THIS FILE IS MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE DECLASSIFICATION EFFORTS AND RESEARCH OF:

THE BLACK VAULT

THE BLACK VAULT IS THE LARGEST ONLINE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT / GOVERNMENT RECORD CLEARING HOUSE IN THE WORLD. THE RESEARCH EFFORTS HERE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECLASSIFICATION OF THOUSANDS OF DOCUMENTS THROUGHOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, AND ALL CAN BE DOWNLOADED BY VISITING:

HTTP://WWW.BLACKVAULT.COM

YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO FORWARD THIS DOCUMENT TO YOUR FRIENDS, BUT PLEASE KEEP THIS IDENTIFYING IMAGE AT THE TOP OF THE .PDF SO OTHERS CAN DOWNLOAD MORE!
In his July 7, 1961, memorandum, Mr. Evans states that he contacted the Attorney General that day "relative to his (Mr. Kennedy's) observation as to the possibility of utilizing 'electronic devices' in organized crime investigations." Mr. Evans' memorandum reports that the then Attorney General Kennedy "was pleased we had been using microphone surveillances... in organized crime matters."

Enclosures (3)
United States

Memorandum

TO: Mr. Belmont

FROM: C. A. Evans

DATE: July 7, 1961

SUBJECT: --ORGANIZED CRIME AND RACKETEERING SECTION OF THE DEPARTMENT

In line with the Director's approval, the Attorney General was contacted this morning, July 7, 1961, relative to his observation as to the possibility of utilizing "electronic devices" in organized crime investigations.

It was pointed out to the Attorney General that we had taken action with regard to the use of microphone surveillances in these cases and while they represented an expensive investigative step, we were nevertheless utilizing them in all instances where this was technically feasible and where valuable information might be expected. The strong objections to the utilization of telephone taps as contrasted to microphone surveillances was stressed. The Attorney General stated he recognized the reasons why telephone taps should be restricted to national-defense-type cases and he was pleased we had been using microphone surveillances where these objections do not apply wherever possible in organized crime matters.

The Attorney General noted that he had approved several technical surveillances in connection with security-type investigations since he took office, but that he had not kept any record and didn't really know what he had approved and what surveillances were currently in operation. He said that for his own information he would like to see a list of the technical surveillances now in operation. He added that this could be brought over to him personally and that he would look it over and immediately return it because he realized the importance of having these records maintained under the special security conditions which only the FBI had.

If the Director approves, we will have the list of technical surveillances prepared, delivered personally to the Attorney General and then returned to the Bureau's file.

11-5-1387 1893

ENCLOSURE

CAE:Ids

ENCLOSURE
The Attorney General was contacted on the morning of August 17, 1961, with reference to the situation in New York City concerning the obtaining of leased lines from the telephone company for use in connection with microphone surveillances. This matter was discussed with the Attorney General and he was shown a specimen copy of the proposed letter which would be used. The Attorney General approved the proposed procedure in this regard and personally signed the attached memorandum evidencing such approval.
In connection with the use of microphone surveillances it is frequently necessary to lease a special telephone line in order to monitor such a surveillance. These situations occur when it is impossible to locate a secure monitoring point in the immediate vicinity of the premises covered by the microphone. Even though a special telephone line is utilized, this activity in no way involves any interception of telephonic communications and is not a telephone tap.

In the New York City area the telephone company has over the years insisted that a letter be furnished to the telephone company on each occasion when a special telephone line is leased by the FBI. It is required that such a lease arrangement be with the approval of the Attorney General. In the past we have restricted the utilization of leased lines in New York City to situations involving telephone taps, all of which have been approved by the Attorney General.

We have not previously used leased lines in connection with microphone surveillances because of certain technical difficulties which existed in New York City. These technical difficulties have, however, now been overcome. If we are permitted to use leased telephone lines as an adjunct to our microphone surveillances, this type of coverage can be materially extended both in security and major criminal cases. Accordingly, your approval of our utilizing this leased line arrangement is requested. A sample of the letter which it is proposed will be sent to the telephone company if a leased line is secured in connection with microphone surveillances is attached.

Approved: [Signature]

Date: 7/7/57-1893

Enclosure
The Acting Attorney General

December 23, 1966

Director, FBI

ELECTRONIC LISTENING DEVICES

Robert Kennedy

In view of your interest in the controversy over electronic listening devices, I am enclosing five items which have appeared in the press concerning this matter.

Enclosures (5)

1. The Deputy Attorney - Enclosures (5)
2. Mr. Wick - Enclosures (5)
3. Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (5)

Enclosures

"Bobby's Credibility Gap," The Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 12-22-66
"RFK and JEH," Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas, 12-17-66
"Bugging Furor Bad Business," The Sacramento Union, Sacramento, California, 12-18-66
"Which Do You Believe?" Chattanooga News - Free Press, Chattanooga, Tennessee, 12-20-66

GEM:kcf (10)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 15, 1966

(A) WIRETAPS AND MICROPHONES -- Reference is made to SAC Letter 66-76, pointing out that considerable information, much of it grossly inaccurate, has been published or otherwise disseminated in recent weeks regarding the FBI's use of wiretaps, microphones and other electronic listening devices.

On December 5, 1966, Congressman H. R. Gross of Iowa wrote me concerning our use of these devices. A copy of Congressman Gross' letter is enclosed.

Enclosed also is a copy of my December 7, 1966, reply to Congressman Gross. It includes copies of a communication dated August 17, 1961, bearing the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's signature and a letter dated May 25, 1961, from Herbert J. Miller, Jr., to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

On December 10, 1966--after Congressman Gross had made my letter to him and its two enclosures available to the press--Senator Robert F. Kennedy issued a statement claiming that "apparently" I had been "misinformed."

On the afternoon of December 11, 1966, the Bureau issued a press release pointing out that during Robert F. Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General in 1961-64, the FBI's use of microphone and wiretap surveillances was known to and approved by him. A copy of the December 11, 1966, press release is enclosed, together with the three documents which were released to the press as enclosures to it. These three documents are memoranda from former Assistant Director C. A. Evans to former Assistant to the Director A. H. Belmont dated July 7, 1961, and August 17, 1961, and a copy of the previously mentioned communication dated August 17, 1961, signed by Robert F. Kennedy.

You should feel free to make copies of the enclosed documents for the use and assistance of reliable news contacts of your office who may express an interest in preparing special articles or editorials reflecting the true facts concerning Robert Kennedy's knowledge and approval of FBI microphone and wiretap surveillances in 1961-64. Copies of all such articles and editorials should promptly be furnished to the Crime Records Division.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures
December 20, 1936

BY LIASON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

I am enclosing an excerpt of remarks made by Fulton Lewis III over the Mutual Broadcasting System on December 12, 1936. Since his comments relate to electronic listening devices, you may desire to bring them to the attention of the President.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Wick (Sent with memo to Acting AG of same date)
1 - Mr. DeLoach (Sent with memo to Acting AG of same date)
1 - Mr. Cale (Sent with memo to Acting AG of same date)
1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with memo to Acting AG of same date)

NOTE: Bullet of 12-14-36 thanked Mr. Lewis for his broadcast.

GEM:mel (6).

55 JAN 5 1937
MAIL ROOM TELETYP E UNIT
EXCERPT FROM BROADCAST OF
FULTON LEWIS III
MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM
DECEMBER 12, 1966

The newly-erupted feud between F.B.I. Director
J. Edgar Hoover and New York Democrat Senator Bobby Kennedy
continued on today--Kennedy denying once again that he had authorized
an increase in wiretapping procedures during his service as Attorney
General between 1961 and 1964.

Such eavesdropping techniques have become detrimental
factors in the Government's prosecution of several notable cases--
primarily the Bobby Baker case--and Director Hoover has made it
clear that he--and his Bureau were just following orders in using wire-
taps to gather evidence...and those orders came directly from the
boss--in this instance, Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

On Saturday, the F.B.I. Chief produced a memo to this
effect, signed by Kennedy, which seems to be pretty irrefutable. In
addition, of course, we have a contest in prestige and credibility between
J. Edgar Hoover and Bobby Kennedy--Hoover who has achieved a
reputation of undisputable honesty and integrity during his 42 years as
Director of the F.B.I....and Bobby Kennedy who is--to say the least--
a little less trustworthy. It was Kennedy, remember, who gave us his
personal assurance that there had been no air or sea support planned for
the Bay of Pigs invasion in April of 1961. Later, I learned he had been mistaken. It was Kennedy who personally visited Indonesian President Sukarno to work out a settlement of Sukarno's aggression against West New Guinea—a settlement, Kennedy promised, which would not involve appeasement. And yet months later, the truth was made known: Bobby Kennedy, acting in behalf of the Administration, had actually promised the previously Dutch-controlled territory of West New Guinea...lock, stock and barrel...to Sukarno—and by May, 1963—the transfer, handled by the United Nations—was complete...and today, thanks to Robert Kennedy, West New Guinea is an Indonesian possession.

The handsome and articulate Robert Kennedy has gained the reputation of being a walking, living "credibility gap"—and in his current dispute with J. Edgar Hoover....based on integrity alone he finishes a poor second. Considering the evidence presented by the F.B.I. Director, Kennedy finishes an even poorer second.
Memorandum

TO
MR. TOLSON

FROM
C. D. DE LOACH

DATE: 12/13/66

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Jones

SUBJECT:
THE HEARST CORPORATION
CALL RE ROBERT F. KENNEDY

The Hearst Corporation called from New York 12/13/66. He stated he had carefully surveyed the present controversy between the Director and Kennedy in New York and that he strongly felt that a tide of repercussion on the part of the American public was running against Kennedy. He advised that Kennedy was losing popularity every day.

He told me he doubted that even the personnel of the [redacted] and that the Director had throughout the United States. He stated that Kennedy as usual was proving himself to be a Boston, gutter-type politician whose points of argument were indeed very weak.

He told me he was at a dinner party last night which consisted of 10 prominent people. He stated the President of a large chemical concern had indicated, "Kennedy has finally been knocked off by one of the best men in the country." He said all people at the dinner party felt Kennedy had proved himself to be a "jackass." Clements told me that New Yorkers were certainly getting tired of Kennedy.

I thanked [redacted] for his remarks and told him that the Director would be advised.

ACTION: For record purposes.
Memorandum

TO: MR. TOLSON
FROM: C. D. DE LOACH

DATE: 12/13/66

SUBJECT: ROBERT F. KENNEDY
DENIAL OF KNOWLEDGE REGARDING
USAGE OF MICROPHONES BY THE FBI;
CALL FROM COMMISSIONER SHELDON COHEN,
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE, 12/13/66

Sheldon Cohen, Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service (IRS),
called me at 6:15 p.m., 12/13/66. He stated he wanted to tell me that he was
completely sympathetic with the FBI’s position in the feud with Bobby Kennedy.
Cohen stated he hoped that we won the battle and frankly he felt we were far
ahead at this stage of the game.

Cohen advised that he almost did the same thing a year ago that
Mr. Hoover has now done, i.e., to blast Bobby Kennedy because of his lying.
He said that the only thing that held him back was the fact that he was not
Commissioner of IRS at the time Kennedy was Attorney General. He said also
that he does not have access to the considerable proof that Mr. Hoover has
against Kennedy.

Cohen told me that the Kennedy statements were "unconscionable." He stated that the American public obviously will realize that Kennedy is lying.

I told Cohen that I certainly appreciated his calling, however, I
had often wondered in my own mind why IRS had not come out and told the truth
about Kennedy pushing them into the usage of microphones. He stated for the
reasons previously mentioned he could not afford to do this. He also told me
that Kaplan, his predecessor, had left IRS administrative affairs in pretty much a
shambles. He stated that Kaplan had claimed to him that he honestly did
not know what field offices in the IRS were utilizing electronic devices. Cohen
stated that Kaplan was a great friend of Kennedy's and would no doubt defend
Kennedy if called upon.

I received the distinct impression while talking with Cohen that
undoubtedly he had received a call from the White House with instructions to get
in touch with us and offer any possible suggestions for assistance. He, of course,
did not reveal this fact.

ACTION: For record purposes

57 JAN 5 1967

57 JAN 4 1967
Memorandum

Mr. Wick

DATE: 12-13-66

M. A. Jones

FROM:

SUBJECT: WIRETAPS AND MICROPHONES--ROBERT F. KENNEDY; PROPOSED SAC LETTER

Attached is a proposed SAC Letter transmitting to the field (1) a copy of the December 5, 1966, letter from Congressman H. R. Gross to the Director, (2) a copy of the Director's December 7, 1966, reply to Congressman Gross, including the two enclosures to that letter, and (3) a copy of the Bureau's December 11, 1966, press release, including the three enclosures to that press release.

It is felt these items should be sent to all field offices not only for information purposes, but to enable each SAC to make copies of them for the use of reliable news contacts in preparing local articles and editorials accurately reflecting Robert F. Kennedy's knowledge and approval of the FBI's use of wiretaps and microphones.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached SAC Letter be sent.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Casper

GWG:jem (9)
December 23, 1966

Miss Jill Goldstein
Associate Editor
Esquire
466 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Goldstein:

Your letter of December 19th was received during
Mr. Hoover's absence. As he is in a travel status, it will not be
possible for him to comply with your request.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Cady
Secretary

New York - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Wick - Enclosure (sent with cover memo)
1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosure (sent with cover memo)
1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosure (sent with cover memo)

NOTE: Buffles contain no record of correspondent; however, we
have maintained cordial relations with various officials of Esquire,
Inc. See D. C. Morrell to Mr. Wick memorandum captioned,
Note continued next page.
Miss Jill Goldstein

December 19, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

One of the most firmly established traditions of our society is the debate, the open dispute of individuals of opposing political, theological and artistic persuasions. Much of our heritage and culture is based on the free expression of controversy. And it would seem that for each person with an important, recognized point of view there is an equally active opponent. Rarely do these antagonists meet face-to-face.

It is our hope to bring together representatives of divergent opinions in a new, monthly photographic feature. Each month we would present a photograph of two individuals who hold opposing beliefs on a specific issue. The photographs would be presented within the context of a neutral forum, that is without editorial comment by us.

We would very much like to include a photograph of you with Senator Robert Kennedy, and hope that you would be available sometime in the near future for a brief photographic session. Naturally, we would have our photographer available at a time that would be convenient for you.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest opportunity.

Yours sincerely,

Jill Goldstein
Associate Editor

Exp. Proc.
Dec 20 1966

[Scanned image with handwritten notes]
Memorandum

TO: MR. TOLSON
FROM: J. P. MOHR
DATE: 12/13/66
SUBJECT: ROBERT F. KENNEDY
FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL
MICROPHONE INSTALLATIONS

Ed Morgan, former Inspector, called me this morning and said he wanted to pass along a little information which he thought might be helpful to the Bureau in connection with the present controversy with Robert F. Kennedy, former Attorney General, concerning his knowledge about such installations throughout the field by the FBI. Morgan said he just returned from a West Coast trip where he was representing a group of individuals in connection with a television station. He said one of the individuals involved was Bill Simon, former SAC at Los Angeles. He stated that Simon was taking him, Morgan, for a ride around Los Angeles and during the ride Simon mentioned in his conversation the "extreme personal interest Kennedy would take in connection with FBI investigative activities and would go into all techniques whenever he visited a field office." He went on to relate that Simon also stated that when Kennedy visited Los Angeles he went into considerable detail about various investigative techniques and was fully briefed concerning them.

Morgan said the conversation with Simon preceded the current newspaper publicity about the use of microphones by the FBI and Kennedy's knowledge concerning such techniques. Morgan said he was aware that the publicity indicated Kennedy visited New York and Chicago but that we might want to check Los Angeles and possibly other places where Kennedy visited. I expressed appreciation to Morgan for his calling and made no further comment.

The foregoing is submitted for record purposes.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Wick

JPM:ers (5)

EX-104
REG-68
1967
Kennedy's Arithmetic
by Jimmy Breslin

Old men. Old men sitting on the pear gray limousine seats, bending forward when the door is opened. Bending forward and then stopping when the bottom of the stomach bunches up against the thighs. Old men embarrassed because their bodies won't move. Old men getting red in the face, grunting, reaching for the felt strap by the window and hoisting themselves up. Bent over, stiff-legged, yesterday's whiskey in their faces, coughing phlegm into their fists from the effort of breathing and getting out of a car, they come onto the sidewalk, straighten up and walk into a building from which they control a world that is running out from under them.

And the young old men. White scalp showing at the temples from their short haircuts. Crowded in the open aisle around the little bar in the barren refreshment car of the 5:29 to Huntington. Crowded together and drinking beer out of big wax cups or martinis out of small wax cups. Drinking and smoking cigarettes and the heat of the crowded railroad car making them sweat. They look at the young office girls and make noises like a Siamese cat and say their favorite one-line attempts at humor. The lines are all from television comedies and one of them says, "Would you believe?" and, one after another, they say the same thing with their own endings to the "Would you believe?" They look into their drinks in wax cups. They look at the young girls closely and they try to impress them. There is more to it than sex. Every day, they are losing the world of the young girls and they try to hold onto it with their eyes and their one-line jokes and every day they are losing. Every day that they go home and eat and fall asleep in front of the television and then get up in the morning and go to work on jobs they don't like. Every day that they spend going to a golf course as if it were a church, and polishing a car, and then going to a house party and talking about the same things that they talked of last week. The young old men together and drinking in one part of the room and remembering for casual and the right field wall at Ebbets Field. All the women, their bodies coming apart from having too many children, talking with the first old-lady-stories of operations coming into the conversation. Young old men. Poor bastards who lost 20 years watching television; living on an old timetable which says they should inherit from the old men. But there is nothing left to inherit because everything is changing.

By 1968, the voting population of this country will consist 35 per cent of people 26 and under. In 1972, this country will have 30 per cent of its voters at age 26.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Washington Evening Star
New York Daily News
New York Post
New York Times
New York World

Journal Tribune
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

Date
in the semi-circle. His wife, in a blue feathred hat and a black cloth coat with a fur collar, stood at one end of the semi-circle. Somebody at the microphone said: "I'm going to ask Senator Kennedy, who recommended him along with other congressmen, to say something."

Kennedy stepped up to the lectern and unfolded the sheet of paper. He spoke in a voice that has very little modulation. His hands, red from the cold afternoon, had the hint of nerves in them: "This indication of interest and recognition of ability and talents that Colonel Viola has, was he saying, "... contribution to his country in two wars... we're grateful to the colonel."

Kennedy stepped back and Viola came up to accept the postmaster's job in the Bronx. Viola made a speech. Kennedy moved to the edge of the semi-circle. Mrs. Viola was pushed out into the crowd. Kennedy took her elbow and guided her back and then stepped out to make room for her. She listened to her husband proudly.

It was a very nice ceremony. It was the politics and government jobs and service and parcelling out of power which has always gone on in New York. The ones involved stood in a semi-circle and they were all old men. It was not Robert Kennedy's world.

Outside, Kennedy got into the front seat of a white four-door Lincoln convertible. He sat sideways. Bill Barry, a wide-shouldered guy in his late 30s, was driving. Barry was an FBI agent who always was assigned to Robert Kennedy when Kennedy was the attorney general. When Kennedy left the job, J. Edgar Hoover, in an expression of his deep feelings for Kennedy, had Barry transferred to Alabama. Barry left the bureau and now is in charge of security for a bank in Manhattan.

Carl Graves, who works in Kennedy's official office in New York, sat in the back. A photographer was next to him. There always is a photographer from someplace sitting in the back of a car Kennedy is in.

Graves took a sheet of paper out of his inside pocket. "SENIOR KENNEDY'S SCHEDULE," the electric typewriting said. Under it was a list of times and places. Graves studied it.

"Lunch, Senator?" he asked.

"I'd like a milkshakes," Kennedy said. "Can we find a Schrafft's?"

"It's too late now," Barry said. "We're right in the rush hour. Five o'clock already. We're going to have trouble making the next stop as it is."

"Where is the stop?" Kennedy asked.

"Manhattan and Nassau in Brooklyn," Graves said.

"You won't find a Schrafft's there," Barry said.

"Why Schrafft's?" the photographer said.

"I don't know. I like ice cream," Kennedy said.

His fingers began to drum on the dashboard. He talked about his Newfoundland sheepdog missing the late Senator Harry Byrd's office rug. Barry drove the car across the Triborough Bridge and onto an expressway to Brooklyn. The car came off the expressway and through factory streets and into Greenpoint, which is a place of narrow streets lined by three and four-story wooden houses which are stained from the mist which hangs in the air.

The car came around a corner and slowed down.

A park took up the left side.
the defeat of Bobby Kennedy, the political force in the party, they write sentences which say, "Bobby's 'new' liberalism actually is more intuitive and pragmatic than is the expression of a conversion to a new set of ideals." Or they write of his old arrogance or new ideas and of his dead brother and his sister-in-law and of his chances in 1958 and 1972. It all comes out as writing done by an adult who has talked to other adults, the old men and the young old men, and the writing is done in an office filled with old men and young old men and the stories probably are important and full of meaning. A lot of smart men are doing the writing. But all of it—all the words about whether Bobby Kennedy is a ruthless, mechanical rich guy or a genuineello distressed by great tragedy—all of it is superfluous when you see him coming up to a high school football team that is practicing for a game.

"Never mind me, let's see you run the play," Kennedy calls out.

The coach steps forward. "All right, let's get down to business," he says.

The hands go down into the huddle. On the defense, a linebacker calls out, "All right, let's go. Let's show him how we do it."

With a handclap, the huddle breaks and the team comes out.

"Ready," the quarterback calls out.

"They're very big," Kennedy says.

"But one," the quarterback says.

"Senator Kennedy, I'm Vince O'Connor, the coach," a guy wearing glasses and a baseball cap says.

"... two ... hut three."

The quarterback starts dropping back and there is a step as both lines go into each other. The offensive team is running out of a double wing T. The back who starts from under the quarterback's feet as he pivots and throws overhand, with good arm extension. The pass is sharp and thrown to the right halfback, who had been spread and came shooting in. The pass is called a hook-up pass and the right halfback grabs it in full stride and races past a linebacker.

All the kids let out a yell and slap their hands.

"All right," the coach calls out.

"You're good," Kennedy says. He turns to the crowd.

"Who are the best ones?"

"We have a tackle, Anthony DiNardo, Senator. He's been all-prep school twice. Ivy League schools want him."

"Which one is he?" Kennedy says.

O'Connor points to two thick legs in the huddle.

"That's our halfback who is going to break the one yard scoring record. Richie Szaro. He's been three years from Poland."

"Where? Which one is he?"

The quarterback breaks from the huddle. O'Connor smiles. He is the left halfback. He looks about 20 years old, but with room to grow. The legs tell you that. Strong legs, the long muscle sticking out in a stance when he gets into his stance. Coal miner's legs. Peasant's legs.

"Hut, you know?"

"The tackle keeps a high stance," somebody next to Kennedy says.

With a clap of pads, the play is off. The tackle, DiNardo, comes off his stance with a powerful and Audiey fast first step, which is almost the whole
"They're ready now," the guy was shouting out.

Kennedy turned and shook hands with the coach and began running across the field to the place he had to be at. The heads came out of the huddle and watched him go.

Later, in his 14th floor apartment in the U.N. Towers, Kennedy sat with his shirt sticking out of his pants and a vodka-on-the-rocks in his hands.

"Weren't they good?" he was saying. "That boy from Poland. I can't get over him. Here only three years and he can play so well. He has all those marvelous things in front of him. Why didn't you stay there with him? I think what he's doing is a lot more interesting than what I'm doing or the Democratic party is doing or something like that. Only three years from Poland. Poland! Now he's here. He can have all these things. I think it's terrific."

He turned to Graves, who was standing with a phone to his ear.

"The coach told me they were playing Sunday. Are we can fit the game into the schedule. I want to see the boy play," Kennedy said to Earl Graves.

Graves nodded.

St. Francis Prep played against Chaminade High School on Sunday at a place called Boys High Field, which is in Brooklyn. Richie Scaro kicked a 45-yard field goal and then was seen running that play which seems to be an inside reverse. He slammed through, was hit squarely by a linebacker and immediately spun and came into another one leading with his side, not his whole body, and those peasant legs kept kicking and trying to get into rhythm and suddenly they were all motion and he was free of hands and he raced nine yards into the end zone. He is going to be a big football player at a college in a couple of years.

Bobby Kennedy did not make the game. At one point in his schedule that Sunday he started to ask about it and they told him it would take 45 minutes to get to the field and they didn't have the time. So he said all right and, immersed in work, forgot about it.

When the game was over on Sunday, the St. Francis kids crowded into a narrow locker room that had a low cement ceiling. They had won easily. The kids grabbed the doors of the green metal lockers and began to hang them in rhythm.

"We're number one," they chanted.

They stopped chanting and broke into a cheer when O'Connor, the coach, walked in. O'Connor was holding the game ball over his head.

"Senator Kennedy," the kids yelled. "The ball goes to Senator Kennedy."

They yelled it loud. Young faces, streaked with mud from a game, young faces of boys 16 and 17 and 18. The same young faces that are all over the country and they don't want to know anything about old men or young old men. The only name they know in politics is Robert Kennedy, the president's brother. Young faces, and some of them will be 21 in 1968 and all of them will be 21 in 1972 and this is not a story about politics; it is a story about simple arithmetic.
"... By 1968, the voting population of this country will consist
35 per cent of people 20 and under. In 1972, this country will
have 55 per cent of its voters at age 20 and under..."
"... Everything he does in public can be a facade. But standing on a football field with kids, nothing matters. There is something between them that is powerful..."
December 28, 1966

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Enclosed are several additional items concerning
the use of electronic listening devices which have appeared in
the press. You may desire to bring them to the President's
attention.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach

Enclosures (G)

Service, Inc.," Chicago, Illinois, 12-21-66
"One More Card To Send," "The Danville Register," Danville, Virginia,
12-17-66
"Bobby Kennedy Takes On More Than He Can Handle in Hoover," by
Ralph de Toledano, "Rockford Register Republic," Rockford, Illinois,
12-20-66
"Whom Will You Believe?" "Monroe Morning World," Monroe, Louisiana,
12-17-66
"But If I Did O. K. FBI 'Bugging'-" cartoon by Reg Manning, "Monroe
Morning World," Monroe, Louisiana, 12-18-66
"Bobby The Snooper," "The Arizona Republic," Phoenix, Arizona, 12-14-

NOTE: The columns and editorials are being acknowledged separately.
December 29, 1968
BY LIASON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

You may desire to bring the enclosed copies of four items concerning electronic listening devices to the President's attention.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Kennedy

Enclosures (4)

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach

"Zelek's Credibility Gap," The Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 12-22-68.
"RJL and JEH," Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas, 12-17-68.
"Bugging Furore Bad Business," The Sacramento Union, Sacramento, California, 12-13-68.
January 4, 1967

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Enclosed are copies of several recent editorials and an article relating to the use of electronic listening devices. You may desire to show these to the President.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (5)
"Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kennedy," 12-30-66, "Savannah Evening Press," Savannah, Georgia

NOTE: The editorials are being acknowledged separately. No letter is being sent regarding the article since it is straight news reporting.

GEM:mal (10)
The Acting Attorney General

January 4, 1967

Director, FBI

ELECTRONIC LISTENING DEVICES

Enclosed are copies of several recent editorials and an article concerning electronic listening devices which I thought you would like to see.

Enclosures (3)  

Robert F. Kennedy

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (3)
1 - Mr. Wick - Enclosures (5)
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (3)

NOTE: The editorials are being acknowledged separately. No letter is being sent regarding the article since it is straight news reporting.

Kennedy, Hoover

U. S. Sen. Robert Kennedy (D-N. Y.) is an ambitious man, extremely so, and while he may say otherwise, Bobby appears to be working toward the Democratic presidential nomination. If not in 1968, at least in 1972. But ambition is no valid excuse for forgetfulness, and it would appear the brother of former President John F. Kennedy is at least guilty of that.

On Dec. 11, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, labeled as "absolutely inconceivable" a statement made by Kennedy the day before that implied Hoover had been misinformed about Kennedy's knowledge of the use of electronic listening devices by the FBI in the 1951-54 period. Kennedy was U. S. Attorney General in that period.

Hoover pointed out that official records of the FBI not only reflect discussions between Kennedy and an FBI employee about the FBI's use of microphones, but also contain documents, including some bearing Kennedy's signature or initials, showing that the FBI's use of mikes and wiretaps was known to and approved by Kennedy.

The FBI director is a man whom history is due to list as one of our great Americans. A veteran in his vital and sensitive job, he is not given to rash statements. The statement he has made about the former Attorney General is a serious one, and with Hoover's vast legal background it is certain he has sufficient evidence to substantiate it. In fact, records of communications between Kennedy and FBI personnel are available and, as Hoover has said, bear the initials or name of Sen. Kennedy in regard to wiretap activity.

It would seem foolish for the Senator to continue to deny he knows anything about the 1951-54 eavesdropping trend, some instances of which could have involved his campaign to "get the goods" on Teamster Union President James Hoffa with whom he has a long-standing feud.

It could be Kennedy has forgotten his activity in this field as Attorney General. But in case his memory has slipped, the FBI has ample documentation to refresh it and in this case it would appear Hoover is the man who is sitting in the driver's seat and that Kennedy did have a hand in electronic eavesdropping activities by the FBI.

The term "untouchable" often is used to refer to some individual whose standing in a society is so firm that he cannot be reached by any kind of a lure or bribe. By their daily behavior, such people improve rather than detract from their reputations.

If such an individual exists and, thankfully, our country has many of them at all levels, J. Edgar Hoover truly merits the role as an "untouchable."

What lure or bribe could possibly touch this man?

Now in his 70s, he has devoted his life to building a great agency which is a shining tribute to his high standards and dedication for excellence and justice. He has never married. His family has been the FBI. He stands for no shoddiness by his fellow workers and less than topflight agents never remain on the job for long.

Hoover has received virtually every honor that can come to a great citizen. He is eligible to retire at full pay at any time, but he remains to try every day to make his agency even better.

Yes, J. Edgar Hoover is truly an "untouchable" and to the great credit of America, he is one of many that our nation has produced.

ENCLOSURE

"Lawrence Daily Journal-World"
Lawrence, Kansas
December 26, 1936

96
Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kennedy

The subject of "eavesdropping" by the Federal Bureau of Investigation flared this month into a public feud between FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the former Attorney General of the United States and Mr. Hoover's former boss. It's an old subject, but what has puzzled us is Senator Kennedy's pretense at ignorance that such practice existed while he headed the Dept. of Justice.

Since the subject has come up again, the FBI has released to the press (this newspaper included) official documents to show that Mr. Kennedy did, indeed, know about what the bureau terms "microphone surveillances" and, moreover, he approved the practice.

Among the documents is a memorandum from the FBI dated Aug. 17, 1961, asking the then-attorney general's permission to use leased telephone lines in connection with such surveillances. The memo read: "If we are permitted to use the leased telephone lines as an adjunct to our microphone surveillances, this type of coverage can be materially extended both in security and major criminal cases. Accordingly, your approval of our utilizing this leased line arrangement is requested . . . " At the bottom is typed the word "approved," followed by Mr. Kennedy's signature.

Mr. Kennedy, during the controversy, has used one Courtney A. Evans as his back-up man. Mr. Evans, a retired FBI special agent, was the assistant director in charge of the division investigating organized crime and racketeering during Mr. Kennedy's term as attorney general and he served a liaison between the FBI and Mr. Kennedy.

Well, among the documents furnished by the FBI is a memorandum from Mr. Evans, dated Aug. 17, 1961, on the subject of "microphone surveillances" in which he discusses the procedure of obtaining leased telephone lines and concludes with this sentence: "The Attorney General approved the proposed procedure in this regard and personally signed the attached memorandum evidencing such approval." The "attached memorandum" is the one aforementioned, signed by Mr. Kennedy.

It is apparent that since Mr. Kennedy left the Cabinet to become a senator he has changed his attitude on eavesdropping as a method to fight crime. It is apparent, too, that his memory is short.

Enclosure

"Savannah Evening Press"
Savannah, Georgia
December 30, 1966

77-5 1387-1903
GENE ROBERTS

The Furor Over Wiretaps

(Editors note—Much there may be that Times Editorial Writer Gene Roberts cannot say in the column below. However, he does say a considerable amount while bringing to bear his 3 1/2 years of experience as an FBI special agent in various parts of the country.)

EDGAR HOOVER and Robert Kennedy disagree over whether Sen. Kennedy had knowledge of wiretaps or microphone surveillances which were used in investigations of top-level organized crime during the senator’s service as Attorney General.

A U.S. congressman complains wiretapping is so widespread that no one in Washington can be sure his telephone is private.

National columnists examine the threats to individual privacy in America, starting usually from the unquestioned assumption that the congressman was correct in his fear of the prevalence of electronic eavesdropping.

One columnist notes that the President has ordered the FBI to use electronic eavesdropping only in cases involving “national security,” but says the Bureau has liberally interpreted “national security” as to allow it to bug anyone it chooses.

“The case against Bobby Baker and some of his business associates is called into question in federal court after the government volunteers the information that the private quarters of one of Baker’s confidantes had been wiretapped.”

A U.S. senator expresses the belief that the FBI, because of its wiretapping activities, is a major threat to American democracy.

ALL OF the afore-mentioned happenings have been much in the news of late and the effect has been to create a general atmosphere of unrest concerning the government’s respect for the citizen’s right to privacy.

Unfortunately, the discussion has necessarily been one-sided and has proceeded on the assumption that wiretapping is indeed undertaken indiscriminately.

The talk has been one-sided because the FBI, against whom most of the criticism has been directed, cannot discuss the issues in specific terms without possibly endangering lives and/or the national security. It has steadfastly maintained it used electronic snooping equipment only in cases involving the “national security” and those directed against organized crime such as the sophisticated variety employed by the Cosa Nostra, or as some call it, the Black Hand or Mafia. Now the Presidential directive has forbidden its use against the big-time gangsters. Addition ally, the FBI claims it has not presented for prosecution use any information obtained either directly or indirectly from wiretaps.

TO PRETENSE is made here of an expert knowledge of a complex organization that is charged with conducting investigations in almost 200 separate categories in areas so diverse as espionage, sabotage, bank robbery, kidnapping, applicant backgrounds and unlawful attacks upon migratory waterfowl. My strong inclination, however, is to believe deeply that:

“The rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”

ENCLOSURE

"The Chattanooga Times"
Chattanooga, Tennessee
December 28, 1966

ENCLOSURE

17-51347 - 1966
is a Constitutional protection that is jealously guarded by FBI agents. I was never given any reason to think otherwise in any event.

I have read everything that has come across my desk concerning the wiretap controversy. I have tried to view the various material objectively. Still, while there are legitimate areas of criticism of the FBI or any other federal agency, the charge that the Bureau poses a threat to "the privacy of the individual citizen" seems without foundation in fact. I would not argue that electronic eavesdropping poses no threat, rather that the danger and indiscriminate use stems overwhelmingly from non-police sources.

Personally, I am not inclined to believe the FBI has been indiscriminate in its use of electronic eavesdropping for several reasons. Many agents are attorneys and have a deep-running professional respect and commitment to Constitutional safeguards. Wiretaps are generally ineffective against sophisticated criminal or alien elements, and to implant a microphone device requires personal exposure to great danger and the very probable disassociation by one's employer if one is killed or caught in an act of trespass. Given these circumstances, it seems probable that agents of the FBI would choose to risk their lives indiscriminately against small fry or someone the Director doesn't like personally, as the same senator lastly mentioned further implied.

My principal complaint with the current furor over the question of wiretapping is that legitimate perspective seems to have been obscured in an Orwellian vision of unbridled intrusion into every area of our personal and private lives. Although not entirely without basis in a time when the federal government is considering storing computerized dossiers on individual citizens, the fear is too overpowering for the facts before us. What we know is that approximately four cases of eavesdropping have been revealed. The FBI claims they were directed against organized crime or in the interest of national security. Unfortunately, the FBI is in no position to document its assertion and neither can critics prove their fears.

The questions which need to be asked in the stalemated debate concern the legitimate uses, if any, of hidden electronic ears.

Has organized crime in this country reached a sufficient level of power and danger to warrant perhaps some kind of judicially and judiciously controlled use of such electronic gear? If so, what are the most workable procedural safeguards that would protect not only individual privacy from "unreasonable" searches but also insure the security of the action?

The National Crime Commission is expected to recommend to President Johnson early next year a system whereby a federal investigative agency could present its case for installation of listening units to a federal judge, who would determine the justification of the request and insure that any information intercepted in such a way would not find its way directly or indirectly into a courtroom.

While I value my Constitutional rights as highly as the next person and consider myself no self-appointed defender of J. Edgar Hoover, I am persuaded that some such arrangement for the use of electronic devices against organized crime is sorely needed, and, moreover, in our individual and national interests.
Hoover Versus Kennedy

Though it should be a simple matter to resolve, there is now no indication that the argument over wiretapping between John Edgar Hoover and Robert F. Kennedy will ever be decisively settled.

From documents released thus far, it appears that RFK, while attorney general, did indeed authorize wiretapping, but he vehemently denies it.

The furor opened with publication of a Hoover letter which said Kennedy knew all about FBI eavesdropping.

Kennedy said he didn't, that the veteran FBI director was "misinformed."

Hoover replied that Kennedy's retort was "absolutely inconceivable."

Hoover then produced a document backing his stand from the same FBI official Kennedy had quoted on his side.

Kennedy then called for Hoover to make public his entire file selection to "indicate under which attorney general his practice began, whether prior attorney generals authorized it, and whether or not they were as uninformed as I was."

It really makes no difference in this matter whether previous attorney generals authorized wiretapping or not.

The case in point is whether Kennedy authorized the practice. If he did authorize it, why not admit it? Why attempt to weasel out of it?

If in fact RFK did not authorize it, the FBI Director has some explaining to do.

Between the two, we believe Hoover.

"The Daily Gazette and Mail"
Morristown, Tennessee
December 23, 1966

[Signature]

ENCL:JCSURE

92-51387 - 1403
Former Aide To RFK Recalls Bug 'Pressure'

By Leslie M. Whitten

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11—A former top aide to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said today he distinctly remember Kennedy pressing the FBI to use more "technical equipment" to fight organized crime.

The statement of Edwin Silberling, former chief of the Justice Department's organized crime and racketeering section, is important because it is the first break in the silence of Sen. Kennedy and his former assistants who insist that Kennedy had no knowledge of FBI "bugging.

Although "technical equipment" does not mean "bugging" in the dictionary sense, it is as much a euphemism for electronic snooping devices as "passed away" is for "died.

Silberling in an interview said "everybody at the meeting knew he (Kennedy) was talking about electronic surveillance—parabolic microphones, spike microphones, bugs—that is micro-transmitters—the whole thing.

This statement appears to run counter to a statement Dec. 11 by Kennedy that I was not aware of the "bugging" practices of the FBI during my term as attorney general. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has said bugging increased at the insistence of Kennedy.

In the Hoover-Kennedy contradiction remain unresolved, but Sen. Edward V. Long, D-Mo., has said he plans to ask both men to testify before his subcommittee which is investigating electronic snooping.

RECALLS MEETING

Silberling, who served in his key post from Feb. 1, 1961, to Feb. 1, 1963, made clear he is not taking the FBI's side against Kennedy. The FBI, said Silberling, failed to cooperate when he requested to bring the nation's top hoods to New York to tell him what they knew.

"The question is, did a prosecutor who must determine what is evidence and what is hearsay. The FBI declined comment.

Silberling, now in private practice in Minneapolis, Minn., recalled that the crucial meeting with Kennedy took place in 1961 and that the FBI agent in charge of liaison with Kennedy, Courtney A. Evans, was present along with other Department of Justice officials.

The conference, in Kennedy's fifth-floor office at the department, was called to discuss progress of the anti-racketeering program headed by Silberling. Kennedy was concerned over the lack of solid information on the "top hoods," said Silberling.

The "top hoods" are leaders of the Cosa Nostra, sometimes called the Mafia, the mob or the syndicate.

WRITES LETTER

Silberling recalls that Kennedy wanted faster results in the anti-racketeer program and told Evans without qualification that he wanted the FBI to use more "technical equipment" to get information.

The recollection of the former Justice Department aide is strikingly similar to a memo in 1961 from FBI Agent Evans to his superior in the FBI. In the memo dated July 7, 1961, Evans said he had "contacted" Kennedy and that the attorney general "would like to see a list of the technical surveillances now in operation." Kennedy had made some observations "as to the possibility of utilizing electronic devices in organized crime investigations." Almost five years later, Evans wrote Kennedy a letter saying he "did not consider the use of bugs with Kennedy.

Silberling quit the Justice Department to take up private practice.

During Silberling's stay at Justice, a number of major gangsters were convicted of federal crimes. Silberling made plain in his interview today that he has no bad feelings against Kennedy and was only answering a reporter's direct question.

"World Journal Tribune"

New York, New York

January 1, 1967

ENCL.

77-57 377 - 909
Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) 67C, 67D __________________________ with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) __________________________ was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); __________________________ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information:

☐ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: 77-51877-190A
There's Room For 'Bugging'—And Misunderstanding

By CHARLES BARTLETT
WASHINGTON

As a veteran of the communications gap which exists between the Attorney-General and the Director of the FBI, Nicholas Katzenbach has furnished a plausible explanation for the bugging dispute between Robert Kennedy and J. Edgar Hoover.

Kennedy's deep aversion to false steps and Hoover's integrity make it almost impossible to believe that either man is misrepresenting his own knowledge of the facts in the controversy over whether Kennedy authorized the FBI's deployment of electronic eavesdropping against the criminal world.

Hoover says he did; Kennedy says he did not; Katzenbach, Kennedy's successor, suggests there may have been a misunderstanding. There was a simple case for misunderstanding in the relationship which existed between Kennedy and Hoover.

Pressures were inevitable from the first day that Kennedy sent for Hoover by phone from the White House. He had grown accustomed to being summoned. Kennedy's immediate predecessor had treated his with a constant deference which enlarged the myth that the FBI was an independent agency, not a division of the Justice Department.

Katzenbach, Kennedy's immediate predecessor, was as wary of tampering with civil rights matters as his predecessor, and he held the view that civil rights eavesdropping was wrong and illegal. But he did not dare to challenge the FBI's capacity to perform its functions.

Civil rights assistant, Harold Carter, drew the FBI into some civil rights cases by creating its own investigative staff. But Kennedy, anxious to assure more full-handed participation, met the issue head-on. This produced a first draft with Hoover. A second conference arose from the Attorney-General's resolve to co-ordinate the government's investigative agencies against a more telling war against organized crime. The FBI had traditionally conducted itself as if there were other agencies did not exist and Hoover took the bit of Kennedy's co-ordinating mechanism with a sharp distaste which persisted until he could spit it out after Lyndon Johnson became President.

It does not get at which point the agency expanded its use of 'bugging' to spy on domestic critics as well as foreign agents. The assassination of the Mexican president during his visit to New York State points to 1937 pressures for extra work which the FBI, its best talent deployed against Communist agents, was not equipped to meet.

The domestic bugging originated, as far as one can learn, from an urgent need to fill the intelligence vacuum caused by the lack of FBI informers in the world of organized crime. There is no record that Hoover secured any authority from Rogers for this initiative.

His insistence that he secured authority from Kennedy is based on memoranda dictated by an FBI official named Courtenay Evans, whom Hoover selected as an ambassador to the Attorney-General. The direct dealings between Kennedy and Hoover were supported by Evans' efforts to play the faithful intermediary over a long period of time.

Evans' memoranda are interpreted by Hoover to convey tacit approval by Kennedy of the bugging activities but Evans insists that Kennedy was not aware of the bureau's work in the area. The dispute rests on whether Evans, now an attorney with an understandable reluctance to be caught in the net, has gone off to Puerto Rico.
Memorandum

Director, FBI
Attn: Crimo Records

FROM: SAC, Minneapolis

SUBJECT: "MINNEAPOLIS SPOKESMAN"

GEORGE R. NEWMAN
Editor-Publisher

INFORMATION CONCERNING

No Minneapolis lottor 12/30/66, captioned as above.

Mr. NEWMAN was contacted by no personally on January 6, 1967, at which time a strong protest was made regarding his unwarranted, malicious charges made editorially in the December 22, 1966, issue of his paper. He was challenged to explain just how he could arrive at any such conclusions regarding the Bureau's dispute with Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, particularly inasmuch as he had previously been provided with all of the facts by this office. I pointed out that this material was furnished to him prior to his editorial and that, as a result, I felt that he had been very unfair to the Director and the Bureau as a whole and that I was completely at a loss to understand his attitude.

Prior to my contact with Mr. NEWMAN, I had had occasion to talk to the regarding another matter, at which time he volunteered that he too had seen the editorial in the "Spokesman" and had been given to understand that actually it had been written by someone other than Mr. NEWMAN and possibly by the Reverend STANLEY KING, a Negro preacher who has been active with the various minority groups in this area. I advised that it was his understanding that NEWMAN had been out of the city during the holidays and was supposed to have arranged to have several prominent Negroes serve as guest editorial writers.

2 - Bureau
3 - Minneapolis

77 JAN 1967
At the time of my contact with Mr. NEWMAN, it appeared that he was quite embarrassed and with the above in mind, I told him that the entire editorial seemed so out of character that in my own mind I questioned whether he had actually written it. His only response was that the responsibility was his and that he could not "pass the buck" to someone else. He stated that he was sorry that the incident had occurred, that he had always admired and respected all of the Bureau personnel with whom he had had occasion to come in contact and actually felt that the FCL was about the only real "friend in court" that the Negro community had. He continued that it had long been his personal opinion that Senator KENNEDY was not near the friend of the Negro that he would have everyone believe and that actually he used them for his own ends. My response at that point was that as far as I was concerned that was certainly "a hell of a way to show his admiration and respect." His only reply was that the damage had been done and all he could do was apologize.

Although I did not want to belabor the issue, I did remind him that this was the second time that he had printed erroneous information about the Director and the FCL and that I felt he was being most unfair. He again stated that he was sorry and that actually he was most embarrassed over the entire situation.

Although Mr. NEWMAN did not at any time admit that the editorial had been written by someone else during his absence over the holidays, his attitude and reaction in accepting responsibility has convinced me that this was the case. He never did give the slightest indication who might have written the article, stating merely that it was his paper and, consequently, his responsibility. In view of the developments, no further inquiry is contemplated.
Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) 67C, 67D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) ____________________________ ____________________________ , was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); ____________________________ ____________________________ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

____________________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

☐ For your information: __________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________________

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

77-51387-1906
Hoover vs. RFK: Behind the Battle

JAMES L. WECHSLER

The public collision between FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy climaxizes a behind-the-scenes battle that has been a key factor of the Kennedy era in 1967.

It is a clash with deep political, as well as personal overtones, obscured by complicated details of the wire-tapping debate.

Why Hoover chose to provoke an open conflict at this juncture is an unresolved mystery. The crudest explanation is that, with another extension of his over-age tenure up for renewal, the FBI director of the 71-year-old G-Man feared he might finally be deemed expendable after a series of unusual and embarrassing disclosures about the FBI's eavesdropping operations.

According to this theory, nothing could be more calculated to fortify Hoover's White House status than an assault on Kennedy — especially on an issue that might downgrade the dissident senator in the eyes of civil libertarians.

Amid the conjecture, it is plain that Hoover deliberately invited the conflict. The language of his exchange with Rep. Gross, an Iowa Republican, is so palpably rehearsed that no one in Washington can doubt that the script was conceived by the FBI.

Hoover learned swiftly after John F. Kennedy's election that life would be different. The young Attorney General was both the brother and intimate adviser of the new President; for the first time in many long years the director of the FBI was reminded that he was a subordinate to the head of the Justice Dept., not the leader of an autonomous empire who dealt as a sovereign with the President.

An early rebuff came when the FBI sent over a "loyalty" dossier on Pierre Salinger, one of JFK's closest associates; it seems that a member of Salinger's family had once been linked with an alleged Communist front. The Kennedys, who knew Salinger well, were unimpressed by such FBI extremism in the practice of vigilance; Salinger kept his job.

There were frictions on civil rights. No Negro had ever been permitted to study at the FBI's national academy; at the urging of Mike Murphy, Attorney General Kennedy insisted in 1962 that a promising New York officer named Lloyd Sealy be permitted to take the course. He did; he is now the highly-respected Assistant Chief Inspector on New York's police force.

In the realm of civil liberties Kennedy publicly argued that the U.S. Communist Party was disintegrating and that "the problem with the Communists is overseas." Hoover continued to magnify the domestic Communist threat and cement his role as the hero of right-wing fanatics.

One of the sharpest confrontations involved the case of Junius Scales, an admitted former Communist and Smith Act prisoner, whose release was at issue in a long series of sophisticates, including Norman Thomas and David Dubinsky. Hoover bitterly resisted pleas for parole on the ground that Scales had "refused to cooperate" with the FBI by naming those he had known many years earlier. Kennedy overruled Hoover (as well as the Eastland committee) and ordered Scales freed.

Finally there were recurring reports in Washington that Hoover's resignation would be gratefully accepted after John F. Kennedy's re-election to a second term.

J. Edgar Hoover, so long the capital's leading sacred cow, began to feel like a paper tiger.

Then came the assassination in Dallas.

I always recall Dobby describing how quickly Hoover's voice dropped in tone as he knew the Attorney General no longer had a bulwark in the White House, a close friend said afterward.
These episodes indicate some of the roots of the present
struggle. The image of Hoover as a "non-political" man who
stands austerely above partisan battles is a myth. In 1953, when
the then Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, opened fire on
Harry Truman’s alleged coolying of Communists, Hoover enthusias-
tically supported Brownell’s version. The question arose then,
as it does to some degree now, as to why he had not resigned
earlier and publicly proclaimed his knowledge; then, as now, he
hid behind the claim that he was merely a deputy.

In the current uproar the vulnerability in Kennedy’s case is
that there is some validity in Hoover’s depiction of his secondary
role during the Kennedy time. Some issues being drawn now in-
volve distinctions without a difference (as between wire-tapping
and "bugging"). Kennedy was undoubtedly more tolerant of such
intrusions in the early days of his regime than in later phases, or
than he would be now; Hoover may have believed he had con-
siderable authorization to carry on this part of his business as
usual. In their own fashion both men may be offering their sub-
jective versions of the truth.

The larger dimensions of the battle go beyond these fragments
of remembrance. Hoover in fact remains a voice of political reac-
tion whose name still commands reverence on the rightist fringe.
Kennedy has steadily emerged as an unorthodox liberal chal-
lenger to Hoover’s verities. In that context the impact of this
clash assumes its real and explosive meaning. Hoover’s blast
may have given the signal for a grotesque right-wing drive to
"get" Kennedy for his delinquencies on civil liberties. Logic does
not always rule our politics.

Meanwhile, now as for many years, few citizens of any stature
in Washington will use their telephones without suspecting that
Hoover’s agents are listening. But who will get to the bottom
of that story during these strange times?
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 1/10/67

SUBJECT: Senator Robert F. Kennedy

On 1/9/67 Liaison Supervisor Bartlett saw at the Department of State.

commented on the recent publicity involving the Director and Senator Robert F. Kennedy dealing with wire tapping.

commented that it was her opinion and the opinion of everyone that she had talked to about the matter that Kennedy ended up in second place and that he has hurt himself politically. said she recently spoke to "someone in the Kennedy camp" and that this person indicated that Kennedy's recent battle with the Director has cost him "the next two elections." did not enlarge on this comment nor did she identify the individual who made the statement.

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Bartlett

CRIME RESEARCH
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI ATTN: ROBERT WICK, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
FROM: SAC, BOSTON Robert F. Kane
RE: CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES ARTICLE BOSTON GLOBE 12-13-66

Re my telephone call this date.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of the article appearing in today's Boston Globe which was the subject of my telephone conversation this date.

3 - Bureau (Encs.) AMSD
1 - Boston
JLH:maw
(4)

61 JAN 24 1967
BI Lied to Us,
Says RFK Aide
Repeated Wiretaps
Kennedy Never Told

WASHINGTON—Former Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy's top rackets buster told the Boston Globe-Chicago Daily News today: "Sure, I knew for years that the FBI was making widespread use of electronic 'bugs' in organized crime investigations.

"But the top brass of the bureau would flat-out lie to me, denying it, whenever I officially asked about it."

William G. Ifundley, head of the Justice Department's Organized Crime Section from the G.O.P. days of 1953 until this September, insisted that he never discussed his knowledge of the bugging with Kennedy while Kennedy was Attorney General, "and for a very good reason:

"I began to suspect as early as '58, from talking to various FBI agents who were good friends, that they were using 'bugs' in racketeers."

"And by '61 and '62, when I'd been running the Organized Crime Section for three or four years, I had learned about the 'bugs,' with certainty.

"But when the bureau officially kept lying to me about their use, denying it, I figured that this was obviously so delicate that it must be something that was just between the A.G. (Atty. Gen. Kennedy) and the Director (FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover), as it is with 'national security wiretaps. So I never talked about it."
"Well, why the devil didn't you tell me?" and I explained to him that I assumed he knew all along."

Hundley's disclosure was certain to add fresh fuel to the unprecedented public dispute now raging between Kennedy and Hoover over who was responsible for, or authorized, the FBI's use of widespread electronic eavesdropping during the early '60s. In probes of organized crime.

With the Supreme Court now tossing out convictions involving evidence "tainted" by the use of illegal "bugs," both men — who have long harbored mutual antipathy — are seeking to affix responsibility on each other.

Hundley's perspective appeared particularly interesting because he was neither a Kennedy intimate nor a Hoover fan, "but rather a guy who served in the Justice Department from 1954 until 1960, under four attorney generals — two Republicans and two Democrats," as Hundley himself puts it.

He resigned three months ago to take a job as executive assistant to Pete Rozelle, commissioner of the National Football League. Through a phone call, Hundley said that the FBI's widespread introduction of "bugging" in 1961 was due primarily to the bureau's failure before that time to develop an adequate intelligence system about organized crime.

Hundley related — as had other past and present officials of the Justice Department — that "before 1958, phrases like 'the Crime Syndicate' and 'the Mafia' were almost dirty words at the FBI.

"But after New York state police flushed out dozens of top hoodlums at the 1958 Appalachian meeting—which the FBI hadn't even known anything about—Hoover raised a little hell, and said they had to have better intelligence on the racketeers.

"So they began selective use of bugs—various electronic eavesdropping devices.

"Then Bobby Kennedy came along, all gung-ho against the mob, demanding that the FBI really get into action. But the Bureau still didn't have any real intelligence system or resources.

"So they apparently figured they had no choice but to go into 'bugging' wholesale—which they did, and it worked beautifully.

"But they'd never formally admit it to me, even though I was the Justice Department's top racketeers man and the Bureau is the investigative arm of the department.

"And it appears they never told Bob straight-out, either," Hundley said.

"In fact, the only time it did officially come to light—in the FBI's Las Vegas gambling investigation in 1963—Kennedy ordered it stopped," Hundley recalled.

"To anyone who doesn't understand the relationship between the FBI and the rest of the department, and the independent power of J. Edgar Hoover, all this may be difficult to understand," he said.

"But anyone who is familiar with the department wouldn't doubt it for a minute," he declared.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Wick
FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: 1-11-67

SUBJECT: SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY (D. - N. Y.) APPEARANCE ON "TODAY" TELEVISION SHOW WRC (CHANNEL 4) 1-11-67

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was interviewed on the "Today" show this morning.

The interview concerned principally President Johnson's State of the Union Message last evening.

Kennedy was queried concerning various points in the President's address such as taxes, economy, social security, anti-ballistic missiles, welfare programs and the Vietnam situation, among others.

Of particular interest to the Bureau were Kennedy's comments concerning the outlawing of wiretapping. He commented that present legislation concerning wiretapping is entirely inadequate and that new legislation should be enacted to insure the protection of the individual. He stated that he favored the outlawing of wiretapping except in national security cases, providing any such wiretapping was handled with court approval. He also added that he would favor wiretapping with court approval, in certain cases of organized crime, kidnapping, narcotics and other major crimes.

There was no mention of the Director or the FBI on the program.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Gale
For Release Thursday, December 19, 1966, or thereafter.

WHAT'S BUGGING KENNEDY?

At first it appears to be a semantic problem, nothing more; but as one looks more closely, it becomes a titanic character struggle, an unfortunate consequence of which is that it leaves everyone wondering whether Mr. Hoover or Mr. Kennedy is telling the truth, and practically no one wondering why either of them should think there is a great deal here to hide, i.e., to be worth telling falsehoods about.

The first distinction is between the wire tap and the microphone (bug). The use of the wire tap is regulated by law; not so the bug, which was invented years after the wiretap law. For some reason (inertia), Congress hasn't got around to extending to bugs the reservations it insists on with reference to wiretaps.

The general feeling in the Justice Department, however, has been that it would be unseemly-like to take advantage of the technicality by using bugs with abandon. And so the dispute is over the question whether, when Mr. Hoover used his bugs, Mr. Kennedy, as Attorney General, was aware of their use, even as he acknowledges being aware of the use of wiretaps, as required by Congress.

Certainly Mr. Hoover seems to have got the best of the credibility argument. Mr. Kennedy said publicly that he was not aware that bugs were being used.

Whereupon Mr. Hoover promptly produced a letter signed "Robert F. Kennedy" raising the question of leasing telephone lines which would connect up to the FBI's bugs.

Kennedy retaliated by producing a contemporary affidavit from one Evans, a former liaison official between himself as Attorney General and the FBI, which affidavit stated that he Evans had never spoken to Kennedy on behalf of the FBI, on the subject of bugs.

Whereupon Hoover produced a memorandum from the same Evans dated 1961 in which he reported that he had discussed with Mr. Kennedy, at the request of Mr. Hoover, the use of microphones under certain circumstances, and Kennedy had expressed himself as "pleased" that these should be used, subject to the self-denying ordinance, "where possible in organized crime matters." Question: is Evans (who is no longer with the FBI) more credible in 1966 about what he did in 1961; or more credible in 1961 about what he did in 1961?

And then there are several witnesses who were in the same room with Kennedy when he listened to a taped conversation in Las Vegas between two hoodlums discussing the unhappy local appointment of an honest police chief. Brace yourself. Kennedy says he didn't know the conversation had been eavesdropped! He thought, presumably, he was listening to CBS.

* * * * *

Why did Mr. Kennedy do it? Let us disdain the moral questions, inasmuch as they are generally thought to be tangential in politics, and wonder not why Mr. Kennedy told an untruth, but why he thought he could get away with it? (MORE)
Mr. Hoover is a meticulous man. It is his profession to safeguard evidence. How very unlikely that he would be without the evidence to back up his statement that Mr. Kennedy had been continuously aware of eavesdropping activities by the Bureau. More likely Mr. Kennedy thought that Mr. Hoover had the evidence, all right, but that he would not use it, so covetous is he for the privacy of his files. But Mr. Hoover had been maneuvered into an impossible situation. Unless he denied Mr. Kennedy's public charge of last June that the FBI acted without authority in bugging the Las Vegas hotel, the FBI was acting in effect outside the law. It is difficult for a man whose profession has been as chief law-enforcer of the nation to accept lightly such a stigma. It is strange that Mr. Kennedy didn't get his man; stranger still that he did not know his man.

* * * *

And, finally, the most interesting point of all. Why is Mr. Kennedy running so hotly for cover? Congress has authorized the wiretap under certain circumstances, and inferentially the microphone. In the middle of President Kennedy's term, an assistant attorney general wrote to Senator Samuel Ervin stating that 79 wiretaps were in use, and 67 bugs. We now know that they were being used with the explicit approval of Mr. Kennedy, indeed that he was "pleased" at the knowledge that they were being used. Why now is he so ashamed?

Presumably because the ideological objection to eavesdropping is fanatically construed in quarters whose good graces Mr. Kennedy seeks ardentely to sue. There are people in the world whose opposition to eavesdropping sometimes seems so total that they would object to eavesdropping into a conversation that forestold an intention to launch Pearl Harbor.

Congress has made most of the relevant distinctions -- eavesdropping should be permitted under special supervision of the Attorney General to safeguard the national security and aid in the apprehension of major criminals. If the Attorney General abuses the right, let the Attorney General be criticized, or sacked; but must the weapon, invaluable as a means of protecting society, be aschewed? A vigorous defense by Kennedy of the use of bugs under certain circumstances -- under such circumstances as he authorized during his tenure -- would have been bracing to the realists, but Mr. Kennedy -- the same Mr. Kennedy who began his tenure as Attorney General by asking for an even wider use of eavesdropping mechanisms -- has learned his liberal catechisms indelibly, and is, until the spell is broken, completely in thrall.

(Distributed by the Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)
And isn't it often beyond the limits of human endurance to suppress the knowledge of what one discovers about the delinquencies of James -- and of John-- when in the course of listening to Frank, one comes across the venial sins of his friends?

Last week the news was published of the arrest of a young lady who thought, in behalf of herself, her lover, and an accomplice, to enhance their common fortunes by $36,000 by the simple expedient of pretending to have drowned accidentally last summer. The police and the insurance company suspected that the lady lived, went to a judge and got his permission to tape the lover's phone, and sure enough the lady called in from her hiding place in the suburbs to whisper a happy Thanksgiving to her Romeo. The conversation was recorded, the calling number instantly tracked down, the body resurrected, and the insurance company saved $36,000.

A success story -- with however disturbing implications. Here is the use of a wire tap other than for reasons of national security or in order to prevent violence. Mr. James Easton reveals that the telephone of Dr. Martin Luther King was tapped during Selma, so that the authorities might know just how riotous were his intentions.

Mr. Hoover's loyalty to his job is a monument of civil rectitude, and for that reason he is loath to make recommendations that have the effect of attaching him to fine and controversial value judgments. But he should step forward at this point and divulge his own recommendations concerning desirable and undesirable eavesdropping. The discussion should outlast the controversy over whether Bobby knew of the existence of this or that bug. For instance, would it be licit to bug a conversation between Mr. Kennedy, Attorney General, and Mr. Hoover, Director of the Bureau, which recorded the former's enthusiastic assent to the use of the bug?

(Distributed by the Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)
ON THE RIGHT — by William F. Buckley, Jr.

For Release Saturday or Sunday, December 17 or 18, 1966, or thereafter.

THE TENSION MOUNTS

The plot thickens. For one thing, those who in the past have opposed J. Edgar Hoover are rushing forward — without, many of them, giving any consideration at all to the evidence at hand — to side with Robert Kennedy in the current contest as to which of the two men is to be believed, the dangerous ground rules being, in this case, one or the other, but not both.

Take Mr. Murray Kempton, of the New Republic and the New York Post. Mr. Kempton can't stand the FBI because the FBI can't stand Communists, and Communists are like Helen Gurley Flynn, whose face belongs on American pie-mixes. Kempton cryptographers will know exactly what I mean; others will have to take my word for it that Mr. Kempton is absolutely and undeviatingly loyal in his disapproval of anyone engaged in concerning himself with the internal security: whence the source, if not the coloration, of his special dislike for J. Edgar Hoover.

In the most maladroit analysis of the season, Mr. Kempton writes that "for 20 years we have robed as our chief judge of loyalty to the nation a man notably incapable of personal loyalty. When Hoover is in trouble, he will turn in anybody except whoever happens to be President at the moment. Former Presidents are no exception; in 1953 Hoover testified to the House Un-American Activities Committee that Harry Truman had promoted a government employee even after he 'knew' from FBI reports that the man was a Communist agent."

From such analysis one supposes that we must distrust Mr. Hoover because he will tell the truth when called upon to do so, even if the truth is at the expense of a former attorney general or a President of the United States. Some call that treason. But then some go to Kempton for thought, which is like heading south when in search of the North Pole.

And Mr. Kempton is not alone, though his alembic captures the subllest rays of confusion. He is supported by others, who rail at Mr. Hoover and clamor (as in the case of Mr. James Wechsler of New York) to have him fired, and go on to imply that if he is not, why that is evidence that President Johnson is behind-it-all, pressing his end of the vendetta; or that J. Edgar Hoover is seeking out means to punish Bobby Kennedy for his valiant stand on civil rights. Such are the passions, and thus irrational, that rage over the controversy.

A few voices come through asking, softly but stubbornly, the relevant questions. They are: how much bugging is going on, and what are the effective limits of the powers of the attorney general and the courts in the matter? If John knows James and James knows Frank Costello, do John's conversations with James get tapped? Or to go one step closer to the heat, do James's conversations with Costello get tapped? But surely that is inevitable, since if Costello is to be tapped and he is other than a saloonkeeper, he must be rapped while talking to somebody.
ON THE RIGHT

FLORIDA

For Release Thursday, December 29, 1966, or thereafter.

PEARSON vs. HOOVER

Would you believe Drew Pearson defending the rights to privacy? It is of course Mr. Pearson who has done more than any man in recent times to sanctify the violation of privacy -- by trafficking, endlessly, in documents stolen from the private files of a United States Senator by thieves who did not even at the removal of the Senator's correspondence with his children.

Drew Pearson is not alone. Also, there are others like him who will fast for forty days and forty nights to proclaim the absolute right of Messrs. Miranda and Escobedo to keep to themselves the details of their rapes and murders, but who sit themselves on every revelation by Mr. Pearson of the little transaction in the life of a public and decent man.

Pearson-observers will have noted that the gentleman is widening the net. The goal is to discredit J. Edgar Hoover who, Pearson keeps reminding us, is 72 years old, and hence presumably ill-equipped to carry on the rigorous duties of presiding over the greatest fact-gathering agency in the land.

Last summer Pearson accused Hoover of mischandling an arrest of an American caught giving security information to the Communists, and the expulsion of two Communist diplomats who were receiving the secret goods. Mr. Hoover did this, said Pearson, at the most inopportune possible moment for the sole purpose of getting himself and the Bureau some favorable headlines so as to distract attention from recent revelations about the FBI's bugging activities in Las Vegas.

Pearson's theory was that it would have been better to let the American traitor and the two diplomats continue under surveillance in the hope that other undetected spies would be exposed. He quoted the American State Department employee who had provided critical assistance to the FBI as, in private conversation, blasting the FBI's incompetence in the whole matter. Another charge, another tedious search for the truth, which however is easily done by.

1) The State Department and the Justice Department, not the FBI, decide with reference to their own interests, as coordinated through the Presidency, when to make arrests and when to declare foreigners non grata, and cannot be assumed to schedule such decisions solely to oblige the p.r. requirements of the FBI at Las Vegas, Nevada.

And then, 2) the gentleman who was professedly poked off at the FBI wrote to Mr. Hoover on seeing the Pearson story: "When I was contacted by Jack Anderson (Mr. Pearson's associate) I had no idea that he would bring forth an unjustified attack using half-truths and twisting facts in a brazen attempt to tarnish the superb image of your organization." Pfft, there go the charges. But Mr. Pearson is unrestrained.

MORE
It is Pearson's current thesis that Mr. Hoover is regularly using methods of crime detection which are outside the boundaries of the law and the crystallizing boundaries of good conduct, and that moreover he is doing so without the knowledge of his superiors, the attorneys-general. We have seen that the specific dispute over whether Mr. Hoover has acted in concert with Attorney General Kennedy turned out to be an unprofitable encounter for Mr. Kennedy.

Concerning the matter of convention, Mr. Pearson admits that the Soviet Union bugged the American Embassy in Moscow -- but "this was over 20 years ago. Today if a bug were found in the Moscow hotel suite of an American visitor there would be an international uproar." Has the gentleman taken leave of his senses? There wasn't even an international uproar when a young American was, by the evidence of his mutilated corpse, beaten to death by the Communist police in Russia as recently as six months ago. If the redundant bug were discovered in an American embassy behind the Iron Curtain, it would cause less of an international uproar than the discovery of an accurate statement in a column by Drew Pearson.

"So far," says Mr. Pearson, "Hoover has led a charmed life... But ever since President Johnson continued him in office two years beyond the statutory retirement age of 70, troubles have piled up for Hoover. The President will have another decision to make when Hoover reaches his 73rd birthday, Jan. 1, 1969." That decision, one would hope, would be the easiest the President will have to make during the New Year.

(Distributed by the Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)
Former Aide
To RFK Recalls
Bug 'Pressure'

By LESLIE M. WHITTEN
World Journal Tribune Special

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31—A
former top aide to Attorney
General Robert F. Kennedy
said today he distinctly rem-

The statement of Edwyn
Silverling, former chief of
the Justice Department's or-
organized crime and racket-
section, is important be-
cause it is the first break in
the phalanx of Sen. Kennedy
and his former assistants
who insist that Kennedy had
no knowledge of FBI "bug-
ning."

Although "technical equip-
ment" does not mean "bug-
ning" in the dictionary sense,
it is as much a euphemism
for "bugging," as was the
once popular use of the term
"bugging," as is for the
"died."

Silverling in an interview,
said "everybody at the meet-
ing knew he (Kennedy) was
talking about electronic surve-
illances—parabolic micro-
phones, spike microphones,
bugs—that is microtrans-
mitters—the whole thing."

This statement appears to
run counter to a statement
Dec. 11 by Kennedy that "I
was not aware of the "bug-
ging" practices of the FBI
during my term as attorney
general." FBI Director J. Ed-
gar Hoover has said bugging
increased at the insistence of
Kennedy.

The Hoover-Kennedy con-
tradictions remain unsolved,
but Sen. Edward V. Long,
D-Mo., has said he plans to
ask both men to tes-
tify before his subcommittee,
which is investigating elec-
tronic bugging.

RECALLS MEETING
Silverling, who served
in his key post from Feb. 1,
1961, to Feb. 1, 1963, made
clear he is not taking the
FBI's side against Kennedy.
The FBI, he said Silverling
failed to cooperate with his
own efforts to bring the na-
tion's top hoodlums to bar by
refusing to tell him wheth-
er information they got
came from bugging or
informers.

The question is vital to a
prosecutor who must deter-
mine what is evidence and
what is "hearsay." The FBI
declined comment.

Silverling, now in private
practice in Mineola, N. Y.,
recalled that the crucial
meeting with Kennedy took
place in 1961 and that the
FBI agent in charge of the
investigation was Kennedy.

A. Evans, was present along
with the other Justice offici-
als.

The conference, in Ken-
dy's fifth floor office at the
department, was called to
discuss progress of the anti-
racketeering program needed
by Silverling. Kennedy
was concerned over the lack
of solid information on the
"top hoods," said Silverling.
The "top hoods" are leaders
of the Cosi Nostra, sometimes
called the Mafia, the mob or
the syndicate.

WROTE LETTER
Silverling recalls that Ken-
nedy wanted faster results
in the anti-gangster pro-
gram and told Evans without
qualification that he wanted
the FBI to use more "technical
equipment" to get informa-

"World Journal Tribune"
New York, New York
January 1, 1967
January 9, 1967

MR. TOLSON:

Senator Ed Long called me at 2 p.m. this afternoon. He asked me if I recalled the name of Walter Sheridan. Long stated that Sheridan was formerly an FBI Agent. I told Long I well recalled this name, however, Sheridan was only in the FBI a rather short time and later he had worked for Bobby Kennedy while Kennedy was Attorney General. I told Long that Sheridan certainly was no great "shakes" and that he was now reportedly employed by NBC.

Senator Long asked me if the FBI had any information reflecting that Sheridan tapped wires for Bobby Kennedy. I told the Senator that I knew of no such information, that he might desire to check with some of the Departmental people who were around at the time Sheridan was employed by Kennedy.

The Senator asked me if I knew Ed Jones. I told him I did not know this man, however, Jones, although having a notorious reputation as a wire-tapper, was employed by Kennedy and placed in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. I stated that Jones was still employed by this agency.

Senator Long stated he wanted to tell me in confidence that Bobby Kennedy had been making cracks about him. He stated that Kennedy had told several friends that he, Senator Long, had taken good care of Mr. Hoover but that attempts would be made by Long and his Subcommittee to embarrass him (Kennedy). Senator Long also quoted Bobby as stating that the Kennedys were having Long checked out in attempts to prove that Long was close to Hoffa and was attempting to embarrass Kennedy because of Hoffa. Kennedy is further quoted as stating, "I'll get Long in the end."

I told Senator Long that the above remarks were interesting and I hoped that he would keep me advised concerning the matter. I then asked him if he had any new activities going on. He replied that several papers had contacted him this morning to inquire if he planned to call Mr. Hoover and Bobby Kennedy for hearings. He stated he told the papers that he had no such plans, that he had issued a statement on December 12, 1966, and that he would make no further comments regarding the matter.
Informal Memo to Mr. Tolson

Senator Long told me that he of course had no plans to call either Mr. Hoover or Kennedy; however, he would let us know in the event Kennedy made any overtures towards him. He also told me that his office had received a considerable number of letters regarding this matter and that virtually all the letters favored the Director and the FBI.

RESPECTFULLY,

C. D. DE LOACH
Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) 67C, 67D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

☐ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

☐ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information:

☐ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

77-51387-1911X
Memorandum

TO: Mr. Tolson
FROM: C. E. DeLoach

DATE: December 11, 1966

SUBJECT: KNOWLEDGE OF USAGE OF MICROPHONES

BY FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY
DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT TO PRESS DATED 12/11/66
CLEARANCE BY MARVIN WATSON,
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Pursuant to the Director's instructions, I called Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, at 1:05 p.m., 12/11/66, and read to him the Director's statement which is to be issued to the press within a matter of minutes. I told Watson that the Director wanted me to give him the courtesy of knowing about this matter and to ascertain if Watson or the President had any objections.

After I finished reading the statement, Watson commented, "That's a good statement." He stated he had no objections. He did add that he hoped our conversation would not be made a matter of record. I made no comment.

After talking with Watson, I attempted to get in touch with Congressman H. R. Gross in Jackson, Mississippi, at the home of his brother, E. L. Gross. The operator was advised that Congressman Gross would be away from his brother's home for approximately four hours and could not be reached. I asked that he return the call when he did come back. I will definitely keep after this matter until Congressman Gross has been advised of the Director's statement.

ACTION

For record purposes.

1 - Mr. Tolson
1 - Mr. No.
1 - Mrs. Gaia
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. McAndrews
1 - Dated 12/6/67
Dear [Name]

Here it is.

Walter

December 21, 1966

[Signature]

Robert F. Kennedy

[Signature]
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.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) 66 ________________________________ with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) ________________________________ was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); ________________________________ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

☐ For your information: ____________________________________________

☐ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: 77-51387-1915

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
☐ DELETED PAGE(S) ☐ NO DUPLICATION FEE ☑ FOR THIS PAGE

XXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. Wick

FROM: Mr. Jones

DATE: 12-16-68

SUBJECT: TOP SECRET

NATIONAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROGRAM OF 12-15-68 DEVOTED TO
RESPONSIBILITY OF FORMER AG KENNEDY, ROBERT J.,
FOR EAVESPOTTING BY FBI

As set out in R. E. Wick to Mr. DeLoach Memorandum, 12-15-68, cabled individual was furnished information regarding the current controversy over bugging which he used on his program of 12-15-68.

Siegrist stated that Kennedy is a close friend of the liberals now, but when he was a young counsel in the Senate, he used any method to secure information. He has the "presidential bug" and is wooing the liberals, and, Siegrist said sarcastically, he knows nothing of bugging. He continued that Kennedy picked the wrong man to fight and, regarding his challenge to open FBI files, Kennedy should be thankful that Mr. Hoover refused because if he did so, he, Kennedy, would be completely destroyed. Siegrist stated it was inconceivable that Kennedy did not know of FBI bugging activities, but if in fact he did not know, then he was an "awfully dumb" Attorney General. Siegrist covered the controversy in a chronological manner, and the Director's documentation produced the unmistakable effect that Bobby is lying.

RECOMMENDATION:

That in view of Siegrist's strong support of the FBI, the attached letter to him be approved and sent.
December 18, 1966

77-51387-1917

Lr. Robert R. Siegrist
Suite F-145
Sheraton-Park Hotel
2000 Connecticut Avenue,
Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Mr. Siegrist:

I am certainly grateful for your strong support and the kind comments in your radio broadcast of December 15, 1966.

As you know, all I did was to state the true facts and support those facts by appropriate documentation. I appreciate your bringing the truth of this matter to the attention of your listeners.

Sincerely yours,

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Wick (sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Gale (sent with cover memo)

TO: Mr. DeLoach

DATE: December 15, 1966

FROM: R. E. Wick

SUBJECT: ROBERT R. SIEGRIST
MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM
WASHINGTON, D. C.
PROGRAM OF 12/15/66 TO BE DEVOTED
TO RESPONSIBILITY OF FORMER AG KENNEDY
FOR EAVESDROPPING BY FBI

Robert R. Siegrist, Mutual Broadcasting System,
is a very close friend of the FBI and has devoted many of his
programs to praising the work of the FBI. He has a nationwide
program which is heard in Washington on Radio Station WWDC at
7:00 p.m. each evening.

Siegrist contacted Bishop in my office on 12/15/66
and advised that he wants to devote his program of this evening to
the current controversy over "bugging" and to former Attorney
General Robert Kennedy's denial that he knew such activities were
being engaged in by the FBI. He stated that he "really wants to take
off on Bobby," point out very clearly the lies that he has been issuing
in connection with the current controversy, pinpoint his responsibility
for microphone surveillances utilized by the FBI and also point out that
Bobby's denial of knowledge of this activity by the FBI is a calculated
attempt on his part to paint himself as a "liberal" in order to gain
political support.

Bishop furnished him copies of material previously distributed by the Bureau on this matter and briefed him generally on
the situation. He was most appreciative and indicated that he Jan 2 1967
would strongly support the Bureau's position on his program.

We have made arrangements to monitor this program.

RECOMMENDATION:

None; for information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
2 - Mr. Gale
3 - Mr. Jones

M. A. Jones to Wick Fleming
5:15 AM 12/16/66

Let to Segrut

W. A.
Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) **67C, 67D** with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) ____________, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies): ____________, ____________, ____________, ____________ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information:

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

**77-51387- Not Recorded Dated: 12/21/66**
Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: R. E. Wick

DATE: January 19, 1967

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN LOUIS C. WYMAN (REPUBLICAN - NEW HAMPSHIRE) (Bureau file 62-87517)

On 1/19/67 Bishop of my office contacted Congressman Wyman in connection with our program of contacting newly elected Congressmen. It is noted that Congressman Wyman is on the Special Correspondents' List and formerly served in Congress from 1962 to 1964.

Congressman Wyman was extremely cordial and expressed deep appreciation for the congratulations of the Director upon his return to Congress. He stated that he has the utmost respect for "the Boss" (referring to Mr. Hoover) and has always considered himself to be a solid supporter of the FBI. He stated that the Bureau could count on his support on any matter on which it might call upon him.

Mr. Wyman advised that he was formerly secretary to the late Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and he assisted Senator Bridges in drafting the bill introduced by Senator Bridges providing for retirement of FBI Agents after 20 years service. He mentioned very favorably his acquaintance with former SAC Richard Auerbach and former Assistant to the Director Louis Nichols. He indicated a very strong dislike and distrust of former Attorney General Robert Kennedy and stated that he felt the Director had "decisively defeated Kennedy" in the recently publicized controversy over electronic eavesdropping.

RECOMMENDATION

None. For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Jones.

TEB:mls

57 JAN 26 1967
RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

J. W. 1

William F. Buckley, Jr., who is favorably inclined to the Bureau, in recent weeks, Buckley has had three favorable columns in the daily papers on this matter, and the Director recently wrote him a very cordial letter in connection with the same.

There is attached a short item from the January 17th issue of "National Review" which speculates on why Bobby Kennedy got himself "whacked with J. Edgar Hoover in the battle of the bugs."

I will be recalled that "National Review" is put out by James 51 Pages 1967...
Why did Robert Kennedy get himself mixed up with J. Edgar Hoover in the battle of the bugs? It might be thought that the outcome, a mound of evidence proving Kennedy's complicity in Justice Dept. wire-tapping procedures, would scarcely have been worth the struggle, and indeed, less arrogant men might have thought twice before challenging the FBI chief on his own unshakeable ground. Was Kennedy relying, misguided as it turned out, on Hoover's celebrated reluctance to throw open Bureau records? Or did he simply, as simple folk sometimes do, start something he couldn't finish? The answer may lie in the episode's curious lack of impact on the Kennedy image, which continues buoyant though riddled through and through by the facts. Not only is RFK, as heir designate to the Presidency, beyond good and evil, he also knows he must continue to make his political pitch to those moulders of public taste for whom any attack upon J. Edgar Hoover automatically puts one in the right.
December 20, 1968
BY LIASON

Emorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Enclosed are copies of two articles concerning
the FBI's use of electronic listening devices. You may desire
to bring them to the attention of the President.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (2)
U.S. News and World Report, 12-26-68, "Who Knew About 'Bugging'...
RFK's Story -- And The FBI's
New York "World Journal Tribune," 12-17-68, "Week That Was...
Will It Hurt Bobby?" by David Barnett

1. Mr. Wick (Sent with memo to AAG of same date)
2. Mr. DeLoach (Sent with memo to AAG of same date)
3. Mr. Gale (Sent with memo to AAG of same date)
1. Mr. Rosen (Sent with memo to AAG of same date)

13 DEC 21 68

NOTE: The article in the "U.S. News and World Report" is being acknowledged separately. Copies are also being sent to the Acting Attorney General. No letter is being sent to Mr. David Barnett for his article in the New York "World Journal Tribune" since it is not in support of the FBI but rather is mainly critical of Senator Kennedy.

Delivered to HHD 28th Dec 22 on 12-31-68
Week That Was... Will It Hurt Bobby?

By DAVID EKENETZ

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17—This was the week that Robert Kennedy could well wish wasn’t.

It was personally painful and it could be politically dam-
aging.

To long-term foes of the New York Senator who remember him only as the brash, aggressive counsel of a Senate committee, the recent demonstration of the Kennedy week went from "bugging to book burning.

To staunch friends, it was a week in which Kennedy was the victimized, in which fate operated against the most prominent member of a family that has suffered an unusual number of tragedies.

Last weekend, Edgar Hoover charged that Kennedy as Attorney General had approved the caving down of the FBI in the Wilson case. The investigation was called "Kennedy a liar." The resulting week saw the explosion of the issue produced a credibility gap for both Kennedy and Hoover that will be difficult to close.

EEOCA CASE

At mid-week, the Supreme Court confirmed the conviction of the American actor James Howard, a man who Kennedy had tried to jail with so much diligence.

The court decision in question was a prize fought and won by Kennedy.

But it also repulsed the image of Kennedy as a ruthless pursuer, an image that had diminished in the past three years. And it enforced the assumption that Kennedy, in his single-minded trapping of Hoffa, would not have hesitated to use any effective method of obtaining information.

At the week’s end, there were scenes outside the Kennedy family and William Manchester over the publication of his book, "Death of a President."

Even if the matter is settled out of court, Kennedy will be given an indeterminate sentence as a result of history.

CAN’T BE SUPRESSED

Even if the court bans publication, as many copies of the manuscript are in circulation that the information obviously does not.

Katharine Kennedy, the widow of his brother, cannot be suppressed.

Kennedy partisans accept the explanation that the suit was precipitated by thesensor’s decision to go on to sections dealing with her private emotions.

But there are many of them who, from the days of the late president’s marriage, have had much stronger bonds to the Male Kennedy than to Jacqueline.

They consider Mrs. Kennedy’s attack on the book has been overplayed and that the senator will suffer by his own publicity.

But there is another explanation for the success of the suit in the more conspiratorial types who supported President Lyndon B. Johnson. It starts with the well-supported thesis that the book paints a distasteful picture of President Lyndon B. Johnson. So, the explanation goes, the case was to suggest that the Kennedy’s suit—and failed—to prevent such a picture.

A close associate of the senator, asked about this "explanation" said: "It was true, but it isn’t. If it were, the whole thing would be less painful to Bobby."

Nevertheless, the week can hardly sweeten the relationship between the President and Sen.

HURT HIS IMAGE

And most political thinkers in Washington are convinced it will sour the relationships between the senator and at least some of his useful and enthusiastic boosters.

In the years since the assassination, Sen. Kennedy had about lived down the impression that he was a wild, ruthless, infighter. His image as a rational, cautious idealist, with a special pipe line to the thinking of the generation of the voters, was steadily growing.

Charges—no matter how ill-founded—that he is less than a meticulously truthful statesman, that he is prepared to decontaminate history of painful truths, that he believes any means, including bugging, can be justified, to reach a personally desirable end—these charges will be difficult to bury.

The verdict in political Washington is that the week will be relieved whenever Sen. Kennedy faces the voters, and that it will hurt.

"World Journal Tribune"
New York, New York
December 17, 1966
WASHINGTON, Dec. 29—At the moment the hottest thing in the Democratic party is Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York, the brother of the slain President, but his halo is tipping.

Disclosures of the hand he played in wire tapping and the exposure of his snobbery may send his popularity plunging far below that of President Johnson and leave him low man on the 1968 political totem pole.

Bobby came off second best in a “bawling” row with J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Hoover declared it was “absolutely incomprehensible” that Bobby, his former boss as attorney general under President Kennedy, would deny knowledge of “bugging” in criminal cases.

Hoover produced memos from Kennedy’s chief witness, Courtney A. Evans, a former assistant FBI director, who was promoted by Bobby to a post in the justice department. These disclosed that Bobby had approved “microphone surveillance.” The FBI has a file bulging with Kennedy approvals of wire taps which could be disclosed one a day, for months.

**Establishes Special Wire Tap Group**

Not only did Kennedy approve FBI wire taps, he approved “bugging” by the treasury department on Feb. 13, 1961. Furthermore, he set up a special wire tap group under his own command. This group consisted of three men. One was given a job in the justice department, a second was placed on the White House payroll, and a third on the payroll of the immigration and naturalization service.

If Bobby tapped the wires of James Hoffa, teamster boss, whom he made his No. 1 target, these men would know it. It would be interesting to hear what they might say if they were summoned before a grand jury and asked to testify under oath.

Some friends of Hoffa have offered a reward of $100,000 to anyone producing evidence of wire tapping in connection with Hoffa’s trial in Nashville. William Leech, president and publisher of the Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader, has offered another $100,000.

The sum is a tempting one, but whether any of the principals would care to answer the $200,000 question is doubtful, especially if they were wire tapping of Hoffa. If it comes to matching money, few can compete with the Kennedy family.

**Family Is Worried Over Disclosures**

The label of snobbery could be even more damaging to a man who is dreaming of the White House. The Kennedy family is involved in a hassle with its hand-picked author, William Manchester, over an account of President Kennedy’s death. His widow, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, who is being coached by Bobby, has repudiated the book as “both tasteless and distorted.”

What the family is worried about is the disclosure of some confidences. These include a reference to President Johnson as “a country bumpkin” and indignation over the fact that Johnson boarded the Presidential plane after the assassination for the return journey home, although he had been President and the plane was his rather than the widow’s or the Kennedy family’s.

If the book should reveal the Kennedys, including Bobby, as arrogant and snobbish, it would not help Bobby’s image and it is little wonder, then, that the family is exerting every effort to suppress any book on the assassination that the Kennedys do not control and control.
Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) 67C, 67D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____________________________, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies): _____________________________ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____________________________

☐ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: 77-51387-1920