

J. Edgar Hoover Dies

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

J. Edgar Hoover, whose bulldog profile meant tough, honest law enforcement to two generations of Americans, is dead.

He died quietly in the night at the age of 77 still very active to the end in the job that he made famous—director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hoover was the director for 48 years, through eight presidents from both political parties, through 16 attorneys general, through intense controversies that never seriously threatened his unique tenure.

"I have a philosophy," the director told a congressional hearing two months ago. "You are honored by your friends and you are distinguished by your enemies. I have been very distinguished."

For the nation, he was the smart and incorruptible cop, chasing down hood-

lums and mad-dog kidnapers. But he was also much more—the symbol of unrelenting orthodoxy, the American watchdog who ferreted out the un-Americans, from Nazi spies to Communist sympathizers, or, as more recently defined, Black Power militants and New Left bomb throwers.

As a public administrator, Hoover built the FBI from a small bureau in the Justice Department, withered by scandal in the 1920s, to an awesome investigative machine, 8,600 agents across the land, 81 million sets of fingerprints on file in Washington, both a crime lab and a training academy for the nation's policemen.

In death, Hoover's extraordinary status will be honored. By special resolution of Congress, his body will lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda, an homage usually reserved for beloved presidents. His casket will be placed on the same catafalque that bore Lincoln.

A spokesman for the funeral director, Joseph Gawler & Son, said the body will be taken this morning to the Rotunda, where it will lie in state until shortly before the funeral on Thursday. He said the funeral service will be at the National Presbyterian Church at a time not yet determined. He said it is likely the time will be 11 a.m.

President Nixon, who led the tributes, said Hoover was "a legend in his own lifetime. For millions he was the symbol and embodiment of the values he cherished most: courage, patriotism, dedication to his country, and a granite-like honesty and integrity."

Most critics of the past, men who accused Hoover of harassing private citizens with his investigative powers and of trampling on the Constitution's civil liberties, spoke charitably of him yesterday.

Yet the bitterness that Hoover's name aroused was reflected in the

Quietly at Home

comment of Dr. Benjamin Spock, the anti-war leader who was prosecuted for his activities, convicted, then cleared on appeal. "It's a great relief," Dr. Spock said.

Hoover died sometime Monday night, alone in his home 4936 30th Place NW, overlooking Rock Creek Park. His housekeeper, Annie Fields, discovered his body alongside the bed about 9 a.m. yesterday. She summoned his personal physician, Dr. Robert V. Choisser. The Justice Department said he died of natural causes.

Dr. James L. Duke, District of Columbia coroner, described the cause of death as "hypertensive cardiovascular disease," which is associated with high blood pressure. Luke said the immediate cause might have been a heart attack, though no autopsy was planned.

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Hoover Details

For millions of Americans, J. Edgar Hoover was the ultimate in law enforcement. Page C6.

The staff at FBI headquarters, his neighbors, his enemies, all could talk of no one else. Page A12.

Administration sources says President Nixon will delay naming a successor to Hoover until the Senate votes on Richard G. Kleindienst, nominee for attorney general. Page A12.

Admirers and many critics join in describing Hoover as an American institution. Page A13.



J. EDGAR HOOVER

HOOVER, From A1

The director worked a full day as usual on Monday. He left his fifth floor office at Ninth and Constitution at 5 p.m. with his closest friend, FBI Associate Director Clyde A. Tolson. They dined together at Tolson's home. Though failing in health, Tolson became acting director at Hoover's death, a temporary arrangement until President Nixon selects a successor, who must be confirmed by the Senate.

Hoover's sudden and peaceful death robbed his many critics of any prospect for one final victory over the man — the possibility that a Democratic victory in this year's Presidential election might have forced his resignation. Though he was seven years over the federal government's mandatory retirement age, both President Lyndon Johnson and President Nixon waived the rule to keep Hoover. One Democratic candidate, Sen. George McGovern, had promised to retire him; even within the Nixon Administration there was some talk that after the election Hoover might be asked to step down because of his age.

On his last birthday, Jan. 1, the director repeated what he had said before during his long tenure—that as long as he was in good health and able to serve, he planned to continue. He wanted especially to be in office, some said, when the new \$125 million FBI headquarters building is completed on Pennsylvania Avenue, though the monumental structure is probably three years away from occupancy.

While his successor will inherit a \$334 million budget and an agency with 19,000 employees, nobody expects the next director to be nearly so powerful or independent as was Hoover. Indeed, no one else in government was quite as free of the normal constraints and pressures.

Hoover was potent in Washington, according to the popular and mostly unconfirmed legends, because of his files, the bulging dossiers on private habits and activities of American citizens, from bank robbers to left-wing leaders and presumably including many political figures. Supposedly his unassailable stature was based partly on fears of what his agents might know about all sorts of prominent people.

There was more shadow than sub-

stance to this gossip, though a former Attorney General from the 1940s, Francis Biddle, gave a glimpse of it in describing a luncheon conversation with the director:

"... he began to reciprocate by sharing some of his extraordinary broad knowledge of the intimate details of what my associates in the Cabinet did and said, of their likes, their

weaknesses and their associations . . . I confess that within limits, I enjoyed hearing it. His reading of human nature was shrewd, if perhaps colored with the eye of an observer to whom

the less admirable aspects of behavior were being constantly revealed."

The most celebrated clash between FBI files and a public figure involved Hoover's distrust of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader whom the director called "the most notorious liar in the country." The agency also made available to selected newspapers its file surveillance of King.

More recently, Hoover told a Senate committee all about an FBI investigation of an alleged conspiracy to kidnap presidential adviser Henry Kissinger—before the material had been presented to a grand jury. In the recent trial, the jury was unable to reach a verdict on his accusation.

Hoover's preeminence, however, was built on something more fundamental than the FBI files or his ability to dispatch an army of investigators. He was, for five decades, the single public figure most consistently identified with upholding order and decency in America, his many critics notwithstanding.

That reputation began under President Calvin Coolidge when Hoover took over the agency, a 29-year-old bachelor lawyer, born and reared in Washington, D.C., son of a civil servant. He already had made a name in the politics-ridden department for his tough work, cataloguing anarchists and other dissidents in the Red Scare that accompanied World War I.

In the 1930s, he and the FBI became indelibly identified as incorruptible gang busters, swooping down with machine guns to arrest the colorful big-name bandits like John Dillinger, Alvin Karpis, Ma Barker and her gang.

In World War II, it was Nazi spies and Hoover's men caught scores of them. While that police work lent more energy to his public reputation, the civil liberties critics have generally forgotten that Hoover was a lonely opponent of the government internment camps set up to imprison Japanese-American citizens without trial. Hoover insisted that his men could handle any espionage threat without the need for mass arrests.

With the Cold War, it was Communists. FBI men figured out the Soviet plot through which America lost its monopoly on atomic weapons — an event that traumatized the nation for a

generation. FBI agents so thoroughly infiltrated the Communist Party of America that it was said, only partly in jest, that the federal government's dues were keeping the organization alive.

The same tactic was successful in destroying the effectiveness of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1960s when its right-wing extremists were shooting civil rights workers in the South.

Despite the glamorous public profile, Hoover was perhaps better described as a super bureaucrat rather than a super cop. His handling of Washington's intra-agency politics was so skillful that, for much of his reign, no attorney general could truly say that he was Hoover's boss. In recent years, as two administrations tried to tackle organized crime and rising street crime, Hoover's men participated in joint efforts reluctantly and only as he chose to deploy them.

He was a rigid man, given to his own precise schedule and a military man's sense that discipline comes from small details, like the clothes an agent wears, the hat, the proper greeting and firm, dry handshake.

This tight discipline, while increasingly criticized in recent years as stultifying, was also the basis for the FBI's ability to launch mammoth investigative sweeps — a network of agents turning over millions of rocks in search of a kidnapped child. More often than not, they would find him.

Despite his immense potential for helping or hurting a candidate, Hoover kept himself and his agency out of partisan politics. During his nearly five decades in the FBI there was never any hint that he was motivated by personal gain, though his critics often accused him of acting out of personal pique. His political influence was broader, upholding the mainstream ideals and viewpoints, suspicious of the dissident and eccentric. Last March, he told a congressional hearing of his standard for recruiting good FBI agents:

"I ask not for average personnel, but for those above average in character, education and personal appearances. Personal appearance excludes hippies. We permit no hippies in the bureau, I can guarantee that."



J. Edgar Hoover with Franklin Roosevelt in 1934, receiving National Security Medal from



Dwight Eisenhower in 1955, conferring with Lyndon Johnson in 1967, with President Nixon last June 30.



Hoover is flanked by President John Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy in photo taken in 1961.

United Press International

Nixon to Delay on Successor Until After Kleindienst Vote

By Sanford J. Ungar
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Nixon will delay naming a successor to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover until after the Senate has passed final judgment on Richard G. Kleindienst, his nominee for Attorney General, high-ranking sources said yesterday.

But informed speculation began to focus on Eugene T. Rossides, 44, assistant secretary of treasury for enforcement, as a leading candidate to take over Hoover's sensitive job.

Rossides, who has been a leader of the Nixon administration's drive against major narcotics traffickers, was described by Justice Department sources as possessing the qualifications considered most important by the White House—"a managerial type from the law enforcement arena."

A former assistant attorney general of New York State and a one-time campaign aide to former Republican Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (now U.S. ambassador to India), Rossides has taken on increasing responsibilities over the past three years without becoming a controversial political figure.

He has been instrumental, for example, in the administration's crackdown on se-

cret foreign bank accounts maintained by American citizens and has coordinated the anti-hijacking force of federal sky marshals.

The sources stressed, however, that Mr. Nixon may choose a new FBI director "completely out of the blue" and could deliberate over his choice until after the November presidential election in order to avoid yet another potentially damaging Senate confirmation fight.

The successor to Hoover will be the first FBI director to require Senate "advice and consent"—as do all assistant attorney's general—rather than merely serving at the pleasure of the President.

Hoover's death put into effect Title Six of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which introduced the requirement of Senate confirmation.

Adopted Unanimously

That provision was adopted unanimously by the Senate after it was proposed by then Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.).

Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee, fresh from the two-month-long hearings on the Kleindienst nomination, expressed eagerness yesterday to review the record and the qualifica-

tions of the successor to Hoover.

It is for just that reason, the Justice Department sources said, that the President may delay in order to avoid the risk of adding new fuel to election-year political fires.

The nominations of Kleindienst as Attorney General and of L. Patrick Gray III, now head of the Justice Department's Civil Division, as Deputy Attorney General still face a bitter Senate floor fight. Their approval—or rejection—could be delayed until mid-June.

Under Justice Department regulations, Clyde A. Tolson, 72, Hoover's longtime friend and associate director, automatically became acting director of the FBI yesterday.

Tolson is in ill health, however and is expected to serve only for a week or so, until Kleindienst exercises his authority as acting attorney general to name a long-range acting director of the FBI.

Possibilities Listed

Prime candidates for that interim job are W. Mark Felt, John P. Mohr and Alex Rosen, all of whom have recently served as close aides to Hoover.

But the Justice Department sources said that the



Eugene T. Rossides, left, an assistant secretary of the treasury, and John E. Ingersoll, director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, have been mentioned as possible successors to Hoover.

permanent replacement is more likely to come from outside FBI ranks, as the administration moves to assert more control over the Bureau's operations than has been possible during the last years of Hoover's tenure.

Besides Rossides, speculation focused yesterday on D.C. Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson; John E. Ingersoll, director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, and Myles W. Ambrose, a special assistant to the Attorney General for drug abuse programs, as possible successors to Hoover.

Wilson, who has been close to the Nixon administration, would be likely to encounter serious opposition on Capitol Hill, however. In anticipation that Ingersoll, a former police chief in Charlotte, N.C., would be mentioned, his press aide distributed his biography to reporters yesterday.

Administration sources squelched speculation that the President might turn to Jerris N. Leonard, administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, or Robert C. Mardian, until last week assistant attorney general for the Internal Security Division.

Both, the sources said, are "too political." The sources were also skeptical that Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White might be persuaded to step down and take the job or that Mr. Nixon would choose Peter J. Pflieger, the nonpartisan sheriff of Los Angeles County.

The Director's Weekend . . . The Races . . . Garden . . . TV

By Robert F. Levey
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Saturday, as usual, he had spent at a race track—Pimlico Race Course in Baltimore.

Sunday, as usual, he puttered in his garden for a few hours. Sunday night, as always, he watched the FBI television show on his color set at home.

Monday, too, was typical—Picked up by chauffeur at 8:30 a.m. Audience in the morning with two agents who had just passed their 20th anniversaries. Lunch at the Carvery restaurant (see Rib Room) of the Mayflower Hotel. Meeting in the afternoon with the safety director of Knoxville. Home, with a grin and a wave to his personal staff, at 5 p.m. Dinner. A little television. Bed.

But J. Edgar Hoover was still very much The Director of the FBI yesterday.

The staff at FBI headquarters, the neighbors on 30th Place N.W., the friends, the enemies, even those who had only seen him once or twice or never—all could talk of nothing and no one else.

Paul Demereks, who has sold ice cream for 20 years at the starting point of the FBI tour, said that now, at 87, "I have nothing else to live for. He was my friend."

A group of Pittsburgh schoolgirls, waiting to begin

the tour, wept with shock when told of Hoover's death.

A painter, applying light blue to the hallway outside Hoover's office in room 5633 of Justice Department headquarters, called the death "unbelievable." A secretary down the hall called it "a great loss." A fingerprint specialist, Jerome T. Nolan, called it "literally, a shock."

The Carvery waiter who had served him lunch each day for the last 12 years, Joe Chapman, draped Hoover's corner table with red, white and blue bunting—and vowed to serve no one there until Hoover is buried.

And on their own time, throughout the afternoon, groups of FBI agents and employees arrived in cars at Hoover's home block. They would park at the end of the wooded, hilly street, sit for a few minutes, and then leave. "It is," said one agent, James Dickson, "a matter of respect."

Shortly after Hoover's death was discovered yesterday morning, the FBI's 10 assistant directors each personally notified the staff under them of the death.

Later yesterday morning, according to an FBI spokesman, a teletype was dispatched to all FBI offices, over the name of acting director Clyde Tolson, urging field personnel to "continue performing your duties . . . (so as to) exemplify

fidelity, bravery and integrity"—the FBI motto.

Meanwhile, his four-man personal staff began the preliminaries of formally winding up Hoover's 48-year career.

An 11:30 a.m. appointment with Rep. M. Dawson Mathis (D-Ga.) and 16 businessmen from his home district was quietly cancelled. So was a May 13 date to present a trophy to the winning owner of the May 13 Dixie Handicap at Pimlico.

Hoover's Bureau property—his gun, badge and credentials, all the ones originally issued to him in 1924—"will be accounted for shortly," a spokesman said. His notes and personal papers remained in his office yesterday, to be dispersed according to his will.

The FBI staff was not officially allowed to talk to reporters yesterday. On its behalf, a statement was released by the FBI press office. It said simply that "all of his associates at the FBI are deeply grieved by the passing of their beloved Director."

But one special agent, who spoke in exchange for anonymity, observed that "this place can't ever be the same."

I wonder about leaders these days," the agent said. "I'm not sure we have too many any more. Looks like we have one less."