CBS NEWS
A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
524 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019
(212) 765-4321

Dear Mr. Policoff:

In answer to your request, we are pleased to send you a transcript of our CBS NEWS SPECIAL broadcast in which you are interested. This transcript is being sent to you for your reference and review use only.

Thank you for your interest in our broadcast.

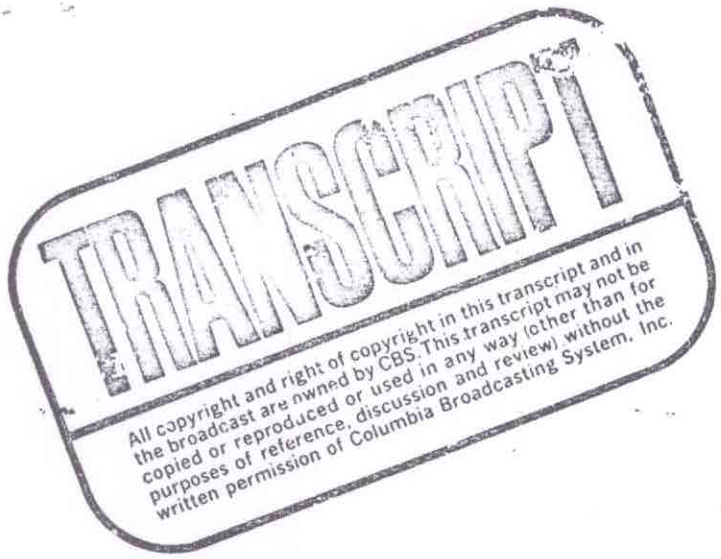
Sincerely yours,

May M. Dowell
Director of Special Projects

Mr. Jerry Policoff
69-01 35 Avenue
Jackson Heights, New York 11377

May 9, 1972

MMD:dt



CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT

"J. Edgar Hoover: 1895-1972"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Tuesday, May 2, 1972

7:30-8:30 PM, EDT

With CBS News Correspondent John Hart

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

PRODUCER: Robert Markowitz

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Burton Benjamin

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "J. Edgar Hoover". Here is CBS News Correspondent John Hart.

HART: Good evening. John Edgar Hoover was 77 when he died last night. There was no man like him in American history. His passing reminds us that no President even, lived as much history as he did. He served seven of them.

why held so long?

What you will see tonight was prepared two years ago, not as a tribute or as an obituary but as a study of an extraordinary public servant while he still served. As it turned out, it was as much a study of the FBI as of Hoover. They were the same thing. The Bureau was a creation in his image. It was his life, his family. It still follows his ethics, operates with his moral views, practices his priorities. It is the product of his single-mindedness. It is the monument he wanted.

He was born the 1st of January, 1895, in Washington, D.C. His father was a Government worker, his mother a firm believer in the stern faith of Calvinism. As a boy, Hoover wanted to be a minister. In high school he was known for his morality. He was nicknamed "Speed". He worked as a messenger in the Library of Congress, studied law at night, went on for a Master's degree in law.

Hoover was 22 when war came in 1917 and with it suspicion of foreigners. They were called "enemy aliens". To handle them, the Justice Department created the War Emergency Division, put John Lord O'Brien in charge.

He remembers hiring Hoover for the duration to analyze aliens who volunteered for military duty and wanted to become citizens. It was Hoover's introduction to subversion.

O'BRIEN: (1969) I discovered that he worked Sundays and also very often at also very often at night - as I did myself under the growing pressure of the war. And I promoted him several times simply on merit, and at the end of the war, at the time of the Armistice, he told me that he would like to continue in the permanent side of the Department of Justice. And I took that up personally with the new Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, and had him transferred to the Bureau of Investigation.

HART: (1969) Hoover's new boss was an ambitious man who soon bowed to postwar hysteria over Bolshevism. Hoover built a filing system on 60,000 people considered dangerous to the national interest. Then Attorney General Palmer set off the "Red raids," arresting thousands of people, often without evidence or warrants.

O'BRIEN: It was really a very disgraceful incident. It was a stain on the American escutcheon from the standpoint of elementary civil rights. These people were locked up without any evidence at all, in many cases.

HART: Hoover continued to work for Palmer during the "Red raids,"

but later was reported as remembering them with considerable distaste. Hoover's distaste for scandal went into what TIME magazine called the "Hooverization" of the Attorney General's Bureau of Investigation, which he took over in 1924.

As its assistant director for three years, Hoover had seen Bureau badges distributed among politicians, Bureau investigators hired by political recommendation. Morale was low and so was efficiency. When he was promoted to director, he demanded and got a promise from the Attorney General of no politics, no outside interference. He collected the honorary badges, overhauled the training of agents, required that they be lawyers or public accountants, created a laboratory for the scientific study of evidence, established a central fingerprint file that now holds nearly 200 million sets of prints. And Hoover saw to it the public found out.

CONGRESSMAN LAWRENCE HOGAN (FORMER FBI AGENT): But his success in (1969) the FBI, I think, has a great deal to do with his intuitive sense of good public relations. Now you recall - I recall as a little boy, in the days of Dillinger and "Baby Face" Nelson and the criminals who rode herd on America got all of the attention from news media at that time. And the headlines were always emblazoned with their exploits, their murders, their bank robberies. And J. Edgar Hoover came on the scene with his G-Man and virtually overnight the G-Man replaced the criminal as the hero in America.

HART: The turning point was July 22, 1934, when the killer and bank robber John Dillinger was shot to death by a Bureau agent in front of the Biograph Theater in Chicago. Dillinger's gang had killed ten men, but he had become a symbol of glamor, a defiant rogue who always escaped. After his death, hundreds of people viewed his body and many even mourned him. Hoover's G-Men changed that. He allowed hero's publicity to Melvin Purvis, one of the agents of Dillinger's death. Purvis was one of the few agents ever allowed any fame. Hoover was careful to keep the Bureau and its public image under control.

HOGAN: And he has been able to keep the image of the FBI agent as the outstanding young American who's dedicated to doing his job and who's fearless. And again, his innate sense of public relations can be seen in the television show, the radio programs about FBI cases.

(Music: theme from FBI radio show)

RADIO ANNOUNCER: Another great story based on Frederick L. Collins's copyrighted book, "The FBI in Peace and War" - drama, thrills, action. Tonight's story: "The Traveling Man".

HART: Here, once a week, the country had the Bureau's authorized view of itself.

RADIO ANNOUNCER: To the Director, FBI, Washington. Confidential. Stolen Buick sedan, motor number 126027, recovered on used car lot, Miami, Florida. Vehicle originally registerd in New York City.

Third recovered to date, confirming theory New York-to-Miami theft ring.

HART: The public relations included films for schools authorized by the FBI.

FILM NARRATOR: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, and his chief assistant, Clyde Tolson. On that map are spotted the field divisions and the location of each agent. The FBI protects the innocent. This lad is being fingerprinted, and once he is thus registered in the FBI's civil fingerprint file, no emergency will ever rob him of his identity. Training for men carefully selected. Only one out of a thousand applicants is ever accepted. G-Men must be lawyers or graduate accountants - trained minds to get the facts. FBI men shoot only in self-defense. Special agents, in arresting over 25,000 criminals, have killed only 16 murderous public enemies. Yet they must know how to shoot straight. The Federal Bureau of Investigation as an arm of national defense reminds us of its past record of crime suppression. The plaque by which Director J. Edgar Hoover is standing is the honor roll of FBI - men who gave their lives, killed in the performance of duty, soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifice for their country.

HART: The latest approved image is portrayed by actor Efrem Zimbalist Jr. on an ABC television series, authorized by Hoover. In the unofficial popular literature of a whole generation, the G-Man legend grew, too.

HOGAN: In most instances, the citizen couldn't be more cooperative. Why? Because he's been presold on the FBI. He's been conditioned by all the favorable information he's heard and he's been vicariously involved in solving so many kidnappings and bank robberies. We talk about image. I think "reputation" is a better word than "image". And it was not reputation endowed, it was reputation earned through the solution of difficult cases by aggressively declaring war on crime. The FBI earned the reputation which the public gave it.

HART: (1972) A reputation that made Hoover a national hero, a celebrity. When he landed a five-foot sailfish, it became a nationwide wirephoto with the headline, "G-Man's Catch". A holiday ride on the Atlantic City boardwalk with his assistant Clyde Tolson was a newsphoto for Associated Press, who gave it the title, "G-Men Go For a Ride". "G-Man Sleuths at Play" was a news picture in 1939 as Hoover photographed his aide Clyde Tolson. And he was seen with celebrities, with movie stars Lana Turner and Wallace Beery at a Washington party. Celebrating New Year's, 1938, in New York at the Stork Club, being hatted by society girl Cobina Wright. Giving Shirley Temple a personal tour of the FBI building. "Shirley plugs her ears," said the caption, "as her father (not seen) shoots a G-Man's gun." In the tack room with the nation's famous jockeys, flanked here by Willie Shoemaker and Eddie Arcaro. When he went to the track, which was frequently, it was an event for the theater newsreels.

NEWSREEL NARRATOR: . . . attention. And here are the Warren Wrights, owners of Ponder, and Cabot Trainer's The Jones Boy. J. Edgar Hoover is all set for action. And they're off!

HART: (1972) Honors came from every level, from enshrinement in bronze at the Smithsonian Institution to an honorary window in the Capitol Hill Methodist Church - in the sanctuary which now stands where his boyhood home was - to honorary membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It was an all-American reputation, amplified by a picture of himself he sometimes deliberately encouraged by posing for photographers as the tough G-Man, watchdog for the nation's security. In recent years he withdrew from publicity, was seen mostly at official functions, frequently at the White House, as when municipal policemen graduated from the FBI's National Academy. He was at home in the presence of Presidents. Seven of them found him indispensable.

LYNDON JOHNSON: (1964) Edgar, the law says that you must retire next January when you reach your 70th birthday. And knowing you as I do, Edgar, I know you won't break the law. But the nation cannot afford to lose you, and therefore, by virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in the President of the United States, I have just now signed an Executive order exempting you from compulsory retirement for an indefinite period of time. And again, Edgar, congratulations, and accept the gratitude of a grateful nation.

HART: (1969) Hoover's access to Presidents made him, as one Attorney General put it, a very special case, unlike other subordinates at the Justice Department. The Bureau was guaranteed protection from politics, so as Administrations changed, as Attorneys General came and went, Hoover remained. In seven Administrations, President after President declared their need and faith in J. Edgar Hoover. He had become an American legend while he lived: a guardian the people wanted to keep, a symbol of security.

(1972) In his 47 years as Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover became more than the country's best-known investigator. He became one of its leading crusaders. In "Who's Who" he listed himself as a criminologist. But the books that bear his name are not on criminology. They are about Communism and subversion, internal security.

(1969) It became the Bureau's official business after the German-American Bund came up in the late 1930's with Nazi-like rallies such as this one in Madison Square Garden. It was widely considered Adolf Hitler's fifth column in America. In 1939 President Roosevelt directed the FBI to investigate all espionage and sabotage in this country. The investigators became the watchdogs. J. Edgar Hoover worked out a contingency plan for arresting aliens should war break out. When Pearl Harbor was attacked, the plan was used. In 72 hours, 3,846 German, Japanese and Italian nationals were arrested. There was no violence. Later, German saboteurs were intercepted, their explosives uncovered, and no major sabotage occurred in the United States during World War II. Hoover's agents were simply better

at their work than the enemy's agents. They used one-way glass to trap the German spy Fritz Duquesne. The narrator of this FBI film was J. Edgar Hoover.

HOOVER: (1940) A concealed camera in the next office took these incriminating pictures. There's Duquesne again, the leader of the ring and the most cautious of them all. He is removing diagrams of the M-1 rifle, an airborne tank, a PT boat and a late-model plane, which he had concealed in his sock. He is describing to Sawyer the gas-operating principles of the M-1 rifle, a secret which might have made a difference in the lives of a lot of Americans had it reached Germany at that time.

HART: (1969) Duquesne was arrested, along with 32 other conspirators. Counterespionage included a public role for Hoover as the wartime orator on alien conspiracies.

HOOVER: (1940) Never before was there a greater need for unity, for a calm appraisal of the forces which work against us. The rabble-rousing Communists, the goose-stepping Bundsmen, their stooges and seemingly innocent fronts, and last but by no means least, the pseudo-liberals, adhere to the doctrine . . .

HART: With the defeat of Nazism, a military threat had subsided. The remaining threat was an ideology: Communism.

HOOVER: (1946) Communists have been, still are and always will be a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God and to America's way of life. I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused, as it is today, the fight against Communism is well on its way. The Communist Party of the United States is a fifth column if there ever was one.

HART: The warnings went out in books and articles, Congressional testimony and FBI tracts. "Masters of Deceit" became the popular textbook on the alien threat. There are Bureau bulletins for public distribution. In 1969 his pronouncements were put in a collection and published. The man who once wanted to be a minister found his fight against subversion was a moral crusade.

HOOVER: (1964) It is a great misfortune that the zealots or pressure groups always think with their emotions and seldom with reason. They have no compunction in carping, lying and exaggerating with the fiercest passion, spearheaded at times by Communists and moral degenerates.

HART: He spoke with authority. He never had to talk across a credibility gap. He had all those files, all that information, so much more than he was saying, so that what he did say carried extra weight.

HOOVER: (1964) I cannot and will not permit the FBI to be used to superimpose the aims of those who would sacrifice the very foundations on which our Government rests. I take humble pride in emphatically stating here tonight that as long as I am

Director of the FBI, it will continue to maintain its high and impartial standards of investigation despite the hostile opinions of its detractors.

HART: There were observers who were not hostile. One of his employers, Attorney General Ramsey Clark, felt that Hoover, in fighting an ideology, had developed one, too.

CLARK: (1969) There is an ideology that has built up in the FBI over a period of years. In my judgment, there should never be an ideology in an investigative agency. It should be disciplined to one purpose, and that's fact discovery.

HOGAN: (1969) Now the FBI has no choice. Congress and the President have given them their marching orders and they're obliged to investigate these cases. So J. Edgar Hoover doesn't have the prerogative to choose what he investigates and what he doesn't.

HART: Burnett Britton was one of the agents obliged to investigate the Communist Party. His 13 years in the FBI - from 1948 to 1961 - covered those years when the Party went underground. His unit in San Francisco was among the first in the FBI to develop techniques of underground surveillance.

BRITTON: (1969) I think in certain parts of the country, and certainly here in California, we probably knew in the end more about the Communist Party underground than any one or two of the underground leaders.

HART: What is your view of the public stance taken by the FBI toward the Communist Party in those years?

BRITTON: I think it was a little too harsh. I think by the end of the McCarthy era, the Party was going downhill. I think their decision to go underground was a mistake - they saw it to be a mistake in later years. So I think the Bureau's position was too cautious, too heavy-handed.

HART: I'm trying to ascertain Mr. Hoover's role and his thinking in the matter. How did that come through to you as an agent in the field?

BRITTON: With respect to Communism, I felt that he was using the Bureau's investigation of Communism for personal reasons. The Party just wasn't that dangerous. We were spending a great deal of time and effort in the field, more than we perhaps should have, so although Hoover didn't seem to know personally a lot about Communists, about Communism, he did push the investigation for a good number of years very heavily.

HART: What personal views do you have in mind?

BRITTON: The aggrandizement of his own position as Director of the Bureau: a very powerful man in the executive department.

HART: You said that you stole or photographed certain documents during that period. Did you do this legally or illegally?

BRITTON: Illegally.

HART: What do you mean, illegally?

BRITTON: I think the entering of another person's home without a warrant and under certain other circumstances, such as arrest or with consent, is illegal. And that's precisely what we were doing.

HART: But you were fighting Communism.

BRITTON: Right.

HART: And that doesn't justify it?

BRITTON: No, no.

HART: Why not?

BRITTON: There are very few things, if any - and I can think of none - that would justify, under the Constitution, any person, especially a Government agent, entering another person's house, as I mentioned, with those few exceptions - for arrest situations, with consent of the owner or with a warrant.

HART: But the Bureau pleads national security is at stake.

BRITTON: It pleads that national security is at stake. The concept's too broad. What's more, the security of the country changes from year to year. At that time, when the Party went underground, it was becoming to be a very weak and ineffectual organization.

HART: It was the capture of George "Machine Gun" Kelly in 1933 that began to make the Bureau's agents the legendary protectors of law and order. Kelly was caught without his tommy gun. He saw they were Government men. He begged, "Don't shoot, G-Men!" The name became a household word as G-Men captured "Pretty Boy" Floyd, "Baby Face" Nelson, Ma Barker's gang, and killed John Dillinger. The G-Men brought glamor to law and order.

A year after Dillinger died, the Justice Department's Investigation Bureau was renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There was mild criticism at the time that the new name implied this was the Federal investigative unit, when there were more than a dozen others less romantic and less publicized. In 11 years Hoover had taken a disreputable bureau, remade it, and let the public know it.

Compare Pitch

HOOVER (1936): Every kidnapping case brought to our attention has been solved. Bank robberies have been cut in half. Extortionists have been consistently apprehended, and other forms of Federal offenses have been vigorously prosecuted. Ninety-four of every 100 persons whom we have brought to trial are convicted. May I

emphasize that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is as close to you as your nearest telephone. It belongs to you. It seeks to be your protector in all matters within its jurisdiction.

HART: Being a protector is a larger concept than just being an investigator. Hoover did not hesitate to seek the larger role. It included counseling the country on its behavior.

HOOVER: (1960) This attitude of "I can get away with anything, I'm a juvenile" has been fostered by a system of leniency which prevails among authorities dealing with juvenile offenders in far too many legal jurisdictions. We mollycoddle young criminals and release unreformed hoodlums to prey anew on society. The bleeding hearts, particularly among the judiciary, are so concerned for the young criminals that they become indifferent to the rights of law-abiding citizens.

CBS REPORTER BEN SILVER: (1968) Do you feel the nation is in trouble?

HOOVER: I think very definitely it is.

SILVER: In what respect?

HOOVER: In the respect that it has these conditions existing - these riots, these lootings, and this burning and arson of buildings and stores in various parts of the country - that should not be allowed to prevail.

SILVER: What is the answer?

HOOVER: The answer is vigorous law enforcement.

SILVER: That's the only answer?

HOOVER: That's the only answer.

SILVER: How about justice? You hear a lot about justice with law enforcement.

HOOVER: Justice is merely incidental to law and order. Law and order is what covers the whole picture. Justice is part of it, but it can't be separated as a single thing.

RAMSEY CLARK: (1969) It took the FBI, in my judgment, a number of years to gear up to effective effort against the Mafia. The Cosa Nostra became the FBI's new thing, you know, a decade after its widely-known existence and size had been spoken of and become a part of the law enforcement scene in the United States.

HOGAN: (1969) . . . I was in the FBI, which goes back over ten years, there was a program at that time aimed at the top hoodlums in the United States. But at that time we didn't really have the tools or the coordination.

HART: One of the tools is the wiretap. Another is the bug. The FBI has far more sophisticated listening devices than the ones shown in this old training manual. The 1968 Omnibus Crime Law requires the Attorney General to get a Federal court order before the FBI can use any of them. A number of critics have accused the Bureau of using them illegally, even when the laws were less restrictive. One such critic is William Turner, who says he did it illegally himself when he was an FBI agent. He was an agent for ten years, until he got into a bitter dispute with his supervisor and was fired. There was a time, however, when he got personal letters of commendation from Hoover for his electronic skills.

TURNER: (1969) We had what we called "suicide taps". That was to say that agents would come to me as a bugger and wiretapper and they'd say, "Bill, I got a case here. I just need to intercept one call. We just want a hit-and-run tap." And I would go out and put it in without the Bureau in Washington knowing a thing about it. In other words, this was called a "suicide tap" because if I got caught, it was suicide as far as my career was concerned. The Bureau would be very harsh.

HART: Does the Bureau, to your knowledge, perform wiretaps or electronic eavesdropping without authorization from the Attorney General, on its own?

FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS KATZENBACH: (1969) You have to - now? Today? I can answer that it never did in the wiretapping field in modern times. As far as electronic surveillance is concerned, it did so under what it regarded as a general authorization to do so without specific approval of the Attorney General. This continued from, I believe, about 1958 until 1965.

HART: It was 1963 when the FBI made its most controversial wiretap: on the telephone of the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Hoover fed the controversy when, six years later, he told The Washington Star the tap was proposed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy - making the statement after both King and Kennedy were dead.

KATZENBACH: There was some reason to believe that subversives - known subversives - were making efforts to influence Dr. King's movement and the question was how to deal with that, whether to confirm whether they were or not. And under those circumstances - really as much for the protection of Dr. King as for any other reason, and not because of any suspicion or feeling that Dr. King himself was in any way subversive or disloyal - Mr. Kennedy authorized a tap.

HART: (1972) Most of the wiretapping in this country is done by local authorities, operating under looser laws on interceptions. But they are free to share their tape recordings with the FBI, giving the Bureau access to information it cannot get legally for itself. The public argument over the tap on King's telephone revealed again that Hoover was sensitive on the subject of Martin Luther King. It was revealed for the first time when the FBI

Director called King "the most notorious liar in America." He did so during a visit in his office with some lady reporters in Washington. It offered a rare glimpse of Hoover and his views of a very important segment of his career: the growth of the civil rights movement in the South.

GRACE HALSELL: (1969) . . . and talked for three hours and it was a free-swinging style and blasted quite a number of subjects, including the Warren Commission report and the Reverend Martin Luther King and redneck sheriffs from Mississippi and - just to name a few.

CARYL RIVERS: (1969) Perhaps it was when Mr. Hoover was giving sort of a broad-gauge discussion of civil rights problems involving the FBI, and he mentioned in passing "the notorious Dr. Martin Luther King." I guess a kind of a red flag went up at that remark. He later repeated this remark in the quote - it's now become well-known - about Dr. King being "the most notorious liar in the country" in reference to this - the Albany, Georgia, situation. Remarks that Dr. King had made about agents in the Albany, Georgia, office being all Southern-born, which Mr. Hoover denied. He said that four out of the five were Northerners.

HALSELL: Well, one of several of the girls said, "Well, the first hour I thought, well, I have enough for two stories, the second hour I have enough for six stories, and the third hour I could write a book."

HART: (1972) When the book is written on the FBI in the South, it will note that J. Edgar Hoover and his agents saw their job differently from the way Dr. King and his aides did. The Reverend Andrew Young was King's closest aide.

YOUNG: (1969) I think that our experience with the FBI, from '60 to '65 especially, was that no matter what kind of violence, no matter what kind of brutality, no matter what was happening, all the FBI agents did was stand over on the corner and take notes.

KATZENBACH: (1969) Dr. King wanted the FBI to do things that the FBI did not want to do, did not feel it should do, did not feel it had authority to do or it would be proper for it to do. And I think to a large extent the Bureau was right and Dr. King was wrong.

YOUNG: We also thought that there were many too many ties - and still do - between the FBI and local law enforcement agents that were deliberately and outright segregationist.

KATZENBACH: I think the Bureau was slow to respond to the racial problems. I would agree. So was the whole Government. It wasn't an FBI problem. So was most of America.

HART: (1972) The response of the country and the FBI was quickened in 1964, when three young civil rights workers - Andrew Goodman,

Michael Schwerner and James Chaney - disappeared near Philadelphia, Mississippi. A mood of violence was spreading. Burke Marshall was Assistant Attorney General in the Civil Rights Division.

MARSHALL: (1969) By the summer of 1964, the 1964 summer, when the Klan was a great danger in Mississippi, the Bureau really opened an office at - it wasn't their idea - but they opened an office in Jackson, Mississippi, and they took control of that situation and they did a terrific job.

HART (1969): Whose idea was it?

MARSHALL: President Johnson's.

HART: Why wasn't it their idea?

MARSHALL: Well, I can't answer that question. I suppose that it goes back to the fact that the Bureau and the Director of the Bureau think that they are in control of their own resources. And so that they don't like the Attorney General, and really wouldn't agree with the Attorney General if he said open an office here or increase your force here or deploy your men in this way.

HART: On the day he did it, civil rights workers Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney had been missing for 20 days, their abandoned automobile found in the undergrowth of Neshoba County, Mississippi. Less than a month later, the FBI found them.

MARSHALL: That piece of work was a remarkable piece of work. The bodies were buried under 17 feet of dirt. It was an insoluble crime if it had not been gone after by an expert crime investigative agency. So the Bureau did a terrific piece of work on that.

HART: (1972) The FBI's successes were built in large degree on the control Hoover had over his agents, on the discipline he brought to what was once a loose and disreputable agency. His public reputation as super-sleuth was built on his strength as a super-administrator. The private man was hidden from all but a few. What we know came from rare fragments of conversations with acquaintances and former employees. He drank rarely; one cocktail, two at the most. He was given to lengthy conversation, gossiping of history, retelling again and again the famous FBI cases - Dillinger, "Machine Gun" Kelly, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. A former Attorney General who had his confidence heard intimate details about the lives of other cabinet members.

And there was gossip about him, too. How his window closed automatically in the morning - a device invented in the Bureau after the Director remarked on the discomfort of getting out of bed and doing it. The patent is held by the Director's long-time friend and assistant, Clyde Tolson. On most mornings - not this one - Tolson was picked up by the Director in a limousine driven by an agent for the ride to work. They frequently stopped short of the FBI building so they could walk the last several blocks. The Director used an

armored limousine with bullet-resistant glass. At noon he ate at the same restaurant every day, a simple 20-minute lunch. Inside, his waitress would tell him he looked well and she hoped he lived to be 200 because she sleeps better at night knowing that he is in that job. He was 77 last January 1st.

One suspects there was no secret J. Edgar Hoover. He was the Director at home just as he was at work. His job was his whole life. Over the years Hoover the boss had been a difficult picture to get. His working agents were not available for comment. Most of his former agents weren't either. But from the accounts of those who did talk, he was a very tough and effective administrator, with a passion to protect the reputation of the Bureau and himself.

JAMES FLYNN (FORMER FBI AGENT): He wanted his agents not only to do
(1969) the right thing, but to - in effect, to look as though they're doing the right thing.

BRITTON: We were to, without hesitation, refute any charge made
(1969) against the Bureau or the Director, knowing full well that in the Director's eyes he and the Bureau were synonymous. So a charge against the Bureau was a charge against the Director. And of course, vice versa.

FLYNN: The feeling in general, I think, is that whatever tends to hurt the Bureau tends to hurt the individuals in it.

HART: Burnett Britton was in it for 13 years. He was one of ten agents who spent three days investigating a man who had called Mr. Hoover a name.

BRITTON: There was a man who had criticized the Director. The word had gotten back to him. Called him perhaps some bad name, something of that nature, and was passing through San Francisco. And quite a few of us, a good number of us, were asked to interview that man and to convince him that he was quite wrong in his view about the Director. We must have spent two or three days attempting to convince this man that he had spoken with - ill-temperedly and incorrectly about the Director.

HART: This was a private citizen?

BRITTON: Yes, a private citizen.

HART: Was he in public life?

BRITTON: Nope, no he wasn't.

HART: To whom did he make the bad remark?

BRITTON: I think he made it in a bar. And it got back to J. Edgar Hoover. A criticism of the Director is a very, a very serious thing in his eyes. And he takes immediate steps always to correct it. It seems bizarre, but it's the way it is.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN ROONEY: In addition to being a kindly man, Mr.
(1969) Hoover is a stern boss. He is a man who runs a tight ship, to put it that way.

BRITTON: We considered ourselves very fortunate in San Francisco
(1969) that we were across the country from him. We understood from those who did work in Washington that it was hell, that he had such tight control over them that their lives, working lives, were often miserable.

HOGAN: Being intensely selective in choosing his personnel and then
(1969) thoroughly investigating them to see that they measure up by not only ability but by moral standards, so that they're really - the investigative as well as the clerical personnel is the cream of the crop, the best that America has to offer. And this is what he does by design.

HART: Part of the design is the handbook for FBI employees - all
(1969) employees. The foreword says it's "to help them refrain from doing anything which would in any way detract from the Bureau's reputation or embarrass it in any way."

The handbook is not a public document. The quote is from a court record, a case that illustrates how Hoover seeks to avoid scandals. A file clerk, Thomas Carter, was appealing his dismissal. Carter was fired in 1965 in a letter from Hoover charging him with conduct unbecoming an employee. The court record show the conduct in question was brought to the Bureau's attention in an anonymous letter that accused Carter of "sleeping with young girls, and carrying on." Carter admitted he was visited from out of state by a girl he'd been going with for several years and was seriously thinking of marrying. He admitted they had shared a bed, but with clothing on and no intimacies. Three other FBI employees who shared the apartment with Carter said they saw no evidence of immoral conduct. A Federal court, in ordering his appeal be heard, said it believed Carter's denials, and the judge said apparently so did the FBI - which still wanted him fired.

The court agreed Carter had done what Puritan England called bundling, and said, "There is good sense as well as fairness in being chary of the anonymous letter." William Hayes, an FBI file clerk too, was censured by Director Hoover for not reporting Carter in the first place. Then Hayes was questioned by an FBI agent about a letter he wrote for Carter, who was then trying to get a job at a bank. Hayes testified that soon he was taken off his regular duties and put to polishing filing cabinets for 13 days straight. He resigned.

Mr. Hoover's influence lasts beyond employment. When the Society of Ex-Agents met in Chicago this year, none would talk on the record with reporters. The Society has an agreement with the Director; he won't speak for them, they won't speak for him.

FLYNN: It's very difficult, as you may have found in the course of
(1969) your investigation of the Bureau, to get anybody to say

anything critical about the Bureau. And I think this is largely because of the feeling that agents have for one another as individuals. I think they feel that anything they might say which would tend to hurt the Bureau would tend to hurt the fellow working next to him.

HART: (1972) The Federal Bureau of Investigation has authority to investigate 180 kinds of crime, including: espionage, sabotage, treason, extortion, bank robbery, kidnapping, fugitive felons, interstate movement of stolen cars or airplanes or cattle, interstate gambling, racketeering, election law violations, civil rights violations, assaulting or killing a Federal officer. If the FBI suspects any violation in any of the 180 matters in its jursidiction, it can and does investigate. It has over six million investigative files, some 8,000 special agents, nearly a third-of-a-billion-dollar budget.

The one committee that looks at the budget is a subcommittee with which Hoover became good friends. Its chairman is Congressman John Rooney.

ROONEY: (1969) He has a very fine relationship with this committee, because - I would say the proof of it is the fact that in all those years, they have never cut his request for appropriations by so much as 15 cents.

HART: (1972) In recent years, President Nixon has given a good deal of thought to the time he knew might come when he would have to choose the man to follow J. Edgar Hoover. Here is Eric Sevareid's analysis.

ROONEY: He comes here, as I said before, with himself and his Associate Director Mr. Clyde Tolson, Mr. John Mohr, the Assistant Director in charge of administration of budget. And no one answers the questions but Mr. Hoover himself. He makes the presentation himself and he answers every question himself. And I've seen time and again his being asked questions with regard to how many automobiles the FBI has in its Chicago office, and he'll give you the answer accurately and immediately. And then if pursued, he can give you the mileage of every one of those cars as they are that day in the city of Chicago, Illinois. Now that's the kind of an administrator he is and that's the kind of an impression he makes upon this subcommittee on appropriations, and it's the reason why he gets the amount of money that he asks for.

HART: (1972) There are other committees of Congress which could not (sic) but do not oversee the FBI. The Judiciary Committees, for example. Congressman Don Edwards is a member.

EDWARDS: (1969) Congress does not attempt to exercise any oversight. When we do, it doesn't work out very well. I wrote Mr. Hoover in connection with my duties on the House Judiciary Committee, which has to do with - which had full responsibility on the civil rights bills, and I asked all of the Federal agencies how many Negro employees they have in Mississippi, for example. This was

in 1967. All of the departments answered me courteously and in detail, which I thought was entirely proper. Mr. Hoover answered like this: "Dear Congressman: I have your letter of September 25th in which you inquired about the accuracy of several reports that there are no Negroes in the Mississippi offices of the Department of Justice. While I cannot speak for the Department of Justice as a whole, insofar as the FBI is concerned, I wish to advise that our employees are assigned wherever the need for them is greatest. Sincerely yours, John Edgar Hoover." Well, you see that is not a response and that does not give the oversight committee any information at all.

HART: (1972) In recent years, President Nixon has given a good deal of thought to the time that he thought might come when he would have to choose a successor to Mr. Hoover. And now, here is Eric Sevareid's analysis.

SEVAREID: (1972) J. Edgar Hoover died too suddenly to choose his own successor, as he had wished to do. Nor will the President have a free hand in the choice, since the Democratic Senate must confirm, under the crime bill of '68. This could mean a controversy as serious as those over the Nixon Supreme Court nominations. Hoover had become a symbol not only of stern, dedicated patriotism but, to those concerned about civil liberties, of authoritarianism and the power of secrecy.

President Nixon took office with the announced hope of reconciling this fractional society. He can make a move in that direction by his choice for Mr. Hoover's successor. He can also, by the same act, reconcile the warring factions within the FBI. This means choosing someone from outside the Bureau, someone of eminence not deeply identified with either the right wing or the left of our political life.

No civil servant ever achieved the personal power that Hoover amassed within the American Government. The man is gone, but much of the power remains, inherent in an office that controls tens of thousands of secret files on American leaders and ordinary citizens. The absolute integrity of those files has to be maintained, and it will take a man of the highest virtue and will power to do it.

The FBI was admired around the world, often for its efficiency, always for its incorruptibility. It was also feared by many besides criminals. Hoover had a deep hold on the American imagination, which craves heroes. In part this was earned by his feats and his extraordinary administrative abilities. In part it was fabricated by denying any mistakes and by heavily publicizing all achievements. In no other democracy has the number one policeman become a popular idol. In no other democracy has the apparatus of a semisecret police been so free of scrutiny by the elected representatives of the people. The police ought to be the most thoroughly scrutinized agency of power, but no one policed our number one policeman, his methods or his budget, which runs far higher than that of our entire Federal court system.

Hoover the man was the reason for all this. This will now have to change, hopefully without injury to the morale and efficiency of the organization he created almost single-handed. A democratic society in which policemen are idolized is in no better shape than one in which they are reviled. Both processes have been going on simultaneously in the United States, the most obvious evidence of our deep divisions.

In the way he handles this great problem and opportunity of replacing Mr. Hoover, the President can move at least a step toward that goal he once described as bringing us together.

HART: (1972) Sometimes reporters got to see the FBI's files. Clark Mollenhoff won a Pulitzer Prize as a reporter in Washington. When we talked with him, he was working at the White House for the Nixon Administration - a post he has since left.

MOLLENHOFF: (1969) Over a period of 20 years around this town, I saw a lot of files.

HART: Including FBI files?

MOLLENHOFF: I've seen FBI files, I've seen all types of files. In dealing with those FBI files in the past, I tried to avoid any circumstance where I used anything out of those files that could not be documented in some other area.

HART: How did you get access to those files?

MOLLENHOFF: Well, the fact of the matter is, as a newspaper correspondent I had contacts on the Hill and contacts around in miscellaneous departments, where frequently . . .

HART: In the FBI too?

MOLLENHOFF: No, not - never directly through the FBI. And I tried to use these things in a discreet manner, tried not to make charges that could not be sustained by other evidence, tried to keep whatever criticism there was in perspective.

RAMSEY CLARK: (1969) I think there have been occasions - and I assume without the knowledge of leadership in the FBI - on which these raw files or information from them has been misused. To permit information in those files to be used in a magazine article is terribly, terribly dangerous.

MOLLENHOFF: Well, there have been reporters around this town who have had access to these files over the years. In most instances, it would be under circumstances where the person who made it available was aware of the character of the reporter, the type of investigative work he would do, his responsibility generally, and that he would not use this to smear someone.

ROONEY (1969): FBI files are not only the property of the FBI.

They're the property of the Department of Justice, and there's a awful lot of lawyers down in the Department of Justice who see a read these files. Now if somebody in the Department of Justice a file or some information in a file, that's one thing. But it' never been shown that Mr. Hoover or anybody under Mr. Hoover eve leak such information.

HART: (1969) What legal assurances do we have as citizens that those cannot or will not be used for political purposes, for o kinds of vindictive purposes against individuals?

MOLLENHOFF: Well, number one, there can never be any full assur as long as you have people running government. You can't have 1 percent assurance.

HART: (1972) The absence of that assurance led many people to ask: wh watches the watchers? J. Edgar Hoover, a single-minded of extraordinary control, watched himself. Watched hims and his Bureau so well they were put beyond question from Congre journalists, giving him a secure place in American history.

Here are two who knew him well and who will see that place. They are Cartha "Deke" DeLoach, one of the men closest to him i Bureau, his assistant, and Herbert Brownell, who was Attorney G of the United States from 1953 to 1957. First, DeLoach.

DeLOACH: He was a typical example of a man who was dedicated t specific goal, and he accomplished that goal in life, which is which all of us would like to do. Some of us will, some of us But he did accomplish his goal of the FBI being the top investi agency in the world, without corruption and without violation o civil rights with our democracy. Yet at the same time, even th was a stern disciplinarian in doing all this and drove unerring his goal, he was still a very compassionate and warm-hearted individual who, I think, loved his fellow man. He was at times individual who would not forgive, particularly those individual brought stigma or possible disrepute to the organization. He w fiercely loyal to his people - extremely loyal. That's what dr him sometimes to make statements of a public nature, because he defending his own personnel. I don't think we'll ever see a ma him again. I know that certainly not as head of the FBI, you w see a man like that again.

HART: Mr. Brownell, how would you place J. Edgar Hoover in the history of this country?

BROWNELL: I think that he will stand the test of time as being the ablest public servants that we ever had in the Federal Gove He was, of course, there for about 50 years as Director of the Bureau of Investigation. He ran a tight ship, as they say, and I learned from law enforcement agencies around the world, incl Scotland Yard and all those, his organization of the FBI was considered the best of any.

HART: How do you remember him personally?

BROWNELL: When I went to Washington back in 1953, we had a group of officials in the Department of Justice, the head people, who met for lunch five days a week in the Department there. And he, of course, was one of the division heads in the Department of Justice, so he met with us every day, every business day. And we got very well acquainted that way. And he was tremendously helpful to me and to my associates, who were mostly newcomers in Washington.

I remember the first lunch we had there, as a matter of fact, in those early days. I made a little speech to my associates about how we were new in Washington and it would be very important as law enforcement officials that we watched our associations and our company, and so forth. Mr. Hoover, I noticed, had a little - quite a smile on his face. And he said, "Well, that's right, General" - he used to say - "I suppose, by the way, that you've checked up on that man that's waiting on you over there in the hotel, haven't you?" I said, "Well, no, I never thought of that." He said, "Well, I just happen to have his record with me," and he pulled it out and he had his whole life history, including some rather spotty chapters in it, and so as a result we had to change. But that was typical of him. Whatever he did, he was very thorough, but at the same time very genial and a wonderful companion in the off-hours.

The FBI, of course, was run on a very stern set of rules during all of his leadership there. He believed that that was the best way to get - to maintain the high standards of efficiency, and I suppose that no one ever, over a long period of time, ran a department with such uniform - uniformly high standards as he did.

HART: How did he take the criticism that started coming up in the last years of his life?

BROWNELL: Well, he used to say - in fact, I remember having dinner with him about three months ago. We talked about that a bit. And he said, "Well, people forget that this hasn't changed at all." He said, "When I first took over the Bureau some 50 years ago, it was scandal-ridden at that time and full of political favoritism and all." He had to clean it up. He said the criticism at that time was very bitter. And through the years he received criticism that was severe. I think in later years it was a little more personal, perhaps, but he considered that was part of the job and that anyone who makes a decision, anyone who takes a strong course of action obviously is going to get criticism. But usually the criticisms about balanced each other off.

HART: Thank you very much, sir.

In coming days you will be hearing and saying the tributes that J. Edgar Hoover's life invites. Most of what you've seen tonight was prepared some time ago to examine the legend and, in addition, the unique record of J. Edgar Hoover.

This is John Hart, CBS News, New York. Good evening.

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "J. Edgar Hoover".