

~~SECRET~~

D-30

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan
FROM : F. J. Baumgardner
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick
DATE: 10/24/66

1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - D. Wells

CLASSIFIED BY 6090
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

BACKGROUND:

[REDACTED]

OBSERVATIONS: Information has recently come to our attention indicating that King and his group are in need of financial support. This contact with the Ford Foundation would undoubtedly be of great assistance to him at this particular time.

It is felt that the Ford Foundation is not aware of the subversive backgrounds of King's principal advisers and that if the proper officials of the Ford Foundation were briefed concerning them, this might preclude any assistance being granted. Listed below are four principal advisers to King with subversive backgrounds:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This memo is prepared in response to your request and is being limited to official personnel only. Its use is limited to official personnel only. It is not to be distributed to unauthorized personnel. It is not to be used as a basis for action outside your committee. It is not to be used as a basis for action outside your committee. It is not to be used as a basis for action outside your committee. It is not to be used as a basis for action outside your committee.

100-106670

CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6076 WAM/mcc
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

DWJ: dch

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
CONTINUED OVER

~~SECRET~~

(14)

Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

[REDACTED]

b1
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

b3
60 USC
53
b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATION: In an effort to preclude the possibility of the Southern Christian Leadership receiving Ford Foundation funds, it is recommended that a Bureau official be designated to contact John Bugas, former Special Agent in Charge of the Detroit Office and presently a vice president of the Ford Motor Company, concerning the above-set forth facts so that he might bring them to the attention of whomever he feels appropriate in either the Ford family or the Ford Foundation.

I agree
11/25
[Signature]

I doubt this will accomplish anything.

I doubt this will accomplish anything. D.

In the event the above recommendation is not approved, it is recommended that a Bureau official be designated to brief McGeorge Bundy of the subversive backgrounds of the advisers to King.

I Agree
11/25 V.
I agree
D.

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

D-31

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 10/26/66

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-16-80 BY SP4 RML/

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Wick

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING;
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
POSSIBLE GRANT OF \$3,000,000 FROM FORD FOUNDATION
CONTACT WITH JOHN BUGAS, VICE PRESIDENT,
FORD MOTOR COMPANY

My memorandum to you of 10/25/66 reflected a call to Mr. Bugas, relative to confidentially advising him that McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation, had contacted Martin Luther King offering a grant of \$3,000,000 to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Mr. Bugas was grateful for the information I furnished him yesterday. He expressed alarm and indicated that, although the Ford Motor Company had little control over the Ford Foundation, he nevertheless would immediately attempt to get in touch with Bundy and do something about this matter.

Mr. Bugas called me back at 11:30 this morning. He stated he had contacted Bundy and had asked him for an appointment within the next several days. Bundy asked why he wanted to see him. Bugas replied he was in receipt of information concerning the fact that the Ford Foundation wanted to have dealings with the SCLC. Bundy asked for the source of his information. Bugas told him his source did not want to be divulged. Bundy stated under the circumstances he would refuse to talk to Bugas and would discuss the matter only with the source. Bundy then asked if the source was the FBI. Bugas refused to reveal the source and the conversation was terminated.

Bugas stated he thought Bundy had been rather high-handed in the conversation; however, he wanted to request that the Director give serious consideration to an FBI representative contacting Bundy, inasmuch as this matter represents one of great importance to the Ford Motor Company. Bugas indicated his company had had quite a number of "hard blows" from the Ford Foundation over the years and most certainly a liaison between this foundation and Martin Luther King would be a serious blow to the company.

UNCLASSIFIED

100-106670-2754

CDD:CSH (4)

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This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for distribution outside your Committee. It is not an official proceeding and its contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

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Mr. Tolson

I told Bugas that, in view of Bundy's attitude, it appeared rather doubtful concerning the advisability of our going further in this matter. Bugas stated he realized this; however, he wanted to express again the importance of this matter to the Ford Motor Company. He stated he did not know Bundy; however, Bundy had apparently been rather snobbish in dealing with the Ford people. He explained that when Bundy first took this job, Bundy had been invited to Detroit to meet Henry Ford III and the top people of the company. At that time Bundy was point-blank advised that he should be careful in administering the Ford Foundation, inasmuch as this Foundation had caused serious harm to the sales of the Ford Motor Company. Bundy allegedly stuck his nose in the air and stated "I have a social responsibility to fulfill."

Mr. Bugas once again stated that any liaison between the Ford Foundation and Martin Luther King would "set his company back to heat hell." He asked again that we consider contacting Bundy directly and stated he would appreciate knowing of any action taken in this regard.

ACTION:

I personally feel that Bundy is of the psuedo-intellectual, Ivy League group that has little respect for the FBI. He was friendly on the surface while at the White House and I met him frequently. Under the circumstances, it appears rather doubtful that contact with him by the FBI will convince him one way or another. It is, therefore, recommended that I advise Mr. Bugas that, while we appreciate his concern, there is some doubt that contact by us with Bundy would amount to anything. It will be suggested to him that he might desire to bring this matter to Mr. Henry Ford's attention, in the event Mr. Ford desires to attempt to exercise any control over Bundy. Mr. Bugas, during our conversation, noted that Mr. Ford was out of the country at the present time.

*Yes. We would need to
where with Bundy.*

*Handled
11/17/60*

CONFIDENTIAL

C-38

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 11, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

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

We have just learned that Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his advisors, including Bayard Rustin and Clarence Jones, are working on an article which is to be submitted over King's name for publication in "The Saturday Evening Post." The article would deal with such matters as the poverty bill, elections, riots and the so-called "backlash" that is cropping up in political circles. The only publication known to be considered for this article to date is "The Saturday Evening Post." We do not as yet know specifically what line King will take in the article or what its specific stands will be. The matter of this article is scheduled for further discussion by King and his advisors on 9/22/64 in New York City. This information is classified "Secret."

OBSERVATIONS:

Because of the communist influences on King it would be well to prevent any publication of his views. It is noted that earlier this year we had some advance information on the possibility of a King article being published by "The Saturday Evening Post." On that occasion Assistant Director DeLoach's office was able to take appropriate action to forestall the publication of the article. This was handled by Supervisor [redacted] who has an appropriate contact at "The Saturday Evening Post."

ACTION:

We have separately made appropriate dissemination of the information concerning King's intentions to have an article published in "The Saturday Evening Post" and have also written the Atlanta and New York Offices to remain on top of the situation so that the Bureau will be promptly furnished further developments in this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be routed to Assistant Director DeLoach for appropriate action in accordance with the observations set out above.

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

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

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDENDUM PAGE TWO.

b7C

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More recent information has just been received to the effect that a John Hurt of "The Saturday Evening Post" has already been in contact with King concerning material being prepared for the "Post." Also, King and some of his advisors are to meet briefly on the late afternoon of 9/11/64 while King is waiting at the airport in New York City for a flight overseas. They are to further discuss the article in question.

In light of the latest information, it is suggested that if any action is taken by Mr. DeLoach, it be done as soon as possible so that it would be less difficult for "Post" people to take the action desired.

B. FISB *WES* *1/10* *Am. Mus.*

[REDACTED] *above* *b7C*
he is on vacation and not in city

[REDACTED] *He will check out...*
check all-out items just as soon as possible

Memorandum

King Security

W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9-17-64

FROM: F. J. Baumgardner

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

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

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" contained a small article in today's edition stating that Martin Luther King, Jr., had announced through his office in Atlanta that he had been granted an audience with Pope Paul VI to take place on Friday, 9-18-64, at which time he hopes to discuss the racial situation in the United States with the Pope.

You will recall that several weeks ago, when we first learned of King's intention to travel abroad, we anticipated the possibility of King's asking for an audience with the Pope and arranged to have Assistant Director Malone of the New York Office contact Francis Cardinal Spellman to see if appropriate action could not be taken to prevent such an audience. Malone did brief Cardinal Spellman in the matter and told us the Cardinal had in fact called the Vatican immediately after being contacted by Malone.

Malone was contacted telephonically today to see if he could shed any further light on the report that King was to have an audience with the Pope. He contacted Cardinal Spellman's office and was told that the Cardinal, who presently is recuperating from an operation, had spoken personally several weeks ago by telephone to the Secretary of State at the Vatican and had strongly recommended that no audience be granted King because of very serious but highly confidential information which had come to his attention but which he could not discuss in detail over the telephone.

Malone was asked to determine if there possibly could have been a slip-up so that the Pope did not actually receive Cardinal Spellman's warning. He was advised by Cardinal Spellman's office that with the information being furnished to the Secretary of State at the Vatican it would be mandatory for the Secretary of State to furnish the information directly to the Pope and that there was every assurance the Pope had received the information. Cardinal Spellman's office advised Malone today that it is possible that arrangements for an audience had already been made and could not be

CONTINUED-OVER

REC-35

UNCLASSIFIED

4 OCT 8 1964

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

canceled without embarrassment or it is equally possible that the Pope, viewing King's important role in racial matters in the United States, decided to overrule the recommendation not to meet with King.

Malone was advised through Cardinal Spellman's office that the matter would, again be delicately brought to Cardinal Spellman's attention.

Malone is to keep us advised as soon as he learns anything additionally pertinent.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

J. J. [unclear] [unclear] VI

Memorandum

TO : MR. TORSON

DATE: 1/19/68

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Bowers

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Appointment with
Senator Robert C. Byrd (D.-W.Va.)
1/19/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/80 BY [signature]

At his request I met with Senator Byrd in his office at 11 a.m. today. Also present was Mr. Barksdale, Senator Byrd's staff member on research and speech writing.

Senator Byrd outlined to me his responsibilities in the supervision of the District of Columbia Government. He told me he was extremely concerned over the pronouncements made recently by Martin Luther King that massive civil disobedience would be staged in the nation's capital this summer. The Senator indicated it was time that King "met his Waterloo" and that he felt this summer would do the trick. He stated this, of course, depended upon whether or not the President would allow sufficient force to "knock King down."

Senator Byrd asked me if the FBI could prepare a speech for him on the subject of King which he could give on the Senate floor next week. He stated thereafter he would like to be kept up to date on the activities of King so that further speeches could be made. He reminded me that he was a great supporter of Mr. Hoover and the FBI. He reiterated his responsibilities in connection with the D.C. Government and told me that, while other senators and congressmen were aiding and abetting the alleged civil rights cause, he had constantly sounded forth a warning as to the attachments to subversive causes which many so-called civil rights leaders had.

I told Senator Byrd and Mr. Barksdale that, while we appreciated his great interest, the pressure of work would prevent us from being of assistance and we, therefore, could not prepare the speech he had in mind. I stated if any items of a public source nature came to our attention which we felt would be of interest to the Senator, we could, of course, refer him to the appropriate source which contained those items.

CD:CSH (6)

100-406670

CONTINUED OVER

NOT RECORDED

167 MAY 15 1968

5-7-68

59 MAY 22 1968

CONF MADE FOR MR. TORSON

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/80 BY [signature]

Mr. Tolson

Using generalities, I briefed the Senator and Mr. Barksdale in a very few moments, about the swing to the left of various alleged civil rights organizations such as SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I told them that the Director had pointed this out on many occasions and that the Director clearly felt that the more these groups needed money and publicity, the further left they would swing in order to gain such objectives.

I told the Senator and Mr. Barksdale they should feel free to call us at any time; however, we of course were restricted in what we could furnish them. The Senator expressed appreciation and asked that his best regards be extended to the Director.

Mr. Barksdale is a former editor of a newspaper in West Virginia. He deplored the attacks upon the Director and the FBI by the Charleston, West Virginia Gazette, and stated this paper makes little impression upon the people of West Virginia.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

A. V. [Signature]

SECRET

Security

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 14, 1967

FROM: C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

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

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAN/ma
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2, 3
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
 11/2/78

PURPOSE

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan be approved to personally contact and brief Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York concerning the communist influence on Martin Luther King, inasmuch as King is to meet shortly with Governor Rockefeller and King's communist advisors hope to take advantage of the forthcoming meeting to influence events in Latin America along communist lines. (u)

BACKGROUND

Last week, through ~~an informant~~ *SFTD informant* we learned that Stanley Levison, ~~an informant~~ who is Martin Luther King's chief advisor, was in contact with an associate to whom he disclosed that he had recently talked to Rockefeller. This apparently is Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York because Levison said the discussion concerned Venezuelan iron ore deposits about which Rockefeller enterprises are negotiating with the Venezuelan Government.

Levison also told his associate that Rockefeller was disturbed about Martin Luther King's position on Vietnam and wanted to meet King to discuss it. Levison told his contact this pleased him because it would give King the opportunity to present to Rockefeller King's views on Latin America which he feels has the potential of becoming the next Vietnam. According to Levison, King wanted to use the opportunity to advise Rockefeller on the steps that should be taken in Latin America supposedly to avoid this.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4/AMH
 ON 1-21-81
 CDB/pcn
 (5)

EX-114 REC-410-106670-289

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED — OVER

14 APR 21 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

70 APR 21 1967

SECRET

(19)

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following day, April 6, 1967, the same source advised that Levison was contacted by Harry Wachtel about King's meeting with Rockefeller. As you know, Wachtel is King's other close advisor and Wachtel also has had past communist affiliations. Wachtel told Levison that arrangements had been made to have Martin Luther King meet Rockefeller on either April 22 or April 24, 1967. *NY*

OBSERVATION

Martin Luther King has clearly become merely a puppet in the hands of Levison and Wachtel. He relies on both these individuals more than anyone else and they currently are directing most of his activities and shaping most of his public speeches in a way that goes straight down the communist line. These two men have guided King to a position whereby they are attempting to make him not only the acknowledged leader of 22 million Negroes, but now the accepted leader of the vast anti-war effort in the country. Tomorrow, for example, King will play the most prominent role as the spokesman for the peace protesters in the demonstration in New York City. His recent vicious condemnation of the United States in a public speech shows how much of a communist puppet he has become and illustrates the danger he represents in the hands of the scheming communist *NY*

Now Wachtel and Levison see an opportunity to project the communist line further into Latin American activities through King by attempting to have King influence Rockefeller in his thinking. The danger in this is that Rockefeller, through his vast Latin American holdings, is very influential in Latin American affairs, and if he buys any of King's ideas they will definitely represent the communist ideas of Levison and Wachtel. *NY*

On the surface Wachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Wachtel, Baum and Levine, 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, a very large and influential law firm. Levison on the surface is the owner and operator of the Park Management Realty Company, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York. Both of their past communist affiliations have been well concealed and today neither of them ostensibly have any connection with the Communist Party; nevertheless, from our experience they represent two of the most dedicated and dangerous communists in the country. *NY*

CONTINUED — OVER

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

Once previously, in December, 1964, King had occasion to have dealings with Governor Rockefeller and we arranged to have Rockefeller briefed by former Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted] concerning Levison's influence on King and

b7c

Either [redacted] did not make much of an impression or Rockefeller chose for reason of political expediency to ignore it inasmuch as we learned in October 1965 that Rockefeller gave King a \$25,000 donation, spoke in King's church in Atlanta, and had dinner with King's father and his family. *fy*

Despite this, the stakes are too high in what is involved in the current forthcoming meeting with King and Rockefeller for us not to do something to prevent the communists from influencing Rockefeller through King. It is believed that we should again make an effort to brief Rockefeller, not only about King, but also in regard to the backgrounds of Levison and Wachtel and that this time it should be done personally through either Mr. DeLoach or Mr. Sullivan, either of whom could handle this discreetly, prudently, tactfully and in a manner which would insure that the FBI's interest would be completely protected and assured. *fy*

RECOMMENDATION

That the Director designate either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan to handle this as outlined above. *(u)*

W.C.S.

ADDENDUM: 4/14/67 - WCS:chs

We should not ignore this situation. The stakes are too high. I think Mr. DeLoach is the logical selection to handle this assignment. If it is not to be ^{done} indirectly, it should be done through a second person who has great influence with Rockefeller.

Mr. Malone, New York, should handle -

ms. h
no
4-17

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

1 - Loach
1 - Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/30/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

1 - G. C. Moore
(Attn: T. Rushing)
1 - Liaison
1 - W. J. McDonnell

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/84 BY [signature]

By memorandum in captioned matter dated 10/17/67 (attached), our Atlanta Office advised of information received from a confidential source 10/16/67 to the effect that the Department of Labor was negotiating a contract with Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the amount of \$57,000 to train Negroes in the Atlanta, Georgia, area for employment. The Director approved the furnishing of such information to the Secretary of Labor together with a copy of the "Top Secret" document entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters--A Current Analysis" dated 4/10/67, the latter for the Secretary's confidential information. This document set forth in detail the extent of communist influence within the SCLC and King's involvement with such elements [redacted]

Mr. James J. Reynolds, Undersecretary of Labor, was contacted by Liaison 10/23/67 and furnished a copy of the Atlanta memorandum mentioned above together with the "Top Secret" document. Reynolds was asked whether or not Labor was, in fact, negotiating such a contract with the SCLC and he responded that he would immediately look into this and advise the Bureau. b7c

Mr. Reynolds recontacted Liaison 10/25/67 at which time he advised that the Community Action Group, Atlanta, Georgia, had, in fact, recently negotiated a contract with the SCLC in the amount of \$61,000 such contract to provide for on-the-job-training for Negroes with retail grocers. Reynolds explained that while this contract was between the Community Action Group and SCLC, it had, in fact, been approved by the Labor Department. The amount of the grant was \$61,000, \$13,000 of which would go to the SCLC for administering the program and \$48,000 to the grocers for on-the-job training. Reynolds stated that King had set up the program by contacting grocers and getting assurance that they would set aside 15% of the employment openings for on-the-job training of Negro youths.

79 NOV 21 1967
Enclosure
WJK:kw (6)

100-438794

UNCLASSIFIED

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Reynolds advised that upon receipt of the information provided by the Bureau and ascertaining that such a contract was in effect, he immediately conferred with Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. Both agreed that there was no way at this time that the contract could be gracefully canceled without causing severe and embarrassing repercussions. He stated, however, that in view of the information received, both he and the Secretary are in agreement that steps will be taken to insure that no further contracts will be awarded to King's group.

Reynolds stated that both he and the Secretary appreciated very much the Director's bringing this information to their attention. Reynolds stated that he

realize the extent to which he was under communist influence. He conjectured that this possibly explains King's recent anti-Vietnam campaign. He remarked that he had considered King an opportunist motivated by financial considerations but now he could only conclude that communist elements were, to a large extent, "calling the shots" for King. b7c

The sensitive nature of the information furnished was emphasized with Mr. Reynolds.

ACTION:

For information.

P. W.C.S. 4/16