

The affidavit with which these records were conveyed to the court and me was on legal size paper but we have been able to copy it on letter size.

Except where I've added the missing S (for Security) number these pages are exactly as I received them and are copied directly from the records provided to me by the CIA.

A few comments, which do not include comments on the incredible political beliefs of the CIA's source.

While S-21 records that the subject is unwilling to be turned over to the FBI he did not refuse absolutely. On page 6 there is a reference to this subject's source as a DJ official. That was Sullivan's operation. While I do not have the withheld name, that of Joseph A. Sizoo fits. He is described in FBI records as Inspector (which was probably later) and as Sullivan's No. 1 man in the domestic intelligence division. During Watergate it came out that what is here described was physically in Sullivan's office until he turned it over to the Nixon White House.

S-23 reports another such source who saw the subject at his New York home 7/13/65. This and other such dating data makes it possible for anyone who keeps the kinds of records professionals usually keep to establish that he was not the subject if in fact he was not.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HAROLD WEISBERG,)	
)	
Plaintiff,)	
)	
v.)	Civil Action No. 77-1997
)	
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,)	
<u>et al.</u> ,)	
)	
Defendants.)	

SUPPLEMENTARY AFFIDAVIT

Robert W. Gambino, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the Director of the Office of Security of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). My official circumstances remain the same as described in my affidavit of 26 May 1978, in the above-captioned litigation. The substance of my 26 May affidavit and its accompanying Document Disposition Index is incorporated by reference and made a part hereof.

2. This affidavit is intended to supplement and amplify remarks made in my affidavit of 26 May 1978 and in the Owen affidavit of 25 May 1978 in the above-captioned litigation and to relate the rationale and related Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) exemptions to the various documents or portions thereof withheld in this FOIA litigation. The categories of substance withheld and the related rationale expressed in the Owen affidavit are as follows:

Classification -- Paragraphs 4 and 5

Intelligence Sources -- Paragraphs 7 through 14

Foreign Liaison Sources -- Paragraphs 9 through 14
Unilateral Intelligence Sources -- Paragraphs 7 and 8
Intelligence Methods -- Paragraph 16
CIA Installations Abroad -- Paragraph 15
Cryptonyms and Pseudonyms -- Paragraph 17
Identities of CIA Components -- Paragraph 18
Identities of CIA Staff Employees -- Paragraph 18
Privacy -- Paragraph 20

3. All documents originally released, with portions deleted, have been annotated and copies appended. The notations are letters which have been placed in the areas from which deletions were made. The letters correspond to the letters used in the Document Disposition Index to designate the different categories of information deleted. The only deletions which are not so marked are those which contained classification markings or related information control markings, including declassification determinations. These latter markings are not deleted as being exempt under FOIA exemptions, but because classified documents processed for release under FOIA cannot be released if they are currently classified. When they are declassified, in whole or in part, removal of the classification and related information control markings is part of the administrative procedure of declassification. See paragraph 19 of the Owen affidavit.

4. In each instance in which classification is claimed as justification for an FOIA exemption, the original document is clearly marked on its face with the stamped designation of the level of its classification; either CONFIDENTIAL or SECRET. Although I was not present when the original stamp marking was imposed on the document, the common practice in CIA at the time

U
29 November 1975

S-11

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Analysis Group
SUBJECT : Martin Luther KING - #353 062

C & A
~~Southern Christian Leadership~~
~~Conference #394-924~~

1. Per your verbal request, the above-captioned security files were reviewed by the undersigned.
2. A thorough review of cited Office of Security files disclosed no evidence that the Office of Security has ever conducted any investigation, including wiretaps, surveillance, mail cover, or field investigation regarding listed subjects. No inquiry was made outside the Office of Security and no DDO records were reviewed or checked.
3. The above is for your information.

B
Security Analysis Group.

MES:hjd

E2IMPDET
CL BY 007472

16 Staff → Office of Security

Director wishes to know whether
Dr. Martin Luther King was ever surveilled
or reported on - while outside of the U.S. -
under the CHROD program.

Also:

Whether there is any record of any
mail interception either to or from
Dr. Martin Luther King.

M.S.A.P.

B

16 Staff

S-102

SRS FILE COPY

F1 123 127

MEMORANDUM FOR
SUBJECT

Deputy Director for Support

Threat to CIA by Some "Black Power"
Elements

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

5. At least two organizations, the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have questioned the motives and tactics of those who advocate "black power" and "black rebellion," and such respected Negro journalists as Carl L. Rowan and George Schuyler have warned against the militants. In its report for Fiscal Year 1967, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has pointed out that "So-called civil rights organizations preaching hatred for the white race, demanding immunity from laws, and advocating violence are a grave and serious threat to our country's internal security." (Emphasis added) The FBI annual report specifically names the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement as hoping "to disrupt the tranquility of our Nation with violence to further the concept of 'black power.'" According to the FBI report, "Leaders of these groups constantly attempt to spread domestic discord among Negroes by making inflammatory speeches and issuing hate-filled literature." (The same report warns of such militant organizations as the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, a group which has signed an "accord" to work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.) State and Federal legislative committees have taken notice of the Communist links to some of the militant groups.

6. In many ways this information is illuminating, yet in other ways it prevents the problem of careful evaluation. Most certainly, all past members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee cannot be charged with being a threat to the Nation's internal security, whereas those who support the statements and activities of the present leadership of SNCC must remain suspect. Similarly, those who have adhered to the tenets of the Revolutionary Action Movement, even from its early days, must be considered more than suspect.

7. Because of this matter of "degree" of involvement in the unfavorable, indeed dangerous, aspects of "black power," this office has compiled from its records those personalities (Tab A), and organizations (Tab B) which must be of our official concern. Two organizations which have to date resisted the blandishments of "black power" leaders are indicated in Tab C. Many of the personalities and

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

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

Howard J. Osborn
Director of Security

Attachments:

Tab A, B, C

Orig - Ret to CS

L. S. EDS

CS/SRS/  /cer

D

KING, Martin Luther, Jr. - Rev. King heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana, reported on 13 April 1961 to be "substantially under the control of the Communist Party. . ." Dr. King and his wife have been outspoken critics of U.S. Vietnam policy. Dr. King is known to have two advisors who were identified in the past with the Communist cause, and his deputy, Rev. James Bevel who heads the National Mobilization, has been quoted as stating "every thinking American" should be a member of the Communist Party. Dr. King more recently has proposed extended civil disobedience in Washington, D. C., in the spring of 1968. Although Dr. King has participated in "peace" marches in the past, he sent his regrets to the 21-22 October 1967 Pentagon protesters, indicating that he would have attended if other commitments had not precluded it.

S-13

15 April 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR : Deputy Director for Support
SUBJECT : The Militants: An Up-date on the
Black Power Threat

1. This memorandum is for information only.

2. By memorandum entitled "Threat to CIA by Some Black Power Elements," dated 11 December 1967, I advised you of the results of inquiries with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the review of existing materials in the Office of Security concerning militant "Black Power" organizations and personalities. I specifically noted those groups and personalities which have expressed hostility against this Agency and its operations.

3. Since that time additional significant information has been received which reflects increased activity on the part of the militants, coupled with threats for what they have termed "The Bloody Summer." Although the ranks of the extremists are still proportionately small, their threats of violence must be given greater weight than might normally be attributed to their small percentage of the U. S. Negro population. A review of these recent developments is attached for your information.

4. In addition to the new information on the extreme militants, we have also noted two scheduled developments for the months of April and May which will be of interest to you. They are:

a. Beginning on 22 April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) will initiate their "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, D. C. On that day, Dr. King has indicated he will lead "waves of the nation's poor and disinherited" into the city for prolonged, disruptive and "non-violent" demonstrations to demand government action for "jobs or income for all." He has indicated that his initial cadre of up to 3,000

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

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

B

B

Despite Dr. King's statements the Washington protests are for "jobs or income for all," there can be little doubt the activity will be closely interlinked with the "peace" movement, particularly at the stage when "peace" groups are formally invited in as the activity escalates.

FBI

b. Close on the heels of the initiation of Dr. King's Washington campaign, and possibly well-timed with the proposed formal call for participation by "peace" groups as that campaign escalates, are the "National Days for Black Unity Against the War in Vietnam, 17-20 May 1968." Sponsored by the Peking-line Progressive Labor Party and certain to attract the more militant factions, the protest calls for nationwide demonstrations "against the war in Vietnam and slum landlords." The announced highpoint of the protests is a day of widespread

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

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

A
Acting Director of Security

Attachment as stated

Distribution:

Orig - Return to OS
2 - DDS

S-17

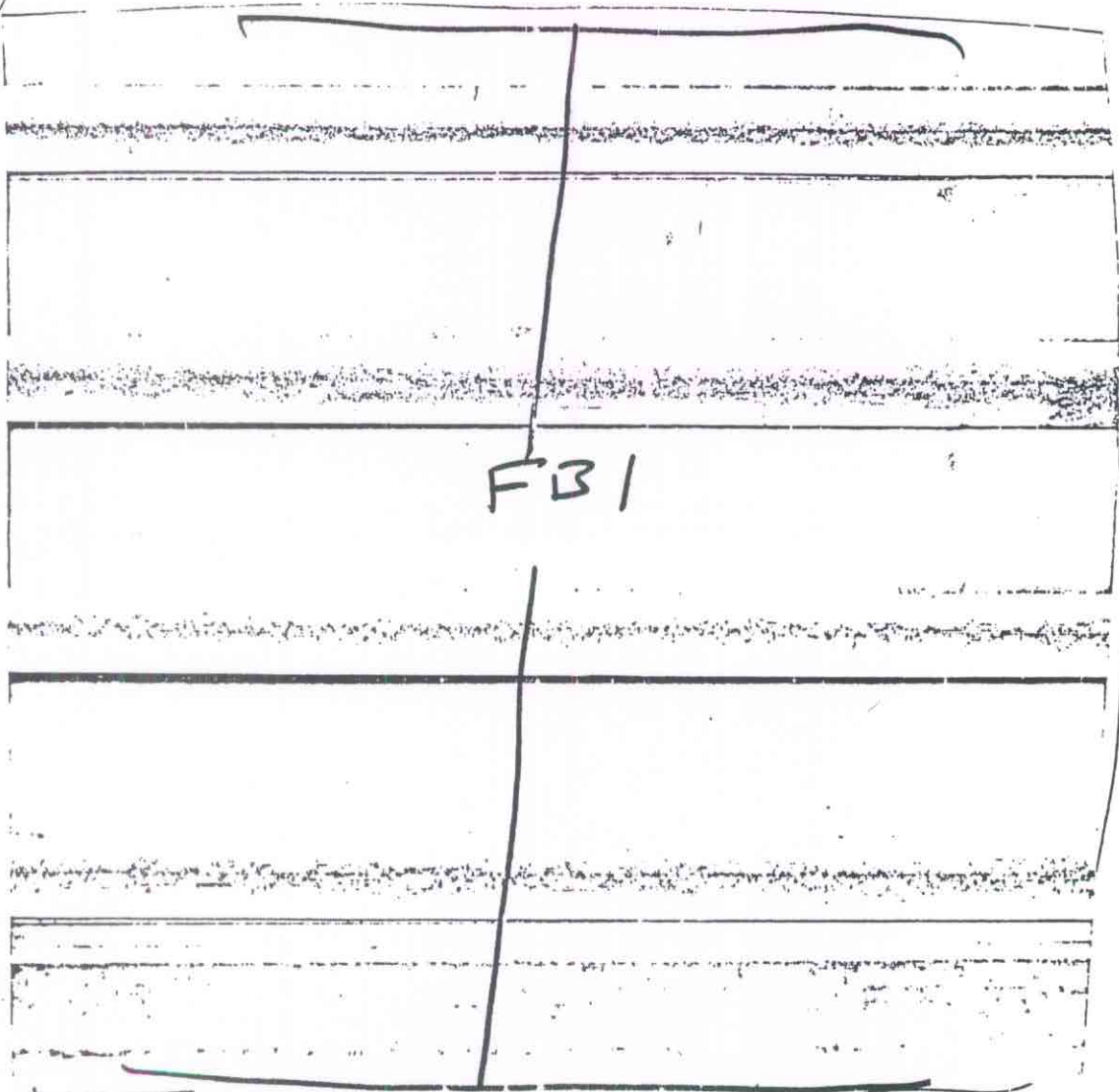
27 March 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR : Deputy Director for Support
SUBJECT : Potential for Civil Disturbance,
Washington, D. C., Summer 1968

1. This memorandum is for information only.

2. On 15 March 1968, I furnished you with our update assessment of the Black Power movement and attendant potential for civil disturbance. Since that time, we have received two excellent studies from the Federal Bureau of Investigation which provide additional information about extremist elements and the potential for civil disturbance in the District of Columbia during the summer of 1968.

FBI



FBI

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

Howard J. Deborn
Director of Security

Attachments as stated

Distribution:
Orig - ret to OS
2 - DDS

OS/SRS/ /pjh - 27 March 1968

SUPPORT

Nov. 1, 1967

The AMERICAN TEACHERS PRESS
and its ACTION PROGRAMS

A
A.T.P.
PO Box
Evanston, Ill. 60204
35304
S75

SCHOOL CHILDREN WILL BE HELD AS HOSTAGES... DURING VACATION TIME.

Use injunctions to stop— Luther King Christmas Riots!

Martin Luther King is bound to use the HOLIDAY VACATION time to stage his "massive civil disobedience" in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Milwaukee... and other big cities... TV and the Lobbyist Press have played him up as the "Dark Savior"... when in fact he is basically a power hungry agitator who shows no difference from RAY BROWN or STOKELY CARMICHAEL who are self-admitted racists and anti-American anarchists and communists.

OFFICIALS OF ALL BIG CITIES MUST OBTAIN A SERIES OF INJUNCTIONS... TO PREVENT THE PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING and all other known agitators... TO PREVENT INCITEMENT TO RIOTS

The problems of the so-called ghettos are not racial problems... but human problems. Education is the key to the solution of these problems... not riots. The majority of ghetto children flagrantly reject education. And Martin Luther King has brought anarchy into the classroom... an anarchy that will spill over into the holiday streets... just as it did into the summer streets.

The Federal Communications Commission and the Congress must make TV live up to its FAIRNESS CODES and stop giving Special Privilege Coverage to Agitators who use democracy to destroy democracy... while giving only Token Coverage to people of ALL RACES who want to speak out for Main Stream America.

Read: THE BRAT FACTORIES by Roger Pugh 40 cents per copy

Written with an angry wit, here is a little book that shook the entire school world. Published in 1966. It is available in paperback.

S-16

6 March 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT:

~~_____~~
~~_____~~
B D

~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~

1-B-1

~~_____~~ Martin Luther King, #353 062, ~~_____~~ D
along with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
~~_____~~ B- It would appear that the Communist Party, in all probability,
exercised considerable control over King. ~~_____~~ D
~~_____~~ D seems to have supplied much of the brains and power
behind King and was, in fact, responsible for many of his programs,
including the Washington Spring Project (Poor People's Campaign).

~~_____~~
D
~~_____~~
~~_____~~

D

C

S-17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

10 March 1965

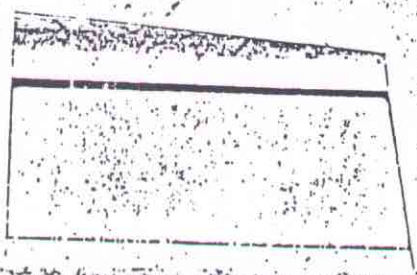
A confidential informant of known reliability has advised as follows regarding the relationship between the Director of the FBI and the Rev. Martin Luther King:

In the Fall of 1964 following the remarks made to the press by the Director FBI regarding King and after King's counter statement, an Assistant Director of the FBI visited [redacted] and one of the more responsible Negro leaders in this country and advised him that the Director FBI was prepared to make specific charges against King based on factual data in his possession to the effect that King had misused funds contributed to the Civil Rights movement for his personal benefit; that he knowingly employed on his personal staff two members of the CPUSA although he had promised other Negro leaders he would terminate the two [redacted]

[redacted] A.B. [redacted]

(A.B.) summoned King to New York City and advised him of these charges, and at first met with denials of them but subsequently King admitted that it looked as though he were in trouble. He asked for time to think the matter over and said he would see [redacted] the following day. He did not appear as promised and later [redacted] ascertained that King had gone to Washington and made his peace with the Director FBI.

The foregoing information has been confirmed from another source with direct access to the Director FBI.



1. 12 Aug 69

A 11

(A)

IMPERIALIST CHINA
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

(S-1)
18

Of course, the West German ruling circles at present still have to rely on U.S. support in many respects, particularly in the political and military spheres. Therefore, they have misgivings about the stepped-up collusion and centralism between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in an attempt to redivide the world. They fear that U.S. imperialism will make counter-revolutionary deals with Soviet revisionism at the expense of West Germany. That is why amidst the intense preparations by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for "strategic arms limitation talks," West German Chancellor Kiesinger made a hurried trip to Washington and held talks with U.S. imperialist chief of state Richard Nixon for two days. After mutual glorification and professions of "kinship," Nixon once again assured Kiesinger that as regards the U.S.-Soviet talks, the United States would have "full consultation" with and "take full account of the interests of" West Germany. To placate West Germany, Nixon reached agreement with Kiesinger on the establishment of a "hot line" between the White House and the chancellor's office so as to "stay in close communication with each other." But with the growth of West Germany's strength, its tendency to fall away from U.S. imperialism will inevitably increase.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out long ago: "The epoch we are living in is an epoch in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, the imperialists have fallen inexorably into crisis." The maneuvering and struggles among the imperialist countries to realize their own ambitions are aggravating the division of the imperialist bloc, thus accelerating the doom of the imperialist system.

GANGSTERISM IN U.S. SHIELDED BY OFFICIALS

Teking NCHA International Service in English 1953 GMT 11 Aug / 69 B

[Text] Teking, August eleventh (HSEBWA)--Famous American criminal gangs are working hand in glove with the U.S. officials and big monopoly capitalists to loot the people. The trinity of government officials, businessmen and gangsters has become one of the characteristics of the decadent capitalist society of the United States today.

With accelerated corruption of the U.S. society, gangsterism has been increasingly rampant there. To cover up the government support and shielding of gangsterism, U.S. imperialist chief of state Richard Nixon remarked recently that gangsterism "has deeply penetrated broad segments of American life." He admitted that in U.S. cities gangsters have unscrupulously carried out such criminal activities as "illegal gambling," "racket," "narcotics traffic" and "loan sharking." He also admitted that from "illegal gambling" alone, organized gangsters have an annual take from 20,000 million to 50,000 million dollars.

These criminal gangs have every connection with the U.S. official circles. Their activities are virtually carried out under the shielding and connivance and with the participation of the U.S. official circles. The narcotics traffic goes on with close collaboration from the police and the operation of secret gambling dens relies fully on police shielding. It was revealed that the bribes to the police from "mafia" for its secret gambling operations amount to some 4,500 million dollars annually, exceeding the total annual pay for police in the country. Racketeering can by no means be divorced from U.S. official protection and cooperation. A recent scandal involved the seemingly honest U.S. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas who agreed to a lifetime fee of 20,000 dollars a year from a convicted "financier" of stock manipulation.

Aug 69

A 5

COMMUNIST CONTRA
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Furthermore, the criminals often resort to "campaign contributions" to buy over and bribe politicians. Once being "elected" congressman, "governor" or "mayor," these politicians will use official authority to shield their crimes.

In fact, the ruling monopoly capitalist group is itself the biggest gang of criminals in the United States. The political power it holds dons a "legal" cloak over its plunder, deception and oppression of the broad masses of the American people. Taking "gambling" as an example, there are both "illegal gambling" and "legal gambling." Gamblers have only to pay the government a "tax" to make their operations legal. Nixon himself recently proposed the annual federal operators tax on gamblers be increased from \$9 to 1,000 dollars to boost government revenues. Las Vegas, Nevada, is one of the cities human for its gambling dens. The municipal government of the city collects over 1,600 million dollars from its "tax on gamblers" which becomes its main revenue. It was reported that another U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas was once president of the "Albert Farvin Foundation" founded by a crook which owns three casinos in Las Vegas. Gambling in the United States maintains close relations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an espionage set-up.

An ever increasing number of murder cases is also inseparable from the connivance of the reactionary U.S. ruling circles, which are themselves the ring-leaders in this respect. They instruct police and judicial government to conduct bloody suppression of the revolutionary American people. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class planned the sinister brutal murder of the Afro-American fighter Malcolm X, and did not show any tolerance even towards the Afro-American clergyman Martin Luther King, an exponent of non-violence. In addition, to compete for power and wealth, various monopoly groups repeatedly conducted political murders. The monopoly capitalist class also sets its propaganda machines in motion to advocate murder. In Los Angeles alone, scenes of murder appear on more than 1,200 occasions in television each week. No wonder gangsterism is running wild. According to U.S. official data, more than 10,000 people are murdered in the United States a year (not including those killed by the U.S. reactionary government).

Year after year sheffains of the gangs of criminals invest in enterprises the loot of thousands of millions of dollars they have plundered. They buy up banks and industrial and commercial enterprises, they ruthlessly changing into "phantom" social figures. It was disclosed that organized crime has been in control of a number of enterprises, big or small, in Chicago—in such important sectors as food processing, restaurants, real estate, auto sales, brokerage houses, travel agencies, shipping codes and radio and T.V. manufacturing. A U.S. bourgeois news agency said that many U.S. corporations look like business headquarters, but private conversations inside their so-called offices concern murder, corruption and rackets.

It is not surprising to see collusion among gangsters, government officials and politicians, and wealthy merchants. Karl Marx long ago pointed out that "capital grows dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." He also quoted T. J. Dunning as saying that "with adequate profit, capital is very bold... 100 percent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 500 percent and there is not a corner at which it will not scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged."

17 Aug 69

A 6

OFFICE OF
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The situation of organized crime in the United States is precisely the same. Criminals and monopoly capitalists are virtually jackals of the same kind.

The capitalist U.S. society is sinking and rotting to the core. But the American workers and the broad masses of American people are fast awakening. A revolutionary storm to sweep away all the pests will sooner or later rise in the United States. The days are numbered for the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and all sorts of its henchmen when they can ride roughshod over the American people.

NEW ZEALANDEBS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST ROGERS

From: OCHA International Service in English C203 GRF 11 Aug 69 B

[Text] Wellington, August tenth (US/INIPA)-New Zealand's progressive people strongly demonstrated today and yesterday in protest against the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers in New Zealand to carry out conspiratorial activities.

Rogers arrived in Auckland yesterday from Canberra by plane after he participated in an ANZUS pact meeting.

When Rogers, accompanied by New Zealand Prime Minister Holyoake, arrived at the International Hotel where he stays during his visit, he was loudly booed by more than 200 demonstrators at the street opposite the hotel.

Waving placards reading "Get back to the U.S., Rogers," the demonstrators hurled eggs and mud at the car of Rogers and Holyoake and shouted "Rogers, go home!"

The frightened Rogers hastily entered the hotel under the protection of a large number of secret servicemen. Angry demonstrators were unjustifiably arrested by the police.

In Christ Church, about 500 people held a meeting today in protest against Rogers' visit to New Zealand. Later, some 150 women and youths marched in the streets in protest against the arrest of the 12 demonstrators in Auckland.

SUBJECT: Notes Made During Conversations with
(A) in New York City 2 February 1965

1.

2.

3.

B

5.

6. (B) according to (A) has bunkrolled "CHICK" as well as Martin Luther King possibly and probably with

(B)

7.

(B)

8.

Source states hekin Luther King as (B)

11 May 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: (A) Conversation with

1. The writer had a short discussion this morning with (A)

(-----C-----)

2. In summarizing (A) point of view, the problem appears to be something like this. The Communist left is making an all out drive to get into the Negro movement. If through any mechanism they can link prominent Negro leaders to illegal activities and activity which is against President Johnson's policy, this may cause a serious break between Johnson and the Negro leadership which, in turn, may create a violent disruption in the Negro Civil Rights Movement which would give the Communists an opportunity to cause chaos and disruption.

3. Furthermore, if the above is coupled with an exposure of Martin Luther KING, Jr. by other than members of his own race, the damage to the Negro movement would be impossible to estimate. (A) is gravely concerned that KING may be exposed by white sources, official or otherwise, which would have no good effect and would probably only make KING a martyr. (A) was also concerned that KING might possibly be assassinated before his exposure which would have the effect of making him a martyr and would not be at all helpful to the Negro movement. It is (A) belief that somehow or other Martin Luther KING must be removed from the leadership of the Negro movement, and his removal must come from within not from without. (A) feels that somewhere in the Negro movement, at the top, there must be a Negro leader who is "clean" who could step into the vacuum and chaos if Martin Luther KING were either exposed or assassinated.

Handwritten notes:
See [unclear]
[unclear]
[unclear]

4. In summary, (A) feels that unless the Negro leaders, other than KING, are informed and are capable of intelligent maneuvering, the Communists or Negro elements who will be directed by the Communists may be in a position to, if not take over the Negro movement, completely disrupt it and hence cause extremely critical problems for the Government of the United States.

Seen by [unclear] Sec
and [unclear] Sec

(---B---)

9 June 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR : Chief, Security Research Staff
SUBJECT : ~~(A)~~
(Conversation with ~~A~~ 8 June 1955,
Washington, D.C.)

1. On 8 June 1955, the writer met with ~~A~~ at the Hilton Hotel, Washington, and had a long discussion with him beginning at approximately 1:15 and ending at 5 p.m. ~~A~~'s comments covered a wide range of matters, but basically they can be broken down into 3 main topics:

- (a) His attitude towards the FBI;
- (b) ~~(A)~~
- (c) Comments on the Negro Civil Rights Movement, the various personalities connected with it, and some of opinions and theories regarding future events connected with the Civil Rights Movement.

Each of the above will be discussed separately.

~~A~~ attitude towards the FBI

2. Sometime back, Chief, CRS, decided that it would be advantageous to have ~~A~~ give information, particularly regarding the Civil Rights Movement, to agents of the FBI in New York City, particularly if this information concerned domestic or local events and activities. Chief, CRS, felt that it would be a faster means of communication than heretofore used where in ~~A~~ communicated with CRS officers who, in turn, passed the information to either the FBI or areas where it was useful.

3. ~~A~~ made it very clear that he did not wish to communicate with FBI agents, that the Civil Rights Movement should be regarded as an international situation because of the Communist directed infiltration into the movement, and that he felt in some respects that he was being "downgraded" by being used as a source by the FBI and not in a higher echelon.

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

A

Completed

A

Civil Rights Movement

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

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

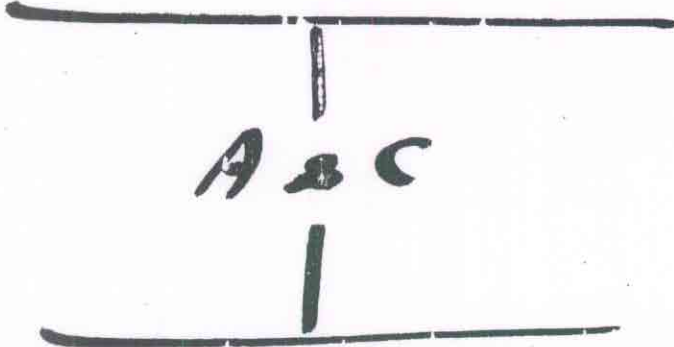
10. ~~AC~~ main concern has been that the highly derogatory information, of which he is familiar, concerning Martin Luther KING, Jr., will be exposed to the public by the wrong people and at the wrong time which, in ~~AC~~ opinion, will set the Civil Rights Movement back years and would perhaps give the Communists a chance to either further disrupt it or to seize control of the movement.

11. To make certain that this report reflects as accurately as possible the derogatory information on Martin Luther KING, Jr., here are three main categories:

- (a) Highly derogatory information on ~~AC~~ which have taken place within the United States and overseas;
- (b) A possible theft of money; and
- (c) Association with identified Communist or pro-Soviet types on an intense personal basis, particularly ~~AC~~.

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

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



The other leaders of first magnitude that entered the discussion are Martin Luther KING, Jr. and **-C-** who has been established clearly as a close and intimate friend of Martin Luther KING, Jr. and whose left wing background is also known. Some of the lesser Negro leaders will be mentioned later, but those of the greater strength and opposed to KING are **-E-**

-C- replied to the question of rapport among these leaders by saying flatly that there was no rapport at all, that all distrust and dislike the other, and in certain cases, there was often antagonism.

-A- stated that the brightest, shrewdest, and cleverest of all was **-E-** but a man who had no popular or grass roots following. He stated that **-C-** was a bright Negro, but who had no following whatsoever in the popular sense, but was making a definite play to gain power by seeking to be publicly connected with important individuals both in the Government and out **-A-** described **-E-**

-E- as a controversial old man, possibly becoming senile, who was afraid to act for fear of damaging his own reputation and who liked to imagine himself as the "Moses" of the Negro race. **-C-** has some popular following, but he is aloof and has not committed himself as intensely as some of the others. **-E-**, according to **-A-** is probably the most sincere and devoted of the leaders, but is naive and has a complete capacity for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time. **-C-** personally is clean and he does, in fact, have the grass roots support of the large organization

-E- insisted that he is law abiding, non-violent, and a decent individual, but not too politically intelligent.

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

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

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

14. -A- stated that the details of the KING matter are definitely known to the editors of the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, but they will not break the story because they have been asked not to. -A- stated presumably by the President.

15. The writer then referred to the -A- thesis that Martin Luther KING, Jr. is moving in a way that is indicative that he is being controlled by the Peking line Communists, possibly or probably through -C- from whom there is some information that would indicate he is a Kevist. The writer asked -A- what possible action would the Peking line Communists take in the KING matter. -A- replied by saying that it is certain to him that the Communists, both the Moscow and the Peking types, are aware of the Martin Luther KING, Jr. matter. -A- stated as far as he could figure out, the Peking Communists would handle KING in one of two ways:

- (a) We will permit you to remain head of the Negro movement in the United States and you may continue to rise in public acclaim. The other Negro leaders have no courage and they will not expose you. They are cowardly and controlled by the Capitalist leaders of the United States. You will, however, remember that we know what the story is and you will do what you are told. Or
- (b) They, themselves, the Peking Communists, will expose KING and in so doing they will end him, they will everlasting discredit all the other Negro leaders, and they will then be in a position to disrupt the Negro movement, cause chaos and trouble, and possibly gain control of it. If they expose KING, they will say to the Press and public media which they control to the Negro people, that you leaders have betrayed you, they knew this story of KING all along and were cowardly. They obeyed instructions from their capitalist leaders.

16. -A- stated that he is absolutely convinced that the Peking line Communists are moving ahead of the Moscow Communists, both in the world area and in the domestic scene. He pointed out that -C- has taken over the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and that -C- is going along with this. He stated that there are other indications of the Peking line Communists showing strength, and that there are a number of ways this can be demonstrated. He called attention to the fact that for the last 3 or 4 weeks there has been a period of inaction and that none of the Negro leaders, except -C-

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

17. The writer asked - A - if there was any indication that he knew of that would show that the Negro leaders--

- C - were going to expose KING. - A - stated that there is no such information, that none of them wanted to be responsible for the exposure, nor could they agree among themselves to do it as a group.

- A - himself, according to - A - would like to expose the situation, but he could not do this alone and unsupported. - A - stated again, as he had many times previously, that unless this exposure comes from the Negro leaders themselves, the attacks on KING will be useless and will end up only making him perhaps a martyr and would set back the Negro Civil Rights Movement for years.

18. Toward the end of the conversation, - A - pointed out that any examination of the Civil Rights Movement, at the present time, would show a clear and concise picture of Communist penetration and activities, namely, from the Peking line Communists. - A - said it is well to note that the war in Vietnam has now been linked to the Civil Rights Movement and, gradually, the two unrelated areas are being blended together in an all out Communist Party line attack on U.S. policy. - A - stated that this has spread confusion into the Negro Civil Rights Movement and has duped many of the leaders of the movement and caused them to make utterances which are stupid and certainly unpatriotic. - A - referred to the activities and statements of - C - in behalf of the "Refusal to Fight" movement.

19. - A - further said that the aims of the Communists were clear in that they wanted to link the Negro leadership and the Negro mass Civil Rights Movement into a position of anti-government action, and that the Peking line would be away from the Moscow "peaceful coexistence line", and would be continuous agitation for violent action and disruption. He stated that so called leaders like Martin Luther KING, Jr. and - C - have very clearly started blending the Negro Civil Rights Movement into

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

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

B

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

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

B

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

6. On 6 July - A - called and pointed out that - C - had apparently suddenly moved in a bid to become the top negro leader in the United States who champions non-violence and anti-Communism. - A - stated, that with Mar in Luther KING moving toward the Peking-line and splitting the civil rights movement between militants and activists and the non-violent groups, - B - stand - C - over the past few days was remarkable.

7.

A S C

8.

9. **C** **A** concluded by saying that this hard stand by will be very significant, particularly if he continues to hold this position.

10. **A** stated that he would talk to the FBI concerning this in New York City and would continue to keep us informed.

~~**B**~~

MA:jbc

21 July 1965

In connection with another matter, a source of this office talked to **- A -** at his residence, New York City, on 13 July 1965. (Various topics were covered during the interview and have been reported under separate memoranda.) Following are **- A -** comments (not verbatim) concerning **- B -**

A

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A B B

|

_____ stated Martin Luther KING has already shown his hand by attacking the Administration and advocating a pull-out in Vietnam. **A** insists that KING is compromised by his moral background and is probably controlled by Peking-line Communists);

B

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A B B

|

_____ pointed out it must be remembered that while the convention was going on, Martin Luther KING issued a public statement denouncing U. S. policy and advocating pulling out of Vietnam.

|

A B B

|



A & B

A → B
|

8 February 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT: A - REPORT FROM

1. A viewed BELLAFFONTE's emceeding of the Johnny CARSON Show last night. A said that Sidney FORTIER and Livingston WINGATE at the prompting of BELLAFFONTE went into a lengthy discussion of how Martin Luther KING obtained his money some years ago. According to A BELLAFFONTE is setting the stage for a future discussion of this matter when KING appears tonight on the show.

2. A concludes that the reason for the discussion of the alleged source of the funds supplied to KING at this late date must be because there has been a leak of information and all concerned realize that probably the FBI is putting pressure on KING to disclose the true source of the funds.

3. A now speculates who leaked the information that he supplied to us that the funds source was from the Chicoms. I assured A that no information that he passes to us is given to any source but an official one.

 B

5 April 1963

[Handwritten initials]

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT : REPORT FROM **-A-**

1. **A** reported that following the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther KING, **AAC** called **A** for advice. **AAC** claimed that President JOHNSON by telephoning **AAC** and other Negroes of the same persuasion extending the President's sympathy on the untimely death of the Reverend KING manifests the belief that the President is misinformed in matters of this delicacy. **AAC** claims that the Negroes are embittered and believe that if the President had not been spending all of our resources on winning the war in Viet Nam, this tragic event would not have occurred.

2. According to **AAC** stated that he, **AAC** had been in touch with the **AAC** and **AAC** stated that the poor peoples march on Washington which KING was to lead on 22 April 1968 will still be held.

3. **A** said that he had called **AAC** and recommended that the President issue a proclamation which would make this weekend one of silent prayer. He suggested that the President call upon all ministers, rabbis and priests to concentrate on texts which would emphasize the need for peace in the world. **A** said that he also suggested to **AAC** that the President extend an invitation to **AAC** to sing Sunday in a memorial service in Washington, D. C. at the Lincoln Memorial. **A** said that he would be able to bring **AAC** to Washington at the same time to sing hymns known and loved by the black race. **A** said that today at sundown begins the Jewish Sabbath and that he had urged **AAC** to request that his suggestions be acted upon forthwith. **AAC** said that he hates to see this government reacting to notification that the New York Stock Exchange will shut down its trading at 11:00 today and use the time for silent prayer. **A** said that he also noted that campuses all over the United States have also agreed to hold memorial services. He thinks that this government should be way out front in this regard and not react untimely to the practices put into motion by the Stock Exchange and the colleges.

B

8 April 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT: A - REPORT FROM

1. A called me this morning at the office to thank me
2. A advised that C was not in evidence following the assassination of Martin Luther KING on Thursday, 4 April 1968. A received word from a reliable source that ABC, who is under Feking discipline, was instructed not to be in the forefront.

ABC and other leaders in the Black Power structure who are under Feking discipline will hold a strategy meeting in the Reverend KING's home after the funeral.

3. A suggested that A will disclose that ABC and ABC will be in the forefront during the funeral services. According to ABC has sufficient information of a blackmail nature on C that will result in C reacting as a puppet to Feking direction in the coming presidential nominating campaign. A urged that a task force be established not by the FBI but by the intelligence community to cover from now on in which should develop the intelligence that C, Martin Luther KING, and C have for years been the willing tools of Feking.

B

S-21

29 MAR 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR : Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation

ATTENTION : (b-7-F)

SUBJECT : Martin Luther King, Jr.

 A.D. has volunteered information concerning one aspect of the forthcoming "Poor People's Campaign" to be directed by the Subject, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Although the information provided does not reflect any violation of Federal law or intent to do so, it is transmitted to your Bureau for background use in view of the information contained in your well-received studies of 11 and 12 March 1968 which provided additional information concerning the Subject and his Campaign.

Source has advised that **A.R.D.** of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, recently contacted **A.D.** advised had been selected by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as a focal point or "Command Center" to support the upcoming Poor People's Campaign headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On the evening of 12 March 1968, the source indicates, Rev. Jefferson Rodgers of the Church of the Redeemer, Washington, D. C., spoke before the congregation of the Arlington Unitarian Church on the objectives of the Poor People's Campaign. Among other things, Rev. Rodgers related that some 3,000 people trained in passive demonstrations will be brought to Washington in order to pressure the Congress to enact legislation in the civil rights area. Rodgers asked the congregation to provide such visible support as food, shelter, child care and transportation. Rev. Rodgers

also mentioned the possibility the Potomac bridges might have to be cut off or blockaded and the demonstrations turn to civil disobedience if the demands are not met by the Congress. In response, **A2D**

A2D stated the Church could not and would not be a party to any unlawful act.

Two members **A2D** of the Church subsequently contacted **A2D** to express grave reservations about their church becoming deeply involved in the Poor People's Campaign. Both indicated to **A2D** that they desired a meeting of the Board to air the issues involved. On the evening of 18 March 1968, the Board of Directors met to discuss their participation. A "blanket endorsement" of the Poor People's Campaign was proposed. The Board split four to four. A second proposal called for the Church's Social Responsibilities Committee to serve as the focal point for receiving and reviewing all requests for support by the Poor People's Campaign, whether from the SCLC or the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The proposal called for the church to examine each request and situation as it developed and to decide on the support to be rendered—or not rendered. This second proposal was approved by a seven to one vote, the sole dissenter being

A2D

The first request to be considered under the Board's approved guideline was that requesting the church to act as a storehouse for food supplies. The Board agreed to honor the request.

Because of his deep concern that the Arlington Unitarian Church and its Board might be duped or exploited by elements of the Poor People's Campaign, the source has indicated a willingness to provide additional information as the Campaign develops.

Attached are copies of materials provided the source by the aforementioned **A2D**

The information contained in this memorandum is for your internal use only and is not to be disseminated outside your Bureau without prior approval of this Agency. Please transmit any correspondence on this matter, Via Liaison, Attention: Director of Security.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE:

C
Howard J. Osborn
Director of Security

Attachments as stated

cc: **(= C =)** w/o all
 w/o all
 Subj's file
 - B - w/o all

OS/SRS/ **C** /pjh - 26 March 1968

S-28

12. December 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: James Earl Ray
#541 245

1. On 12 December 1975, ~~C~~ of the Review Staff asked for a file check on James E. Ray, in response to an informal inquiry from Senate Select Committee Staff member ~~D~~. The SSC is studying FBI activities, including the King assassination and the recently publicized Hoover/King controversy.

2. The bulk of Ray's file consists of news media material. There are two State Department cables reporting information on his extradition from England.

A, B, D

3. ~~C~~ will advise ~~D~~ of the above, and the fact that CIA had no file on Ray prior to the King assassination. A formal request is not expected and no further action necessary at this time.

C
Security Analysis Group

JRR, Jr:hjd