY, he has talked with FARMER both before his trip to Bogalusa, Louisiana, and after his return. Mr. (KENNEDY) stated that he had asked FARMER about the situation in Louisiana and FARMER had explained his views in the following manner which is the basis for the KENNEDY recommendation of passing the information to the White House. FARMER stated that his problem in Bogalusa and also in other places in the South is the fact that the poor negro families, most of whom reside in isolated areas of country surrounding the towns, are subject to terror and intimidation by bands of white extremists who threaten and actually commit bodily harm on these negro people. Furthermore, these people have no means of transportation and to try to get them to come into town to register as voters, facing the difficulties of intimidation and lack of transportation, is a major problem. According to FARMER, there has been no help for these people until the advent of the so-called Deacons and that the Deacons have offered assistance and more importantly physical protection. FARMER stated that when these people turned to him and asked "What can we do?", FARMER had no real answer. According to (Mr. KENNEDY, he asked FARMER why didn'the appeal to the President personally since FARMER does have access to the White House, and FARMER stated that he could not do this now. (Mr. KENNEDY) asked him why he could not and FARMER explained that if he publicly appealed to the President after forcing the CORE convention to reverse its stand on Vietnam, it would look like a "deal" and that he, FARMER, could be discredited because of this. Mr. KENNEDY asked FARMER what type of appeal should be made to the White House and FARMER, in substance, replied that if the White House were to send in either federal troops or federal marshals to protect the negro voters then he, FARMER, could handle the Deacons. Mr. (KENNEDY asked FARMER if he knew the leadership of the Deacons and named Ernest THOMAS and "Val" SIMS. FARMER stated, of course, he knew both of these individuals and when asked by Mr. KENNEDY about how many Deacons there were, FARMER stated that all told they had estimated about 10,000. (Mr. (KENNEDY then said how could you handle the Deacons assuming that you had federal troops or marshals to help. According to Mr. KENNEDY, FARMER stated that he would tell the Deacons and their leaders to "cool it" and "they would cool it." (Mr. KENNEDY insisted that FARMER is extremely positive on this point.

According to Mr. KENNEDY, FARMER is somewhat naive politically and although Mr. KENNEDY has tried to explain to him the Maoist tactics, FARMER does not as yet fully comprehend them. (Mr. KENNEDY) stated it is perfectly obvious that behind the Deacons is a strong organization force of hard core Peking-line Communists. (Mr. KENNEDY further stated that the Communists are provoking violence and also quite obviously they are provoking violence in an area where CORE is active. Also it was clearly apparent that they worked against FARMER at the national CORE convention at Durham, North Carolina.

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Mr. KENNEDY stated that there is a facade of legitimate, harassed negroes who are honestly trying to protect other negroes (and themselves) by defending them by physical means and that these negroes are being duped and pushed into violence by the Communists. They, of course, do not understand this. Mr. KENNEDY further said that FARMER, himself, does not directly understand although he may have learned a rude lesson at the Durham, North Carolina, convention where he was nearly kicked out of his leadership. In addition, Mr. KENNEDY stated that if the negroes got federal support and FARMER stopped the Deacons movement, this would leave the hard core Communists behind the Deacons exposed and vulnerable.

(Mr. KENNEDY stated that it is his intention to meet with FARMER as soon as possible and go over again with him the matter of the Deacons and the left-wing political maneuvers behind the Deacons.

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

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Chief, Security Research Staff

DATE: 7 July 1965

FROM

Chief, Liaison & External Ops Branch/SRS

SUBJECT:

Telephone Conversations with Jay Richard KENNEDY,

5 July and 6 July 1965

1. Set out following is a very brief summary of Mr. KEN-NEDY's views and comments of recent events, particularly in the civil rights area.

- 2. Mr. KENNEDY, in the first conversation which was on 5 July, stated that his study of the activities of the various leaders in the civil rights movement and the positions taken by the various groups have forced him to the conclusion that there is an almost complete split in the civil rights movement and that those groups which are militant and advocating violent action have been captured by the Peking-line Communists. He stated that there is a great deal of information which would support this contention. Along this line, it is particularly interesting to note that the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, commented that Hanoi had spurned the peace efforts of the United States which, according to KENNEDY, shows how contemptuous the Peking-line is of us and, of course, is reflected in the anti-United States policy attacks of the action groups in the civil rights movement. KENNEDY pointed out that Martin Luther KING was now linking the civil rights movement to attacks on our policy in Vietnam and that others were following this trend.
- 3. Mr. KENNEDY stated that a few days back James FARMER, head of CORE, had denounced men appearing in CORE picket lines who were armed; but KENNEDY stated that FARMER had not followed up this protest and had not moved strongly after he had made this attack.
- 4. He stated that all of the Negro groups have a wing that wants militant action and that these groups are subject to or soon will be subject to Peking direction and domination.
- 5. (Mr. KENNEDY) concluded this long conversation by stating that at the present moment, it is a certain conclusion that the Peking-line

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Communists have achieved a "fifth column" in the United States and that this will be used not only to disrupt and attempt to capture the civil rights movement, but will be used as a weapon to attack U.S. policy in South Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and wherever the Peking-line Communists direct.

- 6. On 6 July Mr. KENNEDY called and pointed out that FARM-ER had apparently suddenly moved in a bid to become the top negro leader in the United States who champions non-violence and anti- Communism. KENNEDY stated, that with Martin Luther KING moving toward the Pekingline and splitting the civil rights movement between militants and activists and the non-violent groups, FARMER's stand at the CORE convention in Durham, North Carolina, over the past few days was remarkable. KEN-NEDY referred to the New York Times article, page 1, which very clearly shows that FARMER had reversed a CORE stand against our government's activities in Vietnam and had successfully led a fight to take CORE out of international politics and to concentrate that group in the civil rights area. Further, according to KENNEDY, it should be noted that FARMER went solidly against such so-called self-defense organizations as the "Deacons".
- 7. When asked to explain what finally produced this strong change on FARMER's part, Mr. KENNEDY stated that there were probably a number of factors, but certainly one of the factors had to be the fact that Mr. FARMER is married to a woman of the white race. (Mr. KENNEDY also stated that possibly FARMER was beginning to realize the splitting in the movement and had decided the time had come to take a firm position. KENNEDY pointed out that he had been urging FARMER to do this for some time.
- 8. KENNEDY stated that he had made several telephone calls to FARMER's wife and that she had filled him in on the fight in the CORE convention in Durham, North Carolina, which the New York Times article covered. KENNEDY stated that it was remarkable that FARMER could reverse an already determined position by the convention and that he could take command of the group as he had done. KENNEDY added that this would probably bring Allan MORRISON in line behind FARMER and would give FARMER the benefit of the publicity of the magazines that MORRISON directs.

- 9. KENNEDY concluded by saying that this hard stand by FARMER will be very significant, particularly if he continues to hold this position.
- 10. (KENNEDY) stated that he would talk to the FBI concerning this in New York City and would continue to keep us informed.

Morse Allen

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8 February 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT

: Jay Richard KENNEDY - REPORT FROM

- l. Jay viewed BELLAFONTE's emceeing of the Johnny CARSON Show last night. Jay said that Sidney POITIER and Livingston WINGATE at the prompting of BELLAFONTE went into a lengthy discussion of how Martin Luther KING obtained his money some years ago. According to KENNEDY, BELLAFONTE is setting the stage for a future discussion of this matter when KING appears tonight on the show.
- 2. KENNEDY concludes that the reason for the discussion of the alleged source of the funds supplied to KING at this late date must be because there has been a leak of information and all concerned realize that probably the FBI is putting pressure on KING to disclose the true source of the funds.
- 3. Jey now speculates who leaked the information that he supplied to us that the funds source was from the Chicoms. I assured that no information that he passes to us is given to any source but an official one.

Cecil C. Tiphe

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5 April 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT

REPORT FROM Jay Richard KENNEDY

l. (Jay reported that following the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther KING, Jim FARMER called Jay for advice. FARMER claimed that President JOHNSON by telephoning Whitney YOUNG and other Negroes of the same persuasian extending the President's sympathy on the untimely death of the Reverend KING manifests the belief that the President is misinformed in matters of this delicacy. FARMER claims that the Negroes are embittered and believe that if the President had not been spending all of our resources on winning the war in Viet Nam, this tragic event would not have occured.

- 2. According to KENNEDY, FARMER stated that he, FARMER, had been in touch with the Reverend FOUNTROY and FOUNTROY stated that the poor peoples march on Washington which KING was to lead on 22 April 1968 will still be held.
- 3. (KENNEDY said that he had called Bill CONNELL and recommended that the President issue a proclamation which would make this weekend one of silent prayer. He suggested that the President call upon all ministers, rabbies and priests to concentrate on texts which would emphasis the need for peace in the world. (KENNEDY) said that he also suggested to Bill Connell that the President extend an invitation to Mahalia JACKSON to sing Sunday in a memorial service in Washington, D. C. at the Lincoln Memorial. (KENNEDY) said that he would be able to bring SINATRA to Washington at the same time to sing hymns known and loved by the black race. (KENNEDY said that today at sundown begins the Jewish Sabbath and that he had urged Bill CONNELL to request that his suggestions be acted upon forthwith. (KENNEDY said that he hates to see this government reacting to notification that the New York Stock Exchange will shut down its trading at 11:00 today and use the time for silent prayer. KENNEDY said that he also noted that campuses all over the United States have also agreed to hold memorial services. He thinks that this government should be way out front in this regard and not react untimely to the practices put into motion by the Stock Exchange and the colleges.

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8 April 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT

: (Jay Richard KENNEDY) - REPORT FROM

1. KENNEDY called me this morning at the office to thank me for my efforts over the weekend to locate his daughter who was temporarily in the city and who he suspected may be a victim of the local rioting.

- 2. KENNEDY advised that Harry BETAFONTE was not in evidence on TV following the assassination of Martin Luther KING on Thursday, 4 April 1968. KENNEDY received word from a reliable source that BELAFONTE, who is under Peking discipline, was instructed not to be in the forefront. BELAFONTE has, however, now been instructed to move in to the home of Martin Luther KING's widow in Atlanta. He is now there and will remain until several days after the funeral. BELAFONTE, Stokely CARMICHAEL and other leaders in the Black Power structure who are under Peking discipline will hold a strategy meeting in the Reverend KING's home after the funeral.
- 3. KENNEDY suggested that television on Tuesday will disclose that BELAFONTE and Robert KENNEDY will be in the forefront during the funeral services. According to Jay, BELAFONTE has sufficient information of a blackmail nature on Bobby KENNEDY that will result in KENNEDY reacting as a puppet to Peking direction in the coming presidential nominating campaign. KENNEDY urges that a task force be established not by the FBI but by the intelligence community to cover BELAFONTE from now on in which should develop the intelligence that BELAFONTE, Martin Luther KING, and Mrs. KING have for years been the willing tools of Peking.

Cecil C. Tighe

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11 May 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: (Jay KENNEDY, Conversation with

- 1. The writer had a short discussion this morning with Jay Kennedy concerning the involvement of A. Philip RANDOLPH, the distinguished Negro leader, in the so-called "Declaration of Conscience" against participation in the war in Vietnam. In fact, this Declaration of Conscience goes so far as to attempt to get Negroes to refuse to register for the draft which is, infact, illegal activity and against Federal law.
- 2. In summarizing Kennedy's point of view, the problem appears to be something like this. The Communist left is making an all out drive to get into the Negro movement. If through any mechanism they can link prominent Negro leaders to illegal activities and activity which is against President Johnson's policy, this may cause a serious break between Johnson and the Negro leadership which, in turn, may create a violent disruption in the Negro Civil Rights Movement which would give the Communists an opportunity to cause chaos and disruption.
- 3. Furthermore, if the above is coupled with an exposure of Martin Luther KING, Jr. by other then members of his own race, the damage to the Negro movement would be impossible to estimate. Kennedy is gravely concerned that KING may be exposed by white sources, official or otherwise, which would have no good effect and would probably only make KING a martyr. Kennedy was also concerned that KING might possibly be assassinated before his exposure which would have the effect of making him a martyr and would not he at all helpful to the Negro movement. It is Kennedy's belief that somehow or other Martin Luther KING must be removed from the leadership of the Negro movement, and his removal must come from within not from without. Kennedy feels that somewhere in the Negro movement, at the top, there must be a Negro leader who is "clean" who could step into the vacuum and chaos if Martin Luther KING were either exposed or assassinated.
- 4. In summary, Kennedy feels that unless the Negro leaders, other than KING, are informed and are capable of intelligent maneuvering, the Communists or Negro elements who will be directed by the Communists may be in a position to, if not take over the Negro movement, completely disrupt it and hence cause extremely critical problems for the Government of the United States.

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#### EVES CHIV

9 June 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR

Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT

(KENNEDY, Jay Richard

(Conversation with 8 June 1965,

Washington, D.C.)

1. On 8 June 1965, the writer met with Mr. Kennedy at the Hilton Hotel, Washington, and had a long discussion with him beginning at approximately 1:15 and ending at 5 p.m. Mr. Kennedy's comments covered a wide range of matters, but basically they can be broken down into 3 main topics:

(a) His attitude towards the FBI;

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- (b) His thoughts concerning the writing of a series of books with the protagonist a CIA agent; and
- (c) Comments on the Negro Civil Rights Movement, the various personalities connected with it, and some of (Mr. Kennedy's opinions and theories regarding future events connected with the Civil Rights Movement.

Each of the above will be discussed separately.

#### Mr. Kennedy's attitude towards the FBI

- 2. Sometime back, Chief, SRS, decided that it would be advantageous to have Mr. Kennedy give information, particularly regarding the Civil Rights Movement, to agents of the FBI in New York City, particularly if this information concerned domestic or local events and activities. Chief, SRS, felt that it would be a faster means of communication than heretofore used wherein Mr. Kennedy communicated with SRS officers who, in turn, passed the information to either the FBI or areas where it was useful.
- 3. Mr. Kennedy made it very clear that he did not wish to communicate with FBI agents, that the Civil Rights Movement should be regarded as an international situation because of the Communist directed infiltration into the movement, and that he felt in some respects that he was being "downgraded" by being used as a source by the FBI and not in a higher echelon

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of Government. While Mr. Kennedy did not absolutely refuse to cooperate with the Bureau, he made it obvious that only if there was a matter which he felt was of interest directly to the Bureau locally, would he furnish this type of information; otherwise, he would furnish it as he has done previously or cease altogether. The writer attempted, more or less unsuccessfully, to discuss jurisdiction with Mr. Kennedy, but Mr. Kennedy maintained his position that the matter was not one of jurisdiction for the FBI or any single Government agency, but was one that the Government, including CIA, should be interested in; namely, the international Communist efforts at corrupting and seizing the Negro Civil Rights Movement.

Mr. Kennedy's thoughts regarding a possible writing of a series of novels aimed at improving the picture of CIA and defending this Government's actions and the activities of the CIA in support of the Government.

4. During the long conversation, Mr. Kennedy introduced this subject by saying that he was sick and tired of the poor public picture that was constantly being presented of the CIA by all sorts of writers, leftwing and otherwise. He stated that Government agents were generally painted as fools and idiots, and that the Headquarters activities obviously were some sort of super government who acted solely on their own and often against the interests of the United States. He stated that he had read a number of books such as "The Invisible Government", and this type of reporting disgusted him. He stated that he had in mind the writing of a series of novels, using a CIA agent as hero, which would reflect decent, intelligent, and courageous work on behalf of the United States. He stated that the James Bond books by Fleming averaged 190-200 pages, and he felt that he could write this type of a novel once or twice a year in addition to his serious work as a novelist.

 ${\underline{\tt NOTE}}$ : Mr. Kennedy's latest novel is about to be published, and he was in Washington for the American Booksellers Association Convention.

5. Mr. Kennedy stated he was certain that he could handle this type of writing since he had demonstrated his capacity as a writer, but that he might require certain technical assistance, particularly in terms of tradecraft and certain fundamental matters of which he had little knowledge. He indicated that perhaps some support could be given him if it was agreed that the idea of the novels had merit, and that support could take the shape of area knowledge, tradecraft, terminology, and perhaps some operational matters which were not sensitive or classified.

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- 6. The writer indicated that the idea had merit and that possibly he could be given some technical support on a covert basis. The writer wanted to know who would publish this, or did Mr. Kennedy have in mind any particular publisher who would publish this if Mr. Kennedy wrote it. Mr. Kennedy stated that he was absolutely certain that his own publisher would jump at the chance to publish this type of novel if he thought Mr. Kennedy would write them, and Mr. Kennedy was quite willing to discuss the matter with his publisher, quite possibly during the following evening. Mr. Kennedy stated that he had given this matter considerable thought and because he was incensed at the bad press the Agency and other Government institutions were getting, he would be quite willing to undertake this task. He added that he already had conceived three plots that he felt would be suitable in this connection.
- 7. The writer, as mentioned above, encouraged Mr. Kennedy but stated he could make no substantial commitment, but that he would like to discuss these proposals with Chief, SRS and other associates.
- 8. On 9 June 1965, Mr. Kennedy, who was then leaving Washington, called the writer and stated that he had talked this idea over with his publishers and they are enthusiastic about the idea since he said he would be willing to undertake it, and that, in turn, they would bring to bear all of their capacity for distribution of literary works. Mr. Kennedy stated that his publisher is with the World Publishers, Inc., who are, in turn, controlled by the Chandler interests of the West Coast. The writer again thanked Mr. Kennedy and stated that the matter would immediately be discussed.

NOTE: It should be noted that Mr. Kennedy is a thoroughly experienced writer with a number of books to his credit and is not given to idle conversation in matters such as this (see attached).

#### Civil Rights Movement

9. For background information, it is to be recalled that Mr. Kennedy has long provided information on the Negro Civil Rights Movement and its various leaders. Mr. Kennedy's position is one of complete sympathy with the Negro and the Civil Rights Movement, but holds that only through legal means and peaceful means should the Negro aims be accomplished. Mr. Kennedy, who is a violent anti-Communist, has been alarmed at the Communist movement into the Negro Civil Rights field and the Communist penetration into the various Negro organizations. He has undeniably done everything in his capacity to help the Negro leaders, particularly James FARMER of CORE.

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It is worth noting for the record that Mr. Kennedy has been involved with various Negro leaders since as early as 1934; and he has known a number of the leaders, on a very close personal basis, since that time.

- 10. Mr. Kennedy's main concern has been that the highly derogatory information, of which he is familiar, concerning Martin Luther KING, Jr., will be exposed to the public by the wrong people and at the wrong time which, in Mr. Kennedy's opinion, will set the Civil Rights Movement back years and would perhaps give the Communists a chance to either further disrupt it or to seize control of the movement.
- 11. To make certain that this report reflects as accurately as possible the derogatory information on Martin Luther KING, Jr., here are three main categories:
  - (a) Highly derogatory information on sexual abnormalities and sexual activities which have taken place within the United States and overseas;
  - (b) A possible theft of money; and
  - (c) Association with identified Communist or pro-Soviet types on an intense personal basis, particularly Harry BELAFONTE, the Negro actor/singer.

To further set the background, it should be recalled that several months ago a very serious dispute erupted between Mr. John Edgar HOOVER and Martin Luther KING, Jr. At that time James FARMER, head of CORE, received information, from an absolutely reliable source, that the FBI had derogatory information on Martin Luther KING, Jr., that Mr. HOOVER was incensed on attacks on his agents and the integrity of his organization, and that grave possibilities existed that Mr. HOOVER would turn loose to the public the derogatory information which has been presented above. In turn, FARMER gave the information, in confidence, to Mr. Kennedy and at approximately the same time, FARMER confronted Martin Luther KING, Jr. with the facts. It is sufficient to say that the matter was hushed up by KING visiting HOOVER. A number of meetings took place between the top Negro leaders and discussions were held as to what to do about the derogatory information, since obviously other individuals would know about it. To date, nothing has been done, and the debate is going on in the top Negro channels at the present time.

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11. With this background in mind, the writer asked Mr. Kennedy who were the top Negro leaders that he was in contact with and what were their relationships one to another. The writer named the following individuals, and these were acknowledged by Mr. Kennedy as persons with whom he was dealing:

Whitney YOUNG of the Urban League

Roy WILKINS of the NAACP

James FARMER of CORE

A. Phillip RANDOLPH, veteran Negro union leader

Allan MORRISON, top Negro editor and journalist in the United States.

The other leaders of first magnitude that entered the discussion are Martin Luther KING, Jr. and Harry BELAFONTE, who has been established clearly as a close and intimate friend of Martin Luther KING, Jr. and whose left wing background is also known. Some of the lesser Negro leaders will be mentioned later, but those of the greater strength and opposed to KING are YOUNG, WILKINS, FARMER, RANDOLPH, and MORRISON. Mr. Kennedy replied to the question of rapport among these leaders by saying flatly that there was no rapport at all, that all mistrust and dislike the other, and in certain cases, there was often antagonism. Mr. Kennedy stated that the brightest, shrewdest, and cleverest of all was Roy WIIKINS, but a man who had no popular or grass roots following. He stated that Whitney YOUNG was a bright Negro, but who had no following whatsoever in the popular sense, but was making a definite play to gain power by seeking to be publicly connected with important individuals both in the Government and out. (Mr. Kennedy described A. Phillip RANDOLPH as a controversial old man, possibly becoming senile, who was afraid to act for fear of damaging his own reputation and who liked to imagine himself as the "Moses" of the Negro race. RANDOLPH has some popular following, but he is aloof and has not committed himself as intensely as some of the others. James FARMER, according to Kennedy, is probably the most sincere and devoted of the leaders, but is naive and has a complete capacity for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time. FARMER personally is clean and he does, in fact, have the grass roots support of the large organization CORE, which he controls. Mr. Kennedy insisted that he is law abiding, nonviolent, and a decent individual, but not too politically intelligent.

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#### EYES CHIV

12. Mr. Kennedy stated that for weeks the problem of Martin Luther KING, Jr. has been discussed between these leaders and that all of them are aware of the details. (Mr. Kennedy stated that to show the range of connections involved here and the sensitive nature of it, he gave the following example.

He said that a few days ago, he was in the office of Whitney YOUNG to discuss with him this matter. Mr. Kennedy stated that for the first 15 minutes or so, YOUNG was constantly being called to the telephone and the conversation was interrupted. Mr. Kennedy commented that the first two calls that came in were inconsequential, but he stated that the third call was from the President of the United States. (Mr. Kennedy stated that he listened to two more calls then told YOUNG that either he would have to quit accepting phone calls or Mr. Kennedy would no longer \_ discuss anything with him. Whitney YOUNG then told his secretary to stop the calls, and they discussed the matter. Mr. Kennedy stated that the conversation was basically his attempting to get Whitney YOUNG to come to some agreement with the other leaders on the KING matter by pointing out that Roy WILKINS was in favor of "dumping" KING, and that he, Whitney YOUNG, hadn't committed himself to anything. (Mr. Kennedy indicated that this conversation was not profitable.

13. Of considerable importance to Mr. Kennedy was the following. He was having a conversation with Allan MORRISON, the Negro editor, and MORRISON said to him that he had received confirmation, in exact detail, of the derogatory KING story. Further, that the information had come from Washington from a highly placed official in the Department of Justice, Mr. , who had in turn conveyed the information to a Mr. , a Negro also attached to the Department of Justice, who was working in Chicago and who had given it directly to Allan MORRISON. MORRISON stated that he was told that the Washington source had the entire KING file in his office including photographs and tapes on Martin Luther KING, Jr. (Mr. Kennedy said he asked MORRISON if he had done anything about this; and, according to Mr. Kennedy, MORRISON told him that he called a meeting of the top editors and officials of the Johnson publications (Ebony, etc.) of which he, MORRISON, is the top editor. According to MORRISON, he told those present the story. After some shocked silence, Mr. JOHNSON said to MORRISON and those present, we cannot publish that; and Mr. Kennedy said that MORRISON told Mr. JOHNSON, if we don't publish it, it is going to blow up underneath our noses because it is certain to come out sooner or later.

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- 14. (Mr. Kennedy stated that the details of the KING matter are definitely known to the editors of the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, but they will not break the story because they have been asked not to. (Mr. Kennedy stated presumably by the President.
- 15. The writer than referred to the Kennedy thesis that Martin Luther KING, Jr. is moving in a way that is indicative that he is being controlled by the Peking line Communists, possibly or probably through BELAFONTE, from whom there is some information that would indicate he is a Maoist. The writer asked Mr. Kennedy what possible action would the Peking line Communists take in the KING matter. (Mr. Kennedy replied by saying that it is certain to him that the Communists, both the Moscow and the Peking types, are aware of the Martin Luther KING, Jr. matter. (Mr. Kennedy stated as far as he could figure out, the Peking Communists would handle KING in one of two ways:
  - (a) We will permit you to remain head of the Negro movement in the United States and you may continue to rise in public acclaim. The other Negro leaders have no courage and they will not expose you. They are cowards and controlled by the Capitalist leaders of the United States. You will, however, remember that we know what the story is and you will do what you are told. Or
  - (b) They, themselves, the Peking Communists, will expose KING and in so doing they will end him, they will everlasting discredit all the other Negro leaders, and they will then be in a position to disrupt the Negro movement, cause chaos and trouble, and possibly gain control of it. If they expose KING, they will say to the Press and public media which they control to the Negro people, that your leaders have betrayed you, they knew this story of KING all along and were cowardly. They obeyed instructions from their capitalist leaders.
- 16. Mr. Kennedy stated that he is absolutely convinced that the Peking line Communists are moving ahead of the Moscow Communists, both in the world area and in the domestic scene. He pointed out that BELAFONTE has taken over the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and that James FORMAN, its National Executive Secretary, is going along with this. He stated that there are other indications of the Peking line Communists showing strength, and that there are a number of ways this can be demonstrated. He called attention to the fact that for the last 3 or 4 weeks there has been a period of inaction and that none of the Negro leaders, except James FARMER





#### EVES ONLY

of CORE, have been doing anything when they should have been strongly active. (Mr. Kennedy states that it is his opinion that this is due to the movement being held in check by Peking line Communists who are demonstrating and consolidating their strength. He stated further that the "deacons" are nothing more than small ad hoc groups which the Peking line Communists have set up as needed and are, in fact, riding on the back of CORE. (Mr. Kennedy stated that they are not CORE groups, but are activist Negro advocates of violence and who are working to disrupt and smear CORE and its leadership. They are constantly working to convert CORE from a non-violent group into an action group which would, of course, put CORE in the Peking line.

- 17. The writer asked Mr. Kennedy if there was any indication that he knew of that would show that the Negro leaders--YOUNG, WILKINS, FARMER, RANDOLPH or MORRISON--were going to expose KING. Mr. Kennedy stated that there is no such information, that none of them wanted to be responsible for the exposure, nor could they agree among themselves to do it as a group. MORRISON, himself, according to Kennedy, would like to expose the situation, but he could not do this alone and unsupported. Mr. Kennedy stated again, as he had many times previously, that unless this exposure comes from the Negro leaders themselves, the attacks on KING will be useless and will end up only making him perhaps a martyr and would set back the Negro Civil Rights Movement for years.
- any examination of the Civil Rights Movement, at the present time, would show a clear and concise picture of Communist penetration and activities, namely, from the Peking line Communists. Mr. Kennedy said it is well to note that the war in Vietnam has now been linked to the Civil Rights Movement and, gradually, the two unrelated areas are being blended together in an all out Communist Party line attack on U.S. policy. Mr. Kennedy stated that this has spread confusion into the Negro Civil Rights Movement and has duped many of the leaders of the movement and caused them to make utterances which are stupid and certainly unpatriotic. Mr. Kennedy referred to the activities and statements of A. Phillip RANDOLPH in behalf of the "Refusal to Fight" movement.
- 19. Mr. Kennedy further said that the aims of the Communists were clear in that they wanted to link the Negro leadership and the Negro mass Civil Rights Movement into a position of anti-government action, and that the Peking line would be away from the Moscow "peaceful coexistence line", and would be continuous agitation for violent action and disruption. He stated that so called leaders like Martin Luther KING, Jr. and Harry BELA-FONTE have very clearly started blending the Negro Civil Rights Movement into



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## EVES CALV

a merger with their attacks on the government policy in Vietnam and, even to a lesser degree, into attacks on government policy in the Dominican Republic. Mr. Kennedy predicted that more and more of this will appear as the summer goes along. He stated that among the most important leaders of the movement, he felt that only Allan MORRISON had a thorough understanding of the problem, that FARMER in a vague way understood the problem, but was not acute enough to clearly understand it and combat it. He said WILKINS and Whitney YOUNG probably understood this matter, but they are too busy attempting to create a good image of themselves in the public eye to be willing to get down and fight this penetration in an all out manner.

20. Mr. Kennedy stated that he would be continuously in touch with either Chief, SRS or the writer as he obtained information of interest.

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SUBJECT: Notes Made During Conversations with [JRK in New York City 25 February 1955]

8. Source states Martin Luther King is a homosexual and a "Switch Hitter".

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Notes Mark During Conversations with JEK

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FBI DOC DTO 24 JAN 1968 ENTITIED "RESIST"

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ABSTRACT FROM FRET MESSAGES DETO 2 JULY 1968 & 28 MAYABO

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RE MARTIN LUTHER KTUG (WITH ENCLOSURE GUTATIED)

A CURRENT ANALYSIS-MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., 12 MAR)

DEPT/STATE AIRGRAM DATO 30 OCT 1967, SUBJ. MARTIN!

LUTHER KING TO DELIVER VN SPEECH IN STRASBOURG

PROTESTING U.S. FINTERVENTION IN VN & DOM. REPUBLICY.

PROTESTING U.S. FATHENETTIEN IN VN !

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FBI DOC GNTITLED "MILITANT, BLACK POWER, CATREMIST AND/OR COMMUNIST NEGRO ORIGNTED ORGANIZATIONS" WITH FINDEX

FBI DOC ENTITLED "SIGNIFICANT NOGRO ORGANIZATIONS NOT ALLIED WITH BLACK POWER MILITANTS WITH THE

11 DEC 1037

MEMORANDUM FOR

: Deputy Director for Support

SUBJECT

: Threat to GIA by Some "Black Power"

Elements

- 1. This memorandum is for information only.
- 2. The growing hostility expressed toward this Agency by some of the more volatile advocates of so-called "black power" presents this Agency with what might be a new threat to its operations abroad and its image in the United States.
- 3. In the past, denunciation of the Agency by a scattered few for the alleged Agency "assassination" of Patrice Lumumba and Malcolm X. Little might have been dismissed as natural fall-out from embittered followers of the two, seeking a publicly-recognizable scapegoat, and necessarily distorting the true facts behind the deaths to have them "prove" the case against the scapegoat. Presently, however, the growing militancy of "black power" disciples—with clear flinks to both Maoist and Moscow Communist ideologies—and similarly clear threats to counter this Agency's activities, necessitates placing the problem in an entirely new perspective.
- 4. The term "black power," despite its militant origins, has been accepted by some to describe the laudable efforts of economic "self-help" and "pride of race" efforts of many Negroes as the community and collegiate level. Indeed, some of those of sincers dedication to the orthodox civil rights movement have accepted the use of the term "black power" to describe their efforts. This presents the problem of separating these constructive efforts—and advocates—from those whose goal is the destruction of the legally constituted government of this Nation.

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- At least two organizations, the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have questioned the motives and tactics of those who advocate "black power" and 'black rebellion,' and such respected Negro journalists as Carl T. Rowan and George Schuyler have warned against the militants. In its report for Fiscal Year 1967, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has pointed out that "So-called civil rights organizations preaching hatred for the white race, demanding immunity from laws, and advocating violence constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security." (Emphasis added) The FBI annual report specifically names the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement as hoping "to disrupt the tranquility of our Nation with violence to further the concept of 'black power,'" According to the FBI report, "Leaders of these groups constantly attempt to spread domestic discord among Negroes by making inflammatory speeches and issuing hate-filled literature." (The same report warns of such militant organizations as the Movimento Pro Independia de Puerto Rico, a group which has signed an "accord" to work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.) State and Federal legislative committees have taken notice of the Communist links to some of the militant groups.
- 6. In many ways this information is illuminating, yet in other ways it presents the problem of careful evaluation. Most certainly, all past members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee cannot be charged with being a threat to the Nation's internal security, whereas those who support the statements and activities of the present leadership of SNCC must remain suspect. Similarly, those who have adhered to the tenets of the Revolutionary Action Movement, even from its early days, must be considered more than suspect.
- 7. Because of this matter of "degree" of involvement in the unfavorable, indeed dangerous, aspects of black power," this office has compiled from its records those personalities (Tab A), and organizations (Tab B) which must be of our official concern. Two organizations which have to date resisted the blandishments of black power, leaders are indicated in Tab C. Many of the personalities and

organizations in Tab A and Tab B have not specifically attacked this Agency, although the anti-U. S. policy stance of some of them may make this only a temporary reprieve. Cthers have not specifically spoken cut against the Agency, and by their nature, will probably never single out this Agency for abuse or organized opposition.

8. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has advised that it knows of no organized "black power" assault on this Agency other than the statement of Stokely Carmichael that he is establishing a new group to oppose CIA activities. Our records presently seem to limit information on open attacks on CIA to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Afro-American Heritage Association, and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the latter being the organization founded by the late Malcolm X. Little, and to individuals affiliated with a number of militant groups. Should information be received which significantly supplements that contained in the attachments to this memorandum, you will be advised.

Howard J. Osborn Director of Security

Attachments: Tabs A. B. C

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King, Martin Lether, Jr.

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KING, Martin Luther, Jr. - Rev. King heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana, reported on 13 April 1964 to be "substantially under the control of the Communist Party..." Dr. King and his wife have been outspoken critics of U.S. Vietnam policy. Dr. King is known to have two advisors who were identified in the past with the Communist cause, and his deputy, Rev. James Bevel who heads the National Mobilization, has been quoted as stating "every thinking American" should be a member of the Communist Party. Dr. King more recently has proposed extended civil disobedience in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1968. Although Dr. King has participated in "peace" marches in the past, he sent his regrets to the 21-22 October 1967 Pentagon protesters, indicating that he would have attended if other commitments had not precluded it.

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## Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta

This organization, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is not cited by any Federal agency or committee. However, the Joint Lagislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana, reported on 13 April 1964: "The Committee finds that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee are substantially under the control of the Communist Party through the influence of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Communists who control it." Dr. King has been an outspoken opponent of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam conflict and has supported the various major protest movements. His deputy, Rev. James Beyel, has headed the April 15th Mobilization, the Spring Mobilization Committee and presently heads the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Dr. King has been publicly identified as attending at least one session at the Highlander Folk School and his deputy has indicated that "every thinking American" should be a member of the Communist Party. FBI sources have indicated that Rev: King has-two past-identified Communists serving as advisors pand that they have counseled Dr. King to avoid involvement with the militants of SNCC.

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MENIORANDUM FOR

: Deputy Director for Support

SUBJECT

Potential for Civil Disturbance, Washington, D.C., Summer 1968

- 1. This memorandum is for information only.
- 2. On 15 March 1969, I furnished you with our update assessment of the Black Power movement and attendant potential for civil disturbance. Since that time, we have received two excellent studies from the Federal Bureau of Investigation which provide additional information about extremist elements and the potential for civil disturbance in the District of Columbia during the summer of 1963.
- 3. One of the reports, entitled "Martin Lather King, Ir. —A Current Analysis" notes Dr. King's threat to dislocate the city of Washington and fill the fails of Washington and currounding communities by having his followers engage in civil disobedience during the prolonged "Washington Spring Project" or "Poor People's Campaign" slated to begin on 22 April 1968. The FBI study details Rev. King's Markist bent and the high degree of influence on his behavior by Communist elements. Coupled with such Communist influence over the Poor People's Campaign, the FBI study notes the additional threat which exists in the plans of black nationalist groups to seize the initiative of the Campaign and escalate the demonstrations to violence. These two factors, states the FBI study, present "a potential for an extremely explosive situation." I have attached the most-detailed FBI study on Dr. King's political orientation and moral weaknesses as TAB A.
- 4. The second FBI study, entitled "Outlook for Racial Violence in Washington, D. C.", provides an in-depth review of both explosive and moderating factors concerned with that topic.



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It notes that Washington, D.C. has a large, well-established, responsible Negro middle class which has a stabilizing influence on the entire Negro community. It also notes the dispersal of problem areas and the intensive awareness and concern of Government officials and community leaders for what occurs in the city. The report observes, however, "storm clouds gathering on the horizon." The report notes: "Were it not for the continuing presence of Stokely Carmichael in Washington and the mass civil disobedience demonstration that Martin Luther King has planned for the Nation's Capital this spring, the racial cituation in the District of Columbia could be viewed with some measure of optimism when compared with the prospects in some other major American cities... But Carmichiel's current organizing activity and King's scheduled demonstration bode ill for this city." "The immediate threat to Washington, " continues the analysts, "is posed by King's project." It notes that the line between civil disobedience and violence is precariously thin and can be croseed ever all too easily. "There is danger, " it notes, "that the demonstration will get out of control or that extremists WII seize the project and take over its direction." The King demonstration, states the report, "constitutes a grave threat to peace and order in this city." The FBI study also sees a "long-range peril to Washington" in Carmichael's efforts to create a Black United Front. Carmichael's aberrant personality and his dedication and commitment to the use of violent action to destroy American society, the report concludes, "can have only a polarizing and poisoning effect on race relations in Washington. He is a potent menace to the racial tranquility of this city." The detailed FBI study is attached as TAB B.

5. I will keep you informed of any additional information received which reflects on the potential for civil disturbance in Washington and environs.

Howard J. Osborn Director of Security

Attachments as stated

Distribution:

OS/SRS/EFSayle/pjh - 27 March 1968

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Separate Cover Attachment A to UFGT > 16828

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr Office Bernard Lee IDEN C

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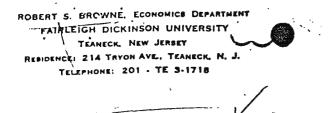
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Distribution: (3) - C/KUSODA

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Motto: "God First, Cihers Second, Ourselves Last"

Rev. Wm. Lou Lamber. B.Th., D.D. PASTOR, GREATER MOUNT HOPE BAPTIST CHURCH 6034-40 S. Princeton Ave. - HYde Park 3-4708 Pres., Interdenominational Ministers Civic League of III. Chairman, Exec. Board, Good Citizenship Org. Chicago, III. 60621

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MICHAEL ANTHONY GLEAN ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

HARRY S. XNDERSEN PASTOR.

PHONE: 888-8211

LLOP & LONG

ATTORNEYS

PHONE RADCLIFFE 3-5792 OR 224-3718

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# INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT BOTEL SYSTEM, INC.

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NE-5-4949 MRS. (MARY J. MECOY) 4950 N.W. 15 COURT, MA ) MIA
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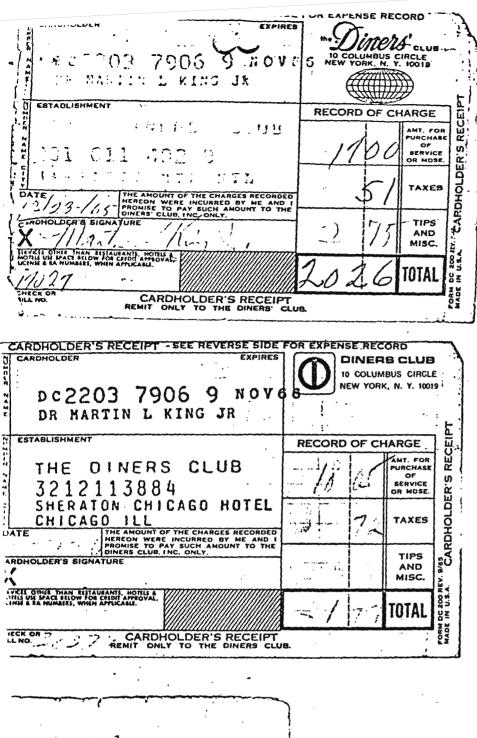
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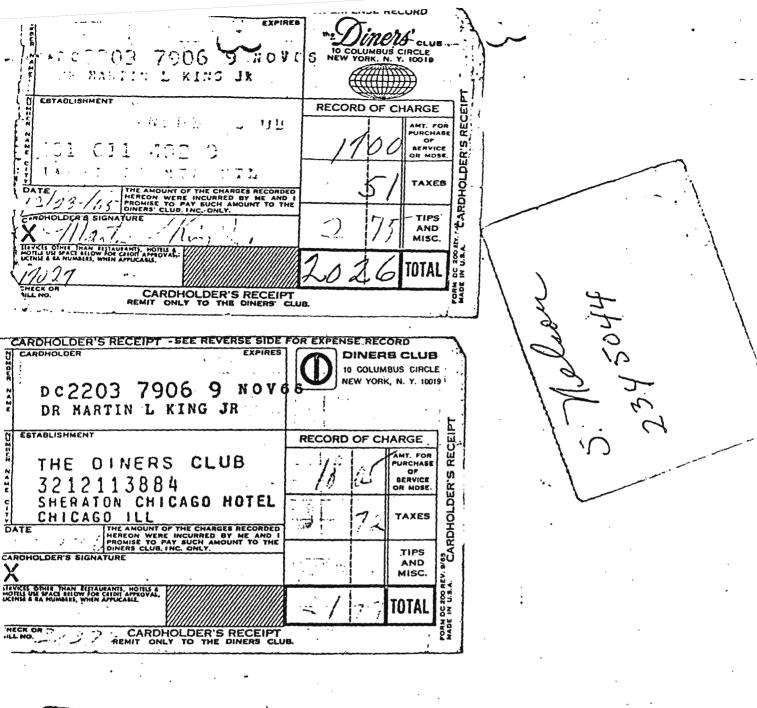
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