

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. P. E. Nugent

62-116395

December 1, 1975

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 12, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Pursuant to request in paragraph one of referenced SSC letter, on November 17, 1975, a Special Agent of this Bureau, in the presence of SSC Staff Member Andrew Postal, reviewed the file of Martin Luther King, Jr., and related files for the months of November and December, 1964, for materials pertinent to the SSC inquiry not previously requested. Materials being furnished herewith which are designated as Item 1 are those documents requested by Postal as a result of this review.

During the review, Postal indicated a desire to have copies of all materials designated as Item 1. It was pointed out that a substantial number of these had been previously furnished the Committee in connection with other requests. Postal indicated, however, that he was generally unfamiliar with prior materials furnished in connection with the King case and was desirous of obtaining all items he selected, even though many might duplicate earlier FBI submissions.

Although there appears to be no real justification for duplicate submissions, in view of Postal's specific request, and in the spirit of cooperation with the SSC, the requested documents are being furnished despite the fact that a number of the documents have previously been made available to the SSC.

Materials designated Item 2 are being furnished in response to request set forth in paragraph two of referenced SSC letter of November 12, 1975.

PEN:adn  
(8)

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

ORIGINAL AND ONE TO AG

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/17/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

GPO : 1975 O - 569-920

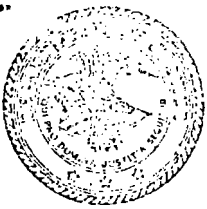
## SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

A search of the Martin Luther King, Jr., and related files failed to result in the positive identification of material prepared by the Domestic Intelligence Division subsequent to April 23, 1964, in refutation of Martin Luther King's statement to the press in San Francisco, California, on April 23, 1964, referred to in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum that date to Mr. Belmont captioned "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters IS-C" delivered herewith.

It may be surmised, however, that a document under preparation in the then Domestic Intelligence Division in April, 1964, entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters," represents the material referred to in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum of April 23, 1964. That document is a lengthy work paper which was periodically brought up to date to show every facet of information available regarding communist influence in the racial movement and does contain information in refutation of King's statement of April 23, 1964, which in essence challenged the FBI to provide evidence regarding the communist infiltration in the racial movement. A copy of this document was furnished the SSC by memorandum dated October 6, 1975.

With respect to the excisions in materials being delivered herewith, where no notations appear as to reason for excision, the excision was made for the reason that the information actually summarizes or quotes from conversations monitored during electronic surveillances of King. In some cases, it can be ascertained precisely what information in FBI files came from electronic surveillances of King; however, there exist areas where documentation of the information is not precise and no accurate determination can be made. Therefore, no assurances can be given that portions of the materials being furnished do not contain information developed as a result of electronic surveillances of King.

1 - The Attorney General



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOV 14 1975

*M. J. [Signature]*

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

*M.E.* FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request

Attached is a November 12, 1975, letter from the Senate Select Committee requesting certain information concerning the Martin Luther King matter during the months of November and December 1964. Please prepare an appropriate response.

cc: Paul Daly

~~ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KR~~

*Let AG, cc DAK  
End - v  
M/1/75  
SF [Signature]*

*5. [Signature]*

*1-AG Hae  
11-17-75*

*62-11375-1199*

ENCLOSURE

JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN  
PHILIP A. HART, NICHOL  
ALFRED M. MONTEALE, MINN.  
WALTER D. HODGSON, N.Y.  
ROBERT MORGAN, N.C.  
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HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.  
DANNY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CHARLES McC. STANLEY, JR., MD.  
RICHARD S. SCHLESINGER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARTZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

## United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 91ST CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 12, 1975

Michael D. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Office of the Deputy Attorney General  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Shaheen:

In connection with the King matter and our forthcoming hearings next week, we need to have a complete understanding of all actions, decisions, proposals, recommendations and operations of FBI personnel with respect to Dr. King during the months of November and December 1964. Accordingly, I would appreciate your asking the Bureau to designate a representative who can go through the FBI files for those months relating to King with Mr. Epstein of our staff sometime this week. In the event that the November-December 1964 portions of the files contain materials pertinent to our inquiry, but which we have not yet requested, I trust that it will be acceptable to you for such materials to be designated by Mr. Epstein at the time of the review for delivery to the Committee.

I would also appreciate your making available this week all memoranda and other materials reflecting proposals made or actions taken which pertain to the handwritten note which appears on the bottom of the 4/23/64 memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont captioned "Martin Luther King" (serial #352), to wit: "4/23 DA 6 pm I told him we are working up materials as to what action should be taken and what reply should be made. He agreed."

Your continued cooperation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

John T. Elliff  
Director  
Domestic Intelligence Task Force

~~ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP~~

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-1199

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

☐ LTR ☒ LHM ☐ Memo ☐ Report dated 12/1/75

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Caption of Document:

11/12/75 request

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by:

Richard T. Tarpoff

Date:

12/4/75

Received by:

Lynsey Oster

Title:

clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPALM/KP

ENCLOSURE

62-116 395-1199

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:

FBI

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

☒ DOCUMENT ☐ BRIEFING ☐ INTERVIEW ☐ TESTIMONY ☐ OTHER

12/1/75

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

☒ SSC☐ HSC4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)**Memorandum and enclosures**5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)**SSC letter 11/12/75**6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)**S**7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)**Information handling  
Surveillance, electronic**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Materials relating to Martin Luther King, Jr., as they pertain to the months November-December of 1964. These materials were reviewed by a Special Agent in the presence of an SSC Staff Member for materials pertinent to the SSC inquiry not previously requested.

62-116395

FMK:fmk

(4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AMK

**TREAT AS YELLOW***Sign*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

SSC LETTER 11-12-75

ITEM 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPAWK

*Return*

*ser 1199*

ENCLOSURE

1 - J. F. Bland

*DELETED to Protect identity of*  
Legat, ~~London~~ (100-3329) *Friendly Foreign Country*  
12/21/64

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI (100-106670) *628*

REC-34

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - F. J. Baumgardner  
(Field Supervision)  
1 - M. Gregorio  
1 - S. F. Phillips

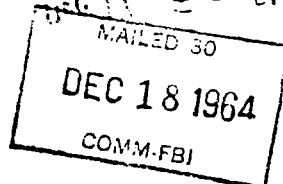
Reurairtel 12/10/64 which furnished information concerning the activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a representative of his, Bayard Rustin, while abroad. Considerable valuable intelligence is contained in reairtel. For example, it is reported that Rustin was in contact with Rica Hodgeson and Esme Goldberg. Hodgeson and Goldberg are described, according to a source, as "openly declared communists." It is also reported that King specifically asked that Dr. David Pitt be present at a particular meeting. Pitt is described as a Trotskyite. Rustin's contact with Committee for Democratic Rights in America is also reported. Refer to your file 100-2301. It appears that you may be able to appropriately characterize this organization.

Pertinent disseminatable information should have been submitted by letterhead memorandum (LHM). Your attention is directed to Bulet 1/24/64 to Legat, ~~Bern~~, copy designated for your Office, "Legal Attache Reporting." Your attention was directed to certain Bureau Manual instructions and specifically to the undesirable tendency on the part of some Legats to fail to report investigative results in LHM form, even though the material obviously necessitated dissemination.

By return communication submit an LHM incorporating the positive intelligence concerning associations of King and Rustin with subversives.

Foregoing instructions must be ever borne in mind in your day-to-day handling of intelligence of interest to the Bureau which obviously will require dissemination.

SFP:jad  
(7) *jad*



TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**SECRET**  
FBI

Date: 12/10/64 REC-34

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: LEGAT, ~~LONDON~~ (100-3329) (P)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Remyairtel 11/25/64. *officers and country*

In accordance with Bureau instructions, I personally furnished orally to Ambassador TIBBETTS, American Embassy, Oslo information concerning subject. This was done on 11/30/64. Miss TIBBETTS stated she was most appreciative of this information and that she would take no action whatsoever which might disclose her knowledge of such. She said that she was giving a small reception for KING and his group on the evening of 12/9/64. He is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on 12/10/64. On the evening of 12/11/64 the Ambassador is giving a formal reception for KING, the Nobel Committee and Norwegian Government officials.

On 12/2/64 I furnished orally the same information to U.S. Ambassador PARSONS, American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden. Ambassador PARSONS expressed his appreciation for the Bureau furnishing this information to him. He stated he had originally intended to meet KING on his arrival at the Airport in Stockholm on 12/12/64. He said this was somewhat unusual in that he normally does not meet this type of group. After reflection he stated he would not personally go to the airport but would send a representative from the Embassy. According to Ambassador PARSONS, KING was to preach at a local church in Stockholm and then was to meet with a student group.

On 12/5/64 I furnished the same information, orally, to U.S. Ambassador WHITE in Copenhagen, Denmark. Mrs. WHITE was also appreciative of the information and commented it was very helpful to know this, even though she would take no specific action as a result of it. She was planning to give a small reception for Dr. KING while he was in Copenhagen.

- 3 - Bureau  
1 - Liaison (sent direct)  
3 - London (100-3329, 100-1535, 134-28)

CWB:vw

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

**SECRET**

DEC 16 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

~~SECRET~~

London 100-3329

Newspaper clippings regarding subject are being forwarded to the Bureau separately.

On 11/25/64 British Security Service, MI-5, advised that BAYARD RUSTIN had remained in London only a short time and had departed for New York on 11/14/64. According to MI-5, RUSTIN had been in contact with a group known as Christian Action. This is a group headed by Canon COLLINS, who also heads the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament. Christian Action opposes apartheid in South Africa. According to MI-5 there are South African Communists in the movement. (S)

On 11/25/64 VICTOR DOLLING (Bufile 134-12282) advised that RUSTIN had been in contact with COLLINS and had arranged for KING to speak at a Christian Action meeting on 12/7/64 in London. DOLLING also informed that while RUSTIN was in London he was in touch with ESME GOLDBERG, whose husband received a life sentence in South Africa for anti-apartheid acts. RUSTIN also saw RICA HODGESON. According to DOLLING, HODGESON and GOLDBERG are openly declared Communists. DOLLING stated RUSTIN was also in contact with the Committee for Democratic Rights in America. RUSTIN met RAYMOND KUNERE, who is a member of the African National Congress. (S)

On 12/8/64 DOLLING reported that he attended the Christian Action meeting where KING spoke on 12/7/64. This meeting was covered by American TV and radio people. There was a large crowd. Prominent at this meeting were PEGGY DUFF, who represents the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (DUFF was mentioned in Bucab 11/10/64). Also present at the meeting was Dr. AMBROSE REEVES, the Bishop of Johannesburg. According to DOLLING, KING specifically asked that Dr. DAVID PITT, a West Indian, be at the meeting. PITT represents the Afro-Caribbean Association and according to DOLLING, is a Trotskyite. (S)

DOLLING also stated that after the meeting a middle-aged American inquired as to the cost of hiring the hall. When told how much it was, this American wrote out a check for the full amount. DOLLING attempted to look at the check to identify the American but was unable to do so. (S)

We are checking further with MI-5 for any pertinent information which they may have obtained regarding subject's visit to England. The Bureau will be kept advised. (S)

-2-

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET**

SAC, Atlanta (100-5586)

12/11/64

Director, FBI (100-106670)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

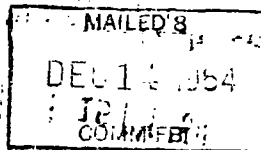
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rushing
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Coakley

ReBulets 11/9/64, 12/7/64 and 12/10/64. (S)

The Bureau has reconsidered instructions set forth in referenced 12/7/64 letter that the data from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) regarding King's alleged meeting with members of the Italian Communist Party and Socialist Party in Italy in September, 1964, be included in an investigative report with the source evaluated as "unreliable." The prime reason for these instructions was to correct the previous characterization given CIA of its source, which was "of questionable reliability." (S)

In this respect, the Bureau assumes that neither Atlanta nor New York has disseminated this information. However, if such dissemination has been made, the Bureau should be furnished with full details and appropriate communication should be forwarded to the recipients in order to show CIA's revised evaluation of its source. If no such dissemination has been made, this data should be clearly marked in your files to show that no dissemination should be made unless this information is verified through independent sources and/or investigation. (S)

1 - New York (100-136585)

GDC:mlf  
(8)**SECRET**

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the Department of Justice. It is to be controlled by the Department of Justice and is not to be released to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

# NDR-16  
CLASSIFIED BY SP2A/MKP  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

olson \_\_\_\_\_  
elmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

69 DEC 16 1964

MAIL ROOM ☒TELETYPE UNIT ☐

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/2/00 BY SP2AUM/CP

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

1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Mr. Jones (Sent with cover memo)

1 - Mr. Morrell (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr Memo of same date, captioned "Martin Luther King. Appointment with Director, 3:35 p.m., 12/2/64"

GTQ:blh and smg (11)

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

56 DEC 21 1964

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

11 DEC 16 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the FBI. It is not to be used in any way and be subject to unrestricted person-  
nel within the express approval of the FBI.

## **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,

- 4 -

~~SECRET~~

*Summary  
deleted  
1/16/68*

*MDR-16*  
DECLASSIFIED BY *SPBAUMK*  
ON *10/27/00*

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

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

Unauthorized Disclosure of Information  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NATIONAL SECURITY INVESTIGATION

JAN 9 9 14 PM '65

*usa*  
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, 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.

*CSW*  
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.

100-106670

SFP:fmh & I  
(11)

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

REC-23

11 DEC 3 1964

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

70 DEC 4 1964 ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

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

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

NOTE:

Sincerely yours,

*File*  
Classified "Secret" as the information is from highly sensitive sources such as AT 1380-S\*. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could affect the security of these sources who are of continuing value and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Information obtained from NYtel 11/25/64 and ATtel 11/27/64. Dissemination to the military intelligence agencies being made by separate communication.

~~SECRET~~

5:51 p.m.

December 1, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. BELMONT  
MR. MOHR  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. ROSEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach returned my earlier call to him and I advised him that I had seen Dr. Martin Luther King, who was accompanied by Dr. Abernathy and two other cohorts. I stated that King was a very persuasive speaker and Mr. Katzenbach indicated King was a great public speaker and that was about all he could say for King.

I advised Mr. Katzenbach that I took the ball away from King at the beginning, that King was most laudatory about the Bureau's work and so was Abernathy. I further advised Mr. Katzenbach that King had a press statement already written out to hand the newsmen in my reception room; that I refused to make any comment or statement myself; that King read his statement about having an open channel of communications and all working for civil rights. I stated that King did not have in his press statement the very commendatory remarks he made, that he could not have been higher in his praise of the Bureau and of the great job we have done in the South. Mr. Katzenbach said that was too bad.

I told Mr. Katzenbach that I just wanted him to know that I had gone through with it.

Mr. Katzenbach then asked if I were going to tell the President about the situation in Mississippi - about the arrests - at some point. I answered yes, and Mr. Katzenbach said the President should be informed. I advised him that we had not decided when it will be done, that it is being considered.

JEH:rm(9)

XEROX

DEC 3 1964

DEC 3 1964

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

79 DEC 8 - 1964

TELETYPE UNIT

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RECORDED COPY FILED IN

90658-44

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, December 1, 1964  
Mohr, DeLoach, Rosen

Mr. Katzenbach stated my people had discussed it with him and he thought the way the Bureau proposes to go ahead is the right way. I said I thought so, too. Mr. Katzenbach said he had told Jim Malley this and suggested that I tell the President that the Department had approved this way. Mr. Katzenbach stated it was such a great job the Bureau people did down there he would like the President to hear it from me.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME <u>10:37 AM</u>
DATE <u>12/2/64</u>
BY <u>J.E.H.</u>

*We should send Katzenbach  
a copy of my letter to  
White House.*

*H.*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

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

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11/30/64

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Liaison  
1 - J. F. Bland  
1 - F. J. Baumgardner  
1 - S. F. Phillips

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

Memorandum from D. J. Brennan, Jr., to Mr. Sullivan, 11/13/64, recommended, and the Director approved, that Legat Bates, London, be authorized to orally brief the United States Ambassadors in London and Oslo concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. The briefing was concerning both the communist influences on King and King's JFK Law 10(a)1 Bates had requested such permission because he anticipated that the Ambassadors might consider entertaining King while he is in Europe to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and Bates believed he could forestall such action by the Ambassadors if they were briefed.

Assistant Legat Minnich, London, telephoned early today (11/30/64) and advised that Bates would also like to brief our Ambassadors at Stockholm and Copenhagen as King is to also visit these cities. The Legat's office, London, will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities tomorrow (12/1/64).

Our Ambassador at Stockholm is a career Minister, J. Graham Parsons. The Ambassador at Copenhagen is Mrs. Katherine Elkus White. We have nothing unfavorable in our files concerning these two Ambassadors which would preclude giving them the same briefing we previously gave the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Our relations with the Ambassadors are friendly and it is believed that Bates should be permitted to brief them.

## RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief our Ambassadors in Stockholm and Copenhagen along the same lines as he previously briefed the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Upon approval this memorandum should be routed to Liaison for the necessary advice to Bates via cost-free telephone facilities.

100-106670

SFP:jad  
(10)

79 DEC 8 - 1964

REC-341 DEC 4 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Mohr  
FROM : C. D. DeLoach

DATE: November 27, 1964

SUBJECT: ROY WILKINS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)  
APPOINTMENT 11/27/64  
FBI HEADQUARTERS  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p.m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference to us and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI, I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p.m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know. Wilkins added that he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether King was a sexual degenerate or not.

Wilkins told me that he personally did not mind seeing King ruined. He stated the important part of the matter, however, was the fact that if King was ruined the entire civil rights movement would be ruined. Wilkins stated that he personally knew that King was a "liar" and that he had little respect for him. He quoted an example of his wife stating last night at a Thanksgiving dinner with friends, upon being asked if she knew of the terrible things that "Edgar Hoover had said about Reverend King being a liar." Mrs. Wilkins replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar." Wilkins continued that while King is no good, his ruination will spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement.

100-106670-  
NOT RECORDED

Wilkins told me that despite the sex life of the sexual degenerates and communist allegations against King, many of his associates

## Enclosure

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1 - Mr. Tolson  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Tavel  
1 - Mr. Trotter  
1 - Mr. Tele. Room  
1 - Mr. Holmes  
1 - Mr. Gandy

69 DEC 24 1964

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

would jump to the defensive and defend King. On the other hand, however, many of the white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement will immediately cease their financial support. Wilkins added that the loss of financial support will be tremendous, however, the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans would be even worse. He stated the combination of the two would, of course, halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that he and a number of the Negro leaders had attempted several months ago to get King to accept the presidency of a small college. He stated King had refused to do this because he was accustomed to the hypocrisy of adulation and to the money that was pouring in to him. He stated that King for some time now has received from \$500 to a \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit. He mentioned that King receives considerable support from wealthy Negro and white people alike. He stated that obviously the best thing that the Negro leaders could do now would be to get King to accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not seeing me as an emissary. He stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were others within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not expose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being initiated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to point out the danger of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. I told him my point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King, but certain highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. I told Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that King

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. He stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

Wilkins stated that he had long noted King's sympathy toward the communist movement. He told me this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 31-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win any battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is to retire from public life. He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is convinced that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight, therefore, for the good of the civil rights cause King should make definite plans to leave public life and merely be Pastor of a Negro church in the future. I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him, however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give

- 3 -

CONTINUED-OVER



DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

it to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disastrous, particularly to the Negro movement and that he hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

*[Handwritten mark: a diagonal line with a 'P' below it]*

*[Handwritten signature: "Kugler" with a checkmark]*  
*[Handwritten initials: "GR" and "A" below it]*

~~SECRET~~  
FBI

Date: 11/25/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: LEGAT, ~~LONDON~~ (100-3329) (P)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Remyairtel 11/13/64 and Bucab 11/10/64.

On November 19, 1964, in accordance with Bureau instructions, I orally furnished to U. S. Ambassador BRUCE in London the approved portion of referenced Bucab. The Ambassador was most appreciative of this information. He advised that he would not be in London at the time subject will be here, as he is going to Washington with Prime Minister WILSON and other top British Government officials. He said this would of course preclude any meeting KING might desire to have with the Ambassador. (S)

On November 20, 1964, this matter was again discussed with Sir ROGER HOLLIS of MI-5. He confirmed that the Prime Minister would not be in London when subject was here and that therefore the Prime Minister would not be meeting with KING. (S)

MI-5 is conducting investigation regarding the activities of BAYARD RUSTIN, who is currently in London. Legat will furnish the pertinent information on KING on a highly confidential basis to the American Ambassador in Oslo on November 30, 1964. (S)

We are closely following this matter and will keep the Bureau informed.

3 - Bureau

1 - Liaison Section (sent direct)

2 - London

(1 - 100-1535) All DELETIONS to protect

CWB:ec IDENTITIES of friendly foreign intelligence

(6)

SERVICE countries and officials involved

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

REC 4

100-106670-553

5 NOV 26 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 24, 1964

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/00 BY SP2AMK

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

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

Reference is made to memorandum Brennan to Sullivan in captioned matter dated 11-23-64, wherein it was set forth that the Bureau had no objection to State Department briefing the United States Information Agency from material previously furnished State regarding King, including information concerning King's immoral conduct.

Mr. Paul J. McNichol, Director of Security, USIA, advised Liaison 11-23-64, that he had, on that date, been briefed by Mr. Fred Traband, Office of Security, State, regarding King. In this connection, he stated that he desired to make a most urgent request that he be furnished the material in possession of State and any related material available regarding King. Mr. McNichol explained that currently top officials of USIA, namely Assistant Directors, have under consideration an approach to King for the purpose of "enticing" him to accept a State Department grant under USIA sponsorship for travel to Europe, Africa and the near East, such a trip to take place in early December. McNichol emphasized that he desires this material so that USIA officials can be adequately briefed for the purpose of preventing any such assignment being offered to King by USIA. REC-55

On being apprised of the above, Assistant to the Director Belmont authorized the dissemination of reports and memoranda as described above to USIA.

## ACTION:

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

For information.

- WJM:cd (6)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Attn. Mr. Phillips)
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. McDonnell

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

70 DEC 3 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

November 23, 1964

Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach  
Acting Attorney General  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Katzenbach:

I want you to know how much I appreciate the wholehearted support which you accorded this Bureau and me during your press conference in Miami on Friday.

Your expression of confidence in our efforts is indeed gratifying and you may be sure that we will continue to carry out our responsibilities in the future in a manner which will merit your approval.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

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DATE 10/29/00 BY SP8ALM/KP

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

CT:DSS

SENT FROM D  
TIME 2:42 PM  
DATE 11/23/64  
BY ECA

79 DEC 7 - 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 11-20-64

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL  
NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH  
REMARKS CONCERNING DIRECTOR  
MIAMI, FLORIDA, 11-20-64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUMKP

At 3:50 p.m. today SAC Frohbose of the Miami Office telephoned and talked with Mr. Wick. He said Mr. Katzenbach had just finished a press conference in the United States Attorney's Office in the Federal Building in Miami. Mr. Katzenbach is in Florida to speak before the University of Miami Law School alumni tomorrow.

At the conference, said Frohbose, were several Federal Judges, other Federal officials and, of course, TV, radio, wire service and local press representatives.

At the press conference Mr. Katzenbach was asked if he thought J. Edgar Hoover should retire after making remarks concerning King. Mr. Katzenbach answered by stating Mr. Hoover should not retire, that he has complete confidence in Mr. Hoover and he is one of the great Americans and a devoted public servant. Katzenbach said that he hoped and prayed that Mr. Hoover would stay on.

The press asked what Mr. Katzenbach thought of Mr. Hoover's statement calling King a notorious liar. Katzenbach said he would not add nor detract from Mr. Hoover's statement and he would not comment on it further.

Mr. Katzenbach was asked if Martin Luther King's statement that the FBI is not investigating civil rights matters in the South is true. Mr. Katzenbach said King's statement is not true. He said the FBI has solved many cases and is investigating cases and will continue to investigate civil rights cases wherever they may be. He said the FBI as well as Katzenbach do not want cases to go unsolved.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Jones

87 DEC 4 1964

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

REW:cal

(5)

11 DEC 4 1964

*let to Katzenbach*  
*11-23-64*  
*GEM*  
The enclosed is being furnished to you in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the Department. It is to be used for information only and should not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Mohr  
RE: Acting Attorney General  
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

Frohbose said Katzenbach backed up the Director 100 per cent and his remarks were very well received by news media people.

Frohbose said that he has heard nothing but praise of Mr. Hoover from news media people who are grateful to know Mr. Hoover said what is on his mind.

RECOMMENDATION:

For record purposes.

*Handwritten:*  
11-20-64  
Write Katzenbach a note  
H

**Page Denied**

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Memorandum

Mr. Mohr

DATE: November 19, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: VAL COLEMAN  
CORE HEADQUARTERS  
NEW YORK CITY

*Martin Luther King*

Val Coleman of CORE Headquarters called this morning and said that CORE felt it had no alternative but to issue a statement in rebuttal to Mr. Hoover's "intemperate" attack on Dr. King. Coleman said certainly he and the CORE leaders considered the FBI as a friend of theirs but he just could not understand why Mr. Hoover would lash out against a man like Dr. King, and he added that he wanted to let us know for the record that CORE felt they had to issue a strong statement.

It was suggested to Coleman privately that he might want to back up and think a minute before he criticized the FBI severely, that certainly Mr. Hoover had not attacked the civil rights movement, that Mr. Hoover had on the other hand been vigorously critical of the low-type law enforcement officers in the South who actually participated in civil rights violations and who were a disgrace to the law enforcement profession. It was further pointed out to Coleman that Mr. Hoover's statement regarding King's assertion with respect to the Albany, Georgia, situation was simply a matter of calling a spade a spade, and that clearly and obviously King had lied.

Coleman said he would think the matter over and that he would want to modify his original statement. He concluded his call by saying that to keep people happy at CORE he would still have to release a "pretty strong" statement. Coleman said that he hoped to be down in Washington within the next ten days or so and would like to drop by and he was assured that we would be glad to talk with him at any time.

The above is for information.

NOT RECORDED

141 DEC 4 1964

77 DEC 2 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/00 BY SP/AMK/

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

DEC 7 1964

*They are just hypocrites*

ORIGINAL FILED IN

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-16-64

This concerns information we furnished to the British concerning the background of both Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin. It was in connection with efforts being made by King to see the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson when King passes through London en route to Oslo, Norway, to receive Nobel Peace Prize.

20  
SFP:fas

EXCISIONS  
TO PROTECT FRIENDLY  
FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
AGENCY & COUNTRY  
INVOLVED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUM/KP

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

F B I

Date: November 13, 1964

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (100-3329) (P)

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SM - E

SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ReBucab 11/10/64, received London, 3:00 AM, 11/11/64.

\* INDICATES DATA INSERTED

Information contained in reBucab concerning subject and BAYARD RUSTIN was furnished on the morning of November 11, 1964, to Sir ROGER HOLLIS, British Security Service, MI-5. He was advised that this information was being furnished so that it might be given on a highly confidential basis to Prime Minister WILSON.

On the morning of November 13, 1964, HOLLIS said this information had been furnished to the Prime Minister. HOLLIS commented that he was indeed grateful to the Director for this information. He was not at the moment aware of the action to be taken by the Prime Minister, but that such information was of extreme value.

FFIA

HOLLIS also advised that RUSTIN had arrived in London on the morning of November 13, from the United States. RUSTIN told the Immigration authorities that he was in England to see the Secretary of State for Colonies and to make arrangements for KING's forthcoming trip. While in London, RUSTIN would be staying at Friends International Center, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. MI-5 is covering RUSTIN's activities and this matter will be followed with MI-5 and the Bureau advised.

FFIA

- 3 - Bureau
  - 1 - Liaison Section (sent direct)
  - 2 - London
- (100-1535)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUK/P

REC 39

21 NOV 16 1964

CWB:ec

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

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

C C - WICK

SUBV CONTROL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan ✓  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 13, 1964

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

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

*DeLoach to protect  
IDENTITY of friendly  
foreign governments  
and officials involved*

*Bates*

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

## ACTION:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief the United States Ambassadors to London and Oslo concerning King. The Ambassadors will be briefed concerning both King's communist connections and his JFK Law 10(a)1 This briefing will be along the same lines that we previously authorized the Legat to furnish the British as set out in the underscored portion of Bureau cable to the Legat 11/10/64, a copy of which is attached.

## Enc.

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

GAD:kmj  
(10)

*W.C.P.*  
*GR.*  
*BATES ADVISED 5:55 AM 11/14/64 mJL/SCA*  
REC 4 100-106670  
18 NOV 17 1964

66 NOV 23 1964

ENCLOSURE

November 10, 1964

CODE

CABLEGRAM

NIGHT ACTION  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Tamm  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Liaison

Country  
TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-106670) (Friendly Foreign Intelligence Agency)  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

\* INDICATES DATE

IN REPLY

TO LONDON

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

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

IN LONDON, ENGLAND, DECEMBER SIX AND SEVEN, NEXT. ONE OF

HIS ADVISORS, RAYARD MUSTIN, HAS CONTACTED PEGGY DUFF, A

LONDON RESIDENT WHO IS DIRECTIVE DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR

DISARMAMENT. MUSTIN REQUESTED HER TO ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE FOR

PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON TO RECEIVE KING. MUSTIN DESIRES

IT NOT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS IS KING'S IDEA AND FEELERS WILSON

TO ANNOUNCE THAT WILSON IS INVITING KING. DUFF CHECKING INTO

THIS MATTER.

MUSTIN IS DEPARTING FOR LONDON NOVEMBER ELEVEN, NEXT.

FOR PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING A CONFUSION SURROUNDING KING'S TRIP

IN DECEMBER. CONFUSION INVOLVES FACT THAT ARCHBISHOP OF

CANTERBURY DESIRES TO RECEIVE KING BUT HAS BEEN OPPOSED BY

SEP: b3c

(13)

Deletions to Protect Identities of Friendly Foreign Intelligence Service, Country & Officials Involved

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 11/10/64, same caption, SEP: b3c.

~~SECRET~~

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

CLASSIFIED BY 2017 8/16/15  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2  
NOT FOR RELEASE  
100-106670-525

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

CABLEGRAM TO ~~LONDON~~  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

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

KING IS SURROUNDED BY NUMEROUS ADVISORS HAVING PRESENT  
OR FORMER COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS. HE HAS MAINTAINED AN  
ASSOCIATION WITH AND RECEIVED GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL FROM  
SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY, USA. MEMBERS NOTWITHSTANDING ADVICE  
TO KING ABOUT THEIR COMMUNIST PRACTICES. KING IS ALSO  
CARRYING ON EXTRAMARITAL ACTIVITIES WITH SEVERAL WOMEN  
NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT HE IS A MARRIED MAN WITH  
SEVERAL CHILDREN AND A LEADER OF THE GOSPEL. SOME OF  
KING'S ACTIONS IN THE RECENT PAST ARE OF A NATURE WHICH  
STAMP HIM AS A MORAL DEGENERATE. RUSTIN IS A FORMER  
MEMBER OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND HAS BEEN CONVICTED  
ON A HOMOSEXUAL CHARGE.

\*FFIA

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO IMMEDIATELY BRIEF MI - FIVE  
CONCERNING THE BACKGROUND OF KING AND RUSTIN AND OF THEIR  
INTENTIONS RELATIVE TO A KING - WILSON MEETING SO THAT MI -  
FIVE MAY IN TURN TRANSMIT THIS INFORMATION ON A HIGHLY

\*FFIA

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

copy 5

CABLEGRAM TO LONDON  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-103670

~~SECRET~~

FFFA

CONFIDENTIAL BASIS TO THE PRIME MINISTER. MI - FIVE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.: BEING ADVISED. INFORMATION AS TO  
KING'S COMMUNIST ASSOCIATIONS CLASSIFIED QUOTE SECRET  
UNQUOTE; AS TO HIS RACIAL TECHNIQUE, QUOTE TOP SECRET UNQUOTE.

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

24

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Precedence)

November 10, 1964

\* indicates DATA INSERTED (Date)  
(FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY) (FFIA)

CLASSIFIED BY 2047611/16/15  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SOL RULE OF PRESERVE ORDER 11852  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2

Subject to Criminal Sanctions (Do not type below this line). CLASSIFIED ON Indefinite

~~SECRET~~

TRUE COPY

~~SECRET~~

Country

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

CERTAIN ELEMENTS BECAUSE KING A BAPTIST. RUSTIN IS TO ALSO DETERMINE WHETHER KING WILL BE ABLE TO MEET WITH [REDACTED] KING IS SURROUNDED BY NUMEROUS ADVISORS HAVING PRESENT OR FORMER COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS. HE HAS MAINTAINED AN ASSOCIATION WITH AND RECEIVED GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL FROM SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERS NOTWITHSTANDING ADVICE TO KING ABOUT THEIR COMMUNIST BACKGROUNDS. KING IS ALSO

[REDACTED] SOME OF KING'S ACTIONS IN THE RECENT PAST ARE OF A NATURE WHICH [REDACTED] RUSTIN IS A FORMER MEMBER OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND HAS BEEN CONVICTED ON A HOMOSEXUAL CHARGE.

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

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

~~SECRET~~

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

JFK Law 10(a)1

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

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SSC LETTER 11-12-75

ITEM 2

28  
1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AMKP

Retain

Ser 1199

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. BELMONT

DATE: 4/23/64

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPANM/KP

cc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Sullivan

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

I received a call at 5:25 p.m. from the San Francisco Office to advise that Dr. Martin Luther King ~~has~~, as predicted, issued his written statement to the press. It caused a great deal of interest and undoubtedly it will be mentioned tonite around the country on radio & TV.

King mentioned the Director by name and, in substance, put him in the category of southern politicians and racists who are opposing the Bill of Rights. He indicated that the Director, if nothing more, would be used by these people for maintaining segregation, all because the Director made what King regards as being a false statement charging communist infiltration and influence in the civil rights and negro movement.

King challenged the Director that if he had any real evidence, to come forth with it. He went on to say that the leaders of the Negro movement have tried consistently to keep communists out of policy-forming areas and positions of leadership.

King quoted the AG against the Director, to the effect that it is to be expected that communists will try to infiltrate civil rights movements, but they had not succeeded in making the expected impact.

King, at the end, repeated his challenge to the Director to come forth with evidence to support his charge.

WCS:CSH (4)

58 MAY 5 1964

EX 10F

APR 30 1964

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

*I told him we are working up material on what action to take on his statement & what to reply. He said he would be glad to see it.*

*WEL*  
*FIVE*

106670-35

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 23, 1964

FROM : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. J. A. Sizoo  
1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Mr. Gurley  
1-Mr. Phillips

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

Assistant Special Agent in Charge Paul O'Connell, San Francisco Office, called at 5:25 p.m. today (4/23/64) and dictated the substance of Martin Luther King's statement issued to the press this afternoon (4/23) at the International Airport in San Francisco. The statement itself, with further details, is being sent in tonight to the Bureau.

The statement, as dictated over the phone, is set forth below:

Statement of Reverend Martin Luther King, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, in Response to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's Charge that Communists Had Infiltrated the Civil Rights Movement.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPAN/MP

It is very unfortunate that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, in his claim of alleged communist infiltration in the civil rights movement, has allowed himself to aid and abet the salacious claims of southern racists and the extreme right-wing elements. I hope this is not a reflection of a tragic drift toward the renaissance of McCarthyism that so terribly blighted the life and health of our nation. The more significant truth is the amazing lack of success that communism has met in attracting the Negro, who easily might be tempted to turn to some other disciple to gain respite from his desperate plight.

The issue of communist infiltration in the civil rights movement is not new. I have dwelt with it time and time again. In fact, one had good reason to believe it was given a decent burial when Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy answered Senator Maroney's inquiry to the FBI

WCS:LL

REC-17

100-2-11613

(9) Document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is to be used only for the purpose of your Committee and the confidential source and information should not be disclosed without the express approval of the FBI.

MAY 5 1964

EX-117

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BELMONT FROM MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

Re: CP, USA; NEGRO QUESTION;  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS; IS - C.

on this question last summer: "It is natural and inevitable that communists have made efforts to infiltrate the civil rights movement and to exploit the current racial situation. In view of the real injustices that exist and the resentments against them, these efforts have been remarkably unsuccessful."

From my own experience in the civil rights movement, this observation by the head of the Department of Justice is, indeed, true and it should be paid heed by those who periodically raise this issue. One may ask, why is this dead issue being resurrected at this time? Why is this issue being used now to smear and attack the civil rights movement and the SCLC. We in the SCLC adhere to our policy: We do not accept in leadership or authoritative places or at staff levels membership or the advice of communists. We consider such members incompatible with our credo and philosophy. Our struggle each day is to achieve the American dream, a concept which is alien to those who espouse the concept of the Communist Party.

We challenge all who raise the "red" issue, whether they be newspaper columnists or the head of the FBI himself -- to come forward and provide real evidence which contradicts this stand of the SCLC. We are confident that this cannot be done.

We at the SCLC must be judged by our record. I stand fully and forthrightly behind the action taken by myself in my 10 years of civil rights activity and of the SCLC which I have been privileged to lead since its inception in 1957. No action, no deeds, no statement requires repudiation as being inconsistent with our struggle to achieve an America free of segregation through nonviolent persuasion and direct action.

We will continue to be vigilant against communist infiltration, but we will also serve notice that we will continue to resolutely wage the struggle for the full emancipation of the Negro. We will not allow ourselves to be diverted. We will not allow Eastland, Barnett or the George Wallaces to use the "red" issue to block our efforts, to split our ranks or confuse our supporters. This resolution we make, ever mindful that every effort is being made by the racists and the Birchites to sow dissention and confusion to bring about the defeat of the pending civil rights legislation.

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BELMONT FROM MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

Re: CP, USA; NEGRO QUESTION;  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS; IS - C.

We affirm that SCLC is unalterably opposed to the misguided philosophy of communism. It is based on unethical relativism, a metaphysical totalitarianism, and the denial of human freedom, which we could never accept.

It is difficult to accept the word of the FBI on communist infiltration in the civil rights movement, when they have been so completely ineffectual in resolving the continued mayhem and brutality inflicted upon the Negro in the deep south. It would be encouraging to us if Mr. Hoover and the FBI would be as diligent in apprehending those responsible for bombing churches and killing little children as they are in seeking out alleged communist infiltration in the civil rights movement.

The Domestic Intelligence Division is already working on material which can be used to refute what King has said. This is being pushed extremely hard and will be given to the Director promptly for his consideration.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

W.C.S.  
Ar