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7/27/67

KING advised LEVISON that KING intended to depart from Chicago that date for Washington, D.C., where he would deliver a speech on 7/28/67. (Disseminated by teletype dated 7/27/67, captioned "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.")

7/27/67

LEVISON and KING conferred that date concerning a statement condemning rioting issued by the leading Civil Rights leaders jointly on 7/26/67 and allegedly signed by KING. KING denied seeing the statement or signing it since it contradicted his previous statements on the riots but could not repudiate the statement. LEVISON suggested that KING write a letter to the "New York Times" supposedly amplifying but really negating the statement. KING agreed and LEVISON stated he would write the letter. (Disseminated by airtel and LHM dated 7/28/67, captioned "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.").

7/29/67

LEVISON conferred with KING on that date and supplied to KING the text of a letter to "The New York Times" purportedly written by KING.

This letter amplified KING's position on the rioting and disagreed in essence with the statement issued by the Civil Rights leaders condemning the rioting. (Disseminated by airtel and LHM dated 7/31/67, captioned "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.").

8/10/67

LEVISON made arrangements that date to attend the SCLC convention in Atlanta, Georgia on 8/14-17/67. (Disseminated by airtel dated 8/10/67, captioned "COMINFIL SCLC".)









8/13/67

LEVISON, KING, WACHTEL, ANDREW YOUNG and WALTER FAUNTROY, Director of SCLC, Washington, D.C., were in conference that date concerning KING's appearance on the "Meet The Press" on 8/13/67. KING's advesors supplied probable questions which KING would face on the program and the answers to these questions. (Disseminated by teletype dated 8/13/67, captioned "CIRM".)

MATTIAL.



is a telephone surveillance (tesur) on the residence of Stanley David Levison, Apartment 3-D, 585 West End Avenue, New York City. It was authorized 5/28/65 and installed 6/15/65. There had been prior installations dating back to 1962.

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Examples of valuable intelligence derived through this tesur during the past 90 days are as follows:

On 6/8/67, King was in contact with Levison concerning a statement supporting Israel signed by King which appeared in "The New York Times." King was afraid the statement contradicted his policy of nonviolence. Levison advised King to make future statements that would back the stand of the United Nations in this regard. Again on 6/12/67, King was in contact with Levison concerning the Supreme Court decision affirming his 1963 conviction. Levison advised King to make a statement condemning the Supreme Court decision.

It was determined on 7/10/67 that Levison prepared a speech for King which King was to deliver to the National Conference for New Politics on 8/31/67 at Chicago, Illinois. The speech emphasized that he was not seeking a third party presidential nomination. Again on 8/13/67 King and Levison conferred concerning King's appearance on "Meet the Press" national televison program. At this time, probable questions that King would face on the program were discussed.





CUNFFLINIAL

Because of the extreme importance of Levison-King tieseto the civil rights and peace movements and the communist of influence therein, plus the demonstrated past value of this source, it is recommended it be continued for another 90 days.

It is noted that the Attorney General authorized continuation of this telephone surveillance for a period of three months, effective 7/1/67.

1/1/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

| 2 | Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion. | |
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| Ø | Deleted under exemption(s) with no segregable material available for release to you. | |
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UNITED STATES (//ERNMENT

Memorandum

PROM :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

DATE:

11/2/67

SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

STANLEY LEVISON SM-C (00: New York)

Reference is made to NY airtel and LHM dated 10/13/67, captioned "MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.; SM-C; COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SCLC" with information copies for Chicago.

advised 10/17/67, that on that date STANLEY 67 LEVISON made a reservation with American Airlines on Flight 391 leaving La Guardia Airport, NY, at 5:00 p.m. on 11/10/67, arriving Chicago 6:15 p.m. He also made a reservation for Flight 86 departing Chicago for NY, at 10:35 p.m., 11/12/67.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File Na Bu 100-392452 New York, New York November 8, 11967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINE HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT HATTE SHOWN BEIWAEHTO

Re: Stanley Levison Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the most advised on November 6, 1967, that,

Ine source was unable to furnish information concerning the purpose of this trip or the mode of transportation.

61 NULUSIONS CERTY ZO YOUR TSIDI

DATE OF REVIEW

otp I Excluded from automatic downgrading and

declassification 100-392452-290

ENCLOSURE

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794) BAC, CHICAGO (105-16238) (P) COMINGIL - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP COMPERENCE (SCIC) (OO: ATLANTA) He New York letter to Director, 11/2/66, ec to 67B Atlanta and Chicago, under STANLEY LEVISON caption. Established source STANLEY LEVISOR and arrived in Chicago, as scheduled, on Flight 391, November 10, 1967. He had no information concerning LEVISON's address while in Chicago. b70 did not indicate whether LEVISON had departed Chicago, as scheduled, on November 12, 1967, via Flight 86, only that the space reserved for him on this flight had been filled. Chicago sources knowledgeable regarding SCIC activities locally, as well as other selected security and racial sources, were alerted regarding LEVISON, and none could furnish any information concerning his or his presence in Chicago over the weekend Movember 11-12, 1967. 670 GERCLES APPROPRIMTE DETLASSIFIED FY SPEBTIAL AND FIELD M Bureau (Rif) DATE - 100–392452) (STANLEY LEVISON) Ttlanta (100-5718) (RM) 160-39243 New York (100-149194) (RM) (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY DEVISOR) FROT RECORDER 2 ~ Chicago 1445 NOV 30 1957 (1 - 100-44613) (STANJAY LEVISON) 8-14-80 EXTENDED BY. REASON FOR EXTENS FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2... DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report the activities of STANLEY LEVISON.

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| | The data appearing on the Security Index card are current. | |
| 5 . | Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 | |
| | has been submitted to the Bureau. | |
| 4. | A suitable photograph I is is not available | |
| | Date photograph was taken 4/4/65 (2/5/13/67) Subject is employed in a key facility and | |
| 5. | | |
| | charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are | |
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| 6. | This report is classified <u>CONFIDENTIAL</u> because | |
| | (state reason) it contains information from the | |
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| | which could be detrimental to the defense | |
| | interests of the United States and result | |
| | in the loss of sources of value. | |
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| | close association with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. | |
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UNI STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUNE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
Eils No. Bu file (100-392452) File No. Director file (100-111180) United States Secret Service Department of the Treasury Washington, D. C. 20220 Dear Sir: Re: Stanley David Levison The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked. 1. The Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status. 2. The Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means. 3. The Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U.S. 4. U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return. 5. Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria: (a) Distribution Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior: (b) Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment; (c) Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government. 6. Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making. Photograph In has been furnished enclosed is not available

Very truly yours.

John Edgar Hoover

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1) U. S. Secret Service NYC (RM)

may be available through _

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this tran becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

CONF DENTIAL UNIO STATES DEPARTMENT OF JESTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

61C

Office:

Copy to:

1- Secret Service (RM)

Report of:

NOV 27 1967

Field Office File #: 100-111180

Bureau File #: 100-392452

New York, New York

Title:

Date:

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY -C

STANLEY LEVISON continues to reside at 585 West End Avenue, New York City and he operates the Park Management Co. at 1841 Broadway, New York City. Sources who are familiar with activities of the CP, USA in the New York City area have no information concerning him.

- P* -

DETAILS:

A) RESIDENCE

STANLEY LEVISON continues to reside at 585 West End Avenue, New York, New York.

NY T-1 November 13, 1967

B) EMPLOYMENT

67D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS ENCLOSED BY SPIGSKLYO

CONF. ENTIAL

GROUP I Excluded from automatic downgooding and declassification.

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#9.

12/13/67

On this date, STANLEY LEVISON discussed with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., the possibility of getting together with a group of wealthy people, in connection with KING's planned civil disobedience program, in order to get financial pledges from them. He suggested a two-day meeting with them to discuss the subject.

This information was sent to the Bureau via airtel and LHM dated 12/15/67, captioned, "COMINFIL SCLC; IS-C".

1/10/68

On this date, TUDJA CROWDER of the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON about the possibility of holding a rally in defense of Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK and those indicted with him for urging opposition to the military draft. She mentioned specifically a proposed date for such a rally to be held by the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) and questioned whether MARTIN LUTHER KING would take part in such a rally.

LEVISON was not certain if KING would attend. He suggested, rather than a rally, a statement signed by major leaders throughout the country defending SPOCK and his co-defendants.

LEVISON later discussed with MARTIN LUTHER KING whether KING should appear on a platform with SPOCK if KING is asked to do so. LEVISON was against this unless KING was forced to do it because he felt it would again make KING and SPOCK the two leaders of the peace movement in the United States. LEVISON suggested to KING his idea of a statement signed by leading personality in the country and KING said the idea was a good one.

This information was forwarded to the Bureau by airtel and LHM dated 1/11/68, under the VIDEM file number and captioned, "Proposed Madison Square Garden Rally, New York City, February 5, 1968, in Defense of Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK".





#9. (Cont'd)

1/22/68

On this date, STANLEY LEVISON was contacted by an unknown person from London, England, who said he represented churchmen in London, specifically Canon COLLINS of St. Paul's Cathedral. He said he had been asked by ANDREW YOUNG, MARTIN LUTHER KING's assistant in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to talk to LEVISON. This individual discussed with LEVISON a proposed meeting to establish an Ad Hoc organization, which would launch a mass media campaign against the Vietnam war. He said sponsors would likely include people such as Archbishop RAMSEY of the Church of England, PIERRE MENDES-FRANCE, and a Cardinal from Bologna.

This person wanted MARTIN LUTHER KING to be a sponsor of this project and to come to London for a meeting to launch the campaign in late February, 1968. This person also noted that he had talked with Senator (EUGENE) MC CARTHY about the idea and that he (MC CARTHY) suggested it would be useful if he attended the meeting.

This information was submitted to the Bureau by airtel and LHM on 1/23/68, captioned, "Foreign Policy Matters - England".

1/31/68

On this date, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, an official of the SCLC, and he brought up the question of MARTIN LUTHER KING's civil disobedience campaign for the spring of 1968 in Washington, D.C. He felt that tactics should be agreed upon in the near future so that persons making inquiry can be advised.

RUTHERFORD noted that some of the tactics to be used included making calls on Congressmen during the first week of the campaign and calls on heads of departments during the second week. He said that on the first visit demands will be made and on the second sit-ins will be conducted.





#9. (Cont'd)

RUTHERFORD also noted that KING had scheduled an SCLC Board meeting on 2/6,7/68, a clergy march (Clergymen Concerned About the War in Vietnam) on Monday (2/5/68), and a meeting with Black Power people "to try to neutralize them".

This information was sent to the Bureau and interested offices by airtel and LHM dated 2/2/68, captioned, "Washington Spring Project - Racial Matters".

2/2/68

On this date, the source learned that ANDREW YOUNG and STANLEY LEVISON were to meet with LEON DAVIS and MOE FONER, officials of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, New York City, to discuss MARTIN LUTHER KING's Washington, D.C. spring project and how they could make a contribution.

On 2/3/68, STANLEY LEVISON and WILLIAM RUTHERFORD discussed talking to a group of the larger contributors to the SCLC to solicit funds from them (for the Washington, D.C. spring project).

On 2/4/68, LEVISON again discussed meeting with contributors and LEVISON said he was considering a meeting with those who had given \$1,000.00 or more at the home of HARRY BELAFONTE.

This information was forwarded to the Bureau and interested offices by airtel and LHM dated 2/6/68, captioned, "Washington Spring Project - Racial Matters".

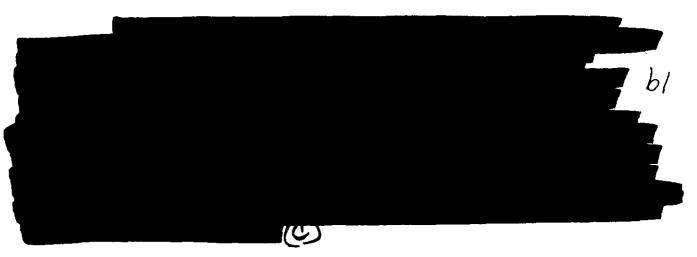
2/8/68

On this date, WILLIAM RUTHERFORD told STANLEY LEVISON about meetings held involving MARTIN LUTHER KING and SCLC officials and H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RUTHERFORD stated that the SCLC ascertained from these meetings that "they" (Black Power leaders) would not support the SCLC campaign in Washington, D.C., but neither will they oppose it.

This information was sent to the Bureau and interested offices by airtel and LHM dated 2/9/68, captioned, "Washington Spring Project - Racial Matters".



is a telephone surveillance (tesur) on the residence of Stanley David Levison, Apartment 3-D, 585 West End Avenue, New York City. It was authorized 5/28/65 and installed 6/15/65. There had been prior installations dating back to 1962.



Examples of valuable intelligence derived through this tesur during the past 90 days are as follows:

On December 13, 1967, Stanley Levison discussed with Martin Luther King, Jr., the possibility of getting together with a group of wealthy people in connection with King's planned civil disobedience program in order to get financial pledges from them.

On January 10, 1968, Levison and King discussed the indictment of Dr. Benjamin Spock. Levison and King discussed whether King should appear on a platform with Spock if he was asked to do so. Levison was against this because this would again make King and Spock the two leaders of the peace movement.

On January 31, 1968, Levison was in contact with William Rutherford, a top aide of King's, concerning the tactics to be used in King's civil disobedience campaign.

On February 4, 1968, Levison was in conference with Rutherford again and suggested a meeting of those individuals who have given \$1,000 or more to help support King's civil disobedience campaign. This was to be in the home of Harry Belafonte. Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller would be the type of individuals to be invited to this affair.



Because of the extreme importance of Levison-King tie to the civil rights and peace movements and the communist influence therein, plus the demonstrated past value of this source, it is recommended it be continued for another 90 days.

It is noted that the Attorney General authorized continuation of this telephone surveillance for a period of three months, effective 1/1/68.

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(Type in glaintent or ea DIRECTOR, PBI (157-8428) SAC, NEW YORK (157-2052) PIC: SUEJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT RACIAL MATTERS (00:WF0) There are enclosed for the Bureau (11) elever apies of an LHM containing info furnished by on 2/8/68, which concerns rectings held between Arry. FF ER KING and SCLE representatives with black nations. leaders H. RAP EROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) (1- 100-106670) (M.L. KIM) Atlanta (157- (Enels. 3) (RM) Atlanta (157-(1- 100-5586) (M.L. KING) (1- 100-5718) (CONTINELL SCLC) Filladelphia [Encl. 1) (IMFO) (EM) Washington Field (Encl. 2) (SM)
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Three copies of this LHM are being sent to the 108th INTC Group, MYC, one copy each to the Mayal Investigation, OSI, USA, SDMY, all MYC, and one copy to the USA, EDMY.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF MUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

New York, New York February 9, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINAME HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT THERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Washington Spring Project Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on February 8, 1968, that on that date William Rutherford, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was in contact with Stanley Levison. Rutherford told Levison that he had been in Philadelphia attending a meeting, that there are some very important things going on in Philadelphia, and that the situation there is the best situation "we" have going. However, the source was unable to ascertain clarifying information about the situation in Philadelphia that Rutherford referred to.

The source continued that Rutherford advised Levison that the situation in Washington, D.C. was confused. He noted that they (SCLC representatives) held a couple of meetings "with Rap Brown and his commandos occupying the place with walkie talkies and bodyguards". He added that "they invaded this church and took it over. wouldn't let people in." He said that "they" threw the press out of the meeting and that "they walked out of the meeting, disrupted it, occupied the church, and literally kept SCLC Board members out." The following morning, according to Rutherford, a picture of Stokely Carmichael appeared on the front page of the "Washington Post", captioned "Stokely Carmichael Discusses Washington Campaign with King" (Martin Luther King, President of the SCLC).

> ded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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100,392452



Washington Spring Project

Rutherford related that the day following the church meeting they (SCLC officials) held a private meeting "with these guys" and "lit into them". Rutherford stated that he told Stokely(Carmichael) that he, Rutherford, wanted to hear what Stokely had to say and that Stokely gave some "mealy-mouthed excuses" that did not stand up. Rutherford also noted that he told Carmichael that "these men told us" that they are interested in the total destruction of the United States.

Levison commented that he had heard Stokely say this and Rutherford's comment was that "this is what Rap (Brown) said last night". Rutherford continued that Stokely is now "sweet as pie. He pulled a power play on us in Washington", but did not win anything because everybody was opposing him.

Levison commented that he could not see the SCLC letting ten persons who threaten violence take over from hundreds. He described it as a dangerous thing, a king of black facism.

Rutherford, in referring to the meeting, related that a person named Courtland (phonetic), whom he described as having been with the Congress of Racial Equality, made the statement that "they" would not support "our campaign" in Washington, D.C., but would not participate in any opposition to it. He said this is "their whole life", that although they could not take part in something they do not believe in, even though they have trouble from their constituents, they would not oppose it because anything that leads to liberation is worthwhile.

Rutherford said that King became very upset after this private meeting and began berating him. He said he told King that what "they"said is clear and that the SCLC knows now where they stand, that all the SCLC wanted and needed





Washington Spring Project

"from them" was that they would not attempt to divide the community. He said "they" were honest, that "they" stated that if the SCLC fails in Washington, "we're going to get a lot of new recruits" but if the SCLC is successful "we are going to be in trouble". He recalled that at this moment King made a point, that if "they" should denounce the government, denounce the SCLC campaign and criticize it, this would create an atmosphere within which non-violence would have a better chance of succeeding. He added that Stokely responded that they have enough problems, that there is enough confusion and division in the black community, and that, if they should speak out against King or what he is doing, people will not know which way to turn.

Levison commented that he agreed with Carmichael and disagreed with King on this point. He inquired as to why King was upset.

Rutherford stated that King said the enemy was violence and began to preach on how violence begets violence.

Levison related that the key is that King states the enemy is violence which is not true. The enemy are the forces preventing them from getting rights and violence is one of the methods. He said that, therefore, they are trying to develop a counter technique to violence.

"The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, in its issue dated February 11, 1968, page one, contains an article on the protest against United States involvement in the war in Vietnam in Washington, D.C. on February 5,6, 1968, sponsored by the Clerzy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. It states that King addressed the gathering of clergymen and laymen and told them that "it was imperative that the freedom and peace movements be joined. Describing the worsening economic conditions, he appealed to the religious leaders to join and support the demonstrations his organization has planned for Washington in April". The article also notes that King made it clear that the targets of the demonstrations would be the Vietnam war and Congress.





FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

| | Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion. | | |
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Mr. Del/ Mr. Mofr Mr. Bishop Mr. Callaban FBI Date: ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED Transmit the following in _ EXCEPT WHERE SHOW (Type in plaintext or code) AIRTEL OTHERWISE (Priority) TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585) SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SM - C (OO: ATLANTA) Re New York teletype 3/29/68. There are enclosed for the Bureau 11 copies of an LHM containing information from the containing on 3/29/68, concerning a discussion between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, ba Jr., on KING's reaction to the violence that followed KING's bab leading of a march in downtown Memphis on 3/28/68. It also contains information from on 3/31/68, concerning 6 LEVISON's comments on an Atlanta meeting on 3/30/68, Bureau (100-106670) (Encis.11) (RM) (1- 157-8428) (Washington Spring Project) NOT RECORDE 3- Atlanta (100-5586) (Encls.3) (RM) 172 APR 10 1968 (1- 100-5718)(COMÍNFIL SCLC))(Washington Spring Project) 1- Memphis (INFO)(RM) (Encl.1) 2- Washington Field (100-)(Encls.2)(RM)) (Washington Spring Project) - New York (100-111180)(STANLEY LEVISON) 41 1- New York (157-2052) (Washington Spring Project 1- New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) 41 (100-136585) 1988 1- New York 41 dsi, 😂, OSI; SEC. SER: 是第1 750, 000, RAO TOTAL JFO:ptp DATE FORM:__ (15)FON FORES ERROR LETTER SENT SICE Sent _ O APR Ispedicionagent in Charge ICCATY LHON 806948

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CONF

An information copy of this LHM is being sent to Memphis because it indicates KING is returning to Memphis for another march.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

ALT: ADVIS SLIP() Bufile 100-106670

New York, New York April 1, 1968

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Martin Luther King, Jr. Security Matter - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on March 29, 1968, that on that date, Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King, Jr. discussed the position which King has found himself in as a result of the violence that occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, on March 28, 1968, at the time when King led a march through downtown Memphis. at the time when king ieu a maich uncomment told Levison that he feels they have to face the fact that, told Levison that he feels they have to face the fact that, we from a public relations point of view and every other way, "are in serious trouble". He referred to the Washington D.C. Spring campaign, known as the Poor People's Campaign, and said as far as it is concerned it is in trouble. King noted that it will be much more difficult to recruit people for the Washington campaign now because they (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference)(SCLC) are recruiting non-violent people and these people will hold back if they think they will be in a campaign that is going to be taken over by violent elements. King stated that this is not a failure for the SCLC because it has enough of a program to affirm its position but that it is a personal setback for himself. *

King continued that persons such as Roy Wilkens (Head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and Adam Clayton Powell, and Negroes who are influenced by the press, will now feel that he, King, is finished, that his non-violence is nothing, that no one is listening to it. King reiterated that they have had a great public relations setback as far as his image and leadership are concerned.

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DATE OF REVIEW

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100-39245.2

ENCLOSURE



Martin Luther King, Jr.

Levison attempted to dissuade King from this point of view stating that it would be true only if King accepts "their" definition. He added that he felt it is a profound error King is making.

King noted that he did not accept it himself but that others will. Levison retorted that people would accept it for a few days, but, if events prove otherwise, will not accept it.

King noted that events will not prove otherwise unless they think soberly through this period. He said that somehow he had to reaffirm what the press will refuse to affirm. He referred to the Memphis incident stating that they all know it was just a few people who were involved. He added that it was a failure of the leadership in Memphis. King informed Levison that persons who were responsible for the violence came to see him on the morning of March 29, 1968. He said these persons were fighting the leadership in Memphis, the men who ignored and neglected them, the men who would not give them any attention, who ordered their telephones cut off. King added that he had no knowledge of all this, that the persons responsible for the violence were too sick to see that what they were doing during the violence was hurting him, King, more than it could hurt the local preachers.

King related that he was so upset and shocked over the Memphis violence that he was going to announce a personal fast as a means of appealing to the Memphis leadership, as well as those who participated in the violence, to come to him in a united front to take up the "cudget" and get on with the movement. He said he felt this kind of spiritual move would be a way of unifying the movement, of transforming a minus into a plus. He added that he feels their Washington campaign is doomed.

Levison attempted to convince King that his reasoning was not correct. Levison said he was concerned over the "trap" King was placing non-violence in because King was saying that he must have 100% adherence to non-violence which is an impossibility

King commented that they could not get 100% adherence but that they must face the fact that a riot broke out in the ranks of the march, that "these fellows", in the line of march, would



Martin Luther King, Jr.

jump out, do something, and then come back to hide within the group. King said he is a symbol of non-violence and that the press is not going to say what Levison said. He said the symbol will be weakened and it will put many Negroes in doubt. He said he must do something that is a powerful act to unify forces and refute the press.

Levison stated that if it had this result he would agree but that he is bothered by the idea that King would be accepting the logic of the press that if King can control 99%, and not the 1% who are violent, he is a failure. He said they must find a way in which they do not accept this otherwise King will never be able to do anything unless he always spiritually reaches a level where he hypnotizes every Negro alive

King questioned how he could say that they can control the planned demonstrations in Washington, D.C. and at the same time conclude they are going to have 1% violence.

Levison counseled that King can say that he can control his followers and is not undertaking to control everybody else. He said King could take the position that his followers are non-violent and will do what they must do

They agreed to discuss the matter in depth at a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia in King's church office on the morning of March 30, 1968.

The same source advised on March 31, 1968, that on that date Stanley Levison commented on the meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 30, 1968. Levison's comments included the following:

At the Atlanta meeting they examined the whole Memphis incident and came up with a new approach. "We are going back to Memphis. We are going to prove that you can have mass action in the streets". Martin Luther King had decided not to go back to Memphis and not to go to Washington (for the Poor People's Campaign). It was the determination of the (SCLC) staff that





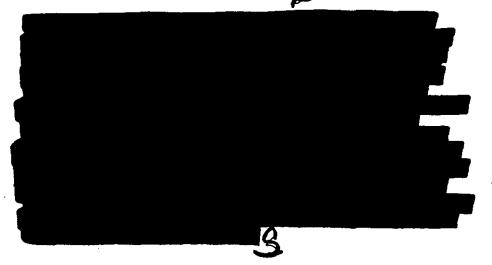
Martin Luther King, Jr.

changed King's thinking. King is going back to Memphis on Tuesday (April 2, 1968) and there will be a big march on Friday (April 5, 1968). The Memphis incident was caused by "a handful of kids" and it could have been controlled by "our guys" (the SCLC) had they been there.

He, Levison, made the point that they could not let "a couple of kids" keep "mass action" from being their weapon.

As for controlling the Washington, D.C. demonstrations, King knows he can control the youth. What has to be done is go to the high schools and tell them what the establishment wants them to do. Once they grasp this there is no chance of anything happening. What they (the SCLC) are afraid of in Washington is a double cross from Stokley Carmichael and the answer to that is that "our job" (the SCLC") is not to stop violence but to be non-violent themselves. "Our position" is that "we" are going to go on because to be able to march inthe streets is "our most important tool" and are not going on the streets because it may start violence. "Why do we have to be afraid of riots. It is their problem not ours".

The Atlanta meeting was good because it shows how much militancy there is in the SCLC.



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Date of Mail 4/11/48

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL

Stanley David Lenar

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TIME INC. I. 194 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO . . Im. W. C. Sullivan

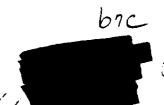
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The Interney Caneral under date of 4/1/60 approved our request for continuation of electronic surveillances for a paried of three months officative 4/1/80. The approval was noted in uniting an our membrandum of 5/80/03, which is authorized in an embrace cavelege. As in the past, an appropriate reserve will be made in each case file showing interney Commanda approval.

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April 24, 1968

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New York

Director, FBI (100-392452)

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STANLEY DAVID LEVISON

April 17, 1968

Thr. G. C. Moore (Field

Guidance Folder)

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- Mr. Dunn (Field

Exempt Ifon GDB. Cat

President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SQLC). Stanley David Levison has been summoned to attend two important policy-making sessions of SCLC at Atlanta, Georgia, As you know, Levison was the principal advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., and King did not make any major policy decisions without first consulting with Levison. It is imperative that the Bureau, at an early date, be able to assess what role Levison will play in the guidance and direction of SCLC in the future. Recipient offices should alert their sources so that any information received concerning Levison's participation in policy-making decision be immediately furnished the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. 4 REC- 19 100-392452

Your comments and observations in this regard

should be submitted to the Bureau by April 24, 1968.

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Airtel to SACs, Atlanta, New York STANLEY DAVID LEVISON 100-392452 CONSCENTIAL

NOTE:

With the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the role of Stanley Levison in SCLC matters is questionable. Outgoing instructs the field to be alert to Levison's activities and influence in an effort to further dominate SCLC in the future.

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NY 100-111180

It is indicated that LEVISON, at the current time, is being relied upon by the new leadership of the SCLC for advice although he is not being consulted at every turn. A bolicase in point is the beginning of the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C., since information received from indicated that LEVISON was not aware that the Washington, D.C. indicated that LEVISON was not aware that the Washington, D.C. indicated that LEVISON will continue to make his views known of the NYO that LEVISON will continue to make his views known as to what direction and policy the SCLC should pursue and what actions ABERNATHY should or should not undertake in order that the SCLC will not be adversely affected. However, whether the SCLC will attempt to dominate ABERNATHY or whether he will make suggestions for acceptance or rejection is a question that will require further information and analysis.



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| _2 | Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion. |
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4/18/68 Date: Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code) THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UPCLESSIFIED AIRTEL EXCEPT VETRE SHOWS TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585) SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: SCLC -RACIAL MATTERS ReNY teletype 4/17/68. There are enclosed for the Bureau 11 copies of 670. an LHM containing information from on 4/17/68, concerning contacts between STANLEY LEVISON and DORA MC DONALD and STANLEY LEVISON and CORETTA KING on that date. CLASS. & EXT. BY SPIGSK! 4) Bureau (100-106670) (EAUGSURE (RM) (1-157-8428) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) DATE OF REVIEW 4 /6-85 3-Atlanta (100-) (Encls. 3) (RM) (COMINFIL SCLC) (1-100-5718) 1-157-(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) APR Y9 1968 2-Newark (100-) (Encls. 2) (RM)) (DAVE DELLINGER) (1-100-2-Washington Field (100-(Encls. 2) (RM)) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) (1-157-1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (41) 1-New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43) 1-New York (100-162392) (10 DAYS OF PROTEST) 1-New York (157-2052) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT) 1-New York (100-136585) ACENCY: ACSI, MEC. OSI, SEC. SERV. NOT RECORDED JFO: far C. PER ISD, ORD, RAO, TOTAL 180 APR 25 1968



In Reply, Please Refer to

THE STATES DEPARTMENT OF USTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York April 18, 1968

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Martin Luther King, Jr.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) - Racial Matters

On April 17, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, ascertained that on that date Stanley Levison was in contact with Dora McDonald. Secretary to Martin Luther King, Jr., deceased head of the SCLC, and thereafter Coretta King, wife of Martin Luther King. McDonald told Levison that "Meet the Press" wants Ralph Abernathy, successor to Martin Luther King as head of the SCLC, to appear on this program as soon as possible and Coretta King at a later date. She stated that she had not talked to Abernathy who was still in Memphis. Levison questioned if Martin Luther King had not been scheduled to appear on "Face the Nation" then added that "Meet the Press" was the roughest one. He said he had talked with Abernathy and advised him not to appear on "Face the Nation" at the present time because he believed Abernathy was gambling with his reputation and if Abernathy "falls on his face" he would do so before the whole nation. He said Abernathy agreed. Levison added that as far as Abernathy is concerned, it would be best if he put off any appearance until just before the Washington Campaign (Poor People's Campaign scheduled for Washington, D.C.) and that Abernathy acknowledged that he needs to study up on current legislation and political facts.

> CLASS. & EXT. BY SP REASON-FCIN II. 1-2

DATE OF REVIEW

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Martin Luther King, Jr.

Levison referred to Coretta King's possible appearance at the major mass anti-Vietnam war demonstration scheduled for New York City on April 27, 1968. He said he had checked with Dave Dellinger's (National Director, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam) office and that he, Levison, feels thatit salright for her to appear on this program and also to participate in the Mothers' March (in Washington, D.C. in connection with the Poor People's Campaign) as long as she does not do anything else.

Levison then told Coretta King that he had checked with Dave Dellinger's office and that there is a good platform so that if she is inclined to participate, they should be promptly advised so they can have the benefit of the publicity. He emphasized that she should not do other things because it would be too much exposure. Comparing her situation with that of Jackie Kennedy, Coretta commented that she believes many people see that her life was not the same, that people understand how she was "in the picture" and have now given her a mandate that she must remain "in the picture". Levison agreed but counselled this should be done gradually and in good taste.

Coretta asked about requests for articles about herself and Levison advised that, as a general principle, proceeds for such articles should go to her because the subject of the articles will command the price. He said if thousands are paid for an article, then a few hundred is all the writer is entitled to.

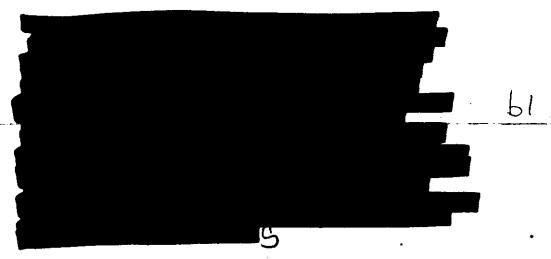
Levison mentioned that Grosset and Dunlap, an old publishing firm, is coming out with a book, "I Had A Dream", about Martin Luther King which is unauthorized. He said Harper and Rowe are willing to have their lawyers prepare an injunction preventing or stopping the publication and distribution of this book, but a telegram is needed from Coretta to proceed. Levison then read a telegram for her signature and she agreed to have Dora McDonald send it immediately.

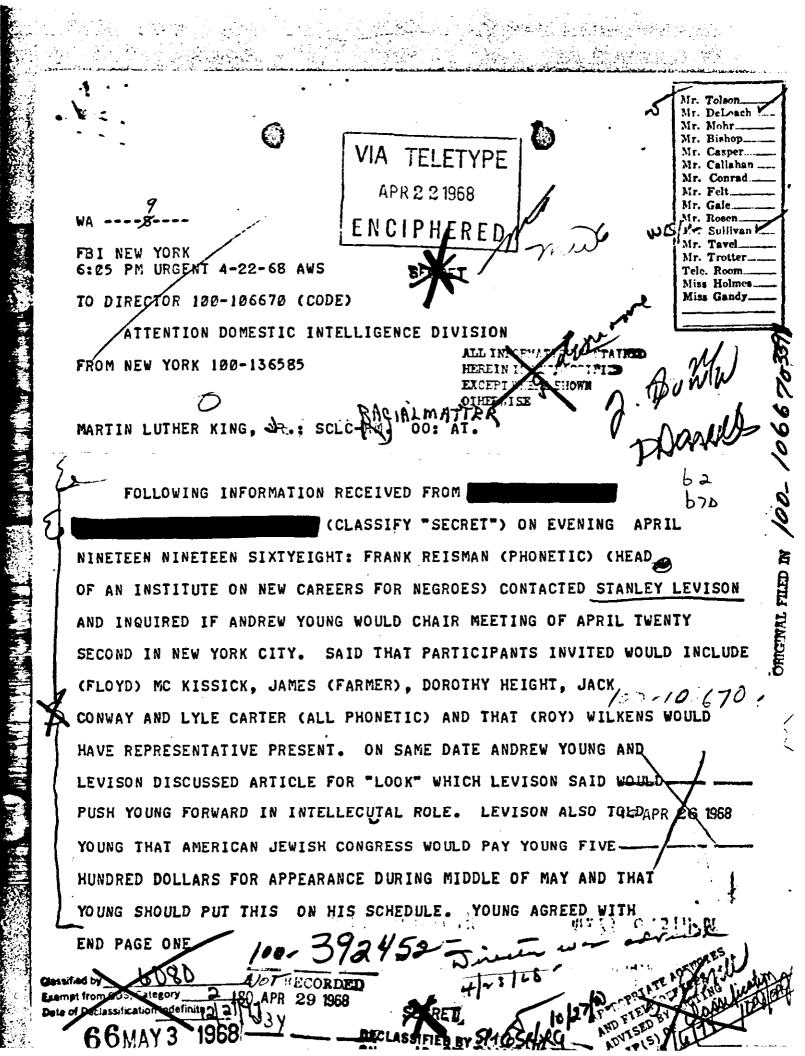


Martin Luther King, Jr.

Coretta discussed requests she had received for appearances and Levison stated that she would receive many requests but that she will have to be selective and turn many down. He counselled that she should adopt the position that, for the present, she feels that activity in King's behalf has to be toward his memorial and that it would not serve anyone if her name is used by everyone. He added that this says she is using her name in the area she knows would be closest to King, his family and his organization. He said it is important in preserving the strength of a name that it not be overused.

Finally, Levison asked if Coretta wanted him to contact Dave Dellinger. She stated that he should call Dellinger and point out that her exposure must be limited and that she must be protected because she is only doing the things she feels very strongly about, that is, those things that are related to the work of her husband.





PAGE TWO

LEVISON THAT SCLC SHOULD GO FOR MORE NEGRO MEMBERSHIP BECAUSE THEIR DIRECT MAILING IS TOO WHITE. LATER ON SAME DATE YOUNG CONTACTED LEVISON'S WIFE WHO SAID STANLEY WANTED YOUNG TO KNOW THAT HE. LEVISON. FELT RALPH ABERNATHY SHOULD ATTEND CONFERENCE IN NYC ON APRIL TWENTY SECOND NINTEEN SIXTYEIGHT WITH YOUNG. YOUNG SAID HE FAVORED WALTER FAUNTROY (FORMER DIRECTOR WASHINGTON BUREAU OF SCLC) AS CHAIRMAN. ON APRIL TWENTY NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, SOURCE FURNISHED FOLLOWING INFORMATION: CLARENCE JONES TOLD LEVISON HE HAD BEEN CALLED BY (SENATOR EUGENE) MC CARTHY'S PEOPLE ABOUT INVITATION FOR CORETTA KING TO ATTEND RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, MAY NINTEEN, NOT TO ENDORSE MC CARTHY BUT TO GET MONEY FOR MARCH (POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN). LEVISON SAID SHE IS NOT GOING TO ENDORSE ANYONE AT PRESENT. SAID HE WOULD TALK TO YOUNG AND ABERNATHY OVER WEEKEND AND LET JONES KNOW. ON SAME DATE LEVISON AND HARRY BELAFONTE DISCUSSED PROPOSED BOOK BY CORETTA KING. LEVISON SAID HOLT PUBLISHERS HAD OFFERED SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS WITH ASSURANCE IT IS BOOK THEY WILL BE WILLING TO INVEST IN, A HUMAN STORY LIKE "MY LIFE WITH MARTIN KING." SAID "MC CALL'S" WANTS TO DO SERIAL RIGHTS AND WILL PAY SEVENTY FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS WHICH IS PART OF SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. BELAFONTE REFERRED TO A GATHERING; (NOT SPECIFIED) WHERE ABERNATHY

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SPOKE WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY TWELVE TO FIFTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE. HE SAID THEY RAISED EIGHTY THOUSAND DOLLARS AND MADE SIXTYFIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS NET. BELAFONTE AND LEVISON ALSO DISCUSSED HOW TO HANDLE UNAUTHORIZED SOLICITATIONS FOR MONEY FOR KING MEMORIAL. JOAN DAVIS, PUBLISHER'S REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTED TO LEVISON THAT HE MAKE NOTES ON KING SINCE HE IS ONLY PERSON WHO KNEW HIM INTIMATELY AND KNOWS HOW TO WRITE WITH AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN MIND. SOURCE FURNISHED FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON APRIL TWENTY FIRST: WALTER FAUNTROY CONTACTED LEVISON AND AGRRED TO CHAIR MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY ON APRIL TWENTY SECOND. LEVISON SAID MEETING WOULD BEFHELD CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL CENTER, NEW YORK CITY TO FORMULATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR "MARCH ON WASHINGTON." SAID THEY WOULD WORK ON PARTS DEALING WITH JOBS, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND ADEQUATE INCOME. LEVISON LATER TOLD JOAN DAVIS HE STRONGLY ADVISES AGAINST FILING OF INJUNCTION AGAINST GROSSET AND DUNLAP (PUBLISHERS OF UNAUTHORIZED BOOK ON KING) BECAUSE OF PUBLICITY THAT TWILL BE INVOLVED. *Meno* LHM Follows.

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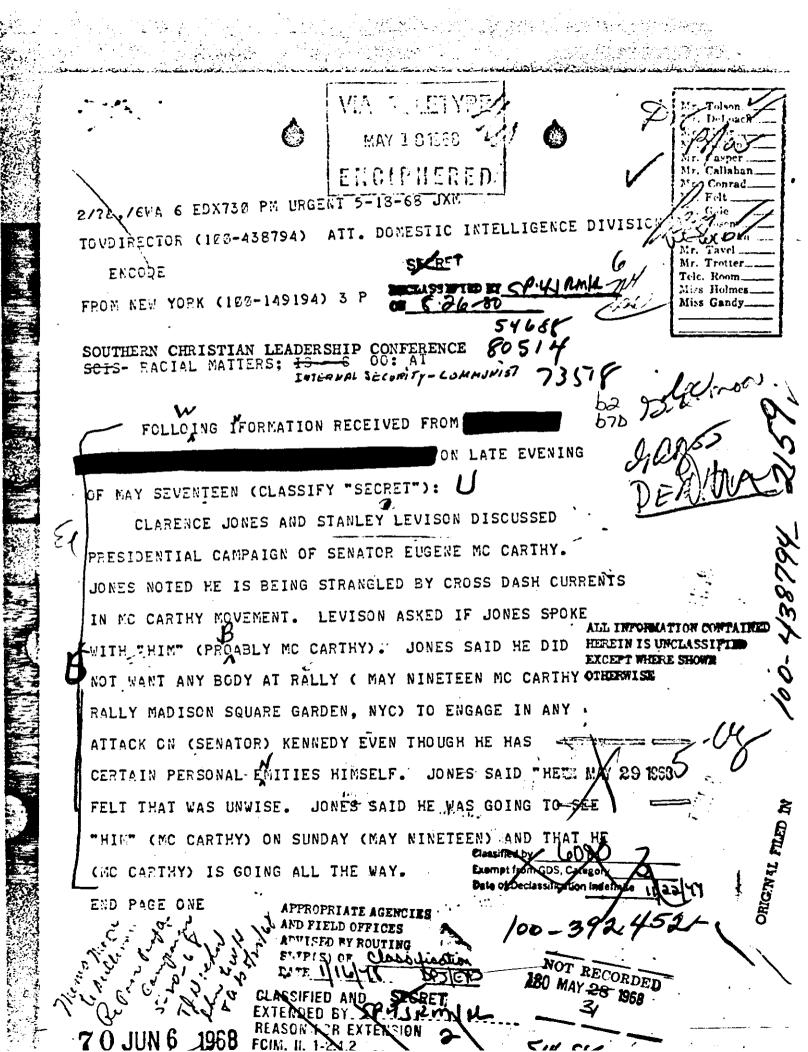
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PAGE TWO

JONES SAID THAT HE COULD TELL LEVISON CONFIDENTIALLY THAT IF MC CARTHY LOSES IN OREGON BY ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE HE WILL WITH DRAW BUT IF HE LOSES IN OREGON AND IT IS CLOSE HE WILL GO ON TO CALIFORNIA, WHERE HE IS VERY STRONG. LEVISON INQUIRED IF JONES DISCUSSED WITH HIM (MC CARTHY) THAT JONES WANTS "TO IDENTIFY HUMPHREY AS THE MAIN-- "ENEMY". JONES SAID HE DID AND THAT HE (MC CARTHY) MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT TO BE AT THE EXPENSE OF CONCEDING HE IS NOT GOING TO GO ALL THE WAY. JONES NOTED IT IS DIFFICULT TASK OF MAINTAINING THE INDEPENDENT INTERGRITY OF HIS OWN CANDIDACY BUT THAT (MC CARTHY) WILL RELEASE HIS DELEGATES TO GO WHATEVER WAY THEY CAN IN ORDER TO STOP THE POLICY OF HUMPHREY. JONES NOTED HE HAS TEN MINUTES ON THE SUNDAY PROGRAM (MC CARTHY) RALLY) AND WANTS TO STATE AN APPROPRIATE LINE FOR THE COALITION (AGAINST HUMPHREY) .

END PAGE TWO



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PAGE THREE

HE SAID HE WANTS TO STATE HIS SUPPORT FOR MC CARTHY
BUT "ZERO IN" ON" ON THE CENTRAL QUESTION; THAT BEING
HUMPHREY, AND LAY THE REALISTIC FOUNDATION FOR ALL
THE PEOPLE IN THE COALITION, KENNEDY AND MC CARTHY
SUPPORTERS. LEVISON AND JONES AGREED TO MEET ON
MAY EIGHTEEN FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

DUR FBI FTB



MAY 18SE EDITION
MAY 18SE EDITION
SEA PPHIS (41 CPR) 951-11.8

UNITED STATES GOORNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

DATE:

5/28/68

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

фвјест:

(3)

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON

IS-C (00:NY)

There is enclosed for the Bureau for transmittal to Secret Service one copy of a photograph of the subject taken on 6/9/65.

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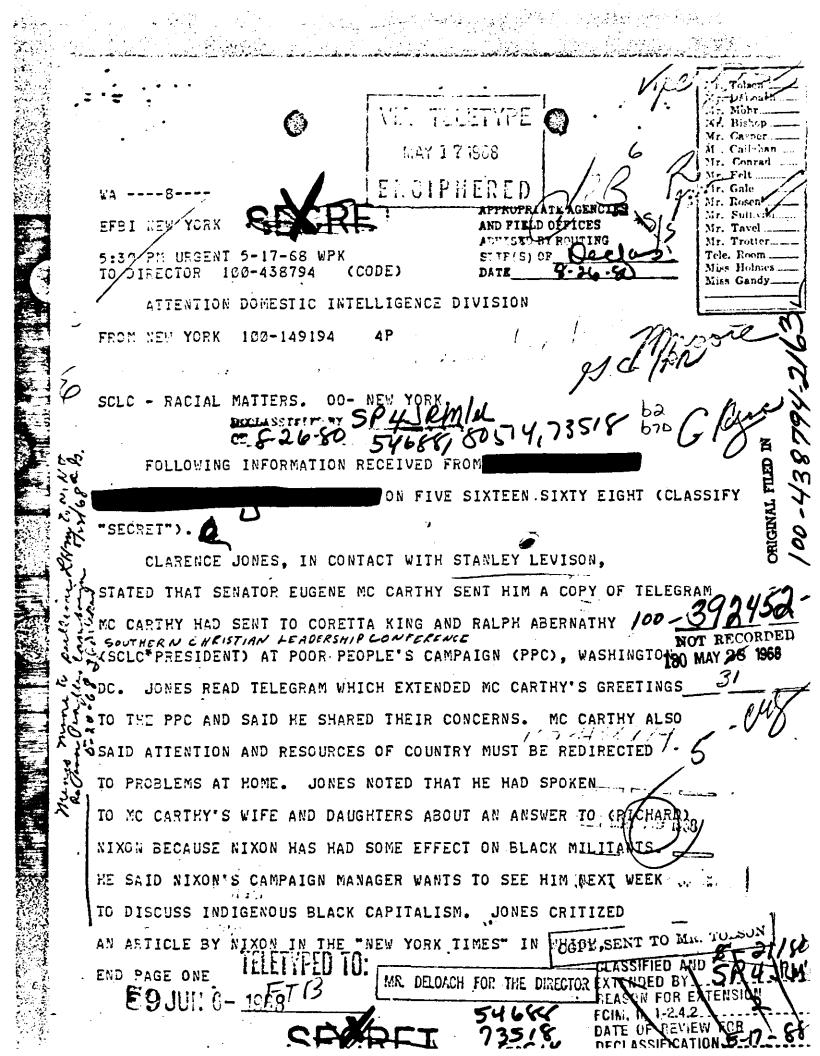
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Alo.



PAGE TWO

ACCORDING TO JONES, NIXON TOLD CONGRESS NOT TO GIVE IN TO DEMANDS OF PPC. LEVISON SAID NIXON HAS GOTTEN HIMSELF INTO A PERFECT POSITION WHERE HE CAN OPPOSE THE PPC AND HAVE BLACK MILITANTS INTERESTED IN HIS IDEA (OF BLACK CAPITALISM FOR THE GHETTOS). LEVISON ATTACKED THIS IDEA OF BUILDING GHETTO INDUSTRIES OWNED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE GHETTO. JONES MENTIONED THAT FLOYD MC KISSICK (NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE) TOLD HIM THAT "WE DIG NIXON". JONES SAID HE CONTACTED A PARTNER OF NIXON'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER AND SAID. IF NIXON IS CREATING THIS FANFARE HE. JONES. WANTS TO FIND OUT WHAT HE IS TALKING ABOUT. HE SAID THEY JUMPED AT THE IDEA AND THAT HE IS SUPPOSED TO MEET WITH NIXON NEXT WEEK. LEVISON SAID THE DANGEROUS THING IS THAT IT IS NOT JUST AN OPPORTUNIST OR FAIRLY STUPID PERSON LIKE MC KISSICK WHO WILL GO FOR THE IDEA. LEVISON WENT ON TO ATTACK THE IDEA OF PUTTING PLANTS IN THE GHETTO. HE SAID THE WHOLE THING SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF A CRITICAL ARTICLE. JONES THEN BROUGHT HE SAID UP SUBJECT OF MC CARTHY MOVEMENT.

TT IS SPLIT INTO
TWO CONTENDING POINTS OF VIEW ONE SAYING THE RIVALRY BETWEEN
SENATORS KENNEDY AND MC CARTHY IS SUBORDINATE CONSIDERATION AND
THAT PRINCIPAL CONSIDERATION IS TO STOP (VICE PRESIDENT)
HUMPMREY. HE SAID SECOND POINT OF VIEW IS THAT THEY ARE
UNWILLING TO MAKE ANY ACCOMMODATIONS AT THIS TIME BECAUSE
END PAGE TWO



PAGE THREE



AN ACCOMODATION WILL WEAKEN MC CARTHY. JONES SAID, CONFIDENTIALLY, THAT HE UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO WORK DUT AN ACCOMODATION TIVITH KENNEDY FORCES THE PREVIOUS NIGHT. SAID THIS ACCOMMINATION WAS THAT HE COULD NOT COMMIT MC CARTHY DELEGATES BUT FELT HE COULD PERSUADE THEM OF TWO THINGS. ONE. OF THE FORTY ONE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS (IN NEW YORK STATE) IF AGREED THAT CENTRAL QUESTION IS STOPPING HUMPHREY. THAT THEY WOULD AGREE TO RUN JOINT SLATES, ACROSS THE STATE, AND JOINT SLATES WOULD HAVE ONLY ONE DELEGATE COMMITMENT, NOT TO VOTE FOR HUMPHREY. THEY WOULD BE FREE TO MAKE OWN JUDGEMENT AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL HE SAID THIS DID NOT WORK. THE SECOND THING IS CONVENTION. TO MAKE ANALYSIS DISTRICT BY DISTRICT TO DETERMINE WHERE IT LOOKS LIKE HUMPHREY WILL WIN AND PUT UP A JOINT CHALLENGE IN THOSE AREAS. IN AREAS WHERE IT APPEARS HE WILL NOT WIN, THE NATURAL FORCES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WILL HAVE TO SETTLE TO THE BOTTOM AND LEAVE IT AN OPEN QUESTION. JONES SAID THE SECOND IDEA OF JOIN SLATES IN DISTRICTS DID NOT GET FAR BUT HE FELT IT COULD AND THAT HE COULD BE A FORCE IN GETTING IT FAR. HE SAID HE WANTED LEVISON'S THINKING ON IT. LEVISON SAID HIS POSITION HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE FIRST ONE. THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KENNEDY AND MC CARTHY ARE LESS IMPORTANT THAN DEFEATING HUMPHREY. END PAGE THREE



PAGE FOUR

LEVISON SAID HE FAVORED KENNEDY BECAUSE OF HIS RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND BECAUSE THE OVERRIDING QUESTION OF SURVIVAL - TODAY IS HOW NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE HANDLED AND KENNEDY HAS SHOWN HE HAS A COOL HEAD IN THAT SITUATION. JONES MENTIONED HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT DAY A TREASONABLE ACCURATE DELEGATE COUNT OF HUMPHREY" AND THAT, IN LAST THIRTY SIX HOURS, HIS DELEGATE STRENGTH "HAS GONE AHEAD BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS". HE. SAID HUMPHREY IS SO FAR AHEAD THAT CONTEST BETWEEN KENNEDY AND MC CARTHY IS ACADEMIC. LEVISON SAID THAT THE REAL QUESTION IS THE FORMULA THAT WILL WORK TO STOP HUMPHREY. JONES SAID HE HAS TO REPRESENT A POINT OF VEW AT A SPEECH HE IS GIVING AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, MAY TWENTY NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT FOR AND IS GOING TO SUGGEST: COALITION ON DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES. POLICIES, AND THAT THEY CANNOT GET INTO EXTREME CAMPAIGN AGAINST OTHER CANDIDATES. LEVISON AGREED WITH THIS APPROACH. JONES ADDED THAT THE CENTRAL QUESTION IS CONTINUATION OF THE BROAD ANTI-WAR PEACE MOVEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO JOHNSON'S POLICIES, SYMBOLIZED BY HUMPHREY AND THAT ALL EFFORTS MUST BE DIRECTED TOWARD PREVENTING HIS GETTING VOTES. JONES SAID ANOTHER PROBLEM IS ADVISING THE CANDIDATE (MC CARTHY) THAT THIS IS HIS POSITION. LEVISON SAID IT HAD TO BE DONE.

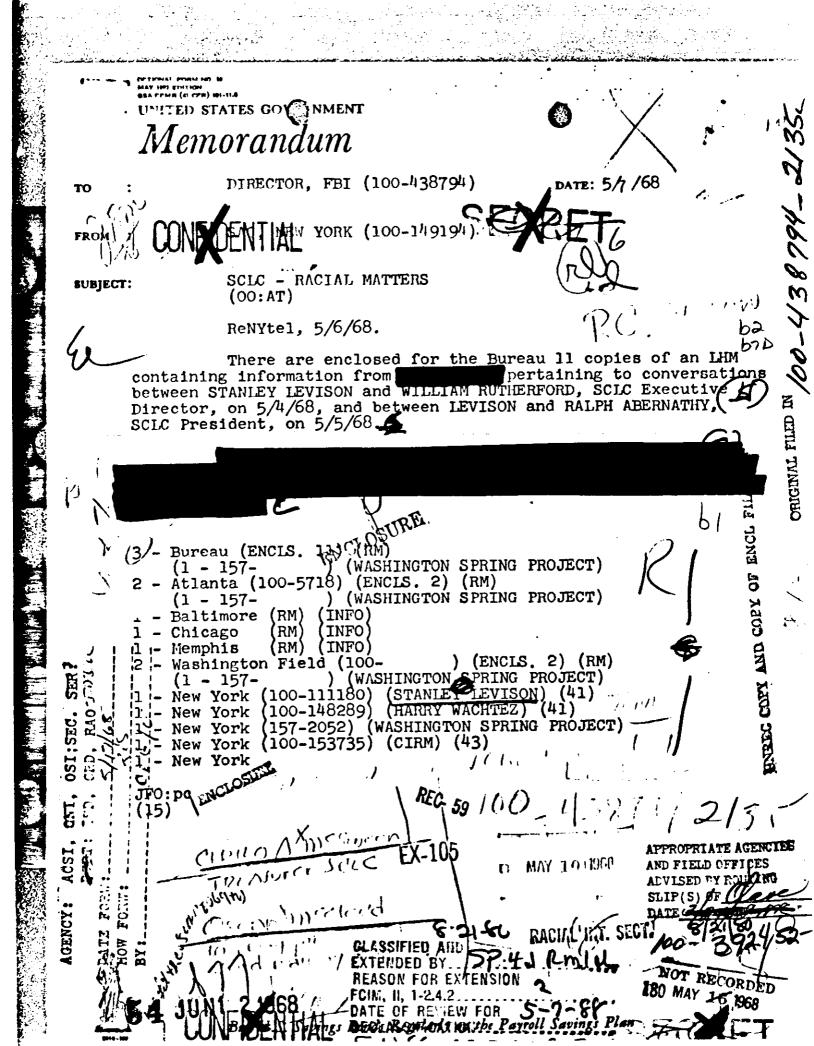
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New York, New York

NYfile 100-438794 May 7, 1963 NYfile 100-149194FORMATION CONTAINED In Reply, Please Refer to File No. Bufile 100-438794 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

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ulclassificatio Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) - Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on May 4, 1968, that, on that date William Rutherford, Executive Director of the SCIC discussed with Stanley Levison the SCIC sponsored Poor People's Campaign (PPC) in Washington, D.C. Rutherford indicated that he was impressed with the way the opening of the campaign had gone. He told Levison that people got up and spoke spontaneously, that they (SCLC) did not know what these people were going to say. He recalled one woman telling the Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, that his department chases people who do not want to go into the Army but does nothing about segregated draft boards or about people stealing money from the poor. He also commented that he was one of the persons who worked up the committee that worked on "those position papers", which were good. He said they got up a draft called a Declaration of the PPC based mostly on Levison's work; "it is about 99.9% of that last draft you wrote"...

Rutherford was upset over the lack of cooperation from the union in Memphis, Tennessee, which was involved in the garbage workers strike. He noted that he and Cerillo (phonetic) (SCLC Treasurer) were in Memphis and that "we" (the SCLC) had 30 buses lined up (for the PPC) but nothing had been paid for so he and Cerillo paid for the buses but the union "hasn't done a thing". He added that at a church rally the first night in Memphis they raised only \$2,067.00 because they had no fund raiser and the union gave nothing. He continued that they were supposed to meet with the union at breakfast but the union representatives never showed up. Later, according to Rutherford

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the union representative met with him. Cerillo and itm Beyel (SCIC official) in Bulberford's room. Rutherford sold be teld them that he understood the union was solng to denote \$10,000, that the SCIC needed 2,000 sleeping bass for the people (engaged in the PPC) and that he wanted to know where the money was. He said that he told a union representative that he wanted \$10,000, that this person walked out. called the New York Office of the union, and returned and said \$5,000 had been approved and that they would get the other \$5,000.

Ralph Worth (phonetic), called Ralph (Abernathy, head of the SCIC) and said whatever his staff told Abernathy that would be the way it is. He said that two hours later they had \$10,000.

\$50,000 a week or two before the strike ended. Rutherford agreed noting that Walter Reuther brought them \$50,000 and someone else brought them \$100,000. Levison stated what Rutherford did was right but that it was not enough. Rutherford and he felt the union should maintain all the people in Washington who came from Memphis for the PPC.

levison stated he would put this task before all the unions and threaten them that they (the SCLC) would make public the fact that, while other people have been giving, the group that Martin Luther King gave his life for, has done next to nothing. Tevison added that they (the unions) should be told that they have to come up with \$250,000 collectively.

Rutherford said he could see how the PPC could cost them a million dollars. He said that as of that day the balance in the conference (SCIC) account was \$328,000 and \$201,000 in the Foundation account giving them about \$600,000 which he described as a "drop in the bucket" compared to what they need.







Levison cautioned that Rutherford would have about \$40,000 worth of bills and inquired if Rutherford ever received any money from Harry Wachtel's office. Rutherford stated they had received nothing and that he knew Wachtel received a check at his office for \$56,000. He questioned why Abernathy had the check sent there.

Levison told Rutherford that an inter-religious committee ran an ad in which they asked for funds for the Martin Luther King Memorial Foundation and the address was Wachtel's office. They said there is about \$30,000 net in Wachtel's office from this ad.

Levison brought up the matter of a person named Mc Cloud (phonetic) from whom the New York Office of the SCLC had received a letter stating that the SCLC had endorsed the sale of a portrait of Martin Luther King as a fund raising method and describing Mc Cloud as the National Fund Raising Director. Rutherford described Mc Cloud as a young man loaned to the SCLC for three months by one Gay Wilmore (phonetic) of the Presbyterian Church and who follows rich white Presbyterian Church members. He added that Mc Cloud was in Atlanta working out of Ralph's (Abernathy's) old office. Levison recommended that the portrait sale be stopped.

Levison also urged that the SCLC membership drive not be delayed. He indicated that after the initial response to King's death, in the way of contributions, is over he does not know where the money is going to come from to support the SCLC. He warned that it could be a dying gasp if the opportunity is not seized to raise membership.,

Ievison was critical of Andrew Young (Executive Vice President of the SCIC) for not having contacted the Field Foundation which, he said, had "earmarked some \$275,000". He said it has been one month since they offered the money and Young has not even called them. He stated that there is no point in going to other foundations until this is done. He then asked how this inaction must make the SCIC look in the foundation field. He said there is no organization in Atlanta taking care of these things and that Young has no business being in Marks, Mississippi if he has not handled the Field Foundation contact. He continued to criticize the SCIC stating that, at the moment, the organization is too flimsy, its biggest pillar (King) is gone, and that there is no organization with its leaders "running all over the place".







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They agreed that Rutherford, Young, Abernathy and Levison must sit down and discuss this problem.

Levison also stated that he believes that if they take a tough approach with the labor unions and ask for a half million dollars they will get it.

Ievison mentioned that he is going to put out a new fund appeal (letter). He said the reason they have done so well is that they have a good list, the list they used being that of the American Civil Liberties Union which he described as a middle-class suburban list. He noted that they (SCIC) have used up about 65% of their best list and the same results cannot be expected.

Levison returned to a criticism of the SCIC stating that they do not have a staff that they just have "gypsies." He said they should be given a job to do and, if they fail, fire them. He said they have neither discipline nor people who take orders and carry them out. He recalled that King realized, before his death, that the SCIC had no staff and was deeply concerned about it. He urged that Abernathy stop making speeches and "start knocking heads together". Rutherford noted that Abernathy is concerned and has given him instructions to organize the SCIC office along military lines. Levison said it should be run along business lines with discipline all the way to the top. He added that as regards the Washington operation (PPC), there has to be a top staff to run it, that there is enough money but no organization.

They agreed that Rutherford would contact Abernathy and Young about the proposed meeting and Levison said he would go to the meeting whenever it is set up.

The source learned on May 5, 1968, that, on that date, Ralph Abernathy and Stanley Levison discussed the PPC with Abernathy expressing his pleasure with the way it has begun. Icvison brought up the matter of a membership drive for the SCIC and asked if the Board (SCIC) had approved this idea. Abernathy said that it had and they agreed that now is the time for the membership drive because they will need support later on.

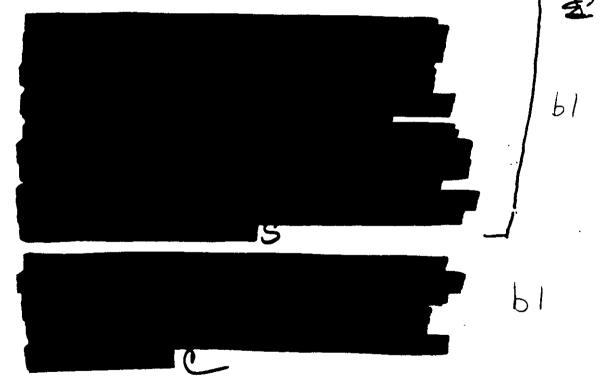




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Abcmathy requested Levison to prepare a 30 minute speech for him on the PPC and its effect upon American society which he is to give before a club made up of middle-class Negroes. Levison agreed and also agreed to prepare a speech for Abernathy to use at Alabama State College commencement, on May 31, 1968.

Later on the same date, according to the source, Bill Rutherford requested Levison's wife to tell Levison that he had talked with Abernathy, Young and Chauneey (Eskridge SCLC representative in Chicago) and that they agreed they should hold a meeting in Atlanta on Wednesday, (May 8).



A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.





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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

 (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * National Lawyers Guild: When the Communist Party itself in under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"





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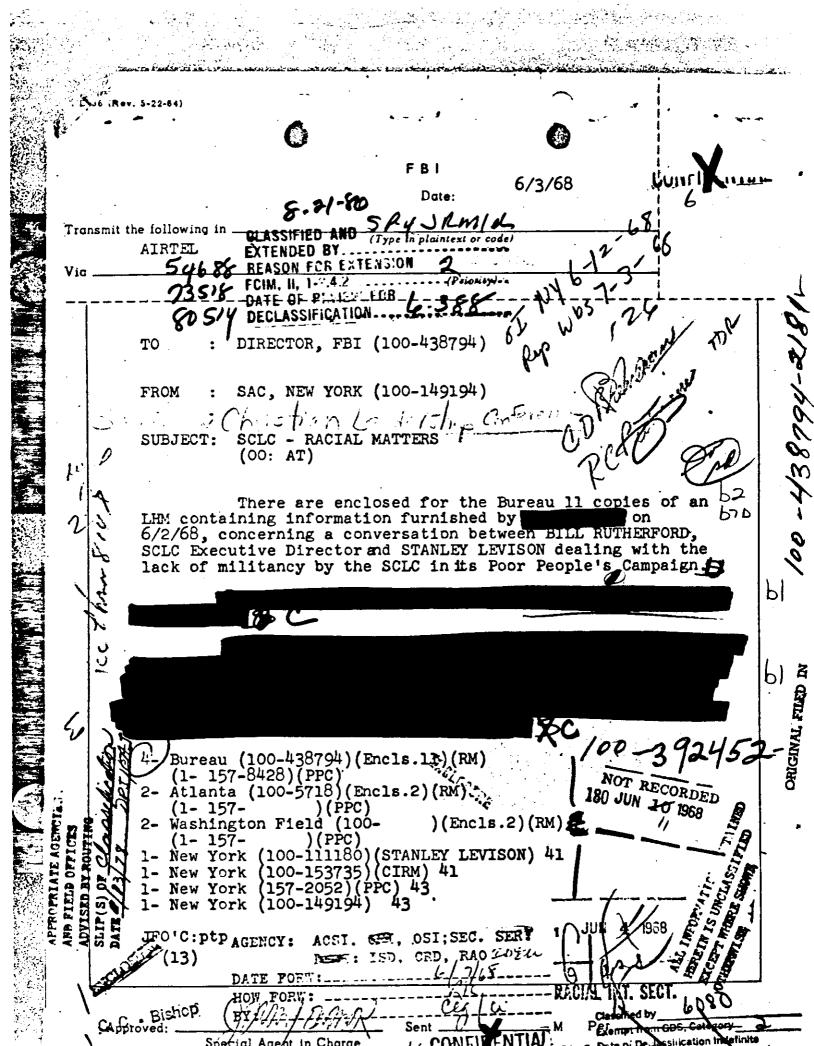
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In Reply, Please Refer to

June 3, 1968

Bufile 100-438794

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on June 2, 1968, that, on that date, Bill Rutherford, Executive Director, SCLC, and Stanley Levison discussed the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) and its lack of militancy. Levison questioned whether the SCLC intends to hold any militant demonstrations and Rutherford explained that they have been spending more time trying to cope with the problems of operating the SCLC's Resurrection City in Washington, D.C. than dealing with actions.

Rutherford stated that, in this connection, they held a couple of stiff sessions the previous week at which Jesse Jackson, SCLC Staff Member and then Head of Resurrection City, was severely attacked by the entire SCLC staff. Rutherford was critical of Jackson for putting himself in the position of leading the action in Washington and for taking actions without consulting with the SCLC leadership. He added that Jackson is not an administrator although he has great appeal and is an attractive speaker. He also said that he was in agreement that they were not in Washington for a picnic and should get on with some action. He said it has been decided to appoint an action committee to formulate some action plans.

Levison agreed with this because the entire operation in Washington could turn into running Resurrection City and holding one mass demonstration on June 19, 1968. He was critical of the choice of June 19 for the mass demonstration in support of the PPC because it is in the middle of the week, when adults

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cannot participate. He described the selection of this date as insane and advocated changing it to a Saturday.

Rutherford explained that the 19th was chosen because the SCLC permit for Resurrection City was to expire on June 16th and calling the mass demonstration in the middle of the week coincides with the closing of schools. He said this would result in increasing student participation.

However, Levison continued to criticize the chôice of June 19th and the way in which the PPC has been handled. He said the PPC began with everything in its favor but that all the credit and faith it had received has been dissipated. He claimed, despite protestations by Rutherford, that the PPC thus far has achieved no victories that mean anything to the public. He said that the purposes for going to Washington have not been carried out because this was supposed to have reached a new level of militancy that has never been reached before by a mass of people, and it has not.

Levison continued that thus far there has not been adequate leadership. He stated that he has the impression that no one wants to go to jail any more, that he sees militant statements by Ralph Abernathy, Head of the SCLC, none of which are carried out. He described this as bombast by a new leader and said Abernathy should be the first one in jail after all the speeches he has made.

Rutherford maintained that the SCLC is the only organization around today with any base of support with the public. He said they have an action committee in Washington, D.C. that has planned several demonstrations for the coming week which will include jail-ins and confrontations that will have to get some kind of response. He said this will make June 19th a success, if anything will. Levison agreed stating that nobody will come without it.

According to the source, Levison and Rutherford also discussed how James Bevel, SCLC Staff Member, stands with respect to Jesse Jackson. Rutherford claimed that Jesse Jackson is Bevel's disciple and mouths many of Bevel's ideas.

The source also learned that Levison plans to attend an SCLC meeting in Washington, D.C. on June 4, 1968, which Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King Jr., will attend.





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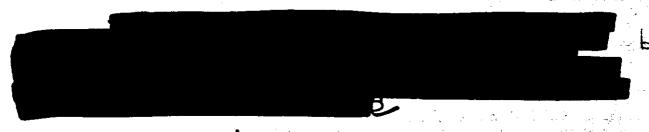
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The NYO indices contain no information concerning a JESSE EPPS or a JERRY WORTH, who are apparently union officials and who are mentioned in this report.





TED STATES DEPARTMENT OR JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New York, New York June 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bufile (100-438794)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable ! information in the past, learned on June 3, 1968, that on that date, Stanley Levison and Harry Belafonte discussed Bayard Rustin's statement crystalizing the demands on Congress and the Administration of the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) issued by Rustin on June 2, 1968, as a "Call to Americans of Good Will", which is a call for support of the Solidarity Day march of the campaign, June 19, 1968. Levison was critical of Rustin's program describing it as less than what the President's Commission on Civil Disorders recommended. Levison, according to the source, claimed that Rustin has eliminated civil disobedience and a guaranteed income from the program originally presented and that it could be said that Rustin has swept away Martin Luther King's program. He said Rustin has brushed aside Ralph Abernathy, SCLC President, with Abernathy's consent.

Belafonte stated that he is going to take a firmer position, may have to tell Abernathy he cannot support him and may resign from the SCLC Board. Levison said he is going to tell Abernathy that he is changing his relationship to a more distant one.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The source advised that later on the same date, Levison expressed to Abernathy his displeasure of the change of program of the PPC announced by Rustin in his statement of demands that appeared in "The New York Times" of June 3, 1968. Abernathy claimed that he had not read this statement, that this must be what Rustin had sent him a telegram on, in which he said he had to go to press. Abernathy added that he thought Rustin was supposed to clear this with Andrew Young, Executive Vice President of the SCLC.

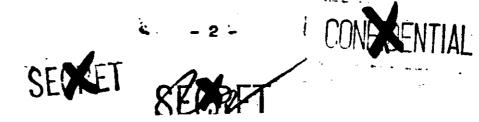
The source pointed out that Levison castigated Abernathy, stating that this is no way to run an organization and that the demands presented by Rustin are less than President Johnson's commission requested. Levison said he does not know why someone had not raised the question, if Abernathy could not organize the June 19 march himself, why have it at all. He stated it was not necessary and asked why Abernathy had to call on Rustin, who has his own axe to grind, to do something that is unnecessary. He said that what is necessary is for the people who came to Washington, D.C. for the PPC to start acting and moving.

Abernathy maintained that the program is not going to be changed and that they may have to have an open clash.

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Levison stated that if there is an open clash and the original demands are adhered to, Abernathy cannot hold anything on June 19. He reiterated that the 19th was not vital, and said that it is what the people in Washington for the PPC were going to do, not what the white middle class going to Washington for the 19th might do, that is important.

Abernathy mentioned that the SCLC is going to have action and blamed set-backs it has suffered, where organization has been concerned, for lack of action. He added that he is upset over the demands presented by Rustin in his statement which he claimed to know nothing about.





Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

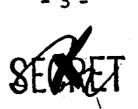
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Levison stated that Rustin deleted the part about opposition to the war and watered down the demand on jobs. He felt that it is a question of integrity. He advised Abernathy that people are questioning why, if Rustin was brought in to conduct the June 19 march, he is now head of everything and is issuing the program. He claimed that this has thrown things into confusion and said that no one asked his opinion which should have been done. He noted that he had worked closely with Rustin before, was involved in the PPC, but was never asked to a meeting. He stated that it is incredible to him that Rustin was brought in .

Abernathy blaimed Andrew Young for Rustin having been brought in to lead the June 19 mass march to Washington and claimed that Young did it in his absence. He agreed that Levison should have been consulted from the beginning and said it was understood that he, Abernathy, would make all policy statements. He asked what Levison would recommend, and said that he knows that things are in a mess and hoped Levison would not abandon it. He asked Levison for counsel.

Levison felt he should not recommend anything at this point because he has no confidence that saying anything means anything. He said he did not feel he could give Abernathy counsel under the circumstances that exist. He added that there is no organization and that he cannot operate under these conditions because where there is no organization nothing can be done. He suggested that Abernathy call in other SCLC officials such as Joe Lowery and Ben Hooks to see what can be done.

Abernathy noted that a meeting of the Administrative Committee had been called for Friday, June 7, 1968, and wanted Levison to attend. Levison stated he would have to consider it because he does not want to take responsibility for something he feels cannot be done or to suggest solutions when he does not know what happened or what went wrong





Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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Subsequently, the source ascertained that Levison advised Harry Wachtel that he had spoken to Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, and told her that the SCLC has forgotten what the people who went to Washington for the PPC went for. He said he told her that she does not have the capacity to solve the problems, that he does not believe she should go into the leadership but if she does he will not go with her. Levison mentioned that there is a complete lack of integrity, that if they are not shaken up now nothing but evil will happen. He noted that Andrew Young does not want leadership preferring to be in the second level of leadership but that Coretta King wants the top leadership. He added that both Abernathy and Coretta King are inadequate.

The source also advised that Levison and Wachtel discussed an SCLC meeting to be held in Washington, D.C. and they agreed to meet at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., on the evening of June 4, 1968.

The source learned on June 4, 1968, that on that date, Levison and Andrew Young discussed the SCLC meeting to be held in Washington, D.C. Levison mentioned that the meeting time had been changed because Coretta King was going to a union convention in Miami. He was critical of Coretta accepting this invitation because he had advised against it.

According to Young, a Jesse Epps, who is unknown to the source, told him that six or seven international presidents were going to Washington for the meeting the night of June 4, 1968, and wanted to talk to Abernathy about organizing; also that one Jerry Worth, whom the source could not identify, is trying to put together a group of unions that would make a commitment which would produce between a quarter of a million and a half million dollars annually for the SCLC.

Levison felt that if this is true then everybody should attend the meeting and not be concerned with Miami.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Young explained that he felt Abernathy should attend but was not anxious to have Coretta King in on the negotiations with the international presidents. He said that he had suggested Wednesday, June 5, as a better day for the meeting. Young also mentioned that Epps said that with respect to the SCLC going into a membership campaign that they want to try to guarantee that a good percentrage of their membership would become SCLC members and that they are willing to push a membership drive but want Abernathy to be present.

Levison said he saw no objection for not going along with the meeting or going along with Epps SCLC membership proposal

Young brought up the matter of Bayard Rustin's statement and said that Rustin wanted him to approve it. Young stated that he would not approve it wouthout a group analyzing it. He said he did not know why Rustin issued it.

Levison attacked Rustin's statement stating he has never seen anything as insulting. He said that the PPC effort in Washington is being sabotaged by the SCLC people in Washington, including Young, by actions such as bringing Rustin in to run the June 19 march. He told Young the SCLC was playing house with Resurrection City, that it had been said at the outset that not much of a city would be needed because once the action began and people went to jail they would be fed there. He said there has not been any campaign and for Rustin to come in as he has, compounds all the confusion about leadership

Levison brought up the fact that Coretta King wants to be on the SCLC Administrative Committee. He said he told her that the problems are too deep for her to think she can solve them, that she had underestimated the gravity of the problems and overestimated herself. He noted that Coretta is not sure whether she can work on the book she had planned for July because she felt she had to be in Resurrection City and that she has been told she has a duty to the movement. He said he told her that the book represents financial security and warned her against people trying to use her. Levison added that he



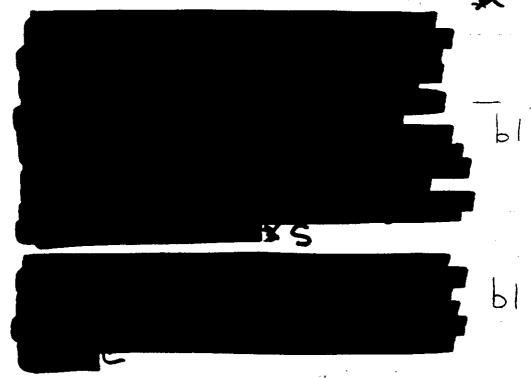
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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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believes that Coretta's conceit is such that she could not be afraid of doing the book. He said she resents the fact that they have set up a situation in which she can be financially independent but has to put out effort for it. He said she resents the money coming into the SCLC and thinks the movement owes her a living.

Levison and Young agreed to meet at the Pitt Motel in Washington, D.C. on the afternoon of June 4, 1968.



A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

- 6 -

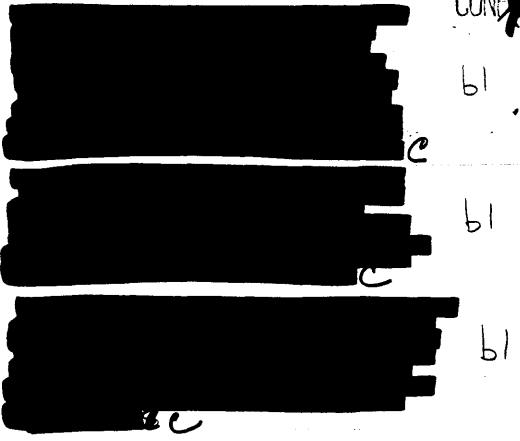
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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)





The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCI)

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA, held in New York City, on February 9-11, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.



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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
 (Special Committee on Un-American
 Activities, House Report 1311 on the
 CIO Political Action Committee,
 March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

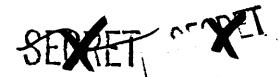
 (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself.

 Among these organizations are the * *. National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"



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for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"







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Stanly David Leves.

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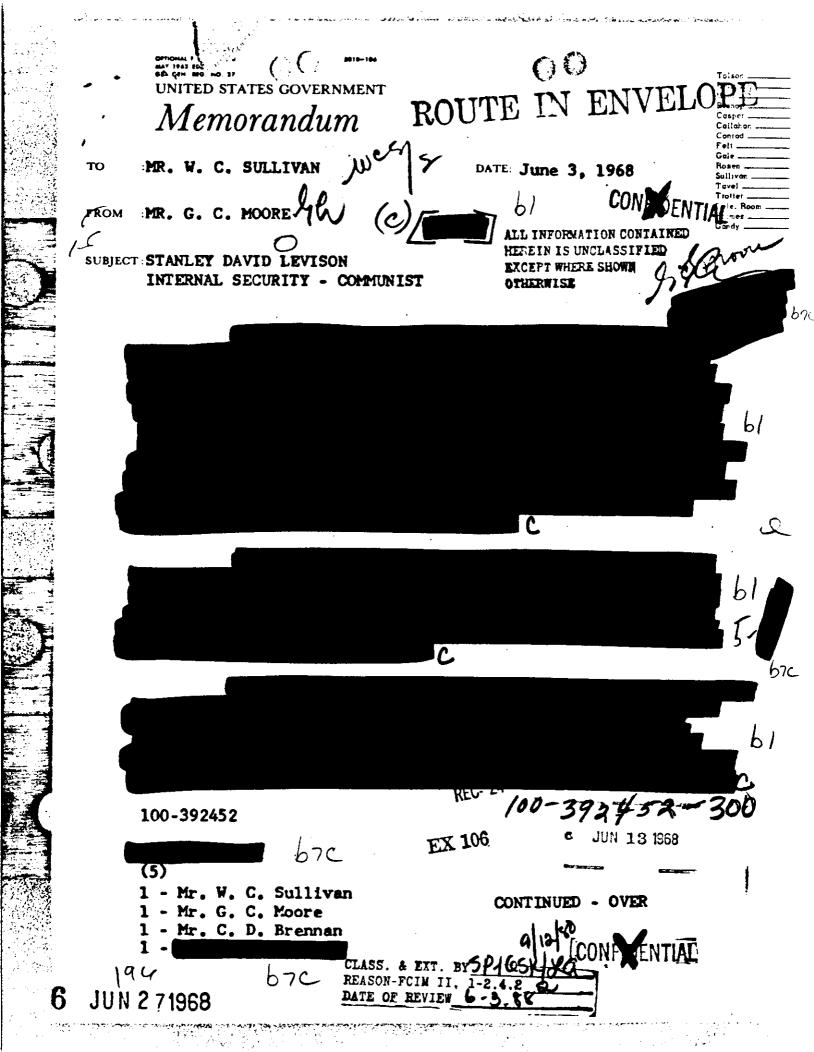
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Date: 5/28/68 Transmit the following in . (Type in plaintext or code) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT (Priority) WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE T S Amore TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452) JUNE FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180) STANLEY DAVID LEVISON SUBJECT: IS-C (OO:NY) In connection with continuing coverage by 670 was reinstituted on the same date. 6/ Full security is assured. 3-Bureau (100-392452) (RM) 1-New York (100-111180) REC 24 100-392 452-2991 **EX 106** bac

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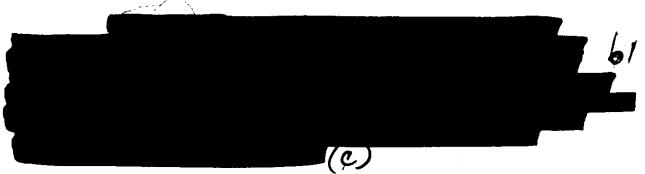
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Memoriaum to Fr. W. C. Sullivan RE: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON 100-392452



New York City, was not approved by the AG. The misur was installed on March 16, 1962, (serial 146) and was discontinued on August 16, 1962, (serial 169).

New York City, was approved by the AG on March 12, 1962, 67b (serial 141) with no subsequent approvals. The tesur was installed on March 20, 1962, (serial 147) and discontinued on July 25, 1964, (serial 236).

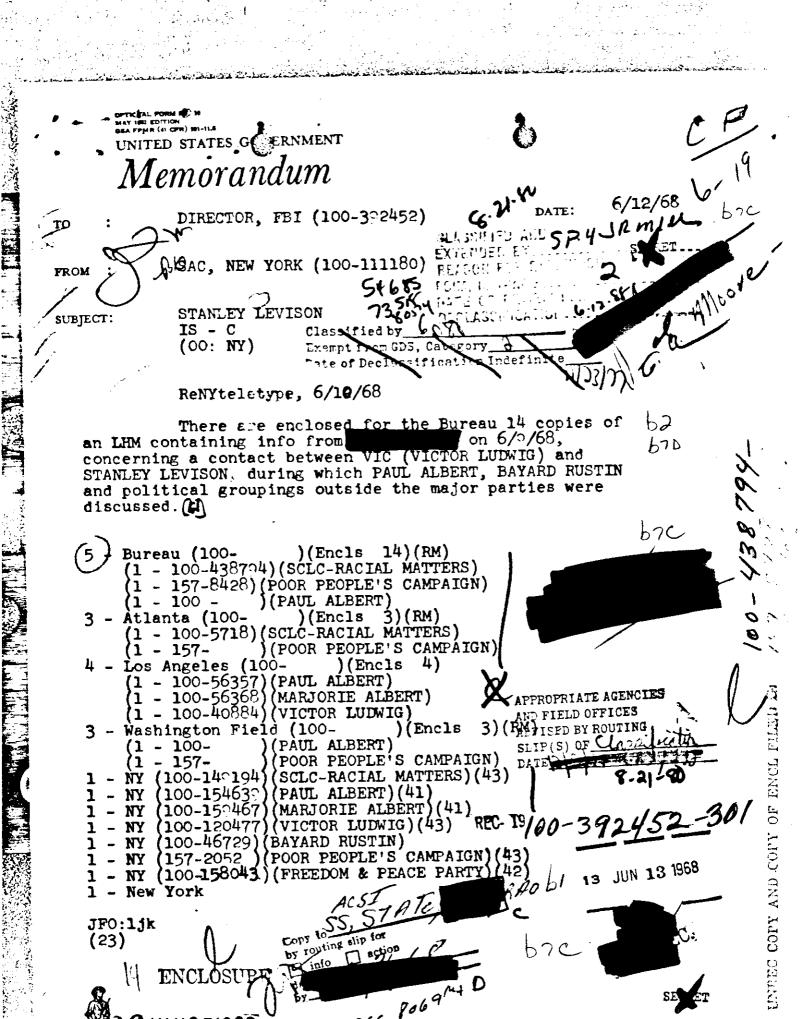


a tesur on subject's residence in

New York City, was approved by the AG on May 25, 1965,
(serial 248) with subsequent approvals on January 27, 1966,
(serial 265); July 15, 1966, (serial 272); December 29, 1966,
copy filed under 278); April 1, 1967, (no copy in 100-392452);
June 27, 1967, (66-8160-2921); September 22, 1967, (66-8160-2943); December 29, 1967, (66-8160-2955); and April 11, 1968,
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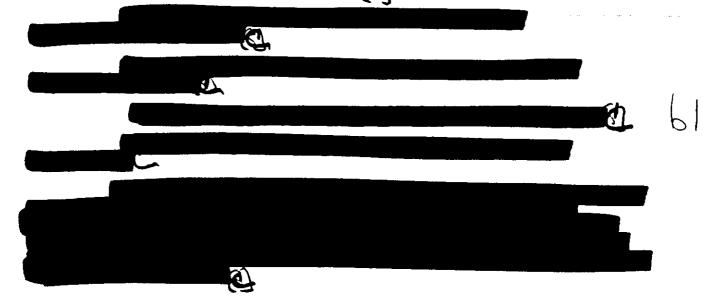
None. For file.





NY 100-111180

For the info of LA, in the conversation between VIC (LUDWIG) and STANLEY LEVISON, LEVISON mentioned the Freedom and Peace Party in NY. In obvious reference to the Peace and Freedom Party in California, VIC stated that "here it's a kooky outfit." He said also that he thinks the two top guys in it are CIA agents. He then named PAUL JACOBS (ph) whom he said is running for State Senator and MIKE HANNON (ph) whom he described as a former policeman running for District Attorney(1)





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF RISTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York June , 1968

Bufile 100-352452

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Stanley Levison Internal Security - C CLASSIFIED AND S PYJRMIA EXTENDED BY. SPANNING PREASON FOR EXTENSION 2 FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW FOR 6.12-88 DECLASSIFICATION.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on June 9, 1968, that on that date a Vic, whom the source believed was Victor Ludwig of Los Angeles, a former associate of Stanley Levison, told Stanley Levison that a friend and his wife, Paul and Marge Albert were leaving town (Los Angeles) to go to New York. According to the source, Ludwig described Albert as being with a Congressional Advisory Committee for "dove" Congressmen and Senators, as having a close relationship with a half dozen Senators, and as being very close to (Wayne) Morse and (Ernest) Gruenning. He also described Albert as being creative, as having no mass base, and as being undependable at times because he occassionally does not follow through on commitments.

Ludwig described Marge Albert as probably the best person they have for writing fund raising letters and as a terrific organizer. He said he was going to give Levison's name to Albert and tell him to contact Levison when he gets to New York. Ludwig estimated this would be within a couple of weeks.

Exempt from 6DS, Category 2

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Stanley Levison

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Levison told Ludwig that he wants very much to meet Albert and then brought up the subject of the Poor People's Campaign (PPO) sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (CCLC). Alvison noted that there are a lot of difficulties said the PPC and that it was an error to have tried to use Bayard Rustin as the coordinator of the PPC's solidarity day, June 19, 1968. He said that Rustin tried to use this and, in trying to stop him, the whole thing blew up.

Levison alluded to Rustin having changed and said it was a process that extended over several years. He noted that he always, had reservations about Rustin but that no one could expect a person to change so completely. He related that the situation changed and that Rustin was always a person to move quickly. He said Rustin moved in and became the representative for all the trade union hierarchy, the Jewish organization leaders and the persons who were looking for a Negro like Rustin. Levison commented, that with the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., he believes Rustin felt he could emerge as the top man and that Rustin's taking over as coordinator of the solidarity day march was a bid for it. Levison stated that it was turned back but was injurious to the PPC which was faltering under the weaknesses of the leadership of Ralph Abernathy, SCLC President.

Levison noted that the SCLC is going through what had to be expected, which is whether the SCLC can survive without Martin Luther King, Jr. He continued that, now, everyone realizes not only how important King was but also that he was a good organizer and could keep the SCLC staff moving, which neither Abernathy not Andrew Young, SCLC Executive Vice President, is able to do.

Ludwig brought up the matter of politics and said he, personally, was just about finished working within any fringe of the Democratic Party. He explained that he would work for an occasional candidate and that new coalitions have to develop between new groupings.

Levison noted that there is nothing inNew York to fit this description because the only things outside the Democratic Party are so isolated that they are not a principal political force.

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Stanley Levison

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Ludwig commented that he was referring to the fact that the minority community is totally disaffected from the Establishment. He mentioned the Brown Berets, which he described as Mexican -Ame. cans who are starting to develop a militant wing. He said that about a dozen of these Brown Berets had been charged with a misdemeanor that was raised to a conspiracy charge making it a felony resulting in bail of \$12,000.00 for each one. He claimed that they were able to get the bail reduced to \$250.00 in some cases and nothing in others. Ludwig was of the opinion that the basis of a real coalition is developing between them and the Browns and blacks. He continued that these people (the Brown Berets) are not going to work within the Democratic Party but want new circles of activity.

Levison related that the difficulty in New York is that these elements are difficult to work with. He said they are not really politically oriented and that the only group in New York of Ludwig's description is the Freedom and Peace Party.

Ludwig spoke unfavorably of a similar organization in California and claimed that the two top men in the organization there are violent red-baiters.

Levison felt the Freedom and Peace Party in New York was much better and, as to its leadership, said that it was the opposite to California. He noted that one of the principal leaders was the campaign manager for (Herbert) Aptheker.

Ludwig felt that eventually they would have to discuss this matter on a national basis. He suggested an exchange of opinions with the Alberts and Levison agreed. Levison said he would get an account from them and would give them an account of what was happening in New York.

Stanley Levison



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