

case was considerable.

Hundreds of memos were written to Hoover during those years from all the top men at the bureau, including me, all of us telling Hoover that King was a dangerous menace and that Hoover was doing the right thing, all of them telling Hoover what he wanted to hear. No matter how well meaning a man might be, no matter how much he disagreed with Hoover's ideas and tactics, he went on with the investigation. No one in a top job at the bureau got there because he refused to follow Hoover's orders, no matter how distasteful they might have been. There was no man at the bureau who made important decisions and the rest of us carried them out.

I had under my jurisdiction a lot of important criminal and espionage cases that I determined were more vital than the investigation of Dr. King. But Hoover was monomaniacal about that case and kept after us all, even though valuable FBI manpower was being diverted from essential investigations. Many of us, myself included, sent Hoover memos that would set my attitude toward King just to get him off our backs so we could get on with our more important work.

There were at the top, no fewer than fourteen men with high-ranking positions who not only never objected to the investigation of King, but because of Hoover's pressure were vigorously behind it. At the top, of course, there was Hoover, with Tolson at his side and Tolson's assistant beside him. There were the number three man in the bureau, at that time Alan Belmont. Below him was Cartha DeLoach and then me, director of the Intelligence Division. My division, in turn, had two branches with an inspector heading each one, Security and Counterespionage, and the intelligence branch. A section chief from Intelligence was assigned to the case; under him was an assistant section chief who handled the King case when his superior was away; under him was a unit chief, and below him were supervisors, the bedrock of the administrative structure. On the everyday working level it is the supervisor who follows the day-to-day communications between the field offices and Headquarters.

Hoover's motives for pursuing King, as far as I can see, were:

1. Hoover was opposed to change, to the civil rights movement, and to blacks.
2. Hoover partly believed that King was a Communist, or at the

very least pro-Communist, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. Hoover resented King's criticism of the FBI.

4. Hoover was jealous of King's national prominence and the international awards that were offered to him.

Hoover felt that King was a deceiver because on the one hand he talked of God, the Gospel, and morality, and on the other Hoover saw bureau reports that indicated that King led a high life on which he spent large amounts of money gathered from his supporters.

Hoover believed it all and we backed him up. "The director is correct . . ." is the way many of our memos to Hoover would begin. We gave him what he wanted—under the threat of being out on the street if we didn't agree. Hoover told me that his view of King was reinforced by many citizens from "bellhops to nationally known figures." He cited Norman Vincent Peale and Roy Wilkins. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP did visit the FBI headquarters and, according to DeLoach, who at that time was the head of Crime Records, Wilkins knew of some of Dr. King's personal activities and "expressed strong disapproval of them." Wilkins, said DeLoach, was opposed to exposing Dr. King because he thought that the civil rights movement would be hurt as a result. But Hoover wanted King "exposed," and instructed us that all derogatory information about him be used to inform King's important financial backers, key field workers, influential churchmen, and community leaders. Hoover insisted that speeches be prepared for congressmen about King's activities. He also kept agents busy preparing information about King for the press, partially to block him from getting honorary degrees by spreading this information to various institutions.

Hoover's hate overcame his judgment during a press conference he agreed to hold in 1964 with a group of women reporters headed by Washington veteran Sarah McClendon. When one of the reporters asked Hoover about King's allegations that the FBI wasn't effectively enforcing the law in the South, Hoover called King the most notorious liar in America.

Hoover's "on the record" remarks about King were too much for Lyndon Johnson, who was then in the White House. Suddenly the Hoover-King feud had gone public and had become a political em-

barrassment to the president himself. Johnson ordered Hoover to meet with King and patch things up.

A meeting was set up and Hoover did all the talking. He always did. I think it was because he was afraid that someone would bring up a topic other than the FBI. Hoover didn't feel qualified to talk about anything except the bureau and the exploits of its agents, so he tended to dominate the conversation.

The meeting went smoothly, but nothing was really accomplished. The next day, we overheard King describe the meeting to one of his friends on the telephone. "The old man talks too much," he said. Hoover, of course, thought he had captivated King, really charmed him. When he found out what King had said about him, King was lost.

We were on him night and day. Because of this constant surveillance, we got every aspect of King's life on tape, including his love life. Hoover had always been fascinated by pornography, and if any that came to the bureau during the course of an investigation was kept from him, he'd raise hell.

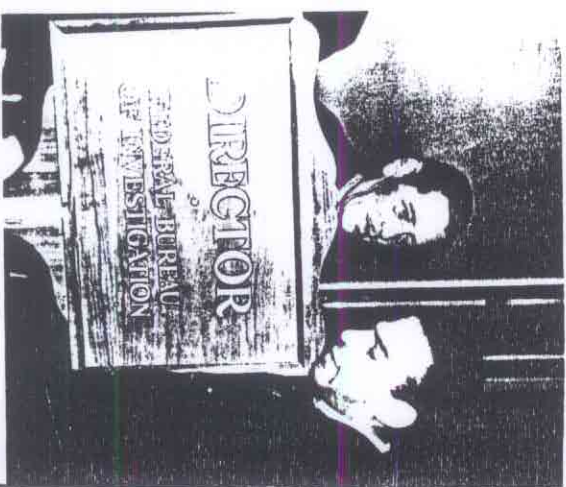
There was an iron-clad rule at the bureau that any material of this sort that went into FBI files had to be taped shut, but within hours a file with compromising photographs would be opened and closed so many times that the tape would lose all its adhesiveness.

When we raided the apartment of Angela Davis during her fugitive days, the agents found a series of photographs of her and her boyfriend taken while they were making love and word of the pictures got around . . . to everyone but Hoover.

Hoover called the SAC in New York about a hijacking case, and when the conversation was almost over, the SAC, without thinking, said to Hoover, "What did you think of those photographs of Angela Davis and her boyfriend?" Hoover said, "What pictures? I haven't seen any pictures!"

The buzzer in my office rang. It was Hoover on the phone. He asked, "Have you seen the pictures of Angela Davis and her boyfriend?" The truth was that I had heard about them but hadn't seen them and I told him so. Hoover shouted, "I want to see them imme-

diately and I want to know why I hadn't before." I called the agent who had them and them back because, like all of us, he wanted and not be interfered with by Hoover. He ver's office and received a scorching letter of to get the promotion that was due him for



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., arriving at FBI headquarters Hoover, who had recently called King "the most notorious in and Hoover" to end their feud. After the meeting King said "too much." *United Press International*

There were no pictures of King, but Hoover listened to all of them. Just in one from 5 January 1964, for example, fifteen placed in as many hotels as King traveled From New York City to Milwaukee, De mento, and Honolulu.

Hoover instructed us that tapes made in