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movement by saying that the Bureau should be more concerned with such things as bombings against black people. Also in May, the Director congratulated the Atlanta office for some investigative work that appeared to indicate (b) (7) (G) and prepared a letter for King in February. Headquarters considered this a most important development which showed continuing ties between (b) (7) (C) and King. On May 18, Headquarters told New York to update their information on O'Dell. (u)

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In June 1964, a New York attorney, Harry Wachtel, seems to have become an advisor to King. In the White House, Lee White, later to become Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, had become the liaison with King and civil rights groups. When his name appeared, Hoover asked, "What do we know about Lee White?" He was provided with background information that same day. On June 3 and 4, 1964 the White House and the Attorney General respectively were given double or triple hearsay information about [..... (b) (7) (C)

.....] On June 8, Headquarters sent another memo to various field offices reminding them to be "...extremely alert to any and all information available bearing upon the matter of [..... (b) (7) (C)] We should be alert to any situation which might merit exploitation by the Bureau at the proper time..." Significantly, however, on the eleventh, Headquarters sent a memo to field offices in Jacksonville (St. Augustine was the scene of civil rights demonstrations at that time), Atlanta and New York emphasizing the necessity of advising local police officials, military and secret service personnel whenever the Bureau received information concerning a threat to King's life. The memo indicated it would be embarrassing to the Bureau if there were claims of inaction or delay concerning such threats. (u)

On June 12, 1964 Sullivan prepared a memo for Alan Belmont, telling of Sullivan's meeting with a Dr. Espy, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches of Christ. Dr. Espy wanted to know of King's communist ties. Sullivan told him of that and of King's personal life. In the memo, Sullivan wrote, "I think that we have sowed an idea here which may do some good." (u)

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In July, an internal Bureau memo justified the continuance of tesurs previously authorized on King. On July 17, the White House (Jonkins), at Hoover's direction, was given a descriptive summary of [.....(b)(7)(C).....] The Attorney General was not. (u)

RFK

In mid-July King was to appear in Greenwood, Mississippi shortly after it was learned that three civil rights workers were missing in the Philadelphia, Mississippi area. Hoover did not want to afford protection to Dr. King and he spoke separately with the President and the Attorney General. The President finally told Hoover he wanted the FBI to be with King and to make a statement that they would investigate violations of federal law in that regard. (u)

On July 23, while listening to King's telephone, the Bureau heard of a report of plans to kill King. The rumor was checked with negative results. The Bureau was provided with a report of checks drawn in June from King's New York bank account. The Bureau briefed Congressman Pucinski of Illinois of some of King's background. And on July 29, 1964 King was overheard telling [..(b)(7)(C)..] he did not think he should speak in Harlem or Bedford - Stuyvesant (where there had been racial rioting) because the "...communists groups would do everything they could to discredit me". (u)

In August and September 1964, Hoover approved proposals to have an ASAC in New York try to get Cardinal Spellman to prevent the Pope from granting an audience to King, to have DeLoach go to former Eisenhower Press Secretary James Hagerty to prevent ABC from doing a television biography of King, and to have DeLoach go to the Chairman of the Board of Curtis Publishing Company which published the Saturday Evening Post to prevent the publishing of an article by King in the magazine. According to Bureau memos, although the Cardinal was "gratified that the Director thought enough of him" to convey the information, the audience was granted. Hoover wrote, "Astounding" on two news articles which reported the audience. On a third, he wrote "I am amazed that the Pope gave an audience to such a degenerate." (u)

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(c)

Attorney General Kennedy resigned in September and he gave Courtney Evans the material about King's hotel activities provided him on two earlier occasions by the FBI. Kennedy did not want the material in Department of Justice files and he recommended that the FBI destroy it. Hoover refused to do so and directed that it be retained in a secure location. (u)

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(TS)

When King was overheard telling (now Congressman) Walter Fauntroy he was not sure he would attend a "get out the vote" meeting of clergymen in New York because of Cardinal Spellman's conservatism, Hoover wrote, "Have (SAC) Malone alert the Cardinal." (u)

In October 1964, James Bland of the FBI recommended that the tesur be kept on King's home. On October 11, two more internal Bureau memos defined the procedure to follow when the FBI was notified about threats on King's life. The Bureau was to notify the Atlanta police and appropriate local police, as well as federal agencies. The FBI would not notify King, leaving that to local police. Headquarters instructed Chicago to check on a possible account of King's at a Chicago bank. Eight days later, Chicago recommended against the attempt because they had no established sources in this "Negro bank in a Negro neighborhood." Hoover wrote, "Shameful!" on two news articles, one announcing King winning the Nobel Peace Prize and one, an editorial, praising King and the civil rights movement. (u)

write

The FBI stepped up its campaign against King during the next three months in probable reaction to his getting the Nobel Prize. By this time Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was acting Attorney General. On the third of November, Hoover advised the White House and the Acting Attorney General of King's forthcoming Saturday Evening Post article but he said nothing about his attempt to prevent its publication. On November 5, a telephone conversation between (b)(7)(C) and King was overheard by the FBI. In the conversation, (b)(7)(C) was referred to by both men as ..(b)(7)(C)..... pointed out that (b)(7)(C) had abided by earlier decisions but now they were not in the same situation as they were with the Kennedy Administration and that the Civil

In cases of the kind are they just entering any property or are they using this as an excuse to withhold?

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Rights Act had been passed. He said that (b)(7)(C) wanted to meet with King. King said that the matter could be discussed in a forthcoming meeting in New York and that, "...after the election, it would be a new situation". The White House and Acting Attorney General were advised of this information. (u)

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Prison for the White Post?

(c)

On November 12 information was given to the [(b)(7)(C)]
..... in the hope that the paper would expose King's possible
and prospective [.....(b)(7)(C).....]
.....] (u)

The State Department asked for security information about King because of the Oslo trip. On November 13, in a memo to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, the Bureau discussed only [...(b)(7)(C)....] He was called [.....
.....(b)(7)(C).....
.....] Also on the 13th, the Legat in London was told to advise the U.S. Ambassadors to England and Norway of King's background in an effort to forestall embassy receptions for King. (u)

On November 16, 1964, a memo was prepared which pulled together recent information indicating "further evidences of the influences in high places which Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates are able to wield." On the 18th, Hoover

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met with a delegation of several women reporters. On the record, he called King "a notorious liar". Hoover's remark caused a sensation. Off the record, Hoover said of King: "He is one of the lowest characters in the country". Later one of these reporters apparently asked to cover a proposed meeting between Hoover and King. Hoover wrote on the memo reporting the request, "I have no appointment with King and I do not intend to make one" (u)

On November 19, 1964, Frederick J. Baumgardner sent a memo to Sullivan reporting a discussion between Wachtel and Rustin as to how to respond to Hoover's "liar" statement. The memo indicated that an investigation was being conducted to determine Wachtel's connection with the communist movement. In a rather lengthy observation, Baumgardner wrote: (u)

"The significant thing involved here is not that these individuals have jumped quickly to King's defense, but rather that they are seizing the opportunity, in line with a long-held communist objective, to launch a campaign to oust the Director as head of the FBI. (u)

The important thing at this point is to follow this matter closely to determine the degree to which King follows their advice in regard to issuing the statement prepared by Wachtel for we will then have further evidence of the extent to which King is being used by communist sympathizers in support of communist objectives." (u)

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King sent Hoover a telegram responding to the Director's calling him a "notorious liar". On November 20, it was recommended that Hoover ignore it. Hoover wrote: "OK. But I can't understand why we are unable to get the true facts before the public. We can't even get our accomplishments published. We are never taking the aggressive but allow lies to remain unanswered". A new 51 page profile of King was prepared on the 23rd. On the same day, Sullivan authorized the State Department to brief the USIA security officer about King. The security officer then requested supporting data so that he could dissuade USIA from sponsoring King on a trip through Europe, Africa and the Near East. Belmont approved disseminating the information (u)

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(S)

On November 27, 1964, Roy Wilkins requested and was granted a meeting with DeLoach after Hoover had given a speech at Loyola University in Chicago in which he referred to "sexual degenerates" in civil rights groups. According to a memorandum prepared by DeLoach of the meeting, Wilkins asked that the FBI not ruin King because that would ruin the civil rights movement.

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The memo states that Wilkins said he would try to get King to retire. DeLoach wrote that he chastized Wilkins for his comments about Hoover and the FBI. He said he warned Wilkins that if King wanted a war with the FBI, they had the ammunition and would win. Wilkins was reported as saying he knew King was a liar and had sympathies toward the communist movement. Hoover sent a letter to President Johnson about the meeting. (u)

writing

On November 30, permission was given to the Legat in London to brief U.S. Ambassadors in Sweden and Denmark about King. On the same day King asked (b)(7)(c) to discuss his five minute acceptance speech with ... (b)(7)(c) ... He also said he was going to ask Andy Young and Harry Wachtel to write a 5 minute speech each (u)

Andrew Young called DeLoach on December 1, 1964 and requested a meeting between King and the Director. Young said that King wanted to talk about the future and not the past. DeLoach said he told Young that the "...crusade of defamation against Mr. Hoover and the FBI... [the] campaign of slander and defamation against the Director and the FBI..." by King and his organization behind "our" backs, must be dropped. Hoover and King met in Hoover's office on December 1. DeLoach sat in on the meeting and wrote a 10 page memo to Mohr about the meeting. One and one half pages covered what King said; the rest covers what Hoover said. This may actually represent the relative amounts of conversation. King was overheard (by a tap) talking to a reporter and to Harry Wachtel and he told them that he had spoken for 10 minutes and Hoover had spoken for 45-50 minutes. During the meeting King said he could never be a communist and he referred to his removal of ... (b)(7)(c) ... Hoover covered many subjects, including FBI infiltration of the Klan, upgrading of local police, psychoneurotic tendencies of Gov. Wallace, assignment of northern agents to the South, some cases, Selma, that Aubrey Lewis (a black man) was an agent, that there were 10 or 11 Indian agents and "Mexican-blooded" agents, and that the Bureau couldn't lower its standards just because of color. He gave King some advice: register Negroes

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Wilkins

and educate Negroes in certain skills. Hoover said he was in favor of equality in schools and restaurants but against busing. He mentioned a shoeshine boy in Florida whom he knew who was a doctor. He told King to advise him of any bias or prejudice by an agent. He told King that agents investigate and do not provide protection. He concluded by talking about how good agents were with guns. (u)

On the same day DeLoach met with James Farmer at Farmer's request. It was similar to DeLoach's meeting with Wilkins. (u)

Hoover memorialized a call he had from Katzenbach who had inquired about the meeting with King. He told Katzenbach that King was a persuasive speaker. Katzenbach answered by saying that's all he could say about King. Hoover told Katzenbach that King and Abernathy praised the Bureau and that he (Hoover) had "taken the ball away from King" at the beginning of the meeting. Hoover sent a letter to President Johnson and described the meeting as most amicable. (u)

On the same day, Joseph Sizoo of the FBI sent Sullivan a memo suggesting that selected Negro leaders come to the FBI on the pretext of learning the facts about what the FBI was doing under the Civil Rights statutes. They then would be told of King's background in an effort to have him removed. The White House would not be advised. The suggestion appears to be a follow-up to DeLoach's meeting with Wilkins in late November. The idea apparently did not get beyond Sullivan and was not executed. (u)

On December 2, 1964, the Bureau observed press reaction to the meeting. A columnist who took Hoover's side was sent a letter of appreciation; a TV commentator who said King had "turned the other cheek" by seeking the meeting was sent nothing. On the third, the Bureau was advised by a police officer who was assigned to protect King in Cincinnati that King had told

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him he had no controversy with Hoover; that he did not want to become involved in any controversy with Hoover; that he would be a "fool" to become so involved; and that he would, therefore, avoid press conferences. (u)

write

On December 4, 1964 Wachtel told King that Nelson Rockefeller might contribute \$250,00 to King and that Rockefeller had invited King to lunch. On December 11, Headquarters sent material to Albany for former SAC Cornelius to brief Rockefeller about King's background. This action revealed that the Bureau had not changed its attitude about King as a result of King's meeting Hoover. (u)

Also on December 4, 1964, Moyers called DeLoach and said that he and the President felt that an updated 13 page monograph on King should be disseminated to appropriate government officials if it was in the interest of internal security. It had been sent to the White House about two weeks previously with a request that Moyers advise whether it should be disseminated. It was sent to Justice, State and Defense Departments, CIA, USIA, and military intelligence officers on December 7. On December 10, after Hoover approved it, DeLoach briefed two members of the Baptist World Alliance about King's background in an effort to forestall an invitation for King to speak to the group. DeLoach had given a similar briefing six months earlier to the Associate General Secretary of the Alliance. Hoover had disapproved a proposal to permit the Associate General Secretary and another to listen to tapes of King. (u)

On December 10, 1964 Wachtel advised King that Attorney General Katzenbach had called Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to discuss "clearing" some one for the Fifth Circuit. King said he would back whomever Greenberg wanted. Hoover wrote on the memo: "This is shocking". The information was forwarded to the White House and the Acting Attorney General. (u)

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Also on December 10, after some internal discussion over whether the Willard tapes should be completely transcribed, DeLoach said: "I fully agree that this work should eventually be done, particularly if an additional controversy arises with King. I see no necessity, however, in this work being done at the present time inasmuch as the controversy has quieted down considerably and we are not in need of transcriptions right now. ...hold off... until there is an actual need". Hoover wrote: "I think it should be done while it is fresh in the minds of the specially trained agents. "H". It was done. (u)

On December fourteen, Baumbardner characterized a proposal by SCLC to put pressure on white businesses to support a homecoming for King's return from Norway as: "Sad commentary on tactics..." On the same day Headquarters was provided with a listing of checks drawn on King's New York account and the SAC in New York was instructed to uncover any possible paramour of King's on Long Island. Also on the 14th Sullivan proposed to Belmont that letters be sent to the White House and the Acting Attorney General in response to an editorial critical of Hoover and to a proposal by SCEF to send letters critical of Hoover to the White House. Sullivan characterized the SCEF proposal in terms of a conflict with King. (u)

It is evident from the enclosed... that it will be given widespread dissemination. This just highlights what to me is an indisputable fact and that is this Bureau has not yet emerged victorious in its conflict with Martin Luther King. I think we are deluding ourselves if we believe that King and his followers and supporters around the country have run for cover and are not attacking the FBI in one way or another. In view of this situation, realism makes it mandatory that we take every prudent step that we can take to emerge completely victorious in this conflict. We should not take any ineffective or halfway measures, nor blind ourselves to the realities of the situation. (u)

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note

On December seventeen, Hoover sent a letter to Moyers

..... (b) (7) (C) Apparently

..... On the nineteenth the monograph about King was sent to the Director of the National Science Foundation in an effort to stop them from using SCLC as a recruiter of black applicants for southern schools in their scholarship program. (u)

On December 21, 1964, NSF's Director, Leland Haworth, was sent more information about King's personal life by Hoover.

[..... (b) (7) (C)]

On the twenty-first, Katzenbach was advised by Hoover of an incident which was said to have occurred several years before in Memphis during a Negro Baptist Convention.

[..... (b) (7) (C)]

That information was sent to various government officials this day. (u)

On December 29, 1964, Headquarters was advised by Atlanta of two conversations involving Coretta King, one with King's secretary and one with Andrew Young. They discussed King's mental state, his rambling conversations in New York, an attempted fight with Abernathy in London and the Hoover conflict. They discussed how King might be relieved of some pressures. The transmission from Atlanta noted: "The above information is being furnished for the Bureau's information to acquaint the Bureau how shaken Dr. King has become as a result of recent events and as a further indication of an area where he may be vulnerable to further pressures". [..... (b) (7) (C)]

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E. Early 1965

On January 5, 1965, Atlanta advised Headquarters that King was becoming more and more upset, that he blamed the FBI and felt his phone was tapped. On the same day a report was made on the previously ordered review of King's writings and books in an effort to detect possible communist influence. The conclusion was that there were certain parallels but no casual link. On January 6, New York was directed to discreetly cover King in New York by physical and electronic surveillance because he might meet a woman there. The memo indicated, "security is paramount". Also on the sixth the SAC in Atlanta called the Bureau and reported that the wire-taps indicated that King was very nervous and upset and was not sleeping well. He believed the Bureau had his phone tapped. King said a tape and letter which referred to the (b)(7)(C) had been sent to his home and his wife had read the letter. King said: "They are out to break me". The SAC knew nothing of the tape. King said in a tapped conversation that he needed to talk with Hoover or DeLoach. (u)

The so-called (b)(7)(C) had actually been mailed in late November 1964 by Lish Whitson, a former agent who flew to Florida at Sullivan's instructions. Sullivan had previously told [. . . (b)(7)(C) . . .] to keep the microphone tapes together. Phillips was told to give some of the tapes to John Matter of the lab. He now thinks he (b)(7)(C) When Matter returned the tapes, there was a composite added. Sullivan had [(b)(7)(C)] get him non-watermarked stationery. Sullivan took the tapes and the stationery and later gave [(b)(7)(C)] a package to deliver to Whitson. The tape was accompanied by a letter advising King that (b)(7)(C) Apparently King did not listen to the tape until he returned from Oslo. His wife is supposed to have listened to it also. (u)

*to inform Phillips
from
John Matter*

write

*This is not
straight
Cherry
Whitson*

*John
Matter
FBI*

*to kill
himself
not dead*

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On January 6, 1965, Atlanta advised Headquarters and New York that King had been resting at a house and only about two people knew about it. While he was sleeping [..(b)(7)(C)..] fire trucks arrived but there was no fire. King believed the FBI sent the trucks. He believed that either the FBI or the Georgia Bureau of Investigation was tapping his phone. He said that Abernathy had received anonymous calls. He talked about the tape that had been mailed and wanted Young and Abernathy to see Hoover. "They are out to get me, harass me, break my spirit." He said that they must go to Hoover as there just wasn't any privacy. "What I do is only between me and my God." (u)

On January 7, 1965, an internal FBI memo proposed that letters be sent to the White House and the Acting Attorney General about King's condition. The memo referred to the taps, harassment and a forthcoming meeting between King and the Director. The letters were sent to the White House and the Acting Attorney General on the eighth but they mentioned only King's becoming emotionally upset, his use of medication, [.....
.....(b)(7)(C).....
.....]

There was no mention of the taps and harassment. (u)

At about this time, an aide of King's called Congressman Diggs and asked for advice about how to deal with Hoover. Diggs suggested seeing Hoover with ministers and telling him that the Bureau's harassment of King was immoral. The Bureau noted that Diggs referred to Hoover as "old man" and "Big Daddy", and mentioned the existence of Hoover's files. Hoover wrote: "And I thought DeLoach had commitment from Wilkins and Farmer that King would cease any further attacks on FBI. Yet King is spear heading this present agitation against FBI" (u)

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January 8, 1965, Young called DeLoach and requested a meeting with Hoover or DeLoach. It was set for January 11. DeLoach told Mohr that Young would be told on the eleventh that the Director was out. He suggested that he and Leinbaugh meet with Young. Hoover approved. Leinbaugh was the originator of the Lorraine Hotel COINTELPRO activity. (u)

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w/ first un-
masked
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part is*

On January 7, 1965, a report from two NAACP contacts in Memphis said King [.....(b) (7) (C).....] These contacts were being developed as part of an FBI program, "Liaison with Groups Sponsoring Integration". On the same day, Headquarters received a report of checks drawn on King's New York bank in November 1964. (u)

January 8, 1965, Milton Jones of the FBI gave DeLoach an Italian magazine article about King's trip to Europe. The article is very racist in tone; the editor of the magazine had been a Fascist. It was read by Hoover. Jones forwarded the article with a note: "It appears the article... contains excellent public source material for our contacts in this country who would be interested in the true background of Martin Luther King." (u)

Joseph Sizoo advised Sullivan on January 8 that he had authorized misurs in King's and Young's hotel rooms in New York. On the tenth a three page memorandum was prepared from the products of the microphones. King, and perhaps Young and Bernard Lee, an SCLC aide, discuss phone taps and information the Bureau had and how DeLoach and Hoover should be approached. Some mention was made of Joe Rauh and the Bureau characterized him as being associated with communist causes and as being critical of the Bureau. The bugs also recorded King characterizing the mailing of the tape as, "God's out to get you", and as a warning from God that King had not been living up to his responsibilities in relation to the role in which history had cast him. [.....(b) (7) (C).....] (u)

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On January 11, 1965 DeLoach sent Mohr an extraordinary memo about his (and Leinbaugh's) meeting with Abernathy and Young. DeLoach said Abernathy could not "cope" and that Young had to take over the conversation. Both were said to be unable to bring themselves to talk directly about King's personal life but kept alluding to it. DeLoach took obvious delight in their discomfort. When Young asked what could be done to protect SCLC from communist infiltration, DeLoach told him to go to HUAC for information because FBI files were confidential. On at least two other points, DeLoach lied to them: he told Abernathy that SCLC's funds were of no concern to the FBI; and, he said the FBI had taken no action on rumors regarding King's personal life. (u)

On January 12, 1965, [..(7)(C).....] discussed a meeting.....had attended with King and others to talk about Mississippi. Also on the twelfth a proposal was made to attempt to stop St. Peter's College from giving King an honorary degree. The idea was scrapped because the FBI didn't know anyone at St. Peter's well enough. [.....(b)(7)(C).....] (u)

On January 19, 1965, Headquarters sent a memo to Denver instructing agents to cover King's actions while in the area to give a speech but not to embarrass the Bureau. King had been assaulted while in Selma and there were news photos of the attack. [.....(b)(7)(C).....] On January 21, Headquarters told Atlanta to [..(b)(7)(C).....]. Also on the twenty-first, Sullivan sent Belmont a memo of his meeting with Ralph McGill, Publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, who had been told by the Bureau about King's personal life. McGill said he was concerned and wanted to get King out of the Civil Rights movement. He said he had been talking with Adlai Stevenson, Bill Moyers, Ralph Bunche and Harry Ashmore about it. Hoover sent a letter forwarding McGill's views to President Johnson. (u)

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On January 25, 1965, Atlanta requested a 90 day extension of the misur on King's house. On the twenty-sixth, Sizoo advised Sullivan he had authorized misurs of King for two days at a hotel in New York because of the potential for developing intelligence information. (u)

Selected memoranda between February 1965 and December 1967 indicated that the Bureau continued its campaign to discredit and neutralize King. In February 1965 Atlanta was reprimanded for not forwarding information about King quickly enough. In February the Bureau proposed to seek Cardinal Spellman's help in preventing the Davenport, Iowa Catholic Inter-racial Council from giving King an award. Hoover said no. But in March, Gov. Volpe of Massachusetts was briefed by the FBI about King's background in an effort to tone down "Martin Luther King Day" (u)

F. Early 1967-1968

The primary concerns of the Bureau relating to Dr. King at this time were his anti-Viet Nam statements and his planned Washington Spring Project which later became the Poor People's Campaign. On December 7, 1967 the Bureau alerted various field offices and told them to develop ghetto informants, if they had none, and to report weekly on plans for the Project. On December 20, 1967 an updated monograph of King was prepared.

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It also referred to King's statements about Viet Nam and the Spring Project. (c)

In December 1967, King was preparing a taped series of lectures for Canadian radio. The Director instructed the Legat in Ottawa to determine who made the arrangements, including financing, for the series. The justification was to find the source of funds to finance a "new program... of massive civil disobedience demonstrations which may result in riots". The Director was referring to the Spring Project in which King had threatened continuing demonstrations until Congress passed a program designed to help blacks (u)

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No mention of King's attempt to drive a bus to suicide. He had been advised by the Bureau to avoid this type of activity, which would have a real effect on the situation. (b)(1) info. Also info about why King would not be interviewed?

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*WVW 1/3/68
They did prepare
a speech for
Byrd*

On January 3, 1968 Attorney General Ramsey Clark turned down a Bureau request to tap SCLC. In January Senator Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) attempted to enlist DeLoach's assistance in preparing a speech for Byrd to deliver in Congress to help King meet his "Waterloo" before the Spring Project. DeLoach refused. Other January memos dealt principally with the Project. (u)

In February 1968, the Bureau learned that King had met in Washington with H. Ralph Brown and Stokely Carmichael to discuss the Project. King was angry that the two might attempt to foment violence. On February 20, 1968, at the request of the White House, the Bureau interviewed a former baseball player. The ball player apparently had no respect for King; [.....] ?

.....(b)(7)(C).....
.....] (u)

Secret

Hoover approved another updating of King's monograph, to be completed by March 14, 1968 so that it could be disseminated to government officials before the Spring Project to remind them of "the wholly disreputable character of King". It was also recommended and approved to advise the White House and the Attorney General of the involvement of (b)(7)(C)..... in the Project to show "the communist help King is receiving in his proposed Washington Spring Project". (u)

*can
this
be
justified*

On March 20, 1968, Hoover approved briefing Cardinal O'Boyle and Bishop Lord of Washington about the potential for violence in the Spring Project and asking them to call for non-violence. On March 21, the Director sent an "Urgent" teletype to various field offices reminding them to carry out previous instructions concerning the Project. On March 25, the President was advised by the Bureau that Robert Kennedy (D-N.Y.) had attempted to contact King before he announced for the Presidency. The next day an updated 39 page monograph about King was disseminated and (b)(7)(C) was overheard discussing plans and fund raising for the Project. (u)

On March 28, 1968, Dr. King led a march in Memphis, in support of striking sanitation workers. The march turned violent and King was taken by his aides and the police from the area to a Holiday Inn. As a COINTELPRO activity, Hoover approved

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write
no mention
was critical

sending the following information to "friendly" news media:

Martin Luther King injected himself into the strike in Memphis... and the result of King's famous espousal of nonviolence was vandalism, looting and riot. (u)

(u) of King
for staying in Memphis
while rioting
when someone
was a black
JMC

Previously, King involved himself in this strike, called for a general strike, and called for a mass march. Today he led the mass march in an automobile at the head of the line. Negroes began shouting 'black power' and trouble began. King, apparently unable or unwilling to control the marchers, absented himself from the scene; window breaking and looting broke out. (u)

* * *

Memphis may only be the prelude to the civil strife in our Nation's Capitol. (u)

On March 29 and 30, 1968 King engaged in several overheard telephone conversations and meetings, some with (b)(7)(C) to discuss the Memphis violence. He was extremely dejected and considered his image and the image of nonviolence to have been adversely affected. The press was critical. At first he considered abandoning Memphis and the Spring Project; he considered a public fast. Aides feared for his safety if he returned to Memphis. (b)(7)(C) strongly urged him to go forward with his plans. He told King that he was not responsible for the violence of others. Finally, after a long meeting in Atlanta with his staff and (b)(7)(C) King decided to return to Memphis. (u)

was not public
my why?

Here Murphy is more dishonest than he is throughout in his efforts to do what he can to stave off the FBI. King announced he would return to Memphis before he left Dore. Murphy also omits the espionage on King when UNCLASSIFIED while he was in Memphis. and on his communications from Dore to Atlanta Hwy. He also omits mention of date of announcement of date of return.

~~TOP SECRET~~

(note)

On April 1, 1968, the Bureau advised the White House, but not Attorney General Clark, of a tapped discussion between (b) (7) (C) and King concerning the Presidential race between Johnson, Kennedy and McCarthy. On April 2, Attorney General Clark turned down a request to tap SCLC in Atlanta and Washington. (u)

There was a tap in AT/ in or at [unclear] in [unclear] in [unclear]

The Bureau directed four specific COINTELPRO activities against King in 1968. Most were clearly designed to have an adverse effect on the Spring Project, particularly with respect to fund raising. One, of course, concerned King's staying at the Holiday Inn in Memphis. (u) - all four mentions not obliterated as

limited to part of a sentence at bottom page 49. do read here it makes no sense and does not King was assassinated in Memphis on April 4, 1968. (u) when he was

[XXXX] continued to give advice to Coretta King, Andrew Young and others. The Bureau continued their campaign against King by various periodic briefings designed to thwart declaring King's birthday a national holiday. (u)

is expected to be - cause Murphy

Leason, whose name & role are well known in the space. This would have been his role. There is no mention of his name not obliterated in all of this yet he is allegedly the major FBI justification for what he did to King

gives absolutely no account of this one of 4 COINTELPRO activities. This one was linked to something - and it must happen. The FBI did not plant the story

Less than a single line on the assassination in a report that is to cross any FBI connection with it. (and no mention of the presence of 4 int writers of known informants? Why? see compilation memo in which he recommended against any re-opening of the assassination investigation. Thus there also is a probable reason for this long withholding

TOP SECRET (last page)

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IV. INVESTIGATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DEATH
BY THE FBI

A. Adequacy of the Investigation

My reading of the assassination investigation leads me to conclude that the Bureau's investigation was comprehensive, thorough and professional. Every conceivable lead seems to have been pursued. Great numbers of persons who were known to dislike blacks were checked out as suspects. All Bureau field offices were put on alert to participate in the investigation and each SAC was held personally responsible for seeing that leads in his area were run down. I have talked with three attorneys who, at various times, had responsibility for monitoring the investigation and all are satisfied that the FBI had nothing to do with Martin Luther King's assassination. (u)

B. Indications of Bureau Involvement in the Assassination

There are none with the exception of the COINTELPRO activity of proposing that a blind memorandum be sent to a *wasm*
Memphis paper to embarrass King into moving into the Lorraine Hotel where he was shot. That has been investigated previously and its purpose is subject to a different interpretation, discussed below (u)

Evidence exists that the FBI was not involved in King's assassination. On April 2, 1968 Attorney General Ramsey Clark turned down an FBI request to tape the telephones of SCLC in Atlanta and Washington to learn about plans for the Poor People's Campaign. This request indicates that the FBI expected no change in SCLC's (and King's) plans. The attempt to discredit King by planting an embarrassing story in the Memphis papers indicates a continuation of the Bureau's campaign against King. Logic suggests that the last thing J. Edgar Hoover wanted was to make King a martyr, thereby enhancing his image. This runs counter to years of effort by the FBI to discredit and neutralize King. Finally, the investigation was so massive and

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writing

Memorandum TOP SECRET

TO : J. Stanley Pottinger
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

DATE: March 31, 1976

FROM : Robert A. Murphy
Chief
Criminal Section

RAM:vap

SUBJECT: Martin Luther King, Jr.

TOP SECRET

*This is not
put in your
by J. Pottinger
in his 4/24
to JB*

I. INTRODUCTION

Pursuant to the direction of November 24, 1975 of the Attorney General, a review was undertaken of the files of the Department and the FBI that pertain to Martin Luther King, Jr. The purpose of the review was to make a recommendation as to whether the investigation of the assassination of Dr. King should be reopened. On December 1, you elaborated on the Attorney General's direction and set as goals for the review the answering of two questions: (u)

*Emm
m*

- 1) What action, if any, was undertaken by the FBI which had or may have had an effect, direct or indirect, on the assassination of Martin Luther King? (u)
- 2) What action, if any, was undertaken by the FBI which had or may have had any other adverse effect, direct or indirect, on Martin Luther King? (u)

*or it got turned
around & they did not
invest into need to
open 1/23/76*

At various times you, Mr. Turner and I participated in the review. I saw nothing in the files that I read that indicates any involvement of the FBI in the assassination of Dr. King. However, there was a campaign by the FBI to discredit and to neutralize Dr. King and to remove him from a leadership role in the civil rights movement. There are many examples of improper FBI activity that were directed against Dr. King, his associates and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). (u)

CLASSIFIED BY J.S. Pottinger
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY #2, 3
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON INDEFINITE

Typed on: 3/31/76
Classified on: 4/6/76
Authority: JSP
270-36-1980

Pursuant to 28 C.F.R. §17.26, portions of this document are reclassified.

DATE OF RECLASSIFICATION: 12-2-77 TOP SECRET RECLASSIFIED BY [Signature]



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E. Early 1965

On January 5, 1965, Atlanta advised Headquarters that King was becoming more and more upset, that he blamed the FBI and felt his phone was tapped. On the same day a report was made on the previously ordered review of King's writings and books in an effort to detect possible communist influence. The conclusion was that there were certain parallels but no casual link. On January 6, New York was directed to discreetly cover King in New York by physical and electronic surveillance because he might meet a woman there. The memo indicated, "security is paramount". Also on the sixth the SAC in Atlanta called the Bureau and reported that the wire-taps indicated that King was very nervous and upset and was not sleeping well. He believed the Bureau had his phone tapped. King said a tape and letter which referred to the
 (b)(7)(C) had been sent to his home and his wife had read the letter. King said: "They are out to break me". The SAC knew nothing of the tape. King said in a tapped conversation that he needed to talk with Hoover or DeLoach. (u)

The so-called (b)(7)(C) had actually been mailed in late November 1964 by Lish Whitson, a former agent who flew to Florida at Sullivan's instructions. Sullivan had previously told [. . . (b)(7)(C)] to keep the microphone tapes together. Phillips was told to give some of the tapes to John Matter of the lab. He now thinks he (b)(7)(C)
 When Matter returned the tapes, there was a composite added. Sullivan had [(b)(7)(C)] get him non-watermarked stationery. Sullivan took the tapes and the stationery and later gave [(b)(7)(C)] a package to deliver to Whitson. The tape was accompanied by a letter advising King that
 (b)(7)(C)
 Apparently King did not listen to the tape until he returned from Oslo. His wife is supposed to have listened to it also. (u)

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