

Ms. Diane Nixon
Chairperson, RFK Materials Advisory Committee
Federal Archives and Records Center
24000 Avila
Laguna Niguel, CA., 92677

June 17, 1986

Dear Ms. Nixon:

I am a professor of American History at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland. Over the past three years I have engaged in some original research and writing using Federal Bureau of Investigation documents dealing with the Bureau's involvement in civil rights and black power movements, especially in Memphis, Tennessee. I published an article on the FBI and the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers' strike in The South Atlantic Quarterly (Spring 1984) and I have another article accepted for publication in that same journal probably sometime next year. I am currently working on a study of the FBI and the Poor People's Campaign of 1968. All this is simply by way of introduction and to establish the point that I have some familiarity with FBI documents, having worked with literally thousands of pages from the FBI's "Memphis Sanitation Workers's Strike" and the even more voluminous companion file entitled "Invaders."

It is important to add that I also teach a course at Hood College entitled "The Politics of Assassination" (History 315) in which we examine the major political assassinations of the 1960s--JFK, RFK, and Dr. King. The course is popular and over the past several years has gained a modest off-campus recognition in the press and radio in the Hagerstown-York-and Baltimore areas. The central attractive feature of the course is that the basic instructional materials are government documents released under the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act. The great bulk of the course focuses on the JFK and Martin Luther King assassinations.

I am writing you as a concerned citizen in reaction to what I have seen of the LAPD summary report released this past March. I must say in all frankness that the redaction "standards" applied in this case by the LAPD fall woefully far outside standards in comparable cases. In my opinion, if these standards are not systematically revised and broadened, the RFK assassination archives will be of minimal scholarly interest and public understanding of the still unresolved circumstances surrounding the case will not have been significantly advanced. In short, I want to identify myself completely with the concerns articulated by Mr. Gregory Stone in his June 5, 1986, letter to you and the other committee members. I sincerely hope that the Committee in it's good faith efforts does not allow itself to labor mightily only to bring forth an archival mouse.


Since my concern in this matter is more than rhetorical, I thought it might serve a useful purpose if I presented a sampling of government (FOIPA) documents that I have used for research/teaching purposes to make clear what I mean by standards of disclosure in comparable cases. My sole purpose for undertaking this exercise is not to come across as offensively didactic or presumptuous, but simply to support my contention, the best way I know how, that the current standards employed by the LAPD threaten to compromise the ostensible purpose of public disclosure in the RFK case in the first place.

For obvious and practical reasons I have had to be "boldly" selective and at the same time hope that this has not vitiated the process and detracted my intentions. I have also taken the liberty to underscore what I thought was most relevant in the documents selected. Finally, I have added a short editorial note with each packet or individual document by way of providing instant context. Admittedly, this is not a foolproof methodology, but I trust it makes clear my purpose.

In connection with the attached documents, I thought it would be useful to add that a Ph.D. candidate received his degree from the University of Maryland this year with a dissertation based on virtually all of the Executive Committee hearings of the Warren Commission. I believe all of these sessions, except one, have been made available under the FOIA Act.

Because of the enormity of the work you and the Committee are undertaking I felt compelled to respond in this fashion. If I can be of any assistance to you in the future please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,


Gerald D. McKnight
Professor of History
Hood College
Frederick, Md. 21701

cc: Gregory Stone

Source: Warren Commission Documents

Sampling of some documents used to suggest to students that the President, FBI, and Justice Department/~~FBI~~ handled the JFK killing from the outset as a political problem to be handled rather than investigated.

JFK was assassinated on November 22, 1963, and the Warren Commission did not begin its official investigation into the case until first week in February 1964 when it called it's first witness, Marina Oswald. But the pattern suggested is verdict first, investigation second, etc.

November 25, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MOYERS

It is important that all of the facts surrounding President Kennedy's Assassination be made public in a way which will satisfy people in the United States and abroad that all the facts have been told and that a statement to this effect be made now.

1. The public must be satisfied that Oswald was the assassin; that he did not have confederates who are still at large; and that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial.

2. Speculation about Oswald's motivation ought to be cut off, and we should have some basis for rebutting thought that this was a Communist conspiracy or (as the Iron Curtain press is saying) a right-wing conspiracy to blame it on the Communists. Unfortunately the facts on Oswald seem about too pat—too obvious (Marxist, Cuba, Russian wife, etc.). The Dallas police have put out statements on the Communist conspiracy theory, and it was they who were in charge when he was shot and thus silenced.

3. The matter has been handled thus far with neither dignity nor conviction. Facts have been mixed with rumour and speculation. We can scarcely let the world see us totally in the image of the Dallas police when our President is murdered.

I think this objective may be satisfied by making public as soon as possible a complete and thorough FBI report on Oswald and the assassination. This may run into the difficulty of pointing to inconsistencies between this report and statements by Dallas police officials. But the reputation of the Bureau is such that it may do the whole job.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
21	MAY 1965
RECORDS BRANCH	

File HPW

The only other step would be the appointment of a Presidential Commission of unimpeachable personnel to review and examine the evidence and announce its conclusions. This has both advantages and disadvantages. It think it can await publication of the FBI report and public reaction to it here and abroad.

I think, however, that a statement that all the facts will be made public properly in an orderly and responsible way should be made now. We need something to head off public speculation or Congressional hearings of the wrong sort.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Deputy Attorney General

TC

SAC, DALLAS

DATE: 11/22/63

FROM

IC ROBERT G. RENFRO

SUBJECT:

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

AD 5-3213, advised Det. H. C. SHERRIL, Richardson, Texas, PD, telephone
 National States Rights Party should be considered possible
 suspects in the assassination of President KENNEDY, due to
 their strong feeling against him. He reminded that ROBINSON
 is the individual who burned a cross on the lawn of a
 Richardson residence approximately a year ago. He advised
 ROBINSON, white male, age 25, runs a service station located
 at Belt Line Road and Mayfield Road, Garland, Texas.

157-215
 100-0-6225
 105-569-94
 44-1552
 um

*Not necessary to
 cover as true subject
 located - JMH*

2 Dallas

RGR:rmb

(2)

ash

Edm

89-43-97

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SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - DALLAS	

Adward JMH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Casper	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Callahan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Conrad	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DeLoach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Evans	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gale	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

#2
DESK

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: November 27, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach telephoned last evening. He said that he recognized the tremendous task which faced the Bureau in getting out the reports in this matter. He asked, however, if we could give him some idea as to when they might be coming over to him. He particularly noted that he did not want his call regarded as any kind of a pressure for speed, because he knew it was more important to have them done right and this would take time. Nevertheless, he is trying to make plans to handle this in the Department. To this end he has assigned attorneys to review the published material, particularly the rumors and speculations that have been printed in the press. These are being compared with those contained in telegrams and letters received in the Department.

In this regard, Katzenbach has noted that there are many extremes. For example, he said one telegram had been sent to the Department by a private citizen stating that Oswald must have had accomplices in killing the President because Oswald was not a sufficiently talented marksman to have committed the crime alone. Katzenbach recognized that obviously no report can resolve minutia of this kind but he cited it as the extremes to which the speculation has gone.

One of the dangers which Katzenbach sees is the possibility that the state hearing to be held in Texas may develop some pertinent information not now known. In an effort to minimize this, he is having Assistant Attorney General Miller confer with the state officials in Texas in an effort to have them restrict their hearing to the proposition of showing merely that Oswald killed the President, together with any inquiry the state feels necessary as to the activities of local authorities. He hopes to avoid the state hearing going into the question of motive or trying to resolve the communist angle. He, of course, at this time does not know how successful these efforts will be.

As a sidelight, Katzenbach said he had learned on an extremely confidential basis that Abe Fortas, the Washington lawyer, had been in

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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W. E. ...

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

touch with President Johnson and had argued against the idea of having a Presidential Commission look into the Kennedy assassination. Fortas' argument to Johnson was that for the President to announce the formation of such a commission would merely suggest that there was evidence of something other than Oswald alone killing Kennedy and thus build up public speculation. Fortas' second argument to President Johnson was that the formation of such a commission would cause a reflection on the FBI. Fortas, of course, is no friend of the Bureau and there would appear to be some obvious underhanded motive in his using us in his argument, although we don't know what this is.

Certainly something sinister here

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

It is suggested Katzenbach be informed that everything humanly possible is being done to resolve the issues here and to get together a comprehensive report which we expect to have in the Department's hands for review over the coming weekend.

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J

Handwritten scribble

V

We can give no time table for one in the Bureau has not advised me what report may be expected. I personally might go over it after it is to some thing may be necessary. Rated - back at it with under - stand that completeness of thoroughness must come first. Already by the way...

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ✓ ALY AGENTS (105-406)
FROM: SAC, LITTLE ROCK
SUBJECT: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
IS - R

JACK L. RUBY, aka;
LEE HARVEY OSWALD, aka -
VICTIM
CR

ReButel 12/12/63.

The following teletype was received from the Bureau:
Following is to clarify reporting procedures.

OSWALD conclusively established as assassin of President KENNEDY. Investigation continuing to develop complete data regarding him, his activities and determine if assassination was inspired or directed by any other person or group and determine if such persons or groups assisted him any way. Investigation must be expedited. Communications in his case should, therefore, be restricted to information pertaining to him and to allegations that a person or group had a specific connection with him in the assassination. Results of investigation should be submitted by teletype summary under IS - R caption, followed by reports. No airtels, letterhead memoranda or letters should be submitted.

The Civil Rights aspects of this matter concern following questions and should be reported under Civil Rights caption.

1. Was there any connection between OSWALD and RUBY?
2. Why did RUBY kill OSWALD?

1 - Each Agent
1 - 105-406
1 - 89-21
1 - 44-791
1 - 66-5
EFM/cek
12/13/63

105-406-39
Searched _____
Serialized _____
Dec _____
1100 _____

3. Did RUBY conspire with any person?
4. Did any police officer willfully permit OSWALD to be killed?
5. How did RUBY gain entrance to the basement of the police building November 24, 1963?
6. What were RUBY's movements November 22 to November 24, 1963?

All necessary investigation must be handled expeditiously. Numerous complaints are being received alleging that some person or group other than OSWALD (and not connected with OSWALD) planned or executed the assassination. These matters should be reported under the caption ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. Unless urgency dictates otherwise, submit by airtel accompanied by letter-head memorandum suitable for dissemination.

Threats against President JOHNSON or other public figures should be handled in accordance with existing instructions and not under the above captions.

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF
PRESIDENT KENNEDY

DATE: 4/4/67

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Wick

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

Handwritten signatures and initials

Jack Anderson came in to see me at 11:55 a.m. today. He has just returned from New Orleans where, at the invitation of District Attorney Jim Garrison, he interviewed Garrison for approximately six hours at his home. Anderson and Garrison later had dinner at the Latin Quarter restaurant in New Orleans.

Anderson stated that he went to New Orleans fully prepared to present a hostile viewpoint to Garrison. After listening to Garrison for approximately 90 minutes he began to believe Garrison's story. Anderson describes Garrison as a very convincing talker who has considerable facts at his disposal. Anderson now believes there is some authenticity to Garrison's claims and future plans. Garrison told Anderson that he will undoubtedly hold a full-scale trial within six months.

Basically, Garrison told Anderson that the entire assassination plot stemmed from David W. Ferrie, who was the genius and mastermind of the entire thing, and with Clay Shaw, who was in the beginning subsidized by the Central Intelligence Agency. Garrison has facts, as well as witnesses, according to Anderson, to prove that Lee Harvey Oswald came to the attention of Ferrie and Shaw when Oswald first arrived in New Orleans. At that point both Ferrie and Shaw recognized the fact that Oswald was a former marine, had had lengthy experience in the Soviet Union, was married to a Soviet citizen, and therefore had ties and background which would lend themselves to gaining easy access to Cuba. Shaw at this point already had been approved by the CIA, through an appropriate cut-out, to engineer a plot that would result in the assassination of Fidel Castro.

Upon learning of Oswald's background, Ferrie conceived the idea of setting up Oswald in an attempt to establish a Fair Play for Cuba organization in New Orleans. Ferrie and Shaw arranged for Oswald to obtain an office which formerly had

CDD:CSH (5) Sullivan 4/26/67 which analyzed numerous items

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Mr. Tolson

Anderson next sprang the "Sixty-four dollar question." He stated that at the close of Garrison's six-hour recitation of facts, he (Anderson) was of the opinion that Garrison was not only sincere, but very convincing. Anderson stated that Garrison firmly believed his facts. Anderson then told me that he bluntly asked Garrison why Garrison had not given all these convincing facts to the FBI, whereupon Garrison replied, "I got started off on the wrong foot with the FBI." Garrison added, "I would be more than willing to give the FBI everything I have and let them finish the investigation if they so desire."

Anderson told me that he, of course, is now in a position to contact Garrison and indicate that the FBI will or will not take over this case. I told Anderson that the FBI would not under any circumstances take over the case. I stated that Garrison had made it quite plain that he did not want the cooperation of the FBI and, as a matter of fact, Garrison had threatened to put handcuffs on any of our agents who approached him for information.

I also told Anderson that, while we of course would accept any information that was voluntarily given to us, we at the same time would not take over Garrison's "dirty laundry."

Anderson told me that if the Bureau had any change of policy in the above regard he would appreciate knowing about it. I told him we would keep his offer in mind; however, there definitely would be no change of policy.

Anderson also told me that he had discussed this entire matter with George Christian, the President's Press Secretary, at the White House. He stated that Christian was also convinced that there must be some truth to Garrison's allegations. Christian told Anderson to get in touch with the FBI. Anderson stated he had already been planning to do this, but that he now especially wanted to advise us of the full facts because of Christian's request.

In this connection, Marvin Watson called me late last night and stated that the President had told him, in an off moment, that he was now convinced that there was a plot in connection with the assassination. Watson stated the President felt that CIA had had something to do with this plot. Watson requested that any further information we could furnish

Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. Tolson

in this connection would be most appreciated by him and the President. I reminded Watson that the Director had sent over to the White House some weeks back all the information in our possession in connection with CIA's attempts to use former agent Robert Maheu and his private detective outfit in contacts with Sam Giancana and other hoodlums, relative to fostering a plot to assassinate Castro. Watson stated this was true and he remembered our memorandum in this regard, but that if we had anything else we should by all means forward it to the White House. I told him we had no further information in this regard.

ACTION: For record purposes. There is no need to make further contact with Anderson.

~~_____~~ ✓

Memorandum

TO: Mr. Mohr *[Signature]*

DATE: December 6, 1963

FROM: C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT

[Handwritten initials and marks]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach called me at 10:45 p. m., 12-5-63. He told me that Sandy Smith of the "Chicago Sun-Times" had called Guthman several times relative to the attempted assassination of General Edwin A. Walker by Lee Harvey Oswald. I told Katzenbach that we too had received a number of calls, however, had refused to make any comment whatever in this matter although we knew the story was getting out. Katzenbach told me that Pierre Salinger of the White House had called him and wanted guidance on what to say in the matter. Katzenbach told Salinger inasmuch as the story was apparently already out that Salinger should go ahead and merely confirm the fact that apparently there was evidence that Oswald had made an assassination attempt upon General Walker's life.

Katzenbach told me that the Associated Press (AP) had picked up a rumor that the FBI report on the assassination of the President and the murder of Oswald was now over in the Department. He wanted to know if we had received any inquiries in this regard. I told him we were deluged with inquiries during the past several days as to when the FBI would complete the report, however, we had made no comment and intended to stick by this. He stated that Senator Russell, at the Presidential Commission meeting yesterday, 12-5-63, had been somewhat sore that information contained in the report was leaked out. Katzenbach stated he told Russell that Director Hoover had assured him that the FBI was not giving any information to the press and that he further stated he would check with the FBI to make certain that this was not being done. I asked Katzenbach if he had any information that facts given to the press were coming from the FBI. He stated he had none and that was not the purpose of his call. He indicated he merely wanted to advise me of Senator Russell's feelings. I told him he should keep in mind that almost every police officer in the Dallas Police Department has been furnishing information to the press. I mentioned that Henry Wade, the prosecutor, the Chief of Police and Captain Will Fritz had had a field day in giving out all available facts. I mentioned there were still a considerable number of reporters in Dallas and that the evidentiary reports which we had furnished the Dallas Police Department were still being quoted on a daily basis. Katzenbach stated he knew all of this but that he had been unable to convince Russell that such was the case. I further told Katzenbach

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Morrell

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REC-3

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DeLoach to Mohr 12-6-63
Re: Assassination of the President

that before looking at the FBI as to possible "leaks," he should carefully examine his own house. I told him I was quite thoroughly familiar with the way Guthman and Rosenthal dealt with the press and that as he well knew the wire service people stayed constantly in Guthman's private office. I told him it was quite obvious to me how the AP had learned that the report had been sent over to the Department.

Katzenbach reiterated that he had no complaints against the FBI. He stated again that the purpose of his call was to tell me about Senator Russell's feelings.

He added that he had another reason for calling and that was to determine if we could give him any ideas as to how Warren Olney could be dropped as Chief Counsel of the Presidential Commission. I told Katzenbach of our feelings concerning Olney. He stated that he was presently working through Congressman Hale Boggs and he thought he was going to be successful in getting Olney's name removed from consideration. He told me that Boggs was very sympathetic.

Katzenbach mentioned that Waggoner Carr, the Texas State Attorney General, would like very much to see the Director on Friday, 12-6-63. I asked him what for. He stated that Carr had no particular motive in mind other than to indicate to the press later on that he had discussed matters with the Director. I told him I could see no percentage in the Director's seeing Carr, that we were the investigative agency and that Carr's dealings should be with the Department and the Presidential Commission. Katzenbach indicated that the White House might think otherwise. He stated that the President was most anxious for Carr to be given attention in Washington inasmuch as Carr was running for office next year. I told Katzenbach I knew this, however, I still felt that the Director should not be injected into this matter. Katzenbach stated he would attempt to dissuade Carr from seeing the Director, however, Carr was quite persistent.

ACTION:

In view of the close friendship which Carr obviously has with the President, the Director may desire to just shake hands with Carr without sitting down and discussing facts concerning our report.

*If he calls I will
see him.*
H

EXCERPT FROM EXECUTIVE SESSION TRANSCRIPT OF 12/5/63

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SEN. RUSSELL: May I ask something?

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SEN. RUSSELL: General, I see occasionally in the press articles that purport to have come from the F.B.I. as to bits of evidence and things of that kind. How much of their findings does the F.B.I. propose to release to the press before we present the findings of this Commission?

MR. KATZENBACH: Well Senator, I know the story to which you are referring - -

SEN. RUSSELL: It's been in the papers.

MR. KATZENBACH: Yes. And I know that the Director and Mr. Belmont, who is the man in charge of this particular investigation, are utterly furious at the information that got into the press. I talked with both of them on this subject. They say they are confident it could not have come from the F.B.I., and I say with candor to this committee I can't think of anybody else it could have come from, because I don't know of anybody else that knew that information and some agent somewhere along the line, it seems to me, may very well have done it; or a clever reporter, as you are familiar, can put together a, b, and c, so it did not have to come from one source.

MR. DULLES: What reporter was that?

REP. BOGGS. Sterling Green.

MR. KATZENBACH: Yes. He is an AP reporter. He is a good reporter, he has covered the bureau a long time. And all I can say is that as far as the Department of Justice is concerned and as far as the Director is concerned, that story generated enough heat within the Federal Bureau of Investigation that I doubt that another such story will appear because it is a real peril I think in even

- 8 -

This is page 8 of the Commission's first Executive Session, held 12/5/63. Before Hoover relayed his "definitive" report he leaked it to the press to box the Commission in. Here, in deepest secrecy, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach admits that only Hoover could have been the leaker.

~~SECRET~~

The Federal Bureau Of Investigation

1. Early Bureau Response To The President's Assassination

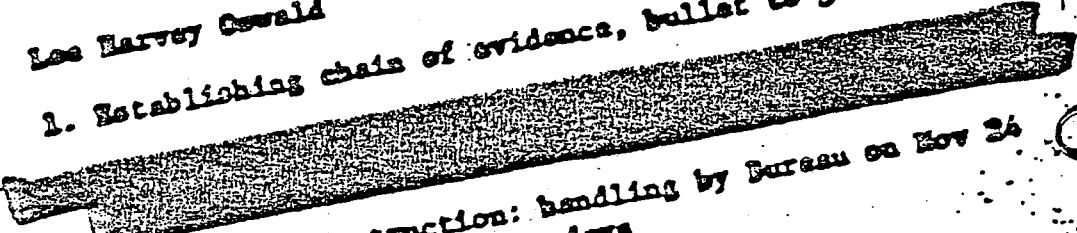
A. November 22-25, 1963

1. Early teletypes; instructions to field; Hoover, Sullivan, Belmont memos; 60 agents to Dallas
2. Jenkins memo of Nov 24: Hoover says Oswald alone did it, Bureau must "convince the public Oswald is the real assassin."
3. Hoover memo on Nov 26: "wrap up investigation; seems to me we have the basic facts now" 62-109060-1490
4. Hoover memo on Nov 29: "hope to have investigation wrapped up by next week"

216326
classified by SRS/HIJ/GCL
multiple sources
OADR 7/5/84

B. Lee Harvey Oswald

1. Establishing chain of evidence, bullet to gun, etc.



REFERRAL DOCUMENT

FOI/PA # 211,326

APPEAL #

CIVIL ACT. #

E.O. # 12356

DATE 8/5/84

3666

3. Eosty note destruction: handling by Bureau on Nov 24 and effect in subsequent days
4. Interviews of Oswald associates, Marina wiretap M-MARTINES, ETC.

C. Jack Ruby

1. Basic facts, early memos
2. Hoover suspicion of basement entry and assistance
3. extensive teletypes and reports on organized crime connections, also Hoover's own memos
4. contacts in 1959 as P.C.I - for use as informant on criminal element in Dallas

Referred

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B. Assistance To Warren Commission

1. Basic scope of official relationship
2. Early friction over informant allegation (LEO)
3. Withholding of Hosty name from Oswald notebook
4. Hoover instructions to agents not to volunteer info. to WC
5. Destruction of Hosty note: implications
6. Withholding of secret "Case Report" on Bureau mistakes in earlier Oswald probe; disciplining of officials
7. Hoover instructions ordering that no Bureau official attend earliest WC session, despite Katzenbach request
8. Delay in sending information to Commission regarding Bureau's past nine contacts with Ruby
9. Apparent withholding of "Oswald imposter" names of 1960-1961

Preferred

11. Handling of Ruby polygraph

C. Related Bureau Actions and Activities

- SEPT. 24 1964
- ✓ 1. Preparation of dossiers on WC staff after the Report and WC
 - ✓ 2. Hoover's leaking of early FBI report (Sullivan statement)
 - ✓ 3. Hoover views on Communism and Oswald (Kronheim letter)
 - ✓ 4. Sullivan relationship with Angleton: pre-arranging of answers to Commission questions.
 5. Secret plan to distribute Oswald-Marxist posters in Bureau plan to discredit Communist Party; prejudicial aspect
 6. Hoover reaction to Warren Report
 - ✓ 7. Subsequent preparation of six dossiers on critics of probe
 8. Questions regarding FBI's continual pledge that "case will remain open for all time;" actual designation of it as "closed" in internal Bureau files.

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Folder # 48

Appendix A

B. Assassination (based on all available statements of witnesses, films, photographs, etc.)

- 1. Shots
 - a. number of shots fired
 - b. time elapsed during shots
 - c. direction of shots
 - d. location of car at time
- 2. Postures and apparent injuries to President Kennedy and Governor Connally
 - a. President Kennedy
 - b. Governor Connally

C. Events Immediately Following the Shooting

- 1. Treatment at hospital
- 2. Activities of Dallas law enforcement
- 3. Return of entourage to Washington
 - ii. President Johnson's trip to airport
 - b. trip of Mrs. Kennedy with body of late President to airport
 - c. swearing-in
- 4. Removal of President Kennedy's body to Bethesda Naval Hospital
- 5. Removal of car to Washington—condition and repairs

D. Nature and Extent of Wounds Received by President Kennedy (based on examinations in Dallas and Bethesda)

- 1. Number of individual wounds received by President Kennedy
- 2. Cause of death
- 3. Time of death
- 4. Evaluation of medical treatment received in Dallas

II. Lee Harvey Oswald as the Assassin of President Kennedy

A. Brief Identification of Oswald (Dallas resident, employee of Texas School Book Depository, etc.)

Appendix A

Tentative Outline of the Work of the President's Commission

Author's note: This "Tentative Outline" was attached to a "Progress Report" dated January 11, 1964, from Commission Chairman Earl Warren to the other Commission members, and reveals the extent to which the Commission's conclusions were formulated prior to its investigation.

I. Assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963 in Dallas

A. Trip to Texas—Prior to Assassination

- 1. Initial plans for trip
 - a. relevant dates
 - b. itinerary
 - c. companions
 - d. motorcade to luncheon
 - e. other
- 2. Events of morning of November 22
 - a. arrival at airport—time, etc.
 - b. motorcade—crowds, time, etc.

Source: Warren Commission Documents

These three documents suggest something about the way one of the chief or key Commission witnesses was handled.

Commission used Charles Givens' testimony to place Oswald on the 6th floor; he was allegedly the last person to see Oswald before the assassination of the President.

FBI documents, which include the names of the FBI Special Agents who deposed Givens, suggest that perjury and the subornation of perjury by the Warren Commission legal staff may have taken place with Givens' testimony.

Date 2/13/64

Lieutenant JACK REVILL, Special Service Bureau, Dallas Police Department, advised that he knows of no witness being held in protective custody by any agency in connection with the assassination of the President. He stated that in his opinion with respect to the story appearing in the Fort Worth Star Telegram on February 10, 1964, the witness referred to may possibly be CHARLES DOUGLAS GIVENS.

Lieutenant REVILL based this opinion on the fact that he saw CHARLES DOUGLAS GIVENS after the assassination and turned him over to Captain WILL FRITZ of Homicide and Robbery Bureau, Dallas Police Department for interview. He stated that GIVENS had been previously handled by the Special Service Bureau on a marijuana charge and he believes that GIVENS would change his story for money. He stated it was his understanding, however, that when GIVENS was interviewed immediately after the assassination, he stated he was not in the building at the time of the assassination.

Lieutenant REVILL stated the only other possibility as to who the witness might be was EDDIE PIPER, who, he understands is the Negro janitor at Texas School Book Depository, but that he is not familiar with the information furnished by PIPER when interviewed.

296

2/13/64 at Dallas, Texas File # DL 100-10461

Special Agent ROBERT P. GEMBERLING - gj Date dictated 2/13/64

*Total as appears
in the Warren
Report.*

Additional testimony linking Oswald with the point from which the shots were fired was provided by the testimony of Charles Givens, who was the last known employee to see Oswald inside the building prior to the assassination. During the morning of November 22, Givens was working with the floor-laying crew in the southwest section of the sixth floor.²²³ At about 11:45 a.m. the floor-laying crew used both elevators to come down from the sixth floor. The employees raced the elevators to the first floor.²²⁴ Givens saw Oswald standing at the gate on the fifth floor as the elevator went by.²²⁵ Givens testified that after reaching the first floor, "I discovered I left my cigarettes in my jacket pocket upstairs, and I took the elevator back upstairs to get my jacket with my cigarettes in it."²²⁶ He saw Oswald, a clipboard in hand, walking from the southeast corner of the sixth floor toward the elevator.²²⁷ (See Commission Exhibit No. 2707, p. 142.) Givens said to Oswald, "Boy are you going downstairs? * * * It's near lunch time." Oswald said, "No, sir. When you get downstairs, close the gate to the elevator."²²⁸ Oswald was referring to the west elevator which operates by pushbutton and only with the gate closed.²²⁹ Givens said, "Okay," and rode down in the east elevator. When he reached the first floor, the west elevator—the one with the gate—was not there. Givens thought this was about 11:55 a.m.²³⁰ None of the Depository employees is known to have seen Oswald again until after the shooting.²³¹

The significance of Givens' observation that Oswald was carrying his clipboard became apparent on December 2, 1963, when an employee, Frankie Kaiser, found a clipboard hidden by book cartons in the northwest corner of the sixth floor at the west wall a few feet from where the rifle had been found.²³² This clipboard had been made by Kaiser and had his name on it.²³³ Kaiser identified it as the clipboard which Oswald had appropriated from him when Oswald came to work at the Depository.²³⁴ Three invoices on this clipboard, each dated November 22, were for Scott-Foresman books, located on the first and sixth floors.²³⁵ Oswald had not filled any of the three orders.²³⁶

Eyewitness Identification of Assassin

Howard L. Brennan was an eyewitness to the shooting. As indicated previously the Commission considered his testimony as probative in reaching the conclusion that the shots came from the sixth floor, southeast corner window of the Depository Building.²³⁷ (See ch. III, pp. 61-68.) Brennan also testified that Lee Harvey Oswald, whom he

was the m
Depositor,
an exceller

por window of the
d, Brennan was in
w. He was sitting

- 227. Id. at 38-30.
- 228. 4 H 260-270 (Day); 4 H 31, 38-39, 42 (Latona).
- 229. CE 313; pp. 17-18.
- 230. 4 H 51, 52, 54 (Mandella); 15 H 745-746 (Mandella); CE 642.
- 231. Id. at 47; 7 H 390 (Witticus).
- 232. 4 H 42-44 (Latona); CE 1980, 3133.
- 233. 6 H 347, 349 (Givens).
- 234. Id. at 354.
- 235. Id. at 349.
- 236. Ibid.
- 237. Id. at 340-350, 353.
- 238. Id. at 350-351.
- 239. Id. at 351; 3 H 223 (Truly).
- 240. 6 H 351 (Givens).
- 241. CE 1381.
- 242. 6 H 342-345 (Frankie Kaiser); 6 H 332 (Shelley); 6 H 335 (Nat Pinkston); 3 H 233-235 (Truly); Kaiser DE 1; CE 508.
- 243. CE 1986, 3141, 6 H 344 (Kaiser); 6 H 335 (Pinkston).
- 244. 6 H 344 (Kaiser); 6 H 335 (Frankston).
- 245. Ibid.; 6 H 332-333 (Shelley); 3 H 215 (Truly).
- 246. 6 H 332-333 (Shelley).
- 247. See ch. III.
- 248. 3 H 144-148 (Howard Brennan).

Date 11/23/63

CHARLES DOUGLAS GIVENS, 2511 Cochran Street, advised he was employed by the Texas School Book Depository, Houston and Elm Street, from October 1, 1962, to present time. GIVENS said he has worked at this same position as a wrapper on several occasions prior to this employment.

On November 22, 1963, GIVENS worked on the sixth floor of the building until about 11:30 A.M. when he used the elevator to travel to the first floor where he used the rest-rooms at about 11:35 A.M. or 11:40 A.M. GIVENS then walked around on the first floor until 12 o'clock noon, at which time he walked onto the sidewalk and stood for several minutes, then walked to the Classified Parking Lot at Elm and Records Street. GIVENS then walked to Main Street to watch the parade and after the President and the group had passed, he walked back to the parking lot, at which time he heard several shots fired from the direction of the building at which he is employed. He attempted to return to work but was told that he had been released for the balance of the day.

GIVENS advised that a white male, known as LEE, was employed in the same building and worked as a wrapper or order filler. He said he saw this same person's picture on television on the afternoon of November 22, 1963, who was supposed to have been the person being investigated for the shooting of the President. LEE worked on all floors of the building, and on November 22, 1963, GIVENS recalls observing LEE working on the fifth floor during the morning filling orders. LEE was standing by the elevator in the building at 11:30 A.M. when GIVENS went to the first floor. When he started down in the elevator, LEE yelled at him to close the gates on the elevator so that he (LEE) could have the elevator returned to the sixth floor. GIVENS said that during the past few days LEE had commented that he rode to work with a boy named WESLEY.

GIVENS said all employees enter the back door of the building when JACK DOUGHERTY, the foreman opens the door at about 7 A.M. On the morning of November 22, 1963, GIVENS observed LEE reading a newspaper in the domino room where the employees eat lunch about 11:30 A.M.

on 11/22/63 at Dallas, Texas File # DL 99-43

by Special Agent WILL HANSEN GREENE and
BARNELL J. ODUM (RM) Date dictated 11/23/63

Source: Marrell McCullough File/ File used in conjunction
w/ Memphis sanitation strike and "Invaders"

FBI identifies the Memphis Police Department source who has infiltrated the indigenous black power group in Memphis called the "Invaders." Actually the McCullough file is several hundred pages in length.

FBI also provides the Field Office file number for police spy McCullough. This makes it possible to evaluate the political intelligence the Bureau is using to generate policy in Memphis.

4/3/68

SAC (157-109)

4/3/68

SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

Key Date

Mc Culloch

COMINFIL OF
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - SNCC; RM

On 3/27/68 Capt. JEWELL G. RAY, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD, advised confidentially that one of the Negro rookies in the last PD training school, MARION MC CULLOCH, was never put into uniform. He was put in among the striking sanitation workers to obtain intelligence information regarding potential racial violence. He is using the code name MAX.

with conf checks

MAX has gotten in with the strike support strategy leaders such as Dr. H. RALPH JACKSON, Rev. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK and Rev. EZEKIEL BELL. He is also getting in with some of the potential rough element of Negroes, such as JOHN HENRY FERGUSON and WILLIE KIMP. MAX recently called Capt. RAY to say he was signed up for an Invaders group by one ORIE MC KENZIE (ph) and bought felt letters "INVADERS" for 40 cents. RAY will try to learn further details.

The Memphis PD has gotten MAX a cover, and he is technically on the payroll of an electric company and gets paychecks from this company. He has moved to a new neighborhood. MAX is a native of Mississippi and is an Army veteran having experience in Military Police work. He has been in Memphis only a short while and is not well known. The Memphis PD hopes to keep him undercover.

RECOMMENDATION:

[Redacted]

- 2 - 157-109
- ① - 157-1092, SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN.
- 2 - 157- [Redacted]
- 1 - 157-556, POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE, MAJOR URBAN AREAS

157-1092-232

BHL:LF
(6)

ef

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR - 3 1968	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

344 pages for review
85 documents

File No: 157-1067
ME INTERDERS

Re: MARRELL McCULLOUGH

Date: (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or to whom referred (Identify statute if (b) (3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
84	5/21/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	1	1	b7c
85	5/21/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	1	1	b2, b7c, b7D
95	5/20/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	2	2	b2, b7c, b7D
113	5/24/68	MEMPHIS AIRTEL → MOBILE	2	2	—
145	6/6/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	4	4	b2, b7c, b7D
166	6/19/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	11	11	—
168	6/14/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	2	2	b2, b7c, b7D
189	7/5/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	5	5	b2, b7c, b7D
190 G	7/8/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	1	1	b2, b7c, b7D
195	7/9/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	5	5	b2, b7c, b7D
196	7/9/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	12	12	b7c, b7D
200	7/9/68	MEMPHIS INTERNAL MEMO	5	5	b2, b7c, b7D

ATTACHMENT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SAC (157-1067)

DATE: 3/26/69

FROM: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP), aka
Invaders
RM

On 3/19/69 Detective [redacted] Intelligence (b)(7)(D) Unit, Memphis Police Department, furnished writer a copy of PD memo dated 3/17/69 captioned "Black Organizing Project, aka Invaders; City of Memphis Hospitals; Dick Gregory," a report from PD undercover agent [redacted] (code name MAX - reliable), (b)(7)(D) re activities on 3/14, 15, 16/69. A xerox copy of same is attached to each copy of this memo.

- 1-157-1067 - BOP (Invaders)
- 1-157-1423 - BUF
- 1-157-1613 - MARRELL McCOLLOUGH (b)(7)(c)
- 1-157-1288 - [redacted] (b)(7)(c)
- 1-100-4390 - Liberal Club (Memphis State University)
- 1-100-4000 - SDS
- 1-157-1244 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1746 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1626 - [redacted] (b)(7)(c)
- 1-157-1647 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1806 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1662 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1587 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1638 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1312 - Black Knights (b)(7)(c)
- 1-157-1629 - [redacted]
- 1-157-1671 - [redacted]
- 1-134-452 - [redacted] - (b)(2), (b)(7)(D)
- 1-100-4861 - California Grape Boycott
- 1-44-1987 - MURKIN
- 1-157-Dead - Black Student Union, Sienna College, Memphis
- 1-100-5014 - [redacted] (b)(7)(c)
- 1-157-1516 - AFSCME
- 1-157-1548 - [redacted] (b)(7)(c)

WHL:wp
(24)
wp

157-1067-1086

2, 3, 4, 5, 6

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 1 1969	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

Source: FBI's "Invaders" file

Acting under some duress, Hoover does admit to the A.G. that the FBI had an informer inside the "Invaders" group. We also find out that there were five other informers who were close to the leadership of the "Invaders" to provide the Bureau & Memphis Field Office with "reliable" information.

This kind of disclosure makes it pretty certain that the FBI and Memphis Police knew just about everything worth knowing about the plans, activities, etc. of this targeted group. Since the "Invaders" have been accused of the March 28th violence that effectively forced Dr. King to return to that city to lead a peaceful demonstration in April only to meet his death. If the "invaders" did plan the March 28th violence why didn't the Bureau alert King, etc.

- 1 - Mr. Adams
 - 1 - Mr. D. W. Moore, Jr.
 - 1 - Mr. R. J. Gallagher
(Attn: H. N. Helterhoff)
 - 1 - Mr. T. W. Leavitt
 - 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
 - 1 - Mr. J. D. Powell
- March 4, 1976

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

15
 "NEWSDAY" ARTICLE CONCERNING
 INVADERS AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER
 KING, JR., DATED FEBRUARY 1, 1976

An article appears in the February 1, 1976, issue of "Newsday" captioned "FBI Tied to King's Return to Memphis" written by Les Payne (copy attached).

US
 This article alleges that the FBI and the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department infiltrated the Invaders, a Memphis organization of young blacks. The Invaders allegedly were responsible for violence during a march in Memphis on March 28, 1968. The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a participant in this march. It is alleged that because of the violence associated with this march Dr. King found it imperative to return to Memphis in April, 1968, at which time he was assassinated. It is inferred that inasmuch as there were FBI and police informants in the Invaders, the FBI and the police were thereby possibly responsible for Dr. King's assassination based on the possibility that the March 28, 1968, violence was part of a conspiracy to compel Dr. King to return to Memphis and his death. It is alleged that the FBI informants and a Memphis Police Department undercover officer infiltrated the Invaders and were actively responsible for the violence associated with the Invaders.

A review of files at FBI Headquarters and at the Memphis Field Office of the FBI has determined the following:

An umbrella black group was formed in Memphis in 1967 known primarily as the Black Organizing Project (BOP). One of its cells was the Invaders composed of young blacks. The Invaders were particularly militant. Leaders of the Invaders made inflammatory statements to the effect that it would be desirable for the city to burn.

157-8460

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

JDP:lek tek
(9)

ENCLOSURE

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

The Attorney General

On February 12, 1968, Memphis sanitation workers began a strike. Many rallies and marches were held in their support and the strike became a black cause. Dr. King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, supported this strike. On March 28, 1968, a mass demonstration was held in Memphis with Dr. King as a participant. The leaders of the Invaders actively urged students to skip school on that date and to participate in the march.

Shortly after the beginning of this march, with Dr. King at the head, young blacks toward the rear began breaking windows and looting. Dr. King immediately left the scene. Widespread looting occurred, three young blacks were shot, one fatally, approximately 60 were injured, five policemen received significant injuries and there were approximately 300 arrests. The National Guard was mobilized. The presence of a large number of uncontrolled youths, combined with the agitation of BOP/Invaders leaders, was considered the primary cause of the violence.

This violence was particularly distressing to Dr. King inasmuch as it was felt by him and his associates that this incident might be construed as an indication he could no longer effectively lead mass demonstrations without violence.

The FBI did have informant coverage of the Invaders. There were five informants of the Memphis Office providing some degree of coverage of the Invaders or its leaders. One informant did become a member of the Invaders shortly after the March 28, 1968, violence. He was present during the demonstration and reported on the activities of the leaders of the Invaders before and during the demonstration. Another informant was well acquainted with the BOP/Invaders leaders. He was also present during the demonstration and reported thereon.

Our files do not indicate that any of the FBI informants were involved in planning, inciting or participating in the violence. None were in any level of policy or leadership in the BOP or the Invaders.

The Attorney General

The Memphis Police Department did have an undercover officer who had infiltrated the Invaders. He regularly reported on the activities of the Invaders. Information was exchanged between the Memphis Police Department and the FBI concerning the Invaders. There is no indication in our files that the Memphis police officer was involved in the planning, instigating or performance of violence. This man has been publicly disclosed and he is no longer a member of the Memphis Police Department.

This is being provided for your information.

Enclosure

NOTE:

See memorandum J. G. Deegan to Mr. T. W. Leavitt, dated 3/2/76, prepared by JDP:lek.

WEDNESDAY 1-31

ADV FOR 6:30 A.M. EDT SUN 2-1

NEW YORK (UPI) -- FBI INFORMANTS WERE ACTIVE IN THE 1956 RIOTS THAT BROUGHT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., BACK TO MEMPHIS, TENN., WHERE HE WAS ASSASSINATED, NEWSDAY SAID TODAY.

THE NEW YORK TIMES QUOTED THE UNDISCLOSED SOURCE AS SAYING NEWSDAY, FBI AGENTS AND AN INVESTOR IN MEMPHIS POLICE OFFICIALS HAD BEEN TOLD THAT KING'S POLICY OF NON-VIOLENCE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WAS KILLED, SCORES WERE INJURED AND 230 PRISONERS WERE ARRESTED BEFORE THE RIOTS WERE QUENCHED.

NEWSDAY QUOTED THE REV. JESSE JACKSON, ONE OF KING'S AIDES AT THE TIME OF INCIDENTS, AS SAYING KING NEVER WOULD HAVE RETURNED TO MEMPHIS FOLLOWING HIS ADVERTISED ATTEMPT TO LEAD A PEACEFUL MARCH ON BEHALF OF THE CITY'S SANITATION WORKERS HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE INVADER-LED DISTURBANCE.

"HE NEVER INTENDED TO GET BOGGED DOWN IN MEMPHIS," HE SAID.

NEWSDAY SAID A FORMER LEADER OF THE INVADERS TOLD ONE OF ITS REPORTERS HE HAD LEARNED THE FULL IDENTITY OF THE POLICE OFFICER WHO WORKED UNDERCOVER, POSING AS A MEMBER OF THE GROUP.

"HE HAD A 7.62 RUSSIAN AUTOMATIC RIFLE AND HE WAS ARMED EVERY TIME HE WERE ARMED," THE FORMER GANG-LEADER WAS QUOTED AS SAYING. "HE WAS ALWAYS SUGGESTING ACTIONS THAT WE SHOULD TAKE. I NEVER SAW HIM PHYSICALLY ATTACK ANYONE, BUT HE WAS ONE OF THE MOST PROVOCATIVE MEMBERS OF THE INVADERS."

NEWSDAY SAID BOTH THE FBI AND MEMPHIS POLICE HAVE VERIFIED THAT THEIR AGENTS WERE WORKING WITHIN THE INVADER ORGANIZATION AT THE TIME OF THE RIOTS AND KING'S ASSASSINATION.

THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED THE REV. ROSA WILLIAMS, ATLANTA DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOUNDED BY KING, AS SAYING THE SCLC FREQUENTLY USED INVADER GANG MEMBERS AS PARADE MARCHERS OR SECURITY GUARDS.

"THEY WOULD NEVER HAVE HURT DR. KING," WILLIAMS WAS QUOTED AS SAYING. "BUT THOSE WHO INFILTRATED OUR GROUPS, AND WE COULD NEVER IDENTIFY THEM, TRIED TO EXPLOIT THE YOUNGSTERS' FRUSTRATIONS AND NEGLECT AND TURN THEM AGAINST US."

ADV FOR 6:30 A.M. EDT SUN 2-1

UPI 01-31 06:00 PLS

Source: FBI "Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike" file

As in this case, it is not unusual for the Bureau to name a source that provides the FBI w/ background intelligence. More than not the name is masked but the source's title or affiliation is usually given in the documents.

The usefulness of this kind of disclosure is pretty self-evident.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1092)

DATE: 3/13/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

On 3/1/68 WILLIAM F. YOUNGSON, Director of Security, Memphis State University (MSU), orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE as follows:

A black student rally, participated in by some whites, was held at and near the MSU Student Center from noon to 1:20 P.M., 3/1/68, to stimulate support for the sanitation workers strike in existence in Memphis since 2/12/68. Forty-four participated (33 Negroes and 11 whites). They carried placards and urged students to engage in picketing of downtown stores and to attend student mobilization rallies to support strikers to be held at Clayborn AME Temple, 280 Hernando, 4:00 P.M., 3/1/68 and 9:00 A.M., Saturday, 3/2/68. The leaflets urging this were shown being put out at Centenary Methodist Church, 584 E. McLemore (Rev. JAMES M. LAWSON, JR., Pastor) and at 280 Hernando.

One male Negro identity not known was the main speaker. He passionately said Memphis was run by the white power structure; that garbage was being picked up in "white" east Memphis and Whitehaven but not in the Negro districts.

- ① - 157-1092
- 1 - 100-4140 (Investigation Student Groups College Campuses)
- 1 - 100-4618 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-4593 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-4615 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 105-1418 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 170-1022 Sub [REDACTED]
- 1 - 157-1070 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 157-

WHL:mnr

(9)

157-1092-78

Handwritten signature/initials



Source: FBI documents from "Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike"

Documents make clear that FBI sources in Memphis at time of the strike included the executive officers of the NAACP.

A note of explanation. In all fairness I have to assume that either the FBI editor left the names of these officers unmasked either unintentionally or for some recondite FBI purpose failed to safeguard their identities. For whatever reasons, this is an usual "lapse", since the Bureau rightfully takes pains to protect the identity of their informants. But a textual analysis of the entire file leaves it pretty clear who these reliable sources are in any case.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 16, 1968

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, page 1, February 13, 1968, issue, reported that beginning February 12, 1968, approximately 1,000 sanitation workers employed by the City of Memphis Department of Public Works, whose prime duties were to collect garbage and trash in the city of Memphis, had gone on strike and that Mayor of Memphis, Henry Loeb, had stated that if the striking workers did not return to work immediately others would be hired to take their jobs. It quoted Charles Blackburn, Director of Public Works, as saying that only 170 of over 1,100 sanitation workers had reported to work February 12, and that they kept 34 of the Department's 180 garbage trucks operating. Also out on strike were approximately 214 laborers working in the streets and drains division and at the City asphalt plant, all operated under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Works. The big issue involved was a requested wage boost which the union - Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, presented to Mr. Blackburn asking for pay increases from \$1.80 per hour to \$2.35 per hour and for pay increases of crew chiefs and truck drivers from \$2.10 an hour to \$3.00 an hour. Also time and a half for all work over 8 hours a day and for checkoff of union dues.

Since that time, up until February 16, the strike has not been settled and the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, February 16 issue reported that 51 new workers had been hired on February 15 and that negotiations were still continuing with the striking workers and Local 1733. The union is now demanding exclusive recognition of the union

SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED *lh*

157-1042-2

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

ME 157-NEW

PRIOR TO SIXTEENTH INSTANT, ONLY SUPPORT OF STRIKERS CAME FROM AFL-CIO UNIONS IN MEMPHIS. BEGINNING SIXTEENTH INSTANT, MEMPHIS BRANCH, NAACP, HAS INJECTED SELF INTO STRIKE. RELIABLE SOURCE IN NAACP STATED THAT NAACP STATED THAT NAACP HOPES TO HAVE A DOWNTOWN MARCH SEVENTEENTH INSTANT IN SUPPORT OF STRIKE, TO HAVE AN ALL-NIGHT VIGIL AT CITY HALL BEGINNING SIX P.M., MONDAY, FEBRUARY NINETEENTH NEXT, TO HAVE MASSIVE TELEPHONE CALL CAMPAIGN TO CITY HALL, FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS WHICH WOULD TIE UP ALL INCOMING LINES, TO FORM MASSIVE BOYCOTTS AND PICKETING OF LEADING MERCHANTS IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE BUSINESS LEADERS OF COMMUNITY TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON MAYOR AND MEMPHIS CITY COUNCIL TO GIVE IN TO UNION DEMANDS.

THIS GIVES THE STRIKE RACIAL OVERTONES. NO INDICATION TO DATE OF ANY BLACK NATIONALIST INFILTRATION. THIS WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED THROUGH RACIAL SOURCES AND POLICE DEPARTMENT LIAISON.

U. S. ATTORNEY, U. S. SECRET SERVICE, ARMY INTELLIGENCE AND POLICE DEPARTMENT, ALL MEMPHIS, HAVE BEEN ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS. P. END.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

as bargaining agent, setting up grievance procedures, wage improvements, payroll deduction of union dues, and a promotion system as well as a pension and hospitalization and life insurance program.

This news article on page 1 reported that the Memphis Branch of the NAACP was scheduled on February 16, 1968, to deliver to Mayor LOEB a strongly worded message calling for higher wages and better working conditions and adequate for airing grievances for the workers and threatened a series of protests, including massive telephone campaign to City Hall and Fire and Police Departments that would tie up all their telephone lines.

Generally, squad cars of the Memphis Police Department are following the few garbage trucks which are making pickups, manned by nonstriking workers. As of February 16, 1968, there has not been any injuries or serious incidents resulting from the strike.

On February 16, 1968, Lt. E. H. Arkin of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that the City of Memphis is most concerned due to the intervention of the NAACP under the theory that this may well give strong racial overtones to the strike inasmuch as all of the sanitation workers, excluding drivers, are Negroes and that this can become a highly emotional issue which conceivably could result in some form of racial violence.

Lt. Arkin stated that to date the only outsiders who are participating in the strike are P. J. Ciampa, International Field Staff Director of the union from Washington, D. C., a white male; William Lucy, a male Negro, International Director of Legislation of the union from Washington, D. C.; and Joseph Paisley, International Organizer of the union currently assigned to the State of Tennessee. Lt. Arkin stated that prior to the intervention of the NAACP, the only outside support of the strike had come from the AFL - CIO Labor Council in Memphis which has gone on record as supporting the strike.

*P. J. Ciampa
concerned about
violence*

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

On February 16, 1968, Sources 1, 2 and 3, all of whom have furnished reliable information in the past, and who are most familiar with the inner workings of the Memphis Branch of the NAACP, advised that the NAACP has no alternative but to inject itself into the strike since practically all of the strikers are members of the Negro race. The NAACP currently plans, if sufficient personnel and volunteers can be obtained, to have a march in downtown Memphis beginning at the NAACP hall, 236 Hernando, and terminating on the Main Street side of the Memphis City Hall, to take place around noon to 1:00 p.m., Saturday, February 17, 1968.

Also early in the week beginning February 19, 1968, the NAACP plans to have a massive telephone call campaign whereby its members and supporters and sympathizers would on a continuing basis make phone calls to the Memphis City Hall, including Memphis City offices, to the Memphis Fire and Police Departments, which would tie up their incoming lines. Also the NAACP plans to have a massive all-night vigil at the Memphis City Hall to begin 6:00 p.m., Monday, February 19, 1968, and to subsequently form massive boycotts and picketing of, as yet unspecified but key merchants in the city of Memphis. The purpose of the boycotts and picketing is to bring economic pressure, not unlike a secondary boycott, on these merchants to force them to bring political pressure on Mayor Henry Loeb and the new Memphis City Council to accede and give in to the union demands.

Sources 1, 2 and 3 pointed out that these tactics would be highly emotional in nature and could feed the flames of racism in the city of Memphis, although this is not their purpose. They emphasize that they have not invited any of the incipient black Nationalists or black power movement oriented toward the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Memphis to join in this effort and that to the best of their knowledge this will be strictly an NAACP sponsored event. They pointed out that they are sure that many members of organized labor in the city of Memphis



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee
February 16, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, page 1, February 13, 1968, issue, reported that beginning February 12, 1968, approximately 1,000 sanitation workers employed by the City of Memphis Department of Public Works, whose prime duties were to collect garbage and trash in the city of Memphis, had gone on strike and that Mayor of Memphis, Henry Loeb, had stated that if the striking workers did not return to work immediately others would be hired to take their jobs. It quoted Charles Blackburn, Director of Public Works, as saying that only 170 of over 1,100 sanitation workers had reported to work February 12, and that they kept 34 of the Department's 180 garbage trucks operating. Also out on strike were approximately 214 laborers working in the streets and drains division and at the City asphalt plant, all operated under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Works. The big issue involved was a requested wage boost which the union - Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, presented to Mr. Blackburn asking for pay increases from \$1.80 per hour to \$2.35 per hour and for pay increases of crew chiefs and truck drivers from \$2.10 an hour to \$3.00 an hour. Also time and a half for all work over 8 hours a day and for checkoff of union dues.

Since that time, up until February 16, the strike has not been settled and the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, February 16 issue reported that 51 new workers had been hired on February 15 and that negotiations were still continuing with the striking workers and Local 1733. The union is now demanding exclusive recognition of the union

157-9146-X1

FBI

Date: 2/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-New)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

J.R. [unclear] ms
Trace
C.D.B. [unclear]
D.M. [unclear]

Re Memphis teletype to Bureau captioned as above 2/16/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 2/16/68.

Source 1 is [redacted]
Source 2 is [redacted]
and source 3 is [redacted]
all contacted by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

Copies of LHM are being furnished to regional offices of Military Intelligence and to the office of the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tennessee.

Memphis will continue to follow captioned situation and report pertinent information as obtained through racial informants and sources and through liaison with the Memphis Police Department which is giving this matter extremely close and continuous attention.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc-11) ENCLOSURE REC-43
- 8 - Memphis (1 - 157-New)
 - (1 - 157-566) (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
 - (1 - 100-662) (NAACP)
 - (1 - 157-276) (Liaison with Groups sponsoring integration)
 - (1 - 170-46) (JESSIE H. TURNER)
 - (1 - 170-83) (MAXINE SMITH)
 - (1 - 88-1687 Sub) (Dissemination)

157-9146-XI
FEB 19 1968

100-911176
RACIAL INT. SECT.

Agent G-2, J.P.E. OSI CRD
WHL/acp
Date Forw 2/21/68

How Forw _____
MAR 11 1968
AUG 30 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: 2/23/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

PA [Signature]

① SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

Re Memphis tel and LHM 2/19/68.

Enclosed herewith for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 2/23/68. Copies are also being disseminated to U. S. Secret Service and the U. S. Attorney, Memphis, as well as to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Source one is [REDACTED]

Source two is [REDACTED]

Both of the above sources furnished information to SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
- 5 - Memphis
 - (1 - 157-1092)
 - (1 - 100-662, NAACP)
 - (1 - 170-49, VASCO SMITH)
 - (1 - 170-78 Sub, ME 338-R(GHETTO))
 - (1 - 66-1687 Sub, Dissemination File)

ENCLOSURE
REC-47

157-9146-X5

FEB 26 1968

WHL:gmh
(8)

Agency G-2, JPI, OSI, CRD, SS

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Date Forw. 3-1-68

How Forw. R/S

By cap/ics

Sent _____ M Per _____

AUG 30 1968

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

55 [Handwritten marks]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 23, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Reference is made to a communication captioned as above dated February 19, 1968.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper on the morning of February 23, 1968, reported that the sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee, continues and reported that on February 22, 1968, a group of the strikers, union leaders of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), and other supporters, such as the Memphis National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, met in the City Council chambers where they met with a subcommittee of the City Council, following which the committee urged that the entire City Council go on record as recommending that the City recognize the union and agree to "some form of dues check-off." This news story, by Reporter Joseph Sweat, reported that the entire City Council would meet with the strikers in Ellis Auditorium on the late afternoon of February 23, 1968. It pointed out that the Council can only recommend and that Mayor Henry Loeb is the one who has the final authority to negotiate with the strikers.

The story stated that Reverend Ezekiel Bell, a male Negro, pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Memphis, told the strikers, "When you go home, don't sleep too soundly. We may be calling for you again. I am coming up here tomorrow (Friday, February 23, 1968) and I'm bringing my garbage because if the decision (of the Council) is not right, by jingo, I'm not going home."

Another story on page 1 of the "Commercial Appeal," by Reporter Richard Lentz, reported that about 700 sanitation strikers and their families crowded into the City Hall's Council Chamber on February 22, 1968, in a tense session. The story

157-9146-X5

SEARCHED