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62-116000-1428 | 100 | SJM:lhb 2/12/76

The Attorney General U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTVTS (SSC)

Re 2/4/76 SSC request pertaining to certn documents which r to be exhibits to the public hearings on domestic intelligence actvts. Enclosed for ur aprovl & frwrdng to the SSC is the orig of a memo respnsv to this req. Also encld for ur records is a cc of the memo.

2/12/76 Let to AG
Request Folder - 2/4/76

Go to FBI decl. of Docs for Dom. Intel Hearing

Ex. 1 FBI Functional Organization Chart.

Ex. 2 Chart showing Structural breakdown of the Intelligence Division of the FBI.

Ex. 3 Chart of "Investigative Matters Received" indicating subversive investigations by the FBI from 1955 to 1974

Ex. 4 Chart of "Investigative Matters Received" indicating Extremist Investigations from 1955 to 1974

Ex. 5 July 16, 1975, memorandum from the Department of Justice to the Senate Select Committee with attachment RE: "Official and Confidential" files.

EX. 6 July 19, 1966, memorandum from William C. Sullivan to Cartha D. Deloach RE: "Black Bag" Jobs.

EX. 7 May 11, 1970, FBI investigative report RE: the "Women's Liberation Movement."

EX. 8 Chart showing "Intelligence Collection Techniques" and their frequency.

EX. 9 November 26, 1969, letter from FBI headquarters to all special agents in charge RE: "Inlet".

EX. 10 "COINTELPRO composite" chart indicating target techniques.

Ex. 11 Chart indicating target techniques used for each domestic counterintelligence Program.

Ex. 12 August 28, 1956, memorandum from Alan H. Belmont to L. V. Boardman RE: CPUSA.

Ex. 13 October 12, 1961, letter from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, New York RE: Socialist Workers Party.

Ex. 14 September 2, 1964, letter from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Atlanta RE: "Disruption of Hate Groups".

Ex 15 August 25, 1967, letter from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups".

Ex. 16 February 29, 1968, memorandum from G. C. Moore to William C. Sullivan with attached March 4, 1968, letter to Special Agents in Charge RE: "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups."

Ex. 17 May 9, 1968, memorandum from Charles D. Brennan to William C. Sullivan RE: "Disruption of the New Left."

Ex. 18 July 7, 1968, letter from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Disruption of the New Left."

Ex. 19 January 30, 1970, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, St. Louis to FBI headquarters.

EX. 20 August 26, 1966, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge to FBI Headquarters RE: "KLAN"

EX. 21 Letter from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Baltimore RE: "Black Panther Party."

EX. 22 Chart indicating COINTELPRO activity from 1956 to 1971.

EX. 23 December 6, 1939, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Special Agents in Charge RE: "Internal Security."

EX. 24 July 16, 1943, memorandum from Francis Biddle to Hugh B. Cox and J. Edgar Hoover.

Ex. 25 August 14, 1943, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Special Agents in Charge

Ex. 26 November 13, 1952, memorandum from D. M. Ladd to FBI Headquarters E.O. with attached November 10, 1952 memo from J. Harold McGrath to FBI Headquarters RE: "Public Safety of the United States."

Ex. 27 September 13, 1960, memorandum from O. Walter Yeagley to J. Edgar Hoover RE: "Nation of Islam"

Ex. 28 January 30, 1969, letter from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge Chicago RE: "Black Panther Party"

Ex. 29 January 13, 1969, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Chicago to FBI headquarters RE: "Black Panther Party".

Ex. 30 June 3, 1968, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Cincinnati to FBI headquarters with attached June 18, 1968, letter from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Cincinnati RE: "Disruption of the New Left".

Ex. 31 letter from FBI
? headquarters to Special Agents in Charge, Newark and San Francisco with attached letter from Special Agent in Charge, Newark to FBI headquarters.

Ex. 32 June 24, 1971, memorandum from Clyde Tolson to the record RE: "executive conference.

EX. 33 November 25, 1975, memorandum from the FBI to the Senate Select Committee RE: "Request for information concerning the Bureau's evaluation of information in the files of security filed."

EX. 34 Excerpts from correspondence between J. Edgar Hoover, President Roosevelt, and Stephen Early. (copies from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library)

EX. 35 A) January 11, 1946, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

B.) January 17, 1946, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

C.) May 29, 1946, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to George E. Allen.

X. 35 continued

D.) December 13, 1946, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Lenyce E. Allen

E.) February 15, 1947, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

F.) June 25, 1947, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

G.) January 27, 1950, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Matthew J. Connelly.

H.) April 4, 1946, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Tom Clark.

I.) December 7, 1949, letter to the President.

J.) January 14, 1950, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

EX. 36 A staff report titled, "Political Abuse and the FBI."

EX. 37 July 6, 1971, letter from T. E. Bishop to John Mohr with attached news release RE: Leonard B. Boudin,

EX. 38 A) May 18, 1970, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Cyril Tolson, Cartha DeLoach, Alex Rosen, William C Sullivan, and Thomas Bishop.

B.) May 18, 1970, memorandum from D. C Moore to William C. Sullivan RE: Ralph David Abernathy.

C.) May 19, 1970, letter to Spiro T Agnew.

EX. 39 August 29, 1964, memorandum from Cartha DeLoach to John Mohr,

Ex. 40 January 29, 1975, memorandum from H. N. Bassett to Nicholas Callaway,

Ex. 41 September 10, 1964, letter from Carlton Deloach to William D. Moyers.

Ex. 42 November 8, 1966, letter to Marvin Watson.

Ex. 43 September 12, 1975, letter from Alan Sherrett to Mike Epstein.

Ex. 44 September 2, 1965, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Nicholas Katzenbach.

Ex. 45 September 3, 1965, memorandum from Nicholas deB. Katzenbach to J. Edgar Hoover.

Ex. 46 December 19, 1967, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Ramsey Clark

Ex. 47 September 14, 1967, memorandum from Ramsey Clark to J. Edgar Hoover.

Ex. 48 November 9, 1967, memorandum to Kevin Maroney, Thomas J. McTiernan, Hugh Wiscart James P. Turner, and Ramsey Clark RE: "Establishment of a departmental intelligence unit in relation to civil disorders."

Ex. 49 December 18, 1967, memorandum from Ramsey Clark to John Doar, Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Roger W. Wilkins, and J. Walter Yeagley RE: "Creation of Coordination Coordinator Unit"

Ex. 50 August 28, 1968, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Chicago RE: "New Left."

Ex. 51 September 3, 1968, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agents in Charge RE: "New Left."

Ex. 52 January 31, 1975, response to Senate Select Committee request RE: William C. Sullivan memorandum to John D. Doar.

Ex. 53 August 7, 1973, memorandum from Clarence Kelley to Elliot Richardson with attached October 28, 1975, report titled "An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Intelligence Investigations: Authority, Official Attitudes, and Activities in Historic Perspective."

Ex. 54 A) May 28, 1969, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, New York to FBI headquarters RE: "Women's Liberation Movement."

B) July 2, 1969, report filed by J. Robert Newton RE: "Women's Liberation Movement."

C) October 20, 1970, FBI investigative report RE: "Women's Liberation Movement."

EX. 55 A) Chart showing Communist COINTELPRO activity from 1956 to 1971

B) August 27, 1964, memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to William C. Sullivan RE: "Designation of Key Figure"

C) April 27, 1971, memorandum from Charles Brennan to William C. Sullivan RE: "Racial Matters"

EX. 56 A) March 30, 1960, memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to Alan Belmont RE: "CPUSA"

B) March 31, 1960, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, New York RE: CPUSA

C) October 1, 1964, memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to William C. Sullivan,

Ex. 56. continued

D) October 9, 1968, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Disruption of the New Left."

Ex. 57 A) August 1, 1968, memorandum from a Special Agent in Charge to FBI headquarters RE: "New Left."

B) February 14, 1969, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, St. Louis to FBI headquarters RE: "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups."

C) February 28, 1969, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, St. Louis RE "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups."

Ex. 58 A) August 29, 1964, memorandum from Cartha DeLoach to John [illegible] RE: "Democratic National

c) February 28, 1964, memorandum from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, St. Louis RE: "Black Nationalist - Hate Groups".

Ex. 58 A) August 29, 1964, memorandum from Cartha DeLoach to John Mohr RE: "Democratic National Convention August 22, 1964 to August 28, 1964"

Ex. 58 Continued

?

B.) January 29, 1975, memorandum from H. N. Bassett to Callahan RE: Democratic National Convention Atlantic City, New Jersey, August 22, 1964, to August 28, 1964.

C.) June 4, 1965, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Marvin Watson.

D.) July 15, 1966, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Marvin Watson.

E.) May 18, 1970, memorandum from G. C. Moore to William C. Sullivan RE: "Ralph David Abernathy".

F.) May 19, 1970, letter to Spiro T. Agnew RE: Ralph David Abernathy.

EX. 59 A.) December 26, 1972, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Inlet."

B.) February 2, 1973, memorandum from T. J. Smith to E. S. Miller RE: "Inlet"

EX. 60 A.) August 29, 1972, memorandum from T. J. Smith to E. S. Miller RE: "Administrative index, streamlining measures."

B.) September 30, 1971, memorandum to John Mitchell from J. Edgar Hoover RE: "Emergency Detention Program."

C.) October 22, 1971, memorandum from John Mitchell to J. Edgar Hoover RE: "Emergency Detention Program."

D.) Section of letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Special Agent in Charge (letter number 60-[illegible]

B.) September 30, 1971, memorandum to John Mitchell from J. Edgar Hoover RE: "Emergency Detention Program"

c.) October 22, 1971, memorandum from John Mitchell to J. Edgar Hoover RE: "Emergency Detention Program"

D.) Section of letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Special Agent in Charge, (letter number 60-30

.60 ntinued

E.) Master warrant of arrest.

F.) Master search warrant

G.) Excerpt from December 17, 1963, SAC letter No. 63-61

H.) Excerpt from April 2, 1968, letter from J. Edgar Hoover.

.61 October 28, 1968, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "New Left Movement."

.62 Section 87, Item 4, of the FBI Manual of Instructions RE: Security investigations.

?

Ex. 62 Section 87, Item 4, of the FBI Manual of Instructions RE: Security investigations.

Ex. 63 A) Excerpt from February 23, 1965 letter from J. Edgar Hoover

B) Excerpt from April 10, 1969 letter from J. Edgar Hoover

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continued

C.) Excerpt from April 30, 1968, letter.

D.) Excerpt from March 11, 1968, letter.

E.) Excerpt from May 23, 1972, memorandum.

F.) Excerpt from March 26, 1968, letter

G.) Excerpt from July 23, 1968, letter from J. Edgar Hoover.

H.) Excerpt from June 25, 1974, letter from Clarence Kelley.

I.) Excerpt from October 10, 1972, memorandum.

J.) Excerpt from June 11, 1968 letter.

K.) Excerpt from June 13, 1972 memorandum.

Ex. 64 A.) May 22, 1964, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Use of Concealed Recording Devices in Connection With Appearances by Black Nationalist Extremists"

B.) April 24, 1964, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, New York.

C.) June 27, 1963, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Racial Matters"

D.) November 4, 1970, memorandum from FBI headquarters to all Special Agents in Charge RE: "Racial Matters"

Ex. 65 October 29, 1970, memorandum from the Executive Conference to Clyde Tolson.

.66 A.) October 22, 1974, memorandum from Henry E. Petersen to Clarence Kelley RE: "Locating and Reporting Civil Disturbances"

? B.) November 19, 1969, memorandum from Gen E. Rosenberg to Clarence M. Kelley

.67 Excerpt from January 12, 1971 memorandum RE: "Black Student Groups on College Campuses"

.68 A.) April 12, 1962, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Robert F. Kennedy with April 12, 1962, routing slip from Robert F. Kennedy to John F. Kennedy.

? B.) August 19, 1964, memorandum to Lynde A. Johnson

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ued

c) August 1964, excerpts from memorandum sent by Cartha DeLoach to Walter Jenkins.

D.) June 4, 1965, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Marvin Watson.

E.) July 15, 1966, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Marvin Watson.

F.) January 31, 1975 response to Senate Select Committee request dated January 30, 1975, RE: Memorandum from William C. Sullivan to John Dean.

G.) February 3, 1975, memorandum from Clarence Kelley to Levi RE: "Background Information concerning Departments' Request for Body Recorder in Bobby Baker Investigation in 1965."

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E.) report from FBI RE: Bobby Baker investigation in 1965.

tinued

F.) January 12, 1967 letter to Marvin Watson.

G.) January 17, 1967, memorandum from Cartha DeLoach to Clyde Tolson RE: Bobby Baker.

H.) January 19, 1967, memorandum from M. A. Jones to Wick RE: Bobby Baker.

I.) January 31, 1975, response to Senate Select Committee request RE: William C. Sullivan memoranda to John Dean.

J.) March 8, 1968, memorandum from Charles Brennan to William C. Sullivan.

K.) March 11, 1968, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Ramsey Clark.

L.) March 21, 1968, memorandum from Charles Brennan to William C. Sullivan.

from J. Edgar Hoover to
Ramsey Clark.

N.) April 24, 1968, memorandum
from J. Edgar Hoover to
Ramsey Clark.

O.) June 6, 1968, memorandum
from Charles Rogers to
William C Sullivan.

P.) June 7, 1968, memorandum
from J. Edgar Hoover to
Ramsey Clark.

Q.) March 12, 1968, memorandum
from Ramsey Clark to
J. Edgar Hoover

R.) August 7, 1968, memorandum
from Carthan Deloach to
Clyde Tolson

S.) August 15, 1968, memorandum
from J. Edgar Hoover to
Clyde Tolson, Cartha
DeLoach, Thomas Bishop, and
William C Sullivan.

F.) August 22, 1968, memorandum from Cartha DeLoach to Clyde Tolson.

7 A.) June 24, 1971, memorandum from Hyatt Taliaferro re: "Executive Conference."

B.) February 24, 1964, memorandum from F.J. Baumgardner to William C. Sullivan.

C.) March 30, 1964, memorandum from F.J. Baumgardner to William C. Sullivan.

D.) April 10, 1964, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, New York.

E.) August 6, 1965, memorandum from F.J. Baumgardner to William C. Sullivan.

E.) March 26, 1968 memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan

G.) May 10, 1968, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan,

H.) May 14, 1968, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan,

I.) May 17, 1968, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan,

J.) May 22, 1968, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan,

K.) June 5, 1968, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan.

L.) May 21, 1969, memorandum
from G. C. Moore to
William C. Sullivan,

M.) September 5, 1969, memorandum
Clyde Bauman to

N.) November 10, 1967, memorandum from FBI Headquarters to Legat Bonn in Koblenz and Tokyo.

O.) April 15, 1970, memorandum from G. C. Moore to William C. Sullivan.

P) February 27, 1968, memorandum from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Boston.

Q) February 9, 1968, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Boston to FBI Headquarters

R) August 27, 1968, memorandum from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Tampa.

S.) August 20, 1968, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Tampa to FBI Headquarters,

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typed

T.) February 7, 1969, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Tampa to FBI headquarters.

U.) October 21, 1969, memorandum from G. C. Moore to William C. Sullivan.

V.) January 22, 1970, memorandum from G. C. Moore to William C. Sullivan.

W.) February 26, 1969, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Jackson.

X.) February 11, 1969, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Jackson to FBI headquarters.

Y.) July 2, 1970, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, San Francisco.

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2.) June 15, 1970, memorandum from Special Agents in Charge, San Francisco to FBI headquarters.

A.A.) October 28, 1968, memorandum from FBI Headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, New York.

B.B.) October 16, 1968, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, New York to FBI headquarters.

C.C.) June 25, 1970, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Special Agent in Charge, Los Angeles.

D.D.) June 17, 1970, memorandum from Special Agent in Charge, Los Angeles to FBI headquarters.

E.E.) July 6, 1971, letter from Thomas Bishop to John Mohr.

70 A) May 8, 1958, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to William Rogers.

B.) January 10, 1961, letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Robert F. Kennedy.

C.) September 17, 1964, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to John Mitchell

71 A.) October 2, 1964, memorandum from D. E. Moore to William C. Sullivan.

B.) February 27, 1965, memorandum from Alan Belmont to Clyde Tolson

C.) March 2, 1965, memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Clyde Tolson, Alan Belmont, Dale, Alex Rosen, William C. Sullivan, and Cartha

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tinue

D.) Excerpts from the testimony of former FBI Inspector Donald Moore.

TAB 7
P.1595

FBI FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION CHART

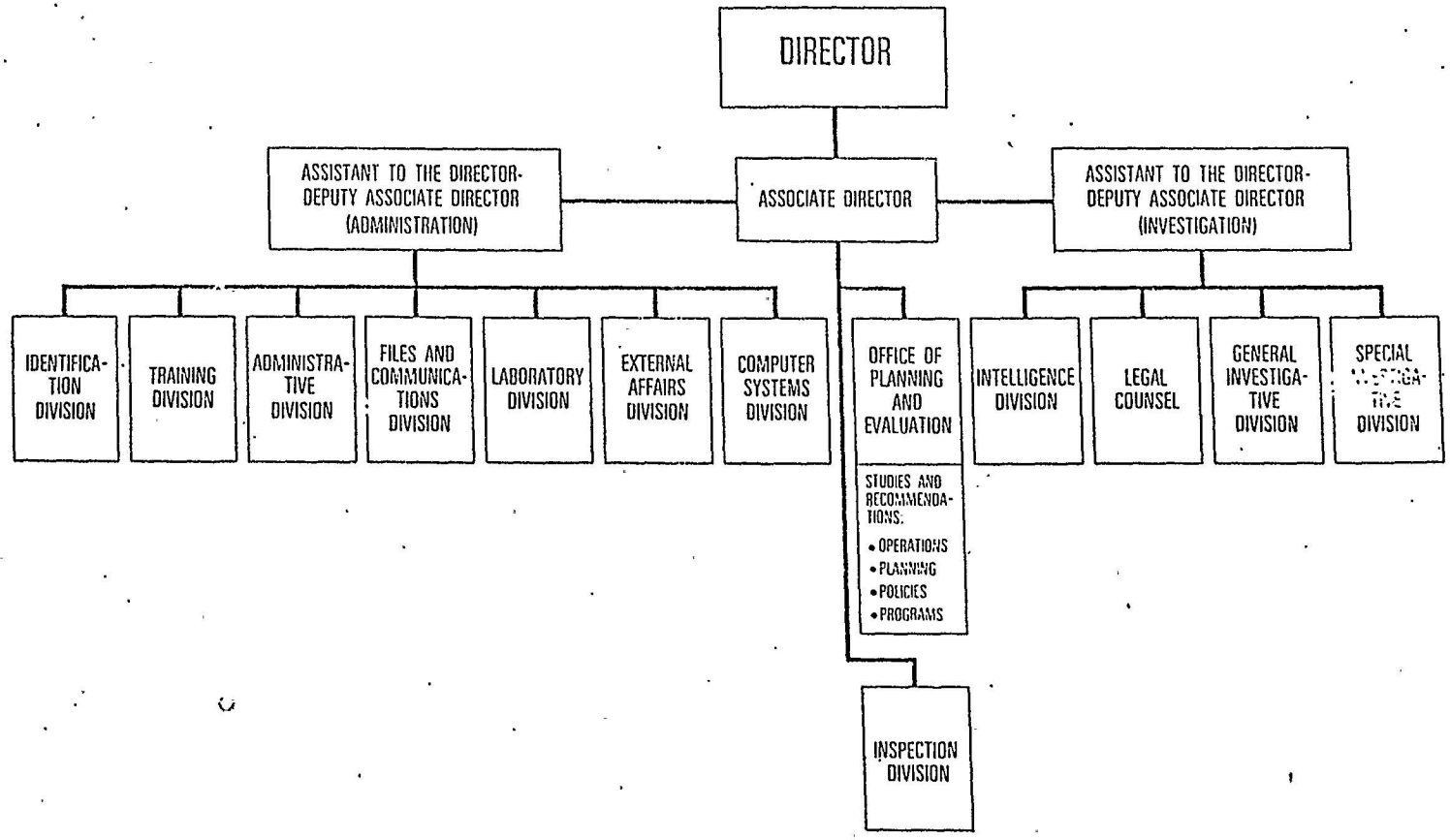

EXHIBIT 1

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TAB 3.1
P. 1595

INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
W. RAYMOND WANNALL

INSPECTOR
DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
INTERNAL SECURITY BRANCH
HUNTER E. HELGESON

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

IS - 1

- BLACK NATIONALIST AND WHITE HATE—CENTRAL UNIT
- BLACK NATIONALIST AND WHITE HATE — EAST UNIT
- BLACK NATIONALIST AND WHITE HATE — WEST UNIT
- BLACK NATIONALIST — SOUTH KLAN AND EXTREMIST INFORMANT UNIT
- CIVIL DISORDER REPORTING UNIT

PERSONNEL COMPLEMENT

IS - 2

- TROTSKYIST UNIT
- COMMUNIST PARTY UNIT
- SECURITY INFORMANT UNIT
- EXTREMIST — WEST UNIT
- EXTREMIST — EAST UNIT

PERSONNEL COMPLEMENT

IS - 3

PERSONNEL COMPLEMENT

AUTHORIZED PERSONNEL COMPLEMENT

	AGENT	CLERICAL SECRETARIAL
IS - 1		
IS - 2		
IS - 3		

NOVEMBER 6, 1975

EXHIBIT 2

EX. 4, III, TAB 3-1

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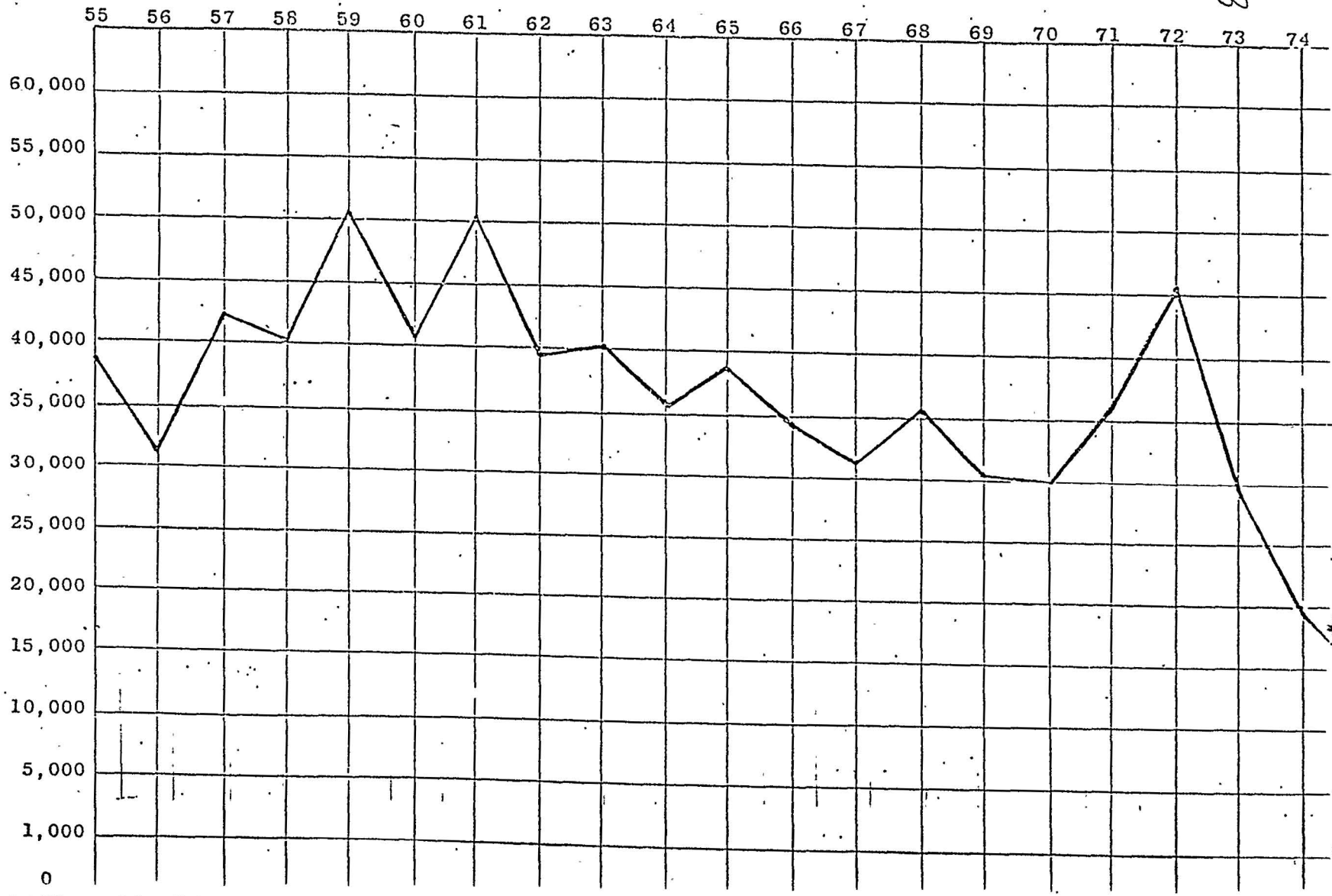
15-2

EX. 3 7/8
3-2 Tab 3-2
P. 1603
EX 3

INVESTIGATIVE MATTERS RECEIVED

SUBVERSIVE INVESTIGATIONS



15-1

EXHIBIT 4

TAB 3-3
P. 1604

INVESTIGATIVE MATTERS RECEIVED

EXTREMIST INVESTIGATIONS

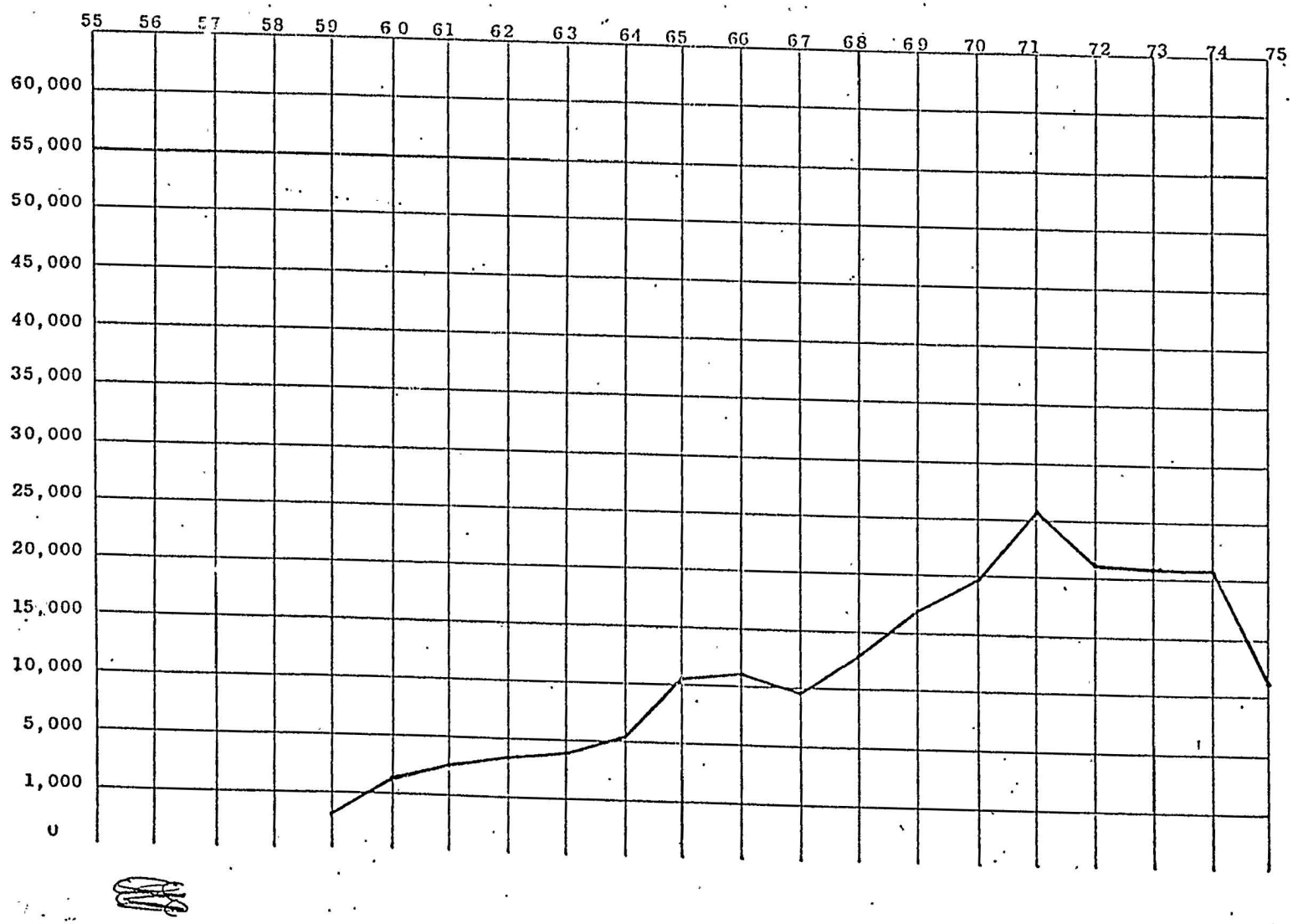


EXHIBIT 5

EX-5
Tab 1-1
P.1609

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 16, 1975

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

RE: "OFFICIAL AND CONFIDENTIAL" FILES

Reference is made to memorandum from captioned Committee dated May 14, 1975, and the request of staff member Mark Gitenstein on June 5, 1975, requesting certain information pertaining to the "official and confidential" files.

In response to the aforementioned request, we are attaching a copy of the results of an FBI Inspection Division inquiry into the "official and confidential" files matter entitled, "Inquiry Into Disposition of Files Maintained in the Office of Former Director J. Edgar Hoover," dated July 3, 1975.

A list of individuals who were contacted during this inquiry and have some knowledge relating to this matter has been prepared and is available for review by staff members of the Senate Select Committee in FBI space.

Enclosure

FBI

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July 3, 1975

INQUIRY INTO DISPOSITION OF FILES MAINTAINED IN THE OFFICE OF FORMER DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER

On June 4, 1975, Mr. Douglas R. Marvin, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, telephonically contacted Mr. J. B. Adams, Deputy Associate Director, FBI, stating that the Attorney General desired that active inquiries be conducted as to whether any official files were removed from Mr. Hoover's office to his residence following his death and may have been subsequently removed from that address following the death of Clyde A. Tolson. Upon receipt of this request the Inspection Division initiated an immediate inquiry under the direction of Deputy Assistant Directors Hunter E. Helgeson and Willie C. Law.

This inquiry, which was concluded on June 27, 1975, involved interviews with over 100 individuals. Among those interviewed were former Assistant to the Director John P. Mohr; Miss Helen W. Gandy, who was Mr. Hoover's Executive Assistant; and all other personnel assigned to Mr. Hoover's office at the time of his death. Included in these interviews were over 50 individuals who were in any way involved in packing and moving material from Mr. Hoover's office to his residence subsequent to his death.

The inquiry developed no information to show that any official files were removed from Mr. Hoover's office to his residence following his death.

In summary, our inquiry developed the following information:

Mr. Hoover's "Official - Confidential" or "OC" files together with some official Bureau files maintained in Miss Gandy's office were transferred very shortly after his death to the office of Assistant Director - Deputy Associate Director W. Mark Felt. We located a ...

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typewritten note dated May 5, 1972, prepared by Mrs. Erma Metcalf, Mr. Hoover's Administrative Assistant, which includes information indicating that the "Official - Confidential" files had been turned over to Mr. Felt on May 4, 1972, two days after the death of Mr. Hoover. Mr. Felt has confirmed receipt of these files.

Also located was a "List Of Official - Confidential Files In Director's Office," dated October 20, 1971, which was prepared by Mrs. Metcalf. When the "Official - Confidential" files were inventoried by the Inspection Staff in January, 1975, all of the folders listed on the October 20, 1971, inventory prepared by Mrs. Metcalf were physically located with the exception of three folders captioned with the names of three present or former FBI officials. We have been unable to account for the disposition of these three folders. It can be speculated that these folders may have contained copies of communications, the originals of which were maintained in the normal personnel files of these individuals, and which may have been of particular interest to Mr. Hoover. The reason these folders were removed from the "Official - Confidential" files could not be determined.

The "Official - Confidential" files listed on the October 20, 1971, inventory with the exception of the three folders, mentioned above, continue to be maintained at FBI Headquarters.

Since their inception, the maintenance of the "Official - Confidential" files was the responsibility of either Miss Gandy or Mrs. Metcalf. Mrs. Metcalf has stated that these files were "very inactive" and it was "very very seldom" that anyone needed anything from them. Miss Gandy described these files as "not active" and stated they were referred to only on rare occasions. Both stated that to their knowledge these files were never used for other than official purposes.

Miss Gandy advised that Mr. Hoover told her the "Official - Confidential" files should be turned over to whoever was running the Bureau when he left.

She stated that she alone was responsible for designating material to be removed from Mr. Hoover's office after his death and nothing of an official nature, Bureau files or otherwise, was sent to Mr. Hoover's house

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or elsewhere outside the Bureau. To emphasize this she said, "not even his badge."

According to Miss Gandy, there were about 35 file cabinet drawers of Mr. Hoover's personal correspondence which were packed in cardboard boxes and moved to his home shortly after his death. After her retirement Miss Gandy spent about two months reviewing this personal correspondence for subsequent destruction. She reviewed each item and said she found nothing of an official Bureau nature contained therein.

In addition to the personal correspondence, two 3-drawer and two 2-drawer file cabinets containing folders of material pertaining to Mr. Hoover's personal business affairs were removed from his office and moved to the recreation room in the basement of his home. The material in these file cabinets included such things as copies of every income tax return filed by Mr. Hoover and separate folders on each of his stock and oil well investments. These file cabinets, with their contents, are still at Mr. Hoover's residence, plus two other file cabinets containing similar material relative to the personal business affairs of Clyde A. Tolson, which were also brought to Mr. Hoover's residence shortly after Mr. Hoover's death.

Mr. John P. Mohr stated, "There were never any Bureau files taken to Mr. Hoover's house after Hoover's death." He participated in an inventory for tax purposes of the entire contents of Mr. Hoover's home in July, 1972, and pointed out that if there had been such files there he would have seen them and he observed none.

During this inquiry we interviewed over 20 persons who had been at Mr. Hoover's house within a short time after his death. None of the persons could furnish any information indicating the presence of any official Bureau files at his residence.

It was the recollection of [Raymond Smith,] a Bureau truck driver, that shortly after Mr. Hoover's death he delivered a total of 20 to 25 file cabinets to Mr. Hoover's home and placed them in the recreation room

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in the basement. He said these cabinets were full and that during the moving a drawer came open on one of the cabinets and he observed light colored folders inside with the contents of each folder roughly one inch thick. He is unable to say where these file cabinets came from as they were already on his truck when he received his instructions to take them to Mr. Hoover's residence. Inasmuch as no other persons interviewed could corroborate that such a large number of file cabinets were delivered to Mr. Hoover's house, [Smith] was reinterviewed on two further occasions in an effort to develop anything which would assist in substantiating or disproving that this occurred. At this point Smith remains adamant that he did, in fact, bring 20 to 25 file cabinets to the house.

Of more than 20 persons interviewed who were at Mr. Hoover's house subsequent to his death none ever recall seeing such a large number of file cabinets. [James Crawford,] the caretaker at Mr. Hoover's house for many years, and [Miss Annie Fields,] his cook and maid, who were at the house daily are emphatic that there were never more than six file cabinets in the recreation room of Mr. Hoover's house at any time and that Smith has to be wrong.

It is the feeling of those who have interviewed [Smith] that he believes he actually did deliver as many file cabinets as he has indicated, but he is in fact confusing a number of instances. We have determined that a large number of cardboard boxes containing Mr. Hoover's personal effects and memorabilia were taken to Mr. Hoover's residence from his office within about one week after his death. [Smith] participated on a number of occasions in hauling this material to the house and into the recreation room where most of it was stored. We have also determined that he was present and assisted in moving some of the six file cabinets, previously mentioned, and have determined that at the time they were moved some of these cabinets did contain light colored folders, the contents of which are approximately one inch thick.

Of the nearly 40 persons interviewed who were involved in moving material, none has any recollection of participating in the movement of 20 to 25 file cabinets to Mr. Hoover's residence or of seeing such a number there. We can only conclude that while honest in his belief [Smith] has a jumbled recollection of the facts due to the passage of over three years since Mr. Hoover's death.

[illegible] FROM
JUL [illegible] 1975
FBI

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Inquiry into Disposition of Files Maintained in the Office of Former Director H. Edgar Hoover

Part of the request of the Attorney General was to determine whether any official files had been removed from Mr. Hoover's residence following the death of Mr. Tolson. Inasmuch as our inquiry has shown that there were no such files at Mr. Hoover's home it follows that none were removed after Mr. Tolson's death. However, we did make inquiry into the movement of anything which might be construed to be files from Mr. Hoover's house after Mr. Tolson's death on April 14, 1975, and found no such evidence.

It was determined, however, that shortly after Mr. Tolson's death a number of empty cardboard boxes were taken to Mr. Hoover's residence by a Bureau employee. These boxes were utilized by James Crawford, the caretaker, to pack pictures which had been laying loose in the attic and also to dispose of some old canned goods. The boxes with the canned goods were placed in the garbage outside.

In connection with the removal of material from Mr. Hoover's home, it was determined that during the period of approximately the middle of May to the middle of July, 1972, cardboard boxes containing the personal correspondence of Mr. Hoover, which had been reviewed by Miss Gandy at his residence, were picked up at the house on several occasions and destroyed by personnel of the Washington Field Office.

Also in connection with the removal of material from Mr. Hoover's house, it was determined that on two occasions in 1974 numerous cardboard boxes containing books were removed from Mr. Hoover's home, loaded onto trucks and delivered to the library at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia. These books had been purchased by the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation and donated to the library.

RECEIVED FROM
JUL 22 1975
FBI

56

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 51

EXHIBIT 6 EX. 6 "181-5
TAB 1-2 P. 1609

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: July 19, 1966

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

DO NOT FILE

SUBJECT: "BLACK BAG" JOBS

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan

The following is set forth in regard to your request concerning what authority we have for "black bag" jobs and for the background of our policy and procedures in such matters.

We do not obtain authorization for "black bag" jobs from outside the Bureau. Such a technique involves trespass and is clearly illegal; therefore, it would be impossible to obtain any legal sanction for it. Despite this, "black bag" jobs have been used because they represent an invaluable technique in combating subversive activities of a clandestine nature aimed directly at undermining and destroying our nation.

The present procedure followed in the use of this technique calls for the Special Agent in Charge of a field office to make his request for the use of the technique to the appropriate Assistant Director. The Special Agent in Charge must completely justify the need for the use of the technique and at the same time assure that it can be safely used without any danger of embarrassment to the Bureau. The facts are incorporated in a memorandum which, in accordance with the Director's instructions, is sent to Mr. Tolson or to the Director for approval. Subsequently this memorandum is filed in the Assistant Director's office under a "Do Not File" procedure.

In the field the Special Agent in Charge prepares an informal memorandum showing that he obtained Bureau authority and this memorandum is filed in his safe until the next inspection by Bureau Inspectors, at which time it is destroyed.

FJB/pcn
(2)

CONTINUED -- OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. DeLoach
Re: "BLACK BAG" JOBS

We have used this technique on a highly selective basis, but with wide-range effectiveness, in our operations. We have several cases in the espionage field, [redacted]

Also through the use of this technique we have on numerous occasions been able to obtain material held highly secret and closely guarded by subversive groups and organizations which consisted of membership lists and mailing lists of these organizations.

This applies even to our investigation of the [redacted] You may recall that recently through a "black bag" job we obtained the records in the possession of three high-ranking officials of a [redacted] organization in [redacted] These records gave us the complete membership and financial information concerning the [redacted] operation which we have been using most effectively to disrupt the organization and, in fact, to bring about its near disintegration

[redacted]

CONTINUED -- OVER

In operation, the disclosure of which could jeopardize, sensitive ongoing foreign intelligence

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. DeLoach
re: "BLACK BAG" JOBS

[redacted]

In short, it is a very valuable weapon which we have used to combat the highly clandestine efforts of subversive elements seeking to undermine our Nation.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.



- 3 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 54

EXHIBIT 7

[illegible]

5-4 TAB 5-4 p. 1615

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Title of Case	Report made by	Typed by:
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Character of Case

IS - MISC

SUMMARY

- 1 -

[redacted]

Approved	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below
Copies [illegible]		[illegible]
6 - [illegible]		[illegible]
1 - [illegible] (PUBLIC, MAIL)		[illegible]
1 - [illegible]		[illegible]
4 - [illegible]		EX 105
1 - [illegible]		

Notation:

[illegible]

NOV 6 1975

FBI

the United States. [redacted] was not recommended for the AI or SI in Baltimore report dated 8/21/69.

The SA who observed the WLM demonstration on 8/1/69 was [redacted]

INFORMANT DATA:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted] INFORMANT	[redacted]
[redacted] INFORMANT	
[redacted] INFORMANT	
[redacted] SOURCE	
[redacted] INFORMANT	

LEAD:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

At Baltimore, Maryland

X Will continue to follow and report the activities of the Women's Liberation Movement.

B*
COVER PAGE

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 56

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - OSI, Baltimore (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (REGIS. MAIL)
4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (REGIS. MAIL)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE
Date: May 11, 1970

Field Office File #: BA 100-25323 Bureau File #: 100-453233

Title: WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis: The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), in Baltimore, Maryland, began during the summer of 1968, with a group of women affiliated with the Baltimore Defense Committee (BDC), a Baltimore based anti-war, anti-draft organization, meeting to discuss various aspects of women's liberation. Meetings are generally held in the homes of those active in the WLM. The WLM has an office at BDC Headquarters, 2525 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, where literature is available. The WLM receives aid and support from the BDC. In 3/70, a mailing of pledge letters for funds was made by the WLM. The WLM publishes a magazine quarterly, which is self-supporting from subscriptions. The WLM has conducted demonstrations and held meetings on behalf of women's rights. Since 2/70 the WLM, in conjunction with the BDC, has been attempting to establish a free medical clinic in Baltimore. Information concerning leadership, finances and activities set forth.

- P* -

RECEIVED FROM
NOV 6 1975

DETAILS: PREDICATION:

Information was received from [redacted] on [redacted] 1968 indicating that a group of women affiliated with the Baltimore Defense Committee, (BDC) had recently been meeting to discuss various aspects of women's liberation.

A characterization of the BDC is appended.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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

BA 100-25323

I. ORIGIN, AIMS AND PURPOSES

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), in Baltimore, Maryland, began during the summer of 1968. There was no structure or parent organization. There were no rules or plans to go by. It started out as a group therapy session with young women who were either lonely or confined to the home with small children, getting together to talk out their problems. Along with this, they wanted a purpose and that was to free women from the hum-drum existence of being only a wife and mother. They wanted equal opportunities that men have in work and in society. They wanted their husbands to share in the housework and in rearing their children. They also wanted to go out and work in whatever kind of jobs they wanted and not be discriminated against as women. All of the women participating in these first sessions were affiliated with the BDC.

[ ] on [ ] 70)

A leaflet dated February 6, 1969 issued by the BDC contained the following paragraph:

> "WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT" - The Women's Liberation group in Baltimore aims to free women from traditional ideas of their roles as self-sacrificing wives and mothers, and raises in women consciousness of male supremacy as it exists in our society and in everyday life. We discuss radical alternatives women can demand now for themselves, and changes in human relationships which must come with a new society. An action program is projected. The group meets every other Thursday and is planning a weekend retreat at Camp Catoctin on March 14-16."

[ ] on [ ] 70)

A leaflet issued by the BDC contains the following paragraph:

WW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 58

"WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT" - While distinct from the BDC, the WLM was organized by women who work also in the Defense Committee. The aim of the group is to examine the subordinate role of women in our society and try to change the stereotypes that both men and women have about females. Our group is open to any women interested in examining this problem with us".

[ ] on [ ] 70)

II. LOCATION

Meetings are generally held in the various homes of those active in the WLM. The WLM has an office at BDC Headquarters, 2525 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, where literature is available.

[ ] on [ ] 70)

III. LEADERSHIP

The WLM has no officers. Some of those present at the initial meetings and who are considered leaders are:

MD

All of the above are also affiliated with the BDC.

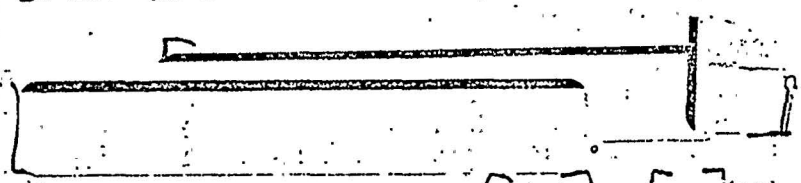
[ ] on [ ] 70)

IV. FINANCES

Originally, there was no plan for dues or regular contributions. However, in February, 1970, the WLM decided to collect bi-monthly pledges of $1 from those with the ability to contribute.

[ ] on [ ] 70)

RECEIVED FROM
NOV 6 1975
F.B.I.



[ ] on [ ] 70)

V. PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS

During March, 1970 the WLM of Baltimore distributed a leaflet describing the WLM publication, "WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION".

[ ] on [ ] 70)

The leaflet mentioned above is as follows:

RECEIVED FROM
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 60

WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION
3011 Guilford
Baltimore, Md. 21218

SCRIPTION: WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION is a quarterly magazine blished by a group of women in Baltimore, Maryland. Subscription is $5 per year. The newsstand price is $1.25. The journal is intended to be of use to women engaged in struggle: struggle for greater awareness and struggle to change conditions. The journal serves as a forum of opinion and expression vital to a growing women's liberation movement. The magazine attempts to push beneath the generalizations and to foster the creation of an ideology. Each issue centers on a specific theme relevant to the movement. We solicit articles as well as poetry, short stories and art which relates to the specific theme. In moving beyond the general descriptions of problems, we have tried to establish new approaches to the many intellectual disciplines and to find new approaches to action.

Subscription to WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION is slightly different from most magazines. Subscriptions are for the full year. This means that you will receive back issues if you subscribe in the middle of the year. This is necessary because we cannot afford to handle subscriptions by a subscription fulfillment house. This makes it possible to serve our readers without going bankrupt

THEMES: We are part of a movement of women who have become aware of our oppression at the same time time that we have, as Americans, become conscious through the war in Vietnam of the realities of American power at home and abroad. We find our government and its economic system guilty of exploiting us at home and and desecrating the peoples of the third world for the economic benefit of the few. We know that in this tainted context we can never be free. Marxism shows how an exploitive economic system arises out of the family structure: the suppression of men is necessary to the maintenance of such a system. As women, we are a key group in the crises of exploited peoples.

Through the use of a separate theme for each issue of the magazine, a deeper exploration of the ideas within the women's movement has been possible.
Fall 1969 "Women: Inherent Nature or Cultural Conditioning" Through an exploration of biological data, the magazine shows there is no basis in fact for a theory about the "inherent nature" of women. The issue then goes on to explore how women have been conditioned to accept a secondary role by schools, books and society.
Winter 1970 "What is Liberation?" Through a consideration of the issues of birth control, education, day care, jobs and family, the question of what women's liberation involves is discussed.
Spring 1970 "Women in History: a Recreation of Our Past" Through a consideration of outstanding women like Margaret Sanger and Harriet Tubman, the issue points to the necessity for gathering the materials of women in history.
Summer 1970 (deadline for articles May 1) "Women and Revolution" Socialist revolutions are a necessary prerequisite for the liberation of women. But full liberation does not automatically come with revolution. We want to study the role that organizations of women have played in revolutions. We also want to study the condition of women in existing socialist countries. What mistakes have been made? What positive achievements have been accomplished?

We plan to publish the journal for another year and we have selected the theme for the first issue: "The Image of Women in the Arts." The deadline for articles is August 1. If you have ideas for the remaining three themes, please send them. The themes for all issues of next year will be decided by June.

RECEIVED FROM
WOMEN 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 61

EXHIBIT 8

EX. 8 4/18
P. 1612
No TAE

INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

FREQUENCY

Informants	83%
Police Confidential Sources	74%
State Motor Vehicles Division Confidential sources in utilities, educational institutions, and State employment agencies	50%
One or more interviews	40%
Subject interviewed	20%
Physical surveillance and pretext contacts	18%
Electronic surveillance	5%
Surreptitious entry or mail openings	1%

* * *

Source: Report by General Accounting Office to House Judiciary Committee

EXHIBIT 9

EX. 9 118
TAB - 11-1

SAC, Albany

November 26, 1969

Director, FBI

FBI INTELLIGENCE LETTER
FOR THE PRESIDENT
CODE NAME [illegible]
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

Captioned letter has been initiated at the Bureau to furnish high-level intelligence data in the security field to the President and the Attorney General on a continuing basis. This letter will not be a vehicle for routine dissemination; rather it will be comprised of information obtained in connection with our investigations which has the qualities of importance and timeliness necessary to secure the President's interest and to provide him with meaningful intelligence for his guidance. Here rumors or nebulous information will have no place in this letter.

It will be the responsibility of each field office to furnish the Bureau on a continuing basis intelligence items suitable for this letter. Each office must, in the course of its normal business and submissions of information to the Bureau, be alert to flag specific items for this purpose. For your guidance the following are suggested types of information (not all-inclusive) that would be appropriate for this intelligence letter:

(1) Information of national or international significance which is security related.

(2) Important current or pending developments in major security cases.

(3) Current information which is representative of or calls attention to a significant developing intelligence trend.

(4) Material which has a bearing on national security, particularly that from sensitive and/or penetrative coverage of foreign establishments, which could affect American relations with foreign countries, or assist in formulating United States policy.

2 - All other Offices

JAN [illegible]

001

(5) "Inside" information concerning demonstrations, disorders or other civil disruptions which is of more than local significance.

(6) Items with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities which may be of special interest to the President or the Attorney General.

All information submitted to the Bureau by your office in investigations concerning old-line subversive organizations, new left groups, racial matters, hate groups, and espionage and counterintelligence matters should be carefully reviewed only for any items deemed pertinent to this intelligence letter. Communications containing such items should be submitted by the most expeditious means warranted and should be flagged with the code name "Inlet" after the title and character. In those instances where an airtel or letter is used, an additional copy should be furnished the Bureau.

These instructions are to be implemented immediately. It is absolutely essential that a steady flow of quality intelligence data be received from all field offices to make this letter a success. Your submissions will be closely followed at the Bureau to insure this matter is receiving proper emphasis and attention.

REC...

DOJ

Ex. 10 11/18 p. 163
TAB 7

COINTELPRO COMPOSITE

TOTAL 2679 (2340)

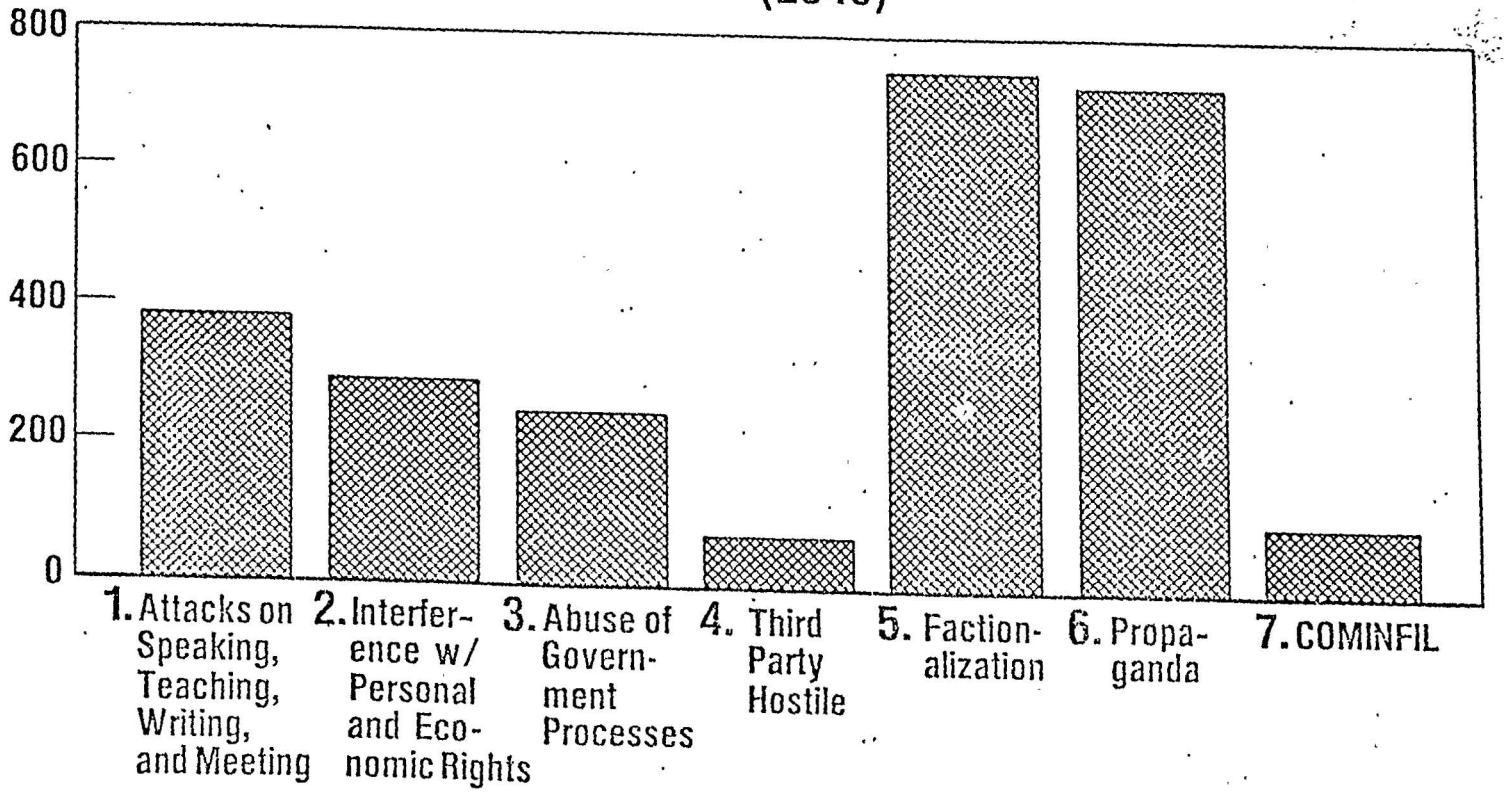


EXHIBIT 10

EX. 11 11/18
P-1632
TAB 7

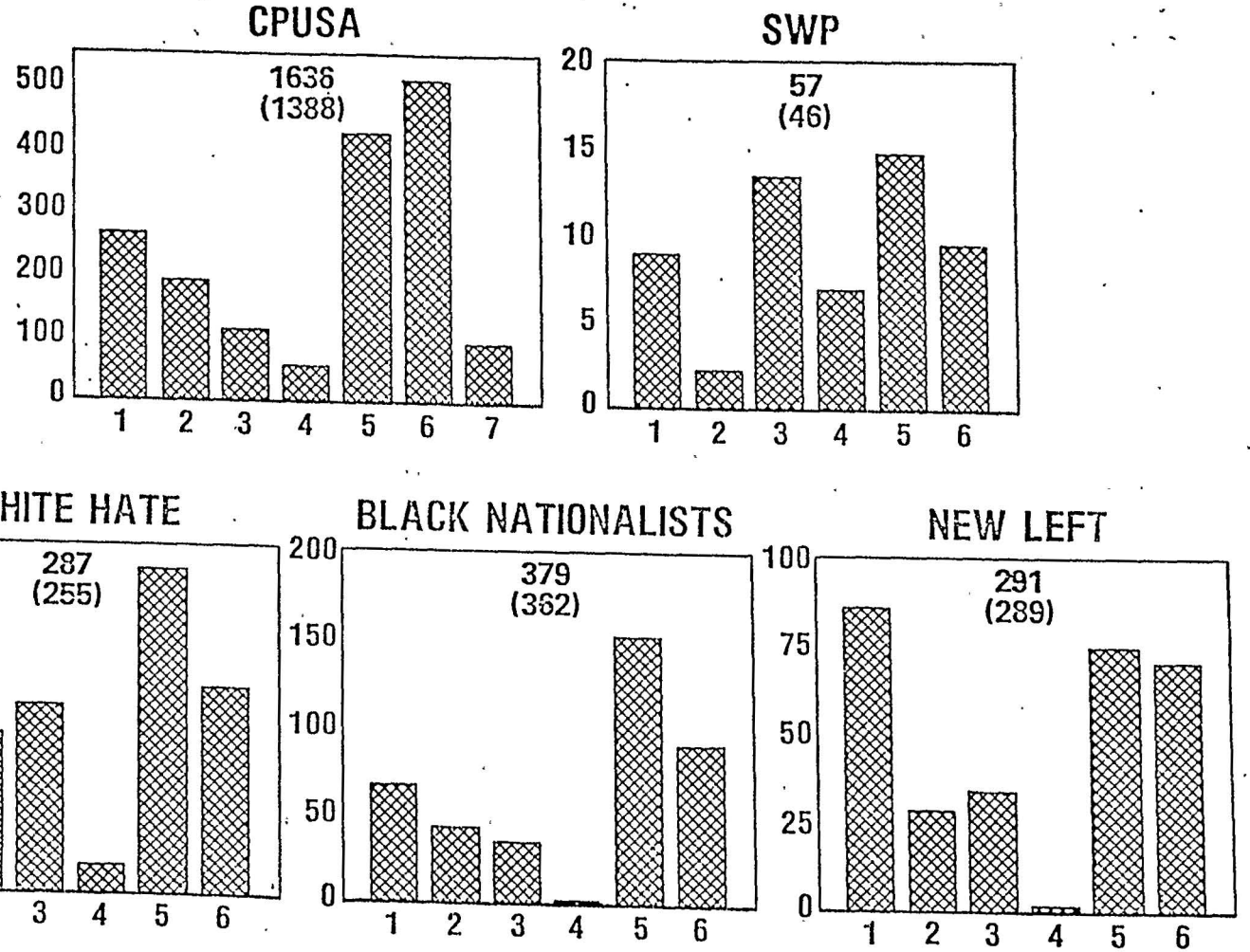


EXHIBIT 11

EXHIBIT 12 11-1-0 EX. 12 11/18
TAB 7-1
P.1633

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: August 28, 1956

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: CP, USA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson
Belmont
Boardman
Nichols
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

During its investigation of the Communist Party, USA, the Bureau has sought to capitalize on incidents involving the Party and its leaders in order to foster factionalism, bring the Communist Party (CP) and its leaders into disrepute before the American public and cause confusion and dissatisfaction among rank-and-file members of the CP.

Generally, the above action has constituted harrassment rather than disruption, since, for the most part, the Bureau has set up particular incidents, and the attack has been from the outside. At the present time, however, there is existing within the CP a situation resulting from the developments at the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union and the Government's attack on the Party principally through prosecutions under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950 which is made to order for an all-out disruptive attack against the CP from within. In other words, the Bureau is in a position to initiate, on a broader scale than heretofore attempted, a counterintelligence program against the CP, not by harrassment from the outside, which might only serve to bring the various factions together, but by feeding and fostering from within the internal fight currently raging.

We have been considering possible courses to implement such a program and, at the present time, we are actively working on the following four:

1) The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is making an all-out effort to win over CP members who have become disillusioned with Stalinist communism. SWP members are distributing copies of "The Militant" (SWP publication) at CP rallies and meetings and are contacting individual CP members in an attempt to sell

Enclosures
cc-Boardman
Belmont
Baumgardner
Ely
Reddy
EBR:pat
(6)

RECORDED

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 67

them the SWP philosophy. This SWP program could very definitely benefit the Bureau provided we can achieve through our informant coverage in the SWP some degree of control and direction over it. The ultimate goal would be to continue and intensify pressure on the CP from the left. Since the Party is already under pressure from the right, the combined pressure would contribute materially to distracting the CP from its primary goals.

ACTION: A memorandum, together with a letter to the 15 offices having SWP activity in the U. S., is attached, sounding out these offices through their SWP informants as to the possibility of initiating several specific steps aimed at the Bureau's furthering, assisting and possibly adding to the current SWP disruptive program.

2) The CP national convention is scheduled to be held during February 1957. At the present time there appear to be 4 separate views within the CP leadership as to the degree of change to be made in the organization and program of the CP, USA. The Party has publicly announced that the theory of democratic centralism has been modified and that each CP member has the right to express his views as to the past mistakes and future path of communism in the U. S. Preliminary material for the draft resolution for the national convention has been prepared and is being discussed on a national level prior to being sent to the various districts for preconvention discussions on a local level.

ACTION: A memorandum, together with a letter to 12 key offices is being prepared, requesting these offices to submit to the Bureau the identities of certain informants who will be briefed and instructed to embark on a disruptive program within their own clubs, sections, districts or even on a national level. Those informants will raise objections and doubts as to the success of any proposed plan of action by the CP leadership. They will seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders. It is noted that

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

a letter has been sent to 12 key offices (dated August 27, 1956) requesting information as to the view points of the national and district leaders relative to the faction within the CP that each appears to favor. This information can be used by the various offices in briefing the informants who will carry out the disruptive program. It is pointed out that the informants chosen and approved for this program should not be endangered, since, as pointed out above, the Party has publicly encouraged all members to participate in the current discussions.

3) Recently, [redacted] a national CP leader and convicted Smith Act subject, was assigned by the Party to contact [redacted] of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a semi-religious socialist-pacifist organization. [redacted] suggested that [redacted] prepare and distribute a document calling for an exchange of opinions by individuals interested in forming a new socialist organization. This is the first step taken by the CP in forming a new socialist coalition in which it hopes to participate. [redacted] has prepared a document which criticizes the absence of civil liberties, free trade unions and outlets for dissenting opinions in the Soviet Union. It further urges that European satellite nations be free from Soviet domination. The CP hopes to persuade [redacted] to mollify his criticism of the Soviet Union before the document is released. At the same time the CP feels that some mild criticism of the Soviet Union and the CP, USA, will be beneficial in gaining noncommunist support for [redacted] proposal.

ACTION: This plan of the CP may create a situation which would lend itself to a disruptive operation by the Bureau. It appears that it is too early to actually make a move, but we are alerting certain offices to this plan of the CP and are instructing that this operation be closely watched so that if a situation does present itself we will be in a position to make any move which appears logical and workable.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

4) When the CP underground was put in operation on a large scale in 1951, CP leaders decided after extensive study, that underground personnel should either disregard their tax obligations or file under false names.

ACTION: We have obtained from the field, the names and current addresses of former underground leaders with a view toward furnishing them to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for appropriate action. A memorandum has gone through (August 28, 1956) recommending that the names and current address of 102 such leaders, all of whom have Smith Act ramifications, be transmitted to the Department and the Department be requested to advise if there is any objection to the Bureau furnishing this material to IRS. If there is no objection, the Bureau proposes to transmit the names and addresses to IRS via Liaison for appropriate action. We will then follow IRS very closely since IRS action should: (1) uncover the aliases and whereabouts, from 1951 to 1954, of these subjects who actually filed returns under aliases and admit such action, or (2) result in possible prosecution of those subjects who did not file returns or who refuse to furnish details if they did file. It is believed that action by IRS at this time would deal a further devastating blow at the CP and would certainly reflect very unfavorably on the Party leadership for the instructions issued in 1951.

OBSERVATIONS:

We are going ahead with the 4 courses of action listed in this memorandum. A detailed memorandum is attached covering the SWP angle; a memorandum has gone through separately covering the first phase of the IRS angle, and a detailed memorandum covering the disruptive program by confidential informants is being prepared as is a memorandum covering the [redacted] phase.

For the present, our disruptive tactics will, of necessity, be general in nature, that is, along the line of "keeping the pot boiling." The time may come, however, when it will be desirable to direct our disruptive tactics toward a

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 70

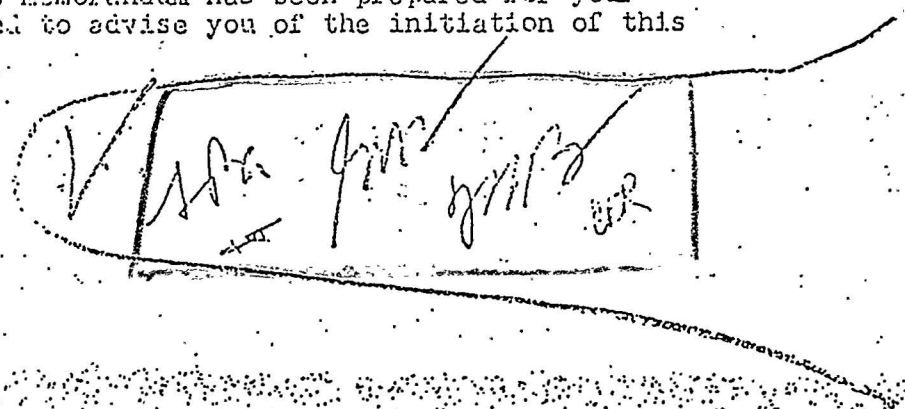
Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

specific goal. A national committee has been set up to work exclusively on the resolution for the forthcoming CP national convention. This resolution may be that the CP be dissolved and reconstituted under a new name; a coalition be effected with certain liberal and right-wing elements or that the CP remain as constituted but that several drastic changes be made in its constitution. When this resolution has been drawn up and the Bureau receives a copy of it, serious consideration will be given as to whether it will be of benefit to the Bureau's operations and to the security of the country for us to set a specific goal in this disruptive program.

The Internal Security Section is giving this program continuous thought and attention and we are remaining alert for situations which might afford additional opportunities for further disruption of the CP, USA.

ACTION:

This memorandum has been prepared for your information and to advise you of the initiation of this program.



NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 71

EXHIBIT 13

TAB-7-2

EX. 13
P. 16
11/18

1

SAC, New York (100-4013) October 12, 1961

Director, FBI (100-16)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. The SWP has also been in frequent contact with international Trotskyite groups stopping short of open and direct contact with these groups. The youth group of the SWP has also been operating on this basis in connection with SWP policies.

Offices receiving copies of this letter are participating in the Bureau's Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program. It is felt that a disruption program along similar lines could be initiated against the SWP on a very selective basis. One of the purposes of this program would be to alert the public to the fact that the SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky.

It is pointed out, however, that this program is not intended to be a "crash" program. Only carefully thought-out operations with the widest possible effect and benefit to the nation should be submitted. It may be desirable to expand the program after the effects have been evaluated.

100 OCT - 43 REC-32 (43629)

Each office is, therefore, requested to carefully evaluate such a program and submit their views to the Bureau regarding initiating a SWP disruption program on a limited basis.

2 - Chicago
2 - Detroit
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Newark

MAILED 27
OCT 11 1961
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Telef Room
Ingram
Gandy

RECEIVED FROM
10 OCT 12 1961

12) 29

MAIL ROOM

EXHIBIT 14

EX. 14 1/8
TAB 7-3
P. 1634

SAC, Atlanta

September 2, 1964

Director, FBI (157-9-Main)

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1
1

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

Effective immediately, the Bureau is instituting a coordinated Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) directed against Klan-type and hate organizations. Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately open an active control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for this program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent who is well versed in investigation of hate and racist-type organizations and their membership.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various Klans and hate organizations, their leadership and adherents. The activities of these groups must be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these groups must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources, both locally and at the Seat of Government. We must frustrate any effort of the groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.

2 - Baltimore
2 - Birmingham
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago
2 - Jacksonville
2 - Jackson
2 - Knoxville
2 - Little Rock
2 - Memphis
2 - Miami
2 - Mobile
2 - New Orleans
2 - New York
2 - Richmond
2 - Savannah
2 - Tampa

MAILED 9
SEP 3 - 1964
COMM-FBI

1 - 100-3-104-Main (CPUSA, Cointelpro)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter

DOC: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 8/27/64, same caption,

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 73

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

157-0-Main

The following Klan organizations, currently under active investigation, should be considered for counterintelligence action:

1. Association of Arkansas Klans of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. Association of Georgia Klans.
3. Association of South Carolina Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
4. Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Hinton, West Virginia.
5. Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
6. Improved Order of the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
7. Independent Klavern, Fountain Inn.
8. Independent Klan Unit, St. Augustine, Florida.
9. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Aka.
10. Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
11. National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
12. Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
13. Pioneer Club, Orlando, Florida.
14. United Florida Ku Klux Klan.
15. United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.
16. U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
17. White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

The following hate organizations currently being afforded active investigation are included in this program.

1. Alabama States Rights Party (Origin: Mobile)
2. American Nazi Party (Origin: Richmond)

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3. Council for Statehood, aka, Freemen (Origin: Miami)
4. Fighting American Nationalists (Origin: Baltimore)
5. National States Rights Party (Origin: Birmingham)
6. National Renaissance Party (Origin: New York)
7. United Freemen (Origin: Miami)
8. Viking Youth of America (Origin: Tampa)
9. White Youth Corps (Origin: Chicago)

On or before 10/15/64, participating offices are instructed to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against pertinent organizations and individuals active within their respective territories and specific recommendations should be included for any logical immediate counterintelligence action. Recommendations submitted under this program must include all necessary facts to enable the Bureau to intelligently pass upon the feasibility of the proposed action. In instances where a reliable and cooperative news media representative or other source outside the Bureau is to be contacted or utilized in connection with a proposed counterintelligence operation, it will be incumbent upon the recommending office to furnish assurances the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence.

Offices participating in this program who have investigative responsibility for Klan organizations should specifically comment in the initial letter to the Bureau regarding "Action Groups." As these offices are aware, these groups have been described as the relatively few individuals in each organization who use strong-arm tactics and violent actions to achieve their ends. Often these groups act without the approval of the Klan organization

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 75

Letter to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

or membership. The Bureau considers it vital that we expose the identities and activities of such groups and where possible disrupt their efforts. These groups should be subjected to continuing counterintelligence action.

No counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authorization.

Commencing 1/1/65 and every 3 months thereafter, each participating office should submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior 3-month period, including comments under the following captions:

2. Potential Counterintelligence Action

3. Pending Counterintelligence Action

4. Tangible Results

If necessary, a 4th caption "Miscellaneous" may be utilized for additional comments.

Recommendations for counterintelligence action should not be included in 90-day status letters to the Bureau, but following the initial analysis due 10/15/64, should be submitted individually by separate letter.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of Klan-type and hate organizations and their membership should be alerted to our counterintelligence plans relating to these groups. Counterintelligence action directed at these groups is intended to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations. Each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 76

Lottor to Atlanta
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

The Bureau is pleased with past successes achieved by our counterintelligence efforts in other phases of our investigative responsibilities. To insure our success in this new endeavor, the Agent to whom the program is assigned in each office must have a detailed knowledge of the activities of the racist groups in the territory and that knowledge must be coupled with interest, initiative and imagination. The Agent must be alert for information which has a disruptive potential. The information will not come to him - - he must look for it. The most effective way of being assured of keeping on top of the situation is to maintain close contact with those Agents who handle the investigation of the racial and hate groups and their membership and also to periodically review relevant files.

If an enthusiastic approach is made to this new endeavor, there is no reason why the results achieved under this program will not equal or surpass our achievements in similar-type programs directed against subversives.

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EXHIBIT 15

EX. 15 11/8
P. 1637
TAB-7-4

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Bland
1
1
1
1

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups

2 - Atlanta
2 - Baltimore
2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago
2 - Cincinnati
2 - Cleveland
2 - Detroit
2 - Jackson
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Memphis
2 - Newark
2 - New Orleans
2 - New York
2 - Philadelphia
2 - Phoenix
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Richmond
2 - St. Louis
2 - San Francisco
2 - Washington Field Office

MCT-34
REC 34
X 106

19 AUG 29 1967

MAILED 3
AUG 25 1967
COMM FBI

56 SEP 1967 (53)

to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counter-intelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, and the Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford.

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," (Buffile 100-3-104) which is directed

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 79

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the program entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," (Rafile 157-9), which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 80

EX. 16 11/18
P. 1637
7AB-7-5
7-5

EXHIBIT 16

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 29, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -
1 -

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

PURPOSE:

To expand the Counterintelligence Program designed to neutralize militant black nationalist groups from 23 to 41 field divisions so as to cover the great majority of black nationalist activity in this country.

BACKGROUND:

By letter dated August 25, 1967, 23 field offices were advised of a new Counterintelligence Program designed to neutralize militant black nationalists and prevent violence on their part. Goals of this program are to prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups, prevent the rise of a leader who might unify and electrify these violence-prone elements, prevent these militants from gaining respectability and prevent the growth of these groups among America's youth.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS:

In view of the tremendous increase in black nationalist activity, and the approach of summer, this program should be expanded and these goals should be reiterated to the field. Attached airtel also instructs the field to submit periodic progress letters to stimulate thinking in this area.

REC 18

Attached airtel also reminds the field that counterintelligence suggestions to expose these militants or neutralize them must be approved by the Bureau.

8 MAR 11 1968

ACTION:

That attached airtel expanding this program, defining goals and instructing periodic progress letters be submitted be sent Albany and the other listed field offices.

Enclosure

FBI

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

To: SAC, Albany PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

PERSONAL ATTENTION FOR ALL THE FOLLOWING SACs

2 - Atlanta
2 - Baltimore
2 - Birmingham
2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago
2 - Cincinnati
2 - Cleveland
2 - Denver
2 - Detroit
2 - Houston
2 - Indianapolis
2 - Jackson
2 - Jacksonville
2 - Kansas City
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Memphis
2 - Miami
2 - Milwaukee
2 - Minneapolis
2 - Mobile
2 - Newark
2 - New Haven
2 - New Orleans
2 - New York
2 - Omaha
2 - Philadelphia
2 - Phoenix
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Portland
2 - Richmond
2 - Sacramento
2 - San Diego
2 - San Francisco
2 - Seattle
2 - Springfield
2 - St. Louis
2 - Tampa
2 - WFO

RECEIVED FROM

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Albany	Memphis
Atlanta	Newark
Baltimore	New Orleans
Boston	New York
Buffalo	Philadelphia
Charlotte	Phoenix
Chicago	Pittsburgh
Cincinnati	Richmond
Cleveland	St. Louis
Detroit	San Francisco
Jackson	Washington Field
Los Angeles	

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include all offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 83

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance; and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 84

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).
Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 2? 19??

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each groups propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

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Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

EXHIBIT 17

10/28/73 EX. 17 TAB-7-6

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5/9/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left. Some of these activists urge revolution in America and call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. They continually and falsely allege police brutality and do not hesitate to utilize unlawful acts to further their so-called causes. The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously attacked the Director and the Bureau in an attempt to hamper our investigation of it and to drive us off the college campuses. With this in mind, it is our recommendation that a new Counterintelligence Program be designed to neutralize the New Left and the Key Activists. The Key Activists are those individuals who are the moving forces behind the New Left and on whom we have intensified our investigations.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of this group and persons connected with it. It is hoped that with this new program their violent and illegal activities may be reduced if not curtailed.

General instructions are being furnished to all offices relating to the purpose and administration of this new program. Briefly, these instructions require all offices to submit an analysis of possible counterintelligence operations on the New Left and on the Key Activists on or before 6/1/68, including any specific recommendations for action. Thereafter, all offices will submit a 90-day status letter setting forth a summary of their accomplishments and future plans. Each office will maintain a pending case and assign experienced

Enclosure

5-10-68

449698

MCT-15

REC-2

MAY 21 1968

(9)
1 - Mr. Felt
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 -

CONTINUED - OVER

personnel to this program. All proposed counterintelligence action must be approved at the Seat of Government prior to instituting it. This new program will be supervised at the Seat of Government by a Special Agent supervisor in the Internal Security Section.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) That the Domestic Intelligence Division be authorized to immediately initiate a coordinated Counter-intelligence Program directed at exposing, disrupting, and otherwise neutralizing the New Left and Key Activists.

2) That the attached letter setting forth instructions for the administration and immediate enactment of the program be forwarded to all offices.

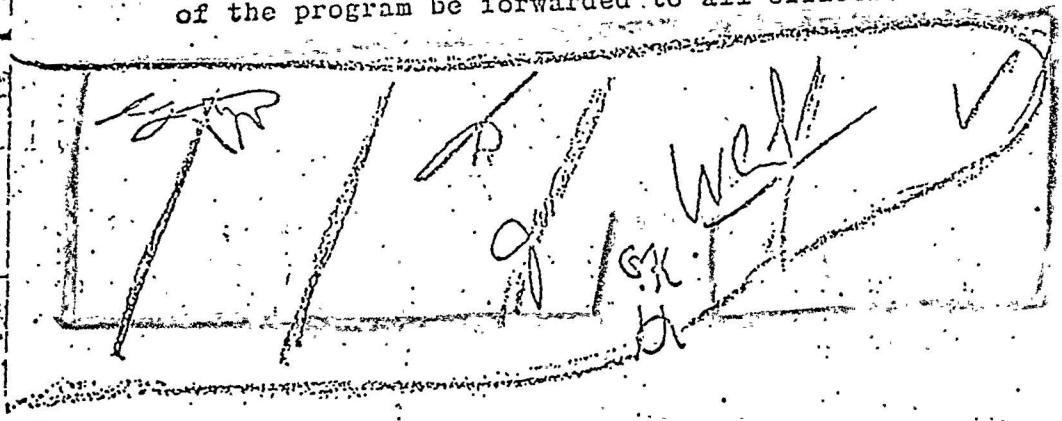

EXHIBIT 8

338-3 P.1640

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Felt
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 -
1 -

SAC, Albany

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

Bulet 5/10/68 requested suggestions for counterintelligence action against the New Left. The replies to the Bureau's request have been analyzed and it is felt that the following suggestions for counterintelligence action can be utilized by all offices:

1. Preparation of a leaflet designed to counteract the impression that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other minority groups speak for the majority of students at universities. The leaflet should contain photographs of New Left leadership at the respective university. Naturally, the most obnoxious pictures should be used.

2. The instigating of or the taking advantage of personal conflicts or animosities existing between New Left leaders.

REC-27 100-449698-258

3. The creating of impressions that certain New Left leaders are informants for the Bureau or other law enforcement agencies.

16 JUL 17 1968

4. The use of articles from student newspapers and/or the "underground press" to show the depravity of New Left leaders and members. In this connection, articles showing advocation of the use of narcotics and free sex are ideal to send to university officials, wealthy donors, members of the legislature and parents of students who are active in New Left matters.

5. Since the use of marijuana and other narcotics is widespread among members of the New Left, you should be alert to opportunities to have them arrested by local authorities on drug charges. Any information concerning the

2 - All Field Offices

(12)

SEP 5 1968

FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

JUL 8 1968 COMM-FBI

fact that individuals have marijuana or are engaging in a narcotics party should be immediately furnished to local authorities and they should be encouraged to take action.

6. The drawing up of anonymous letters regarding individuals active in the New Left. These letters should set out the activities and should be sent to their parents, neighbors and the parents' employers. This could have the effect of forcing the parents to take action.

7. Anonymous letters or leaflets describing ... faculty members and graduate assistants in the various institutions of learning who are active in New Left matters. The activities and associations of the individual should be set out. Anonymous mailings should be made to university officials, members of the state legislature, Board of Regents, and to the press. Such letters could be signed "A Concerned Alumni" or "A Concerned Taxpayer."

8. Whenever New Left groups engage in disruptive activities on college campuses, cooperative press contacts should be encouraged to emphasize that the disruptive elements constitute a minority of the students and do not represent the conviction of the majority. The press should demand an immediate student referendum on the issue in question. Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of students is not active in New Left matters, it is felt that this technique, used in carefully selected cases, could put an end to lengthy demonstrations and could cause embarrassment to New Left elements.

9. There is a definite hostility among SDS and other New Left groups toward the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). This hostility should be exploited wherever possible.

10. The field was previously advised that New Left groups are attempting to open coffeehouses near military bases in order to influence members of the Armed Forces. Wherever these coffeehouses are, friendly news media should be alerted to them and their purpose. In addition, various

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 91

drugs, such as marijuana, will probably be utilized by individuals running the coffeehouses or frequenting them. Local law enforcement authorities should be promptly advised whenever you receive an indication that this is being done.

11. Consider the use of cartoons, photographs, and anonymous letters which will have the effect of ridiculing the New Left. Ridicule is one of the most potent weapons which we can use against it.

12. Be alert for opportunities to confuse and disrupt New Left activities by misinformation. For example, when events are planned, notification that the event has been cancelled or postponed could be sent to various individuals.

You are reminded that no counterintelligence action is to be taken without Bureau approval. Insure that this program is assigned to an Agent with an excellent knowledge of both New Left groups and individuals. It must be approached with imagination and enthusiasm if it is to be successful.

As an economy measure the caption "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT" should be used on all communications concerning this Program.

NOTE:

See memo C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 7/3/68, captioned as above, prepared by.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 92

EXHIBIT 19 EX. 19 1/18 TAB 9-4 P. 1641

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 1/30/70

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
NEW LEFT
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau are two Xerox copies of a letter prepared by the St. Louis Division.

BACKGROUND

[redacted] is a local New Left figure who is an officer in ACTION, a local Black activist group whose members have engaged in numerous acts of civil disruption and disobedience, and a leader in the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which group is active in draft resistance, anti-war rallies, and New Left activity. Husband, remains aloof from her racial and New Left activities and is suspicious of her relationship with the Negro males in ACTION.

Recently [redacted] advised that complained [redacted] about her husband's suspicions and was afraid he might severely restrict her activities. On 1/27/70, [redacted] reported that [redacted] had been discreetly inquiring as to whether his wife might be being unfaithful to him by sleeping with Negro males in ACTION. [redacted]

RECOMMENDATION

REC-21 100-[illegible]-1603

St. Louis proposes to anonymously send a copy of the enclosed letter in commercial envelope, which would confirm Mr. [redacted] suspicions about his wife. The resulting marital tempest could well result in ACTION losing their [illegible]

2 - St. Louis
1 - 157-5818
1 - 100-21213

ENCLOSURE

FEB 2 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

(4)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CONFIDENTIAL

SL 157-5818

Corresponding Secretary and the WIAPF losing a valuable leader, thus striking a major blow against both organizations.

Bureau authority is requested to initiate this activity.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 94

Dear Mr.

Took man I guess your old lady dosen't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to intergrate is the bed room and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her, man — or get her the hell off Newstead.

A Soul Sister

SAC, St. Louis (157-6813) 2/17/70

REC-126

Director, FBI (100-448006) 1603

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
NEW LEFT
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 1/30/70.

Provided such action will in no way jeopardize [redacted], you are authorized to prepare and anonymously mail the letter as suggested in relet.

In making this mailing, take all steps necessary to protect the Bureau as its source.

(5)

NOTE:

Mrs. [redacted] a white female and New Left figure, is an officer in ACTION, a local black activist group. She is also a leader of the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Her husband remains aloof from her racial and New Left activities and is suspicious of her relationship with Negro males in ACTION. Her husband has become suspicious and [redacted] has complained he may restrict her activities. St. Louis suggests an anonymous letter be sent to Mr. [redacted] indicating to him that his suspicions are well founded. Such a letter would be purportedly from a Negro female. Since it might result in [redacted] being restricted from future activity, it is being authorized.

MAILED 4
FEB 17 1970
COMM-FBI

FEB 26 1970

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 96

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 6-19-70

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

By letter dated 2-17-70, the Bureau authorized the anonymous mailing of a letter from a "soul sister" to [redacted] the husband of [redacted] She is an officer in ACTION, a bi-racial Black Extremist group. The letter accused her of infidelity.

On 6-12-70, [redacted] advised that [redacted] and her husband had recently separated, following a series of marital arguments. [redacted] has taken an apartment during this separation, which might become a permanent arrangement. This matrimonial stress and strain should cause her to function much less effectively in ACTION.

While the letter sent by the St. Louis Division was probably not the sole cause of this separation, it certainly contributed very strongly.

Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Factionalism has developed within the organization called Black Nationalism. When the best way to capitalize on this friction is determined, separate Bureau authority will be requested for such a counterintelligence operation.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)

REC. 109

CONFIDENTIAL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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EXHIBIT 20

EX. 20 1/8
P.1642
TAB 9.2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (157-9-41)

DATE: 8/26/66

FROM : SAC,

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
RM (KLAN)

9.4

The following letter is being submitted to the Bureau for their consideration concerning counterintelligence action against , Grand Dragon of the UKA, Realm. The information in this letter would be mailed to ROBERT SHELTON and three other selected klan leaders in . The communication would be typed on plain paper in an amateurish fashion and mailed from , the situs of klan activity in

Copies of this communication being furnished Charlotte for the purpose of their posing any objections they feel warranted.

The letter reads as follows and would be mailed to 's wife, Mrs.

"My Dear Mrs. ,

"I write this letter to you only after a long period of praying to God. I must cleanse my soul of these thoughts. I certainly do not want to create problems inside a family but I owe a duty to the klans and its principles as well as to my own menfolk who have cast their divine lot with the klans.

"Your husband came to about a year ago and my menfolk blindly followed his leadership, believing him to be the saviour of this country. They never believed the

2 Bureau (REGIS. MAIL)

REC. 48

53

AUG 29 1966

(6)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

"stories that he stole money from the klans in or that he is now making over $25,000 a year. They never believed the stories that your house in has a new refrigerator, washer, dryer and yet one year ago, was threadbare. They refuse to believe that your husband now owns three cars and a truck, including that new white car. But I believe all these things and I can forgive them for a man wants to do for his family in the best way he can.

"I don't have any of these things and I don't grudge you any of them neither. But your husband has been committing the greatest of the sins of our Lord for many years. He has taken the flesh of another unto himself.

"Yes, Mrs. , he has been committing adultery. My menfolk say they don't believe this but I think they do. I feel like crying. I saw her with my own eyes. They call her Ruby. Her last name is something like and she lives in the 700 block of Street in . I know this. I saw her strut around at a rally with her lust-filled eyes and smart aleck figure.

"I cannot stand for this. I will not let my husband and two brothers stand side by side with your husband and this woman in the glorious robes of the klan. I am typing this because I am going to send copys to Mr. Shelton and some of the klans leaders that I have faith in. I will not stop until your husband is driven from and back into the flesh-pots from wherein he came.

"I am a loyal klanswoman and a good churchgoer. I feel this problem affects the future of our great country. I hope I do not cause you harm by this and if you believe in the Good Book as I do, you may soon receive your husband back into the fold. I pray for you and your beautiful little children and only wish I could tell you who I am. I will soon, but I am afraid my own men would be harmed if I do.

"A God-fearing klanswoman"

SAC, 9/8/66

REC 138

Director, FBI (137-9-41)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM EX-104
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISPOSITION OF HATE GROUPS

254

ReVHlet 8/26/66 recommending an anonymous letter be forwarded to Mrs. , wife of the Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Realm, exposing the immoral activity of her husband.

Authority is granted for you to prepare and post your proposed anonymous letter to Mrs. . The letter should be prepared on inexpensive, commercially purchased stationery, using a manual typewriter, and should include a liberal number of grammatical and typing errors. It should be posted from . Carbon copies of the letter should be forwarded from to Robert Shelton and three other selected Klan leaders who reside in

Advise the Bureau of any tangible results of this action and be alert to recommend follow-up counterintelligence action.

(5)

NOTE: , the key Klan leader in where Klan activity has recently increased, has been advocating a program of violence against FBI Agents. The anonymous letter, which will be sent to his wife who resides in , points out the high living and immorality of . The letter will be forwarded to United Klans of America Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton in an effort to discredit in the eyes of his leader.

MAILED 3
SEP 9 - 1966
COMM-FBI

SEP 15 1966

EXHIBIT 21 EY. 21 P. 1647 TAB 8.2 "18

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

8-7

SAC, Baltimore

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 12/2/68)

For the information of recipient offices a serious struggle is taking place between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals.

In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP.

Commencing December 2, 1968, and every two-week period thereafter, each office is instructed to submit a letter under this caption containing counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP. The bi-weekly letter should also contain accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period under captioned program.

All counterintelligence actions must be approved at the Bureau prior to taking steps to implement them.

2 - Boston
2 - Chicago
2 - Cleveland
2 - Denver
2 - Indianapolis
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Newark
2 - New York
2 - Omaha
2 - Sacramento
2 - San Diego
2 - San Francisco
2 - Seattle

MAILED 2
NOV 25 1968
COMM-FBI

REC-35

19 DEC 18 1968

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SEP 25 1969
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MAIL ROOM

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Letter to SAC, Baltimore
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 11/22/68, prepared by [redacted].

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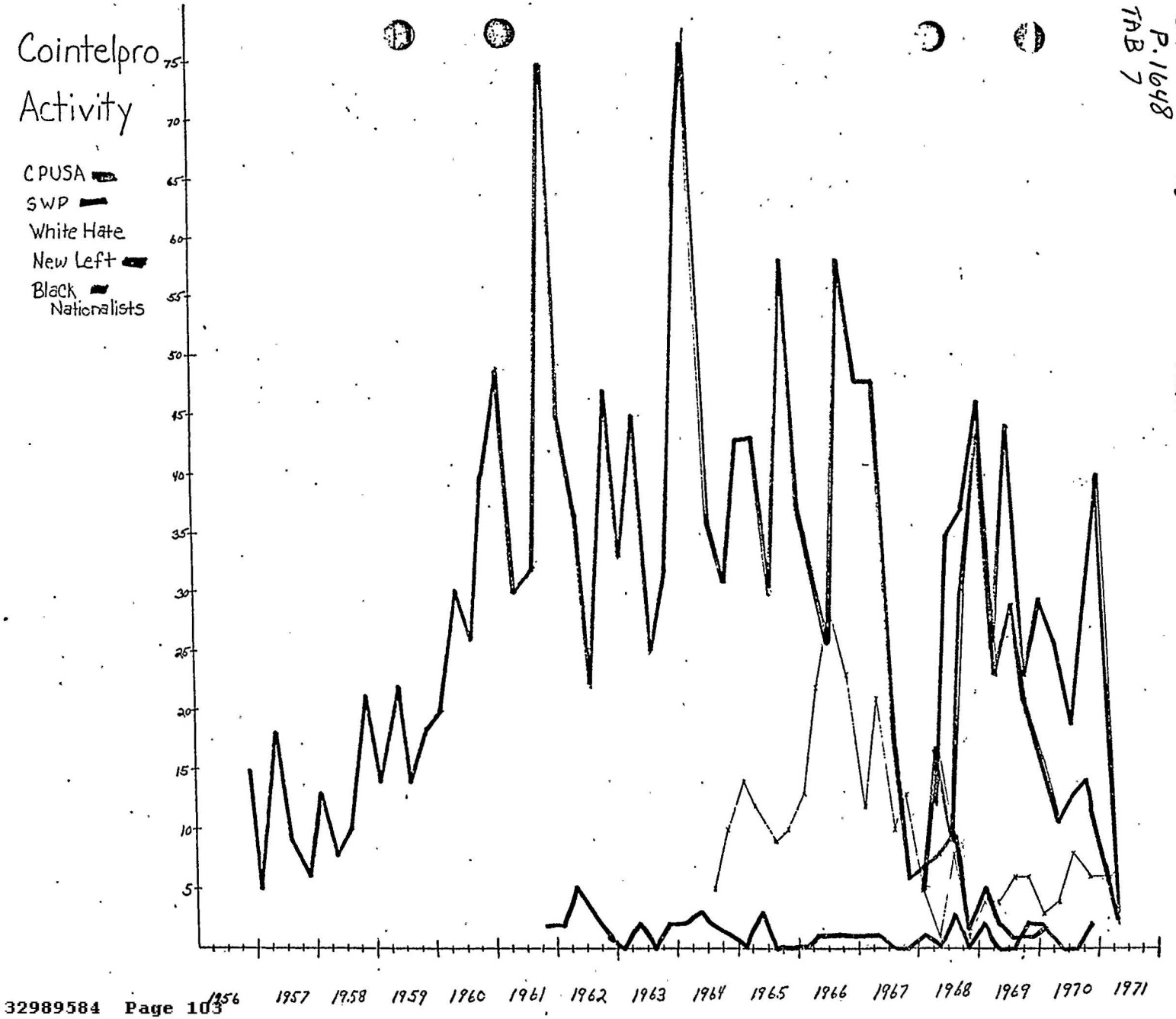

EX-233
P. 1648
TAB 7

4/8

EXHIBIT 22

EXHIBIT 23

EX-23 1/18 P.1604

TAB-12-27

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

December 6, 1939

SAC ATLANTA	DES MOINES	LOUISVILLE	PORTLAND
BIRMINGHAM	DETROIT	MEMPHIS	RICHMOND
BOSTON	EL PASO	MIAMI	SALT LAKE CITY
BUFFALO	GRAND RAPIDS	MILWAUKEE	SAN ANTONIO
BUTTE	HONOLULU	NEWARK	SAN DIEGO
CANAL ZONE	HUNTINGTON	NEW ORLEANS	SAN FRANCISCO
CHARLOTTE	INDIANAPOLIS	NEW YORK	SAN JUAN
CHICAGO	JUNEAU	OKLAHOMA CITY	SEATTLE
CINCINNATI	KANSAS CITY	OMAHA	SIOUX FALLS
CLEVELAND	KNOXVILLE	PHILADELPHIA	SPRINGFIELD
DALLAS	LITTLE ROCK	PHOENIX	ST. LOUIS
DENVER	LOS ANGELES	PITTSBURGH	ST. PAUL
			WASHINGTON, D. C.

RE: INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

The Bureau is, at the present time, preparing a list of individuals, both aliens and citizens of the United States, on whom there is information available to indicate that their presence at liberty in this country in time of war or national emergency would be dangerous to the public peace and the safety of the United States Government. The information now available relative to these individuals is, however, incomplete in most instances and it will be necessary to obtain additional information relative to the affiliations, business interests, activities, present address, age, and citizenship status of each.

The Bureau will, therefore, in the near future commence referring cases to you by letter, requesting an appropriate confidential investigation to develop from confidential sources and in a discreet manner the necessary information to enable the rendering of a decision as to the action to be taken relative to the individuals concerned in the event of the outbreak of hostilities between the United States Government and any other nation or nations.

It will be incumbent upon you to initiate the appropriate investigation immediately upon receipt of the letters referred to, and to issue appropriate instructions to the employees assigned to your Field Division to make certain the fact that the Bureau is making such investigations does not become known to individuals outside of the Bureau.

U. S. DEPARTMENT

You are advised that it will be necessary, in all instances, to definitely determine whether the individual about whom inquiry is being made is a citizen of the United States or an alien and, if an alien, it should be determined, if possible, whether he has taken out his first papers unless the letter from the Bureau clearly

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reports that his citizenship status is known. This information is essential in each case because in time of war alien enemies are placed in a status differing entirely from that of citizens of the United States, and the cases would be handled differently.

With reference to the investigation to be conducted, as previously stated, the purpose should be entirely confidential and it should be handled in the same manner as any investigation for the purpose of determining if the individual involved has violated the Registration Act or is engaged in subversive activities. The color of authority under which these matters are handled is, of course, the Registration Act and, if necessary, inquiries as to the reason for the investigation should be answered by reference to the Registration Act requiring agents of foreign principals to register with the State Department. It is pointed out, however, that the classification "Registration Act" still exists and investigations conducted under that classification should not be confused with those conducted under the classification "Internal Security."

It is believed that most of the information necessary about each individual may be obtained from sources already known to the Bureau, such as public and private records, confidential sources of information, confidential informants, newspaper morgues, public libraries, employment records, school records, et cetera but in cases where these sources are unavailing, the investigation must be complete but confidential. It will be necessary for you to supervise the investigation of these cases very carefully to make certain that complete information is obtained because, obviously, a decision cannot be rendered as to the action to be taken in each case unless full and complete information, upon which a decision can be based, is made available.

You should ascertain the present home and business address of the subject and all information which would indicate the advisability of including him on the list referred to, such as current or past activities, affiliation with organizations engaged in activities in behalf of a foreign nation, participation in dangerous subversive movements, advocacy of the overthrow of Government by force and violence, et cetera. It is deemed inadvisable to set forth specific rules as to the investigation to be conducted in all of these cases because the facts will differ in each case, but if you will bear in mind the purpose for which these investigations are being conducted, it is believed that little difficulty should be experienced in determining what investigation is to be made in each case.

The title of the case should reflect the name of the subject and all aliases, and when it has been definitely determined that he is an alien, the word "alien" should follow the name. Example - John Doe - Alien. When the status of the subject is determined at a time subsequent to the initial report, the title should be marked "changed" and the word "alien" added. If the subject becomes a citizen subsequent to the initial report, the title of the next report submitted should be marked "changed" to show the dropping of the word "alien" therefrom. The character of the case is, in all instances, as previously indicated, "Internal Security."

SEP 26 1975
FBI

For your information, in cases where it is indicated that the individual may be an alien, a check will be made with the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization to determine if naturalization papers have been issued before the case is referred to the Field for investigation. If, however, information is developed during the course of the investigation which indicates the possibility of the subject being an alien and a check has not been made by the Bureau, a lead may be directed to the Washington Field Office to check the records of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.

These cases have been assigned Classification #100.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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EXHIBIT 21 Ex-24 118

TAB-12-3
P.1664

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

July 16, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR
HUGH B. COX, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
AND
J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I refer to Mr. [redacted] memorandum to me dated June 28, 1943, which reviews the history, development, and meaning of the Special Case work and of the danger classifications that were made as a part of that work.

After full re-consideration of these individual danger classifications, I am satisfied that they serve no useful purpose. The detention of alien enemies is being dealt with under the procedures established by the Alien Enemy Control Unit. The Special Case procedure has been found to be valueless and is not used in that connection. There is no statutory authorization or other present justification for keeping a "custodial detention" list of citizens. The Department fulfills its proper functions by investigating the activities of persons who may have violated the law. It is not aided in this work by classifying persons as to dangerousness.

Apart from these general considerations, it is now clear to me that this classification system is inherently unreliable. The evidence used for the purpose of making the classifications was inadequate; the standards applied to the evidence for the purpose of making the classifications were defective; and finally, the notion that it is possible to make a valid determination as to how dangerous a person is in the abstract and without reference to time, environment, and other relevant circumstances, is impractical, unwise, and dangerous.

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For the foregoing reasons I am satisfied that the adoption of this classification system was a mistake that should be rectified for the future. Accordingly, I direct that the classifications heretofore made should not be regarded as classifications of dangerousness or as a

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determination of fact in any sense. In the future, they should not be used for any purpose whatsoever. Questions raised as to the status or activities of a particular person should be disposed of by consideration of all available information, but without reference to any classification heretofore made.

A copy of this memorandum should be placed in the file of each person who has hitherto been given a classification. In addition, each card upon which a classification appears should be stamped with the following language:

"THIS CLASSIFICATION IS UNRELIABLE. IT IS HEREBY CANCELLED, AND SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A DETERMINATION OF DANGEROUSNESS OR OF ANY OTHER FACT. (SEE MEMORANDUM OF JULY 16, 1943 FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO HUGH B. COX AND J. EDGAR HOOVER)."

Attorney General

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EXHIBIT 25

P.1665 TAB-12-4

PERSONAL ATTENTION
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

NO. 336

August 14, 1943

SERIES 1943

SAC	ALBANY	DETROIT	MEMPHIS	PROVIDENCE
	ATLANTA	EL PASO	MIAMI	RICHMOND
	BALTIMORE	GRAND RAPIDS	MILWAUKEE	ST. LOUIS
	BIRMINGHAM	HONOLULU	NEWARK	ST. PAUL
	BOSTON	HOUSTON	NEW HAVEN	SALT LAKE CITY
	BUFFALO	HUNTINGTON	NEW ORLEANS	SAN ANTONIO
	BUTTE	INDIANAPOLIS	NEW YORK	SAN DIEGO
	CHARLOTTE	JACKSON	NORFOLK	SAN FRANCISCO
	CHICAGO	JUNEAU	OKLAHOMA CITY	SAN JUAN
	CINCINNATI	KANSAS CITY	OMAHA	SAVANNAH
	CLEVELAND	KNOXVILLE	PHILADELPHIA	SEATTLE
	DALLAS	LITTLE ROCK	PHOENIX	SIOUX FALLS
	DENVER	LOS ANGELES	PITTSBURGH	SPRINGFIELD
	DES MOINES	LOUISVILLE	PORTLAND	WASHINGTON, D. C.
				QUANTICO

Re: DANGEROUSNESS CLASSIFICATION
CHANGE OF CHARACTER
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

Effective immediately, the character of investigations of individuals (other than alien enemies) who may be dangerous or potentially dangerous to the public safety or internal security of the United States shall be "Security Matter" and not "Custodial Detention." The phraseology, "Custodial Detention," shall no longer be used to designate the character of any investigation, nor shall it be used for any purpose in reports or other communications. Investigations involving organizations or "key figures" in the Communist Party will continue to bear the character, "Internal Security," as in the past, but the dual character of "Custodial Detention" will be eliminated.

Henceforth, the cards previously known as Custodial Detention Cards will be known and referred to as Security Index Cards, and the list composed of such cards will be known as the Security Index.

For your information, the Attorney General, on July 16, 1943, ordered that the dangerousness classifications previously made by the Special Defense Unit and its successor, the Special War Policies Unit, be not used in the future for any purpose whatsoever.

The Bureau will continue to investigate dangerous and potentially dangerous persons other than alien enemies under the characters of Security Matter and Internal Security. It will also continue to prepare and maintain Security Index Cards. The fact that the Security Index and Security Index Cards are prepared and maintained should be considered as strictly confi-

SECRET
AUG 19 1943

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tial, and should at no time be mentioned or alluded to in investigative reports. or discussed with agencies or individuals outside the Bureau other than duly qualified representa tives of the Office of Naval Intelligence and the Military Intelligence Service, and then only on a strictly confidential basis.

A revised Section of the National Defense Manual to replace the current Section 16 is being prepared and will be available in the immediate future. It is desired that you discuss the contents of this letter with all investigative personnel under your supervision.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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EXHIBIT 26

P. 1667 TAB 17-5

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: November 13, 1952

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES

SYNOPSIS:

At a staff meeting on November 6, 1952, Deputy Attorney General Malone brought up a memorandum from the Bureau which inquired as to whether the "Security Portfolio" still controls our activities in the event of a national emergency. At the meeting it was decided that you and Mr. Murray would look into the matter to see whether any changes should be effected.

Our entire Security Index program and our plans for the detention of dangerous individuals in the time of an emergency have been set up in compliance with instructions furnished to the Bureau in a plan drawn up by the Department and furnished to the Bureau on August 3, 1948. After the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950 on September 23, 1950, the Bureau felt that the Department would have to make a decision as to whether we should continue our plans to operate under the Department's Portfolio or to change our plans in order to meet the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. This Act differs from the Department's Portfolio on several major points among which are the following:

(1) It does not provide for suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus.

(2) It is more restrictive in the standards set up for determining who shall be apprehended.

(3) It does not provide for apprehension of dangerous individuals at a time of threatened invasion.

(4) It provides for apprehension under individual warrants obtained only upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation.

(5) It apparently does not provide for searches or confiscation of contraband.

(6) It provides that preliminary hearings are to be held within 48 hours or as soon thereafter

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Bufile 100-356062
Attachment

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as provision for such hearings may be made.

(7) It appears that the rules of evidence shall apply under the Act.

(8) Persons apprehended shall be entitled to judicial review in the courts.

The Bureau can discharge its responsibilities more effectively under our present plan than under the Internal Security Act. In view of the differences it is imperative that we have a definite commitment from the Department as to whether the Department will follow its own Portfolio or the provisions of the Internal Security Act. Since the passage of the Internal Security Act, the Department has consistently hedged on whether the Act can be ignored completely and the Bureau can proceed under the plans set forth in the Department's Portfolio.

The memorandum brought to your attention by Mr. Malone was our memorandum to the Attorney General dated October 15, 1952, which requested advice in this matter. It is not deemed advisable that the Bureau make recommendations to the Department concerning this matter inasmuch as the highly controversial question involving the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus is included in the Department's Portfolio. Also, in the event the Department elects to proceed under the Internal Security Act in addition to revising all of our plans many people whom we feel constitute a danger to the internal security of the country will be dropped from our Security Index in view of the more limited provisions for apprehension set forth in the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Nonetheless in view of the questions which will be raised as to the necessity of the Department proceeding under a plan of its own device contrary to an existing law, it is not felt we should make any recommendations to the Department with respect to this matter since the decision is one which is solely the responsibility of the Department to make. There is attached a letter to Deputy Attorney General Malone requesting an early decision in view of the urgency of this matter.

PURPOSE:

To set forth the differences between the Department's plan for the apprehension of dangerous individuals in the time of an emergency as contrasted with Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and to advise you regarding the status

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of our request that the Department make a decision as to whether we will proceed under the Department's plan or under the provisions of the Internal Security Act in the event of an emergency.

DETAILS:

In your memorandum of November 6, 1952, recording the Advisory Staff Meeting which took place on that date in the Attorney General's Office you advised that Mr. Malone brought up a memorandum which the Bureau directed to him inquiring as to whether the "Security Portfolio" still controls our activity in the event of a national emergency. At the meeting it was decided that you and Mr. Murray would look into the matter to see whether there should be any changes effected. You stated that you would like to be advised as to the status of this matter together with a memorandum to Mr. Malone as to our views.

As early as March 8, 1946, you suggested to the Attorney General that he might desire to initiate a study to determine what legislation was available or what should be sought to authorize effective action of a general and precautionary nature in the event of a serious emergency. After your original memorandum to the Attorney General on March 8, 1946, regarding this matter, we continued to follow the Department.

After a number of conferences held between Bureau representatives with Department attorneys they drew up a plan with complete instructions from the Attorney General to the Bureau, a proposed Presidential Proclamation and a proposed Joint Resolution to be passed by Congress in support of the President's Proclamation. This plan is generally referred to as the Department's Portfolio. There are only three copies of this plan in existence. The Bureau has two, one maintained at the Seat of Government and one in the Omaha Field Division, and the Attorney General maintains the third copy. The Portfolio was submitted to the Bureau by the Department on August 3, 1948. Since that time our entire planning and operational procedure to apprehend individuals contained in our Security Index has been based on the Department's Portfolio and not upon the detention provisions of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which became law on September 23, 1950.

At the time the Department's Portfolio was furnished to the Bureau on August 3, 1948, there was no law in existence

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which provided for the detention of dangerous individuals at the time of an emergency. After the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which did provide for such action, the Bureau felt the Department would have to make a decision as to whether we should continue our plans to operate under the Department's Portfolio or to change our plans in order to meet the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Major Differences Between the Department's Portfolio and the Internal Security Act of 1950

The reason that it is imperative that the Department make this decision is because of the differences between the Department's Portfolio under which we are now operating and the provisions of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Some of the major points of difference are:

(1) Under the Department's Portfolio the Writ of Habeas Corpus will be suspended. The Internal Security Act of 1950 does not provide for the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus.

(2) The current standards we use in determining the names of individuals to be placed in the Security Index are based on the provisions for apprehension in time of an emergency as set forth in the Department's Portfolio. The provisions set forth in the Internal Security Act of 1950 for the detention of dangerous individuals in time of an emergency are more restricted than those contained in the Department's Portfolio. Basically, the Internal Security Act of 1950 provides for the detention of individuals who have been active in subversive organizations since January 1, 1949. Under the provisions contained in the Department's Portfolio we have included in our Security Index individuals who have not been known to be actively engaged in any subversive activities subsequent to January 1, 1949 but were active previous to that date.

(3) The Portfolio provides for apprehension of dangerous individuals at a time of threatened invasion. The Internal Security Act of 1950 restricts this to actual invasion, insurrection or declaration of war.

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(4) The Portfolio provides for the apprehension of all subjects in the Security Index at the time of an emergency under one master warrant of arrest executed by the Attorney General. Under the Act apprehension

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of subjects will be effected by individual warrants obtained only upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation.

(5) The Portfolio provides for searches and confiscation of contraband, whereas, the Act apparently does not contain such provisions.

(6) The Portfolio provides that hearings are to be held within 45 days after the apprehension of the subjects, whereas, the Act provides that preliminary hearings will be held within 48 hours or as soon thereafter as provision for such hearings may be made.

(7) Under the Portfolio the Boards of Review to be set up to hear the cases shall not be bound by the rules of evidence. It appears that the rules of evidence shall apply under the Internal Security Act.

(8) Under the Portfolio persons apprehended will have the right of appeal only to the President. Under the Act they shall be entitled to judicial review in any U. S. Court of Appeals.

There is no question but that the Bureau could discharge its responsibilities much more effectively under the Department's Portfolio than under the Internal Security Act of 1950. As can be seen by the major points of difference between the Portfolio and the Act, it is imperative that we know as soon as possible in the event the Department decides that it will be necessary to follow the provisions of the Internal Security Act. Our entire planning and procedure relative to preparation for an emergency has been directed by the instructions contained in the Department's Portfolio. Our planning has been set up in detail for action to be taken in accordance with the Portfolio. We cannot afford to wait until an emergency is upon us and then have the Department decide that we would have to move against dangerous subversives under the Internal Security Act of 1950 rather than under the Department's Portfolio. Should this occur our entire operation would break down inasmuch as it would mean that our entire procedure would have to be altered.

Correspondence With and Advice Received From the Department Concerning This Matter

It was with these facts in mind that we called this

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matter to the Department's attention at the time of the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950. On September 25, 1950, we directed a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting to be advised whether the detention provisions of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 would affect the detention plans previously prepared by the Department. We also requested that the Attorney General advise whether he contemplated making any changes in the program as previously planned by the Department.

At a conference between yourself and former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath on the morning of September 27, 1950, he informed you that he had received a memorandum from the Bureau inquiring as to whether the Internal Security Act of 1950 affected in any way the Department's detention program under which the Bureau had been working in conjunction with the Department. Mr. McGrath advised you that he did not believe that the passage of the bill should in any way interfere with the Department's detention program and that he desired the Bureau to proceed with the program as outlined in the Department's Portfolio. By memorandum dated October 9, 1950, Mr. James M. McInerney, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, replied to our memorandum. He stated that Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 undoubtedly is in conflict with the Department's proposed detention program. He said that if Title II remains in effect at such time as initiation of the program becomes necessary, appropriate provisions for its repeal will be introduced in Congress along with the proposed joint resolution inasmuch as the Internal Security Act of 1950 as enacted contains many provisions which would be unworkable in the event of an emergency or outbreak of hostilities and that it was not anticipated that Title II will permanently supersede the Department's Portfolio.

In response to an inquiry by the Bureau of December 5, 1950, as to the progress made by the Department in reviewing our Security Index cases, Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford advised on December 7, 1950, that "in the event of occurrence of an emergency which requires the use of the detention program, all of the persons now or hereafter included by the Bureau on the Security Index should be considered subjects for immediate apprehension thus resolving any possible doubtful cases in favor of the Government in the interests of the national security."

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At the concluding session of the U. S. Attorneys' Conference on May 25, 1951, which was attended by Mr. Belmont, Mr. Raymond P. Whearty of the Department outlined the detention provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. At that time he pointed out that the Act is unwieldly and unworkable.

On May 31, 1951, Mr. Whearty, in conference with Mr. Belmont and Section Chief Baumgardner, orally advised that the standards being drawn up by the Department at that time for persons to be apprehended in an emergency were to be based principally on the Internal Security Act of 1950 but that leeway had been added to the standards specified by the Act to include persons we have on our Security Index who will meet the requirements of the Act. He stated that the Department does not consider the detention provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as workable and will continue to operate under the Emergency Detention Program as drawn up by the Department.

On March 14, 1952, Mr. Whearty was informed in conference with Mr. Belmont and Mr. Baumgardner that it was apparent that the Department was attempting to interpret the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 through the drawing up of the Department's proposed standards for individuals to be included in the Security Index to bring them within the provisions of the Internal Security Act. Mr. Whearty was informed that from the Bureau's standpoint it would appear that the Department is hedging on its previous stand that apprehensions would be made under the Emergency Detention Program of the Department rather than the Internal Security Act of 1950 and any attempt to bring the Department's program within the provisions of the Internal Security Act would require extremely broad interpretation of the Act. He was advised that our position is that we must be ready from an operative standpoint to implement the apprehension program under clear authority from the Attorney General and there can be no question of doubt as to whether we are operating under standards specifically authorized by the Attorney General. It was pointed out that the broad interpretation by the Department of the provisions of the Act may not stand up in the event the apprehension program is launched under the Act and that the Department's interpretation of the Act is a matter of opinion and not of fact. At this conference Mr. Whearty stated that it is the definite intent of the Department to proceed under its program rather than under the Internal Security Act of 1950. He said that if an emergency occurs, the Presidential Proclamation

FBI/DOJ SEP 26 1975

FBI

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will be issued and brought immediately before Congress for ratification. He said that at that time, if it has not been accomplished before that time, repeal of the Act will be sought in order that the Department's program can be instituted. He stated that at that time the unworkability of the Act will again be brought to the attention of Congress.

On July 9, 1952, at which time Mr. Belmont and Mr. Hennrich were in conference with Mr. McInerney of the Department regarding getting approval by the Department of the standards used by us for placing persons in the Security Index and having them review our Security Index cases, Mr. McInerney stated that the Department had already given the Bureau written authority to apprehend anyone on the Security Index pending the Department's decision with regard to the standards. The Bureau representatives insisted on the Attorney General's specific approval of the standards under which we are operating, inasmuch as we are an investigative agency, and the policy as to whom should be apprehended under any detention program must rest with the Attorney General.

From time to time the Department, while maintaining that the plan as set forth in the Department's Portfolio will be used in the event of an emergency, has intimated that the Internal Security Act of 1950 cannot be ignored. The Department last brought this fact to the Bureau's attention in a memorandum dated October 8, 1952, which stated in part that while it is contemplated that in the event of war other legislation relating to the apprehension and detention of potentially dangerous persons will be speedily sought, nonetheless so long as the standard provided in the Internal Security Act of 1950 remains the guiding legislative principle for apprehension and detention of potentially dangerous individuals, the Department must consider this standard in reviewing the files of individuals who may be subject to apprehension and detention.

We replied to this memorandum in a letter to the Attorney General dated October 15, 1952, and pointed out, among other things, that all authority for our Security Index program including all preparations and plans made by the Bureau to effect the apprehensions are based solely upon the planning and instructions contained in the Department's Portfolio. We requested, in order that there will be a complete understanding, that the Attorney General give us his assurance at this time that he intends to proceed in an emergency under the program as outlined in the Department's Portfolio and that the standards to be used are those we are now using. We requested advice of

RECE

- 8 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 110

the Attorney General as to whether he is in agreement with the Bureau's concepts of the detention program and Security Index standards as outlined in our memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford dated June 28, 1951. The memorandum of October 15, 1952, is the memorandum which Mr. Malone brought up at the staff meeting in the Attorney General's Office on November 6, 1952.

OBSERVATION:

All of our plans for an emergency, which are extensive, in connection with the detention of dangerous individuals in time of an emergency are based upon instructions contained in the Department's Portfolio. There are contained among the 19,577 individuals listed in our Security Index the names of many persons whom we consider dangerous but who do not fall within the standards set forth in the Internal Security Act of 1950. If the Department should elect to proceed under this Act it would mean that in revising our plans many people who are now included in our Security Index as potentially dangerous to the internal security would necessarily have to be excluded therefrom.

The fact that the Interral Security Act of 1950 does not provide for suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus would prove a definite hindrance to the execution of necessary measures to be taken in the event of an emergency because of lengthy litigation which would no doubt result and presents the possibility that dangerous individuals might obtain release from confinement pending hearings in their cases. The Department's Portfolio provides that these persons shall be continued in detention until their cases are decided by the Boards of Review.

The lack of provision in the Act for measures to be taken in the event of threatened invasion precludes the President from taking action against potentially dangerous persons prior to an actual invasion, insurrection or declaration of war.

The provision in the Act for apprehension of subjects by individual warrants is a factor which would be a detrimental, time-consuming procedure as compared to the use of one master warrant of arrest for all subjects apprehended as provided in the Department's Portfolio.

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The apparent lack of provision in the Act for searches and for confiscation of contraband would be a definite deterrent to our operations in that we would be unable to search the headquarters of subversive organizations as well as premises of dangerous individuals for contraband. Such contraband would, under the Act, apparently be left in the control and custody of persons who could use it against the interests of the Government.

The provision in the Act that preliminary hearings are to be held within 48 hours after the subjects' apprehension or as soon thereafter as provisions for such hearings may be made could place a restrictive time element upon the Government which would interfere with our apprehension efforts.

The fact that subjects apprehended under the Act would have the right of appeal to the courts and since it appears that the rules of evidence would apply creates another obstacle in the Government's way in that in order to obtain continued detention of persons considered dangerous we may, in many instances, have to disclose the identities of our informants and confidential techniques. This, of course, would be a fatal blow to our subsequent efforts to maintain coverage of subversive activities during the emergency.

While, for the reasons outlined above, I firmly believe that the internal security of the country could best be protected in the time of an emergency if we proceed under the plans set forth in the Department's Portfolio, I do not believe that it is desirable that the Bureau go on record with recommendations to the Department concerning this matter. The Department's Portfolio contains a plan for the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus which without question will be a highly controversial subject and will undoubtedly cause considerable debate in the event it is ever openly proposed. Other questions will be raised as to why it is necessary to proceed under a plan devised by the Department of Justice when there is a law on the statute books which ostensibly covers the purpose for which the Department's plan was set up to handle. A decision as to procedure in the event of an emergency is clearly the responsibility of the Department. The Department's Portfolio has been devised by the Department and we have operated under those instructions to date. Any decision as to a method of operation whether it be under the Department's Portfolio or under the Internal Security Act of 1950 is clearly a matter to be decided by the Attorney General because it is concerned with high Government policy.

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Obviously the Department does not want to be placed in a position of having stated that it is not going to pay attention to the Internal Security Act of 1950. They have hedged in this matter in the past and it is to our interest that we receive from them a positive expression of approval of our concepts of the Emergency Detention Program and our concepts of the standards for including individuals in the Security Index which is tantamount to scheduling these persons for apprehension. I believe that we should continue to call for a positive statement from the Department and that we should under no circumstances make any commitments regarding the desirability of proceeding under the Emergency Detention Program or under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

ACTION:

If you agree, there is attached hereto a memorandum to Deputy Attorney General Ross L. Malone, Jr., stating our position and requesting that the Bureau be advised of the Department's decision in this matter.

While I have sent memo forward I do think we are hedging in not at least being on record as to what is best for the internal security of the country & then leaving it to Dept to decide whether to adopt

11-14

CEIVED FROM
SEP 26 1975
FBI

H.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 121

Office Memorandum • UNITED

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: November 25, 1952

FROM : The Attorney General

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Reference is made to my memorandum of October 8, 1952, approving the standards used by your Bureau for the listing of names of individuals in the Security Index, and to your subsequent memorandum of October 15.

Pursuant to the questions which you have raised in the latter memorandum, I wish to assure you that it is the Department's intention in the event of emergency to proceed under the program as outlined in the Department's Portfolio invoking the standards now used. This approval, of course, indicates agreement with your Bureau's concepts of the Detention Program and the Security Index standards as outlined in your memorandum of June 28, 1951, to former Deputy Attorney General [redacted].

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 26 1975
FBI

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

EXHIBIT 27

: Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: September 23, 1960

EX. 27 11/18
P. 1672
NO. TAB #

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

FROM: J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

CONFIDENTIAL

This is in reply to your memorandum to the Attorney General dated September 9, 1960, inquiring about the possibility of prosecutive action against the leaders or designation of the captioned organization under provisions of Executive Order No. 10450.

The available evidence concerning the activities of the leaders and members of this organization falls far short of the evidentiary requirements sufficient to meet the standards set forth in the Yates decision. While the leaders of the NOI at times resort to the use of virulent and vicious language which would incite the members to individual acts of violence against the white race, it is more calculated and designed to arouse hatred and antipathy against the white race as a race, rather than against the Government. There is evidence of language which speaks of the destruction of America, but is couched more in terms of prophecy and prediction, often referring to the "War of Armageddon," than in terms of incitement to action. Moreover, the First Amendment would require something more than language of prophecy and prediction and implied threats against the Government to establish the existence of a clear and present danger to the nation and its citizens.

Regarding designation of the NOI pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450, it is our opinion that hate-language employed by the organization's leaders is not probative of the criteria of "subversive" nor is it sufficient to establish the NOI to be an organization ". . . seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means." Although there is substantial evidence of NOI's advocacy of future violent reprisals for alleged wrongs committed against one or more of its members, the evidence is insufficient at this time to meet the criterion that it has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of such acts of violence to deny others their constitutional rights.

REC- 30 25-330971-41

EX 100 SEC 11 SEP 26 1960

ICC retained

CONFIDENTIAL

Review and evaluation of the information furnished by the Bureau is being continued with a view toward prosecution or designation. Moreover, because of the semi-secret and violent nature of this organization, and the continuing tendency on the part of some of its leaders to use language of implied threats against the Government, it is requested that the Bureau continue its investigation of the Nation of Islam and its leaders.

just stalling!

K

CONFIDENTIAL

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 124

EXHIBIT 28

P.1765
11/19

1 - Mr. W. D. Hoss

SAC, Chicago (157-2209) 1/30/69

Director, FBI (100-449006) 597

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurlet 1/13/69.

Authority is granted to mail anonymous letter to Jeff Fort, as suggested in relet, in case of the First Presbyterian Church, 6401 South Kimbark, Chicago, Illinois.

Utilize a commercially purchased envelope for this letter and insure that the mailing is not traced to the source.

Advise the Bureau of any results obtained by the above mailing.

WDH:mms
(4)

NOTE:

Jeff Fort is the leader of the Blackstone Rangers, a black extremist organization. Chicago advises that so long as Fort continues as the leader of the Rangers, a working arrangement between the BPP and the Rangers may be effected on Ranger terms. Chicago has recommended the anonymous mailing of the following letter in anticipation that its receipt by Fort will intensify the degree of animosity existing between these two black extremist organizations:

"Brother Jeff:

"I've spent some time with some Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The Brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

JAN 29 1969
COMM-FBI

SEP 16 1975

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEB 11 1969

NOTE CONTINUED:

their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther, or a Ranger, just black. From what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not black people. I think you ought to know what their up to, I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again."

"A black brother you don't know"

FROM
16 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 126

EXHIBIT 29

NO TAB
P.1766
11/19

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 1/13/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2269)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (BPP)

Re Bureau letter, 1/6/69; Chicago letter, 12/16/68; and Chicago airtel and LHM, 1/7/69.

The first two of the above communications were captioned as above, the latter under the BPP caption.

In the Chicago letter of December 16, 1968, a suggestion was made that an anonymous mailing be sent JEFF FORT, leader of the Blackstone Rangers, advising of BPP efforts to discredit him, and in effect to "take over" the Rangers. As events have subsequently developed, as set forth in referenced Chicago airtel and LHM, the Rangers and the BPP have not only not been able to form any alliance, but enmity and distrust have arisen, to the point where each have been ordered to stay out of the others territory. The BPP has since decided to conduct no activity or attempt to do any recruiting in Ranger territory.

It appears therefore that the letter as originally intended at this point would serve no useful purpose. The end in view appears to have been very quickly arrived at, in great measure by virtue of the inherent inability of two such volatile and power conscious groups to derogate any of their status or assumed authority to the other.

From information recently received, it appears, however, that the BPP has not entirely abandoned all hope of utilizing the Rangers for their own purposes. Some feeling has been evident that FORT may not continue indefinitely in his position of leadership with the Rangers, most probably a reference to various criminal charges facing him. It is clear, however, that so long as he is in this position, any working arrangement between the two groups will be on Ranger terms.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 157-1291) (BPP)
JCS/vmg
(4)

REC 11

12 JAN 16 1969

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 16 1965
FBI

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG [157-2209]

Consequently, Chicago now recommends the following letter be sent [FORT], handwritten, on plain paper:

"Brother [Jeff]:

"I've spent some time with some Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther, or a Ranger, just black. From what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not black people. I think you ought to know what their up to, I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again."

"A black brother you don't know"

The above would be sent to [FORT] in care of the First Presbyterian Church, 6401 South Kimbark, the widely publicized headquarters of the Rangers.

It is believed the above may intensify the degree of animosity between the two groups and occasion [FORT] to take retaliatory action which could disrupt the BPP or lead to reprisals against its leadership.

Consideration has been given to a similar letter to the BPP, alleging a Ranger plot against the BPP leadership, however, it is not felt this would be productive, principally since the BPP at present is not believed as violence-prone as the Rangers, to whom violent type activity, shooting, and the like, are second nature. There is also the possibility that if a future contact between the two were to take place, and it became apparent that both had received such communications, then an outside interest would be somewhat obvious.

Chicago will take no action regarding the above, pending Bureau authorization.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 16 1975
FBI

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

EXHIBIT 30 NO TAB P. 1813

DATE: 6/3/68

RECEIVED FBI

SEP 5 1968

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-17601) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bulet to Albany, 5/10/68

All SA personnel responsible for the investigation of the New Left and Key Activists in the Cincinnati Division have been alerted to the Bureau's Counterintelligence plans relating to these groups and individuals.

Detailed analysis of potential Counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and key figures in the Cincinnati Division has been initiated with the following results:

Primary areas of New Left activity in the Cincinnati Division territory are Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Ohio State University (OSU), Columbus, Ohio; and through the Cincinnati Committee To End the War in Vietnam and Cincinnati Action for Peace at Cincinnati, Ohio.

ANTIOCH COLLEGE
YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

The center for New Left activity in the Cincinnati Division area is believed to be Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and the community of Yellow Springs itself. For a number of years individuals from the college and the town have been a part of the New Left vanguard.

Antioch was among the first colleges to have a CP, USA speaker on campus shortly after the party started this program. Other speakers have appeared on campus on behalf

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Cincinnati
(4)

REC 5

12 JUN 7 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

CI 100-17601

of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Fair Play For Cuba Committee (FPCC), Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), as well as Black Power. Antioch students organized a draft resistance protest group following SDS leadership. This group led a demonstration at Cincinnati, Ohio, on 12/7/67, during which large numbers of participants brazenly defied law and order, resulting in the arrest of over 85 of their number, and causing the disruption of the orderly activities of the city for several days. In other protest-type demonstrations of a national character, Antioch and Yellow Springs have been represented by numbers exceeding their enrollment and population.

Antioch is a small, privately endowed liberal arts and science college, with a total average enrollment of about 1,800. Yellow Springs, home of the college, is a village of about 4,200 people, 18 miles east of Dayton, Ohio, on Highway 42.

Antioch College is operated on a co-operative basis. Students attend college for three months, after which they leave the campus to work at one of a large number of agencies and companies which cooperate with Antioch in this program. The student body is purposely diverse. In 1964 - 1965, students came from 49 states, Washington, D.C., and 18 foreign countries. The current president of Antioch is JAMES PAYSON DIXON, JR., born 3/15/17, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He is a medical doctor, receiving his degree in 1939 from Harvard, and in 1943 an M.S. degree at Columbia. He interned at Boston City Hospital during 1944, and for the most part since that time has held administrative-type positions. He has been connected with the Rockefeller Foundation. He served from surgeon to medical director, U.S. Public Health Service, 1952 to 1954, and was a member of the National Advisory Council in 1960. He has been president of Antioch College since 1959.

As an example of DIXON's attitude, during 1967, two Antioch College students were arrested attempting to smuggle marijuana into the U.S. On public disclosure of these facts, DIXON held a convocation at the college during which as a medical doctor, he attacked narcotics control laws in general, and challenged the idea that use of marijuana was harmful.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 9 1975
FBI

CI 100-17601

Antioch prides itself greatly on a "highly intellectual" and "academic, scholarly environment."

Actually the campus is most often run by a small group of militants that are permitted by college authorities to attack every segment of American society under the semblance of being "highly intellectual."

Anyone visiting the campus doubts its "academic, scholarly environment" because of the dirty anti-social appearance, and behavior of a large number of students can be seen to have the fullest "beatnik image."

Yellow Springs follows the lead of Antioch. It has an overabundance of self-declared "intellectuals," whose morals and habits are also anti-social.

The college and Yellow Springs have been virtually sealed off from [illegible] by others. Students demonstrate, and the college newspaper protests the appearance on campus of a representative of any investigative agency or military agency. Local newspaper editorializes against any logical support or police agencies.

RECOMMENDATION:

Cincinnati recommends that Counterintelligence action be taken to expose the pseudo intellectual image of Antioch by the following:

1. Review files at Cincinnati to identify 30 to 40 former students who were militant campus leaders.

2. Set out leads to other offices to discreetly determine the achievement of these individuals since leaving Antioch.

3. Continuing this method, identify a significant number who have attended Antioch, and have a low achievement record as shown by public source material.

4. Furnish results to [redacted], "Cincinnati Enquirer," a newspaper of

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 131

RECEIVED FBI
SEP 5 1975
FBI

CI 100-17601

general circulation at Cincinnati, Ohio. [redacted] is also an SAC contact. Agreement would be made with [redacted] to use this material in an article questioning whether Antioch is in fact "highly intellectual" and whether students are actually receiving a quality education there.

Following publishing of the [redacted] article, give wide anonymous circulation of copies to parents of current students identified from student directories. Also circulate copies of the article to members of the Board of Directors of Antioch and to the personnel directors of all businesses that are a part of the Antioch co-op plan.

DESIRED RESULT OF ACTION:

Force Antioch to defend itself as an educational institution. Force attention on activities on the Antioch campus by the parents who are sending their children to the college for an education. Force the Antioch administrators to curtail the activities of those students who spend most of their time engaging in anti-social activity, protest demonstrations, and affiliation with subversive groups.

Cincinnati will take no action on this recommendation until it has been reviewed at the Bureau, and authorization is received.

RECEIVED FROM

SEP 5 1975

FBI

SAC, Cincinnati (100-17601)

Director, FBI (100-149698)

6/18/68

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Thompson

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reurlet 6/3/68.

Authority is granted for you to discreetly determine the present whereabouts and accomplishments of individuals who were militant leaders during their college days at Antioch. After this has been determined, you should submit the material which you wish to furnish friendly news media to the Bureau for approval.

[redacted]

[redacted]

(6)

NOTE:

Bulet 5/10/68 instructed all offices to submit suggestions regarding potential counterintelligence action against the New Left. CI Office suggested that it do a study on former militant students leaders who are now no longer in college to determine whether these students have

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAILED 24
JUN 18 1968
COMM-FBI

JUN 25 1968

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1945
FBI

Letter to SAC, Cincinnati
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-440690

NOTE CONTINUED:

done better than ordinary students. If, as a group, their achievements are low, CI proposes that this information be furnished to friendly news media.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 134

EXHIBIT 31

EX. 4
NO TAB
11/19
P. 1835

Airtel

To: SACs, Newark
San Francisco

RFC-57

From: Director, FBI

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNKairtel 11/6/70.

The Bureau cannot authorize the treating of fruit to be shipped to Jersey City, New Jersey, because of the lack of control over the treated fruit in transit.

However, Newark's proposed telegram regarding food collected for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention has merit.

San Francisco's observations are requested concerning this proposal.

CEG:jgr/cae
(7)

NOTE:

Newark suggested counterintelligence operation to cause confusion, distrust, and suspicion within the BPP by indicating in a telegram allegedly from BPP headquarters that some food collected from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention had been poisoned and should be destroyed. It suggested that the Laboratory treat food using a mild laxative and that the food be shipped to BPP headquarters in Jersey City, New Jersey.

RECEIVED FROM

MAIL ROOM [ ] TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEWARK

SUBJ: COINTELPRO -
BLACK EXTREMIST
RM

The following counterintelligence proposal is submitted for consideration.

It is proposed that a telegram be sent from Oakland, California to the Jersey City, NJ, BPP Headquarters, 93 Summit Ave., (and to all BPP Headquarters). The text of the telegram should read similar to the following:

"Word received food donated to Party by anti-Liberation white pigs contains poison. Symptoms cramps, diarrhea, severe stomach pain. Destroy all food donated for convention suspected of poison, however, still required you meet quota."

"Ministry of Information"

It is suggested that the Bureau then consider having the Laboratory treat fruit such as oranges with a mild laxative-type drug by hypodermic needle or other appropriate method, and ship fruit as a donation from a fictitious person in Miami, Florida, to Jersey City headquarters.

2-Bureau (RM)
1-San Francisco (INFO)(RM)
1-MFO (INFO)
4-Newark

(1-S-2 DESK)

(8)

REC 57 EX-105

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

This plan will at first cause confusion and suspicion within the BPP and will cause a time-consuming search for the sender of the telegram. Even after Oakland denies sending the telegram, some BPP members will fear poisoning by donated food and the Jersey City Headquarters will be hardpressed to make sure donated food is not poisoned. When some Jersey City members react to the laxative and suspect poisoning, Oakland will suspect that someone at Jersey City is a spy since obviously some foreknowledge of the event was present at Jersey City but not at Oakland. Confusion, intra-BPP distrust and hunger at the upcoming convention would be the results. It is noted the Jersey City Headquarters has been given some responsibility for food collection in connection with the convention.

RECEIVED FROM
FBI

EXHIBIT 32 P. 1837 6-24-71

TIME IN CLOSE

CLYDE TOLSON

EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE

In attendance at the Conference on 8-26-71 were Messrs. Mohr, Sullivan, Bland (for Bishop), Casper, Cleveland, Conrad, Gale, DeDaniel (for Walters), Miller (for Ponder), Mintz (for Dalbey), Rosen, Sisco (for Brennan), Soyars, Tavel, Walsh (for Callahan) and Felt.

Pursuant to your instructions, members of the Conference were briefed concerning recent attempts by various newspapers and reporters to obtain information about or from FBI personnel. Members were specifically advised that there should be absolutely no conversations with or answers of any sort to representatives of the Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Columbia Broadcasting System, and National Broadcasting Company. The only acceptable answer to such inquiries is "No Comment."

It was emphasized that these instructions applied equally to the field and in telephonic conversations with the field concerning cases likely to result in press inquiries, precautionary reminders concerning the above representatives of the news media should be given.

For information.

WMF:crt
(4)

1 - Mr. Casper

REC-24

66-2554-12972

ST-103

5 SEP 3 1971

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

67 SEP 8 1971

EXHIBIT

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

62-116395

November 25, 1975

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY
GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT
TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING
THIS BUREAU'S OPERATION OF INFORMANTS
IN THE INTERNAL SECURITY FIELD

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, requesting a memorandum on this Bureau's operation of informants in the internal security field.

An informant, according to the dictionary, is "one who gives information." In light of this definition, it is clear that very few persons, if any, have not at one time or another been informants. To give information is an inseparable part of life. To give accurate, sound and helpful information for a worthy cause is to make one's life more useful and valuable to society.

Informants of the FBI are persons who furnish necessary and vital information--information which is used as a means of attaining justice. Informants clear the innocent as well as convict the guilty. They serve of their own free will. None are forced. Informants are as old as the human race. Their use is international. History is studded with many and varied examples of the uses of informants. No government or organized society has been without them.

Informants provide one of the best and most complete forms of coverage to the law enforcement officer. Sometimes they are the only means of penetrating subversive or extremist organizations. Informants are valuable because they obtain information more directly and thus save time and money; they are useful in checking on the accuracy of information from other informants and have been used to help develop other informants; they give a better understanding of the motives, objectives and intentions of subjects which allows law enforcement to plan its investigative operations; they prevent or minimize damage to property and injury to law enforcement officers and innocent persons; they further the development of independent evidence to corroborate informants' testimony or alleviate the need for informants' testimony and they become witnesses when necessary.

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U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

The development of informants is one of the most difficult, unique and specialized assignments. Despite the obstacles encountered in informant development, Bureau Agents have met and are continuing to meet with steady and remarkable successes. They regularly demonstrate vision, daring and commendable resourcefulness in this work. The Bureau today we believe has the best informant coverage in its history.

When information is received or developed that a person has background qualifications indicative of informant potential, in an area where coverage is needed, a case is opened. Office and Headquarters indices are reviewed and other logical discreet checks are made, including canvass of logical sources, to preliminarily establish the individual's background, reliability, stability and integrity. If the preliminary checks are favorable, the individual would be interviewed to establish a personal assessment by a Special Agent as to the person's qualifications, potential, and willingness to assist this Bureau. If the interview is positive, additional background investigation is conducted to establish the person's reliability, stability, and integrity. Upon satisfactory completion of this investigation, the individual begins a development period with the handling Agent and after establishing a proven record of reliability, stability and productiveness, becomes a Headquarters approved informant.

The Bureau's informants, particularly in the internal security field, have many restrictions imposed upon their relationship with the Bureau. For example, they are impressed with the confidential nature of their relationship with the FBI, that their actions are strictly voluntary and that they are not employees. If they are connected in any way with a labor union, they are informed that the Bureau is not interested in an employee-employer relationship or if connected with an institution of learning, they are specifically advised that the Bureau is not interested in the legitimate activities of educational institutions. In particular, all informants are instructed to avoid knowledge of defense plans and strategy or discussion thereof with attorneys, subjects or other individuals in any prosecution arising from intelligence or criminal investigations. In the event an informant is unable to avoid obtaining such information, this information

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is not to be reported to the FBI. A signed statement, if possible, is obtained from each informant so that the informant is aware of the Bureau's position in these matters. (A copy of the signed statement appears herein as Attachment number one.)

From the time Special Agents enter New Agent's Class they are indoctrinated and trained in the legal aspects of the Bureau's work as well as the scope and limits of their authority. The Manual of Rules and Regulations specifically addresses the conduct of Special Agents in their investigative duties. (See Manual of Rules and Regulations Attachment number two.) Training continues in their offices of assignment, each office having a Legal Officer available for training, consultation and guidance. Frequent, extensive In-Service retraining programs further bolster the Special Agents' knowledge and utilization of the law in the conduct of their official duties. Specifically, informant development and handling are extensively discussed in the FBI's training programs and there is no question as to Special Agents being aware that informants cannot be directed to perform a function that the Special Agent may not legally perform. Special Agents are particularly reminded of the need to be alert to plants, potential agent provocateurs to be used against law enforcement in a variety of ways, so as to avoid unfounded allegations of impropriety which may jeopardize investigations or prosecutions as well as result in highly publicized contrived incidents reflecting adversely on law enforcement.

Many of our informants furnish needed and valuable information on a gratuitous basis. Many are also paid for their services. Payments to informants are one of the most highly supervised areas within Bureau operations. When a payment is made to an informant, the handling Agent must make a realistic determination as to the value of the services performed by the informant. Established Bureau procedure requires that payments made to informants, upon recommendation of handling Agent and approval of appropriate supervisory personnel, originate from the office Field Support Account and are drawn from this account by check made out to the handling Agent for the amount authorized. The handling

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Agent cashes the check at a local bank and then pays the informant the authorized amount in cash for which a receipt is received from the informant and maintained in FBI files. Although there is no overall memorandum of instruction or document dealing with cost effectiveness as it relates to informants, this factor is considered by the Special Agent handling the informant, his supervisor, and the Special Agent in Charge. [Payments to informants for services are made commensurate with the value of information furnished and for actual expenses incurred in connection with obtaining information for the FBI.] Recommendations concerning payments to informants on a regular basis receive careful consideration at Headquarters level. After analysis and comparison with payments currently being made to other informants operated under similar circumstances and providing similar-type information, authority is extended at Headquarters to pay informants for services and expenses within prescribed limits. When payments are authorized by Headquarters, it is the personal responsibility of each Special Agent in Charge to definitely assure that full value is being received. His review is on an individual basis wherein he evaluates the information received and the amount being recommended by the handling Agent for payment for this specific information. Additionally, instructions provide that each Special Agent in Charge is to insure that all pending informant files are reviewed personally by appropriate supervisory personnel on a regular periodic basis not to exceed a period of 60 days. This review includes, but is not limited to, assurance that full value has been received for all payments made to informants. Also the entire informant program is subject to annual review by our Inspection Staff which physically examines informant files to assure that they are being handled properly and that payments are being made commensurate with the value of information received.

[In addition to the above controls and restrictions, information furnished from informants is constantly sifted, analyzed, recorded and disseminated.] The information is verified where possible through other sources and individual investigation. A system of checks is constantly involved to prevent an informant from producing erroneous information by accident or design.

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Concerning warrants, a warrant requirement for the use of informants appears impractical and may be unconstitutional. It is impractical because probable cause usually is not available when the informant technique is initiated and the submission of an affidavit in application for a warrant would increase the hazard of exposure of the informant's identity. Such a limitation might be unconstitutional because it would limit the First Amendment rights of the informant to communicate with the Government. Existing legal restrictions require guided informants to recognize the same legal limitations as would be applicable, in the same circumstances, to those directing the informants. An informant can legally do no more than an Agent is permitted to do.

The Bureau in the domestic intelligence area has under investigation organizations, most of which have numerous districts, regions, offices, sections, chapters and clubs. These organizations and their subdivisions total over 1100, which receive investigative attention to some extent. These investigations are afforded coverage by less than 1100 internal security informants. It must be recognized, however, that there are other individuals who are in various stages of development in this field. Concerning payments, one-half of one percent (.5%) of the Bureau's budget (fiscal 1975) was utilized to pay all types of security informants including those in the foreign counterintelligence field.

As noted, the Bureau's utilization of informants involves a high degree of care and supervision. It is a specific Bureau policy that an informant may only be targeted against individuals or organizations of investigative interest to the FBI. It must be recognized, however, informants furnish a wealth of related information which comes to their attention during the course of their assigned duties. While operating against assigned targets, the associations necessary to maintain credibility may lead to information concerning proposed or actual bombings, arsons, violent demonstrations, assassination plots, a variety of criminal activities and even location of fugitives. They also serve as listening posts in high crime and violence-prone areas and have contributed information directly responsible for the arrests of 176 persons during fiscal year 1975. Of this number, 61 individuals were arrested by FBI Agents and 47 FBI fugitives were located and

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apprehended. Additionally the FBI located 442 persons and other federal agencies located 21 individuals. Local and state law enforcement authorities located 94 persons. During the same time frame, internal security informants provided information which led directly to the recovery of property valued at approximately one-half million dollars. It must be further recognized that a warrant requirement for use of informants would virtually eliminate access of law enforcement to this collateral information resulting in many crimes going unsolved or not prevented.

The FBI believes the elements of close supervision, restraint, latitude and judgment are essential in an informant program and it is further believed that the proper balance of these elements is being utilized by the FBI successfully in the operation of informants in the security field.

Enclosures - 2

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FD-480 (7-11-75)

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

I, _____, have voluntarily agreed to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a matter affecting the security of the United States. I consider it a patriotic duty to so cooperate and agree to maintain this relationship in strict confidence. I understand that I am not a Federal employee and will not represent myself as such. I further agree not to make any disclosure or exploit in any way information which I may obtain or any activity in which I may engage on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, both while I am actively associated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and thereafter, unless authorized to do so by the Bureau. Also, I have been instructed and understand that, consistent with the necessity to maintain the confidentiality of my relationship with the FBI, I should avoid knowledge of defense plans or strategy, or discussion thereof, with attorneys, subjects, or other individuals in any prosecution arising from intelligence or criminal investigations. In the event that I am unable to avoid such discussion or obtaining such information, I will not report it to the FBI.

(Signed) _____

Witnessed: _____

SECTION 1. CONDUCT AND ACTIVITIES OF EMPLOYEES

ATTACHMENT NO. 2

3. Illegal Activities

Illegal activities on the part of any employee, in addition to being unlawful, reflect on the integrity of the FBI and betray the trust and confidence placed in it by the American people. Furthermore, unlawful activities can disqualify him for employment by the Government of the United States. It is, therefore, expected that employees will obey not only the letter of the law but the spirit of the law as well whether they be engaged in transactions of a personal or official nature. With respect to investigative activities, this admonition particularly applies to entrapment or the use of any other improper, illegal, or unethical tactics in the procurement of evidence. In this regard, it should be especially noted that, in securing information concerning mail matter, the Bureau will not tolerate a violation of law (Title 18, USC, §§ 1702, 1703, 1708, and 1709). Furthermore, employees must not tamper with, interfere with, or open mail in violation of law nor aid, abet or condone the opening of mail illegally by any employee of the U. S. Postal Service.

As members of a Federal investigative agency, FBI employees must at all times zealously guard and defend the rights and liberties guaranteed to all individuals by the Constitution. Therefore, FBI employees must not engage in any investigative activity which could abridge in any way the rights guaranteed to a citizen of the United States by the Constitution and under no circumstances shall employees of the FBI engage in any conduct which may result in defaming the character, reputation, integrity, or dignity of any citizen or organization of citizens of the United States.

Employees must not install secret telephone systems or microphones without Bureau authority.

No brutality, physical violence, duress or intimidation of individuals by our employees will be countenanced nor will force be used greater than that necessary to effect arrest or for self-defense.

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EXHIBIT 34

P. 1965
12/3

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

Official File 10-B, Box 14

5/21/40 Memorandum For J. Edgar Hoover, from Stephen Early, Secretary to the President

"Dear Mr. Hoover:

On May 18th, at the President's suggestion, I forwarded to you a number of telegrams which came to him following the delivery of his address on the subject of national defense before the joint session of the Congress. As the telegrams all were more or less in opposition to national defense, the President thought you might like to look them over, noting the names and addresses of the senders.

The attached telegrams are forwarded to you for the same reason. Will you please return them to this office when you have finished with them."

"Enclosure" [Numerous telegrams opposing the President's request for additional defense.]

5/18/40 Memorandum for J. Edgar Hoover, from Stephen Early, Secretary to the President

"I am sending you, at the President's direction, a number of telegrams he has received since the delivery of his address on the subject of national defense before the joint session of the Congress yesterday. These telegrams are all more or less in opposition to national defense.

"It was the President's idea that you might like to go over these, noting the names and addresses of the senders.

" When you have done this will you kindly return the original messages to the White House."

5/21/40 "Memorandum for S.T. E."

"Here are some more telegrams to send to Edgar Hoover.

F. D. R."

OK WITH FBI

SUGGEST CLEARANCE BE OBTAINED FROM WHITE HOUSE

[Attached is the following, mimeographed:]

"May 23, 1940

"Memorandum for Honorable J. Edgar Hoover:

The President asked me to show the attached telegrams to you.

Rudolph Forster
Executive Clerk

Telegrams from the following protesting armament defense program, etc: [list of 30 names and addresses]

5/29/40 "Respectfully referred to Honorable J. Edgar Hoover....

Stephen Early, Secretary to the President

[5 names and addresses]

5/31/40 [Mimeographed -- 38 names and cities] [Library reference]

"The following people sent telegrams to the President more or less in opposition to national defense as presented by President to the Congress 5/16/40. The telegrams were referred to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, 5/18/40 for his information and were returned 5/25/40 with comment, and reports."

5/31/40 [same -- 35 names]

5/31/40 [same -- 41 names]

5/31/40 [same -- 17 names]

8/20/40 Personal and Confidential
By Special Messenger

J. Edgar Hoover to Early

"I am returning herewith various telegrams forwarded by you during the months of May and June which were received by the President in response to his radio address on the matter of the nation's defense.

"The contents thereof have been noted with interest, and I desire to thank you for forwarding these telegrams to me for the information of this Bureau."

6/12/40 "Memorandum for General Watson

Will you prepare a nice letter to Edgar Hoover thanking him for all the reports on investigations he has made and tell him I appreciate the fine job he is doing.

F.D.R."

6/14/40 "Dear Edgar:

I have intended writing you for some time to thank you for the many interesting and valuable reports that you have made to me regarding the fast moving situations of the last few months.

"You have done and are doing a wonderful job, and I want you to know of my gratification and appreciation."

6/17/50 "Memorandum for J. Edgar Hoover

The attached telegrams are referred to you for your information.

Stephen Early, Secretary to the President"

[36 telegrams expressing approval of Col. Lindbergh's address]

EX. 2
P. 1967
12/3
TAB - 1

several docs

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

January 11, 1946

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Brigadier General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

I wanted to inform the President and you of a report that the United People's Action Committee of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has agreed with two other organizations in Philadelphia to "march on" the Capitol in Washington, D. C., and to take part in a mass demonstration in Washington on January 17, 1946. The purpose of these activities is to agitate for the passage of a bill establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

The other two organizations involved are the Bi-Partisan Committee for a FEPC and the Philadelphia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It might be noted that the United People's Action Committee is reported to have Communist influence in it.

With regard to the agitation for the passage of a bill establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, information has been received from various parts of the country where the Communist Party is active, that Communist elements are actively engaged in agitating pressure campaigns to have such a bill enacted.

In the event additional pertinent details are received in this regard, they will be brought to the President's and your attention.

With assurances of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

OK WITH FBI
SUGGEST CLEARANCE
WITH WHITE HOUSE

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

January 17, 1946

Brigadier General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General:

I wanted to furnish the President and you with information which I have received that a delegation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People plans to visit the White House on January 18, 1946, for the purpose of presenting ideas and requests to the President.

It is said that the delegation will be composed of persons attending a national meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington, D. C., on January 17 and 18, 1946. The meeting is scheduled to discuss the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee and methods of obtaining additional recognition of Negro war veterans. In at least one area information has been received that Communist elements are interested in attending the national meeting and desire to send a delegate to it.

In the event additional pertinent details are received in this regard, I shall bring them to the President's and your attention.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF GEORGE E. ALLEN
RECEIVED
MAY 31 1946

May 29, 1946

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable George E. Allen
Director
Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

I wanted to inform the President and you of the following information received from a reliable source concerning a meeting held by the Philadelphia Chapter of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the Philadelphia Citizens Political Action Committee at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia on May 26, 1946.

It is reported that Benjamin Papell, Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, originally desired to have A. F. Whitney as speaker for this meeting but that Senator Claude Pepper was subsequently chosen as the speaker. Papell is alleged to have edited the speech of Senator Pepper made at the meeting. Papell is alleged to be closely affiliated with the Communist Party.

At the meeting in question, it is reported that Senator Pepper stated that the stubborn attitude of management and of the Government was at fault in the railroad strike crises and further that the Government had not met the union half way. He declared, according to the report, that the proposed legislation gave the power of life or death over everyone in the United States and that under it business, the union or the union leaders could be ruined. He called the proposed legislation not only an anti-strike, but an anti-liberal, anti-labor and anti-civil rights type of bill. He alleged it is part of a pattern of reaction and intolerance which is sweeping the country and he reportedly expressed the hope that if the Senate could hold up the bill until the middle of the week May 26 - June 1, 1946, it would be defeated by the assertion of the people's desires. He said that labor was the greatest organized militant movement in existence and he expressed great approval of it.

With regard to foreign policy, Senator Pepper is said to have declared that the United States is drifting toward war and that the United States and British coalition against the Soviet Union has resulted in Russia not being given access to the rest of the world and in being given improper consideration. He claimed there will be a war sooner than the time which elapsed between World War I and World War II if something is not done to break the present "impasse".

Honorable George E. Allen

Senator Pepper is said to have claimed that the foreign policy of this country is not expressive of American feeling and the present battle for power in Germany is strengthening that country's position until it will again be a dangerous power in Europe. He advocated a division of Germany.

Senator Pepper is reported to have stated that the Soviet Union should have a $2,000,000,000 loan regardless of the type of government in that country so long as there is a probability of repayment and peaceful purpose. He said that this country must endeavor to see the Soviet point of view and show the Soviet Union we are its friend and not its enemy and, further, not to operate diplomacy as if it were a chess game.

Representative Hugh DeLacy of Washington also spoke at the above described meeting, discussing the proposed labor legislation and the present Government attitude, claiming it comparable to the attitude in Germany, Italy and Spain at the time of the ascension of "Fascists" to power. He said the present bill is the longest step taken in any country toward militant Fascism since the era of Hitler. Liberals, he claimed, must organize and fight on a national scale. He said, according to the report, that the present United States policy is being dictated by Hoover, Vandenberg, Byrnes and Churchill.

Orson Wells also spoke, declaring that strike breaking is the beginning of the road to Fascism and the only defense against it is to organize around labor. He stated that the meeting in question was an "anti-Fascist" meeting and that "Fascism" may come to America, not because reaction is so strong but because progressives are so weak.

The meeting is said to have been endorsed by Senator Joseph Guffey and Congressman William Green of Philadelphia. A motion was passed that each person present wire or write their Congressman and Senators to wipe out "the plot against Democracy." It was also recommended that wires be sent to the President expressing such sentiments concerning him as would be permitted by the telegraph office.

I thought the foregoing information would be of interest in view of the reliable report to the effect that the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions is looked upon by the Communist Party as one of its successful organizational attempts.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF GEORGE E. ALLEN
RECEIVED
DEC 17 1946

December 13, 1946

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable George E. Allen
Director
Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

As a matter of interest, I felt the President and you would want to know that information has been received by this Bureau concerning a threatened nation-wide strike by members of the National Federation of Telephone Workers (NFTW), scheduled to begin at 6:00 AM April 7, 1947. A reliable confidential informant has furnished the following information regarding this threatened strike.

On November 4, 1946 at a meeting of the NFTW in Denver, Colorado, all affiliated unions agreed to a national bargaining program which would embrace the majority of telephone workers presently operating under thirty-three separate contracts, mainly in the Bell Telephone system. This national bargaining program purportedly will be inaugurated about January 1, 1947, with the submission of written demands by member unions of the NFTW addressed to the management of telephone companies throughout the United States.

Actual negotiations are scheduled to begin approximately February 1, 1947, with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and large independent telephone groups, such as the General Telephone System. These negotiations will be undertaken on behalf of the NFTW by a newly created seven-member Coordinated Bargaining Committee. The demands, which will include ten national bargaining items, are:

1. Union shop and check-off of union dues.
2. General wage increases, which will depend on the wage-price relationship existing next spring when the contracts expire and how far out of line telephone workers' wages are with wages in other industries.
3. Area differentials, disparities in wages in different regions of the country, particularly in the case of transferred employees.
4. Length of progression schedules.
5. Town wage differentials, where an effort will be made to formulate a uniform wage structure on the basis of population levels of cities and towns.
6. Job descriptions for service assistants, such as was achieved for traffic operators acting as supervisors in Washington and Indiana.
7. A uniform jurisdiction clause in contracts to formulate a Bell System policy on preventing cable pulling and telephone wiring of new buildings by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) on the principle of "telephone work for telephone

8. Leaves of absence for union officers.
9. Improved vacations for all employees, particularly for those with longer service.
10. Pensions.

In the event the union fails in its negotiations to effectuate the above program, its leaders will call upon member unions approximately the first of March, 1947 to file strike intent notices with the Labor Department in compliance with the War Labor Disputes Act's 30-day "cooling-off" period. At this point a referendum will be taken through the entire membership of the NFTW unions which have filed such notices with the Labor Department and if a vote favorable to a walkout is returned, the NFTW has already appointed a fifty-member policy committee to have full and sole power to call a nation-wide strike at 6:00 AM on April 7, 1947, or at a later date if deemed more desirable. This policy committee is composed of one representative from each member union.

The informant stated that in the event this contemplated strike actually takes place it would, in his opinion, cause a nation-wide tie-up of all communication facilities. He based his statement on the fact that practically all telephone unions have affiliated with the NFTW. He indicated that the notable exceptions are the United Telephone Operators of New York, an independent union; the Chicago-Loop Telephone Workers, an affiliate of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL; the telephone workers of the State of Montana who are affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL; and about 10,000 telephone workers on the West Coast who have been organized by the CIO.

I will immediately forward to you any additional information which is received concerning this situation.

Sincerely yours,

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

February 15, 1947

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

I thought you would be interested in the following information which has been received from a highly confidential source with which you are familiar.

Thomas Corcoran is actively engaged in a program to effect the appointment of former United States Senator Robert LaFollette as the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Corcoran is predicating his action upon the senatorial opposition to Mr. Lilienthal's approval and has proposed through various channels that LaFollette be named as the Chairman of the Commission, suggesting that Mr. Lilienthal might be approved as a member, even though he could not be approved as Chairman.

Mr. Corcoran has also been suggesting the designation of Mr. Bernard Baruch as Ambassador to London and is also endeavoring to secure the appointment of one Vince Lanahan (phonetic) to a vacancy currently existing on the United States Court of Claims.

Detailed information concerning these items will be furnished to you in the near future, but I thought you would be interested in a prompt report on these three situations.

With expressions of my highest esteem,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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E OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

June 25, 1947

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

As of possible interest to the President and you, information has come to the attention of this Bureau from a confidential source, indicating that a scandal pertaining to sugar is brewing and undoubtedly will become public in the near future. Our informant expressed the opinion that this scandal will be very embarrassing to the Democratic Administration.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

January 27, 1950

Honorable Matthew J. Connelly
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

My dear Mr. Connelly:

I thought you would like to have the following information received by this Bureau from a very confidential source regarding a recent meeting of newspaper representatives at Chicago, Illinois, held to formulate plans for a publicity campaign against organized gambling.

According to this Bureau's source, this meeting, which was held several days ago, was attended by representatives of several independent newspapers, and at the meeting plans were reportedly made to publish a series of copyrighted stories pertaining to organized gambling and other racketeering activities. A considerable number of undercover men are reported to have been employed by the newspapers represented at the conference for the purpose of securing data to be used in these stories. These undercover men are to work with the Chicago Crime Commission and will be sent to various cities throughout the country to develop information for these stories. Strong emphasis was placed on the importance of developing information showing the connection of racketeers with corrupt politicians in each of the cities to be treated in this series of stories.

The first of these stories is reported to be scheduled for release February 12 or 13, 1950. It will deal with organized gambling and its connection with corrupt politicians and, according to the Bureau's informant, it will be critical of the Attorney General and will include information relating to his supposed association and contacts with members of the underworld, particularly in Kansas City, Missouri, and with the President's supposed association with these individuals and their contributions to the Presidential campaign.

From the above source it has also been learned that the newspaper representatives who attended the above meeting had information that the American Municipal Association had exerted pressure on the Attorney General to bring about the issuance of invitations to its representatives to attend the Attorney General's conference in Washington next month and that the American Municipal Association intends to give publicity to the former associates of the President and of the Attorney General and to publicize the supposed foothold of organized crime in national politics.

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Honorable Matthew J. Connelly
Secretary to the President

This information is being made available to you as a matter of interest. It is also being furnished to the Attorney General.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

The Attorney General April 1, 1946

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

NICOLAI G. REDIN

I have recently been advised in connection with the Nicolai G. Redin investigation that the State Department representatives of the "News Week" magazine have prepared a memorandum to their editors in New York based upon information received at the State Department. The memorandum is as follows:

"The specific charge against Lieutenant Redin is that he was purchasing the blueprints of the destroyer tender 'Yellowstone.' He paid $100 for one set and $200 for another. The young and obviously inexperienced lieutenant failed to ascertain the identity of the seller, an officer in Naval Intelligence.

"Two days before the arrest was made the Justice Department asked the State Department whether there would be any diplomatic objections to the arrest. The Justice Department was told, in effect: Arrest him by all means if you have the goods on him; if he is convicted on strong evidence the Russians will disown him and there will be no international repercussions. If, on the other hand, he is acquitted, the Russians will charge a frame-up and begin arresting Americans in Russia on similar charges. The Justice Department thinks they have an air-tight case against Redin, but the Attorney General's confidence is not shared by other Government departments.

"That Redin was spying is obvious, but if all he was able to obtain were blueprints of the 'Yellowstone,' his lawyers might well plead that destroyer tenders of the Yellowstone type had been fully described in published and unrestricted manuals, and that his offense was technical rather than real. There is also a chance that with one or two Communist sympathizers on the jury he might be acquitted altogether.

"I believe that Redin's case is unique in that it is the first arrest in the U. S. or possibly anywhere else of a uniformed officer of a friendly power on an espionage charge....."

The memorandum also contains information to the effect that the Attorney General had conferred with Dean Acheson of the State Department who authorized the prosecution.

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Atty General
filed FBI file

December 7, 1949

My dear Mr. President:

It has come to my attention that the National Lawyers Guild is preparing a report attacking the Administration, and the Department of Justice in particular, on the basis of the reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation made public at the espionage trial of Judith Coplon in Washington, D.C., in May and June of 1949.

The proposed report will attack certain alleged practices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and will recommend that you issue immediately a directive ordering the Federal Bureau of Investigation to cease wiretapping, mail opening, and illegal searches in which, according to the report, the Bureau engages. The proposed directive would limit the jurisdiction of the FBI in internal security cases and will request that you direct a thorough investigation of the programs, practices, policies and personnel of the FBI. The report will suggest that this investigation be conducted by a group of disinterested private citizens having by executive authority full access to the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and plenary powers of interrogation.

It has been learned that the National Lawyers Guild contemplates a national publicity campaign in behalf of the report. It has been suggested that the release of the report should follow its delivery to you and to me and that an attempt will be made to arrange a conference with both of us. The National Lawyers Guild will seek the cooperation of other bar groups and will attempt to enlist the support of several well-known names in the legal field. A recommendation has also been made within the National Lawyers Guild to consider the possibility of judicial proceedings to stop the alleged illegal and improper practices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In connection with this proposal of the National Lawyers Guild, you will recall that on May 21, 1940, President Roosevelt directed the Attorney General to authorize agents of the Federal

Bureau of Investigation to secure information by means of wiretapping in limited types of cases relating to the national defense. This directive read[illegible]

"You are, therefore, authorized and directed in such cases as you may approve, after investigation of the need in each case, to authorize the necessary investigating agents that they are at liberty to secure information by listening devices direct to the conversation or other communications of persons suspected of subversive activities against the Government of the United States, including suspected spies. You are requested furthermore to limit these investigations so conducted to a minimum and to limit them insofar as possible to aliens."

A year later in writing to Congressman T. H. Eliot at a time when Congress was considering legislation regarding wiretapping, President Roosevelt stated that it is the duty of our people to take every single step to protect themselves, and he added:

> "I have no compunction in saying that wiretapping should be used against those persons, not citizens of the United States, and those few citizens who are traitors to their country, who today are engaged in espionage or sabotage against the United States."

In replying to a recent attack upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the employee loyalty program in the Federal Government in general, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, writing in the Yale Law Journal, denied that wiretapping was used in the employee loyalty program and asserted that while it is no secret that the Bureau does tap telephones in a limited type of case, this is done only with the express approval in each instance of the Attorney General and only in cases involving espionage, sabotage, grave risks to the internal security of the nation, or cases in which human lives are in jeopardy. In the few cases which have arisen in these categories my predecessors have from time to time authorized the installation of technical interception devices. This fact has been freely acknowledged by the several Attorneys General and by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the invariable practice, of course, in accordance with Section 605 of the Communications Act to make no prohibited disclosure of such intercepted information.

The report of the National Lawyers Guild will purportedly criticize the practice of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in opening mail. It has been the long standing practice of investigative agencies to utilize mail covers. This is entirely authorized by law.

Regarding the criticism of the Bureau in respect to the alleged illegal searches, it is the practice of the FBI, whenever possible, to procure warrants in advance of arrest. It is only in the unusual cases, such as the Coplon case, that an individual is apprehended and searched in advance of procuring a warrant. This power is granted by statute.

In view of the fact that representatives of the National Lawyers Guild or certain persons speaking in their behalf will undoubtedly attempt to confer with you in the near future in regard to the proposed investigation of the practices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I thought you should have the benefit of the facts set forth in this letter.

Respectfully,

The President
The White House

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

January 14, 1950

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Vaughan:

I believe that the President and you will be interested in the following information concerning the proposed activities of the National Lawyers Guild.

You will recall that by letter dated December 7, 1949, the Attorney General advised the President that the National Lawyers Guild was preparing a report attacking the Administration, and the Department of Justice in particular, on the basis of the reports of this Bureau made public at the Espionage trial of Judith Coplon in Washington, D. C. in May and June, 1949. In his letter of December 7, 1949, the Attorney General also advised the President that the Guild would possibly make an attempt to arrange a conference with the President and the Attorney General following which the report of the Guild would be released.

A confidential source has now advised that the report of the National Lawyers Guild has been practically completed and that Mr. Robert Silberstein of the Guild had scheduled a press conference on January 13, 1950, in connection with the Guild's report but had changed his mind and is now attempting to arrange an appointment with the President. This source reported that in the event that Mr. Silberstein does not obtain an appointment with the President by Tuesday, January 17, 1950, he plans to arrange a press conference to be held on January 20, 1950, at which time the National Lawyers Guild report will be released.

With expressions of my highest esteem,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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EXHIBIT - 6

NO TAB

GELIFF'S PREPARED STATEMENT
12/3
P. 1974

POLITICAL ABUSE AND THE FBI:

STAFF REPORT

Introduction

The political abuse of the FBI did not begin in the 1960's. Although this Committee has concentrated its investigations on the events of the 60's and 70's, the story cannot be fully understood by looking at just the last fifteen years. Therefore, the first objective of this report is to lay out some of the historical context for more recent political abuses of the Bureau.

The second objective is to describe some of the results of our investigation which show the various types of political abuse to which the FBI is susceptible. Some have been in response to the desires of the Bureau's superiors. Others have been generated by the Bureau itself. And there is the added possibility, suggested by some of the documents we have seen and some of the witnesses we have interviewed, that certain political abuses resulted from the inexorable dynamics of the FBI's intelligence gathering process itself. In other words, that the FBI intelligence system developed to a point where no one inside or outside the Bureau was willing or able to tell the difference between legitimate national security or law enforcement information and purely political intelligence.

Whether any particular abuse resulted from outside demands, from the FBI's own desires, or from the nature of the intelligence process is a question for the Committee to answer when all the evidence is in.

NO EXCISIONS

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Historical Background

The historical background of political abuse of the FBI involves at least three dimensions. The first is the Bureau's subsurvience to the Presidency, its willingness to carry out White House requests without question. When L. Patrick Gray as Acting FBI Director destroyed documents and gave FBI reports to Presidential aides whom the FBI should have been investigating after the Watergate break-in, he just carried to the extreme an established practice of service to the White House. The other side of this practice was the Bureau's volunteering political intelligence to its superiors, not in response to any specific request. And the third historical dimension was the FBI's concerted effort to promote its public image and discredit its critics.

Early examples of the Bureau's willingness to do the President's bidding occur under Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1940 it complied with a request to run name checks, open files, and make reports on hundreds of persons who sent telegrams to the President that were -- to quote the letter from the President's secretary to J. Edgar Hoover -- "all more or less in opposition to national defense," or that expressed approval of Colonel Charles Lindbergh's criticism of the President.

Another example came to light in recent years when Major General Harry Vaughn, who was President Truman's military aide, disclosed that President Roosevelt had ordered wiretaps on the

home telephones of his closest aides. Shortly after Mr. Truman had taken office, someone had presented General Vaughn with transcripts of the wiretaps. He took them to President Truman who said, according to General Vaughn, "I don't have time for that foolishness." This story is generally confirmed by the Committee staff's inquiry into J. Edgar Hoover's "Official and Confidential Files," where an index to the logs of these wiretaps was located.

Historical illustrations of the FBI's practice of volunteering political intelligence to its superiors appear in virtually every Administration. President Roosevelt's Attorney General Francis Biddle recalled in his autobiography how J. Edgar Hoover shared with him some of the "intimate details" of what his fellow Cabinet members did and said, "their likes and dislikes, their weaknesses and their associations." Attorney General Biddle confessed that he enjoyed hearing these derogatory and sometimes "embarrassing" stories and that Director Hoover "knew how to flatter his superior."

President Truman and his aides received regular letters from Hoover labeled "Personal and Confidential" and containing tid-bits of political intelligence. Sometimes they reported on possible Communist influence behind various lobbying efforts, such as activities in support of civil rights legislation. On other occasions they reported allegations that a Communist sympathizer had helped write a Senator's speech and inside

information about the negotiating position of a non-communist labor union. Some of the letters were undoubtedly of political value to the President. One related the activities of a former Roosevelt aide who was trying to influence the Truman Administration's appointments. Another advised that the FBI had learned from a confidential source that a "scandal" was brewing and that it would be "very embarrassing to the Democratic Administration." A third contained the report of a "very confidential source" about a meeting of newspaper representatives in Chicago to plan publication of a series of stories exposing organized crime and corrupt politicians. The stories were going to be critical of the Attorney General and the President. The Truman White House also received a copy of an FBI memorandum reporting the contents of an in-house communication from Newsweek magazine reporters to their editors about a story they had obtained from the State Department.

An example from the Eisenhower Administration shows how White House requests and FBI initiative were sometimes mixed together. President Eisenhower asked Director Hoover to brief the Cabinet on racial tensions in early 1956. What the Cabinet received was a report not only on incidents of violence, but also on the activities of Southern Governors and Congressmen in groups opposing integration, as well as the role of Communists in civil rights lobbying efforts and the NAACP's plans to push for legislation. No one appears to have questioned the propriety

of the FBI reporting such political intelligence, or Director Hoover's competence to do so.

The third source of abuse throughout the Bureau's history was its concern for its image and hostility to any critics. One example each from the Truman and Eisenhower years shows how the Bureau checked and reported on its critics. In 1949 the National Lawyers Guild planned to issue a report denouncing FBI surveillance activities revealed in a court case. The FBI provided the Attorney General advance information from its sources about the Lawyers Guild plans, as well as a full report on everything about the group in Bureau files. Attorney General Howard McGrath passed the reports on to the President, and J. Edgar Hoover advised the White House directly about last-minute changes in the Guild's plans. The FBI's inside information gave the Attorney General the opportunity to prepare a rebuttal well in advance of the expected criticism.

The second instance took place in 1960, when the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission announced it would investigate charges by the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council that federal agencies, including the FBI, were practicing racial discrimination. The FBI conducted name checks on the eleven members of the Council's board of directors. The results were sent to Attorney General William Rogers, Deputy Attorney General Lawrence Walsh, and Special Assistant to the Attorney General Harold R. Tyler, Jr. Derogatory

information on four of these individuals included allegations of subversive connections from as far back as the late 30's and early 40's, an allegation that one board member had "corrupt political associates" in 1946, and the characterization of another as having "unorthodox attitudes" and sending flowers and "mash" notes to a woman in his church. The FBI's report also made the flat statement, "As you know, this Bureau does not practice racial segregation or discrimination." (The Committee will recall that it has previously received information as to the number of black FBI agents in the early 1960's.)

Thus, the Bureau's more distant history shows the development of its political services for higher authorities and its concern for its own political position.

2. "Name Check" Abuses

The staff's investigation of alleged abuses in the 1960's and 70's discloses a wide variety of questionable "name checks", sometimes for Presidents and sometimes in the Bureau's own interest.

An examination of these "name check" reports shows the peculiarly damaging nature of the Bureau's practice. No new investigation was done to verify the allegations stored away for years in FBI files. Anything anyone ever told the FBI about the individual was pulled together, including charges that the Bureau may never have substantiated. FBI files inevitably include misinformation because people bear grudges

or make mistakes. Sometimes the Bureau verifies the charge; but frequently there is no reason to do so, and it is just recorded in the files. Such charges can be retrieved by a "name check" and reported without further substantiation.

The request by the Nixon White House for a "name check" on CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr, which the FBI turned into a full field investigation, has been examined extensively elsewhere. The staff has determined that President Johnson asked for "name check" reports on at least seven other journalists, including NBC commentator David Brinkley, Associated Press reporter Peter Arnett, and columnist Joseph Kraft.

Another political abuse of FBI "name checks" occurred in the closing days of the 1964 Presidential election campaign, when Johnson aide Bill Moyers asked the Bureau to report on all person's employed in Senator Goldwater's office. Moyers has publicly recounted his role in the incident, and his account is confirmed by FBI documents.

Some of President Johnson's requests parallel those of President Roosevelt twenty-five years earlier. The FBI complied with White House requests for name checks on dozens of persons who signed telegrams critical of U.S. Vietnam policy in 1965. The names of other Presidential critics were also sent to the Bureau to be checked and reported on, as were the names of

critics of the Warren Commission. The FBI also volunteered reports on Presidential critics.

The White House requests for "name checks" are episodic in comparison to the "name checks" conducted as a matter of systematic Bureau policy for the use of FBI Director Hoover. The Crime Records Division prepared "name check" memoranda for/Director Hoover regularly on Congressmen, other public officials, and prominent persons of interest to the Director. Many of these special memoranda were filed by the Crime Records Division. Others found their way into/Director Hoover's "Official and Confidential Files." The Committee staff has located in these "O and C files" such special memoranda on the author of a critical book about the FBI, and on all the members of the Senate Subcommittee chaired by Senator Long which threatened to investigate the FBI in the mid-1960's. Some of these "name check" reports and special memoranda contained derogatory information, and in the case of the author, information from his income tax returns and personal information about his wife. The reports on members of the Long Committee were compiled in a briefing book, with tabs on each Senator.

Therefore, these incidents demonstrate the potential for abuse inherent in the Bureau's unregulated "name check" procedure. White House requests by-passed the Attorney General, and the FBI Director's own requests took place totally within the Bureau. The real meaning of the long-standing fear that the FBI had

so-called "dossiers" on Congressmen and other prominent persons was that FBI officials could have "name check" reports prepared for his use on anyone he desired to know more about.

3. Abuse of FBI Investigative Powers

The next category is abuse of the FBI's investigative powers. There is a vivid example under the Kennedy Administration involving the FBI's late night and early morning interviews of a Steel Company executive and several reporters who had written stories about the Steel executive. Former Assistant FBI Director Courtney Evans, who was informal liaison with Attorney General Kennedy, has told the Committee that he was given no reason for the request.

Another example arises out of the Bobby Baker case. In 1965 the FBI declined a request of the Justice Department Criminal Division to "wire" a witness in the investigation of former Johnson Senate aide Bobby Baker. Although the FBI refused on grounds that there was not adequate security, the Criminal Division had the Bureau of Narcotics in the Treasury Department "wire" the witness as a legitimate alternative. When the Baker trial began in 1967 this became known. Presidential aide Marvin Watson told the FBI that President Johnson was quite "exercised", and the FBI was ordered to conduct a discrete "run-down" on the head of the Criminal Division in 1965 and four persons in Treasury and the Narcotics Bureau, including specifically any associations with former Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Another incident occurred in 1966 when Mr. Watson re-

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quested that the FBI monitor the televised hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Vietnam and prepare a memorandum comparing statements of Senators Fulbright and Morse with "the Communist Party Line."

At the request of President Johnson made directly to FBI executive Cartha DeLoach, the FBI passed purely political intelligence about United States Senators to the White House which was obtained as a by-product of otherwise legitimate national security electronic surveillance of foreign intelligence targets. This practice also continued under the Nixon Administration at the request of Mr. H. R. Haldeman.

It is more difficult to place the label "abuse" automatically on Presidential requests for electronic surveillance to investigate leaks of classified information. Attorney General Kennedy authorized wiretaps in 1962 on New York Times reporter Hanson Baldwin and his secretary, and they lasted for about one month. The wiretaps under the Nixon Administration of journalists and current or former White House and other Executive officials have been widely publicized. The staff's inquiry into this matter has determined that, according to available records, at least one of these wiretaps had nothing to do with "leaks" and was conducted solely for personal information about the target. Nevertheless, the wiretapping to investigate "leaks" under Attorneys General Kennedy and KATZENBACH and of President Roosevelt's aides were undoubtedly precedents J. Edgar

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Hoover had in mind when he told President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger in 1969 that wiretaps had been used for these purposes in the past.

Another abuse of FBI investigative powers under the Johnson Administration was the surveillance conducted at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. The most sensitive details of the plans and tactics of persons supporting the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegate challenge went to the White House from the FBI's wiretap on Dr. King, and other types of FBI surveillance. The responsible White House official at the time, Mr. Walter Jenkins, has told the Committee that he can recall no political use made of these reports. Nevertheless, an unsigned document has been located at the Johnson Library recording at least one political use of Mr. DeLoach's phone reports.

As Theodore H. White's account of the 1964 campaign makes clear, the most important single issue that might have disturbed President Johnson at the Atlantic City Convention was the Mississippi challenge. And the FBI's own inquiry into the Atlantic City events reports several FBI agents' recollection that one purpose of the Bureau operation was to help avoid "embarrassment to the President." The Committee must weigh all the evidence in deciding whether this abuse of the FBI resulted from a White House request, from FBI officials volunteering information to serve and please the President, or from a legitimate civil disorders intelligence operation which got out of hand

because no one was willing to shut off the political intelligence by-product.

It should also be noted that an aide to Vice President Hubert Humphrey contacted the FBI to request assistance at the 1968 Chicago convention. Nothing appears to have come of this request, largely because Attorney General Ramsey Clark turned down FBI requests for authorization to wiretap protest demonstration leaders at the Chicago convention.

Finally, there are two additional examples of political abuse of the FBI or by the FBI in the 1970's. In July 1971, three months after the supposed end of FBI COINTELPRO operations, the FBI leaked to a newsman derogatory public record information about Daniel Ellsberg's lawyer. Copies of the article were sent to the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, and Presidential aide H. R. Haldeman, with the specific approval of Director Hoover, with no indication it was generated by the FBI. In May 1970, the FBI provided Vice President Agnew at his request with derogatory public record information and other allegations about Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This occurred following a telephone conversation between Director Hoover and Mr. Agnew during which, according to FBI records, the Vice President "said he thought he was going

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 176

to have to start destroying Abernathy's credibility."

Thus, in summary, political abuse of the FBI and by the FBI has extended over the years through Administrations of both parties.

ADDENDUM TO STAFF REPORT ON POLITICAL ABUSE AND THE FBI: The Johnson Administration and Mrs. Anna Chennault

According to materials provided to the Committee by the FBI, President Johnson asked the FBI to conduct physical surveillance of Mrs. Anna Chennault PROMINENT REPUBLICAN WOMAN LEADER on October 30, 1968 in the final days of the election campaign. The FBI instituted this surveillance to cover her activities in Washington, D.C., and New York City. The results of this physical surveillance were disseminated to J. Bromley Smith, Executive Secretary of the National Security Council, who had conveyed Johnson's request to Cartha DeLoach of the FBI. On November 7, 1968, Smith called DeLoach and stated that President Johnson wanted the FBI to abandon its physical surveillance of Mrs. Chennault.

On November 13, 1968, at the instruction of President Johnson, the FBI checked the toll call telephone records in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to determine if Vice Presidential candidate Spiro Agnew had called Mrs. Chennault or the South Vietnamese Embassy on November 2, 1968, when he was in Albuquerque. No such records were located. President Johnson was furnished with this information on November 13, 1968. Also, the arrival and departure times of Agnew in and out of Albuquerque on November 2, 1968, were verified at the request of the White House.

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The FBI has reviewed its files on this matter and has advised that the apparent reason the White House was interested in the activities of Mrs. Chennault and Spiro Agnew was to determine whether the South Vietnamese had secretly been in touch with supporters of Presidential candidate Nixon, possibly through Mrs. Chennault, as President Johnson was apparently suspicious that the South Vietnamese were trying to sabotage his peace negotiations in the hope that Nixon would win the election and then take a harder line towards North Vietnam.

The FBI also states that physical surveillance of Mrs. Chennault was consistent with FBI responsibilities to determine if her activities were in violation of certain provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act (Section 601, et seq., Title 22, USC) and of the Neutrality Act (Section 953, Title 18, USC).

(Further details of these events involving electronic surveillance remain classified "Top Secret".)

SECOND ADDENDUM TO STAFF REPORT ON POLITICAL ABUSE AND THE FBI:

Additional Electronic Surveiallance

In addition to the wiretap on New York Times reporter Hanson Baldwin in 1962, the Committee has received materials from the FBI reflecting authorization by Attorney General Robert Kennedy of a wiretap on a reporter for Newsweek magazine in 1961 during the investigation of another leak of classified information. Further materials reflect authorization by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach of a wiretap on the editor of an anti-Communist newsletter in 1965, also during the investigation of a leak of classified information.

The Committee has received materials from the FBI reflecting authorization by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy of wiretaps on at least six American citizens, including three Executive Branch officials, a Congressional staff member, and two registered lobbying agents for foreign interests. The materials also reflect that these wiretaps related to an investigation of efforts by foreign interests to influence United States economic policies.

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EXHIBIT 37 EX. 4 12/3
P. 1979
TAB-1

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan CD
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. F[illegible]
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Mr. Beaver
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

July 6, 1971

Mr. Mohr:

Re: LEONARD B. BOUDIN
ATTORNEY FOR DANIEL ELLSBERG

By memorandum R. D. Cotter to C. D. Brennan dated June 28, 1971, it was recommended and approved that pertinent information concerning Boudin's sympathy for communist causes be used in connection with the Mass Media Program.

Information concerning the sympathy of Boudin for communist causes, his legal services in behalf of an accused soviet espionage agent and his position as legal representative of the Castro Cuban Government in this country for a decade, was called to the attention of Ray McHugh, Chief of the Washington Bureau, Copley News Service, by the Crime Records Division. Attached is a copy of a release prepared by McHugh dated July 1, 1971, concerning Boudin. This news release certainly puts Boudin in his proper light as a communist and soviet apologist.

ACTION

For information.

Enc.

T. E. Bishop

1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

JFB:asg
(7)

REC-33

22 JUL 14 1971

File

Send copies of attached to Haldeman, A. G. & Deputy

JUL 14 1971

Set to Haldeman

A.G. Memo
7-9-71

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

COUNSEL-NATIONAL

BY RAY MCHUGH

CHIEF, WASHINGTON BUREAU

COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON--THE ATTORNEY FOR DAVID ELLSBERG IN THE CASE OF THE PURLOINED PENTAGON PAPERS HAS FIGURED FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS IN GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST-FRONT ORGANIZATIONS.

NOW A VISITING PROFESSOR ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LEONARD B. BOUDIN FOR 20 YEARS HAS BEEN GENERAL COUNSEL --BUT NOT A MEMBER--OF THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE THAT HAS BEEN CITED AS A COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES, THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AND BY FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER.

BOUDIN'S DAUGHTER KATHY IS WANTED ON AN FBI WARRANT IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTIGATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WEATHERMAN FACTION OF THE RADICAL STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. SHE WAS ARRESTED DURING DISTURBANCES AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO IN 1968, AGAIN DURING WEATHERMEN'S "DAYS OF RAGE" IN CHICAGO IN OCTOBER OF 1969. SHE HAS BEEN MISSING SINCE THE MARCH 6, 1970, BOMB EXPLOSION IN A GREENWICH VILLAGE TOWNHOUSE IN WHICH THREE WEATHERMEN MEMBERS DIED.

HIS DAUGHTER ALSO IS ONE OF THE CO-AUTHORS OF THE "BUST BOOK," A LEGAL HANDBOOK DESIGNED TO HELP NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS.

BOUDIN'S NEW YORK CITY LAW FIRM REPRESENTS FIDEL CASTRO AND THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT IN ALL LITIGATION AND LEGAL PROBLEMS INSIDE THE UNITED STATES AND BOUDIN HAS MADE SEVERAL TRIPS TO CUBA.

HE HAS DENIED UNDER OATH IN A CONGRESSIONAL HEARING THAT HE IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

IN HIS BOOK "MASTERS OF DECEIT," FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SAYS THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE TOOK OVER THE WORK OF THE OLD CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, "A WELL-KNOWN FRONT."

"IN OCTOBER, 1951, THE DAILY WORKER ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE WITH 150 FOUNDERS (FROM [illegible] STATES), INCLUDING 50 WHO WERE EDUCATORS, CLERGYMEN AND PROFESSIONALS," HOOVER WROTE.

"ONE OF THE COMMITTEES' FIRST OFFICIAL MOVES WAS TO PETITION THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION TO 'FORBID THE NEW YORK BOARD OF EDUCATION FROM ENFORCING ITS NEWLY ENACTED LAW ON

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

NW 1975

FBI

SUSPECTED COMMUNIST TEACHERS....

"IN 1956 THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AFTER IDENTIFYING THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE, STATED, 'WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY ITSELF IS UNDER FIRE THESE FRONTS OFFER A BULWARK OF PROTECTION.'

"THE NAMES OF THE GROUP'S 150 FOUNDERS HAVE BEEN EXPLOITED BY THE PARTY TO FIGHT ITS BATTLES."

BOUDIN WAS DEFENSE ATTORNEY IN THE 1950 ESPIONAGE TRIAL OF JUDITH COPLON. THE "DAILY WORKER," A COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER, IDENTIFIED HIM AS ONE OF THE ATTORNEYS FOR PAUL ROBESON IN THE SINGER'S 1955 BID FOR A PASSPORT. ROBESON WAS LONG REGARDED AS A COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER.

BOUDIN ALSO WAS AN ATTORNEY FOR THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE IN AN UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO HAVE THAT GROUP REMOVED FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF SUBERVISIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

HIS NAME ALSO HAS BEEN CONNECTED WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER ALLEGED COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS INCLUDING THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE FOREIGN BORN, 1956; THE AMERICA RUSSIA INSTITUTE, 1944; THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE; THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS.

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS BOUDIN HAS BEEN PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS AN OFFICIAL OF THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD. THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN 1950 CALLED THE GUILD "THE FOREMOST LEGAL BULWARK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ITS FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CONTROLLED UNIONS."

IN 1968 HIS NAME APPEARED AS A SPONSOR OF AN AD IN THE NEW YORK TIMES SOLICITATING CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE LEGAL EXPENSES OF BLACK PANTHER LEADER ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON SOURCES, HIS FIRST IDENTIFICATION WITH LEFTIST CAUSES CAME IN 1938 WHEN HE PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE IN "NEW MASSES." IN 1941 HIS NAME APPEARED AS A SIGNER OF A PETITION TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT SUPPORTING AND DEFENDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA.

7/1/71-RN(RM)--731PM EDT

SA LA77

NOV 13 1975

F 15

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 2/26/68

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: LEONARD B. BOUDIN
ATTORNEY FOR DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK
INFORMATION CONCERNING

cc of memo 2/28/68, to Joseph Hontewitz OSI, 7/16/73

Leonard B. Boudin of the firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, New York City, is listed as Spock's Attorney of Record in connection with Spock's recent indictment for conspiring to violate the Selective Service Act.

LEONARD Boudin is well known to the Bureau. He is on the Security Index and has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in the past. He is a registered agent for the Castro government and his history of affiliation with subversive activities dates back to the 1930's.

Attached is a memorandum setting forth public source information concerning Boudin's activities over the years. The White House and Attorney General have been advised.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-19

That approval be given to furnishing the attached information to one of our friendly newspaper contacts.

EX-100

6 SEP 6 1968

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

TBC:emm (7)

Will be used following results of appeal in Spock case

SEP 9 1968

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UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

EXHIBIT 38

IX-G-11-010

EX-5
TAB-1
12/3
P: 1979

9:49 AM

May 18, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. DE LOACH
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. BISHOP

Vice President Spiro Agnew called. He said he wanted to talk to me about something to see whether I could be of some assistance. He said he was really concerned about the continuing inflammatory pronouncements of Ralph D. Abernathy. I commented that he is one of the worst. The Vice President said he has seen some of the background material on him and he knows what that is, but it is beyond the pale as far as executive use is concerned. He said in view of what went on in Augusta and other places, it is important to have the information that revolved around this; the involvement of these people, what information we have, whether fleeing from looting or what is going on. He asked if there is any information available.

I told him we are working on these at the present time, both in Augusta, Atlanta, and Jackson, where the recent demonstrations have taken place. DELETED AS PERTAINS TO DISCUSSION NOT RELATED TO RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MISSISSIPPI AND GEORGIA.

I said the same is true at Jackson as there are allegations of shooting at the troops before they fired and denials. We are interviewing all the individuals who had any knowledge, students, et cetera. DELETED AS PERTAINS TO DISCUSSION NOT RELATED TO RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MISSISSIPPI AND GEORGIA.

While at Atlanta, Augusta, and Jackson, it will probably be another week before we will have the preliminary reports. DELETED AS PERTAINS TO DISCUSSION NOT RELATED TO RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MISSISSIPPI AND GEORGIA.

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAY 20 1970

JEH:edm (3)

REC-98 [illegible] 143

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 12 PM
DATE 5-18-70
BY

14 MAY 20 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

COPY FILED IN

May 16, 1970

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Sullivan, Bishop

DELETED AS PERTAINS TO DISCUSSION NOT RELATED TO RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MISSISSIPPI AND GEORGIA.

The Vice President said what he wants to be able to do is bring out some facts the media conveniently overlooked. I said they never give the things that are being done constructively, many times by students, to try to prevent this, but they emphasize all the things these jerks are doing.

The Vice President said he saw a picture about Augusta showing some of the Negroes jumping out of store windows with loot and booty and fleeing and you never hear anything about that. He said whatever I can give him that can ameliorate some of the impact; that he understands some of these things are wrong and we are probably going to find some of the shootings showed too much force, but none the less, the people have to understand the very thrust of the newspaper articles is that a bunch of police shot down six Negroes and what happened before -- why did they shoot at them -- not just because they felt like killing people. I said they were severely provoked * . and we will finish Augusta, Atlanta, and Jackson this week.

DELETED AS PERTAINS TO DISCUSSION NOT RELATED TO RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MISSISSIPPI AND GEORGIA.

* PLACE NAME DELETED FOR SAME REASON.

The Vice President said he thought he was going to have to start destroying Abernathy's credibility, so anything I can give him would be appreciated. I told him I would be glad to. DELETED AS RELATES TO DISCUSSION OF PRODUCT OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE ON MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 186

May 18, 1970

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Rosen, Sullivan, Bishop

DELETED AS RELATES TO DISCUSSION OF PRODUCT OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE ON MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The Vice President said he would like to be thoroughly conversant with all of that because if the crisis comes where we need to throw it, he will. I told him I would get it over in the next 24 to 48 hours as to the highlights. The Vice President thanked me.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

HW 55162 DocId:32989564 Page 187

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5/18/70

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY
RACIAL MATTERS

Pursuant to the request made by the Director today (5/18/70), there is attached information for the Vice President regarding militant statements by Ralph David Abernathy, the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which statements invite violence.

Information is also included to the Vice President regarding an incident involving [derogatory public record information.]

On 5/18/70, Abernathy announced a march against violence, brutality, and killing at Atlanta, Georgia, on Saturday, 5/23/70. At this march, the names of the Nation's "Ten Most Unwanted Politicians" will be revealed.

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached letter will be sent to the Vice President.

Enclosures sent 5-19-70

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Glass

CEG:plm
(6)

OK. This has been prepared in an excellent manner

ST-105

REC-33 100-[illegible]-151

6 JUN 1 1970

F424

70 JUN 3 1970

May 19, 1970

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Glass

Honorable Spiro T. Agnew
The Vice President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

In response to your request, there is attached information regarding militant statements by Ralph David Abernathy who, although he advocates nonviolence, has invited violence by some of his statements. The material also includes information about [his private life], [derogatory public record information], and his support of the Black Panther Party.

For your information, Abernathy on May 18, 1970, announced a march against violence, brutality, and killing to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on Saturday, May 23, 1970. Abernathy said that the names of the Nation's "Ten Most Unwanted Politicians" will be revealed during this march.

Sincerely yours,

ENCLOSURE

REC-93 145

2 MAY 20 1970

Enclosure

CEG:plm/bjr (8)

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan dated 5/18/70, captioned "Ralph David Abernathy, Racial Matters," prepared by CEG:plm.

54 MAY 26 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

EXHIBIT 37

EX. 6 P. 2009 TAB-1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 29, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SQUAD
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
AUGUST 22 - AUGUST 28, 1964

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

In connection with the assignment of the special squad to Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22-23/64 at the direction of the President, I wish to report the successful completion of this assignment. By means of informant coverage, by use of various confidential techniques, by infiltration of key groups through use of undercover agents, and through utilization of agents using appropriate cover as reporters, we were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments during the Convention's course.

For example, through informant coverage and by controlling the situation, we were able to prevent a potentially explosive stall-in and sit-in demonstration planned by ACT and . By counseling Messrs. Jenkins, Carter and Moyers, we convinced them that they must make major changes in controlling admissions into the Convention Hall and thereby preclude infiltration of the illegal Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates in large numbers into the space reserved for the regular Mississippi delegates. Through our counterintelligence efforts, Jenkins, et al., were able to advise the President in advance regarding major plans of the MFDP delegates. The White House considered this of prime importance.

Through our highly confidential coverage of Martin Luther King together with similar coverage we established on the headquarters of CORE-SNCC, we were in a position to advise the White House in advance of all plans made by these two sources in an effort to disrupt the orderly progress of the Convention. This coverage was highly effective.

COVERAGE HIGHLIGHTS:

I feel this squad operated very effectively. Squad members averaged in excess of eight hours overtime daily. They approached each assignment as a

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CONTINUED-OVER

EX. 5

challenge and with enthusiasm. The Agents were constantly alert to exploit opportunities for penetration of key dissident groups in Atlantic City and to suggest counter measures for any plans to disrupt the Convention.

Our informant coverage worked particularly well. With Bureau approval, I instituted coverage similar to that on Kin[illegible] on CORE-SNCC headquarters at their Atlantic Avenue meeting hall. Our [illegible] successfully penetrated the headquarters of the MFPD delegation at the Gem Motel and the headquarters for their strategy meetings, which was located in the basement of the Union Baptist Temple Church.

Additionally, we utilized a highly successful cover through cooperation of the [illegible] furnished us credentials. I selected several of the members of the squad to utilize this cover. As an example, one of our "reporters" was able to gain the confidence of [illegible]

Our "reporter" was so successful, in fact, that [illegible] was giving him "off the record information" for background purposes, which he requested our "reporter" not to print.

One of our [illegible] successfully established contact with [illegible] Saturday night, August 22nd, and maintained this relationship throughout the course of the entire Convention. By midweek, he had become one of [illegible] confidants. This, of course, proved to be a highly valuable source of intelligence since [illegible] was constantly trying to incite racial groups to violence.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION:

During our Convention coverage, we disseminated 44 pages of intelligence data to Walter Jenkins. Attached for your information is a copy of these daily summaries. Additionally, I kept Jenkins and Moyers constantly advised by telephone of minute by minute developments. This enabled them to make spot decisions and to adjust Convention plans to meet potential problems before serious trouble developed.

In connection with communications, as you know, we arranged for a leased line between the Bureau and our control post in Atlantic City. We also established a private line for exclusive use by our informants. [illegible] informants dispatched from other cities and Newark informants used the phone to submit their oral reports. This post was, of course, manned on a 24-hour basis.

 CONTINUED-OVER

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DeLoach to Mohr
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

During the period when the Convention was actually in progress, we established a secondary command post at the Convention Hall Rotunda operated by an Agent using his "reporter" cover. As you know, the boardwalk was the center of agitation by dissident elements. Throughout the course of the Convention, pickets were active in the area immediately in front of the Convention Hall entrance. We necessarily kept these people under close observation.

PRELIMINARY PREPARATION:

Prior to the squad's departure for Atlantic City, we secured all available pertinent background information on the dissident groups and their leaders who were expected to be present. In addition, we took blind memoranda with us which were prepared and approved prior to our departure. This proved most helpful. On Wednesday morning, Mr. Jenkins urgently requested background information on [redacted] who had been within the MFDP delegation. The White House also requested a blind memorandum on [redacted] Within 15 minutes of the request, the desired blind memoranda were furnished to Jenkins. He was highly pleased and said the [redacted] was of vital importance to their operation. [redacted] as you will recall has an arrest record.

We also prepared thumbnail sketches on all key dissident groups expected at the Convention and we maintained separate files on the activities of King, Communist Party groups, area hoodlums, informants, the MFDP and other groups. This was done in order that we could maintain separate running accounts on each major disruptive organization which was present.

LIAISON:

On arrival in Atlantic City we immediately established necessary liaison with the Secret Service, Atlantic City Police Department, New Jersey State Highway Patrol and with the men directing Convention activities. We also established contacts with [redacted] to arrange for courier service between the Seat of Government and our headquarters in Atlantic City.

DAILY COUNTER MEASURES BY SPECIAL SQUAD:

As an example of the type of problems encountered by this special squad in Atlantic City, following is a brief resume of some of the situations which developed during the Convention:

FBI

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DeLoach to Mohr
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

Monday, August 24, 1964

On Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, we located a truck on Pacific Avenue carrying a burned-out car, a huge burlap-wrapped cross and a large church bell. Rumors swept Atlantic City that the car was actually the one used by Schwerne Goodman and Chaney. Shortly after its appearance this truck was placed on a parkin lot close by Convention Hall. We quickly established the fraudulency of these rumors and through police contacts we thwarted the racial group's plans to parade this burned car through Atlantic City streets.

On Monday, we furnished Mr. Jenkins details regarding the plans of CORE, the American Nazi Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and initial plans of the MFDP.

Appropriate officials were notified of the intention of the Negro racial groups to establish a silent vigil on the boardwalk at the main entrance to Convention Hall. This vigil was to be maintained until a report was issued by the Credentials Committee regarding the seating of the MFDP delegates.

Tuesday, August 25, 1964

Jenkins was advised that Martin Luther King had prevailed upon to come to Atlantic City that day. We alerted White House representatives regarding compromise proposals for seating of the MFDP and furnished them information regarding plans of the Progressive Labor Movement groups, ACT and other dissident organizations. Martin Luther King attempted to arrange a rendezvous with a of Philadelphia. Our sources reported that SNCC and CORE were attempting to secure tickets to gain entrance to Convention Hall. Through a highly confidential source, it was learned that CORE and SNCC had been advised that the President was bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 states to preclude their support of a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the Convention.

Wednesday, August 26, 1964

We submitted reports reflecting that the militant members of MFDP under the leadership of were revolting against the leadership of Martin Luther King and We advised Jenkins that the MFDP delegates had flatly rejected the compromise proposal to seat the MFDP delegation. We reported that

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FBI

CONTINUED-OVER

[redacted] was attempting to promote a stall-in to block access to Convention Hall. [redacted] was instructed by [redacted] to plan this demonstration and through our control of him we were able to completely thwart [redacted] We also alerted the White House in advance regarding the telegram prepared by ACT demanding amnesty for Harlem rioters and for Federal registrars to police Negro voting in the South.

In consultation with Convention planners, we pointed out serious gaps in controlling admission to Convention Hall which had permitted entrance of dissident elements on the Convention floor. Jenkins immediately placed these recommendations into effect.

Thursday, August 27, 1964

We determined Martin Luther King and his staff were departing from Atlantic City early Thursday morning, and appropriate officials were advised of this. We also reported efforts of CORE-SNCC leaders to secure uniforms of the Young Citizens for Johnson groups and to utilize them for gaining entrance into Convention Hall. We were able to report that the number of participants of the silent vigil would dwindle rapidly. Although the demonstrations quieted down Thursday night, we were heavily involved in checking out the reports that a four-man group of Puerto Rican terrorists from New York were in Atlantic City in an attempt to assassinate the President.

MISCELLANEOUS:

For the benefit of the Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions, separate memoranda are being submitted regarding informant coverage. I am also recommending letters of appreciation to cooperative individuals whose efforts facilitated the squad's work in Atlantic City.

INFORMANT ACTIVITIES:

In connection with our Convention coverage, the special squad utilized the following sources:

[redacted] symbol number informants from other offices;
[redacted] confidential sources from other offices;
liaison source [redacted]

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OCT 1 1965
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NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 194

eLoach to Mohr
E: ecial Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
emocratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

technical sources
special agents working in an undercover capacity
Negro informants
established sources in the Atlantic City area
Atlantic City [informant [extremist]
Atlantic City Security informants

Our source from [ ] was in the inner planning circles
Another source [ ] the Progressive Labor Movement delegates to
tlantic City. Although the organization was inactive, we had sources in the [ ]
roups. A Newark informant served [ ] of SNCC-CORE.

RGANIZATIONS IN ATLANTIC CITY:

There was coverage on 15 separate organizations who were active in tlantic City during the course of the Convention. The leading groups included:

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)
Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
ACT
Independent Citizens Committee
American Nazi Party
White Party of America
W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs
Communist Party, USA
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
The Progressive Labor Movement

ECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) The majority of the following personnel averaged over eight hours per ay during the five days the special squad was handling its responsibilities. They perated in a very competent fashion and it is, therefore, recommended that letters of ommendation over the Director's signature be considered for them. If approved, these letters will be prepared by the Administrative Division. (A separate memorandum is

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RECOMMENDATIONS CONTINUED

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being furnished the Administrative Division regarding the specific duties handled by these employees.)

(2) A number of the following employees had only minor duties inasmuch as they were not used full-time on the special squad, however, in view of the quiet and efficient manner in which they handled their responsibilities, letters are believed deserved.

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 RECOMMENDATIONS CONTINUED

eL[illegible]ch to Mohr
E: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

(3) It is recommended that letters from the Director be given to the ollowing personnel who assisted materially in the success of this operation:

Dr. [illegible] should receive a meritorious award

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RECEIVED FROM
OCT 1 1975
FBI

EXHIBIT 40 EX. 7 TSB-1 12/3 P. 2011

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. ___
Dep. AD Adm. ___
Dep. AD Inv. ___
Asst. Dirs:
Admin. ___
Comp. Syst. ___
Ext. Affairs ___
Files & Com. ___
Gen. Inv. ___
Ident. ___
Inspection ___
Intell. ___
Laboratory ___
Plan. & Eval. ___
Spec. Inv. ___
Training ___
Legal Coun. ___
Telephone Rm. ___
Director Sec'y ___

MR. CALLAHAN

DATE: January 29, 1975

FROM: H. N. BASSETT

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SQUAD AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, 8/22 - 28/64

Reference is made to my previous memorandum captioned as above, dated 1/28/75 (copy attached). That which follows elaborates somewhat on various elements of our special coverage of the 1964 Democratic National Convention (DNC) and amplifies certain aspects of our operations therein.

A review of Bureau file [62-109555] on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) indicates the file was opened to reply to a request from Walter Jenkins, Special Assistant to President Johnson, for a name check on the MFDP and certain persons connected therewith. He was advised, "FBI has never conducted an investigation of the MFDP and its files contain no record of it." Results of name checks on certain individuals were set forth together with public source data from the 7/21/64 edition of the Washington Post and an inquiry made by the Washington Field Office on 7/21/64 at the local office of the MFDP on general information on its objectives and identity of its staff members. This information was set forth in a blind memorandum to Mr. Jenkins dated 7/22/64.

On 8/21/64, responding to a request dated 8/19/64 from Mr. John Doar of the Civil Rights Division of the Department, memoranda were sent to Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach. Doar had requested name checks on 40 persons in the MFDP leadership and convention delegation members. The memoranda stated, "This Bureau has not conducted any investigation concerning the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party nor has it taken any steps to identify party members."

It should be noted that three civil rights workers who traveled to Mississippi were discovered missing on 6/22/64 and their automobile found burned on 6/23/64. On 6/23/64 President Johnson was advised of these facts and requested to be kept aware of all aspects of the investigation which had been requested by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice of the FBI. The three bodies of these workers were found thereafter on 8/4/64. On 8/23/64, a flat-bed truck with a burned car on it appeared in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and it was falsely alleged to be the automobile of the three murdered

Enclosure
1 - [Messrs. Adams, McDermott, Wannall, Mintz, Gebhardt]
[DGF/RJG:bhg] (7)

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civil rights workers in Mississippi. Furthermore, information was received that the parents of one of these individuals would appear at a rally during the DNC.

On 8/25/64 Assistant Director Cartha DeLoach telephoned a memorandum to Mr. Mohr from Atlantic City to the effect information from Walter Jenkins and informants indicated the question of seating the MFDP delegates was expected to reach the floor of the DNC the evening of 8/25/64. He said "The crucial point of the convention in so far as possible violence is concerned will occur between 4:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. this afternoon. If the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is not seated then the unruly elements within the Negro group will possibly attempt to demonstrate." DeLoach indicated that every effort was being extended to cover developments pertinent to this possible violent situation.

There follows under appropriate caption in summary form information relative to our coverage at the DNC.

COVERAGE RELATIVE TO POTENTIAL CIVIL UNREST, DEMONSTRATIONS AND POSSIBLE VIOLENCE

A review of the summaries furnished to Walter Jenkins by Mr. DeLoach during the DNC indicates over 25 separate entries dealing with demonstrations insofar as their times, places, groups involved, number of participants, and general nature thereof were concerned. A great majority of the Bureau personnel still on active duty who were assigned to this special squad in Atlantic City have indicated that the attaining of intelligence information relative to possible violent civil disorders was the primary purpose of their efforts during the DNC.

Our coverage in this regard was handled through extensive informant coverage at Atlantic City and as a result of information received from informants in other parts of the country as well. Additionally, we utilized Agents in various undercover capacities to develop such information. Furthermore, a great deal of information in this regard was, in fact, received as a result of the technical coverage utilized. Where appropriate, the information obtained was disseminated to the U. S. Secret Service and other interested law enforcement agencies as well.

ACTIVITIES RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

A review of the interviews of the previously mentioned special squad personnel still on active duty has indicated that a majority of them felt that their

CONTINUED - OVER

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assignment in part was related to the augmenting of the U. S. Secret Service insofar as the protection of the President was concerned. One Agent indicated that Bureau personnel did, in fact, actively assist in the protection of the President and his family while they were at the DNC.

A review of Bureau file [100-442527] captioned "Disruption of Democratic National Convention, Information Concerning (Internal Security)" did not reveal any information directly relating to the protection of the President.

A review of the DeLoach summaries to Mr. Jenkins indicated one instance where a demonstration was planned to take place upon the President's arrival at convention hall and another incident which revealed a breach of security which allowed an individual to enter the convention hall and proceed directly to the podium area. This information was furnished immediately to the U. S. Secret Service.

Information is contained in the interviews of the former special squad personnel that FBI Agents were utilized in supplementing U. S. Secret Service personnel on the convention hall floor.

~~INFORMATION DEVELOPED~~ OF POSSIBLE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

A further review of the DeLoach summaries revealed approximately 20 separate items which do not appear to relate directly with possible civil unrest - demonstrations or with the protection of the President. These items were developed as a result of the various types of coverage we had at the DNC but a great number thereof were obtained through our technical coverage. A sampling of these items includes the following:

1. [redacted]

2. Informant information received that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was carrying a revolver.

3. Informant information relative to National Association for the Advancement of Colored People planning a meeting at a church.

4. Informant relative to King's speaking before various state delegations.

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5. Information that the Congress of Racial Equality headquarters in Atlantic City was attempting to have Congressman Charles Diggs' office in Detroit, Michigan, picketed, claiming he was "shakey."

Allegations in the press that the coverage of the FBI was used to follow the activities of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy were not substantiated in any way by file reviews.

A review of the statements furnished by the special squad personnel includes various instances where they relate a portion of their overall purpose was to insure that there was nothing which would "embarrass the President." One Agent indicated that DeLoach placed emphasis on the fact that the President did not wish to be embarrassed in any way and that information was to be gathered which would assure that there would be no such embarrassment.

Two statements were furnished by [Bill D. Williams, present SAC in Kansas City] in this regard. One states "I would like to state that at no time did I ever consider the above to be a political operation but it was obvious that DeLoach wanted to impress Jenkins and Moyers with the Bureau's ability to develop information which would be of interest to them" Furthermore, in response to a question as to whether the Bureau's services were being utilized for political reasons, [Williams] answered, "No. I do recall, however, that on one occasion I was present when DeLoach held a lengthy telephone conversation with Walter Jenkins. They appeared to be discussing the President's 'image.'

CONTINUED - OVER

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 201

PLEASE NOTE: The following pages 5 and 6 are excerpts from the January 28,1975 memo fron Bassett to Callahan, re: Special Squad at Democratic National Convention Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22-28/64

Do not use pages 1-4 of this memo in that they are not pertinent and were not originally included in the back up documents presented to the Committee for use in the 12/3 Hearings.

If there are any questions please check with John Elliff.

the entire 1/28/75 memo is in
VII-B-4-b (FBI)-1-D (Atlantic City 8/64)
TAB "D"

At the end of the conversation DeLoach told us something to the effect, 'that may have sounded a little political to you but this doesn't do the Bureau any harm.'"

Other Agent personnel on the special squad indicated in the negative insofar as the above question is concerned.

DISSEMINATION

In addition to the summary memoranda furnished by DeLoach to Mr. Jenkins, information is contained in Bureau file [100-442527] cited above, that some of the same information was included in daily letters to the White House and the Attorney General on current Racial Developments. There was similar dissemination made to U. S. Secret Service, military intelligence agencies and local authorities on a selected basis.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

For information. It should be noted the information contained herein setting forth that the White House and the Department made requests in 1964 for information from Bureau files concerning the MFDP has been incorporated into a separate LIIM being prepared for the Deputy Attorney General.

[redacted]

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FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 203

Memorandum to Mr. Callahan
Re: Special Squad at Democratic National Convention
Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22 - 28/64

The only information located in Bureau files concerning the special squad in Atlantic City was an eight-page memorandum (copy attached) with enclosure located in the file of DeLoach. This is a memorandum from DeLoach to Mohr dated 8/29/64 which sets forth that in connection with the assignment of the special squad in Atlantic City at the direction of the President, DeLoach wished to report the successful completion of this assignment. He states that by means of informant coverage, use of various confidential techniques, infiltration of key groups through use of undercover agents and through utilization of Agents using appropriate cover as reporters, we were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments. DeLoach also advised that immediate liaison was established in Atlantic City with Secret Service as well as state and local police.

This memorandum refers to highly confidential coverage of Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, along with similar coverage established on the headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). DeLoach states he was able to advise the White House in advance of all plans made by these two sources and coverage was highly effective. DeLoach advises "with Bureau approval" he instituted coverage on CORE - SNCC headquarters at their meeting hall and our [redacted] penetrated the headquarters of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (two separate factions were contesting seats for the Mississippi delegation and was a highlight of the convention) and through cooperation with the management of [NBC] news our Agents were furnished [NBC] press credentials. DeLoach reported that 44 pages of intelligence data was disseminated to Walter Jenkins at the White House and to his memorandum he attached a copy of these daily summaries dated 8/24, 25, 26, 27/64. These summaries are in effect a running log of developments which took place at the convention. DeLoach also states he arranged for a lease line between the control post at Atlantic City and the Bureau. He concludes the memorandum by making recommendations that personnel involved, namely 27 Agents, one radio maintenance technician and two stenographers of the Newark Office be commended. Mr. Hoover noted DeLoach should receive a meritorious award.

Liaison Sources

Bureau file [62-48771] serial [218] reflects a memorandum from Mr. Hoover wherein Walter W. Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President, called and stated the President wanted Jenkins to call the Director to express the

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CONTINUED - OVER

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 204

thought the job the Bureau had done in Atlantic City was one of the finest the President had ever seen. According to this memorandum, Jenkins told Mr. Hoover there were a lot of bad elements up there and because of the work some of the Bureau people did they knew exactly where they were and what they were doing and consequently they were not able to be very effective.

A thorough review of Bureau records, including a review of abstracts of Mr. Hoover, Mr. Tolson, Mr. Mohr,* as well as Mr. DeLoach, failed to locate any memorandum or other document pertaining to a request having been received from President Johnson or anyone at the White House instructing that the FBI afford special coverage at the convention. It should be noted that at this time DeLoach was responsible for liaison with the White House and had a direct line at his residence to the President so it well may be that this request was made directly to DeLoach who in turn discussed it orally with Mr. Hoover or Mr. Tolson but for one reason or another the request was never put in writing.

STATEMENTS OF SPECIAL SQUAD PERSONNEL STILL ON ACTIVE DUTY

On 1/26/75 the Inspection Division directed a teletype incorporating 12 questions to the 19 Agents and one radio maintenance technician who are still on active duty and were with DeLoach at Atlantic City. These questions were designed to have the participating personnel furnish us with their recollection as to their duties and involvement at Atlantic City. Detailed responses were promptly received and all personnel acknowledged their participation on the special squad under DeLoach's leadership at the convention. All responded there was no question in their mind at the time but that they were in Atlantic City to fulfill the FBI's jurisdictional responsibilities and they did not feel that the purpose of the special squad was political in nature. Basically, the instructions to the Agents were to develop advance information regarding any acts or intended acts of violence pertaining to civil disturbances that could arise during

OCT 30 1975

FBI

 CONTINUED - OVER

*Mr. Belmont, Mr. W. C. Sullivan

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 205

EXHIBIT 41

EX-8
TAB-1
12/3
P. 2015

September 10, 1964

PERSONAL

Honorable William D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C: 20501

Dear "Bishop:"

Thank you for your very thoughtful and generous note concerning our operation in Atlantic City. Please be assured that it was a pleasure and privilege to be able to be of assistance to the President, and all the boys that were with me felt honored in being selected for the assignment.

I think everything worked out well, and I'm certainly glad that we were able to come through with vital tidbits from time to time which were of assistance to you and Walter. You know you have only to call on us when a similar situation arises.

Thank you again for taking time out of your busy day to write to me, and I hope we can get together soon.

Sincerely,

DeLoach

C. D. DeLoach

Nothing else sent to Central Files as of 12/4/64

NO EXCISIONS

COPY
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON LIBRARY

EXHIBIT 42

EX. 9
TAB-1 12/3
P. 2019

#2

November 8, 1966

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Watson:

Reference is made to your request regarding the authors of books dealing with the assassination of President Kennedy.

Attached are summary memoranda setting forth pertinent information contained in FBI files concerning the following individuals:

The files of the FBI contain no pertinent data with respect to [illegible]

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Acting Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

REC 20

10 NOV 9 1966

Enclosures (11)

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) - Enclosures 7
1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosures 7
1 - Mr. Rosen - Enclosures 7
DGH:jmh (8)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ENCLOSURE

NOV 23 1966

TELETYPE UNIT [illegible] is prepared in response to your request and is not to be disseminated outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

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EXHIBIT 43

P. 2042
NO TAB
EX. 10

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

2000 L STREET, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

1975 SEP 24 AM 11:57

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

ALLAN C. SHARRETT
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

202 466-5600

September 17, 1975

Mr. Mike Epstein
Staff Member
Senate Select Committee
on Intelligence Operations
308 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mike:

This is in response to your inquiry regarding the installation of private lines from Atlantic City, New Jersey to the White House during the August, 1964 Democratic National Convention.

Private lines for security purposes were established from the F. B. I. and Secret Service temporary communication's center in Atlantic City to the F. B. I. Headquarters in Washington, D. C. and to the White House P. B. X. We had no indication of any improper or unlawful use of such service.

Sincerely,

Allan Sharrett

Orig ⇒ addressee
cy ⇒ Blair
cy ⇒ Epstein
cy ⇒ Clark

KAIZENBACH
EXHIBIT 44

K433 EX. 11 TAB-3 12/3 P. 2099

The Attorney General

September 2, 1965

Director, FBI

PENETRATION AND DISRUPTION
OF KLAN ORGANIZATIONS
RACIAL MATTERS

As you know, this Bureau has solved a number of cases involving racial violence in the South. In this regard, public attention particularly was focused on the FBI's role in the solution of the brutal murders of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel A. Penn, and the three civil rights workers in Mississippi. However, we have achieved a number of other tangible accomplishments, most of which are not publicly known, and I thought you might be interested in them.

At the present time, for example, nearly [ ] of our informants and sources are being operated to obtain up-to-date intelligence data concerning racial matters which we disseminate on a continuing basis. Of these, [ ] have been developed in just the past year--an average of more than [ ] for every day in the past twelve months.

Particularly significant has been the high-level penetration we have achieved of Klan organizations. At the present time, there are 14 Klan groups in existence. We have penetrated every one of them through informants and currently are operating informants in top-level positions of leadership in [seven] of them.

Through such coverage, much valuable information relating to a variety of cases of violence and planned violence in the civil rights field has been obtained. Just recently, for example, an informant secured and furnished to us the weapon used in a civil rights shooting incident in North Carolina. Another informant provided the information which led to the recovery of a large volume of hand grenades, ammunition, dynamite, and other explosives which had been stolen from Fort McClellan in Alabama. Still another strategically placed informant enabled us to identify the Klansmen responsible for the bombing of two Automobiles and a Negro mortuary in New Bern, North Carolina.

The Attorney General

The solution to the series of bombings and burnings of some 20 to 25 homes in the McComb, Mississippi, area last year similarly was based on information supplied by [one] of our informants.

Equally important, and something of which the public is totally unaware, is the extent to which we have been able to forestall violence in certain racially explosive areas. In one southern state, for example, the governor, on one occasion, expressed his great concern and fear of an outbreak of racial violence because of the tense situation. THIS PORTION HAS BEEN DELETED TO PROTECT IDENTITY OF INFORMANT. As a result, we have been successful to date in holding Klan violence in the entire state to an absolute minimum.

We also are seizing every opportunity to disrupt the activities of Klan organizations. Typical is the manner in which we exposed and thwarted a "kick back" scheme a Klan group was using in one southern state to help finance its activities. One member of the group was selling insurance to other Klan members and would deposit a generous portion of the premium refunds in the Klan treasury. As a result of action we took, the insurance company learned of the scheme and cancelled all the policies held by Klan members, thereby cutting off a sizable source of revenue which had been used to finance Klan activities.

I have furnished these examples to illustrate to you the approach this Bureau is taking to meet the challenge of racial lawlessness in certain areas today.

The above information has also been furnished to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President.

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JUL 1965
FBI

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EXHIBIT 45

EX. 12
TAB-III 12/3
P. 2099

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

September 3, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Re: Your memorandum of September 2, regarding penetration and disruption of Klan Organizations

I have been aware in a general way of the accomplishments of the Bureau in the area of Klan penetration, but I appreciate having the benefit of detailed information on this subject, and I hope you will continue to keep me up to date on it.

May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the development of your informant system in the Klan organizations and on the results you have obtained through it. It is unfortunate that the value of these activities would in most cases be lost if too extensive publicity were given to them; however, perhaps at some point it may be possible to place these achievements on the public record, so that the Bureau can receive its due credit.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

Attorney General
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

NO EXCISIONS
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WITH USDJ.

EXHIBIT 46

1433

EX. TAB P. 810

The Attorney General

December 19, 1967

Director, FBI

KU KLUX KLAN INVESTIGATIONS
FBI ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Pursuant to your conversation with Mr. C. D. DeLoach of this Bureau concerning FBI coverage and penetration of the Ku Klux Klan, we have prepared the attached memorandum. Also attached are copies of my statements and publications regarding the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and the FBI's role in investigating Klan matters.

While some of the information contained in the attached memorandum is already a matter of public record, there are matters dealing with extremely sensitive operations of this Bureau and it is suggested that this be handled on a strict need-to-know basis.

Enclosures - 7

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosures - 7)

Attached copies of statements and publications regarding the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and the FBI's role in investigating Klan matters consist of:

NO EXCISIONS

The Attorney General

NOTE CONTINUED:

(1) "The Resurgent Klan," by J. Edgar Hoover--Reprint from July, 1966, American Bar Association Journal.

(2) "The FBI's Secret War," Remarks of Senator Karl Mundt before U. S. Senate, January 14, 1966--reprint from 1/14/66 "Congressional Record."

(3) Page 28 of 1967 FBI Annual Report--Deals with Klan investigations.

(4) Portion of Director's Appropriations Testimony, 2/16/67, dealing with Klan-type investigations.

(5) Remarks of Hon. George W. Grider of Tennessee dealing with investigation of Klan--taken from "Congressional Record," 5/3/65.

(6) Remarks of Hon. George W. Grider of Tennessee dealing with investigations of Klan--taken from "Congressional Record," 5/4/65.

RECEIVED
JUL 1965
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December 19, 1967

KU KLUX KLAN INVESTIGATIONS
FBI ACCOMPLISHMENTS

BACKGROUND

Historically, the problem of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States has existed since the days of Reconstruction following the Civil War. The Invisible Empire is well known for its terrorist, nightriding activities and has been responsible since its inception for numerous racial atrocities throughout the country. The Klan reached its peak during the 1920s when it claimed millions of members and it became almost defunct during World War II. In 1954, with the historic Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation of public schools, it became revitalized. In 1964, with the passage of civil rights legislation by the Congress, the Klan recruited thousands of persons who feared the rise of the Negro and the threat to the "Southern way of life."

The Klan has usually been located in the South although there have been attempts to organize it in the North, Midwest, and far West. The Klan attracts individuals in the rural areas who are poorly educated with limited incomes. The Klan exploits the fears, hatred, and ignorance of people who feel they are threatened by the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic, and the immigrant.

PRESENT STATUS

Presently there are 14 Klan organizations under investigation with a membership of approximately 14,000. The largest of these groups, the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with Headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, has an estimated membership of about 10,000.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

JUL 1975

FBI

NO EXCISIONS

Ku Klux Klan Investigations

Since 1964 Klan membership has declined in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana and increased in North and South Carolina and Virginia. The North Carolina Klan has the largest membership of any state in the Union under the leadership of

The most secretive and vicious Klan organization in recent years has been the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi under the leadership of of Laurel, Mississippi, who was recently convicted in connection with the murder of .

FBI RESPONSIBILITY

This Bureau has a three-fold purpose in investigating the Ku Klux Klan and individuals associated with Klan organizations. First, we investigate violations of Federal law committed by the Klan with the view toward prosecution in Federal court. Second, we conduct intelligence investigations with the view toward infiltrating the Ku Klux Klan with informants, neutralizing it as a terrorist organization, and deterring violence. Third, we provide the Department with the results of our investigations for possible designation of Klan organizations under Executive Order 10450.

REC

MAJOR CASES

Murder of Three Civil Rights Workers

In June, 1964, three civil rights workers were murdered in Neshoba County, Mississippi, setting off an intensive FBI investigation. In October, 1967, 7 of 18 defendants were convicted in Federal court in Meridian, Mississippi, for violation of the victims' civil rights. An 8th defendant pleaded guilty and a mistrial was declared as to three other defendants. Our investigations revealed that there was a broad Ku Klux Klan plot behind the abduction and murder of the victims.

17

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Ku Klux Klan Investigations

Klan informants were used as witnesses in this trial and they unfolded a story of Klan violence and terrorism rarely presented in any court.

Murder of Vernon Dahmer

In January, 1966, Vernon F. Dahmer, a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, died as a result of wounds received when his home was burned and shot into by the Ku Klux Klan. Twelve klansmen have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury and the case is presently pending in United States District Court at Hattiesburg. FBI informants were instrumental in determining in the early stages of the investigation that and the members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi were responsible for Dahmer's death.

Murder of Lemuel Penn

In July, 1964, Lemuel Penn, an Army Reserve Lieutenant Colonel and Negro educator from Washington, D. C., was killed by shotgun blasts near Colbert, Georgia. An exhaustive investigation by this Bureau resulted in the arrest of four members of the Ku Klux Klan. Informants also played a major role in this case. In October, 1964, a Federal Grand Jury returned an indictment charging six men, including the four arrested for Penn's murder, with conspiracy to injure, oppress, and threaten to intimidate Negro citizens in the free exercise of their Constitutional rights. Two of the defendants were convicted and four were acquitted.

Murder of Viola Liuzzo

In March, 1965, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was killed by gun blasts near Selma, Alabama, and three members of the Ku Klux

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Klan were arrested and charged with her slaying. Gary Thomas Rowe, who subsequently testified against these defendants, was present at the time Mrs. Liuzzo was murdered. This case dramatically emphasized our penetration of the Klan when it was publically disclosed that Rowe was an FBI informant. The three defendants were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury and convicted in Federal court for conspiracy.

McComb, Mississippi, Bombings

From June through September, 1964, a series of bombings occurred in McComb, Mississippi. After intensive FBI investigation, nine members of the Ku Klux Klan were arrested and charged with bombing homes and churches at McComb. These nine klansmen entered pleas of guilty and nolo contendere in local court. FBI informants were instrumental in uncovering the plot and identifying suspects.

New Bern, North Carolina, Bombings

In early 1965, a strategically placed informant enabled us to identify klansmen responsible for the bombing of two automobiles and a Negro mortuary in New Bern, North Carolina. This information was turned over to local authorities. Three defendants were convicted in State court.

Bogalusa Injunction

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, during the height of the racial disorder in that community in 1965, FBI investigation led to the obtaining of an injunction against the Anti-communist Christian Association also known as Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This was a major deterrent to further Klan violence in that community.

Klan Terrorism, Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina

In July, 1967, FBI investigations led to the arrest and indictment of 12 men in Rowan County, North Carolina.

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for numerous acts of racial intimidation and violence.

INFORMANTS

Informant coverage in Klan groups has been an important part of our program and our coverage is aimed at both high-level and low-level penetration. For example, recently the United Klans of America held its National Klonvocation in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to elect members of the Imperial Board. PORTION DELETED AS IT CAN IDENTIFY SOURCES

Perhaps one of the most difficult of our assignments is the penetration of Klan "action squads." An action squad is a small group of klansmen, within a klavern or acting independently, whose purpose is to commit acts of terrorism and violence. We have penetrated a number of these groups and among the most notorious are DELETED AS IT IDENTIFIES KLAVERNS AND RELEASE OF INFORMATION COULD JEOPARDIZE SOURCES.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Florida

Through an intensive effort by Bureau Agents in our Florida offices handling intelligence information and Bureau informants within the Florida Ku Klux Klan, we were able to effect the removal of of the United Klans of America, Realm of Florida. Through Bureau informants, misuse of Klan funds; mismanagement of Klan affairs; and personal misconduct were brought to the attention of the Klan rank and file and was deposed as LEADER. There has been no replacement and the Florida

Klan has been slowly deteriorating. We have found that by the removal of top Klan officers and provoking scandal within the state Klan organization through our informants, the Klan in a particular area can be rendered ineffective. is attempting to reorganize the Florida Klan and we are following it closely.

Mississippi

Through our informant operations, A Leader of the United Klans of America, the State of Mississippi has been removed and discredited. Further attempts by the United Klans to expand in Mississippi have been deterred.

Tennessee

In the early stages of Klan growth in the State of Tennessee, we were able to develop as a Bureau informant A member of the United Klans of America, Realm of Tennessee. Through this source we were able to control the expansion of the Klan. More importantly, we were able to discourage violence throughout the state. The Klan in Tennessee has not expanded to the proportions it has in other states and its lack of success can be attributed to our highly placed informant.

Louisiana

In March of 1966, high-level informants in the Louisiana Klan were responsible for the defeat of notoriously militant incumbent Klan leaders. Subsequently, A LEADER of the United Klans of America, removed A KLAN OFFICIAL and to this date, THIS OFFICIAL has not been replaced. This action contributed to the disorganization and disruption of the United Klans in Louisiana.

JUL 1975

FBI

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Ku Klux Klan Investigations

Illinois

Attempts were made to organize the Ku Klux Klan in the States of Illinois and Wisconsin. DELETED AS IDENTIFIES A STATE KLAN OFFICIAL.

In August, 1966, a series of bombings occurred in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Through a high-level Klan source of our Chicago Office we learned that A KLAN OFFICIAL was responsible for these bombings. The Department ruled that there was no prosecutable Federal violation. However, we pursued an intelligence-type investigation and furnished local authorities in Milwaukee with complete information coming from our Chicago Klan informants. THIS OFFICIAL was subsequently convicted and sentenced to 15 years. The result has been that the Klan in Illinois and Wisconsin has not been able to effectively organize and its expansion in the Midwest has been halted.

Virginia

In the Fall of 1965 the United Klans of America began an intensive organizational effort in the State of Virginia. We immediately began an all-out effort to penetrate the Virginia Klan, contain its growth, and deter violence. Working closely with local and state authorities we were able to disseminate information on contemplated cross burnings. Several arrests were made based on FBI information furnished to local police and in one situation, a klansman was sentenced to three years in local court for burning crosses, a felony under Virginia law. While conducting official investigations, two Agents of this Bureau were assaulted by klansmen who were later convicted on charges of Assault of a Federal Officer and Obstruction of Justice in Federal Court in Richmond, Virginia.

In December, 1966, the Special Agent in Charge of our Richmond Office contacted Virginia Governor Mills Godwin to intensify cooperation between the Virginia State Police

and the FBI in Klan matters. We provided the Governor with information regarding Klan activities in his state. As a result, Governor Godwin pressed for more effective enforcement of Virginia cross burning laws, and publically repudiated the Ku Klux Klan. Shortly after the Governor's public repudiation, the Klan attempted to retaliate and we learned of plans to burn crosses in the City of Richmond in defiance of the Governor. We furnished this data to local authorities who arrested five klansmen, thus seriously dampening Klan enthusiasm for such projects.

In May, 1966, we learned of Klan plans to "arrange an accident" for a civil rights worker working in the State of Virginia. We advised and local authorities of the plot against her life and alerted our informants to follow the plot closely. To this date, the Klan has taken no action against This is just one of many examples of our notifying authorities and intended victims of racial violence in order that they could take appropriate protective measures.

LIAISON WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

When we receive intelligence information concerning violations of local laws such as cross burnings, bombings, or shootings, we notify local authorities. For example, in April of 1966, the Louisiana Klan planned to burn crosses throughout the state. We furnished this data to local authorities and arrests were effected thus deterring further acts of harassment, intimidation, and violence. This is another example of incidents which are handled in our day-to-day contacts with local police.

REC
JUL 1975
FBI

Ku Klux Klan Investigations

KLAN INFILTRATION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

We are constantly alert for information concerning klansmen who become members of local and state police agencies and Klan attempts to infiltrate law enforcement. Law enforcement agencies have always been a prime target of the Ku Klux Klan. In 1964, we furnished information to Governor Paul Johnson of Mississippi concerning klansmen who were members of the Mississippi Highway Patrol. These men were subsequently fired. Since that time relations have greatly improved, rendering more effective the fair exercise of local law enforcement responsibilities in Mississippi. It has been part of our established policy to notify the head of the law enforcement agency involved of any member of his organization who has been sworn into the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, the Governor of the state is notified.

ACQUISITION OF WEAPONS AND DYNAMITE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

As part of our investigation of Klan groups, we determine the extent to which they are acquiring and stockpiling weapons, ammunition, and dynamite. During our investigations we always endeavor to determine the numbers and types of weapons and the amount of dynamite possessed by klansmen. In 1964, for example, , was arrested by FBI Agents and local authorities for possession of dynamite which, according to our Klan sources, he intended to use for bombing purposes.

If it is determined that illegal weapons such as automatic machine guns, illegal rifles and shotguns, are being held by klansmen, appropriate investigations under the National and/or Federal Firearms Act are instituted.

JUL 1965

FBI

INTERVIEWS OF KLANSMEN

One of the greatest attractions for klansmen is the alleged cloak of secrecy which surrounds their Klan membership. We have found that a program of seledtive interviews of klansmen, where they are made aware of our knowledge of their Klan affiliation, has done much to cause disillusionment of the members and disruption of the organization. In some instances klansmen volunteer information about the organization and its activities. These interviews also put us in a position to assess eachmmember with regard to his potential as an informant. Although our Agents in conducting their interviews are frequently met with hostility and threats by militant klansmen, our Klan interview program has been most effective in deterring violence and developing informants.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

On December 7, 1967, an informant of our Mobile Division learned of Klan plans to burn crosses in Montgomery, Alabama. This information was disseminated to appropriate local authorities in an effort to effect arrests during the commission of these illegal acts.

Only within the last week an informant of our Jackson Office obtained information concerning possession of 105 sticks of dynamite by [redacted]. This information was given to local authorities who arrested [redacted] and confiscated the dynamite. [redacted] was charged with illegal possession of dynamite, a felony in the State of Mississippi.

RECE[illegible]
JUL [illegible]
FBI

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EXHIBIT 47

EX. 1
P. 214
TAB V

Office of The Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

September 14, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Although the bulk of criminal offenses occurring in the course of recent riots have been local rather than federal in nature, the question as to whether there was an organization which (a) had made advanced plans for, and (b) was active during any of the riots in the summer of 1967 is one that cannot always be readily resolved by local authorities. In view of the seriousness of the riot activity across the country, it is most important that you use the maximum available resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation, to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity.

In this connection the following federal statutes could be applicable depending, of course, upon the factual situation that develops:

Title 18, USC, Section 2383, which proscribes the inciting or engaging in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States.

Title 18, USC, Section 2384, which proscribes conspiring to overthrow or to destroy by force the Government of the United States or to oppose by force the authority thereof or by force to prevent, hinder or delay the execution of any law of the United States.

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Title 18, USC, Section 2385, which proscribes, inter alia, advocacy of overthrowing the Government of the United States or the Government of any state, territory, District or possession thereof, or the Government of any political subdivision therein by force or violence.

Activities Affecting Armed Forces, 18 USC 2388

Selective Service, 50 USC (App.) 462

Travel and Interstate Transportation,
18 USC 1952 (Arson)
18 USC 831-33 (Explosive)

Assault and Killing of Federal Officers and Employees, 18 USC 111, 114 and 2231

Destruction of Government Property, 18 USC 1361 et al.

Federal Firearms Act, 15 USC 901-909

Crimes on Federal Reservations, 18 USC 13, 81 et al.

I appreciate that the Bureau has constantly been alert to this problem and is currently submitting intelligence reports to us about riots and about the activity of certain groups and individuals before, during and after a riot. Indeed, the President has said both publicly and privately that the FBI is conducting extensive and comprehensive investigations of these matters.

There persists, however, a widespread belief that there is more organized activity in the riots than we presently know about. We must recognize, I believe, that this is a relatively new area of investigation and intelligence reporting for the FBI and the Department of Justice. We have not heretofore had to deal with the possibility of an organized pattern of violence, constituting a violation of federal law, by a group of persons who make the urban ghetto their base of operation and whose activities may not have been regularly monitored by existing intelligence sources.

In these circumstances, we must be certain that every attempt is being made to get all information bearing upon these problems; to take every step possible

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to determine whether the rioting is pre-planned or organized; and, if so, to determine the identity of the people and interests involved; and to deter this activity by prompt and vigorous legal action.

As a part of the broad investigation which must necessarily be conducted, it is requested that all available information be reported and analyzed regarding each sniper caught in any riot or extremist activity and regarding those arrested during the course of a riot or significant racial disturbances who were not residents of the general area. Moreover, sources or informants in black nationalist organizations, SNCC and other less publicized groups should be developed and expanded to determine the size and purpose of these groups and their relationship to other groups, and also to determine the whereabouts of persons who might be involved in instigating riot activity in violation of federal law. Further, we need to investigate fully allegations of conspiratorial activity that come to our attention from outside sources such as those reported regarding Newark in Life Magazine for July 28, 1967, and those regarding the Detroit riot which were furnished to the Department by Walter Sheridan of the National Broadcasting Company (summary of latter is attached).

Ramsey Clark

RAMSEY CLARK
Attorney General

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EXHIBIT 48

DX. 15
P. 2192 TAB Y
12/3

Kevin T. Maroney
Thomas J. McTiernan
Hugh Nugent
James P. Turner
The Attorney General

November 9, 1

Establishment of a departmental intelligence unit in reaction to civil disorders

It is imperative that the Department seek and obtain the most comprehensive intelligence possible regarding organized or other purposeful stimulation of domestic dissension, civil disorders, and riots. To carry out these responsibilities we must make full use of, and constantly endeavor to increase and refine, the intelligence available to us, both from internal and external sources, concerning organizations and individuals throughout the country who may play a role either in instigating or spreading disorders or in preventing or checking them. However, we do not now adequately use such intelligence or develop and implement methods of improving intelligence. Thus, we do not have any systematic means at present of compiling and analyzing the voluminous information about various persons or organizations furnished to us by the FBI, and we make very little effort to obtain information elsewhere.

For a more extensive discussion of this subject, I refer you to a memorandum written to me on September 27, 1967, by Assistant Attorney General John Doar. Mr. Doar, with the concurrence of Messrs. Vinson and Yeagley, there recommended the establishment of an intelligence unit within the Department to assimilate and analyze the information presently at hand, as well as that coming to the Department in the future from the FBI and other sources. I have approved the recommendation.

My purpose in this memorandum is to constitute the four of you as a committee, with Mr. Maroney acting as chairman, to accomplish the following, among other things:

1. Make recommendations as to the location of the Intelligence Unit within the Departmental organization and the officer or officers to which it shall be immediately responsible.

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WITH USDJ

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2. Recommend the best means of collating and indexing relevant information presently in the Department.

3. Designate sources outside the Department, both in and out of the Government, that may provide useful information to the Unit and methods for developing and obtaining such information.

4. Recommend the types of summaries and reports the Unit shall make and the distribution thereof in and out of the Department; and

5. Recommend the extent to which the Unit shall draw conclusions from the material it processes and make proposals for intelligence, investigation or other action by the Department or others.

You are free to consult with the FBI and other intelligence agencies in the Government to draw on their experience in maintaining similar units, to explore the possibilities of obtaining information we do not now receive and to carry out other purposes relevant to this assignment. Planning and creation of the unit must be kept in strictest confidence. You should call on me or Sol Lindenbaum for any assistance you need.

Please submit your report and recommendations to me by December 1, 1967.

CONFIDENTIAL

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EXHIBIT 49

EX. 16 TAB-Y 143 12/3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

(A)

TO : John Doar
Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Roger W. Wilkins
J. Walter Yeagley

DATE: December 18, 1967

FROM : The Attorney General

SUBJECT: Creation of Interdivision Information Unit

After consideration of the report of December 6, 1967, submitted by Kevin T. Maroney, Thomas J. McTiernan, Hugh Nugent and James P. Turner pursuant to my memorandum of November 9, 1967, I have determined to establish a permanent unit, staffed with full-time personnel, to take over and extend the activities of the so-called Summer Project of the past two years. The new organization shall be known as the Interdivision Information Unit.

The Unit shall function for the purposes and within the guidelines expressed in my memorandum of November 9 and the report of December 6, 1967. It is enough to state here that, in the main, it shall be responsible for reviewing and reducing to quickly retrievable form all information that may come to this Department relating to organizations and individuals throughout the country who may play a role, whether purposefully or not, either in instigating or spreading civil disorders, or in preventing or checking them.

The Director of the Community Relations Service and the Assistant Attorneys General in charge of the Civil Rights, Criminal and Internal Security Divisions, with the last named acting as chairman and principal overseer, shall constitute a Supervisory Committee to guide the Unit in carrying out its functions.

Pending the selection of a head of the Unit, Kevin T. Maroney shall serve as acting head and, with the assistance of the Supervisory Committee and Messrs. McTiernan, Nugent and Turner, take action to bring it into operation as soon as possible. Necessary personnel shall be obtained from within the Department of Justice and arrangements for office space, supplies and equipment coordinated with the Administrative Division.

NO EXCISIONS
SUGGEST CLEARANCE
WITH USDJ

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The Supervisory Committee and Unit shall coordinate the Unit's activities with related activities carried on elsewhere in the Department of Justice to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort.

The Supervisory Committee shall meet at least biweekly.

EXHIBIT 50 EX. 17 P. 2159 TAB 8.4 (11/18-19/75) 12/3 10/28/75 8-4

8/28/68

airtel

To: SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Several news releases have appeared in the local press regarding demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in which the police have been criticized by using undue force. Already, charges of police brutality are being made and it can be anticipated that charges of this nature will grow.

[100-449698-9-7]

The Bureau should be alert to this situation and be in a position to refute unfounded allegations whenever possible. Chicago should, therefore, obtain all possible evidence that would disprove these charges and promptly submit it to the Bureau under the above caption.

REC-65

As an example of the type of evidence that is needed, the "Washington Post," 8/27/68 edition on page three, carried an article in which a staff reporter, David Satter, quoted U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran as praising the police and stating that some photographs showing alleged police brutality were posed by photographers.

AUG 28 1968

You should interview U.S. Attorney Foran concerning the incident to which he refers and include it with other information developed. Bear in mind that public source material will be particularly useful in refuting these charges and you should be alert to this type of information.

Along this same line, you should also consider measures by which cooperative news media may be used to counteract these allegations. Take no steps in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

RECEIVED FROM

(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Airtel to SAC, Chicago
COINTEL[illegible] - NEW LEFT
100-[illegible]

NOTE:

Once again, the liberal press and the bleeding hearts and the Forces on the left are taking advantage of the situation in Chicago surrounding the Democratic National Convention to attack the police and organized law enforcement agencies. When actual evidence of police brutality is not available, it can be expected that these elements will stretch the truth and even manufacture incidents to indict law enforcement agencies. We should be mindful of this situation and develop all possible evidence to expose this activity and to refute these false allegations.

RECEIVED FROM

SEP 5 1976

EXHIBIT 51

EX. 18
P. 2159
TAB 8.5 (...19)

8-5

9/3/68

[CODE]

TELETYPE URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SACS BALTIMORE (100-25001)
BUFFALO (100-19[illegible])
CHARLOTTE (100-10483)
CHICAGO (100-45816)
CINCINNATI (100-17601)
CLEVELAND (100-28695)
DENVER (100-9[illegible])
JACKSON (100-1166)
KANSAS CITY (100-12478)
LOS ANGELES (100-71737)
MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)
NEW YORK (100-163203)
PHILADELPHIA (100-49929)
SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)
WFO (100-47757)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT.

IN VIEW OF RECENT ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CHICAGO AUTHORITIES RELATING TO THEIR HANDLING OF DEMONSTRATORS AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, THE BUREAU DESIRES TO COLLECT ALL POSSIBLE INFORMATION REGARDING PROVOCATIONS OF POLICE BY DEMONSTRATORS AND THE REACTION OF POLICE THERETO. RECIPIENT OFFICES IMMEDIATELY DEBRIEF SOURCES WHO COVERED DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE CONVENTION TO OBTAIN ALL INFORMATION WHICH WOULD BEAR ON THESE ACTIVITIES. INCLUDE IN DEBRIEFING, ALL INFORMATION INDICATING INCIDENTS WERE STAGED TO SHOW POLICE REACTED WITH

REC 5

[6-31 ...]

NOTE PAGE TWO

19 SEP 5 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO SAC BALTIMORE, ET AL
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
100-449698

UNDUE FORCE AND ANY INFORMATION THAT AUTHORITIES WERE BAITED BY MILITANTS INTO USING FORCE. ALSO OBTAIN ANY EVIDENCE OF POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF ANTIRIOT LAWS. IDENTIFY LEADERS OF ALL AGITATIONAL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED BY THEM. CITE ALL INSTANCES WHERE ORGANIZATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS DISTRIBUTED INFLAMMATORY INFORMATION OR LITERATURE.

SUTEL BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS SEPTEMBER FOUR NEXT.

NOTE:

During the Convention, news media made a great deal concerning police reaction to the behavior of demonstrators. We authorized recipient offices, exclusive of Chicago, to send informants to Chicago to cover demonstrations at this Convention. These sources should have considerable information relating to the activities of demonstrators in confronting the police reaction to the demonstrators, and information which may constitute violations of recently enacted antiriot laws. These sources are being debriefed expeditiously in order that we might prepare an informative paper on this subject.

Teletype used in view of urgent need of this information.

EXHIBIT 52

2057

1A

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 31, 1975

SULLIVAN MEMORANDA TO JOHN DEAN
(SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER)

Reference is made to my letter of January 30, 1975, setting forth information in the "Sullivan memoranda." Your attention is invited to specifically Item 8 of this letter. This item is made up of two paragraphs. The first paragraph states that President Johnson asked the FBI to look into members of Senator Goldwater's staff and give him the results. A review was made and results furnished some of which contains derogatory information. We have located a work copy of a memorandum to Mr. DeLoach dated October 26, 1964, captioned "NAME CHECK REQUEST FOR WHITE HOUSE." This copy states that Bill Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, requested a special check of the Bureau's files concerning persons employed in Senator Goldwater's office. Using the United States Senate telephone directory, 15 individuals were listed and a memorandum was attached reflecting the results of the check. The recommendation was that Mr. DeLoach furnish the memorandum to Mr. Moyers.

We are unable to locate a record copy of the above-described memoranda.

A record copy of a letter to Mr. Moyers dated October 27, 1964, is in file and was hand delivered by Mr. DeLoach on October 28, 1964. This letter advised that there was no derogatory information in our files on 13 of the individuals mentioned.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

EXHIBIT 53

The Attorney General

August 7, 1973

Director, FBI

RECEIVED FROM
APR 25 1975
FBI

SCOPE OF FBI JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY IN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS

During our meeting on July 26, 1973, you referred to a discussion you had with Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., of Maryland during your confirmation hearings as to the statutory authority of the FBI and the Department of Justice in the field of domestic intelligence investigations. You then asked Mr. William D. Ruckelshaus to work with the FBI in weighing the pros and cons with regard to statutory authority in this area. I mentioned that research was being performed on this subject at the present time and that we would be in touch with Mr. Ruckelshaus with regard to this matter when we have completed the results of our consideration and findings within the FBI.

Actually, a study has been going on in the FBI for more than two years as to the scope of FBI jurisdiction and authority in domestic intelligence investigations. When Mr. L. Patrick Gray, III, was designated as Acting Director of the FBI, he instructed that a position paper be prepared concerning the jurisdiction and authority of the FBI to conduct domestic intelligence investigations. A position paper was prepared which in essence stated that authority of the FBI in this field is based on legislative enactments, even though we may have publicly relied heavily on Presidential directives as the basis for such authority. Mr. Gray ordered an in-depth study made of the position and in August, 1972, a detailed report was furnished to him. The following is a summary of that report.

Over a period of several months there were a number of public statements questioning authority and jurisdiction of the FBI to conduct domestic intelligence-type investigations, particularly where there is no clear-cut legislative authority apparent. One of the most searching inquiries was contained in a paper presented by Professor John T. Elliff at a two-day conference at Princeton University in October, 1971, sponsored by the Committee for Public Justice.

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The Attorney General

A major thrust of Professor Elliff's paper concerned FBI authority derived from legislative enactments as opposed to that derived from Presidential directives, beginning with a directive issued by President Roosevelt in September, 1939. Professor Elliff is of the opinion that the 1939 directive, which was reiterated on three subsequent occasions, was magnified by the FBI from its original purpose to a definitive order to conduct intelligence-type investigations.

Senator Sam J. Ervin, as you know, had been probing into the nature and extent of FBI intelligence-type investigations. Senator Ervin had even announced that he intended to propose legislation to prohibit the FBI from investigating any person without that individual's consent, unless the Government has reason to believe that person has committed a crime or is about to commit a crime. Other Congressmen indicated a similar interest in FBI investigative activities.

Our study revealed that the FBI had declared publicly over a long period of time that its responsibilities in the domestic intelligence field are authorized under legislative enactments, Presidential directives, and instructions of the Attorney General. The Presidential directives are obviously the 1) directive dated September 6, 1939, and reiterated January 8, 1943; July 24, 1950; and December 15, 1953, and 2) Executive Order 10450 dated April 27, 1953 (and amended but not yet implemented by Executive Order 11605 dated July 2, 1971).

In carefully analyzing the language of the first directive, dated September 6, 1939, and considering that the subsequent directives are all hinged on that one, we believe that there is a misconception as to the extent of jurisdiction or authority conveyed to the FBI by these directives. It appears that while the 1939 directive fixed responsibility on the FBI to handle espionage, sabotage, and neutrality matters, it did not convey any authority or jurisdiction which the FBI did not already have from legislative enactments. It is difficult to read into this directive or in any of those which followed any authority to conduct intelligence-type investigations which would or could not be conducted under an umbrella of legislative enactments.

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The Attorney General

As a matter of historical fact, President Roosevelt in August, 1936, did request former Director J. Edgar Hoover to conduct investigations of subversive activities in this country, including communism and fascism. This request, however, was a confidential oral request and there is doubt that any record of it was made outside the FBI. This request, or Presidential mandate, was based, incidentally, on the fact that the law provided that the FBI could conduct such investigations if the Secretary of State should so request.

The study revealed that while the 1939 et seq. directives did not grant any special intelligence-gathering authority to the FBI, we were responsible under these directives to collect all intelligence information furnished by local, state, and Federal law enforcement agencies and patriotic citizens and to sift and coordinate all such information for indications of subversive activity covered by Federal statutes.

The study concluded that the FBI has the responsibility to conduct whatever investigations are necessary to determine if statutes relating to espionage, sabotage, insurrection or rebellion, sedition, seditious conspiracy, advocacy of overthrowing the Government, and other such crimes affecting the national security have been violated. In this connection we note that in a letter dated September 14, 1967, the Department of Justice advised that the FBI is continually alert to the problem of recurring riots and is submitting intelligence reports to the Department of Justice concerning such activity. This letter enumerated several Federal statutes and stated these could be applicable in using maximum available resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing on the question of schemes or conspiracies to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity.

In other words, the Department was requesting all possible intelligence-type investigative activity based on the existence of certain statutes. We see this as being no different from our intelligence-type investigations relating to plans of groups or individuals to overthrow, destroy, interfere with or threaten the survival of effective operation of national, state, and local governments.

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The Attorney General

Based on this study, we believe that had there never been a single one of the Presidential directives in question the FBI would have conducted and will, through necessity, continue to conduct the same intelligence-type investigations as were conducted from 1939 to the present date. We also believe, however, that in order to counter the criticism and skepticism of such individuals as Professor Elliff and Senator Sam J. Ervin that an up-to-date Executive order should be issued clearly establishing a need for intelligence-type investigations and delineating a clear authority for the FBI to conduct such investigations based on guidelines established by the Attorney General and adhering to constitutional principles.

The study concluded with two basic recommendations. 1) That the Department of Justice be requested to sponsor comprehensive legislation spelling out the FBI's investigative authority in the collection of intelligence information relating to the national security and; 2) that the Department of Justice be requested to seek a comprehensive Executive order which would cover any possible gap between statutory authority and Executive necessity in protection of the national security.

At first glance these recommendations may appear to contradict our position that we already have statutory authority to conduct security-type investigations; that this being the case we do not need additional legislative enactments, nor do we need an Executive order. But being realistic we think that the basic statutes upon which we rely for our authority to conduct domestic intelligence investigations need to be updated to fit 1973 needs. Title 18 U.S.C. Sections 2384, 2384, and 2385 relate to the national security, but the legislative history of 2383 and 2384 indicates that they were designed for the Civil War era, not the Twentieth Century, and Section 2385 has been reduced to a fragile shell by the Supreme Court. These statutes are unquestionably still valid, but updating is certainly indicated. The bills introduced as H.R. 6046 and S. 1400 in the 93rd Congress appear to contain language which should fill our statutory needs, except perhaps for those groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, which do not seek to overthrow the Government, but nevertheless are totalitarian in nature and seek to deprive constitutionally guaranteed rights.

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The Attorney General

As to the need for an Executive order, we think that two issues are involved. We have statutory authority, but what we need is a definitive requirement from the President as to the nature and type of intelligence data he requires in the pursuit of his responsibilities based on our statutory authority. In other words, there is a need, from our standpoint, for both authoritative and definitive guidelines. The statutes give us the authority. The Executive order would define our national security objectives.

Members of Congress, including such men as Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, have proposed legislation to spell out jurisdiction and authority of the FBI in this field. It would appear that the President would rather spell out his own requirements in an Executive order instead of having Congress tell him what the FBI might do to help him fulfill his obligations and responsibilities as President.

The political climate of suspicion and distrust resulting from disclosures coming out of the Watergate hearings could present an obstacle to getting any such Executive order signed in the immediate future. However, the rationale is nevertheless valid and when scrutinized closely, the language in the Executive order we hereinafter propose establishes definitive guidelines which have heretofore been unclear. It is my belief that we should go forward with this.

We therefore propose and recommend that an Executive order along the following lines be submitted to the White House with a strong recommendation for approval. The language which follows is merely to illustrate the type of Executive order which we think would be appropriate and does not necessarily represent an ideal format or style which should be submitted to the White House.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

"Whereas the Constitution of the United States was established to insure, among other things, domestic tranquility; to provide for the common defense; and to promote the general welfare for the people of the United States; and

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The Attorney General

"Whereas the President of the United States has the constitutionally imposed responsibility of defending the Constitution and the existence of the Government thereunder; and

"Whereas there have been continuing unlawful acts of violence perpetrated against the Government of the United States or against citizens of the United States or against persons entitled to the protection of the United States thereby endangering the domestic tranquility, threatening the common defense, and jeopardizing the general welfare of the people of the United States; and

"Whereas the Congress has enacted laws prohibiting acts such as treason, sedition, sabotage, espionage, insurrection and rebellion, seditious conspiracy, civil disobedience, rioting, assassination, kidnaping, deprival of civil rights, and conspiracies to commit such acts; and

"Whereas the President of the United States as Chief Executive in the maintenance of the Government thereunder must have intelligence information for appropriate decisions in the discharge of his constitutionally imposed responsibilities;

"Now by authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States and in the interest of orderly operation of this Government and in furtherance of the domestic tranquility, common defense, and general welfare of the people of the United States it is ordered that;

"The Attorney General prepare and issue guidelines, conforming to the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and outlining the necessary direction, coordination, and guidance of investigations to assure that the Federal Bureau of Investigation provides on a continuing basis intelligence information essential to the execution of laws pertaining to subversive activity and other such activity affecting the national security, domestic tranquility, and general welfare of the United States."

The Nation has been going through a time of terror. The concept of urban guerrilla terrorism has been adopted by various extremist elements in the United States. Bombings of public buildings and national institutions;

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killing of police officers who, by their uniform, are a symbol of the democratic establishment; hijacking of aircraft in furtherance of revolutionary movements; terrorist assaults on foreign diplomatic personnel and establishments; and open declaration of war on our form of government are only a few of the violent acts which have been perpetrated by domestic subversives who seek to destroy or seriously cripple our Government. Terrorist guerrilla attacks which were once confined to far away places and related to problems of no immediate concern of ours are now possible in this country. Foreign terrorist groups in collusion with domestic terrorists have laid plans for an airport massacre of the type which recently occurred in Israel. Other foreign terrorist elements have laid plans for terrorist attacks on American soil. Already one foreign official has been assassinated, possibly by terrorists.

It would be folly to adopt an investigative policy based on the concept of investigation only when there is reason to believe a crime involving the national security has been committed. The FBI must obviously anticipate the crimes described above. We believe that in order for the Government to be in position to defend itself against revolutionary and terrorist efforts to destroy it, the FBI must have sufficient investigative authority to conduct intelligence-type investigations not normally associated with enforcement of the statutes. In other words we think the President has the inherent Executive power to expand by further defining the FBI's investigative authority to enable it to develop advance information concerning the plans and aspirations of terrorists and revolutionaries who seek to overthrow or destroy the Government. However, we also believe that such expanded authority must be formally set forth in an Executive order and that this recommendation is responsive in the Attorney General's expressed interest in laying more formal guidelines to our work in areas where definition is not now clear.

We consider the issuance of a new Executive order delineating our jurisdiction, authority, and responsibility to gather and report intelligence information relating to the national security to be a very important and high priority matter. We believe the issuance of guidelines by the Attorney General under Title 28, Section 533, United States Code, to be equally important.

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4-4

AN ANALYSIS OF FBI DOMESTIC SECURITY INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS: AUTHORITY, OFFICIAL ATTITUDES, AND ACTIVITIES IN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

JM

NOV 5 1975

FBI

October 28, 1975

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AN ANALYSIS OF FBI DOMESTIC SECURITY INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS: AUTHORITY, OFFICIAL ATTITUDES, AND ACTIVITIES IN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

Many persons who are currently examining the FBI's domestic security intelligence authority and the parameters of this jurisdiction begin their analysis at a mid-point in the history of this Nation's struggle against the forces of subversion. This approach tends to result in a mechanical examination of the subject without the benefit of an understanding of the historical forces and necessities which brought about the need to conduct domestic security intelligence investigations. In an effort to clarify the role the FBI has played in this field, it is deemed appropriate to submit this concise review of historic events illustrating the evolution of the problem of domestic subversion, attitudes of Government officials towards the problem, and how, against this historic backdrop, the FBI, came to be assigned domestic security intelligence responsibilities.

On September 24, 1789, the Office of Attorney General of the United States was created by Act of Congress. Not until March 3, 1871, was there an effort to create an investigative force for the use of the Attorney General in fulfilling his duties. In that year, Congress appropriated $50,000 for the use of the Attorney General "in the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States." From 1871 to 1909, the various Attorneys General appointed "Special Agents," "General Agents" and "Examiners" to assist him in the detection of crimes. In some instances, investigative personnel from other Federal agencies were borrowed for this purpose. Their numbers were few, and administration of their efforts was primitive. In an effort to create an effective investigative force, Attorneys General Charles J. Bonaparte and George W. Wickersham, in 1908 and 1909, issued orders which resulted in the creation of the "Bureau of Investigation," a division of the Department, which, in March, 1909, was ordered to be a separate unit of the Department under the control and supervision of the "Chief of the Bureau of Investigation." This Bureau, by 1916, was being referred for investigation all Federal crimes not specifically assigned to other Federal agencies.

Many today assume incorrectly that the FBI commenced domestic security intelligence investigations within the last several years. In fact, the Bureau of Investigation, the predecessor of the modern FBI, was given

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foreign and domestic security responsibilities during World War I (WW I), 1917-1918. It will be made more apparent on review of the following material that many problems and questions concerning domestic security investigations of that era parallel the problems and questions of today.

With the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1914, and this Nation's participation commencing in 1917, a flood of new responsibilities faced the 300 or so Agents of the Bureau of Investigation. Previously, their responsibilities were limited to investigations of crimes on Government lands, bank and bankruptcy frauds, forgery matters, bribery, and kindred offenses. With the coming of war, concern over potential sabotage activities and alien propaganda grew within the Nation, and the Bureau was assigned a new role. No longer were the Bureau's interests limited to the traditional areas of criminal investigation but were now broadened to encompass matters concerning internal security and national defense. In 1917, Congress enacted the Selective Service and Training Act, the Espionage Act, and the Trading with the Enemy Act, followed in 1918, by the Sabotage and Deportation Acts. Enforcement responsibilities for the most part fell on the Bureau of Investigation. To meet the added burdens, the Bureau was increased to approximately 400 Agents, but, nonetheless, these were insufficient to handle the task.

To respond to the problem, Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory and then Bureau Chief, A. Bruce Bielaski, conceived what they felt might suffice to answer the problem. The American Protective League (APL), composed of well-meaning private individuals, was formed as a citizens auxiliary to "assist" the Bureau of Investigation. In addition to the authorized auxiliary, ad hoc groups took it upon themselves to "investigate" what they felt were un-American activities. Though the intentions of both groups were undoubtedly patriotic and in some instances beneficial, the overall result was the denial of constitutional safeguards and administrative confusion. To see the problem, one need only consider the mass deprivation of rights incident to the deserter and selective service violator raids in New York and New Jersey in 1918, wherein 35 Agents assisted by 2,000 APL operatives, 2,350 military personnel, and several hundred police rounded up some 50,000 men without warrants or sufficient probable cause for arrest. Of the 50,000 arrestees, approximately 1,500 were inducted into the military service and 15,000 were referred to draft boards.

It became clear that using citizen auxiliary personnel was not the answer to national defense manpower problems.

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Secondly, it was realized that there was no central control of authorized agencies for coordinating such investigations and correlating the resultant prosecutive and intelligence information. An Agent when asked in 1938, what problems were experienced during investigations in WW I, stated:

> "How did we function with relation to other agencies, both federal and state? In answering this query, I might say that while our relationship with the Army and Navy Departments, was extremely cordial at all times, nevertheless there was at all times an enormous overlapping of investigative activities among the various agencies charged with the winning of the war. There were probably seven or eight such active organizations operating at full force during war days and it was not an uncommon experience for an Agent of this Bureau to call upon an individual in the course of his investigation, to find out that six or seven other Government agents representing as many other investigative agencies had been around to interview the party about the same matter. ... The experience had in those days was so convincing in the lesson it taught, as to make it certain that in the event of another World War, some central control should exist to correct the old evils."

Two primary lessons were thus learned concerning investigations of internal security matters which would play a great part in considerations for such investigatons when the threat or potential of World War loomed in the 1930's. It was evident that unprofessional and untrained citizens groups, authorized or vigilante, could not be used as an official, functioning auxiliary to established investigative agencies. Secondly, even among trained, established agencies there was a necessity for centralized assignment and control of investigation and correlation of the investigative product.

The great "Red-Radical Scare" followed closely on the heels of WW I, apparently the social reaction to the aftermath of the War and the Russian Revolution of 1917. The violence and anarchism associated with the activities of such "radicals" were of concern to the Government and public alike. In an effort to counter the radicals and anarchists, the Department and Bureau, in conjunction with the Department of Labor, which had primary jurisdiction

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over immigration matters, used the provisions of the "Deportation Statute" as an answer. The following excerpts are from a confidential letter to "all Special Agents and Employees" from Director W. J. Flynn, dated August 12, 1919:

> "The Bureau requires a vigorous and comprehensive investigation of Anarchistic and similar classes, Bolshevism, and kindred agitations advocating change in the present form of Government by force or violence, the promotion of sedition and revolution, bomb throwing, and similar activities. In the present state of the federal law this investigation should be particularly directed to persons not citizens of the United States, with a view of obtaining deportation cases. ...
>
> "While you are required to investigate particularly with regard to aliens, you should also make full investigation of similar activities of citizens of the United States with a view to securing evidence which may be of use in prosecutions under the present existing state or federal laws or under legislation of that nature which may hereinafter be enacted. ..."

These investigations resulted in the much criticized "Palmer Red Raids" of 1919 and 1920.

In 1919, J. Edgar Hoover, a Departmental Attorney since 1917, was placed in charge of the General Intelligence Division, Department of Justice. The Division had the responsibility of correlating information obtained by the Bureau for the purpose of preparing material for deportation proceedings. As a Departmental attorney, Mr. Hoover not only observed the wartime problems but experienced the difficulties associated with intelligence-type investigations while with the Division.

On October 5, 1920, he prepared a report on the General Intelligence Division, which read in part:

> "Following the mailing of bombs to prominent government officers in May, 1919, and the bomb outrages of June 2, 1919, it became apparent that there must be established a systematic and thorough

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supervision over the unlawful activities of certain persons and organizations in the United States whose sole purposes were to commit acts of terrorism and to advocate by word of mouth and by the circulation of literature the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. On August 1, 1919, there was formed as a part of the Department of Justice, a GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION to handle the investigations connected with the radical activities in the United States: ... While the work of the General Intelligence Division was at first confined solely to the investigations of the radical movement, it has now expanded to cover more general intelligence work, including not only the radical activities in the United States and abroad, but also the studying of matters of an international nature, as well as economic and industrial disturbances incident thereto. ...it was soon found that the federal statutes were inadequate to properly handle the radical situation from a criminal prosecution standpoint. As is already mentioned in this report, there is need in the absence of legislation to enable the federal government adequately to defend and protect itself and its institutions of not only aliens within the borders of the United States, but also of American citizens who are engaged in unlawful agitation. Consequently, the efforts of the Bureau became centered upon the activities of alien agitators, with the object of securing deportation of such of these persons as were violating the provisions of the Act of October 16, 1918, familiarly known as the "deportation statute."

Mr. Hoover further reported that within the overall operation an indexing system was established for the retrieval of information, that anarchist societies other than pure communist were investigated for "revolutionary character," that evidence was discovered linking radicals to the Steel and Coal Strikes of 1919, and Railroad Strikes, 1920, that their propaganda had been infiltrated into the labor movement, that radical propaganda was directed at the Negro to foster racial unrest, that there were anarchists of various ideologies practicing within the United States, that various states had gained convictions under local criminal syndicalism statutes and others, and that the General Intelligence Division, of necessity, had generated a library of radical publications to study the various overall theories and histories of the radicals and anarchists.

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In summarizing, Mr. Hoover noted in the report:

> "Much of the work of the General Intelligence Division has been cumulative in nature; and the collection of information has enabled this department not only to achieve results in the more practical application of the federal statutes to the unlawful activities of the radicals in the United States, but has enabled the government to study the situation from a more intelligent and broader view-point."

Mr. Hoover, in his summation, stated very clearly that information which the Bureau was collecting was being used by the General Intelligence Division as pure and valuable intelligence information to assess internal domestic radical activity as early as 1919.

The "Red Raids" generated a storm of criticism from such legal scholars as Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard, Felix Frankfurter, later Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Charles Evans Hughes and Harlan Fiske Stone, both subsequently Chief Justices. In addition, the Senate Judiciary Committee launched an investigation of such practices.

In 1924, Harlan Fiske Stone was appointed Attorney General of the United States, and his concept as to the Bureau's role was quite clear:

> "The Bureau of Investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system goes beyond these limits it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty...."

J. Edgar Hoover, who was appointed Director of the Bureau of Investigation by Attorney General Stone in 1924, followed this policy from its inception. In a letter of May 14, 1925, he responded to an inquiry in point by stating:

> "...you are advised that from time to time information concerning communist activities in the United States is voluntarily furnished to field offices of the Bureau by parties not connected therewith, the information is forwarded to this office. However, the Bureau is making no investigations of such activities, inasmuch as it does not appear that there is any violation of a Federal Penal Statute involved."

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FBI

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Again, on October 7, 1925, he responded to Colonel James H. Reeves, General Staff, War Department, as follows:

> "In reply thereto I beg to state that general investigations into radical activities by our various field offices were discontinued some time ago by reason of certain changes in policy, program procedure, etc., instituted upon instructions from the Department. Such investigations as are now made are only inaugurated upon specific instructions from the Bureau and are directed upon definite reports of activities which may involve violations of Federal laws or statutes."

To complete the picture of official FBI policy and attitude regarding investigation of radical activities during the 1920's and early 1930's, it must be noted that intelligence-type investigations were conducted on a very limited basis and for specific purposes when requested by the Attorney General and Secretary of State under the provisions of the Appropriations Act, 28 U.S.C. 533(3).

For example, on December 31, 1931, James G. Rogers, Assistant Secretary of State, telephonically contacted an Assistant Director to inquire as to whether the FBI had entered the investigation of the Cleveland, Ohio, and Easton, Pennsylvania, bomb "outrages" as an inquiry had been directed to State from the Italian Ambassador regarding protection of the Italian Consuls. He was advised the matter violated postal laws and no investigation was underway by the Bureau. By letter of the same day, the Assistant Secretary formally requested the Department to direct the FBI to "cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the Post Office Department" as the "occurrence so soon after the outrages in Easton indicates the possibility that a widespread plot against Italian officials and subjects may exist." By January 2, 1932, after conferring with the Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Hoover had directed the initiation of such investigation.

It is apparent that the FBI from 1924 to 1934, conducted general domestic radical investigations where the activity indicated a violation of Federal laws, where investigations were specifically requested by State Department through the Attorney General, and otherwise obtained such intelligence-type information only when volunteered by some outside source. Thus, as of 1924, the Bureau had been changed from a small force of criminal investigators and, because of duties performed regarding radical activities during and shortly after WW I, had become the recognized instrument of the Federal Government for the investigation of such matters.

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Even though general domestic security intelligence investigations were not being conducted during this period, other developments occurred within the organization which made the later assignment of that responsibility logical.

Between 1923 and 1935, the FBI became the repository for identification records and fingerprints, thus creating an Identification Division. A compact was formed to exchange fingerprints with major nations, uniform reporting rules were made applicable to all personnel in FBI field offices which were strategically placed across the country, an organized program was initiated to train new Agent personnel and was thereafter extended to other law officers, and the FBI Laboratory was created. These and other growth factors greatly broadened the FBI's inherent capability to perform future intelligence assignments.

Of equal significance was the passage by Congress in May and June, 1934, of numerous Federal crime bills which enlarged the FBI's responsibilities in the criminal field to include among other things investigations of bank robberies, extortions, kidnapping matters, Fugitive Felon Act cases, Interstate Transportation of Stolen Property cases, and assaults on Federal officers.

These factors, of course, created no explicit authority in the FBI to conduct domestic security intelligence investigations but they most definitely created an organization with all the assets, composition, and capabilities for conducting such investigations if so directed.

Though the Departmental and Bureau policy from 1924 to 1934 was to not engage in general domestic security intelligence investigations, the communist-anarchist problem was ever present and of great concern to the public, the Executive, and Congress. The "red radicals" and anarchists were no longer alone in the field; however, for in the early 1930's, National Socialism, the Nazi party ideology of Adolf Hitler, grew to power in Germany and anti-Semitic, anti-racial propaganda was being peddled by Nazi operatives, aliens and pro-German Americans in the United States.

During the early 1930's, various elements in Congress were anxious for the FBI to enter domestic intelligence investigations against both communist radicals and the Nazi movement.

Commencing in 1930, Hamilton Fish, Jr., then Chairman of a House Committee investigating communist and radical activities, contacted and corresponded with the Department and the Bureau regarding proposed

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legislation which would allow the FBI blanket authority to investigate "Communist and revolutionary activity." On December 17, 1931, House Bill 5659, was introduced which read in part,

> "(The FBI) is hereby authorized and empowered to investigate the revolutionary propaganda and activities of communists in the United States, and of all entities, groups or individuals who teach or advocate the overthrow by force and violence the republican form of government--(the FBI) is hereby also authorized to cooperate in its investigation with the other departments of the Government and with various state and municipal authorities."

The Bureau's position in response to all inquiries and requests through this period, however, can be summarized in Mr. Hoover's comments made January 19, 1931, wherein he advised the Congressman that he "thought it better not to expand the power of the (FBI), since the Bureau has never been established by legislation, but operates solely on an appropriation bill" and further, that "it would be better to make it a crime to participate in such activities." He continued, "the Bureau operates under an appropriation act, 'Detection and Prosecution of Crime,' and all the Bureau would need would be legislation making it a crime to participate in certain activities." He stated, "If the Bureau is given special power to investigate (activities not subject to the penal law) it would be in the position of having a mass of material with which nothing could be done, because there is no legislation to take care of it." On January 2, 1932, Mr. Hoover directed a memorandum to the Attorney General in regard to the proposed legislation and noted:

> "The conditions (relative to investigations for the purpose of prosecution) will materially differ were the Bureau to embark upon a policy of investigative activity into conditions which, from a Federal standpoint, have not been declared illegal and in connection with which no prosecution might be instituted. The Department and the Bureau would undoubtedly be subject to charges in the matter of alleged secret and undesirable methods in connection with investigative activities, as well as to allegations involving charges of the use of 'Agents Provocateur.'"

In October, 1933, Director Hoover submitted a memorandum to William Stanley, Assistant to the Attorney General, to advise of a meeting with Immigration Service personnel representing the Commissioner General of

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Immigration wherein Hoover was told by these persons that "the President had indicated a desire that a joint investigation be made by the Immigration authorities and by this Division of the Nazi propaganda in this country." Hoover advised that he responded:

> "I informed (the meeting) that we had received in this Department a number of requests for investigations of this character from outside parties, but that to date no violations of a Federal criminal statute had been submitted, and consequently no investigation had been initiated. I stated further that I had not received any word from the Attorney General indicating that any action should be taken in this matter."

On October 7, 1933, Congressman Samuel Dickstein called a subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration to investigate the Nazi movement and requested Agents from the Bureau to assist in the investigation. The request was denied through the Attorney General. On the other hand, when a warrant was issued for Heinz Spanknoebel, a German operative, for violation of Section 233 of Title 22, and Congressman Dickstein requested assistance in locating the fugitive, the Director's note on a memorandum of November 20, 1933, reads, "See that every effort is made to effect Spanknoebel's arrest if he is still in U. S., 12/5/33, J.E.H." Where laws were violated, there was no hesitancy to enter an investigation of Nazi or communist activity.

On March 28, 1934, Mr. Hoover attended an executive meeting with the House Committee on Accounts, Congressman Warren, Chairman, wherein he was queried as to what investigation the Bureau had conducted regarding "Nazi activities, Communist activities, and other subversive movements, and further, whether the carrying on of an investigation by the Congressional Committee under the Dickstein Resolution (would interfere)." He reported to the Attorney General that his response was that no such investigations were being conducted as no laws had been violated, save in the Spanknoebel case. He further reported to the Attorney General that a request had also been made by the Committee for Agent assistance in the congressional investigation and he had spoken against this procedure as it was not a "fact-finding investigation" for the purpose of prosecution.

It would appear that the policy of the Department and the Bureau would preclude entry into any general or intelligence-type investigations of the Nazi or radical movements. However, events were soon to transpire which

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were to cause a departure from previous policy restricting investigations to potential violations of laws relating to domestic security. Direct instructions from the President formed the basis for limited intelligence-type investigation of the Nazi movement in 1934 and, in 1936, for broader investigation of subversive activities in the United States, particularly Fascism and communism. The following material will explain this departure from previous policy, predicated upon the issuance of Presidential instructions directly relating to the Chief Executive's constitutional responsibilities.

On May 8, 1934, Mr. Hoover appeared at a conference at The White House attended by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, and the Chief of the Secret Service. The topic of concern was the Nazi movement in the United States. As a result of the conference, Hoover recorded on May 10, 1934:

> "...it is desired that a very careful and searching investigation be made of this movement, with particular attention to be given to activities indicating that either the German Embassy or the German Consulates throughout the United States may have connection with this movement."

Mr. Hoover continued,

> "It was agreed that it would be desirable to have one clearing house for information upon this activity, and since the only Federal law that might be applicable to it at the present time would be the Immigration Law, it was decided by the President that Colonel MacCormack, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, would confer with Mr. Moran, Chief of the Secret Service, and myself at an early date, for the purpose of working out the details of this investigative activity.
>
> "I am desirous that you immediately prepare confidential instructions to all of our field offices, directing them to initiate an intensive investigation of activities of the Nazi group, with particular reference to the anti-racial activities and any anti-American activities having any possible connection with official representatives of the German government in the United States:

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* * *

"The investigation should be considered as a so-called intelligence investigation, that is to say, the reports should be prepared in one general summary at specified intervals in order that the Attorney General may have them made available, and in turn make them available to the President."

On May 10, 1934, instructions went to all field offices to conduct an intensive investigation of the Nazi movement with particular reference to anti-racial and anti-American activities having any possible connection with official representatives of the German Government in the United States.

It is readily recognized that this Presidential instruction was not a sweeping and general assignment to conduct domestic security intelligence investigations, but rather to conduct an intelligence investigation within specified guidelines. Nonetheless, here, based upon a Presidential Directive, the Bureau departed from past statutory policy and immediately initiated an intelligence investigation, which by necessity, involved aliens and United States citizens and was conducted for the primary purpose of informing the Attorney General and the President as to the general activities of the movement.

This investigation of the Nazi movement, conducted along the specified guidelines set by the President, was not expanded to include investigation of such communist or radical movements whose purpose it was to overthrow the Government. In a memorandum dated October 9, 1935, for the Acting Attorney General, the Director noted in his response to a State Department inquiry as to the feasibility of exchanging radical information with foreign police sources:

"At the present time the investigative activity of this Bureau is restricted, in matters of this kind (communist and radical matters) to those activities which constitute a violation of some Federal statute. The only Federal statutes generally considered as applicable to such matters are those relating to treason, sabotage, espionage, and the transportation of munitions of warfare to those nations which are the subject of a Presidential proclamation prohibiting such shipment of munitions of war. In the absence of any Federal statute specifically penalizing the

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Communistic or other radical activities aimed at the overthrow of the Government, no investigation is conducted into such matters, in view of the absence of the necessary elements to establish a violation of the Treason statute.

"Very little information is obtained by this Bureau relating to the activities of these radical organizations, which advocate the overthrow of the United States Government. It follows, of course, that information of this kind is of no value when existing laws do not permit a prosecution of the persons engaged in advocating the overthrow of the Government, and consequently, if information is received in foreign countries concerning organizations having for their purpose the overthrow of the Federal Government and this information is transmitted to this Bureau, the Bureau would, of course, be powerless to act upon the information furnished, unless it constituted some violation of a Federal statute within the Bureau's jurisdiction. I will, however, be glad to receive at any time, information from any foreign police department, which pertains to organizations established for the purpose of attempting to overthrow this Government, and will in the event the Bureau can take no action upon the information furnished transmit the information to those Governmental agencies who may be interested in the material obtained."

As late as July 13, 1936, correspondence with various parties reveals that the Bureau was conducting no general intelligence investigations concerning communism and radicals.

Once again, however, as in 1934, a specific Directive from the President changed the investigative policy towards conducting intelligence investigations of communist and radical activities. On August 24, 1936, Director Hoover, representing the Department in the Attorney General's absence, was summoned to The White House by President Roosevelt. As reflected in two memoranda by Mr. Hoover, dated August 24 and August 25, 1936, the President "was desirous of discussing the question of the subversive activities in the United States, particularly Fascism and Communism." Hoover recorded that the President stated he had been concerned about the communist

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and fascist movements and "what he was interested in was obtaining a broad picture of the general movement and its activities as may affect the economic and political life of the country as a whole." Hoover continued, "I told him that there is at the present time no governmental organization which is getting any so-called 'general intelligence information' upon this subject. He inquired what suggestions I might offer relative to this matter." Hoover recorded that he responded to the President as follows:

> "I told him that the appropriation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contains a provision that it might investigate any matters referred to it by the Department of State and that if the State Department should ask for us to conduct such an investigation we could do so under our present authority in the appropriation already granted." (Emphasis Added)

Many who have quickly read through this sentence and compared it to the overall subject matter of the conference draw the immediate conclusion that since the provisions of the Appropriations Act were relied on, and since the Secretary of State made the request, it naturally followed that State and the President were interested in only foreign or foreign-controlled subversion. On careful reading, and examination in light of the historic setting, it is apparent that the President and Hoover were talking about money, not jurisdictional limits. The President wanted a broad intelligence investigation conducted not for purposes of prosecution and inquired of Hoover if the FBI could supply the product. Hoover responded by informing the President that money had been appropriated by Congress under the Appropriations Act and to activate the provisions for justifiably using the funds would require a request from the Secretary of State. The FBI could, of course, conduct no investigations for which Congress had not provided appropriations. The final topic discussed at the August 24, 1936, meeting was the President's desire that Hoover coordinate the investigation with the "Military and Naval Intelligence Services."

On August 25, the President, Secretary of State and the Director met at The White House. The President related his concern over communist and fascist activities and, according to Hoover, stated that he was "very desirous of having a survey made of these conditions and informed the Secretary of State that this survey could be made by the Department of Justice if the Secretary of State requested the Department to conduct the inquiry under the FBI Appropriations Act." He further recorded that such a

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request from State would be fully justifiable and logical as these movements, particularly communism, were international in scope and, therefore, fell within the interests of foreign affairs "over which the State Department would have a right to request an inquiry to be made."

It is clear that the involvement of the State Department in the initial arrangement did not serve in some way to limit the scope of the investigation to foreign or foreign-controlled activities to the exclusion of domestic. The President desired "a broad picture of the general movement and its activities as may affect the economic and political life of the country as a whole," and there is nothing contained in his request to suggest the intent to exclude domestic security intelligence coverage.

Mr. Hoover's understanding of his assignment is illustrated in a memorandum to one of his assistants dated September 10, 1936, wherein he stated he discussed the President's orders "to have investigation made of the subversive activities in this country, including Communism and Fascism" with the Attorney General and was given his concurrence. The former Director's understanding as to the scope of the President's instruction is further reflected in a memorandum to FBI field offices, dated September 5, 1936, which states in part:

> "The Bureau desires to obtain from all possible sources information concerning subversive activities being conducted in the United States by Communists, Fascisti, and representatives or advocates of other organizations or groups advocating the overthrow or replacement of the Government of the United States by illegal methods. No investigation should be initiated into cases of this kind in the absence of specific authorization from the Bureau, but you should forward to the Bureau information obtained from all sources, and in those cases in which investigation is desired the Bureau will issue appropriate instructions to you. It is desired, accordingly, that you immediately transmit to the Bureau any information relating to subversive activities on the part of any individual or organization, regardless of the source from which this information is received."

The entry of the Bureau into the new field of domestic security intelligence investigations necessitated the creation of administrative procedures to handle the incoming information. By memorandum dated August 28, 1936,

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an assistant submitted a tentative outline for the manner in which it was recommended information concerning subversive activities be maintained at Headquarters. He outlined the following "general classifications": Maritime Industry, Government affairs, steel industry, coal industry, newspaper field, clothing, garment and fur industry, general strike activities, Armed Forces, educational institutions, general activities--Communist and Affiliated Organizations, Fascisti, Anti-Fascisti movements, and activities in Organized Labor organizations. Mr. Hoover noted on the memorandum that this was a good beginning.

In this manner then, the Bureau entered fully into the field of domestic security intelligence investigations.

By letter of October 20, 1938, Attorney General Homer Cummings forwarded to the President a memorandum from Director Hoover wherein Hoover outlined for the President the general scope of the FBI intelligence effort and the areas of coverage being afforded. This memorandum reads in part:

> "The purpose of this memorandum will be to present the present purposes and scope of the three phases of domestic intelligence handled by the three intelligence services of the United States Government, namely, the Military Intelligence Division; the Office of Naval Intelligence; and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, together with suggestions for expansion and such further coordination as may be effected along this general line.
>
> "Section I
>
> "The Present Set-Up and Purposes
>
> "Federal Bureau of Investigation:
>
> "In the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a part of its Investigative Division there is a General Intelligence Section. The function of the General Intelligence Section is to collect through investigative activity and other contact and to correlate for ready reference information dealing with various forms of activities of either a subversive or a so-called intelligence type. In addition to the limited

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personnel of the Bureau giving their full time to this work, each of the forty-five field divisions has developed contact with various persons in professional, business, and law enforcement fields for the purpose of obtaining information along the lines above indicated.

"In order that there may be a clear view of the detailed information covered, there is set forth the following break-up of the various subjects that appear in the files of the Intelligence Section: Maritime; government; industry (steel, automobile, coal mining, and miscellaneous); general strike; armed forces; educational institutions; Fascisti; Nazi; organized labor; Negroes, youth; strikes; newspaper field; and miscellaneous. Any information of a subversive or general intelligence character pertaining to any of the above is received at the FBI headquarters at the Seat of Government and is reviewed, summarized, and placed upon editorial cards which are filed by name of the subject matter, as well as by name of the individual, so that it is entirely possible to find in the index the collection of names of individuals engaged in any particular activity, either in any section of the country or in a particular industry or movement. Indicative of the present size of this index, there are approximately 2,500 names now in the index of the various types of individuals engaged in activities of Communism, Nazism, and various types of foreign espionage.

"In addition to the above information that has been collected, the FBI has developed a rather extensive library of general intelligence matters, including sixty-five daily, weekly, and monthly publications, as well as many pamphlets and volumes dealing with general intelligence activities. All of these have been indexed not only as to title and author, but have been classified as to name and subject, and supply a fertile field of information on the subject of general intelligence activities in this country.

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"From the material collected, both from an investigative point of view as well as from the research angle of the library, various charts are prepared from time to time to show the growth and extent of certain activities.

* * *

"Section II

"Proposed Expansions

"At the present time the three intelligence services, namely, the Military Intelligence, Office of Naval Intelligence, and the FBI, have developed a close and coordinated plan of cooperation, not only at the headquarters in Washington, but in many of their Corps areas, Naval Districts, and Field Divisions within the limitations of such personnel as is now available. ... Likewise, information that is received by any one of the three branches of the intelligence service of interest to any of the other branches, is made immediately available, so that there does exist today a structure of coordination and cooperation that has been in operation for many years and has been working as satisfactorily as could be expected under the limitations of personnel and appropriations as have existed in the past.

* * *

"(B) Law and Funds

"Such expansion in the FBI as may be desired and may become necessary can be covered, it is believed, under present provisions existing in the annual appropriations bill of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in which the following language appears: '...for such other investigations regarding official matters under the control of the Department of Justice and the Department of State as may be directed by the Attorney General.' Under this provision investigations have been conducted in years past for the State Department of matters which do not in themselves constitute a specific violation of a Federal Criminal Statute, such as

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subversive activities. Consequently, this provision is believed to be sufficiently broad to cover any expansion of the present intelligence and counter-espionage work which it may be deemed necessary to carry on.

* * *

"In considering the steps to be taken for the expansion of the present structure of intelligence work, it is believed imperative that it be proceeded with the utmost degree of secrecy in order to avoid criticism or objections which might be raised to such an expansion by either ill-informed persons or individuals having some ulterior motive. The word 'espionage' has long been a word that has been repugnant to the American people and it is believed that the structure which is already in existence is much broader than espionage or counter-espionage, but covers in a true sense real intelligence values to the three services interested, namely, the Navy, the Army, and the civilian branch of the Government--the Department of Justice. Consequently, it would seem undesirable to seek only special legislation which would draw attention to the fact that it was proposed to develop a special counter-espionage drive of any great magnitude."

Hoover thus confirmed in detailed and ostensive manner not only the mechanics and procedures established to comply with the President's instructions, but also revealed in his memorandum a clear insight into his understanding of the scope of the investigation ordered by the Chief Executive. President Roosevelt, on November 2, 1938, personally advised the former Director that he approved of Hoover's plan, thus confirming that there was a meeting of the minds among the primary participants. Mr. Hoover recorded on November 7, 1938, that on November 1, 1938, he was called by Mr. Early, Secretary to the President, who told Hoover that the President desired that he board the Presidential Special Train on November 2, 1938, for a conference with President Roosevelt. Mr. Early was unaware of the topic to be discussed or whether Mr. Hoover was to accompany the President to Hyde Park. Mr. Hoover's memorandum recording this conference reads in part:

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"Secondly, the President advised me that he had that day communicated with the Director of the Budget, Mr. Bell, and instructed him to include in the Appropriation estimates $50,000 for Military Intelligence, $50,000 for Naval Intelligence, and $150,000 for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to handle counter-espionage activities. He stated that he had approved the plan which I had prepared and which had been sent to him by the Attorney General, except that he had not been able to grant the entire amount of money indicated as necessary for each of the three agencies, but had authorized the amount which he stated he advised Mr. Bell to include. ... The special train was held until the conference with the President was concluded and I left the train at New York."

The world situation steadily worsened during the 1930's. Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany; Italy turned to Fascism; Russian communism was threatening; and Japan made overtures of imperialistic expansion. Austria joined the Third Reich in March, 1938, and Czechoslovakia was occupied on September 30. The Moscow-Berlin Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, aligned both the Nazi and communist forces and on September 1, 1939, Poland was attacked by Germany. Britain and France, allied against Germany, declared war and on September 17, Russia also invaded Polish soil. Border nations toppled to either Russia or Germany in succession. Amid this chaotic world situation the United States attempted to stand neutral; nevertheless, the danger of potential espionage, sabotage, and subversion was of paramount concern.

As the intelligence and law enforcement agencies, both Federal and state, geared to meet the anticipated sabotage and subversive threats, it soon became apparent that the lessons of World War I were not well learned by most. Various Federal investigative agencies commenced uncoordinated and decentralized investigation of reports of subversion. Some even prompted local citizens' groups to assist their efforts, much reminiscent of the American Protective League and various ad hoc groups formed for that same purpose during World War I. In response to this growing problem, the Bureau recommended remedial action through the Attorney General which resulted in a letter dated February 7, 1939, being directed to various Federal department heads from Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant to the Attorney General, which stated in part:

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"I take pleasure in informing you that in cooperation with the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice has undertaken to investigate matters relating to espionage and subversive activities.

"In order that such matters be handled expeditiously, it will be appreciated if you will instruct your personnel that in case any information is received concerning the above-mentioned matters such information should be promptly forwarded to the nearest field office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Here is the first effort of the Department and the FBI to prevent the confusion, delays, and violation of personal rights incident to such investigations during the previous war. The Department and the Bureau saw cold logic in this approach as, since WW I, the FBI had been the prime mechanism for the investigation of espionage, sabotage, and related statutory violations and, since 1936, in conjunction with the military and naval intelligence services, had been conducting domestic intelligence investigations. Secondly, the Department was responsible for prosecutions of such statutory violations and the Attorney General had been working closely in the field of intelligence investigations. Thirdly, the FBI's internal composition, administrative structure, and capabilities were such as to make it the logical agency to conduct nationwide, effective, centralized investigation of such matters.

Nevertheless, the letter of February 7, 1939, was virtually ignored by other agencies, and a cumbersome committee system, under the direction of the Undersecretary of State, was inaugurated. The committee was composed of representatives of the War, Navy, Treasury, Post Office, and Justice Departments, in addition to the State Department, whose function it was to receive information of a subversive nature, make an analysis, and then forward the matter to the agency deemed most suited to handle the investigation. The bulk of the matters were referred to the FBI and the military and naval intelligence services. The previous arrangement, based on the President's desires of 1936, was completely ignored, causing a waste of prior efforts and accumulated information, delays in referral of cases, and general confusion.

The Department and Bureau prepared a memorandum dated June 5, 1939, containing ideas and recommendations to be presented to the President in an effort to resolve the controversy.

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"For the reasons outlined above it is recommended that two definite steps be taken--first, that the inter-departmental committee described in the first paragraph of this memorandum be abandoned and that in its place the investigation of all espionage, counter-espionage and sabotage cases be controlled in the Intelligence Divisions of the War and Navy Departments and the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that the directors of these three agencies function in the capacity of a committee to coordinate the activities of the three agencies named. Second, that confidential instructions should be issued by the President to the heads of all government departments except War, Navy, and Justice, instructing that absolutely no investigations shall be conducted by the investigative agencies of those departments into cases involving actually or potentially espionage, counter-espionage or sabotage. The heads of all government departments should be instructed in this order to refer immediately through existing channels direct to the nearest office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any data, information or material pertaining to cases of this type. Formal order on the part of the President would hardly be needed in order to accomplish this result. All that would be required from him would be a letter to each department head.

"If the above outlined plan is viewed with favor, it will mean that all intelligence work within the armed forces will be handled by the G-2 Section of the War Department and the Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy Department and that all investigative work in espionage, counter-espionage and sabotage cases involving civilians will be centralized in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This arrangement will continue the closely coordinated method of operation now in existence and will enable the Federal Bureau of Investigation to continue its work in this field with continued intensity." (Emphasis Added)

This recommended procedure, concurred in by President Roosevelt, resulted in the confidential Presidential Directive of June 26, 1939, which reads:

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"It is my desire that the investigation of all espionage, counterespionage, and sabotage matters be controlled and handled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, and the Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy Department. The directors of these three agencies are to function as a committee to coordinate their activities.

"No investigations should be conducted by any investigative agency of the Government into matters involving actually or potentially any espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage, except by the three agencies mentioned above.

"I shall be glad if you will instruct the heads of of all other investigative agencies than the three named, to refer immediately to the nearest office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any data, information, or material that may come to their notice bearing directly or indirectly on espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage."

The overall problem was not, however, totally resolved with the Directive of June 26, 1939. Reports were frequently received in Washington indicating that various local police authorities were forming "sabotage squads" and the like and, therefore, further clarification was deemed necessary.

The Department and FBI again went to the President to resolve the question. By memorandum to the Attorney General dated September 6, 1939, former Director Hoover stated:

"Confirming the suggestion which I transmitted to you by telephone recently through Mr. Tamm I believe it would be well if the President would issue a statement or request addressed to all police officials in the United States and instructing them to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained pertaining to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities and neutrality regulations. I

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cannot urge affirmative action upon this suggestion too strongly at this time. I have learned today that Commissioner Valentine of the New York City Police Department has created a special sabotage squad of fifty detectives of the New York City Police Department and that this squad will be augmented in the rather near future to comprise 150 men. Of course, as a result of the creation of this squad considerable publicity has appeared in the New York City newspapers and consequently much information in the hands of private citizens concerning sabotage and saboteurs will be transmitted to the New York City Police Department rather than to the FBI. In order for intelligence work in this field to be carried on in a comprehensive manner on a national basis all information must be carefully correlated in order to avoid confusion and chaos. Consequently, I believe it is highly desirable for you to take the necessary steps to have such an order issued by the President at the earliest possible moment."

At 6:20 p.m. on September 6, 1939, the Attorney General reached Mr. E. A. Tamm, Assistant Director, and advised him as is reflected in Mr. Tamm's memorandum dated September 6, 1939.

"The Attorney General called and stated that the President issued the order today. He stated it reads, in part, as follows:

"'President Roosevelt today requested all local law enforcement officers to cooperate with the FBI in the drive against espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and violation of the neutrality laws. Mr. Roosevelt issued a formal statement requesting all police officers, sheriffs, and other law enforcement officers to transmit to the G-Men all information bearing on such cases. This task must be conducted in a comprehensive and effective manner on a national basis and all information must be carefully sifted out and co-related in order to avoid confusion and irresponsibility. To this end I request

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all police officers, sheriffs, and all other law enforcement officers in the United States promptly to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counter-espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and violation of the neutrality laws.'

"Mr. Murphy stated that when he was preparing this he tried to make it as strong as possible. He requested that I relay this to Mr. Hoover as soon as possible and stated he knew the Director would be very glad to hear this. Mr. Murphy stated he prepared this on the basis of the memorandum which the Director forwarded to him."

The Presidential Directives of June 26 and September 6, 1939, were apparently not issued for the sole purpose of fully describing the scope of FBI domestic and foreign security intelligence investigative jurisdiction, but rather were issued to place and finalize investigative authority in the FBI and the military intelligence services over those areas of jurisdiction where conflicts were developing. It should be noted, however, the subject matter of the President's instructions regarding domestic security intelligence investigations of 1936, as reaffirmed in 1938, is also addressed in the Directive of September 6, 1939, thus tending to confirm the President's intent that the FBI and military services handle all matters relating to foreign and domestic security intelligence investigations. To coordinate their efforts, the FBI and the military intelligence services formed the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference (IIC). Regular meetings were held to discuss and resolve administrative problems, disseminate information, and formulate plans both on headquarters and operational levels.

The manner in which the FBI and the military intelligence services delineated their respective responsibilities is reflected in a series of Delimitation Agreements of June 5, 1940, February 9, 1942, and February 23, 1949. Each of these Delimitations Agreements generally cites in the preamble that in conformity with the Presidential Directive of June 26, 1939, as augmented by the Directive of September 6, 1939, investigation of all "espionage, counter-espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities (or subversion) will be delimited" as therein described.

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FBI

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The Delimitations Agreements of 1940, 1942, and 1949, state that the FBI shall investigate those matters involving citizens and foreign nationals or foreign-directed activity in certain geographic areas, including the United States, and, among other duties, shall advise the military of "cases of actual or strongly presumptive espionage or sabotage, including the names of individuals definitely known to be connected with subversive activities" (1940 and 1942) or "developments concerning the strength, composition, and intentions of civilian groups within its cognizance which are classed as subversive and whose activities are a potential danger to the security of the United States" (1949).

The IIC as an independent committee ceased to exist, as pursuant to the National Security Act of 1947, which formed the National Security Council (NSC), it was absorbed and chartered by the NSC, presided over by the President. The IIC charter issued by NSC dated July 18, 1949, reads in part:

> "Pursuant to the provisions of Section 101 of the National Security Act and NSC 17/4 as approved by the President, the National Security Council hereby authorizes and directs that the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference effect the coordination of all investigation of domestic espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversion, and other related intelligence matters affecting internal security.
>
> * * *
>
> "(1) The Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference shall be constituted as set forth in the Presidential Directive of June 26, 1939, that is, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Director of the Intelligence Division of the Army, the Director of Naval Intelligence, and in addition, the Director, Office of Special Investigations, U. S. Air Force, which office has been created since the issuance of the original Presidential Directive.
>
> * * *
>
> "D. Nothing herein shall be construed as modifying or affecting the Presidential Directives issued to the members of the IIC relating to their individual responsi-

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bilities and duties. The Delimitations Agreement among the members of the IIC relating to the investigative responsibilities and duties of the individual members and other agreements among these members relating to the same matters shall remain in full force and effect and shall continue to be amended, changed, and supplemented at the discretion of the IIC."

Thus, it was reaffirmed on Presidential authority through the charter of the IIC that the Presidential Directives of June 26, 1939, as mentioned in the charter and the Delimitations Agreement, and the Directive of September 6, 1939, as contained in the Delimitations Agreement, were not to be modified or affected and, through the agreement, were to remain in full force and effect.

The Presidential intent has also been manifested and reaffirmed through the issuance of subsequent Directives by President Roosevelt on January 8, 1943, President Truman on July 24, 1950, and President Eisenhower on December 15, 1953. Such reissuances appear to occur to reinforce and remind interested parties of this intent during times of national peril--1943, during the height of WW II; 1950, during the Korean conflict; and 1953, during the Cold War era and enactment of the Atomic Energy Act.

On June 9, 1962, President John F. Kennedy executed National Security Action Memorandum 161, wherein he stated in part:

> "2. Accordingly, I have directed that the two interdepartmental committees concerned with internal security--the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference (IIC) and the Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Security (ICIS)--which have been under the supervision of the National Security Council, will be transferred to the supervision of the Attorney General. The continuing need for these committees and their relationship to the Attorney General will be matters for the Attorney General to determine."

On March 5, 1964, a time in conjunction with the expiration of the IIC charter issued by the NSC, the Attorney General directed a charter to the IIC which is identical to the charter issued by the NSC in 1949, save for the issuing authority being the Attorney General in place of the NSC. Since that time, the FBI has operated in the field of foreign counterintelligence and domestic security investigations under the overall supervision of the Attorney General.

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FBI

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In addition to the reaffirmation of the Presidential intent, the Attorney General has codified his instructions that the FBI handle such matters in 28 CFR, Section 0.85(d):

> "Carry out the Presidential directive of September 6, 1939, as reaffirmed by Presidential directives of January 8, 1943, July 24, 1950, and December 15, 1953, designating the (FBI) to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and related matters."

The FBI, in addition, is responsible for the investigation of numerous Federal statutory violations, many inherently addressing the field of domestic subversion and extremist activities, as well as for retaining material and conducting such investigations as are necessary and proper under the Federal Employee Loyalty Program.

As has been illustrated, the FBI, since World War I, has been the recognized Federal agency to conduct investigations of a national security nature, and, since 1936, has been authorized to engage in domestic security intelligence investigations through a series of Presidential Directives, as reaffirmed, Executive Branch charters, and through the parallel interest generated in the duty to investigate statutory violations in the field.

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F.B.I.

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EXHIBIT 54

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: MAY 28 1969

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-164665) (P)

ST-101 REC-3

SUBJECT: WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: CG)

ReNYlet to Bureau and Chicago, dated 4/4/69.

On [ ]69, [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), so far as the informant is aware, is not an organization as such but rather a cause and philosophy. She stated she knows of no formal headquarters or officers on a local or national basis. She has no information concerning the finances within the movement but from her observation their financial needs are small and she feels that the individuals within the separate groups are able to supply the necessary funds.

INFORMANT stated that the philosophy of the WLM is for complete equality in all facets of the socio political and economic life for all women. Basically, the movement is made up of liberal groups of women and radical groups of women. The liberal group preaches the necessity of doing away with male chauvinism and the complete equality of women, but they feel that this should be done within the framework of existing institutions. The basic difference between them and the radical group is that the radicals state that male chauvinism is a direct result of "the establishment" and existing institutions and that these must be torn down before women will have their equality. INFORMANT stated that in the New York area the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell (WITCHES) is a radical group active for Women's Liberation. Another group which is an offshoot of the WITCHES in the New York area is the "Red Stockings"

CC 9189+1

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Chicago (RM)
1-New York (100-165887)
1-New York

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59 JUN 27 1969
59 JUN 26 1969

INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-164665

and they are considered to have split off from the WITCHES because of a more radical approach to the problem. Another group believed to be forming in the New York area is the "Molly Maguires." 119

According to the informant, although there are other WITCH groups throughout the country, there is no centralized leadership and they with other groups maintain a loose connection via correspondence. The informant stated that within the radical groups in the WLM the members eschew positions of leadership and avoid elections or appointments of people with titles or to fill specific posts on committees because this type of thing is representative of the establishment, to the destruction of which they are dedicated. From time to time individuals are chosen to lead a meeting or perform a specific function such as taking up a collection or writing letters.

On [ ]69, INFORMANT who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a WLM meeting was held on [ ]69, at [ ] New York City. Each woman at this meeting stated why she had come to the meeting and how she felt oppressed, sexually or otherwise.

According to this informant, those women are mostly concerned with liberating women from this "oppressive society." They are mostly against marriage, children, and other states of oppression caused by men. Few of them, according to the informant, have had political backgrounds. The informant stated that a mailing list was passed around at this meeting for WLM and the "Red Stockings," another women's group.

On [ ]69, INFORMANT advised that WLM is only interested in changing abortion laws and birth control. They advocate free abortions for everyone and widespread information on birth control. According to the informant women at this meeting on [ ]69, stated they are not revolutionaries and would not help anyone in a revolution until the oppression of women was solved first and completely.

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The same informant advised on [redacted]/69, that a meeting of WLM was held at New York City on [redacted]/69. Again, as in the previous meeting set out above, each woman present discussed her personal problems. One girl from the "Red Stockings" said her group will now be attacking prostitution and pornography.

The "Guardian" issue of 5/10/69, page five, contained an article entitled "Reading About Women" by CINDY CISLER. This article contains a section headed: "Write For Cindy Cisler's "Women: A Bibliography" which lists a number of "Today's Women's Writings."

For the assistance of Chicago, it is noted that one item therein is as follows:

BROWN, JUDTIH; and JONES, BEVERLY. "Toward A Female Liberation Movement, 40-pages." The "Florida Paper" 50 cents from Voice of Women's Liberation Movement, 1940. Bissell, Chicago, Illinois 60614. A second item in this list of writings is the "Voice of the Women's Liberation" Movement Newsletter, $3 a year from WWLM, 1940, Bissell, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

In view of the information from established sources as set out in this and referenced communication that WITCH and other women's groups such as the "Red Stockings" and the "Molly Maguires" appear to be splinter groups of the WLM, activity of these groups will be reported under the caption "Women's Liberation Movement, Information Concerning - Miscellaneous" and the WITCH case in the New York Office is being placed in a closed status.

LEADS:

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will cover leads set forth in referenced New York letter and other logical investigation concerning WLM.

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report on activities of captioned group and sub groups.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 4 - 108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1 - NISO, NYC (RM)
1 - OSI, 2nd Air Force, NYC (RM)

Report of: J. ROBERT NEWTON. Office: New York, New York
Date: 7/2/69

Field Office File #: 100-164665 Bureau File #:

Title: WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Character: INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis: Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) reported to have formed within the last two and a half years, with loose confederation of about 75 "sister chapters" spread across the US and Canada. It has no national structure but publishes a newsletter "Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement" from Chicago, Illinois. WLM described as a "cause and philosophy". WLM aim is to gain complete equality and liberation for women. Meetings and activities of WLM and affiliated groups set forth. Names of affiliated groups set forth; list of writings set forth as reflected in the "Guardian". There are no known elected officials and financial needs are met through collections.

-P*-

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

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NY 100-164665

DETAILS:

For the purpose of clarity, persons mentioned in this report will be described in Section VIII where characterizations are available.

This investigation was predicated upon information reflecting that the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCHes), a splinter group of Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), held a picket line demonstration at Felt Forum, Madison Square Garden, New York, New York, February, 1969.

I. ORIGIN

"The Nation" issue of February 24, 1969, Pages 241-244, contained an article by JO FREEMAN (described in article as "a free-lance writer and photographer, is currently compiling a book of readings on the women's liberation movement"). This article entitled "The New Feminists", (dateline Chicago), states in part as follows:

"And like the Negro, women have once again begun to revolt. Two major feminist organizations have formed within the last two and a half years. In 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was created under the slogan 'full equality for women in truly equal partnership with men.' It is a top-down structure with an office in Washington. Its some 2,500 members are primarily career women, women whose families are grown and no longer occupy most of their time, and some sympathetic men.

"The second feminist group is not exactly an organization, but a loose confederation of about seventy-five 'sister chapters' spread across most of the United States and Canada. It has no national structure but does mail a newsletter from Chicago....

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According to [redacted] there is no information available concerning the finances within the movement, however, from the informant's observation their financial needs are small and it is felt that the individuals within the separate groups are able to supply the necessary funds.

IV. MEETINGS AND ACTIVITIES OF WLM

An article in "WIN", supra issue of February 15, 1969, Page 11, which article is entitled, "Women's Liberation" reflects in part as follows:

"Last September, Women's Liberation was ready for its first major action, zapping the Miss America Pageant at Atlantic City. About 200 women descended on this Wallace-country Tacky Town, and staged an all-day demonstration on the Boardwalk in front of Convention Hall (Where the Pageant was taking place), singing, chanting, and performing guerilla theater (they crowned a live sheep as Miss America; flung bras, girdles, steno pads, and dishcloths into a Freedom Trash Can; and mockauctioned off a dummy of Miss America). Picket signs proclaimed solidarity with the Pageant contestants ('sister-victims') while condemning the Pageant itself as racist (there has never been a black finalist), militaristic (Miss America tours the troops in Vietnam each year), commercial (the million-dollar Pageant Corporation is one Big Sell for the sponsoring products), and degrading to women (for propagating the Mindless Sex Object Image). At night, an 'inside squad' of 20 women disrupted the live telecast of the Pageant, yodeling the eerie Berber Yell (from Battle of Algiers), shouting 'Freedom for Women,' and hanging a huge banner reading Women's Liberation from the balcony rail. One woman was arrested for 'emitting a noxious odor'--spraying Toni Hair Conditioner (a sponsor of the Pageant) near the Mayor's box, and rumor has it that the shuffling of Bert Park's cue cards was engineered by a sister-traveler among the contestants."

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Square Garden, NY, NY, on February 15, 1969. The purpose of this demonstration according to [redacted] was to protest women's roll of submissiveness in the institution of marriage. The demonstration was held in connection with a Bridal Show being held at Felt Forum, on February 15, 1969.

"WIN", supra, issue of February 15, 1969, in an article entitled, "Women's Liberation", on page 12, states in part as follows:

"Not resting on any laurels after Atlantic City, Women's Liberation gave birth to W.I.T.C.H. (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell), which first manifested itself, appropriately enough, at the HUAC witch-hunt hearings about Chicago. The W.I.T.C.H. action there was led by Nancy Kurshan. Aware that witches were the original guerilla fighters against oppression, and that any woman who was intelligent, articulate, non-conformist, aggressive, or sexually liberated was usually burned at the stake, W.I.T.C.H. then performed its second action--on, of course, Halloween. Costumed as High Priestesses, Guerilla Witches (complete with broom and toy? machine guns), Gypsies, and Mediums (hence, Messages), a Coven of witches hit Wall Street at noon, casting curses on the New York Stock Exchange (the market promptly went down five points), demanding to see Satan at various banks (since the witches knew they "Had a Fiend at Chase Manhattan"), leaving the dread letters W.I.T.C.H. stenciled in soot on the carpets of investment-brokerage houses, and generally freaking out the Daytime Ghetto of the Financial District. At dusk, the procession alighted on the Lower East Side, rapping with the natives about witches as the first scientists, birth-control purveyers, abortionists, heads, trippers, and general bringers of freedom and delight."

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" 'Here come the slaves, off to their graves', the WITCHES sang, to the tune of the traditional wedding march. Then the picketers--both men and women---stood in a circle and pledged themselves to each other, but without the traditional promise to obey.

"Audience Keeps Calm

"A few minutes later, several WITCHES who managed to sneak past the guards let loose 100 white mice in the Felt Forum before the bridal show began. But the girls in the audience, instead of screaming and panicking, seemed sorry for the mice and tried to gather them up so they wouldn't be stepped on.

"Robin Morgan, 27, B. ARRROW a former child actress who helped organize the demonstration and who took part in the picketing of the Miss America Pageant last September in Atlantic City, said the protest was aimed at 'the commerciality of the Bridal Fair and the institution of marriage as it exists in this culture to dehumanize both parties--but especially, to oppress women'. Miss Morgan, who prefers to use her maiden name, is married and expects her first child in July.

[ ] on [ ] 1969, furnished information to the effect that [ ] was in the forefront of the principal organizers of WITCHes and was very instrumental in its success.

The June 1, 1969, "The New York Times" magazine section, page 14, contains an article entitled, "There's A New-Time Religion on Campus", which states, in part, as follows:

"During a recent unpleasantness between the University of Chicago and its Students for a Democratic Society the normal, decorous quiet of the Social Science Building was rent one fine afternoon by ear-piercing sounds.---WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Corps from hell) had come to put a curse on the Sociology Department.---

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FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
KANSAS CITY	NEW YORK	10/20/70	4/20/70 - 10/16/70

TITLE OF CASE: WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

REPORT MADE BY: [ ]

TYPE: JEC

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - MISCELLANECUS

REFERENCE: Report of SA [ ] 4/20/70, at Kansas City.

P*

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[ ]

Copies of this report are being furnished to MIG, NIS, OSI, Secret Service, locally, for their information.

[ ] aka, and [ ] mentioned in report, the Security Index subjects.

[ ] is SOURCE.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					[X] NONE	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [X] NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [X] NO

VED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

MADE:
Bureau (100-453233) (RM)
New York (100-164665) (RM)
MIG, Kansas City, Missouri (RM)
NIS, Kansas City, Missouri (RM)
OSI, Richards-Gebaur AFB (RM)
Secret Service, Kansas City, Missouri
Kansas City (100-13876)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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6 OCT 22 1970			ST-117

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

	ARMY, OSI, NIS, SS, Chicago			
Recd.				
Dated	10/25/70			
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Notations

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X LEADS

KANSAS CITY

AT COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

Will follow and report activities, if any, of subject organization, particularly based on information herein.

AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS

Will follow and report activities, if any, of subject organization, particularly based on information herein.

AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Will follow and report activities, if any, of subject organization, particularly based on information herein.

B*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 MIG, Kansas City, Missouri
1 NIS, Kansas City, Missouri
1 OSI, Richards-Gebaur AFB, Missouri
1 Secret Service, Kansas City, Missouri

Report of: Office: KANSAS CITY

Date: 10/20/70

Field Office File #: KC 100-13876 Bureau File #: 100-453233

Title: WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis: An inactive Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) group is indicated as a campus organization at University of Missouri at Kansas City (UMKC); however, no campus or other significant activities were reported by sources from 4/20/70 to October, 1970. No WLM group identified elsewhere or on college campuses at Columbia, Missouri, and Lawrence, Kansas.

P*

DETAILS:

I. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT (WLM), KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI (GREATER KANSAS CITY)

A. Origin and Purpose

The Kansas City Times (daily Kansas City, Missouri, newspaper), news article, dated November 12, 1969, announced the holding of an organizational meeting November 11, 1969, at University of Missouri at Kansas City (UMKC) to form a "Women's Liberation Front" (WLM). The article named [redacted] students at UMKC, respectively, as discussion leader and organizer. The article also named [redacted] a faculty member of UMKC attending the meeting, as the President of the Greater Kansas City Chapter of the National Organization of Women (NOW).

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Thereafter, until the Summer of 1970, [redacted] stated that four students at UMKC were indicated as WLM members in the campus group, namely, [redacted] and [redacted]

On [redacted] 1970, [redacted] exhibited the following undated copy of "Constitution of the Women's Liberation Movement" at UMKC, together with a petition by five students filed with Student Activities authority at UMKC, to recognize WLM as a campus organization:

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CONSTITUTION OF A WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

ARTICLE I NAME

The name of the organization shall be the Women's liberation Movement U.M.K.C.

ARTICLE II PURPOSE

The purpose of the organization shall be to seek solutions to the problems women face due to sexual discrimination. At the meetings members will be able to discuss the problems they face as students. The W.L.M. will provide literare + sponsor speakers, films + discussions to educate either women + intested men about the meaning of women's liberation.

ARTICLE III MEMBERSHIP

Membership is open to all women.

ARTICLE IV MEETINGS

Meetings will be held every two weeks at a time convenient to most all members.

ARTICLE V OFFICERS

A chairman will be ~~x~~n elected every 6 months. All members ~~are eligible~~ who are full time students in good standing are eligible.

ARTICLE VI FACULTY ADVISORS

A faculty member will be selected by majority vote. She will serve as advisor to the group whenever necessary.

ARTICLE VII FINANCES

No dues will be charged. If money is needed, members will be asked to donate, or the members will select some project for raising funds.

ARTICLE VIII SPECIAL FINANCES

1. This organization agrees to comply with all provisionsof the Student Activities Fund Act.

2. The books of the accounts will b e kept up to date, and they will be open to the inspection of the Student Auditor at all times.

3. It is further understood that if this organization desires at any time in the future to change in any way, the provisions of this charter, that before such action is taken, the organization will submit to the Student Council and the Dean of Students every detail and containing the desired changes to be made. This new charter, when accepted, will take precedence over the former charter and the former charter shall be void.

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4. This charter, or any subsequent charter, may be revoked if any of the provisions of the existing charter are not fulfilled, or if in the opinion of the proper authorities it is of the advantage of the entire student body that the charter be revoked and the organization dissolved.

5. The provisions set forth in this charter shall be binding upon all officers, present and future, and all officers will hold office subject to the provisions herein contained.

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'as a campus organizatio:

According to the above Constitution informed on 1970, that because of the constitution filed with Student Activities authority at UMKC, the WLM campus group is apparently considered a legitimate campus group and is, therefore, eligible to receive money from Students Activity Fees as well as to hold meetings, if desired, at the Student Union Building free of charge, however, no such WLM activity has been indicated to date.

B. Location and Meetings

informed that there has been no known or indicated meeting location or actual meeting since the organizational meeting in November, 1969. indicates members of WLM campus group who are nowenrolled as students at UMKC in the Fall term of 1970 are

Of these five said are indicated to be at least potential "New Left Radicals". noted that and not currently students on the UMKC campus, are reportedly roommates at Kansas City, Missouri. a graduate student in indicated as having moved from to Kansas City, Missouri.

C. Possible Leadership and Membership and Related Matters

Although any current actual officers and members, if any, are unknown and probably few in number, and have been indicated as the potential leaders or spokesmen. Other possible or potential members are previously named as current UMKC students: according to

noted that is an Assistant Professor of at UMKC, but no campus organization known as NOW has ever existed or been approved on the UMKC campus. informed that NOW and WLM have reportedly exchanged literature in the past but NOW is reputed to be a more moderate group in their views on equal rights for women than WLM.

informed on 1970, that was a member of Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in the Kansas City area.

[redacted] informed in October, 1968, that [redacted] was a member and officer of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri (UMC) during the academic school year of 1967-1968.

SDS and YSA are characterized in Appendix pages.

On [redacted] 1970, [redacted] informed that [redacted] UMKC student, had not recently been observed at YSA activities. She was known to still be in favor of YSA and probably continued to be a member of YSA.

[redacted]

A throwaway in Kansas City, Missouri, during September, 1970, purportedly a letter of the "Ecstatic Umbrella committee for legal defense, 3800 McGee, Kansas City, Missouri, telephone 561-4524" appeals for contributions for legal defense fund, for political prisoners, and specifically for the defense of [redacted] "Executive Director of the Ecstatic Umbrella" charged with assaulting a federal officer (FBI Agent).

Among nine typed named committeemen listed at the bottom of the letter were:

[redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] informed from time to time during 1970 that the Ecstatic Umbrella, 3800 McGee, Kansas City, Missouri, has in recent years been supported by some leaders or agencies, including "Young Adult Projects" of the United Methodist Church, to reach and assist hippies and drug types, among others.

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[redacted] described as a middle class housewife, not further identified, was named in January, 1970, as a Kansas City contributor of literature or material related to WLM according to [redacted].

Another throwaway in Kansas City, Missouri, during September, 1970, listed [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, as a spokesman for the local chapter of NOW.

On [redacted] 1970, [redacted] informed that [redacted] and that [redacted] are neither currently enrolled students or employees of UMKC.

[redacted] on [redacted] 1970, informed that the following named persons have been indicated as associated with WLM in Kansas City, Missouri, but no additional information has been received to date concerning the nature of their association:

[redacted]

D. Group Activities

[redacted] informed on [redacted] 1970, that no known WLM group activity has actually occurred on or off campus at UMKC since the so called "organizational meeting" on the campus in November, 1969.

Articles in the Kansas City Star (daily Kansas City, Missouri newspaper), dated August 26, 1970, reflect that representatives of NOW and WLM celebrated on August 26, 1970, in Kansas City, Missouri, the 50th Anniversary of women's suffrage in the United States. The celebration consisted of setting up nondisruptive discussion booths on the steps of City Hall and peacefully picketing Macy's Cafeteria, a downtown Kansas City, Missouri, department store for barring women diners unaccompanied by men. The article identified only one person as a member or spokesman for WLM, namely, [redacted] reportedly stated that the equal rights amendment, which had just past the U. S House of Representatives, has opened avenues to true equality of women for the first time in the nation's history. [redacted] identified Vietnam and race problems as important issues. She said she favored

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complete eradication of abortion laws. One [ ] was identified in the news article as spokesman and acting chairman for NOW.

II. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT (WLM) AT COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

[ ] informed on [ ] 1970, that there has been no WLM group activity on the campus of the University of Missouri at Columbia (UMC) during the current 1970-1971 school year; and no such activity has been indicated elsewhere at Columbia. [ ] further stated that there is no indication a past WLM leader or member is presently attending UMC since [ ] moved some months ago from Columbia, Missouri, to the state of Wisconsin.

[ ] and [ ] informed on [ ] 1970, that no WLM group or activity is indicated as currently existing at Columbia, Missouri, on or off college campus.

III. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT (WLM) AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS

[ ] informed on [ ] 1970, that no known WLM group or activity has been indicated on the University of Kansas (KU) campus at Lawrence, Kansas, during 1970-1971 school year.

[ ] said no such group has requested recognition by KU authorities on the campus.

[ ] informed that an off campus group in Lawrence, Kansas, appears to have a philosophy similar to that of the WLM. This group is not known as a Women's Liberation Movement but is referred to as WOMEN'S COALITION (WC). WC reportedly works out of LAWRENCE LIBERATION FRONT (LLF), also a group that is not recognized by KU as a campus organization. [ ] observed that LLF is described as a Revolutionary Community group, consisting of a number of collectives and committees whose function is to serve the people of Lawrence, Kansas, through various programs and sponsors of cultural activities.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 291

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

A source advised on May 15, 1969, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) maintains its national headquarters at 41 Union Square West, New York, New York, and has as its official publication the "Young Socialist." The YSA is the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and has been described by the SWP as the main recruiting ground for the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

APPENDIX

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 292

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman is regarded by RYM II as an adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page [illegible] reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for [illegible] following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June [illegible], 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention, Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jarel Israel, William Lutch, [illegible] Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP published "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The April 1969 issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the people's fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women control their own homes and factories [illegible] they themselves take up the entire government [illegible] control the schools, courts, police and all institutions [illegible] used to [illegible] them."

[illegible] advised on May [illegible], 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address [illegible] Brooklyn, New York, and also [illegible] Square West, New York, New [illegible]

APPENDIX

13*

REC[illegible] FROM NOV 6 1975

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Kansas City, Missouri

October 20, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

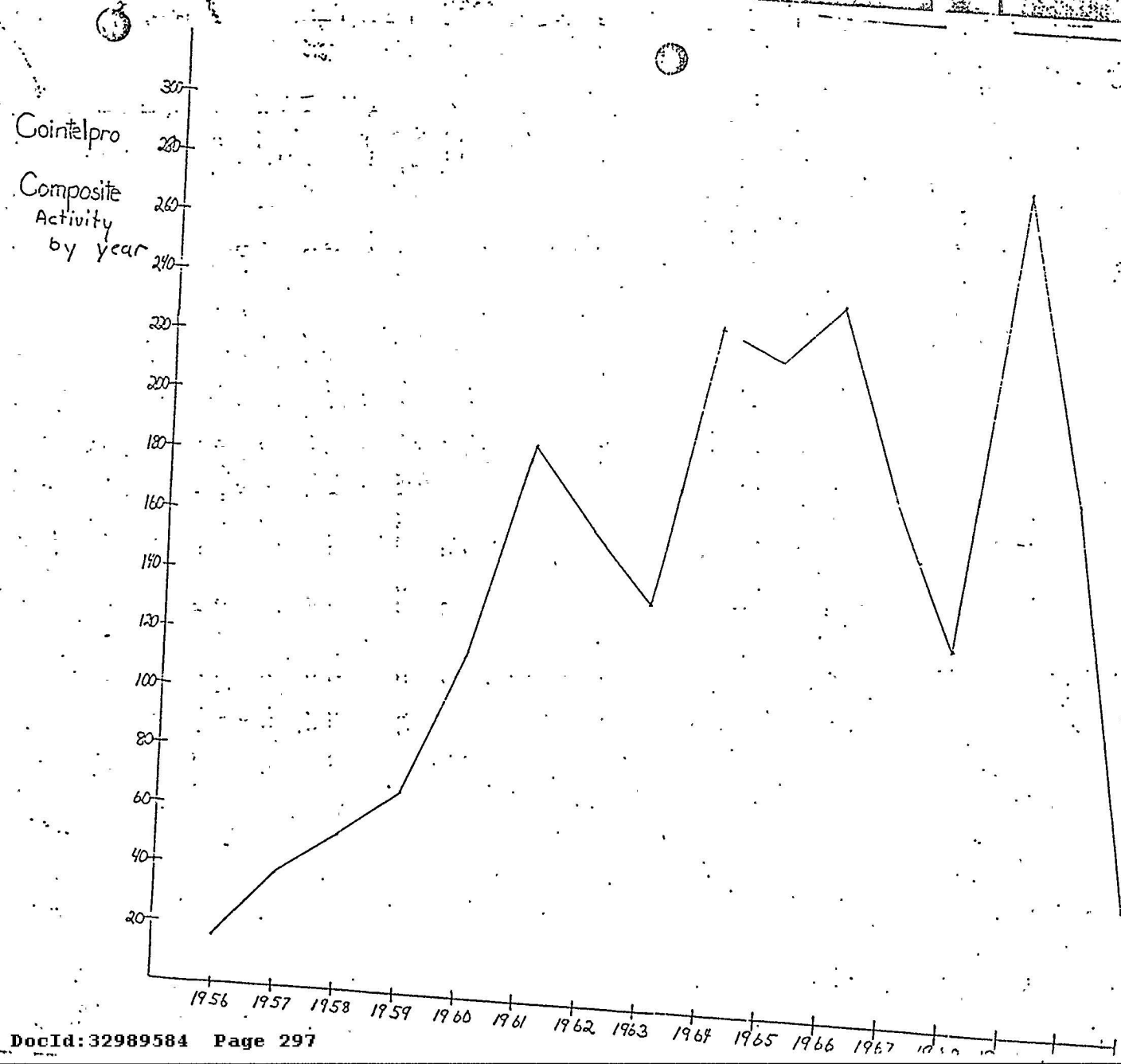
Character

Reference Kansas City report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

REC'D FROM

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


Cointelpro
Composite
Activity
by year
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1967

EXHIBIT 55

7-3

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 27, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Gray
1 - Mr. Trainor
1 - Mr. Ryan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

Memorandum from Mr. J. H. Gale to Mr. Tolson dated 7/30/64 captioned "Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and other Hate Groups" was approved by the Director authorizing the Domestic Intelligence Division to give consideration to the application of counterintelligence and disruptive tactics to hate groups and to thereafter make appropriate recommendations. It is our recommendation that we immediately initiate a hard-hitting, closely supervised, coordinated counterintelligence program to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and specified other hate groups.

This new counterintelligence effort will take advantage of our experience with a variety of sophisticated techniques successfully applied against the Communist Party, USA, and related organizations since 1956. Primarily, we intend to expose to public scrutiny the devious maneuvers and duplicity of the hate groups; to frustrate any efforts or plans they may have to consolidate their forces; to discourage their recruitment of new or youthful adherents; and to disrupt or eliminate their efforts to circumvent or violate the law. Our counterintelligence efforts against hate groups will be closely supervised and coordinated to complement our expanded intelligence investigations directed at these organizations.

We are furnishing general instructions to 17 field offices (14 Southern offices responsible for active investigation of 17 Klan groups and 6 hate organizations, and New York, Chicago and Baltimore, who have active investigative responsibilities for one hate organization each) relating to the administration and prompt enactment of this new counterintelligence program. Briefly, these instructions require the 17 participating offices to submit to the Bureau on or before 10/15/64 an analysis of possible counterintelligence operations, including any specific recommendations for action. Thereafter (commencing 1/1/65) the participating offices will submit a 90-day status letter setting

Enc. Saint 9-3-64
157-9-Main
1 - 100-3-104-Main (CPUSA, Cointelpro)

EX-105 REC 20

SEP 24 1964

Insert Counterpro-Espionage

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

forth a summary of current, possible, and successfully achieved counterintelligence activity during the prior 3-month period. Each office will be instructed to open and maintain a pending investigation relating to this program and to assign a Special Agent on a part-time basis as the program coordinator responsible for following and initiating counterintelligence action.

As is the instance in our established counterintelligence program against the Communist Party, USA, and [ ] all recommended counterintelligence action against Klan-type and hate organizations will be required to be approved at the Seat of Government.

This new counterintelligence program directed at Klan and hate organizations will be supervised at the Seat of Government by the Special Agent supervisor responsible for our similar programs directed against the Communist Party, USA, and [ ] His efforts will be closely coordinated with supervisory personnel responsible for the intelligence investigations of the Klans and hate organizations and their membership. An annual memorandum justifying continuance of the program will be submitted and the participating field offices will be periodically apprised of techniques which have been found to be most successful. At such time as the program is considered to be successfully under way, a status memorandum will be submitted which will include any additional recommendations relating to manpower or other administrative requirements.

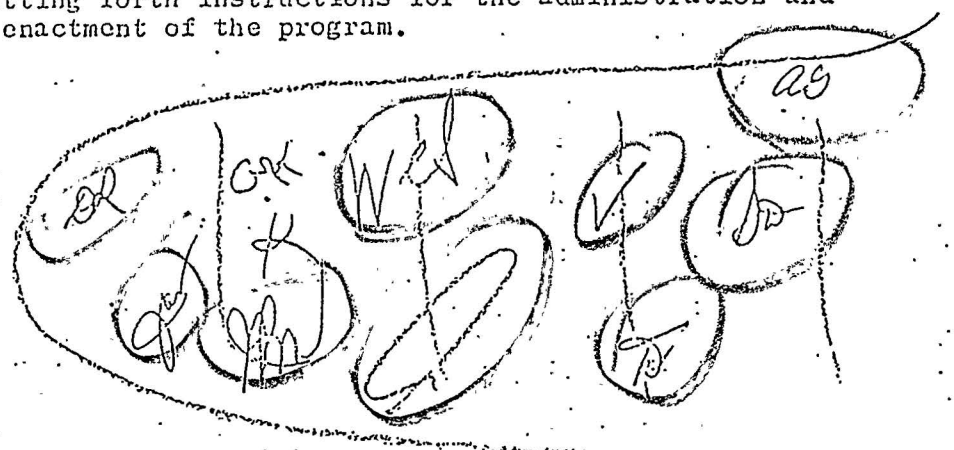
RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the Domestic Intelligence Division be authorized to immediately initiate a coordinated counterintelligence program directed at exposing, disrupting and otherwise neutralizing the 17 active Klan organizations and 9 active racial hate organizations.

Portion in brackets classified secret

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
157-9-Main

2. That the attached letter be forwarded to the 17 field offices slated to participate in this new counterintelligence program setting forth instructions for the administration and immediate enactment of the program.



NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 300

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10 MAY 1962 EDITION GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27 1010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan

DATE: 4/27/71

1 - Mr. Gray
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. Wannall

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

To afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations, it is recommended the COINTELPROS operated by the Domestic Intelligence Division be discontinued.

At the present time this Division operates seven COINTELPROS as follows:

COINTELPRO - Espionage
COINTELPRO - New Left
COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA
Counterintelligence and Special Operations
COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

These programs involve a variety of sensitive intelligence techniques and disruptive activities which are afforded close supervision at the Seat of Government. They have been carefully supervised with all actions being afforded prior Bureau approval and an effort has been made to avoid engaging in harassment. Although successful over the years, it is felt they should now be discontinued for security reasons because of their sensitivity.

In exceptional instances where counterintelligence action is warranted, it will be considered on a highly selective individual basis with tight procedures to insure absolute security.

ACTION:

REC-39 157-1

If approved, attached airtel will be sent to all field offices discontinuing our COINTELPROS.

Enclosure
1 - 65-69260
1 - 100-449698
1 - 157-9
1 - 100-3-104
1 - 105-174254
1 - 100-448006
1 - 100-436291

MAY 3 1971

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 301

EXHIBIT 56

8-1

IONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Mohr
Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLouch
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 30, 1960

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There is every indication that the Communist Party (CP), USA, under the optimistic leadership of Gus Hall, general secretary, will attempt to increase its activities in the mass organization field.

The February, 1960, issue of "Political Affairs," monthly theoretical publication of the CP, USA, carries an article entitled "On the Fight for Peace and the Struggle Against the Monopolies." This article mentions the following as one of the central political tasks confronting the labor, peace and democratic forces: "To bring the fight for peace up to the pace demanded by current developments, it is urgent to bring such issues as disarmament and peaceful coexistence before every community, church, labor union and other organization of the people."

It is felt we should take appropriate steps to disrupt the plans of the CP, USA, to infiltrate legitimate mass organizations wherever possible.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended the attached letter to the New York Office (original on plastiplate) with copies to the 15 other offices engaged in our Counterintelligence Program be approved. This letter establishes a new phase of counterintelligence activity designed to expose concealed communists working in legitimate mass organizations so they will be unable to continue to espouse communist propaganda in a subtle manner. This new technique is another counterintelligence weapon directed against the CP, USA, and should result in reducing the over-all effectiveness of the Party in the mass organization field.

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 -

(5)

REC- 41

3-104-01-1577

EX APR 4 1960

63

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 -

March 31, 1960

SAC, New York (100-139502)

Director, FBI (100-3-104)-1577

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Each office is instructed to adopt the following new technique as a regular phase of its Counterintelligence Program.

Disruption of Communist Activities in Mass Organizations

Each office should be alert to the desirability of having steps taken to have communists ousted from legitimate mass organizations, such as, Parent-Teacher Associations, civic organizations, and racial and religious groups, which they have successfully infiltrated. Whenever information is received that an active communist has joined a legitimate organization concealing his communist background with the objective of disseminating communist propaganda in a subtle manner, the following steps should be taken:

1. Review the file on such individual very carefully in order to determine if there is any public source or other similar-type material identifying this individual with the communist movement.

2. Discreetly ascertain the identity of the most logical officer or prominent person in the organization on whom there is no derogatory information who could be expected to take, or cause to be taken, action to remove the communist from the organization.

2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Chicago
2 - Cleveland
2 - Detroit
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Milwaukee
2 - Minneapolis
2 - New Haven
2 - Newark
2 - Philadelphia
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - St. Louis
2 - San Francisco
2 - Seattle

(37)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

Tolson
Mohr
Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

5-1-APR-1-3-1960 TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 9
APR 1 - 1960
COMM-FBI

3. Advise the Bureau of the pertinent facts and request Bureau authority to make such information discreetly available by anonymous communications, appropriate pretext telephone calls or some other effective means. Keep in mind that no action should be recommended which could embarrass the Bureau or jeopardize the security of our informants, sources of information or special investigative techniques.

In order to qualify for this counterintelligence operation, the active communist must be connected in some manner with the organization and not just speculating about joining. The organization should be a legitimate mass organization and not a communist front or left-wing type organization. The individual communist involved should be one whose presence in the organization and suspected operations are a definite threat.

Since it is rather difficult to draw up all-inclusive criteria for every case, no office should hesitate to submit its recommendation if it has a case it feels falls within the approximate criteria set forth above.

The regular monthly letters setting forth the operations of the counterintelligence operations in each office should in the future contain a section setting forth any tangible results obtained through this new counterintelligence operation.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Belmont captioned "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, IS-C" dated 3/30/60. HOB:llc Original prepared on plastiplate.

62

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 304

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: October 1, 1964

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 -

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER

SYNOPSIS

In June, 1964, a new special Desk was created in the Interna Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, as a result of my memorandum to you 5/20/64, to concentrate on the investigation into the communist influence in racial matters. This investigation was to be handled by two Supervisors, one being separated from the Communist Party Unit and one from the Communist Front Unit. To assimilate the other work being left by those Supervisors, it was necessary to obtain an additional Supervisor. This matter was looked into by the Inspecti Division which recommended and it was approved, that an additional Supervisor, Special Agent [redacted] be assigned on a temporary basis, with the thought that as soon as we could safely do so, the two Supervisors would be sent back to their respective Units. The necessity for our intensification of the investigation of communist influen in racial matters has not abated, but has increased. There is no sign of a letup. The Communist Front Unit, where the temporary Supervisor assigned, has also shown an increase in its case load. The "temporary nature of the situation is now believed to be "permanent."

OBSERVATIONS:

The necessity for the temporary Supervisor whom we obtained in early June, 1964, is more than ever present. Our work load in the communist influence in racial matters which generated the necessity for a temporary Supervisor has been steadily increasing, with no sign of a letup; the work in the Communist Front Unit where the temporary Supervisor has been assigned has also increased. The "temporary" nature of the situation is now believed to be "permanent."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the one Special Agent, [redacted] who was assigne to the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, on a temporary basis, be considered as permanently assigned.

66-1885-S

FJB:lmj
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr Sullivan
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
66-1885-S

DETAILS

Background

My memorandum to you 5/20/64 pointed out the increasing work load growing out of our investigation of the communist influence into the racial movement and the importance of this problem to the Bureau. It was recommended, and approved, that two Supervisors be separated from their current assignments, one in the Communist Party Unit and the other in the Communist Front Unit, and that they be attached to a newly created special desk to concentrate on the investigation into the communist influence in racial matters. To assimilate the other work being left by these two Supervisors it was necessary to obtain an additional Supervisor. It was requested that the additional Supervisor be assigned on a temporary basis with the thought that as soon as we could safely do so, the two Supervisors concentrating on the communist influence in racial matters would be sent back to their respective Units. This matter was looked into by the Inspection Division, which recommended, and it was approved, that an additional Supervisor be assigned on a temporary basis. It was also recommended and approved that this situation be re-evaluated 10/1/64 and a memorandum submitted by the Domestic Intelligence Division regarding the temporary Supervisor. The temporary Supervisor who has been serving is Special Agent [redacted] assigned to the Communist Front Unit.

Current Situation

The necessity for our intensification of investigation of the communist influence in racial matters has not abated; rather, it has increased. We have been handling a high volume of priority work in this area dealing with such major projects as the racial disorders and demonstrations in New York City and the Mississippi Summer Project (MSP). There have also been racial disturbances in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Rochester, New York; and New Jersey, all requiring investigative effort relative to possible subversive influences. The MSP work was originally handled in the Communist Influence in Racial Matters (CIRM) Unit only as respects subversive ramifications. However, with the transfer of certain of the Civil Rights Section work from the General Investigative Division to the Domestic Intelligence Division, we now have absorbed all aspects of the MSP in the CIRM Unit. This is presently taking the full time of one Supervisor, in addition to a full-time clerical employee. In this regard, it should be noted that whereas we originally started this special Unit with two Supervisors, we now have three. When the new Unit was created, there were assigned to it approximately 120 cases. As of 10/1/64, this figure has increased to 134 cases. All indicators point to a continued heavy

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 306

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
66-1885-S

work load relative to the communist influence in racial matters. This has become a big factor relative to the forthcoming national elections and, in addition, there are definite indications that the MSP will be a continuing thing. There have also been some indications that activities such as the MSP will extend into other states. In addition, under date of 8/28/64, a letter was submitted to all offices instructing a broadening of our investigation into the communist influence in racial matters and the setting up of a new and more intensified reporting procedure. Due 11/1/64 are comprehensive investigative reports from all field offices which will provide centralized reporting on this matter.

The Communist Front Unit, which is where the temporary Supervisor is assigned, has also shown an increase in its case load. As of 10/1/64 the Communist Front Unit had 392 pending investigations as compared to 375 pending investigations as of 7/1/64. The recent Supreme Court decisions favorable to the Party under various facets of the Internal Security Act of 1950 have breathed new life into the Party. The Party is now taking bolder steps to carry on its work in mass organizations, as well as creating new front organizations. One case in point is that dealing with the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, Inc., the new national Party youth organization. The formation of this youth group was finalized at a National Convention in June, 1964, which was held in San Francisco, California, and was attended by approximately 450 youths. Since that time several affiliates of this group have come into existence. One of the plans for action decided upon by the group was to have affiliates of the group formed on college campuses throughout the United States; therefore, it can be expected that in the immediate future after these various youths have returned to their college campuses, they will form such campus groups. This will represent not only an increase in case load, but will also increase the work of the field in penetrating and following the activities of such groups. This will call for close supervision of these groups due to the nature of the make-up of the clubs and the fact that they are located on college campuses in order to avoid any embarrassment to the Bureau. It is also anticipated that with the advent of the fall and winter seasons, the Party will step up its activities in attempting to penetrate legitimate mass organizations and in establishing new front groups to carry on the Party's work on issues in which the Party will have an interest.

8-6

10/9/68

airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Schackelford

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulets 5/10/68 and 5/23/68.

The above communications advised of the necessity of taking immediate action to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the New Left. As a part of this program, you were instructed to remain alert for and to seek specific data depicting the depraved nature and moral looseness of the New Left. You were further instructed to consider ways to use this material in a vigorous and enthusiastic approach to neutralizing them.

Despite these instructions and in the face of mounting evidence of their moral depravity, little evidence has reached the Bureau to indicate field offices are using this information to best advantage.

To make this program more effective in this regard, each office is instructed to be particularly alert for this type of data. Where a student is arrested during a demonstration or his participation in a demonstration is accompanied by the use of or engagement in an obscene display, this information is to be promptly incorporated into an anonymous letter which can be directed to his parents. Where a photograph or other evidence is available to substantiate information in the letter, it should be made a part of the mailing. You should also search for additional ways to bring the student's activities

2 - All Offices

(126)

COPIES DESTROYED

342 JUN 3 1974

59 OCT 17 1968

EX 110

REC-139

-302

FROM

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

OCT 11 1968

OCT 9 - 19

to the attention of his parents. When appropriate, ways should be developed to also get this information into the hands of school authorities and the local press. In this regard you should consider giving the press anonymous advance information concerning planned activity which might be immoral or obscene in nature. Of course all mailings under this program are to receive prior Bureau authority.

It is not the objective of this letter to restrict this program to the above suggested activities. The foregoing is intended to draw your attention to one phase which can be used to our advantage in neutralizing the New Left.

As the current school year commences, it can be expected that the New Left with its antiwar and anti-draft entourage will make every effort to confront college authorities, stifle military recruiting, and frustrate the Selective Service System. Each office will be expected, therefore, to afford this program continuous effective attention in order that no opportunity will be missed to destroy this insidious movement.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned as above, dated 10/7/68, prepared by [redacted]

W 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 309

Exhibit 37

9-1

FBI

Date: 8/1/68

Transmit following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, Midwest City (100-28895)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT,
IS.

By routing slip, 7/11/68 the Bureau forwarded to Midwest City copies of the income tax returns of Professor X (Security Index - Key Activist) for the years of 1966 and 1967. An examination of these returns reflects that Professor X claimed deductions which, at the very least, provide a basis for questioning by IRS. For example, in the year 1967 he claimed total deductions of $6,565 from a total adjusted income of $16,639, or over one-third of his adjusted gross income. Included in these deductions were automobile expenses, other travel expenses, maintenance of office space in his home even though he has office space at A Midwest University and the Group A and Group B and charitable contributions. Included in the latter item were contributions to the SPOCK Peace Fund, HALL's Counseling Service (an anti-draft operation), Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and SDS.

Bureau authority is requested to call Prof X's returns for 1966 and 1967 to the attention of local IRS officials with the view of suggesting that that Service may wish to afford his returns further auditing and examination. In so doing, Midwest City further suggests that local IRS be advised of public source material concerning Prof X activities in the National Mobilization Committee, of which he is a high official, and the anti-draft movement with which he has been publicly identified on numerous occasions. If the Bureau concurs

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - [redacted]
CAH:cmy
(5)

EX-100

12 AUG 2 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 310

100-28895

with this recommendation it is contemplated that information concerning Prof X would be called to the attention of Inspector Blank of the IRS office in Midwest City Inspector Blank has worked closely with the Midwest FBI office in relation to other matters and he has been extremely cooperative, discreet and reliable during the course of these relationships.

In the event IRS deems it feasible to proceed with further examination of Prof X's returns, the following benefits could be expected to accrue therefrom:

1. Due to the burden upon the taxpayer of proving deductions claimed, Prof X could be required to produce documentary evidence supporting his claims. This could prove to be both difficult and embarrassing particularly with respect to validating the claim for home maintenance deductions when, in fact, he doubtless has only the usual type of study found in many homes rather than actual office space. Validations of contributions to SNCC, SDS and the Hall Counseling Service may also be productive of embarrassing consequences.

2. If Prof X is unable to substantiate his claims in the face of detailed scrutiny by IRS, it could, of course, result in financial loss to him.

3. Most importantly, if IRS contact with Prof X can be arranged within the next two weeks their demands upon him may be a source of distraction during the critical period when he is engaged in meetings and plans for disruption of the Democratic National Convention. Any drain upon the time and concentration which Prof X, a leading figure in Demcon planning, can bring to bear upon this activity can only accrue to the benefit of the Government and general public.

The Bureau is requested to consider this suggestion and afford Mid West City the benefit of its comments at the earliest possible time. No action will be taken by this office pending receipt of the Bureau's response to this COINTELPRO recommendation.

- 2 -

DIRECTOR, FBI, DATED APRIL 14, 1964)

AT 100-6520-jj
AFH:clk

It is believed that donors and creditors of SCLC present two important areas for counter-intelligence activities. In regard to the donors it is suggested that official SCLC stationery bearing Kibbe's signature, copies of which are available to the Atlanta office and will be furnished by separate communication to the Bureau Laboratory for reproduction purposes, be utilized in advising the donors that Internal Revenue Service is currently checking tax records of SCLC and that King through this phoney correspondence wants to advise the donor inasmuch that he reported his gifts in accordance with Internal Revenue requirements so that he will not become involved in a tax investigation. It is believed such a letter of this type from SCLC may cause considerable concern and eliminate future contributions. From available information it is apparent that many of these contributors to SCLC are doing so in order to claim tax deductions and in order to be eligible for such deductions, the contribution is being made to the (privacy exists) Charen, which in turn is forwarded to King or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 8 1975
DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448 006) DATE: 2-14-69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

SUBJECT: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies and for Springfield one copy of a letter to "SISTER[ ]

The following counter-intelligence activity is being proposed by the St. Louis Division to be directed against[ ] he is former[ ] of the BLACK LIBERATORS (Bufile 157-10356),[ ] The activity attempts to alienate him from his wife and cause suspicion among the BLACK LIBERATORS that they have a dangerous troublemaker in their midst.

BACKGROUND:

[ ] is currently separated from his wife,[ ] who lives with their two daughters in[ ] He occasionally sends her money and she appears to be a faithful, loving wife, who is apparently convinced that her husband is performing a vital service to the Black world and, therefore, she must endure this separation without bothering him. She is, to all indications, an intelligent, respectable young mother, who is active in the AME Methodist Church in[ ]

2 - Bureau (Encl. 2) RM
2 - Springfield (Encl. 1) RM
1 - St. Louis
(5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

157-5818

EXPLANATION OF LETTER:

The enclosed letter was prepared from a penmanship, spelling, and vocabulary style to imitate that of the average Black Liberator member. It contains several accusations which should cause [redacted] wife great concern. The letter is to be mailed in a cheap, unmarked envelope with no return address and sent from St. Louis to [redacted] Since her letters to [redacted] are usually sent via the Black Liberator Headquarters, any member would have access to getting her address from one of her envelopes. This address is available to the St. Louis Division.

Her response, upon receipt of this letter, is difficult to predict and the counter-intelligence effect will be nullified if she does not discuss it with him. Therefore, to insure that [redacted] and the Black Liberators are made aware that the letter was sent, the below follow-up action is necessary:

St. Louis will furnish [redacted] with a machine copy of the actual letter that is sent. Attached to this copy will be a neat typed note saying:

[redacted]

"A mutual friend made this available without [redacted] knowledge. I understand she recently recieved this letter from St. Louis. I suggest you look into this matter.

God Bless You! "

This note would give the impression that somehow one of [redacted] close friends, probably a minister, obtained a copy of the letter and made it available to [redacted] The above material is to be mailed by the [redacted] Division at [redacted] anonymously in a suitable envelope with no return address to:

[redacted]

RE: 157-5818

ANTICIPATED RESULTS:

The following results are anticipated following the execution of the above-counter-intelligence activity:

1. Ill feeling and possibly a lasting distrust will be brought about between [redacted] and his wife. The concern over what to do about it may detract from his time spent in the plots and plans of [redacted]. He may even decide to spend more time with his wife and children and less time in Black Nationalist activity.

2. The Black Liberators will waste a great deal of time trying to discover the writer of the letter. It is possible that their not-too subtle investigation will lose present members and alienate potential ones.

3. Inasmuch as Black Liberator strength is ebbing at its lowest level, this action may well be the "death-blow."

RECOMMENDATION:

Bureau authority is requested to initiate the above-described activity.

Sister

Us Black Liberators are trained to respect Black Women and special are wifes and girls. Brother keeps tellen the Brothers this but he dont treet you that way. I only been in the organisatoin 2 months but been maken it here with Sister Marva Bass & Sister Tony and than he gines us this jive bout their better in bed then you and how he keeps you off his back y senden you a little daugh ever now an then - He says he gotta send you money the Draft boarde gonna chuck him in the army somethen. This aint rite and were sayen that is treeten you wrong -

A Black Liberator

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, St. Louis (157-5318) 2/23/69

REC 44

Director, FBI (100-443006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

Reurlet 2/14/69.

St. Louis is authorized to send anonymous letter set out in relet and [redacted] is authorized to send the second anonymous letter proposed in relet. Use commercially purchased stationery and take the other precautions set out to insure this cannot be traced to this Bureau.

The Bureau feels there should be an interval between the two letters of at least ten days. St. Louis should advise [redacted] of date second letter should be mailed.

St. Louis and [redacted] should advise the Bureau of any results.

2 - [redacted]

(8)

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Letter to St. Louis
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

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EXHIBIT 58

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 29, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SQUAD
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
AUGUST 22 - AUGUST 28, 1964

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

In connection with the assignment of the special squad to Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22-23/64 at the direction of the President, I wish to report the successful completion of this assignment. By means of informant coverage, by use of various confidential techniques, by infiltration of key groups through use of undercover agents, and through utilization of agents using appropriate cover as reporters, we were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments during the Convention's course.

For example, through informant coverage and by controlling the situation, we were able to prevent a potentially explosive stall-in and sit-in demonstration planned by ACT and [redacted] By counseling Messrs. Jenkins, Carter and Moyers, we convinced them that they must make major changes in controlling admissions into the Convention Hall and thereby preclude infiltration of the illegal Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates in large numbers into the space reserved for the regular Mississippi delegates. Through our counterintelligence efforts, Jenkins, et al., were able to advise the President in advance regarding major plans of the MFDP delegates. The White House considered this of prime importance.

Through our highly confidential coverage of Martin Luther King [redacted] together with similar coverage we established on the headquarters of CORE-SNCC, we were in a position to advise the White House in advance of all plans made by these two sources in an effort to disrupt the orderly progress of the Convention. This coverage was highly effective.

COVERAGE HIGHLIGHTS:

I feel this squad operated very effectively. Squad members averaged in excess of eight hours overtime daily. They approached each assignment as a

EX. J

FBI

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

CONTINUED-OVER

challenge and with enthusiasm. The Agents were constantly alert to exploit opportunities for penetration of key dissident groups in Atlantic City and to suggest counter measures for any plans to disrupt the Convention.

Our informant coverage worked particularly well. With Bureau approval I instituted coverage similar to that on Kin[illegible] on CORE-SNCC headquarters at their Atlantic Avenue meeting hall. Our[illegible] successfully penetrated the headquarters of the MFPD delegation at the Gem Motel and the headquarters for their strategy meetings, which was located in the basement of the Union Baptist Temple Church.

Additionally, we utilized a highly successful cover through cooperation of the[illegible] furnished us credentials. I selected several of the members of the squad to utilize this cover. As an example, one of our "reporters" was able to gain the confidence of[illegible]

Our "reporter" was so successful, in fact, that[illegible] was giving him "off the record information" for background purposes, which he requested our "reporter" not to print.

One of our[illegible] successfully established contact with[illegible] Saturday night, August 22nd, and maintained this relationship throughout the course of the entire Convention. By midweek, he had become one of[illegible] confidants. This, of course, proved to be a highly valuable source of intelligence since[illegible] was constantly trying to incite racial groups to violence.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION:

During our Convention coverage, we disseminated 44 pages of intelligence data to Walter Jenkins. Attached for your information is a copy of these daily summaries. Additionally, I kept Jenkins and Moyers constantly advised by telephone of minute by minute developments. This enabled them to make spot decisions and to adjust Convention plans to meet potential problems before serious trouble developed.

In connection with communications, as you know, we arranged for a leased line between the Bureau and our control post in Atlantic City. We also established a private line for exclusive use by our informants.[illegible] informants dispatched from other cities and Newark informants used telephone to submit their oral reports. This post was, of course, manned on a 24-hour basis.

 CONTINUED-OVER

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DeLoach to Mohr
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

During the period when the Convention was actually in progress, we established a secondary command post at the Convention Hall Rotunda operated by an Agent using his "reporter" cover. As you know, the boardwalk was the center of agitation by dissident elements. Throughout the course of the Convention, pickets were active in the area immediately in front of the Convention Hall entrance. We necessarily kept these people under close observation.

PRELIMINARY PREPARATION:

Prior to the squad's departure for Atlantic City, we secured all available pertinent background information on the dissident groups and their leaders who were expected to be present. In addition, we took blind memoranda with us which were prepared and approved prior to our departure. This proved most helpful. On Wednesday morning, Mr. Jenkins urgently requested background information on [ ] who had [ ] within the MFDP delegation. The White House also requested a blind memorandum on [ ] Within 15 minutes of the request, the desired blind memoranda were furnished to Jenkins. He was highly pleased and said this was of vital importance to their operation. [ ] as you will recall has an arrest record [ ]

We also prepared thumbnail sketches on all key dissident groups expected at the Convention and we maintained separate files on the activities of King, Communist Party groups, area hoodlums, informants, the MFDP and other groups. This was done in order that we could maintain separate running accounts on each major disruptive organization which was present.

LIAISON:

On arrival in Atlantic City we immediately established necessary liaison with the Secret Service, Atlantic City Police Department, New Jersey State Highway Patrol and with the men directing Convention activities. We also established contacts with [ ] to arrange for courier service between the Seat of Government and our headquarters in Atlantic City.

DAILY COUNTER MEASURES BY SPECIAL SQUAD:

As an example of the type of problems encountered by this special squad in Atlantic City, following is a brief resume of some of the situations which developed during the Convention:

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DeLoach to Mohr
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

Monday, August 24, 1964

On Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, we located a truck on Pacific Avenue carrying a burned-out car, a huge burlap-wrapped cross and a large church bell. Rumors swept Atlantic City that the car was actually the one used by Schwerner Goodman and Chaney. Shortly after its appearance this truck was placed on a parking lot close by Convention Hall. We quickly established the fraudulency of these rumors and through police contacts we thwarted the racial group's plans to parade this burned car through Atlantic City streets.

On Monday, we furnished Mr. Jenkins details regarding the plans of CORE, the American Nazi Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and initial plans of the MFDP.

Appropriate officials were notified of the intention of the Negro racial groups to establish a silent vigil on the boardwalk at the main entrance to Convention Hall. This vigil was to be maintained until a report was issued by the Credentials Committee regarding the seating of the MFDP delegates.

Tuesday, August 25, 1964

Jenkins was advised that Martin Luther King had prevailed upon to come to Atlantic City that day. We alerted White House representatives regarding compromise proposals for seating of the MFDP and furnished them information regarding plans of the Progressive Labor Movement groups, ACT and other dissident organizations. Martin Luther King attempted to arrange a rendezvous with a of Philadelphia. Our sources reported that SNCC and CORE were attempting to secure tickets to gain entrance to Convention Hall. Through a highly confidential source, it was learned that CORE and SNCC had been advised that the President was bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 states to preclude their support of a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the Convention.

Wednesday, August 26, 1964

We submitted reports reflecting that the militant members of MFDP under the leadership of were revolting against the leadership of Martin Luther King and We advised Jenkins that the MFDP delegates had flatly rejected the compromise proposal to seat the MFDP delegation. We reported that

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CONTINUED-OVER

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DeLoach to Mohr
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

was attempting to promote a stall-in to block access to Convention Hall. was instructed by to plan this demonstration and through our control of him we were able to completely thwart

We also alerted the White House in advance regarding the telegram prepared by ACT demanding amnesty for Harlem rioters and for Federal registrars to police Negro voting in the South.

In consultation with Convention planners, we pointed out serious gaps in controlling admission to Convention Hall which had permitted entrance of dissident elements on the Convention floor. Jenkins immediately placed these recommendations into effect.

Thursday, August 27, 1964

We determined Martin Luther King and his staff were departing from Atlantic City early Thursday morning, and appropriate officials were advised of this. We also reported efforts of CORE-SNCC leaders to secure uniforms of the Young Citizens for Johnson groups and to utilize them for gaining entrance into Convention Hall. We were able to report that the number of participants of the silent vigil would dwindle rapidly. Although the demonstrations quieted down Thursday night, we were heavily involved in checking out the reports that a four-man group of Puerto Rican terrorists from New York were in Atlantic City in an attempt to assassinate the President.

MISCELLANEOUS:

For the benefit of the Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions, separate memoranda are being submitted regarding informant coverage. I am also recommending letters of appreciation to cooperative individuals whose efforts facilitated the squad's work in Atlantic City.

INFORMANT ACTIVITIES:

In connection with our Convention coverage, the special squad utilized the following sources:

symbol number informants from other offices;
confidential sources from other offices;
liaison source

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CONTINUED-OVER

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eLoach to Mohr
E: ecial Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
emocratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

technical sources
special agents working in an undercover capacity
Negro informants
established sources in the Atlantic City area
Atlantic City informant extremist
Atlantic City Security informants

Our source from was in the inner planning circles
Another source the Progressive Labor Movement delegates to
tlantic City. Although the organization was inactive, we had sources in the
roups. A Newark informant served of SNCC-CORE.

RGANIZATIONS IN ATLANTIC CITY:

There was coverage on 15 separate organizations who were active in tlantic City during the course of the Convention. The leading groups included:

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)
Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
ACT
Independent Citizens Committee
American Nazi Party
White Party of America
W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs
Communist Party, USA
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
The Progressive Labor Movement

ECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) The majority of the following personnel averaged over eight hours per ay during the five days the special squad was handling its responsibilities. They perated in a very competent fashion and it is, therefore, recommended that letters of ommendation over the Director's signature be considered for them. If approved, these letters will be prepared by the Administrative Division. (A separate memorandum is

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RECOMMENDATIONS CONTINUED

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being furnished the Administrative Division regarding the specific duties handled by these employees.)

(2) A number of the following employees had only minor duties inasmuch as they were not used full-time on the special squad, however, in view of the quiet and efficient manner in which they handled their responsibilities, letters are believed deserved.

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 RECOMMENDATIONS CONTINUED

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eLeach to Mohr
E: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Democratic National Convention
August 22-28, 1964

(3) It is recommended that letters from the Director be given to the following personnel who assisted materially in the success of this operation:

Dr. Touch should receive a meritorious award

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. ____
Dep. AD Adm. ____
Dep. AD Inv. ____
Asst. Dirs.
Admin. ____
Comp. Syst. ____
Ext. Affairs ____
Files & Com. ____
Gen. Inv. ____
Ident. ____
Inspection ____
Intell. ____
Laboratory ____
Plan. & Eval. ____
Spec. Inv. ____
Training ____
Legal Coun. ____
Telephone Rm. ____
Director Sec'y ____

TO: MR. CALLAHAN

DATE: January 29, 1975

FROM: H. N. BASSETT

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SQUAD AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, 8/22 - 28/64

Reference is made to my previous memorandum captioned as above, dated 1/28/75 (copy attached). That which follows elaborates somewhat on various elements of our special coverage of the 1964 Democratic National Convention (DNC) and amplifies certain aspects of our operations therein.

A review of Bureau file 62-109555 on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) indicates the file was opened to reply to a request from Walter Jenkins, Special Assistant to President Johnson, for a name check on the MFDP and certain persons connected therewith. He was advised, "FBI has never conducted an investigation of the MFDP and its files contain no record of it." Results of name checks on certain individuals were set forth together with public source data from the 7/21/64 edition of the Washington Post and ~~an inquiry made by the Washington~~ Field Office on 7/21/64 at the local office of the MFDP on general information on its objectives and identity of its staff members. This information was set forth in a blind memorandum to Mr. Jenkins dated 7/22/64.

On 8/21/64, responding to a request dated 8/19/64 from Mr. John Doar of the Civil Rights Division of the Department, memoranda were sent to Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach. Doar had requested name checks on 40 persons in the MFDP leadership and convention delegation members. The memoranda stated, "This Bureau has not conducted any investigation concerning the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party nor has it taken any steps to identify party members."

It should be noted that three civil rights workers who traveled to Mississippi were discovered missing on 6/22/64 and their automobile found burned on 6/23/64. On 6/23/64 President Johnson was advised of these facts and requested to be kept aware of all aspects of the investigation which had been requested by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice of the FBI. The three bodies of these workers were found thereafter on 8/4/64. On 8/23/64, a flat-bed truck with a burned car on it appeared in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and it was falsely alleged to be the automobile of the three murdered

Enclosure
1 - Messrs. Adams, McDermott, Wannall, Mintz, Gebhardt
DGF/RJG:bhgt (7)

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civil rights workers in Mississippi. Furthermore, information was received that the parents of one of these individuals would appear at a rally during the DNC.

On 8/25/64 Assistant Director Cartha DeLoach telephoned a memorandum to Mr. Mohr from Atlantic City to the effect information from Walter Jenkins and informants indicated the question of seating the MFDP delegates was expected to reach the floor of the DNC the evening of 8/25/64. He said "The crucial point of the convention in so far as possible violence is concerned will occur between 4:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. this afternoon. If the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is not seated then the unruly elements within the Negro group will possibly attempt to demonstrate." DeLoach indicated that every effort was being extended to cover developments pertinent to this possible violent situation.

There follows under appropriate caption in summary form information relative to our coverage at the DNC.

COVERAGE RELATIVE TO POTENTIAL CIVIL UNREST, DEMONSTRATIONS AND POSSIBLE VIOLENCE

A review of the summaries furnished to Walter Jenkins by Mr. DeLoach during the DNC indicates over 25 separate entries dealing with demonstrations insofar as their times, places, groups involved, number of participants, and general nature thereof were concerned. A great majority of the Bureau personnel still on active duty who were assigned to this special squad in Atlantic City have indicated that the attaining of intelligence information relative to possible violent civil disorders was the primary purpose of their efforts during the DNC.

Our coverage in this regard was handled through extensive informant coverage at Atlantic City and as a result of information received from informants in other parts of the country as well. Additionally, we utilized Agents in various undercover capacities to develop such information. Furthermore, a great deal of information in this regard was, in fact, received as a result of the technical coverage utilized. Where appropriate, the information obtained was disseminated to the U. S. Secret Service and other interested law enforcement agencies as well.

ACTIVITIES RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

A review of the interviews of the previously mentioned special squad personnel still on active duty has indicated that a majority of them felt that their

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assignment in part was related to the augmenting of the U. S. Secret Service insofar as the protection of the President was concerned. One Agent indicated that Bureau personnel did, in fact, actively assist in the protection of the President and his family while they were at the DNC.

A review of Bureau file 100-442527 captioned "Disruption of Democratic National Convention, Information Concerning (Internal Security)" did not reveal any information directly relating to the protection of the President.

A review of the DeLoach summaries to Mr. Jenkins indicated one instance where a demonstration was planned to take place upon the President's arrival at convention hall and another incident which revealed a breach of security which allowed an individual to enter the convention hall and proceed directly to the podium area. This information was furnished immediately to the U. S. Secret Service.

Information is contained in the interviews of the former special squad personnel that FBI Agents were utilized in supplementing U. S. Secret Service personnel on the convention hall floor.

~~INFORMATION DEVELOPED~~ OF POSSIBLE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

A further review of the DeLoach summaries revealed approximately 20 separate items which do not appear to relate directly with possible civil unrest - demonstrations or with the protection of the President. These items were developed as a result of the various types of coverage we had at the DNC but a great number thereof were obtained through our technical coverage. A sampling of these items includes the following:

1.

2. Informant information received that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was carrying a revolver.

3. Informant information relative to National Association for the Advancement of Colored People planning a meeting at a church.

4. Informant relative to King's speaking before various state delegations.

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CONTINUED - OVER

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5. Information that the Congress of Racial Equality headquarters in Atlantic City was attempting to have Congressman Charles Diggs' office in Detroit, Michigan, picketed, claiming he was "shakey."

Allegations in the press that the coverage of the FBI was used to follow the activities of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy were not substantiated in any way by file reviews.

A review of the statements furnished by the special squad personnel includes various instances where they relate a portion of their overall purpose was to insure that there was nothing which would "embarrass the President." One Agent indicated that DeLoach placed emphasis on the fact that the President did not wish to be embarrassed in any way and that information was to be gathered which would assure that there would be no such embarrassment.

Two statements were furnished by Bill D. Williams, present SAC in Kansas City, in this regard. One states "I would like to state that at no time did I ever consider the above to be a political operation but it was obvious that DeLoach wanted to impress Jenkins and Moyers with the Bureau's ability to develop information which would be of interest to them" Furthermore, in response to a question as to whether the Bureau's services were being utilized for political reasons, Williams answered, "No. I do recall, however, that on one occasion I was present when DeLoach held a lengthy telephone conversation with Walter Jenkins. They appeared to be discussing the President's 'image.'

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At the end of the conversation DeLoach told us something to the effect, 'that may have sounded a little political to you but this doesn't do the Bureau any harm.'"

Other Agent personnel on the special squad indicated in the negative insofar as the above question is concerned.

DISSEMINATION

In addition to the summary memoranda furnished by DeLoach to Mr. Jenkins, information is contained in Bureau file 100-442527, cited above, that some of the same information was included in daily letters to the White House and the Attorney General on current Racial Developments. There was similar dissemination made to U. S. Secret Service, military intelligence agencies and local authorities on a selected basis.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

For information. It should be noted the information contained herein setting forth that the White House and the Department made requests in 1964 for information from Bureau files concerning the MFDP has been incorporated into a separate LHM being prepared for the Deputy Attorney General.

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10-3

Memorandum to Mr. Callahan
Re: Special Squad at Democratic National Convention
Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22 - 28/64

The only information located in Bureau files concerning the special squad in Atlantic City was an eight-page memorandum (copy attached) with enclosure located in the file of DeLoach. This is a memorandum from DeLoach to Mohr dated 8/29/64 which sets forth that in connection with the assignment of the special squad in Atlantic City at the direction of the President, DeLoach wished to report the successful completion of this assignment. He states that by means of informant coverage, use of various confidential techniques, infiltration of key groups through use of undercover agents and through utilization of Agents using appropriate cover as reporters, we were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments. DeLoach also advised that immediate liaison was established in Atlantic City with Secret Service as well as state and local police.

This memorandum refers to highly confidential coverage of Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, along with similar coverage established on the headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). DeLoach states he was able to advise the White House in advance of all plans made by these two sources and coverage was highly effective. DeLoach advises "with Bureau approval" he instituted coverage on CORE - SNCC headquarters at their meeting hall and our [redacted] penetrated the headquarters of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (two separate factions were contesting seats for the Mississippi delegation and was a highlight of the convention) and through cooperation with the management of NBC news our Agents were furnished NBC press credentials. DeLoach reported that 44 pages of intelligence data was disseminated to Walter Jenkins at the White House and to his memorandum he attached a copy of these daily summaries dated 8/24, 25, 26, 27/64. These summaries are in effect a running log of developments which took place at the convention. DeLoach also states he arranged for a lease line between the control post at Atlantic City and the Bureau. He concludes the memorandum by making recommendations that personnel involved, namely 27 Agents, one radio maintenance technician and two stenographers of the Newark Office be commended. Mr. Hoover noted DeLoach should receive a meritorious award.

Live Sources

Bureau file 62-48771, serial 218, reflects a memorandum from Mr. Hoover wherein Walter W. Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President, called and stated the President wanted Jenkins to call the Director to express the

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CONTINUED - OVER

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thought the job the Bureau had done in Atlantic City was one of the finest the President had ever seen. According to this memorandum, Jenkins told Mr. Hoover there were a lot of bad elements up there and because of the work some of the Bureau people did they knew exactly where they were and what they were doing and consequently they were not able to be very effective.

A thorough review of Bureau records, including a review of abstracts of Mr. Hoover, Mr. Tolson, Mr. Mohr,* as well as Mr. DeLoach, failed to locate any memorandum or other document pertaining to a request having been received from President Johnson or anyone at the White House instructing that the FBI afford special coverage at the convention. It should be noted that at this time DeLoach was responsible for liaison with the White House and had a direct line at his residence to the President so it well may be that this request was made directly to DeLoach who in turn discussed it orally with Mr. Hoover or Mr. Tolson but for one reason or another the request was never put in writing.

STATEMENTS OF SPECIAL SQUAD PERSONNEL STILL ON ACTIVE DUTY

On 1/26/75 the Inspection Division directed a teletype incorporating 12 questions to the 19 Agents and one radio maintenance technician who are still on active duty and were with DeLoach at Atlantic City. These questions were designed to have the participating personnel furnish us with their recollection as to their duties and involvement at Atlantic City. Detailed responses were promptly received and all personnel acknowledged their participation on the special squad under DeLoach's leadership at the convention. All responded there was no question in their mind at the time but that they were in Atlantic City to fulfill the FBI's jurisdictional responsibilities and they did not feel that the purpose of the special squad was political in nature. Basically, the instructions to the Agents were to develop advance information regarding any acts or intended acts of violence pertaining to civil disturbances that could arise during

OCT 30 1975

FBI

 CONTINUED - OVER

*Mr. Belmont, Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 4, 1965

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Watson:

Reference is made to the President's request to me earlier today while I was at the White House with respect to the telegram he received from the artists. Accordingly, attached are memoranda containing the results of an FBI name check of Hannah Arendt and twenty other individuals mentioned in that telegram.

When this letter of transmittal is detached from its enclosures bearing a security classification, this letter can be declassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (18)

COPY
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON LIBRARY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 15, 1966

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Watson:

On July 12, 1966, Mr. Jake Jacobsen, Legislative Counsel to the President, requested name checks on individuals whose names appeared in the "Congressional Record" as signers of letters to United States Senator Wayne Morse, expressing support for Senator Morse's criticism of United States policy toward Vietnam.

There are enclosed eleven memoranda concerning individuals who may be identical with certain of the individuals whose letters to Senator Morse were printed in the "Congressional Record" of July 11, 1966.

Based on the identifying information available, our files contain no identifiable pertinent information concerning the remainder of the individuals whose letters appeared in that issue of the "Congressional Record."

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures - 11

COPY
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON LIBRARY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5/18/70

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY
RACIAL MATTERS

Pursuant to the request made by the Director today (5/18/70), there is attached information for the Vice President regarding militant statements by Ralph David Abernathy, the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which statements invite violence.

Information is also included to the Vice President regarding an incident involving [derogatory public record information.]

On 5/18/70, Abernathy announced a march against violence, brutality, and killing at Atlanta, Georgia, on Saturday, 5/23/70. At this march, the names of the Nation's "Ten Most Unwanted Politicians" will be revealed.

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached letter will be sent to the Vice President.

Enclosures sent 5-19-70

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Glass

CEG:plm
(6)

O.K. This has been prepared in an excellent manner

ST-105

REC 39

6 JUN 1 1970

F424

70 JUN 3 - 1970

May 19, 1970

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

Honorable Spiro T. Agnew
The Vice President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

In response to your request, there is attached information regarding militant statements by Ralph David Abernathy who, although he advocates nonviolence, has invited violence by some of his statements. The material also includes information about [his private life], [derogatory public record information], and his support of the Black Panther Party.

For your information, Abernathy on May 18, 1970, announced a march against violence, brutality, and killing to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on Saturday, May 23, 1970. Abernathy said that the names of the Nation's "Ten Most Unwanted Politicians" will be revealed during this march.

Sincerely yours,

REC-93 145

2 MAY 20 1970

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

(8)

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan dated 5/18/70, captioned "Ralph David Abernathy, Racial Matters," prepared by CEG:plm.

MAY 26 1970

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

EXHIBIT 59

11-2

SAC, Albany

12/26/72

For the Acting Director, FBI (65-73368)
W. Mark Felt
Acting Associate Director

FBI INTELLIGENCE LETTER
FOR THE PRESIDENT
CODE NAME "INLET"
RESEARCH MATTER

ReBulet 11/26/69.

Referenced letter instructed all field offices to furnish the Bureau high-level intelligence data in the security field which was to be furnished to the President and the Attorney General on a continuing basis. All such communications were to be flagged with the code name "Inlet" in the caption.

Since the inception of this program an evolution in policies and practices has occurred and, currently, the information specified in referenced letter is furnished by each field office in form suitable for teletype dissemination to The White House and the Attorney General as well as other interested agencies of the Government. Accordingly, the "Inlet" program has, for all practical purposes, been rendered obsolete and the Bureau is now formally rescinding instructions set forth in referenced letter.

The termination of the "Inlet" program does not relieve the responsibility of all offices to be alert for the intelligence data specified in referenced letter and to submit this information in a timely manner by teletype and in a form suitable for dissemination.

2 - All Field Offices

RECEIVED
DOJ

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller DATE: 2/2/73

FROM : T. J. Smith

SUBJECT: FBI INTELLIGENCE LETTER FOR THE PRESIDENT CODE NAME "INLET" RESEARCH MATTER

The FBI Intelligence Letter for the President was instituted in November, 1969, pursuant to then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's instructions to keep the President fully informed of significant intelligence developments within the purview of the Bureau's security responsibilities. Dissemination was restricted to the President, the Attorney General, and later, the Vice President.

By letter dated November 26, 1969, all FBI field offices were advised to flag information obtained in our investigations important enough for the President's interest with the code word "INLET." This was to include:

1) Information of national or international significance which is security related.

2) Important current or pending developments in major security cases.

3) Current information which is representative of or calls attention to a significant developing intelligence trend.

4) Material which has a bearing on national security, particularly that from sensitive and/or penetrative coverage of foreign establishments, which could affect American relations with foreign countries, or assist in formulating United States policy.

5 FEB 16 1973

5) "Inside" information concerning demonstrations, disorders, or other civil disruptions which is of more than local significance.

6) Items with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities which may be of special interest to the President or the Attorney General.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: FBI Intelligence Letter for the President Code Name "INLET"

The FBI had, through several Administrations, furnished various Presidents and Attorneys General important intelligence matters on an individual basis. The Intelligence Letter served to consolidate this information into one document. By August, 1970, changes in our communications capability, including the ability to afford immediate teletype dissemination of intelligence data to The White House and the development of other reporting procedures such as the Summary of Extremist Activities, made the Intelligence Letter no longer necessary. Items submitted for this Letter by the field were disseminated in these other ways. In December, 1972, the use of the code word "INLET" was discontinued and field offices so advised. The field was also advised, however, they had the responsibility to be alert for this type intelligence data.

ACTION:

For information.

REC...

JUN ...

DOJ

EXHIBIT 60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. Felt
1 - Mr. Dalbey
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Soyars (Mr. Row)
DATE: 8/29/72
1 - Mr. Miller
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
1 - Mr. A. W. Gray
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
1 - Mr. J. M. Sizoo
1 - Mr. T. J. Smith 1 - Inspector

Felt
Baker
Bates
Bishop
Callahan
Cleveland
Conrad
Dalbey
Jenkins
Marshall
Miller, E.S.
Pennington
Soyars
Walters
Tele. Room
Mr. Kinley
Mr. Armstrong
Ms. Herwig
Mrs. Neenan

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : T. J. Smith TJS/ELP

SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATIVE INDEX
STREAMLINING MEASURES
#190-10

T. J. Smith to Mr. E. S. Miller memorandum dated 8/11/72 captioned "Fiscal Year 1974 Budget Policy Guidance," referred to the fact that we have been conducting a seven-month's analysis of the Bureau's Administrative Index (ADEX) and that it appears that by implementing certain streamlining measures and altering requirements for reporting and periodic verification of information, some manpower might be available for reassignment to one of the other critical areas of our work. In this connection the same memorandum pointed out that the Domestic Intelligence Division has an urgent need for in excess of 500 Special Agents to handle several areas of national security work which are not receiving attention deserved.

TJS

BACKGROUND

By way of background, the ADEX is an outgrowth of the old Security Index program which in itself was an integral part of the Emergency Detention Program. The Emergency Detention Program in latter years derived its authority from Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (better known as the Emergency Detention Act). In the Fall of 1971 the Emergency Detention Act was repealed by Congress and we, of course, immediately discontinued the Emergency Detention Program. Since the Security Index was in actuality an extension of an integral part of the Emergency Detention Program, it was believed that the Security Index as it was structured should also be discontinued.

REC-19 4/16

From an administrative standpoint, however, it was believed that the Bureau should be able to immediately identify individuals who constitute a threat to the national security, particularly during time of national emergency. The Security Index enabled us to retrieve information pinpointing such individuals. Representatives of the Department, during a meeting following repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, pointed out that even though Congress has now prohibited a program for emergency apprehension and detention, circumstances might someday be such

SEP 25 1972

TJS:mkf (14)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

CONTINUED OVER

Inspector's addendum page 8

that the Government might have to defend itself from attack and that it would be necessary at such time to quickly identify persons who were a threat to the national security so that investigation could be intensified and if necessary the President could go to a joint session of Congress and ask for emergency legislation permitting apprehension and detention of persons who threaten existence of the Government.

The Department advised after consultation that the FBI's authority to investigate individuals engaged in subversive activity had not been eroded by repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, and that further repeal of this Act did not in any way prohibit the FBI from maintaining an administrative index of individuals who were under investigation for subversive activity. Accordingly, we devised the Administrative Index for the purpose of being able to quickly identify persons representing a threat to the national security. Since we already had the identities of such persons contained in the Security Index, we used the Security Index as a basis for setting up the Administrative Index. The major difference, of course, was that whereas persons listed in Security Index had been listed with a view of possible apprehension and detention, the persons being listed in ADEX would not be subject to detention, but would be listed for ready identification purposes.

Since persons listed in ADEX would not be subject to apprehension and detention, the requirement for Departmental concurrence in listing no longer existed. Also, since the detention factor was no longer a major issue, persons could be listed irrespective of degree of threat they may represent to the national security.

Criteria for listing in ADEX were broken down into four categories. Each category, beginning with Category I, contained a listing of persons and Category I listed those considered most dangerous to the national security, while Category IV listed those least dangerous. As of July 15, 1972, there were 15,259 individuals listed in ADEX. Of this total 1,334 were Category I; 3,452 were Category II; 8,560 were Category III; and 1,913 were Category IV.

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Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Administrative Index
Streamlining Measures

ASSESSMENT OF ADEX

ADEX has now been in operation about 8 months and we have had a chance to evaluate its operation and effectiveness. Based on discussions with field personnel as well as our own observations, we believe that several major changes should be made at this time.

(1) While ADEX has not been intended as an investigative program, it is somewhat of an extension of Security Index which was an integral part of an investigative program, and there are vestiges of the investigative program apparent in our operation of ADEX. ADEX must be clearly separated from investigative criteria and policy so that it represents a mere by-product or administrative supplement to our investigations and not as a guideline or controlling factor in the investigation itself. The very nature of the criteria for inclusion of individuals in ADEX are such to generate investigative activity which may not be necessary were it not for ADEX. Reporting procedures for a great bulk of our security cases are based on the category of ADEX or the fact that the subject is listed in ADEX. A great deal of investigative activity is created because of the requirement of periodic verification of residence and employment addresses. In other words, existence of ADEX creates investigative and reporting activity which might not be necessary otherwise.

(2) It is believed that ADEX is needlessly complex, particularly from the standpoint of criteria for inclusion of an individual in the ADEX, and is administratively cumbersome.

(3) Most important, it is believed that in light of the conditions existing today, particularly with respect to emphasis on invasion of privacy and other First and Fourth Amendment rights, the current criteria for designating individuals for ADEX are too broad and all-encompassing. As a result, there are some individuals now included in ADEX even though they do not realistically pose a threat to the national security. For example, present ADEX guidelines cover individuals who are not members of subversive or revolutionary groups but who have "exhibited a revolutionary ideology" and are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to commit acts of espionage," etc. No time factor is included and, as can be seen, the language is subject to considerable interpretation. It is

FBI

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believed that such broad terminology would leave us in a vulnerable position if our guidelines were to be scrutinized by interested Congressional committees, which has been threatened.

PROPOSED NEW ADEX CRITERIA

If for no other reason but practicality, it is believed that ADEX should be a list of individuals who realistically represent an immediate threat to the national security, as opposed to individuals who might theoretically pose a threat in the future under a given set of circumstances. We recognize that anyone who has embraced a philosophy that includes an overthrow of the American form of government is a potential enemy of the Government. However, in many such instances, an individual may believe in some other form of government but would be unwilling to engage in activity more violent than philosophical discussions.

On the other side of the coin is an individual who not only embraces the philosophy of overthrow of the Government, but is actually engaged in some form of activity designed to bring about that overthrow by force or violence or other unconstitutional means. It is this latter individual who would seize upon any type of national emergency to exploit a weakness in Governmental functions in an effort to wrest control, or who would commit violent acts such as bombings of public buildings which are symbolic of our national institutions; ambush killings of police officers who are the visible symbol of our democratic system; attack water supplies, power systems, or transportation facilities in an effort to create a chaotic void into which a revolutionary force might be able to supplant the Government. This is the type of individual who should be listed in the ADEX.

It is therefore proposed that the existing ADEX with four categories representing an unrealistic concept of individuals constituting a threat to the national security be revised so that it will include only one category. This would be a list of individuals who represent an actual danger now to the national security. It is believed that such a list would embrace most of the individuals currently listed in Categories I and II of ADEX, or a total as of 7/15/72 of 4,786 individuals.

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FBI

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To do this the criteria would be changed to read as follows:

"ADEX should be limited to those individuals whose actions or statements have clearly established that they represent a current threat to the national security.

"Included are individuals, whether affiliated with organized groups or not, who have shown a willingness and capability for engaging in treason, rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy, sabotage, espionage, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, assassination of Government officials or leaders, or other such acts which would result in interference with or a threat to the survival and effective operation of national, state, or local government.

"The foregoing would include leaders of organizations whose aims include the overthrow or destruction of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, district, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by unlawful means. Individuals affiliated with such organizations who have demonstrated a willingness and capability of activity set forth under criteria set forth above would be included, but mere membership in such organization is not sufficient to justify inclusion in ADEX.

"Individuals should be considered a 'current threat' to the national security when reliable information has been developed that they have engaged in activity falling within the above-described criteria during the past two years and there is no indication that they have given up or ceased to engage in such activity."

Adoption of these new criteria will probably result in deletion from ADEX of numerous individuals who are connected with subversive organizations. For example, there were 4501 Communists in Categories III and IV of ADEX as of 7/15/72. Additionally there are members of Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor Party, etc. who will not meet the revised criteria of being dangerous now. It is believed that the Bureau should maintain a list of such individuals aside from ADEX in the event we had to quickly identify known subversives throughout the country. We will therefore submit a separate proposal to establish a "Communist Index" which will require a modicum of effort on the part of the field and Bureau Headquarters.

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Such a list would also be advantageous in quickly identifying extremists, who though not posing a threat to the national security, do seek to deny constitutional rights of others, or are white or black chauvinists or nationalists who thrive on race hatreds and ethnic discord. We will also propose that a counterpart to the "Communist Index" be established to be known as the "Extremist Index." Neither of these indexes will constitute a program but will merely be a listing which will be computerized for ready retrieval at any time we need to quickly identify persons of this type who were involved in activity inimical to the national interest. Details concerning these indexes will be included in the separate proposal.

MANPOWER SAVINGS

It is difficult if not impossible to estimate a manpower savings as result of redefining ADEX and streamlining its operation. However, based on the premise that the revised ADEX would contain primarily what is now Categories I & II, this would mean that about 10,473 individuals would be dropped. If these remained on ADEX, this many cases would be opened during a twelve-month period due to necessity to verify employment and residence addresses and to report any pertinent data developed to date. These cases would be in a closed status in the field and would be reopened on a regular staggered basis.

A canvass of ten field offices including New York, Newark, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia resulted in an estimate that roughly 89% of the above-described total of 10,473 cases would be affected. These offices could not give any realistic estimate of manpower involved. However, using purely a caseload average of 40 cases per Agents as a guide; using the 89% estimate of the offices canvassed, there would be 9,311 cases opened over a 12-month period or about 776 cases per month. When revision of ADEX has been approved and the new criteria have been furnished to the field, Domestic Intelligence Division will canvass each Special Agent in Charge to determine specifically, on the basis of the revised criteria, the manpower savings which can be directed to higher priority security work. The Inspection Division, of course, will be in the best position to evaluate the impact of the revisions in their field audits of ADEX.

SEP

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Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Administrative Index
Streamlining Measures

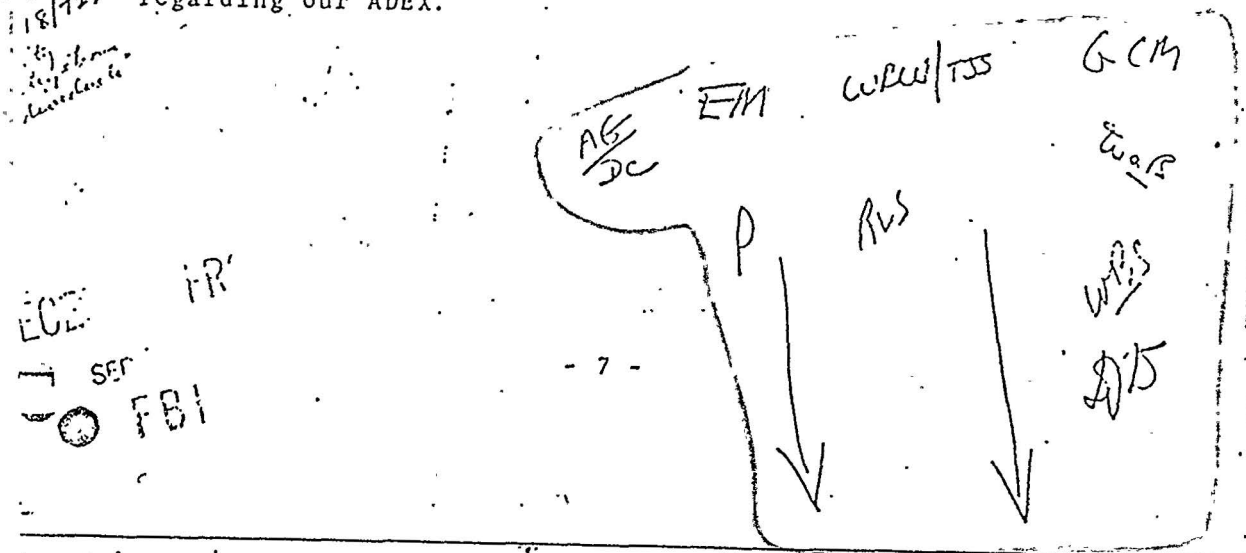
It is important to note that there will be no immediate manpower savings realized since it is anticipated that necessary review of ADEX cases will not be completed for at least 12 months. To avoid creating a sudden increase in workload in the field, instructions are being issued to review existing ADEX cases as the would normally come up on tickler during the next 12 months under the old ADEX rules. In this manner all cases now listed in ADEX can be reviewed without creating an undue burden on the field. We will know on a month-to-month basis at Headquarters from computer print-outs as to progress being made.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) Attached for approval are detailed instructions in memorandum for all Special Agents in Charge. Revisions will be made in Manual of Instructions and submitted separately.

(2) If proposed revision is approved, investigative and reporting requirements now interconnected with ADEX or dependent on the existence of ADEX criteria will be revised.

(3) If proposed revision of ADEX is approved, we will furnish details to the Attorney General who has been kept informed regarding our ADEX.



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ADDENDUM: INSPECTOR [redacted] 8/30/72

During the inspection, the ADEX Program was thoroughly studied and Inspector concurs in this revision and in the recommendation of the Assistant Director.

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IV. Changes, additions, and deletions of data appearing in section A of reserve index cards
(A) Changes in data appearing on section A reserve index cards should be submitted to the Bureau by form FD-122a.
(B) Deletions from section A of the reserve index should be recommended by letter. The letter should set forth the basis for the recommendation.
(C) Changes in office of origin are to be handled by submission of form FD-128a. Forward section A cards to new office of origin.

(b) Section B
I. This section is to contain the names of all other individuals included in the reserve index. This section is to be maintained only in the field office.
II. Changes in office of origin are to be handled by submission of form FD-128a. Forward section B cards to new office of origin.

(4) Content
(a) Each card in section A and section B should contain, as a minimum, the following:
I. Name and aliases
II. Race
III. Sex
IV. Organizational affiliation or nationalistic tendency
V. Citizenship
VI. Residence
VII. Employment
VIII. Birth data
IX. Office file number
[X. The letters "SS" if dissemination has been made to Secret Service in accordance with instructions in section 83K, item 2, volume III, of this manual]
(b) In addition, membership and position or association in a subversive group or groups, together with the source and date of the information, may be added.

(5) Removal and deletion of cards
(a) Destroy cards on individuals who subsequently become security informants or sources or who subsequently become subjects of security index cards.
(b) Advise the Bureau of the destruction only in the case of section A cards.

b. Security index
(1) Purpose
(a) Security index cards are prepared and maintained by the Bureau to serve as operational guide for apprehension of persons deemed dangerous or potentially dangerous to the internal security of the country in the event of a national emergency.
(b) It shall contain the names of all persons who have been determined through investigation to be dangerous or potentially dangerous because of their membership in or affiliation with or espousal of doctrines of basic revolutionary organizations and/or front organizations and who will be apprehended upon receipt of instructions from the Attorney General.
(c) It shall include subjects of espionage investigations and any other type of Bureau investigation provided their activities bring them within the scope of the security index criteria.
(d) Action shall be taken against individuals included in the security index only upon authorization of warrants of arrest by the Attorney General. However, in preparing and maintaining the security index, to all practical effects, the Bureau is making the decision as to those persons who will be apprehended in the event of an emergency, inasmuch as the Attorney General has advised that he does not have funds or

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manpower to review security index cases.

(c) Names shall be included in the security index only when investigation has established and reports[show] sufficient facts and evidence to justify the inclusion of each subject in the security index.

(f) The contents of the security index must be accurate and correct at all times. Matters pertaining to its preparation and maintenance must be given preferred, expeditious, continuous, and detailed attention.

(g) Matters pertaining to the security index are strictly confidential and are not to be mentioned or alluded to in investigative reports.

(h) The general operation and content of the security index must not be discussed by field personnel of the Bureau without prior Bureau authority.

(i) Matters pertaining to the security index may be discussed with duly qualified representatives of other Federal intelligence agencies only on a strictly confidential basis and only in instances in which an individual subject of prime interest to one of these services is involved.

(2) Determination of dangerousness of an individual

(a) The dangerousness of a member or affiliate of a subversive organization does not necessarily depend entirely upon his personal characteristics, such as aggressiveness or a disposition to violence. Although these factors must be taken into consideration in evaluating an individual's potential dangerousness, other factors are essential in making this determination. An individual's dangerousness also depends upon the contribution he has made or is making in the advancement of the principles and aims of the subversive movement with which he is connected or his subversive potentialities in the event of a national emergency. Bear in mind that a subject active in a subversive organization is not merely an isolated individual but is a part of an organization of which the purposes are opposed to the best interests of the U. S. An individual's loyalty to a subversive organization and the principles thereof is a primary factor to take into consideration in evaluating his potential dangerousness; [however, regardless of evidence of subversive affiliation, all evidence developed during the course of a security investigation must be carefully weighed for the purpose of determining whether the subject's activities depict him as a potentially dangerous individual in time of a national emergency. Factors having a bearing upon an individual's potential dangerousness are numerous and will vary in each case in degree.]

Among such factors are:

I. Long continued membership in a subversive organization
II. Affiliation with or attendance at training schools, especially leadership schools
III. Frequent or regular attendance at organizational meetings and functions
IV. Subscriptions to publications of a subversive organization
V. Possession of or continued study of revolutionary literature
VI. Preparation or distribution of subversive propaganda and/or literature
VII. Holding positions in the subversive organization or in other organizations of a front character which indicate confidence of such organizations in his loyalty
VIII. Espousal of a subversive doctrine exemplified in his acts and utterances

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1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Dalbey
1 - Mr. Bishop

September 30, 1971

1 - Mr. Miller
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. Gray 1-Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. Wannall 1 - Mr. Dix
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. Branigan

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM

In view of the fact the President has signed the Act repealing Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which was commonly referred to as the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, your views are being solicited concerning FBI authority to continue investigations of subversive activity covered, in part, by this Act.

We have discontinued all planning for emergency apprehension and detention of those subjects listed in the Security Index, which is a list of individuals whose histories show they might engage in or conspire to engage in acts of espionage, or sabotage during a national emergency. We have likewise discontinued operation of the Security Index, which was an integral part of implementation of emergency apprehension.

EX-102 DEC 25

In addition to statutory authority provided in the Smith Act of 1940, Title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and statutes relating to espionage, sabotage, rebellion and insurrection, sedition and seditious conspiracy, we feel that authority for the FBI to conduct investigations of subversive activity and related activity is clearly set forth in certain Presidential Directives. For example, on June 26, 1939, the President issued a confidential directive to the heads of various Government Departments which stated: "It is my desire that the investigation of all espionage, and sabotage matters be controlled and handled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice...." On September 6, 1939, the President issued a Directive as follows: "The Attorney General has been requested by me to instruct the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice to take charge of investigative matters relating to espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and violations of neutrality regulations." This Directive also pointed out that "the investigations"(by the FBI)"must be conducted in a comprehensive and effective manner, on a national basis, and all information carefully sifted out and correlated in order to avoid confusion and irresponsibility."

NOTE: See memo Cotter to Miller 9/29/71 re "Emergency Detention Act Repeal/Security Index Program," prepared by TJS:mea.

Classified "Secret" as Emergency Detention Program (17) so classified by Department.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TJS:mea

Tolson
Felt
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Miller, E.S.
Callahan
Conrad
Dalbey
Cleveland
Gandy
Ingram
Cotter
Dix
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Eddy
Bates
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

The Attorney General

On January 8, 1943, the President issued a Directive reiterating his previous Directive of September 6, 1939, and subsequently on July 24, 1950, the President issued a third Directive, reiterating previous Directives of September 6, 1939, and January 8, 1943, and broadened the scope of investigative activity by the FBI to include "subversive activities and related matters" as well as the specific matters involving espionage and sabotage. On December 15, 1953, the President issued a statement in which he set forth the language contained in the combined Presidential Directives dated September 6, 1939, January 8, 1943, and July 24, 1950, concerning the investigative responsibility of the FBI in matters relating to "espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and related matters." The statement then pointed out the FBI is also charged with investigating all violations of the Atomic Energy Act and requested cooperation of all enforcement officers, as in the previous Directives, in reporting all information relating to violations of the Atomic Energy Act to the nearest representative of the FBI.

Based on interpretation of existing statutes and the language set forth in the various Presidential Directives cited above, we feel that the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act of 1950 has not eroded the FBI's authority and responsibility to conduct investigation of subversive activities and related matters. Likewise, we feel that the repeal of this Act does not limit the FBI's authority and responsibility to keep and maintain administrative records, including various indices, which may be necessary in fulfilling such responsibility and authority.

I strongly feel that irrespective of the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, the Federal Government must take whatever steps are necessary, within the law, to protect itself from all hostile forces bent on its destruction. We, therefore, feel that it is absolutely incumbent upon the FBI to continue investigations of those who pose a threat to the internal security of the country and to maintain an administrative index of such individuals as an essential part of our investigative responsibility. Such an index not only enables the FBI to pinpoint individuals who have exhibited a propensity to conduct acts inimical to national security, but also serves as an extremely valuable list of individuals who pose a continuing threat to the safety of the President and thereby enables us to provide current data to U. S. Secret Service concerning backgrounds and whereabouts of such individuals.

RECEIVED FROM
FBI

~~SECRET~~

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The Attorney General

You are therefore requested to advise whether you concur in our opinion that the FBI's authority and responsibility to investigate subversive activities and related matters has not been eroded by repeal of the Emergency Detention Act. You are further requested to advise if you concur in our opinion that the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act does not prohibit or limit the FBI's authority and responsibility to keep and maintain administrative records, including an administrative index of individuals under investigation in connection with subversive activities and related matters, which are necessary in fulfilling our investigative authority and responsibility.

In the past we have furnished the Internal Security Division on a monthly basis a current list of individuals listed on the Security Index. This has been discontinued. However, in the event you approve of our maintaining an administrative index, as described above, please advise whether the Internal Security Division desires a copy of any current list we might prepare in this regard.

You are also requested to advise what disposition should be made of warrants, sealed envelopes captioned "Department of Justice Instructions to United States Attorneys" and "Department of Justice Instructions to United States Marshals" which have been maintained in each of our field offices in connection with the Emergency Detention Program.

In view of the urgency of the matter and the critical need to continue an uninterrupted program of investigating subversive activities and related matters, you are requested to furnish a reply to the foregoing questions at the earliest possible time.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

RECEIVED FROM
FBI

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DEPARTM

10/22/71

DATE:

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : The Attorney General

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM

Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, B.S.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

This will acknowledge your memorandum of September 30, 1971 regarding the effect that the repeal of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended, has on the FBI's authority "to investigate subversive activities and related matters."

With respect to your initial inquiry, I wish to advise you that the FBI's authority to investigate violations of the espionage, sabotage, Smith Act, Atomic Energy Act and related statutes, as well as subversive activities and related matters in accordance with its statutory responsibilities and the Presidential directives, cited in your memorandum, remains unaffected by the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act.

Furthermore, the repeal of the aforementioned Act does not alter or limit the FBI's authority and responsibility to record, file and index information secured pursuant to its statutory and Presidential authority. An FBI administrative index compiled and maintained to assist the Bureau in making readily retrievable and available the results of its investigations into subversive activities and related matters is not prohibited by the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act.

EX-115 REC-60 3017

While the Department does not desire a copy of any lists that you may compile on the basis of such records or indices, the Internal Security Division should be furnished a monthly memorandum reflecting the identity of government employees who by significant acts or membership in subversive organizations, have demonstrated a propensity to commit acts inimical to our national security.

OCT 26 1971

With regard to Department instructions to the United States Attorneys and Marshals and related materials maintained in sealed envelopes in each of the Bureau's field offices, it is noted that such emergency documents were prepared on the basis of authority other than the Emergency Detention Act. A study is being undertaken within the Department as to the disposition to be made of those pre-positioned sealed instructions. When such a review has been completed you will be appropriately

EXP. PROC.

36 OCT 26 1971

RESEARCH SECTION

NOV 29

This document is prepared in response to your request and [illegible] for dissemination [illegible] Committee. Its use is limited [illegible] as by your [illegible] content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

(C) SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS - RESERVE INDEX -- The presently constituted Communist Index will henceforth be known as the "Reserve Index."

Institute a review of the Reserve Index. In conducting this review the following minimum steps are to be taken in all instances.

1. Verify residence and employment.

2. Conduct an indices search and file review to determine whether investigation is warranted at this time or whether an interview with the individual is deemed desirable. Interviews with the individuals will be handled in accordance with current Bureau instructions set forth in Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions.

3. If additional investigation is conducted or if there is unreported information of a subversive nature contained in the files, a report must be submitted.

The re-examination of the Reserve Index may be made in equal monthly divisions for one year. Advise the Bureau quarterly of your progress.

Recognizing that some individuals included in the Reserve Index represent a greater potential threat in time of an emergency than do others, this Reserve Index is being divided into two sections, Section A and Section B. Each is discussed separately herein.

SECTION A

Section A of the Reserve Index is designed to represent a special group of individuals who should receive priority consideration with respect to investigation and/or other action following the apprehension of our Security Index subjects.

Section A of the Reserve Index should include those individuals whose subversive activities do not bring them within the Security Index criteria, but who, in a time of national emergency, are in a position to influence others against the national interest or are likely to furnish material financial aid to subversive elements due to their subversive associations and ideology. Included in Section A will be those individuals falling within the following categories:

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1. Professors, teachers and educators.
2. Labor union organizers or leaders.
3. Writers, lecturers, newsmen, entertainers and others in the mass media field.
4. Lawyers, doctors and scientists.
5. Other potentially influential persons on a local or national level.
6. Individuals who could potentially furnish material financial aid.

During the course of the re-examination of the Reserve Index, those individuals falling within the above criteria for inclusion in Section A should be selected therefrom, handled in accordance with the above instructions and, thereafter, nominated for inclusion in Section A of the Reserve Index. Appropriate forms for this purpose will be forwarded all offices in the immediate future. Attached to the form recommending the inclusion of the individual's name in Section A of the Reserve Index should be a succinct summary setting forth the basis for your recommendation. If no further investigation is warranted in the case at this time or if no report is accompanying the recommendation, a statement to that effect should appear on the page containing the succinct summary.

Investigations of individuals listed in Section A of the Reserve Index are to be brought up to date annually, and they are to be considered for Security Index status or retention in the Reserve Index. As a minimum, the previously mentioned investigative steps will be taken, including the submission of reports in the event additional subversive data is developed. Changes in residence and/or employment should be submitted to the Bureau on forms to be furnished the field in the immediate future. The administrative handling of the reopening of these cases should be similar to that in the case of annual reports in Security Index cases.

Section A of the Reserve Index will be maintained in the field and at the Seat of Government in the same manner as our Security Index except that this Index will be maintained only alphabetically.

To avoid confusion with the Security Index, however, distinctive colored cards and forms used in connection therewith will be utilized.

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SECTION B

Section B, containing the names of the remaining individuals included in the Reserve Index, will be maintained in the field in the same manner in which the Communist Index is now being maintained.

Upon the deletion of a subject's name from the Security Index based upon the application of the Security Index criteria it will be necessary to consider whether his name should then be placed in Section A of the Reserve Index. If this name should be included, submit an appropriate recommendation. If the facts do not justify the inclusion of his name in Section A, the canceled Security Index card should be filed in Section B in accordance with current practice.

Standards for Inclusion of Names in the Reserve Index

The standards for inclusion of individual's names in the Reserve Index were discussed at the Internal Security - Espionage Conference composed of representatives from certain field offices and Bureau supervisors and officials held at the Bureau on June 9-10, 1960. The Conference recommended revision of our present standards for the inclusion of individual's names in the Reserve Index to insure that it fully represents a list of individuals who should be considered for investigation and/or other action following apprehension of our Security Index subject. The revised standards follow:

1. Membership in a basic revolutionary organization subsequent to January 1, 1949, together with some indication of sympathy or association with such an organization or a subversive front organization subsequent to the reported membership and no reliable evidence of defection.

2. Investigation has failed to substantiate allegations of membership in a revolutionary organization within the past five years, coupled with some evidence or information indicating activity, association or sympathy for the subversive cause within the same period, and no reliable evidence of defection.

3. The individual, within the past five years, by his associations, writings, financial support or conduct in relation to and support of subversive organizations or the international communist movement is in a position to influence others at the time of a national emergency and no reliable evidence of defection.

SAC LETTER NO. 60-30

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4. Leadership or substantial activities in a major subversive front group over three years ago, together with some evidence of continuing activity, association or sympathy for the subversive cause within three years and no reliable evidence of defection.

5. Membership in a subversive front organization within the past three years and no reliable evidence of defection.

It is not desired that a wholesale review of closed security cases be conducted in efforts to identify additional individuals whose names should be included in the Reserve Index under the revised standards. However, such names should be added as the cases come to the attention of Agents handling security work.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

12-10

Master Warrant of Arrest

WARRANT

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION:

In pursuance of authority delegated to the Attorney General of the United States by Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, I hereby authorize and direct you and your duly authorized agents to arrest or to cause the arrest of the persons whose names are set forth on the attached list and whom I deem dangerous to the public peace and safety of the United States.

These persons are to be detained and confined until further order.

I further authorize and direct you and your duly authorized agents, upon or subsequent to the arrest of any person set forth on the attached list and without regard to the place where such arrest may be made, to search any and all premises owned, occupied or controlled by such person, as well as any and all premises where such person is, or during the preceding twelve months period has been, employed or engaged in any regular activity, wherein it is believed that there may be found contraband, prohibited articles, or other materials in violation of the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, and as set forth in the Regulations issued pursuant thereto, and to seize and hold any such articles which you may find and make return thereof to the Attorney General.

I further authorize and direct that this warrant may be executed at any hour of the day or night.

By order of the President:

_____
Attorney General

Dated:

No. 1a

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12-1

~~1344~~

Master Search Warrant

WARRANT

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION:

In pursuance of authority delegated to the Attorney General of the United States, by Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, I hereby authorize and direct you and your duly authorized agents to make immediate search of certain premises located and described on the attached list wherein it is believed that there may be found contraband, prohibited articles, or other materials in violation of the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, and as set forth in the Regulations issued pursuant thereto, namely, firearms, weapons or implements of war or component parts thereof, ammunition, bombs, explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives, short-wave radio receiving sets, transmitting sets, signal devices, codes or ciphers, cameras, means for promoting biological warfare, radioactive materials, atomic devices, or component parts thereof, propaganda material of the enemy or insurgents, propaganda material which fosters, encourages or promotes the policies, programs or objectives of the enemy or insurgents, printing presses, mimeograph machines, or other reproducing media on which such propaganda aforementioned has been or is being prepared, records, including membership and financial records, of organizations or groups that have been declared subversive or may hereafter be declared subversive by the Attorney General, cash funds either in currency or coin, promissory notes or checks, securities of any nature, papers, documents, writings, code books, signal books, sketches, photographs, photograph negatives, blue prints, plans, maps, models, instruments, appliances, graphic representations, papers, documents, or books on which there may be invisible writing relating to or concerning any military, naval, or air, post,

No. 2a

camp, station or installation or equipment or of any arms, ammunition, implements of war, devices or things used or intended to be used in the combat equipment of the land, naval or air forces of the United States or of any military, naval, or air, post, camp, station or installation, and any and all files, dossiers, records, documents or papers of any kind which relate in any way to the identity, activities or operations of any person who is or may be engaged in espionage or sabotage against the interests of the United States.

I further authorize and direct you to seize and hold any such articles which you may find and make return thereof to the Attorney General.

I further authorize and direct that this warrant may be execut at any hour of the day or night.

By order of the President:

_____
Attorney General

Dated:

(F) SECURITY INDEX -- In connection with all security investigations in the case of individual subjects, the essential question for determination is whether the subject's activities are such as to depict him to be a potential danger to the national security of the United States in time of an emergency. In the event such a determination is made, his name should be included in the Security Index.

The Security Index criteria have been found to afford practical and workable guidelines in arriving at a conclusion as to whether a subject represents a potential danger and are sufficiently elastic so that when applied with the necessary judgment, the complex questions which may arise in connection with these cases can be resolved.

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(C) SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS -- The emergence of the new left movement as a subversive force dedicated to the complete destruction of the traditional values of our democratic society presents the Bureau with an unprecedented challenge in the security field. Although the new left has no definable ideology of its own, it does have strong Marxist, existentialist, nihilist and anarchist overtones. While mere membership in a new left group is not sufficient to establish that an individual is a potential threat to the internal security of the United States, it must be recognized that many individuals affiliated with the new left movement do, in fact, engage in violence or unlawful activities, and their potential dangerousness is clearly demonstrated by their statements, conduct and actions.

The Bureau has recently noted that in many instances security investigations of these individuals are not being initiated. In some cases, subjects are not being recommended for inclusion on the Security Index merely because no membership in a basic revolutionary organization could be established. Since the new left is basically anarchist, many of the leading activists in it are not members of any basic revolutionary group. It should be borne in mind that even if a subject's membership in a subversive organization cannot be proven, his inclusion on the Security Index may often be justified because of activities which establish his anarchistic tendencies. In this regard, you should constantly bear in mind that the public statements, the writings and the leadership activities of subjects of security investigations which establish them as anarchists are proper areas of inquiry. Such activity should be actively pursued through investigation with the ultimate view of including them on the Security Index. It is entirely possible, therefore, that a subject without any organizational affiliation can qualify for the Security Index by virtue of his public pronouncements and activities which establish his rejection of law and order and reveal him to be a potential threat to the security of the United States.

It is equally important to understand that mere dissent and opposition to Governmental policies pursued in a legal constitutional manner are not sufficient to warrant inclusion in the Security Index. You are reminded that one of the four criteria in Section 87D, Manual of Instructions, must apply. Further, in those cases requiring Bureau

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authority to initiate investigations, your requests must summarize information available to show the potential threat and not merely show anti-Vietnam or peace group sentiments without also revealing advocacy of violence or unlawful action which would justify an investigation.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

Enclosures for (B)

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EXHIBIT 61

13-1

10/28/68

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-446997)

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

The Bureau has noted increasing evidence of a continuing upsurge on the part of militant individuals and organizations to separate themselves from legitimate protest activities and to adopt a strong, anti-United States, violent, revolutionary position. These activities are commonly referred to as the New Left movement. The term "New Left" does not refer to a definite organization, but to a movement which is providing ideologies or platforms alternate to those of existing communist and other basic revolutionary organizations, the so-called "Old Left." The New Left movement is a loosely-bound, free-wheeling, college-oriented movement spearheaded by the Students for a Democratic Society and includes the more extreme and militant anti-Vietnam war and antidraft protest organizations. The militant leadership of these organizations appears determined to continue to stage militant demonstration activities designed primarily to effect confrontation with authority, particularly with the Federal Government.

Although the field has conducted, or is conducting, investigations of these individuals and organizations, there is a need to compile in a single investigative report a clear-cut picture of the entire New Left movement which will identify its leaders, sources of funds and propaganda outlets, and will show the extent to which the New Left movement has been influenced by domestic and foreign subversive elements.

EX 110 REC 26 100-446997-351

The ready availability of such information in brief, topical form will enable the field and the Bureau as well to make a self-analysis of all facets of our investigation of the

Enclosures - 3

2 - All Offices (Enclosures - 3)

19 OCT 28 1968

(131)

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

New Left movement so that we may expand and intensify our investigation of those phases indicating a need thereof. It will also serve to alert Government officials concerning the nature and extent of this aspect of subversive activities and will provide a comprehensive study of the whole movement from which its dangerousness to the national security can be assessed.

In order to obtain this picture, a program is being instituted immediately to prepare quarterly reports on the over-all New Left movement throughout the United States. Chicago is being designated office of origin and seven copies of all reports should be submitted by each field office. The initial report, which should be submitted to reach the Bureau by 12/1/68, will cover approximately the past two years of the New Left movement. It will include information heretofore reported under various titles and, of course, there will continue to be a reporting of this type of information under various other titles. After submission of the initial report, future reports will be submitted on a quarterly basis according to the enclosed schedule.

The initial report in this matter and succeeding reports will be designed to precisely spell out the full extent of the New Left movement. It will separate words and intentions from actions, mere participation from direct influence and the bona fide activist from the mere "do-gooder." Offices which have absolutely no information to report, either in the initial report or the quarterly reports thereafter, will be permitted to so advise the Bureau by letter in lieu of a report.

The enclosed report outline should be followed as to the numbered and lettered items. Where further breakdowns by numbers and letters are practical, it will be permissible to do so. The synopsis should be prepared for the purpose of providing a complete summary from which the strength of the movement in each field office territory can be quickly determined and a conclusion drawn by the reader as to the movement's over-all militancy and potential for violence. Make certain the synopsis is factual and supported by data in the details.

Subfiles have been opened for each office and for each topic. All communications and sections of the report should refer to the appropriate subfiles which are shown in the enclosed subfile breakdown.

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Airtel to SAC, Albany et al
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT
100-446897

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan dated 10/23/68 captioned as above as prepared by [redacted]

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NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - REPORT OUTLINE

To accurately and clearly show the true nature of the New Left movement, data concerning the following topics must be fully developed and reported. When material contains information which would be logically reported under more than one topic heading but to do so would make the separate accounts unintelligible, report all the material under the main heading and only refer to the information under the other breakdown. Do not repeat the same data under separate headings. All offices are to utilize the following breakdown in preparing quarterly reports on the New Left movement. Each subfile caption must start on a separate page.

I. NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

A. Organizations (Bureau file 100-446997-68)

(1) Organizations to be covered are those which are anti-United States and whose leaders have either expressed or implied the use of civil disobedience, anarchy, unlawful activity and/or violence in bringing about the overthrow of our political and economic system, abandoning our moral institutions and who have disclaimed loyalty to the United States. This would include Students for a Democratic Society and the more militant anti-Vietnam war and antidraft protest organizations.

(2) Under each organization include a paragraph covering the following points: when organized, objectives, locality in which active, whether part of a national organization. Include under each organization information as to officers and others in position of influence who have present or past subversive connections.

B. Membership (Bureau file 100-446997-69)

(1) Estimated number of members and sympathizers. In preparing estimates, best available informants and sources should be used. Explain in cover pages reason for any substantial increase or decrease in membership figures previously submitted. The number of members nationally and locally should be indicated.

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ENCLOSURE

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(2) Recruiting activities. Results of membership drives.

(3) Membership requirements.

C. Finances (Bureau file 100-446997-70)

(1) Income and expenditures.

(2) Plans and results of fund drives.

(3) Large contributions from known subversive groups.

(4) Identity of "angels."

(5) Receipt of funds from foreign sources.

D. Communist Influence (Bureau file 100-446997-71)

(1) Domestic (ties with Communist Party, USA, and other basic revolutionary groups). Policy concerning communist participation in organization's activities and use and distribution of communist propaganda.

(2) Foreign (include ties with foreign revolutionary centers as indicated by travel abroad, contacts with foreign embassies or other evidence).

E. Publications (Bureau file 100-446997-72)

(1) Offices covering place of publication should describe publication, show circulation and principal members of editorial staff. Auxiliary offices need only to refer to the fact that the publication is circulated in its territory and describe method of circulation.

(2) Description of New Left publications published abroad and circulated in the United States.

F. Violence (Bureau file 100-446997-73)

(1) Acts of violence or plans to commit same, identities of leaders and participants.

(2) Possession of weapons and instruments of destruction.

(3) Statements advocating use of violence.

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G. Religion (Bureau file 100-446997-74)

(1) Policy relating to approach to religion.

(2) Vehement statements made against religious bodies by leaders.

(3) Support of movement by religious groups or individuals.

H. Race Relations (Bureau file 100-446997-75)

(1) Show if organization was involved in racial disturbances and any prosecutive action taken as a result.

(2) Show extent of cooperation with militant racial groups.

I. Political Activities (Bureau file 100-446997-76)

(1) Political activities in which New Left leaders are involved.

(2) Details relating to position taken on political matters including efforts to influence public opinion, the electorate and Government bodies.

J. Ideology (Bureau file 100-446997-77)

(1) Statement of leaders attacking United States policies, including civil disturbances, affinity for the aims and purposes of revolutionary groups and show support for Marxism-Leninism.

K. Education (Bureau file 100-446997-78)

(1) Information relating to material furnished membership which advocates use of violence in obtaining objectives.

(2) Information relating to education of both new and experienced members.

(3) Courses given together with any educational outlines and assigned or suggested reading.

L. Social Reform (Bureau file 100-446997-79)

(1) Activities in connection with demonstrations aimed at social reform. Include organization's over-all policy.

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M. Labor (Bureau file 100-446997-80)

(1) Information including all activity in the labor field.

N. Public Appearances of Leaders (Bureau file 100-446997-81)

(1) Identity of leader who makes public appearance on radio and television and who appears before groups, such as labor, church and minority groups.

(2) Date and place of such appearance, identity of group sponsoring speaker and succinct summary of subject matter discussed.

O. Factionalism (Bureau file 100-446997-82)

(1) Any unusual disputes or arguments between leaders.

P. Security Measures (100-446997-83)

(1) Unusual security measures taken by organization to protect identity of leaders and members.

Q. International Relations (Bureau file 100-446997-84)

(1) Information relating to communication or contact between New Left organizations in the United States and New Left organizations in foreign countries.

(2) Identities of New Left leaders who plan to travel in foreign countries, including the reason for their travel.

(3) Identities of New Left leaders from foreign countries who travel in the United States, including the purpose of their travel.

(4) New Left movement strategy and tactics directed to attacks on United States foreign policy and support of Soviet and satellite foreign policy.

R. Mass Media (Bureau file 100-446997-85)

(1) Influence of New Left on mass media.

(2) Indications of support of New Left by mass media.

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4. Individuals to be investigated

It is not possible to formulate any hard-and-fast standards by which the dangerousness of individual members or affiliates of revolutionary organizations may be automatically measured because of manner revolutionary organizations function and great scope and variety of activities. Exercise sound judgment and discretion in evaluating importance and dangerousness of individual members or affiliates.

As a general policy, investigate the activities of any individual falling within one or more of the following categories who does not come within one of the restrictions on investigations listed under 87D, 5, below:

a. Membership in basic revolutionary organizations subsequent to 1-1-49

b. Espousing line of revolutionary movements

(1) Any individual who, since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea (6-25-50), continued to espouse the line of one or more of the above-mentioned revolutionary organizations or related groups thereby defining his or her adherence to policies opposed to best interests of the U. S.

(2) Espousal mentioned above encompasses a wide variety and range of activities. Membership in one or more of the basic revolutionary organizations is not a prerequisite to the institution of an investigation of an individual within this category.

(3) Espousal expressed by membership or active participation in subversive front groups (whether or not cited by the Attorney General) must be evaluated in each case. Consider nature and type of front organization, as well as extent of individual's activities on behalf of the front organization or in support of the basic revolutionary organization. Open investigation in every instance in which information available indicates a subject is actively engaged in the affairs of a subversive front organization in a leadership capacity or by active participation in the furtherance of the aims and purposes of the front organization.

(4) Do not open an investigation on mere membership alone in a front organization in the absence of allegations of active participation or leadership in the group unless information is available indicating past membership at any time in a basic revolutionary organization or sufficient other derogatory information is known.

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(5) In evaluating this type of case, carefully consider the nature and activities of the front organization in behalf of the Communist Party or other revolutionary organizations throughout the country or in a certain area.

c. Special training in a subversive movement
(1) Training in the Lenin School or in a subversive movement abroad
(2) Leadership training in one of the basic revolutionary organizations mentioned above

d. Military service
(1) Service in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Membership in one of the basic revolutionary organizations is not a prerequisite to initiating investigations in this category.
(2) Service in the military forces of any country, including the U. S. armed forces or the Office of Strategic Services whenever there is an allegation that an individual has been a member of one of the basic revolutionary organizations at any time

[e. [redacted]]

[redacted]

f. Other individuals with revolutionary beliefs
Individuals who, because of anarchist or revolutionary beliefs, are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety and welfare. Membership or affiliation in basic revolutionary or front groups is not a prerequisite to initiating investigations of this type. Use sound judgment and discretion in this evaluation.

Falling within the above category are members of the [redacted]. When it is known or becomes known that this organization is active in the field office territory, a security-type investigation of all individuals who are reported to be (1) functionaries or leaders of the [redacted] or (2) active participants in carrying out fanatical and disloyal aims of the organization should be initiated. Investigations should not be initiated based on mere membership alone.

During the course of security investigations of individuals affiliated with the [redacted] be alert for any information indicating a possible violation of the Selective Service Act.

The above standards for institutions of investigations of individuals are not to be interpreted as all-inclusive. Where there is doubt an individual may be a current threat to the internal security of the nation, the question should be resolved in the interest of security and investigation conducted.

The categories specified as a through f above are to be distinguished from

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EXHIBIT 63-

15-1

(G) DEVELOPMENT OF SOURCES IN RACIAL MATTERS - AMERICAN LEGION CONTACT PROGRAM - PLANT INFORMANT PROGRAM -- In our over-all current efforts to increase the quantity and quality of coverage of racial matters, the use of the American Legion Contact and Plant Informant Programs has been given serious consideration. The selfish utilization of the current Negro struggle for civil rights is not restricted to those individuals described as subversive because of affiliation with the Communist Party, USA, or other left groups. As an example, hate groups such as the Klans, are exploiting the tension developed in the South as the result of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Appealing to prejudice and bigotry, the promotion of "white supremacy" is the primary goal of these right extremists with specific targets including the foreign-born, Catholics and Jews. Bearing in mind our responsibilities in this field, not only to get evidence and intelligence data, but to be aware of all related data on which preventive measures may be taken, you should take the following steps:

Where feasible and you consider it to the Bureau's advantage, contacts and informants included in these two programs should be advised of the Bureau's interest and responsibility in covering activities which may be considered racial in nature. This should be done during the next scheduled meeting. A prerequisite to initiating this program is a thorough knowledge of current instructions pertaining to racial matters, sources and informants, particularly those specific instructions concerning acts of violence. The individuals contacted should be made sufficiently familiar with the Bureau's desires in this matter so as to avoid the receipt of nebulous information. Along this line, you should take no steps that might diminish our efforts of gathering intelligence data, even though there is no immediate and apparent Federal violation. We have a definite responsibility of advising appropriate governmental agencies on both a national and local level of information relating to racial incidents. Extreme care must be exercised to insure there is no misunderstanding of the Bureau's position and goal in the racial field. Of particular importance is the insurance that there is no basis for misinterpretation resulting in a false impression that our action infringes upon the freedoms of speech and assemblage of a person or group. To the contrary, our concern includes the guarantee of civil rights and equality under law for all.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure for (A)

2-23-65
SAC LETTER NO. 65-8

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 374

(C) INVESTIGATION OF UNAFFILIATED WHITE RACIAL EXTREMISTS - RACIAL MATTERS -- Under existing instructions, investigation of white extremists is restricted to those individuals who are associated with the Klan or other white hat -type organizations. In view of the recent marked increase in violent acts throughout the United States on the part of individuals who are not affiliated with the Klan or other white hate-type organizations, it is necessary to modify existing instructions to broaden the scope of our investigative responsibilities to include these unaffiliated individuals.

Investigation has established that many of the individuals involved in these recent acts of violence, although not currently members of the Klan or other white hate-type groups, did have previous affiliation with such groups and still maintain their extremist tendencies.

Hereafter, investigation must be promptly instituted on these unaffiliated white racial extremists and their activities closely followed.

In conducting these investigations, you should be guided by instructions set out in Section 122A, Volume IV, Manual of Instructions, which apply to investigations of the Klan and white hate-type organizations and associated individuals. Appropriate manual and handbook revisions will be forthcoming.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 375

(B) WHITE MILITANT GROUPS - RACIAL MATTERS (ORGANIZATION) -- In view of increasing militancy in the racial field, neighborhood groups whose members are of the white race, have been springing up throughout the United States. Some of these groups appear to be militant in nature and some urge the white man to arm himself as a means of protection against racial violence. Some of these groups are known to sponsor demonstrations against integration and against the bussing of Negro students to white schools. Others appear to advocate more violent methods of opposition to integration. The appearance of these groups is noted mostly in the white ghetto areas of the large cities which border on minority group living areas.

In order to fulfill our responsibilities in the racial intelligence field we must be cognizant of the groups and their aims and purposes. Upon receipt of information as to the formation or existence of such a group, a preliminary investigation should be immediately initiated to determine the aims and purposes of the organization, its leaders, approximate membership, as well as any pertinent background data which will assist in determining the militancy of the group.

From information presently available, it appears that many of these organizations have been founded on principles of fear rather than hate and as such, they cannot be classified as hate groups. Your investigations should, therefore, be discreet and most circumspect. You should limit your inquiries to a review of Bureau files, contacts with Bureau informants, and established sources, and the use of public source information.

Upon completion of your investigations, a communication in form suitable for dissemination should be forwarded to the Bureau together with a recommendation as to whether additional investigation is warranted under Section 122A of the Manual of Instructions as it pertains to the investigation of Klan and white hate groups.

In addition to the above, I wish to point out to you the possibility of reactions by the Klan, white hate groups, and residents of white ghetto areas to the recent wave of racial disorders resulting from the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. You should remain alert to this possibility. Informant coverage of the Klan, white hate groups, and white ghetto areas must be intensified so that plans of retaliation or overt action are known to the Bureau prior to their taking place.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 376

(F) COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY -- The Congress of Racial Equality under the leadership of Floyd McKissick has steadily moved away from a legitimate civil rights organization in recent months and is assuming a militant black nationalist posture with some leaders in their public statements condoning acts of violence as a means of attaining Negro rights. It is moving toward the exclusion of members of the white race from its ranks. Communist infiltration at this point is negligible. In view of the above, this organization should be investigated in the future under the Racial Matters character rather than under the Communist Infiltration character.

You should, of course, in your continuing investigation of the Congress of Racial Equality be alert to the participation of Communist Party members in the organization or communist influence therein. However, your investigation should be directed toward developing in detail intelligence information regarding the basic aims and objectives of the organization, its activities and programs on a current basis, and any information indicating that members thereof advocate violence as a means of attaining their objectives or participate in actual violence.

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(B) REPORTING OF PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS --. The Bureau has noted a trend toward incomplete and nonspecific reporting of disruptive, anti-Government demonstrations and protest rallies. It is often necessary to go back to the reporting office for pertinent details concerning these disorders, which results in delayed dissemination. Details which have been neglected include failure to report number of protesters present, identities of organizations, and identities of speakers and leading activists.

The necessity for full and complete reporting must be impressed on all personnel handling these matters. Existing instructions require that communications reporting such incidents are to be submitted under a substantive case caption with a brief, accurate description of the event: for example, Students for a Democratic Society - Demonstration Against ROTC, University of Wisconsin, 4/25/72. Where multiple organizations are involved, the group primarily responsible for organizing the demonstration should be utilized in the caption.

When your original communication concerning a disruptive demonstration does not contain all pertinent details, you should set forth what steps you are taking to obtain this information. Make certain that you submit recommendations for initiating investigation of sponsoring organizations, if warranted, under criteria set forth in Section 87B, Manual of Instructions. For proper routing of information at the Bureau continue to use code words "VIDEM" (Vietnam Demonstration) and "STAG" (Student Agitation). Persons arrested should be identified, since circumstances of an arrest, in some cases, may indicate a propensity for violence. In considering whether a security investigation of an individual is warranted, it should be noted that a mere arrest in connection with a demonstration is insufficient basis in itself for investigation. The arrest must be coupled with a demonstrated propensity for violence or with subversive or revolutionary activity on the part of the individual arrested.

The above guidelines are intended to reiterate and clarify existing instructions and you must insure that in reporting these matters you adhere to Bureau requirements.

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(C) DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM (VIDEM) -- Current Bureau instructions require that all information developed regarding such demonstrations be submitted to the Bureau by teletype for immediate dissemination to the White House and other interested Government agencies, followed by a letterhead memorandum for routine dissemination to the intelligence community. In addition, certain offices submit quarterly reports concerning demonstrations which have occurred during the previous three months.

Continue to submit teletypes as instructed; however, effective immediately, a separate letterhead memorandum regarding each routine demonstration should be discontinued. In the future each office should transmit to the Bureau by the close of business each Monday a letterhead memorandum reporting on demonstrations during the past week.

Offices submitting quarterly reports are to discontinue them. In order to facilitate handling at the Seat of Government, all communications reporting on antiwar demonstrations are to be furnished the Bureau under the VIDEM caption. Discontinue the use of organizational captions. Continue to include pertinent information concerning activity in demonstrations in organizational and individual reports where applicable.

During your coverage of demonstrations you should be particularly alert to violations of various federal laws such as the Selective Service Act. All criminal violations should be reported under the appropriate caption.

The Bureau will issue separate instructions concerning the coverage of and the reporting on major demonstrations.

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(H) INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT -- There has been a marked increase in recent months of bombings and burnings of public buildings and other acts of terrorism which could logically have been perpetrated by extremist elements of the New Left. New Left leaders have constantly exhorted their followers to abandon their traditional role of "passive dissent" and resort to acts of violence and terrorism as a means of disrupting the defense effort and opposing established authority. Publications of the New Left are replete with articles proposing the bombings of draft boards and other Government installations, and literature containing detailed diagrams and instructions for making incendiary devices has been widely disseminated among New Left groups.

I have been appalled by the reaction of some of our field offices to some of the acts of violence and terrorism which have occurred, such as those which have recently taken place in certain college towns and in some instances on college campuses. While it is recognized that many of these acts do not constitute violations of law within the primary investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau, it is essential, where the strong presumption exists that acts of violence have been perpetrated by New Leftists or other subversive elements under investigation by the Bureau, that every logical effort should be made to resolve through contact with established sources whether these elements are in fact responsible for such acts. Of course, good judgment and extreme caution must be utilized in this connection so as not to convey the impression to the public or other investigative agencies that we are assuming jurisdiction in those instances where there are not facts which would establish FBI jurisdiction.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that positive results can be achieved only through the development of adequate high quality informants who are in a position to obtain detailed information regarding the activities and future plans of individuals and organizations affiliated with the New Left movement.

When terroristic acts occur which by reason of the target of the act or by reason of the locale would appear to fit into the objectives of or could have been motivated by subversive elements, particularly New Leftists, I expect an immediate and aggressive response from you

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in the form of alerting and directing all logical sources and informants into activity to determine if subversive groups could have been responsible.

I have reminded you time and again that the militancy of the New Left is escalating daily. Unless you recognize this and move in a more positive manner to identify subversive elements responsible so that appropriate prosecutive action, whether federally or locally initiated, can be taken, this type of activity can be expected to mount in intensity and to spread to college campuses across the country. This must not be allowed to happen and I am going to hold each Special Agent in Charge personally responsible to insure that the Bureau's responsibilities in this area are completely met and fulfilled.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

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(B) SECURITY AND EXTREMIST INFORMANT PAYMENTS - SUBMISSION OF JUSTIFICATION LETTERS -- As you are aware, all security and extremist informants receiving compensation from the Bureau are paid on the basis of the value of information furnished, services rendered, and expenses incurred.

It is the responsibility of each Special Agent in Charge to insure all expenditures for information are on a strict c.o.d. basis commensurate with the value of the information furnished. In this regard, it has recently been noted that some justification letters do not contain a complete detailed justification for monies paid to informants. In the future, assure that these letters contain a complete detailed justification in order that FBIHQ can make a reasonable determination as to whether or not full value is being received for all monies expended for payments to informants.

In submitting your justification, avoid using generalities and in each instance set out, under the summary of information furnished, specific details of significant information furnished, including examples. In other words, in addition to setting forth such information as the number of meetings attended and/or the number of individuals reported on, you must set forth specific information being reported by the informant regarding activities of the organization and/or individual which would warrant the payments recommended.

This matter will continue to receive careful attention at FBIHQ and you will be held personally accountable to insure that all payments are fully justified. These instructions should be called to the attention of all Special Agents in your office handling informants and sources.

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

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(B) INFORMANTS AND SOURCES - PAYMENTS -- As you are aware informants and sources receiving compensation from the Bureau are reimbursed on the basis of the value of the information reported, services performed and expenses incurred. An increasing tendency has been observed in field submissions to request special payments or justify regular payments for informants or sources seemingly based on personal needs of the informant as distinct from the value of information furnished and legitimate and related expenses incurred. The personal needs of an informant, such as repair of a vehicle, illness or other pressing necessity for funds, do not meet the basic criteria of information furnished or related expenses. Informants should not be influenced to believe we will pay for such personal needs. The basic concept that the informant is selling information of value on a c.o.d. basis, much as an independent contractor, and is not an employee must be adhered to and understood by contacting Agents and the informants.

This does not, however, preclude use of imagination and innovation when a source of considerable potential value needs financial inducement to engage in gathering of information under conditions which will take time to reach fruition and may involve considerable risk and hardship. In such instances you should fully develop the facts and present them to FBIHQ for approval prior to making any commitment.

This matter will continue to receive careful attention at FBIHQ and you will be held accountable to insure that payments are for value received. These instructions should be called to the attention of all Special Agents in your office handling informants and sources.

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(D) SECURITY INFORMANTS AND SOURCES - PAYMENTS -- As you are aware, all security informants and sources receiving compensation from the Bureau are paid on the basis of the value of information furnished, services rendered and incurred expenses. Recently, it has been noted that some informants and sources have been paid consistently the same amount each month with no variation in payments during periods when the informants or sources were less productive, which leads to the illogical implication that information furnished or expenses incurred or both seldom, if ever, vary. This practice must be discontinued. Your informants and sources must understand they are independent contractors remunerated on a C.O.D. basis, and they must never be led to believe they are recipients of a fixed salary.

This matter will continue to receive careful consideration at the Seat of Government and you will be held accountable to insure that payments are for value received and no fixed patterns continue to develop. These instructions should be called to the attention of all Special Agents in your office handling security informants and sources.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 384

(D) ACCESS TO RECORDS MAINTAINED BY BANKING INSTITUTIONS - The following legal analysis is being provided for guidance in responding to inquiries concerning FBI access to records maintained by banking institutions.

Bank records generally are available in response to the auth of a Grand Jury subpoena or other appropriate order of a court. In the absence of such authority, access to records upon request may be appro by the courts depending upon the nature of the investigation and the scop of the request.

Generally, the case decisions have divided on the distinctio between requests for information needed to establish the elements of a criminal offense or to aid in discharging essential governmental responsibilities and requests having no such basis. Access to records based on a request in the first category has been approved due to the reasonableness of the bank's response to a public duty to disclose the information. Requests of the latter type may be prompted by an agency desire simply to monitor the existence and degree of association of individuals or groups. Such review of bank records for intelligence gathering per se may be difficult, if not impossible, to defend against claim of First Amendment violation.

For example, in Pollard v. Roberts, 283 F. Supp. 248 (ED Ark. 1968), affirmed 393 U.S. 14, a prosecutor, conducting an investigation of allegations of vote buying, sought access to the bank account of the political group named. The account data would have sho not only payments made by drafts upon the account but also the amount of political contributions to the account and the identities of the contri The court enjoined production of the account data except for the record expenditures and expressed the opinion that the information regarding upon the account was appropriately available to the prosecutor looking alleged vote buying but that the other records of contributors' account protected by the First Amendment.

The theory at work here is that the right of people to asso in groups to advocate and promote legitimate political, social or econ action is protected even though such action may be controversial. If associated groups or their objectives are unpopular, revelation of the

MM 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 385

identities of members may provoke reprisals from those opposed and fear of such reprisals may discourage the free exercise of constitutional rights. Therefore, governmental action which has the effect of impairing enjoyment of the First Amendment is carefully limited by the courts.

The court noted that disclosure of the bank records identifying the contributors to a political association might be approved only where there is a showing of a rational connection between the disclosure of such information and a legitimate government end and that the government interest is cogent and compelling. Moreover, even when disclosure would be approved under such conditions, a sweeping and indiscriminate disclosu in excess of the legitimate need would not be approved.

A similar result occurred in The Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, et al. v. J. Edgar Hoover, et al., 70 Civ. 2646, SDNY (1972), (unreported)(appeal pending) where the plaintiffs sought an injunction prohibiting access to account information in the absence of a subpoena. The court dismissed the suit on the grounds that the governme interests were legitimate and that the plaintiffs had not shown any basis for their claim that the information obtained from the bank interfered with the enjoyment of their First Amendment rights.

In this case, the FBI sought information concerning the numb of persons who might be expected to attend protest activities at Washingt D.C., on November 14, 15, and 16, 1969. Further, information was sought as to any indication that acts of violence might occur. One source of such information was the bank account established to provide transpor tation for participants from New York City. The total of the deposits would provide an indication of the extent of the transportation required a therefore the numbers of participants that could be expected.

Access to bank records in investigations of criminal offense having no First Amendment implications provides fewer legal difficultie A good example is United States v. Gross, 416 F2d 1205 (8th Cir. 1969) cert. den. 397 U.S. 1013, in which a prosecution for mail and wire frau arising out of a check kiting scheme was based on a review of bank reco The defendant claimed the records were inadmissible because they were private, were obtained without the consent of the defendant and were the product of an unlawful search and seizure. The court disagreed and hel

that such records are not the property of the customer and the customer has no standing to object on Fourth or Fifth Amendment grounds. While the records in this case were obtained by subpoena, the important principle to be observed is that the records do not belong to the depositor but to the bank. Therefore, even in the absence of a subpoena, access to bank records pursuant to an official request in a criminal case would not taint the evidence.

Consistent with this result is the decision in United States v. Gerhart, 275 F. Supp. 433 (SD W. Va. 1967) in which the court approved the practice of the FBI in examining checks presented to the bank for payment by a gambler who had accepted them from patrons of his gambling establishment. The court's decision was based on the principle that once the checks had been honored at the bank they became the property of the bank and the gambler lost all legal interest in them.

General guidelines may be drawn from the above authorities to describe the limitations on FBI access and use of the information in bank records. They are available principally by subpoena but also by request where the need for them can be demonstrated in a criminal case or in a security matter involving important government interests such as those in the Fifth Avenue case. Not the Fourth or Fifth Amendments, but the First Amendment, stands in the way of unlimited review of bank records and the rights it protects may be found to be more important than the government interest behind the request even though the request is formalized in a subpoena. Only impartial judicial analysis of each case wherein such conflict occurs will resolve the issue whether disclosure by the bank is necessary or proper.

In the course of liaison contacts, bank representatives may express a different view in these matters because the banks stand in a special relationship with the account holders. Some courts have recognized an implied contractual requirement on the banks in favor of their depositors to keep account records free from outside scrutiny until disclosure is compelled by court order. Peterson v. Idaho First National Bank, 367 P2d 284 (Idaho 1961) (individual depositor); Milohnich v. First National Bank of Miami Springs, 224 So. 2d 759 (District Court of Appeal, Florida, 1969) (corporate depositor); Brex v. Smith, 146 A24 (Court of Chancery, New Jersey, 1929) (class action - depositors protected were all members of the

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 387

Newark, New Jersey, Police Department) However, it should be noted that the court in the Fifth Avenue case also dismissed the suit against the bank, from which the record information had been obtained, on the ground that by simply acceding to the FBI request the bank did nothing to intrude upon the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs.

Review of bank records should be requested only when needed to meet a legitimate investigative objective. Where such access is denied or where established policy of denial makes such request unnecessary, and the information is still desired, advise the Bureau promptly.

(Security pages attached)

MM 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 388

EXHIBIT 64. 16-1.

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. A. Rosen

EX-116

SAC, Albany

5/22/69

REC-20 - 228

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
1 - Mr. I. W. Conrad
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. E. R. Stark

USE OF CONCEALED RECORDING DEVICES IN COVERING PUBLIC APPEARANCES BY BLACK AND NEW LEFT EXTREMISTS

Each public appearance by Black and New Left extremists represents a potential for obtaining admissible evidence for possible prosecution under Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 2383 (Rebellion and Insurrection), Section 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), and Section 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government). Since appearances by such extremists who regularly make highly inflammatory statements have substantially increased, the Bureau considers it necessary to reiterate and expand on prior instructions issued to insure that appropriate action is being taken from an evidentiary standpoint. In this connection the use of concealed recording devices should become an integral part of overall efforts to secure the data necessary to prove a violation.

Coverage of these Black and New Left extremists must be such that an office will learn in advance of proposed public speaking engagements. The office responsible for the locale where the speech is scheduled must make immediate plans for the taping of remarks through use of a concealed recording device [ ] By utilizing such a device a verbatim transcript will be readily available and the amount of necessary corroborating evidence will be reduced. When use of a concealed recording device appears to be warranted and can be accomplished with full security, furnish the Bureau with details pertaining to the appearance plus data which it is expected will be obtained [ ] Include also the recommendation of the SAC, No recording device is to be used until specific Bureau authority has been obtained.

2 - All Offices

1 - 62-11228 (STAG)

ERS:lkk/rmm

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

(120) JUN 10 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: USE OF CONCEALED RECORDING DEVICES

Recordings obtained [ ] are to be handled as evidence and should be reviewed in the field office responsible for obtaining same. Inflammatory remarks are to be set forth verbatim and other pertinent data summarized in a letterhead memorandum. A copy of the tape should then be forwarded to the Bureau.

If it is not possible to cover public appearances through use of a concealed recording device, or otherwise recorded for evidentiary use, the Bureau is to be advised in the cover communication transmitting the letterhead memorandum why such action was not possible.

In those instances where copies of taped recordings of speeches by Black and New Left extremists are furnished by police departments, for example, it will be necessary to similarly review the material, report the information as outlined above, and forward a copy to the Bureau. Additionally, under these circumstances, you should advise in the cover communication of the location of the original tape and the identity of the individual who can introduce it in a court of law.

It is expected that all Agent personnel engaged in Racial and New Left investigations will be familiar with the contents of this communication.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 5/21/69, captioned as above, and prepared by [ERS:lkk/rmm.]

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 390

16-2

SAC, New York (100-151548)

April 24, 1964

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
(Field Supervision)
1 -
1 -

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNYlet 4/14/64, copy to Atlanta, which set out an analysis and evaluation of the New York Office's aspects of captioned investigation along with certain recommendations relative to future investigative activity in this matter. Relet was in response to a solicitation made of receiving offices by Bulet 4/1/64.

Instant communication is for the purpose of commenting upon New York's analysis concerning Bayard Rustin, an individual concerning whom New York is origin and who is a key figure in the racial movement today.

It is stated in referenced New York letter "Although Rustin contacted Davis, it is not believed that he is in contact with other CP leaders, or that he is sympathetic to the CP cause." This appears to be a conclusion of the New York Office which could dictate the course of investigation relating to Rustin as well as Rustin's involvement in captioned matter. The Bureau, therefore, desires to make a number of observations to insure that there is no de-emphasis of our interest in Rustin and that he is properly evaluated in light of all we know about him. Just prior to the above quoted portion of referenced New York letter, it is stated that there has not been any indication that Rustin has contacted any Party leaders except Benjamin J. Davis and that Rustin asked Davis' advice as to how he could escape from speaking at a rally sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba. It is elsewhere stated in referenced New York letter that in the recent past Davis was in contact with Rustin. As you are aware, Davis is a high Party functionary and Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Party. The fact that he is an important

1 - Atlanta (100-6520)

1 - 100-153700 (Bayard Rustin)

(3)

RECEIVED
DEC 25 SEP 8 1965
10 APR 29 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Gandy

MAIL ROOM

Letter to New York
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
RACIAL QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
100-3-116

figure in the Party is undoubtedly known to Rustin and the fact that Rustin would seek Davis' advice is believed to be of prime significance.

The Bureau does not agree with the expressed belief of the New York Office that Rustin is not sympathetic to the Party cause. While there may not be any direct evidence that Rustin is a communist neither is there any substantial evidence that he is anticommunist. Relet pointed out, in substantiation of the belief that Rustin is not sympathetic to the Party cause, that he, as late as 4/9/64, in addressing a meeting at Pyack, New York, said he was opposed to the communist movement. This the Bureau takes as a self serving statement on the part of Rustin and it is understandable that he would make such a public statement, even without regard to his true beliefs, in light of the recent adverse publicity he received, particularly in New York City newspapers, for his involvement in the public school boycott in New York City earlier this year and subsequent exposure of his contact with the Soviet mission to the United Nations.

It is also desired to call your attention to the portion of relet dealing with your office's coverage in connection with captioned matter. It is stated at the top of page 2 of relet "It is felt that this coverage is adequate..." In light of the extreme importance which the Bureau has attached to instant matter and the ever increasing importance of the racial and civil rights issues on the national scene, the Bureau cannot adjudge as adequate any coverage which does not positively provide to the Bureau 100 per cent of the intelligence relating to the communist influence in racial matters. Obviously we are not securing all the information that is pertinent and needs to be secured. Our coverage, therefore, is not deemed as adequate.

The matters discussed above are being pointedly brought to your attention to insure that there is no deficiencies in the investigation concerning Rustin and [redacted] no stone being left unturned in your efforts to increase coverage in this area both as to quality or quantity. The Bureau desires that you will give this matter your closest personal attention to insure the necessary attention is being given by Agents and supervisory personnel.

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 392

10-3 121

6/27/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

RACIAL MATTERS

In order that the Bureau's information will be complete and absolutely current, it is essential that all offices promptly sutel information concerning racial demonstrations, meetings, arrests arising out of racial matters, results of court action, and any other pertinent information concerning racial activity. Steps should be taken to furnish pertinent information so that it will be received prior to midnight on the day of occurrence. Activities which occur after midnight should also be [illegible] to the Bureau so that there will be sufficient time at the Bureau to review and coordinate the information prior to the beginning of the next regular work day. When activities continue throughout the night, the Bureau is to be telephonically advised of the current status of the activities before 7:00 a.m., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

Each office must also assume responsibility for following up scheduled racial activity and promptly advising the Bureau of subsequent developments. Whenever the Bureau has been advised that a meeting, demonstration, or other pertinent activity will take place, coverage must be continued and the Bureau promptly informed as to whether the anticipated activity actually occurred, and pertinent details of what transpired. If a planned racial activity is cancelled or postponed, the Bureau should also be promptly advised.

JUN 26 4 51 PM '63

[57-6-93]

All Continental

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COMM-FBI

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VLM:kak:cac

(4)

Note: See Rosen to Belmont memo 6-26-63, same capti

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Leach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person without the express approval of the FBI.

November 4, 197

Airtel

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Casper
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Glass

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

BLACK STUDENT GROUPS ON
COLLEGE CAMPUSES
RACIAL MATTERS
BUDED: 12/4/70

Increased campus disorders involving black students pose a definite threat to the Nation's stability and security and indicate need for increase in both quality and quantity of intelligence information on Black Student Unions (BSU) and similar groups which are targets for influence and control by violence-prone Black Panther Party (BPP) and other extremists. The distribution of the BPP newspaper on college campuses and speakers of the BPP and other black extremist groups on campuses clearly indicate that campuses are targets of extremists. Advance information on disorders and violence is of prime importance. We must target informants and sources to develop information regarding these groups on a continuing basis to fulfill our responsibilities and to develop such coverage where none exists.

REC-84 [illegible]

Effective immediately, all BSUs and similar organizations organized to project the demands of black students, which are not presently under investigation, are to be subjects of discreet, preliminary inquiries, limited to established sources and carefully conducted to avoid criticism, to determine the size, aims, purposes, activities, leadership, key activists, and extremist

2 - All Offices

CEG:ekw
(121)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Copy of this document stolen M.P.D. Pd. 3/8/71

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interest or influence in these groups. Open individual cases on officers and key activists in each group to determine background and if their activities warrant active investigation. Submit results of preliminary inquiries in form suitable for dissemination with recommendations regarding active investigations of organization, its leaders, and key activists. These investigations to be conducted in accordance with instructions in Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions regarding investigations of organizations connected with institutions of learning.

Each office submit by airtel to reach Bureau by 12/4/70, a list of BSUs and similar groups by name and school which are or will be subjects of preliminary inquiries. This program will include junior colleges and two-year colleges as well as four-year colleges. In connection with this program, there is a need for increased source coverage and we must develop network of discreet quality sources in a position to furnish required information. Bear in mind that absence of information regarding these groups in any area might be the fault of inadequate source coverage and efforts should be undertaken immediately to improve this coverage.

A prior inquiry or investigation of a group or individual is no bar to current inquiries and inquiries should not be postponed until submission of airtel due 12/4/70. Initiate inquiries immediately.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of expeditious, thorough, and discreet handling of these cases. The violence, destruction, confrontations, and disruptions on campuses make it mandatory that we utilize to its capacity our intelligence-gathering capabilities.

Above instructions supersede instructions in Bureau letter to all offices 1/31/69, same caption.

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan, dated 11/3/70, captioned "Black Student Groups on College Campuses, Racial Matters," prepared by CEG:ekw.

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EXHIBIT 63

Mr. Tolson 10/29/70

The Executives Conference

III. C. 1. d
II - F - 1

EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

PROPOSED INTENSIFICATION OF CERTAIN INVESTIGATIONS IN THE SECURITY FIELD

Those in attendance at the Conference today included Messrs. Mohr, Sullivan, Bishop, Brennan, Callahan, Casper, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Tavel, Walters and Beaver.

The Conference examined the question of whether the current situation demands intensification of certain security-type investigations. In particular, reference was made to (1) lifting of the existing moratoria on report writing and investigation in Priority II and Priority III, Security Index cases, (2) the intensification and expansion of investigations of black, white and ethnic group extremists and (3) development of selected contacts of individuals who could be targeted against Soviet intelligence personnel [illegible]. These items are being individually considered below.

Lifting of existing moratorium on report writing and investigation in Priority II and Priority III, Security Index cases.

There are approximately 10,690 individuals currently included in Priority II and Priority III of the Security Index. Virtually no investigation has been conducted regarding approximately 6,924 of these individuals since the imposition of the moratorium in February, 1969. Many of these individuals have changed residence and/or employment and their whereabouts are unknown. To fulfill our current responsibilities, we should know where they are.

66-2551-1971

1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Beaver
1 - Mr. Soyars
1 - Each Assistant Director

CONTINUED - OVER

MAIL ROOM [ ] TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

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If the moratorium is rescinded, the field will be required to reopen approximately 2,215 Priority II cases for reports and approximately 4,709 Priority III cases to verify residence and employment. Opening of these cases would be staggered with a proportionate number opened each month to insure all are reopened by June 30, 1971.

Black Student Unions and similar groups on college campuses.

In 1967, black students began forming their own groups to project their demands, many of which indicate a commitment to black nationalism. These groups are autonomous and have a strong sense of common purpose. The Black Panther Party has made open efforts to organize the Black Student Unions nationally and other black extremist groups have used these organizations to project their extremism and separatism.

Campus disorders involving black students increased 23 per cent in the 1969-70 school year over the previous year indicating that these groups represent a real potential for violence and disruption. In the past, we have opened cases on these organizations following evidence of black extremist activities; however, in view of the vast increase in violence on college campuses, it is felt that every Black Student Union and similar group, regardless of their past or present involvement in disorders, should be the subject of a discreet preliminary inquiry through established sources and informants to determine background, aims and purposes, leaders and key activists. It is estimated that this would cause the field to open approximately 4,000 cases involving organizations and the key activists and leaders connected therewith.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and militant New Left campus organizations.

At the end of the 1969-70 academic year, the various factions of the SDS, excluding the Weatherman faction, which has become an organization in its own right, consisted of a membership of approximately 2,500 individuals. In addition to the SDS groups, there are about 252 totally independent groups on college campuses which are pro-communist New Left-type and are followers of the SDS ideology. It is estimated

CONTINUED - OVER

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that the membership of these organizations consists of about 4,000 members. At the present time, we are conducting investigations of all of these organizations but have not, in the past, initiated investigations of the individual members of such organizations, with the exception of the key activists and individuals who are known to be violence prone.

Major campuses across the nation have been completely disrupted by violent demonstrations, bombings, arsons and other terroristic acts perpetrated by these organizations. It is, therefore, proposed that cases be opened on all individuals belonging to such organizations to determine whether they have a propensity for violence. If this proposal were implemented, it is estimated that the field would be required to open approximately 6,500 new cases.

[redacted]

[redacted]

CONTINUED - OVER

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 398

INVESTIGATIVE EXHIBIT 69

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: October 22, 1974

FROM : Henry E. Petersen
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Gathering and Reporting Data Regarding Civil Disturbances

Reference is made to your memorandum to the Attorney General dated August 6, 1974, captioned as above which enclosed a copy of a teletype dated July 31, 1974 from your Baltimore field office reporting a disturbance at the Glen Burnie Fair, Glen Burnie, Maryland, July 30-31, 1974. You requested guidelines with regard to gathering and reporting information concerning civil disturbances and suggested that your reporting be limited to those particular situations which are of such a serious nature that Federal military personnel may be called upon for assistance.

While the Department recognizes and appreciates that the FBI expends a significant amount of manpower in gathering and reporting data on civil disturbances, it also feels that the guideline suggested is not practical. If such a criterion were used, it would place the burden on the Bureau of determining, at least initially, whether military personnel may ultimately be needed in connection with a particular disorder. As you know, that responsibility legally rests with the President, not with the FBI, and is based on the advice and information he receives from the Attorney General. One source of such information would, of course, be the FBI. In only rare and extreme situations in the country's history have Federal military forces been requested to put down domestic disorders. More often, National Guard units have been activated by the state to supplement local and state police forces in handling serious disturbances.

100-00-

In that regard, the Constitution, Article IV, §4 provides that the Federal government would protect the states, upon

ORIGINAL FILED IN

application of the legislature or the executive, against domestic violence. On April 1, 1969, the President designated the Attorney General as chief civilian officer to coordinate the Government's response to civil disturbances. Without timely information the President, the Attorney General, and other interested Government officials and agencies could not adequately meet the constitutional responsibility to protect the nation's security. See also, 10 U.S.C. §331, et. seq. While this power is rarely used, it is incumbent upon the Federal government to remain abreast of potential situations where it may be requested or invoked.

It is our opinion that the FBI, as the investigative arm of the Department, should continue to gather and report on significant civil disorders throughout the country so that the Attorney General and appropriate Government agencies may be fully informed of all situations which may develop into major incidents of violence. This information should include all significant incidents of civil unrest and should not be restricted to situations where, in the judgment of the Bureau, military personnel eventually may be used. On the other hand, the FBI should not report every minor local disturbance where there is no apparent interest to the President, the Attorney General or other Government officials and agencies.

The Bureau should continue to report all disturbances where there are indications that extremist organizations such as the Communist Party, Ku Klux Klan, or Black Panther Party are believed to be involved in efforts to instigate or exploit them. These situations should be reported promptly and fully because of the great potential for rapid nationwide exploitation. As Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kevin T. Maroney testified before the Committee on Internal Security of the House of Representatives on February 20, 1974, "the violent nature of an organization may be a sufficient basis for investigating so that the Attorney General may be apprised of potential civil disturbances." Of course, any possible violations of Federal law, such as the anti-riot statute, 18 U.S.C. §2101, should be investigated fully.

Regarding coverage of potential disorders, the Bureau, through its liaison with local and state police departments and other law enforcement agencies, should be aware of disturbances and patterns of disorder which would be of interest to the President, the Attorney General, and other Government officials and agencies, and should make timely reports of significant disturbances, even when no specific violation of Federal law is indicated. Such situations would cover, but would not be limited to, cases where (1) extremist groups or individuals are involved or may attempt to exploit the situation, (2) the disorder may develop into a major disturbance, (3) it may become a matter of national attention, (4) the disturbance or disorder is of obvious interest to the President, Attorney General, or the Department, or (5) the incident is of particular interest to the Secret Service in fulfilling its protective function. You should also insure that copies of all such reports are disseminated promptly to the Department's Analysis and Evaluation Unit in the office of the Deputy Attorney General, and where appropriate, you should continue to keep local U.S. Attorneys' offices advised.

The Department recognizes that assessing the need to report information regarding civil disturbances requires some judgment in the initial stages on the part of the Bureau's field divisions and FBI Headquarters, and it is urged that whenever possible the Bureau focus its reporting efforts on those incidents and patterns of disorders which may fit the above criteria, rather than reporting each and every relatively insignificant incident of a strictly local nature coming to its attention.

/

RECD [illegible]

FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Clarence M. Kelley
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: NOV 19 1974

Civil Division
Assistant Attorney General
For Administration

SUBJECT: Federal Employee Security Program
Executive Order 10450

MAY 21 1975

This is in response to your memoranda, entitled as above, dated May 8, 1974 and August 19, 1974, directed to the Deputy Attorney General, Criminal Division, and referring to problems which have arisen as a result of the promulgation of Executive Order 11785 which amends Executive Order 10450. In view of the involvement of my staff in these matters, I will undertake to answer your questions with the concurrence of the Criminal Division.

As you know this matter has been under continuing review both in the Task Force, chaired by a representative of this office, of working level representatives of various agencies in the security field and is now under study to a lesser degree in Project #10 of the "Domestic Council on Privacy".

You ask that the Department; (a) provide specific instructions to the Bureau to conduct intelligence-type investigations to identify and determine the activities of organizations now described in the amended Section 8(a)(5) of Executive Order 10450; (b) furnish guidelines to be used by the Bureau in initiating investigations of individuals under the captioned matter pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and specifically, criteria to be utilized in determining whether available information is a sufficient basis for investigation.

Under the amendment to Section 8(a)(5) of Executive Order 10450, we now have only two types of organizations; (1) those which unlawfully advocate or practice the commission of acts of force or violence to prevent others from exercising their rights under the constitution or laws of the United States or

27

any State, (2) or which seek to overthrow the Government of the United States, or any State or subdivision thereof, by unlawful means. (Emphasis added).

Of course, the key words which are underlined indicate that the investigation should be initially based on a possible violation of a federal (such as the Smith Act) or state statute prohibiting unlawful advocacy or the commission of any unlawful act of force or violence. However, in order for the Bureau to detect organizations with a potential of the above nature, it is important that the investigation proceed on the basis of information indicating that the organization may be of the nature mentioned. It is not necessary that a crime occur before the investigation is initiated, but only that a reasonable evaluation of the available information suggests that the activities of the organization may fall within the proscription of the Order. The most recent example of the type of organization, that you have advised is becoming more prevalent, is the small but dedicated to violence, Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). Organizations of this nature would clearly fall within the Order and should be investigated as soon as information is available indicating their potentiality for violence and of course, if possible, prior to the fulfillment of their purposes.

It is true that Executive Order 11785 eliminated the prior communist, totalitarian, fascist, and subversive characterizations and definitions, but there was no intention of restricting the investigations of such organizations if their programs call for acts of force or violence or the unlawful advocacy of the commission of acts of force or violence in furtherance of these programs.

It is not possible to set definite parameters covering the initiation of investigations of potential organizations falling within the Order but once the investigation reaches a stage that offers a basis for determining that the activities are legal in nature, then the investigation should cease, but if the investigation suggests a determination that the organization is engaged in illegal activities or potentially illegal activities it should continue.

It follows in answer to your second question that individuals who are active either as members of or as affiliates of

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 403

organizations described above should be investigated when information is received indicating their involvement. The same yardstick indicated above for organizations in determining whether the investigation should continue, should apply concerning individuals and when a determination can reasonably be made that the individuals activities, either within the organization or as an individual, do not appear to be in violation of any law, then the investigation should cease.

RECEIVED MAIL
MAY 21 1975
DOJ

EXHIBIT 67

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BLACK STUDENT GROUPS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

On October 29, 1970, the Executive Conference approved a program to conduct discreet preliminary inquiries, limited to established sources, on Black Student Unions and similar groups, their leaders, and key activists to determine if the activities of these groups and individuals warrant further active investigation. On November 4, 1970, instructions were sent to the field to implement this program. The number of campuses involved is about 500, representing approximately 750 black student groups. The officers will represent about 2,500 cases and the key activists another 250. The potential for new cases in this program will approximate 3,500 cases. This program includes junior colleges and two-year colleges as well as four-year colleges.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION
1/12/71
[redacted]
(4-H)

P. 14-5

EXHIBIT 68

...OF
...NEY GENERAL

April 12, 1962

FOR: The President

FROM: The Attorney General

The Attorney General April 12, 1962

Director, FBI

INCREASE IN THE PRICE OF STEEL

In connection with your request of April 11, 1962, that this Bureau interview Edmund F. Martin, President of Bethlehem Steel Company, and reporters concerning Mr. Martin's statement quoted in the press to the effect that there should not be any price rise in steel even after the new labor contract goes into effect on July 1, there is set forth below the result of our investigation.

Mr. Martin recalled speaking to Loe Linder, Associated Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and John Lawrence, "The Wall Street Journal," Philadelphia, and possibly a reporter from Wilmington, Delaware, after a Bethlehem Steel Company stockholders' meeting in Wilmington on April 10, 1962. At the close of the meeting Linder and Lawrence spoke to him about steel prices. Mr. Martin said that he told them "I don't wish to make a statement today about prices and I will give you the reason why. We do not have additional labor costs over what we have now until July first." He also recalled that he told them "We are doing what we can to hold the line."

Mr. Martin advised that he did not make the statement attributed to him in the April 11, 1962 edition of "The New York Times" in an article written by Robert Metz to the effect that there should not be any price rise even after the new labor contract goes into effect on July 1. Mr. Martin also advised that no press releases were made or considered by Bethlehem Steel Company on April 10, 1962, and that the only release made relating to this matter was made on April 11, 1962. It stated "Bethlehem Steel Company announces new prices for its rolled steel products. The new prices, which become effective April 12, represent an average increase of approximately 3-1/2 per cent."

Robert Metz, reporter for "The New York Times," advised that he was not present when Mr. Martin made the comments in question and that he prepared his column from material furnished by the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press.

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The Attorney General

Lee Linder of the Associated Press in Philadelphia, stated that he, James Parker of "The Wilmington Evening Journal," and John Lawrence of "The Wall Street Journal," Philadelphia, talked to Mr. Martin following the Bethlehem Steel Company stockholders' meeting on April 10, 1962, and asked if that company intended to raise steel prices. Mr. Martin answered that he could not comment on that at this time and stated that the labor contract "does not go into effect until July 1. I'm not going to explain it. You can interpret it any way you want."

When questioned further Mr. Martin remarked "We shouldn't raise prices now. We are facing stiffer competition in industry and foreign markets. What we should be doing is cutting prices."

John Lawrence of "The Wall Street Journal" in Philadelp declined to be interviewed on this or any other matter in the absence of a subpoena stating that this was in accordance with his company's policy.

James Parker of "The Wilmington Evening Journal" recall that Mr. Martin did not make the statement attributed to him in the article written by Robert Metz. He said that in connection with the price of steel Mr. Martin stated "We should be trying to reduce the price of steel if at all possible, due to intensive foreign competition." When questioned specifically as to whether Bethlehem Steel Company intended to increase the price of steel now or in the future Mr. Martin stated "The wage increase doesn't happen till the first of July. Therefore, we will have to reserve comment on prices until then."

Truman T. Felt, public relations counselor, Washington, D. C., was interviewed concerning the intended press release whic was reportedly cancelled at the last minute. Felt advised that he had no knowledge of any press release other than the one issue on April 11, 1962, announcing new prices for Bethlehem Steel Company's rolled steel products. He said he had no knowledge of the withdrawal of any press releases.

The results of our investigation were furnished orally to Assistant Attorney General Katzenbach by Assistant Director Courtney A. Evans of this Bureau on April 12, 1962.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

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File

NOTE

August 19, 1964

~~Deac~~ DeLoach called me this morning to say that his information was that King had been advised by Joe Rauh that in this morning's meeting you were not going to let the group discuss seating of the "freedom party" delegation, but would take the initiative. King was, last night, pondering on whether to refuse to come to the meeting on the grounds of short notice. (Hardly a tenable position in view of the attached telegram of the day before yesterday).

Another interesting fact is that Rustin called me yesterday to ask whether he was to attend the meeting. I told him that so far as I knew it was for the leaders only and that his information of yesterday was the first I knew about his intentions to ~~attend~~ accompany Dr. King. MARTIN LUTHER He was a little unhappy, but I don't see how, under any circumstances, he could have been included.

~~Deac's~~ Lee's information was that if King did show (and I have no word either by telephone or by telegram as of 9:30 this morning indicating that he will not attend) he was instructed to "speak up to the President".

writer of memo unknown —
probably Jenkins or Moyers —

... Files as of 8/26/64

NO EXCISIONS

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[Retyped by SSC]

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins August 25, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following information is a summary of data which has come to our attention during last night and early this morning, August 25, 1964:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised at midnight, last night, that Reverend King received a call from [ ] in New York City. King said that he was very encouraged by the way things were going; that there had been no demonstrations by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and none were expected from that source.

As you were previously advised, [ ] had indicated that he was not planning to come to Atlantic City; however, King requested last night that [ ] should come to the Convention and [ ] said that he would be down, and that he would arrive in Atlantic City sometime during the morning of August 25, 1964. King then told [ ] that there were enough minority votes to bring the seating of the MFDP to the floor of the Convention.

At 10:40 a.m., August 25, 1964, we were advised that [ ] was in Reverend King's suite in Atlantic City.

[ ] contacted [ ] of the MFDP at the Gem Hotel, and [ ] inquired whom Reverend King should talk to this morning. [ ] said she thought King should see Governor Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, and Governor John W. King of New Hampshire. The purpose of King's seeing these individuals is to urge them to call the White House directly and put pressure on the White House in behalf of the MFDP.

NO ADDITIONAL EXCISIONS

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MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

At this same time [ ] from Reverend King's staff spoke to [ ] of the MFDP and told her that the MFDP delegates should not think in terms of being a minority but should regard themselves as the only representatives in Mississippi. [ ] then told [ ] that, "Off the record, of course, you know we will accept the Green compromise proposed." This refers to the proposal of Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon.

A [ ] of the Washington State Delegation then spoke to [ ] of Reverend King's staff. [ ] apologized to [ ] because she was unable to get her group to come to the forefront for the MFDP. [ ] commented that the Johnson Administration is putting pressure on everybody and that people who were previously friendly are getting harder to find.

BOARDWALK DEMONSTRATIONS

Approximately 120 demonstrators belonging to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spent all night on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. This was a silent vigil and there were no incidents.

RALLY SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 25, 1964, 8 P.M., PRICE MEMORIAL CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

At last night's SNCC and CORE vigil outside Convention Hall handouts were being distributed announcing that a civil rights rally presenting Dick Gregory and Caleb Peterson would be held at Price Memorial A.M.E. Church, 525 Atlantic Avenue, at 8 p.m. Coverage of this rally has been arranged.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT

We have been informed by reliable New York sources that a group of Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) members is traveling to Atlantic City on Wednesday, August 26, 1964. Self-admitted Communist Party (CP) member [ ] is heading this group. [ ] was the leader of the student group which spent this past summer in Cuba defying the State Department ban.

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AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

Shortly before 4 p.m. this afternoon, August 25, 1964, [ ] of the California Delegation asked King to meet with the California delegates at 7 p.m. August 25, 1964. Previously King agreed to meet with the New York State delegates at 7:30 p.m. tonight.

MFDP leaders have asked Reverend King to call Governor Egan of Alaska and Governor Burns of Hawaii in an attempt to enlist their support. According to the MFDP spokesmen, the Negro Mississippi Party needs these two states plus California and New York for the roll call tonight.

Source: ELSUR

SYMPATHETIC PICKETING

FBI sources report that CORE has been undertaking picketing in several cities urging support for the MFDP. A group of 25 demonstrators in Chicago, for example, picketed the Morrison Hotel urging that the Illinois Delegation support the Negro Mississippi delegates. Similar picketing was conducted by CORE in St. Louis yesterday.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

At 1 p.m. today the FBI office at Jackson, Mississippi, reported that eight Mississippi summer workers left Mississippi today headed for Atlantic City.

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press credentials, to get into Convention Hall last night.

It was also disclosed that they are going to be watching to find out whether the staff of the Sergeant-at-Arms will be checking badge numbers with the names printed on the badges and they are going to be sure that the gatekeepers are not discriminating against Negroes. If such discrimination takes place, they plan to make a strong protest and demand that Convention officials check every individual's badge as they enter the hall.

Sometime this afternoon, [ ], et al, plan to make some sort of public announcement regarding their intentions but they were vague as to details.

Source: CONF SOURCE

MARTIN LUTHER KING - [ ]

Shortly after noon [ ] talked to a man who was trying to get in touch with Martin Luther King. This man wanted King to talk to MFDPdelegates at the Union Temple Baptist Church at 1 p.m., this afternoon. Congresswoman Green is supposed to make a talk there and [ ] and a representative of the National Council of Churches are scheduled to be present.

According to the man who talked to [ ], the MPDP delegates are standing on their decision to reject the findings of the Credentials Committee. The delegates want guidance from King.

[ ] promised that Reverend King would be at this meeting.

[ ] then spoke to a representative of the National Council of Churches and said that according to Hubert Humphrey, if the two delegates and two alternates of the MFDP would be seated elsewhere as a group on the floor. In a subsequent conversation [ ] was told that the MFDP delegates and alternates would be seated in the

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 4, 1965

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Watson:

Reference is made to the President's request to me earlier today while I was at the White House with respect to the telegram he received from the artists. Accordingly, attached are memoranda containing the results of an FBI name check of Hannah Arendt and twenty other individuals mentioned in that telegram.

When this letter of transmittal is detached from its enclosures bearing a security classification, this letter can be declassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (18)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 15, 1966

BY LIAISON

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

Dear Mr. Watson:

On July 12, 1966, Mr. Jake Jacobsen, Legislative Counsel to the President, requested name checks on individuals whose names appeared in the "Congressional Record" as signers of letters to United States Senator Wayne Morse, expressing support for Senator Morse's criticism of United States policy toward Vietnam.

There are enclosed eleven memoranda concerning individuals who may be identical with certain of the individuals whose letters to Senator Morse were printed in the "Congressional Record" of July 11, 1966.

Based on the identifying information available, our files contain no identifiable pertinent information concerning the remainder of the individuals whose letters appeared in that issue of the "Congressional Record."

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures - 11

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3-A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 31, 1975

SULLIVAN MEMORANDA TO JOHN DEAN
(COVERAGE OF TELEVISION PRESENTATION,
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE)

Reference is made to my letter of January 30, 1975, setting forth information in the "Sullivan memoranda." Your attention is specifically invited to the allegation that on February 19, 1966, Marvin Watson called from the White House advising the President wanted the FBI to cover Senate Foreign Relations Committee television presentation with a view toward determining whether Senator Fullbright and the other Senators were receiving information from Communists.

We are unable to locate a memorandum of the telephone call referred to; however, there is a memorandum on record from Mr. William C. Sullivan to Mr. Cartha D. DeLoach which refers to a memorandum from Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson on February 18, 1966. In this memorandum of Mr. Sullivan's dated February 26, 1966, he advised that the Senate Foreign Relations televised presentation of February 18, 1966, was monitored. He attaches a memorandum drawing parallels between the statements made by Senators Fullbright and Morse and statements which the Communists have been making. He points out that we have received no indication that any members of the Communist Party, USA, or any other subversive groups have furnished either of the Senators with material which prompted their statements. Mr. Sullivan recommended that this attachment be delivered to Marvin Watson. Mr. Hoover stated, "No. I want letter to Watson transmitting it."

By letter dated February 24, 1966, Marvin Watson was advised. "In response to your request . . . is enclosed a memorandum which sets out the Communist Party line concerning some of the issues raised during the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on U. S. policy on Vietnam."

In this memorandum dated February 24, 1966, which had originally been dated February 21, 1966, which was the memorandum accompanying the above-described Sullivan to DeLoach memorandum, parallels are drawn between the television presentation and documented Communist Party publications or statements of Communist leaders.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

NO EXCISIONS

GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Deputy Attorney General

DATE: February 3, 1975

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST FOR BODY RECORDER IN BOBBY BAKER INVESTIGATION IN 1965

Pursuant to your request of January 28, 1975, for a complete report on the Bobby Baker investigation the enclosed letterhead memorandum contains background information relative to this matter.

Enclosure

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI .



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 3, 1975

BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING
DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST FOR BODY RECORDER
IN BOBBY BAKER INVESTIGATION IN 1965

In response to the request made by Deputy Attorney General Laurence H. Silberman for a complete report on the Bobby Baker investigation, in which it was mentioned that the FBI turned down requests for a body recorder and also for the contents of a communication from Mr. Hoover to President Johnson regarding this matter, the following is submitted.

By memorandum dated 3/25/65, Assistant Attorney General, (AAG) Criminal Division, requested that the FBI take necessary steps to place a body recorder on the person of Wayne L. Bromley to record the conversations of Bromley with Clifford L. Jones and Bobby Baker. This would have necessitated placing a recorder on the person of Bromley prior to the time he left Washington, D. C., as he was being met in Los Angeles by Jones upon his arrival. Bromley, a Washington, D. C., Attorney and close associate of Baker, was cooperating with the FBI and had testified before the Baker Grand Jury. Jones is a former Lieutenant Governor of the State of Nevada and is an Attorney as well as a member of one of the corporations which was furnishing cash to Baker for his assistance.

By letter dated 3/26/65 from the Director to Mr. Herbert J. Miller, AAG, he was informed the Department's request for the use of the body recorder on the person of Bromley was inadvisable in view of the fact that the maximum security for the equipment and Bromley's person could not be accomplished, as well as adequate security could not be accomplished at the hotels.

By letter dated 1/12/67 to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, The White House, the President was advised of the circumstances regarding the request of the Criminal Division of the Department to place a body recorder on Bromley and the Bureau's declination to honor this request.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

NO EXCISIONS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING
DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST FOR BODY RECORDER
IN BOBBY BAKER INVESTIGATION IN 1965

Included in the letter to Mr. Watson was the fact that Acting Attorney General Clark had advised an official of this Bureau on 12/23/66 that after the FBI's refusal to monitor the meeting in Los Angeles, the Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Bureau of Narcotics was contacted, and that he was certain it was the Bureau of Narcotics that handled the monitoring. No documentation of this conversation located.

A note added on page three of the letter dated 1/12/67 sets forth information that the letter was submitted to "advise the White House as to circumstances under which this Bureau tape recorded, on 3/25/65, two telephone calls (deemed to be legal by Department) involving Baker, but refused to electronically monitor a meeting in Los Angeles on 3/26/65 between Baker and two of his associates. These calls and the meeting were referred to in a 1/11/67 news article in the "Washington Evening Star" and undoubtedly will receive much publicity when results are introduced as evidence in present trial of Baker."

On 1/17/67 Assistant to the Director Cartha D. DeLoach was called to the White House by Marvin Watson and Watson referred to the Director's memorandum to the President setting forth the information that the FBI had refused a request to utilize a recording device in the Baker case. Watson furnished information that inasmuch as the Bureau of Narcotics had later handled this matter for the Department of Justice, the President had demanded a summary memorandum from the Secretary of Treasury concerning the matter. Watson also indicated the President was quite exercised about the fact the FBI had properly refused only to have the Treasury honor the request of the Department of Justice.

Mr. Watson stated that the President wanted a complete run-down on the following names, and that any inquiry should be made as discreetly as possible.

Fred Dick - Narcotics Bureau
Robert E. Jordan, III - Treasury Department
George Gaffney - Narcotics Bureau
Jack Miller - Former AAG, Criminal Division
Fred B. Smith - Narcotics Bureau

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 410

He also requested that it should be specifically pointed out whether any of the aforementioned individuals were close to Bobby Kennedy. Mr. Watson further stated the President did not want any record made of this request and wanted the information furnished to him in blind memorandum form. Information was prepared in blind memorandum form regarding these individuals and furnished to the President and, with the exception of former AAG Miller, our file review and liaison representatives did not develop any information indicating any association of the individuals with Robert F. Kennedy.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 420

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Malley
1 - Mr. Walters
1 - Mr. Lyles
1 - Mr. Wick

January 12, 1967

JUNE

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Watson:

There is attached for ready reference a news article carried in the final edition of the "Washington Evening Star," January 11, 1967, setting forth that the Government electronically monitored a meeting between Robert G. Baker, Wayne Bromley, and Clifford Jones on March 25, 1965, at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles, California. This date in the news article is incorrect as the meeting actually occurred on March 26, 1965. This news article also refers to the monitoring of a telephone call preceding this meeting.

As a matter of possible interest to the President, there are set out below the circumstances [illegible] this Bureau made a tape [illegible] of a [illegible] conversation between Bromley [illegible], as [illegible] a telephone call between Bromley and Jones on [illegible]. This Bureau, however, did not monitor the meeting in Los Angeles between Baker, Bromley, and Jones on March 26, 1965.

By memorandum of March 24, 1965, from former Assistant Attorney General Herbert J. [illegible], this [illegible] was informed of an alleged attempt by Jones to get Bromley to offer perjurious testimony before the grand jury hearing the Baker matter. Jones urged Bromley to work out arrangements with Baker for a meeting later in the week with Jones. Jones asked Bromley to call him back.

[illegible]:pab

REC-52

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

Honorable Marvin Watson

Mr. Miller advised that Bromley, upon the advice of counsel, had executed a written, signed consent to have telephone conversations between himself and Baker and between himself and Jones witnesses, monitored, and tape recorded by Agents of this Bureau.

Mr. Miller asked that this Bureau record these telephone conversations and expressed the view that such action would not be violative of any Federal criminal statute, would not constitute entrapment, and would not violate any of the constitutional rights of the parties involved.

Pursuant to Mr. Miller's request, two conversations of Bromley's from Washington, D. C., on March 25, 1965, one to Baker and one to Jones, were monitored and tape recordings were made. The results were furnished to the Criminal Division, Department of Justice.

By memorandum dated March 25, 1965, Mr. Miller requested that a proposed meeting between Baker, Bromley, and Jones to be held on the evening of March 26, 1965, at Los Angeles, be monitored and tape recordings of their conversations made. It was asked that this be accomplished by means of an appropriate transmitting device attached to the person of Bromley. The FBI refused to honor this second request from the Department.

Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark advised an official of this Bureau on December 23, 1965, that upon the FBI's refusal to monitor this meeting, the Department had turned to either the Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Bureau of Narcotics and then said that he was certain it was the Bureau of Narcotics that handled the matter.

The foregoing is for your information. A copy of this letter has not been furnished to the Acting Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

NW 55162 DocId:32989581 Page 472

NOTE:

This is being submitted to advise the White House as to circumstances under which this Bureau tape recorded, on 3/25/65, two telephone calls (deemed to be legal by Department) involving Baker, but refused to electronically monitor a meeting in Los Angeles on 3/26/65 between Baker and two of his associates. These calls and the meeting were referred to in a 1/11/67 news article in the "Washington Evening Star" and undoubtedly will receive much publicity when results are introduced as evidence in present trial of Baker.

NW 50164 DocId:32989584 Page 423

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 1/17/67

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Wick
Mr. Gale
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Jones

SUBJECT:

BOBBY BAKER case;
Refusal of FBI to honor
Departmental request for
usage of recording device
in Los Angeles;

Request for name checks by President.

Marvin Watson asked that I come to the White House at 5:45 p.m., 1/17/67. Upon seeing Watson he referred to the Director's memorandum to the President setting forth the fact that the FBI, in the Baker case, had refused a request from the Department of Justice to utilize a recording device in Los Angeles. Watson stated that, inasmuch as Narcotics had later handled this matter for the Department of Justice, the President had demanded that Secretary Fowler of Treasury give him a summary memorandum concerning this matter. Watson stated the President was quite exercised about the fact that the FBI had properly refused, only to have Treasury go ahead and honor the request of the Department.

Watson, while not handing me the memorandum to read, did point out several names in the rather lengthy memorandum that Secretary Fowler had sent the President. The following names were specifically mentioned:

1. Fred Dick, Narcotics Bureau
2. Robert E. Jordan III, Treasury Department
3. George Gaffney, Narcotics Bureau
4. Jack Miller, former Assistant AG, Criminal Division, Department of Justice
5. Fred B. Smith, Narcotics Bureau

Watson told me that the President wanted a complete rundown on the listed names. He stated these checks should be made as discreetly as possible and that we should

CONTINUED---OVER

CDD:CSH (7)

NW 53162 DocId:32989584 Page 424

specifically point out whether any of these individuals were close to Bobby Kennedy. The President does not want any record made of this request. He wants the memoranda in question to be blind memoranda. He desires that they be as thorough as possible and wants this done on an expeditious basis.

The Crime Records Division will handle the coordination of this matter. The Liaison Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division (particularly the liaison agent assigned to Treasury and Narcotics) should discreetly ascertain as much information as possible and furnish such information to Crime Records so that a complete background memorandum can be prepared. It may be that we already have considerable information in Bureau files.

The memoranda being prepared should clearly reflect that Jack Miller was formerly an Assistant AG under Bobby Kennedy and is now a law partner of former Bureau employee Courtney Evans. Evans' background should be briefly set forth, insofar as his lying defense of Kennedy is concerned.

ACTION -

These memoranda will be prepared on an expeditious basis and submitted to the Director for consideration.

NW 55162 DocId: 32989381 Page 425

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Wick

DATE: 1-19-67

RA

FROM : M. A. Jones

#7

SUBJECT: BOBBY BAKER case;
Refusal of FBI to honor
Departmental request for
usage of recording device
in Los Angeles;

Request For Name Check By President

BACKGROUND:

The President, through his Special Assistant, Marvin Watson, has requested a name check concerning the following individuals who apparently were involved in the joint decision by the Department and the Narcotics Bureau to utilize a recording device in the Baker Case:

1. Fred Dick, Narcotics Bureau
2. Robert E. Jordan III, Treasury Department
3. George Gaffney, Narcotics Bureau
4. Jack Miller, former Assistant AG, Criminal Division, Department of Justice
5. Fred B. Smith, Narcotics Bureau

According to Watson, the President has specifically instructed that he wants this matter handled as discreetly as possible, that no record be made of his request, and that the results should show whether any of the above individuals were close to former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

18 JAN 25 1967

All references and main files to the above individuals have been reviewed. Attached are separate blind memoranda concerning each of the above individuals. It is noted that with the exception of Enclosures

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (5)
1 - Mr. Wick - Enclosures (5)
1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosures (5)
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosures (5)

ENCLOSURE

NOV 2 1965

FBI

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person-

CONTINUED - OVER

M. A. Jones to Wick Memo
RE: BOBBY BAKER case

former Assistant Attorney General Herbert J. Miller, Jr., our file review and our Liaison representative with the Narcotics Bureau, developed no information indicating association of these individuals with Robert F. Kennedy.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached blind memoranda be furnished by liaison to the White House for the President.

Delivered to [illegible]
on 1-20-67

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 427

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

2-B

January 31, 1975

SULLIVAN MEMORANDA TO JOHN DEAN
(Democratic Convention 1968)

The Sullivan memorandum to John Dean under Part 4 captioned "Re: Democratic Convention 1968" contained the following:

> "John Criswell, National Treasurer, Democratic Party called the FBI and said he had dinner with Marvin Watson, Postmaster General and Watson had told him of the great services performed by the FBI during the last Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. He asked if the same services could be performed at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. Some assistance was given by the Chicago FBI Office but it was not at all of the nature and scope of the services rendered Johnson at Atlantic City."

The files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contain a memorandum dated August 22, 1968, from C. D. De Loach to Mr. Tolson captioned "Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois." A carbon copy of this memorandum was designated for Mr. Sullivan. This memorandum states:

> "John Criswell, National Treasurer, Democratic Party, called this afternoon to indicate that he had had dinner with Marvin Watson, the Postmaster General, last night, and Watson had informed him of the great service performed by the FBI during the last Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Criswell wanted to know if the same

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

services could be performed this time in Chicago. He also asked if I could personally go out and take charge, as was the case in Atlantic City.

I told Criswell that Bill Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, had already called regarding this matter, and had personally discussed the entire matter with the Director. I stated the Director had made complete arrangements to have a topflight group of experienced agents, under the supervision of the Special Agent in Charge of the Chicago Office, handle this assignment. I told Criswell I felt certain these men would do an excellent job and the Vice President's office would be kept fully advised at all times of need-to-know information.

Criswell expressed appreciation and stated he did not know Connell had already made the request in question."

By memorandum from C. D. De Loach to Mr. Tolson dated August 7, 1968, captioned "Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois, 8/26/68" with a copy to Mr. Sullivan, Mr. De Loach advised "Bill Connell," Executive Assistant to the Vice President, attempted to telephonically contact the Director on August 7, 1968. He was advised that the Director was in a travel status.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 429

According to this memorandum, Mr. Connell told Mr. De Loach that the President had, some time ago, advised the Vice President that the FBI had sent a "special team" to Atlantic City during the last Democratic National Convention. The President allegedly told the Vice President that the FBI had been of great service to him and he had been given considerable information on a timely basis throughout the entire convention.

Mr. Connell stated, according to the memorandum, that while he desired to discuss this with the Director, the Vice President hoped the Director would extend to him the same service during the forthcoming Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

The memorandum further states that Mr. Connell was told that, while he desired to discuss this matter with the Director, he should know that our Chicago Office is very well prepared to gather intelligence and pass such intelligence onto appropriate authorities during the convention. Mr. Connell stated he presumed this to be true; however, he would call again next week and mention this matter to the Director. A handwritten notation by Mr. Hoover at the end of this memorandum stated "I talked to Connell. Also I talked to SAC Johnson and issued appropriate instructions." Signed "H."

A memorandum prepared by Mr. Hoover for Mr. Tolson, Mr. De Loach, Mr. Bishop, and Mr. Sullivan dated August 15, 1968, reflects that at 10:09 a.m. Mr. Hoover talked to Mr. William Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 430

Mr. Hoover set forth the following information regarding this conversation:

"Mr. William Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, returned my call. I told him I was out of town when he called last week and I wanted to return his call.

Mr. Connell thanked me for calling and stated what he had called about was that he had talked to the Vice President about the team I sent into the convention area in 1964 that was so helpful. He stated he was hoping perhaps I might be able to do the same thing for the Vice President out in Chicago and have my men directly in contact with him (Connell).

I advised Mr. Connell that I had already initiated that and that he will be supplied by Special Agent in Charge [Marlin Johnson] in Chicago; that any kind of assistance he wants to just let Mr. Johnson know and he will take care of it.

Mr. Connell thanked me and said he will tell the Vice President."

NW 55162, DocId:32989584 Page 431

This memorandum also reflects that at 10:13 a.m. Mr. Hoover talked to SAC [Marlin Johnson] in Chicago. Mr. Hoover likewise set forth the results of this conversation:

> "I called SAC [Marlin Johnson] in Chicago and told him I had just talked to Mr. William Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, and what he wanted to have done was an operation similar to what we did down at Atlantic City at the last Democratic Convention when Mr. Johnson was running for renomination. I explained that he would like to have us furnish the same type of information and be in contact with him, Connell, on any so-called intelligence we might get. I stated I told Mr. Connell we would do that and that SAC [Johnson] would be in contact with Connell and anything he wanted to let [Johnson] know. I told Mr. Johnson we are not going to get into anything political but anything of extreme action or violence contemplated we want to let Connell know.
>
> Mr. [Johnson] stated he would get in touch with Mr. Connell promptly and set it up. I told Mr. [Johnson] that Connell is presently in New York. Mr. Johnson said he would probably be out in Chicago early next week."

Although prior information received indicated that the Democratic National Convention to convene at Chicago,

HW 45162 Docld:32989704 Page 452

Illinois, on August 26, 1968, offered the most potential platform for disruptive activities by racial and Viet Nam dissident groups, similar instructions were set forth for both the Miami Office in connection with the Republican National Convention (August 5-10, 1968) and for the Chicago Office in connection with the Democratic National Convention (convening August 26, 1968).

These instructions stated that we had the responsibility to keep high government officials and other interested agencies advised of developments in regard to disruptive activities and that it would be necessary for each field division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be acutely and continually aware of developing situations. All offices were instructed to take the necessary steps to insure that we were receiving all information available concerning plans being made to carry on protest demonstrations at the conventions or to otherwise carry on any disruptive activities.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation took the initiative in planning for possible disruptions and violence during the two national conventions. In addition to our responsibility to furnish information to local law enforcement agencies and Secret Service, we also had the responsibility to develop violations of Federal laws within our jurisdiction that might occur during the conventions. Such laws as the Federal Anti-Riot Laws, Assaulting a Federal Officer statute, Kidnapping statute, bombing and gun law violations, Presidential and Congressional

the Democratic ... to ...

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 433

Assassination statute, and Crime Aboard Aircraft violations all come within the investigative responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We closely coordinated our activities regarding the conventions with Federal and state agencies which had the responsibility to keep the peace and protect life and property. We disseminated all pertinent information developed through on-the-scene observations, pertinent investigation, and through informant coverage to the appropriate agencies having an interest in the conventions.

No technical surveillances were utilized in connection with the Republican Convention in Miami Beach in 1968 or the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968.

In connection with the Chicago Convention because of the advanced information developed that disruptive activities were to occur, we requested Attorney General authority for the installation of technical coverage of the Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. This authorization was requested by our memorandum to the Attorney General dated March 11, 1968. By memorandum March 12, 1968, Attorney General Ramsey Clark declined authorization for this requested installation. By memorandum for the Attorney General dated March 22, March 24, and June 7, 1968, we renewed our previous request; however, we received no reply. The net result was that we did not have technical coverage in connection with either the Democratic or Republican Conventions in 1968.

NW 53162 DocId:32989681 Page 132

In his March 12, 1968, memorandum declining authority for a telephonic surveillance in connection with the anticipated demonstrations, Mr. Clark stated "other investigative activities should be undertaken to provide intelligence necessary to the protection of the national interest."

Although extensive plans were made and instructions issued from the Federal Bureau of Investigation Headquarters in Washington regarding our coverage of these 1968 conventions, there were no Federal Bureau of Investigation officials on the scene at either the Republican or Democratic Convention.

In connection with the 1972 Republican and Democratic National Conventions held in Miami Beach, Florida, similar coverage was instituted and carried out by the Miami Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There, likewise, was no technical coverage utilized in connection with either the Republican or Democratic National Conventions in Miami Beach in 1972.

No Federal Bureau of Investigation Headquarters officials were on the scene at either of these Conventions.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 435

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

JUNE

1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Callahan

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

DATE: 3/8/68

1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. Thompson

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

PURPOSE:

To recommend the installation of a telephone surveillance on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

BACKGROUND:

Information has been received that Rennard Davis has rented an office at Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois, which is to be known as the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention. Davis is a former leader of the Students for a Democratic Society and is the Director of the Center for Radical Research, Chicago, Illinois, which is a free university formed in 1966 to coordinate and assist students and professors involved in collating information on welfare laws, urban renewal practices and plans, and rights of citizens when arrested.

According to our informants, the office is to be used in connection with activities aimed at influencing the course of the National Democratic Convention to be held in Chicago in August, 1968. The office is to be occupied with a full-time staff until the conclusion of the Convention.

A news release to "The New York Times" dated 12/10/67 quoted Dr. Benjamin Spock, the antiwar critic, and James Rollins as saying they were prepared to mobilize the largest demonstration this country has ever seen to descend upon the Convention as a reminder to the delegates of the strength of the opposition. Rollins is a militant member of the Congress of Racial Equality and in 1967 stated, "We have got to stop breaking into liquor stores and start breaking into gun stores to arm ourselves to stop these white hunkie cops from killing us."

Enclosure

3-11-68

REC 29

157-8589
RHH:jav
(12)

CONTINUED - OVER

14 MAR 12 1968

292

6 MAR 21 1968

NW 55162 DocId:32989504 Page 136

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
[157-8589]

[Don Hamerquist] a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, has been appointed by [Gus Hall] the Party's [General Secretary], to coordinate activity between the Communist Party, USA, and the new left. He is to assist in setting up a coordinating office to be financed in part by the Party and to recruit full-time personnel to man it.

Other groups, including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, Student Mobilization Committee, and the National Conference for New Politics, all of which are intensely anti-administration, have indicated that they intend to participate in demonstrations at the Convention.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS:

During the period 2/10-11/68, additional meetings between peace and civil rights militants were held in Chicago for the purpose of discussing their activities at the Convention. This group, which included [Carlos Russell], a leader of the National Conference for New Politics, [Earl Durham] [Jack Kling] and [Don Hamerquist] all members of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, decided to hold a planning convention on 3/[16-17]/68. These meetings were held at the office at [407 South Dearborn Street] Chicago, Illinois.

OBSERVATIONS:

From information received, it is apparent that the office at [407 South Dearborn Street] is developing into a focal point of activity surrounding demonstrations at the Convention. Our informant coverage of these organizations gives us long-range information on their plans. To fully discharge our responsibilities, we must be in a position to have day-to-day and hour-by-hour coverage of those elements which can be expected to attempt to disrupt the Convention. A telephone surveillance of this newly-opened office will enhance our coverage and enable us to furnish the appropriate Government officials with the plans of those groups which would try to embarrass or even inflict bodily harm on the President or other high Government officials. We are submitting a request to the Attorney General for technical coverage on this office.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General be approved and sent.

[W.C.S.]

Yes. Believe this request necessary in order to establish record.

NW 55162 DocId:32989364 Page 437

JUNE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. [illegible]rad
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus
March 11, 1968
1 - Mr. Thompson

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

DemCon

An office known as the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention has been established at Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

This office was rented by Rennard Davis who is a former leader of the Students for a Democratic Society and is the Director of the Center for Radical Research, Chicago, Illinois. This latter organization was formed in 1966 to coordinate and assist students and professors involved in collating information on welfare laws, urban renewal practices and plans, and rights of citizens when arrested.

This office is to be occupied with a full-time staff until the conclusion of the Convention.

During the period February 10-11, 1968, a series of meetings were held at this office between peace and civil rights militants who discussed plans for demonstrating and disrupting the Convention. Included in the participants were Earl Durham, Jack Kling and Donald Hamerquist, all members of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA.

Hamerquist has been appointed by Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, to coordinate the activity between the Communist Party, USA, and other new left forces. He has been active in setting up the office on South Dearborn Street. The Communist Party, USA, has agreed to partially subsidize this office.

REC 107 157-8589-23

RHH:jay
(14)

SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGES 2 &

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME
DATE 3-11-68
BY

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NW 55182 DocId:32989584 Page 438

[SECRET]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

It is apparent that this office is developing into a focal point of activity surrounding demonstrations at the Convention. It appears that most of those organizations which will be actively engaged in demonstrating during the period that the Convention is in session will use this space to plan and coordinate their activity.

A telephone surveillance on this office would provide extremely valuable information regarding the plans of these groups to disrupt the National Democratic Convention. It would also furnish advance notice of any possible activity by these groups which would endanger the safety of the President or other Government officials while in Chicago.

A surveillance of this nature would greatly enhance our coverage of those groups which join in the demonstrations at the Convention and could possibly forewarn of their future activity that may be detrimental to the Government's interests.

I recommend, therefore, the installation of a telephone surveillance on the [National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations] at the [National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street] Chicago, Illinois, or any other address to which this office may move in the future.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Approved _____

Date _____

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 3/8/68 captioned as above as prepared by [RHH:jav]

[Classified "Secret" since this memorandum concerns telephone surveillance, unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage, to the detriment of the national defense.]

[SECRET]

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3

NW 55162 DocId: 32989561 Page 139

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

NOTE CONTINUED:

This memorandum recommends the institution of a telephone surveillance in accordance with current policy, which requires approval by the Attorney General for the installation and continuation of all technical surveillances.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 440

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum JUNE

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: 3/21/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

PURPOSE:

To recommend the resubmission of a request to the Attorney General for the installation of a telephone surveillance on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

BACKGROUND:

By memorandum to the Attorney General dated 3/11/68, we requested authority to install a telephone surveillance at the above-mentioned location, which was recently opened to serve as a point of coordination for various new left, civil rights and subversive groups planning to stage massive demonstrations in Chicago during the National Democratic Convention. By letter dated 3/12/68, the Attorney General declined to authorize this installation on the basis that there has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national interest. The Attorney General indicated that other investigative activities should be undertaken to provide intelligence necessary to the protection of the national interest.

OBSERVATIONS:

We do not concur with the Attorney General's statement that there has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security. Various new left, civil rights, and subversive organizations have publicly announced plans to converge on the National Democratic Convention in Chicago during August and stage massive demonstrations. Negro entertainer Dick Gregory is being

CONTINUED - OVER

157-8589
Enclosure
CWT:jav
(12)

REC-40 3-22-68

MAR 27 1968

1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. Thompson

6 APR 1 1968

NW 55162 DocId:32989564 Page 141

quoted as saying that demonstrations will begin in Chicago at the end of May and that so many antiwar demonstrators will be put on the streets that the Government will be forced to bring the Army in.

Organizations planning to participate in these demonstrations include the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Communist Party, USA. All of these organizations have participated in prior violent demonstrations such as the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington, which culminated in a physical assault on the Pentagon which had to be repelled by Federal troops. There appears to be ample evidence that these demonstrations will represent a substantial threat to the national security.

ACTION TAKEN:

We have prepared a memorandum for the Attorney General in accordance with the above-mentioned observations and are resubmitting our request for authority to install a telephone surveillance at the office of the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum to the Attorney General be approved.

NW 65142 Docld:32989584 Page 112

JUNE

1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

March 22, 1968

1 - Mr. Thompson

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

Reference is made to your memorandum dated March 12, 1968, in which you declined authorization of a requested telephone surveillance on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois, because there has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security.

Information developed to date by this Bureau indicates that a massive effort is being made by various new left groups, civil rights organizations and subversive organizations to mobilize from 200,000 to 500,000 demonstrators who will converge on the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in August, 1968, with the objective of disrupting the Convention and forcing the Government to utilize Federal troops to contain the demonstrators. For example, the "Washington Post" issue of March 20, 1968, quoted Negro entertainer Dick Gregory as saying that so many antiwar demonstrators will be put on the streets of Chicago before the Convention that "the Government will be forced to bring the Army in." Gregory indicated that anti-Convention marches will begin at the end of May on a 12-hour basis and will later be conducted on a 24-hour basis.

Organizations planning to participate in these demonstrations include the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Student Mobilization Committee and the Communist Party, USA. All of these organizations have participated in prior antiwar demonstrations which resulted.

REC-9 157-8589-42

SECRET

CWT:jav
(14)

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

SENT FROM D
TIME
DATE
BY

MAY 1 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

NW 55162 Docid:32989504 Page 443

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

in violence, such as the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington which culminated in a physical assault on the Pentagon by several hundred demonstrators who were finally repelled by Federal troops.

While every effort is being made to establish the coverage necessary to fulfill our responsibilities to keep the intelligence community advised regarding the plans of these organizations, it is apparent that a telephone surveillance at the above-mentioned location would provide information regarding the plans and activities of the key organizers of these demonstrations which cannot be obtained from any other source.

Accordingly, I again recommend the installation of a telephone surveillance on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the [National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street] Chicago, Illinois, or any other address to which this office may move in the future.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Approved _____

Date _____

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 3/21/68 captioned as above as prepared by [CWT:jav]

[Classified "Secret" since this memorandum concerns telephone surveillance, unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage, to the detriment of the national security]

This memorandum recommends the institution of a telephone surveillance in accordance with current policy, which requires approval by the Attorney General for the installation and continuation of all technical surveillances.

NW 53162 DocId:32989564 Page 441

SECRET

JUNE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozanus
April 24, 1968
1 - Mr. Thompson

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

Reference is made to my memorandum dated March 22, 1968, captioned as above requesting authority to institute telephone surveillance coverage on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

In order that this Bureau may fulfill its responsibilities in this important area of our work, it is requested that you advise of your decision in this matter as promptly as possible.

Very truly yours,

EX-115

John Edgar Hoover
Director

REC-9

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:55PM
DATE 4-24-68
BY

14 APR 29 1968

Approved _____

Date _____

CWT:jay (14)

NOTE: By memorandum to the Attorney General dated 3/11/68, authority was requested to install a technical surveillance at the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, Illinois, which was recently opened to serve as a point of coordination for various groups planning to stage massive demonstrations and engage in disruptive activities at the National Democratic Convention in August, 1968. This request was denied by the Attorney General on 3/12/68 on the grounds that there had not been an adequate

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

MAY 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NW 55162 DocId:32989084 Page 215

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

NOTE CONTINUED:

demonstration of a direct threat to the national interest. The request was resubmitted on 3/22/68 at which time it was pointed out that militant civil rights and antiwar leaders had publicly announced plans to disrupt the National Democratic Convention and force the Government to use Federal troops. To date, the Attorney General has not responded to this request.

NW 5 5162 DocId: 32989584 Page 446

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

JUNE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: 6/6/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

PURPOSE:

To recommend that a follow-up memorandum be sent to the Attorney General in regard to a request submitted on 3/22/68 for approval of a telephone surveillance on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention.

BACKGROUND:

By memorandum to the Attorney General dated 3/11/68, authority was requested to install a technical surveillance at the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, Illinois, which was recently opened to serve as a point of coordination for various groups planning to stage massive demonstrations and engage in disruptive activities at the National Democratic Convention in August, 1968. This request was denied by the Attorney General on 3/12/68 on the grounds that there had not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national interest. The request was resubmitted 3/22/68 at which time it was pointed out that militant civil rights and antiwar leaders had publicly announced plans to disrupt the National Democratic Convention and force the Government to use Federal troops. On 4/24/68 a follow-up memorandum was sent to the Attorney General requesting a decision in this case and since then three general communications have been sent to the Attorney General regarding this and other cases requesting authorization for electronic surveillances. To date, the Attorney General has not responded.

Enclosure 6-11-68

157-8589
CWT:jav (12)

1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. Thompson

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-24 6 JUN 12 1968

NW 55162 DocId:32989504 Page 447

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968
157-8589

OBSERVATIONS:

The assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy serve to illustrate the ugly atmosphere of discontent which pervades the American political scene today. It is reasonable to expect that the extremist elements planning to disrupt the Democratic National Convention may resort to violent acts to draw attention to their causes and achieve their objectives at the Convention.

We are making every effort to develop adequate informant coverage to enable us to keep the intelligence community advised of the day-to-day plans and activities of the leaders of the dissident groups planning to disrupt the Convention. We cannot hope to fulfill our responsibilities as an intelligence agency, however, unless we take full advantage of all means at our disposal to develop the necessary information.

The delay on the part of the Attorney General in acting on the request for a telephone surveillance in this case is inexcusable. We have, therefore, prepared a follow-up memorandum to the Attorney General expressing concern over the delay and again requesting a decision in this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum to the Attorney General be approved.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 448

SECRET

OUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - r. Callahan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

June 7, 1968

1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. Thompson

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, AUGUST, 1968

Reference is made to my memoranda dated March 22, 1968, and April 24, 1968, captioned as above requesting authority to institute telephone surveillance coverage on the National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

As you were previously advised, considerable information has been developed indicating that various subversive organizations, civil rights groups and organizations affiliated with the New Left movement plan to stage massive demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention with the objective of disrupting the Convention.

The tragic events of the past several weeks vividly illustrate the ugly atmosphere of discontent which pervades the American political scene today. There is every reason to believe that the extremist elements planning to disrupt the National Democratic Convention, inflamed by the recent assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy, may resort to acts of violence to achieve their objectives at the Convention.

In view of the foregoing, it is absolutely essential that we utilize every means at our disposal to effect the coverage needed to enable us to keep the intelligence community advised of the day-to-day plans and activities of the leaders of these dissident groups. I feel that I would be derelict in my duty if I did not

REC-24 157-8589

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 2:00 NOON
DATE 6-11-68
BY

CWT:jav
(14)

SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

TELETYPE UNIT

55162 DocId:82989584 Page 119

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

express my concern over the delay encountered in connection with the request for approval of a telephone surveillance in this case. This delay has unquestionably caused a loss of valuable intelligence information in a most critical area of our operations.

Accordingly, it is again requested that you advise of your decision in regard to the aforementioned request as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Approved _____

Date _____

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 6/6/68 captioned as above as prepared by CWT:jav.

Classified "Confidential" since this memorandum concerns telephone surveillance, unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage, to the detriment of the national security.

NW 55162 DocId:32989503 Page 150

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

March 12, 1968

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Memorandum to: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

From: Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

Re: Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, August, 1968
Your memo dated March 11, 1968

I am declining authorization of the requested installation of the above telephone surveillance at the present time. There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security. Should further evidence be secured of such a threat, or re-evaluation desired, please resubmit.

Other investigative activities should be undertaken to provide intelligence necessary to the protection of the national interest.

REC-100

157-8587-42

APR 3 1968

TOP SECRET

Downgraded to Secret on 11/19/16 pursuant to [illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: MR. TOLSON

DATE: 8/7/68

[cc Mr. Sullivan
Mr. DeLoach]

FROM: C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Chicago, Illinois, 8/26/68

Tolson
Boardman
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

5 - Mr. Sullivan

Bill Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, attempted to telephonically contact the Director at 9:48 a.m., 8/7/68. He was advised the Director was in travel status and was referred to my office.

Connell told me that the President had, some time ago, advised the Vice President that the FBI had sent a "special team" to Atlantic City, during the last Democratic National Convention. The President allegedly told the Vice President that the FBI had been of great service to him and he had been given considerable information on a timely basis throughout the entire convention.

Connell stated that, while he desired to discuss this with the Director personally, the Vice President hoped the Director would extend to him the same service during the forthcoming Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

I told Connell the Director would be back in his office during the first part of the coming week. Connell stated he would attempt to contact the Director at that time.

I also told Connell that, while he desired to discuss this matter with the Director, he should know that our Chicago Office is very well prepared to gather intelligence and pass such intelligence on to appropriate authorities during the convention. Connell stated he presumed this to be true; however, he would call again next week and mention this matter to the Director.

ACTION:

SAC Marlin Johnson, Chicago, has made extensive plans regarding coverage of the convention. He has established space for lookout and intelligence purposes near the convention. This space was provided by Secret Service. Rather than a

CONTINUED-----OVER

CDD:CSH (3)

EX-100

AUG 23 1968

Mr. Tolson

special squad going to Chicago, which would entail considerable funds, it is suggested the Director might desire to advise Connell, on the occasion of his calling again, that full preparations have been made by the Chicago Office to handle the matter of passing intelligence to the Vice President and his aides; consequently, there is no need for a "special team" to proceed to Chicago.

[illegible]

I talked to Connell - also I talked to Sac [Johnson] & issued appropriate instructions

[illegible]

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 153

10:09 a.m. August 15, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. DE LOACH
MR. BISHOP
MR. SULLIVAN

Mr. William Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, returned my call. I told him I was out of town when he called last week and I wanted to return his call.

Mr. Connell thanked me for calling and stated what he had called about was that he had talked to the Vice President about the team I sent into the convention area in 1964 that was so helpful. He stated he was hoping perhaps I might be able to do the same thing for the Vice President out in Chicago and have my men directly in contact with him (Connell).

I advised Mr. Connell that I had already initiated that and that he will be supplied by Special Agent in Charge Marlin Johnson in Chicago; that any kind of assistance he wants to just let Mr. Johnson know and he will take care of it.

Mr. Connell thanked me and said he will tell the Vice President.

10:18 a.m.

I called SAC Marlin Johnson in Chicago and told him I had just talked to Mr. William Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, and what he wanted to have done was an operation similar to what we did down at Atlantic City at the last Democratic Convention when Mr. Johnson was running for renomination. I explained that he would like to have us furnish the same type of information and be in contact with him, Connell, on any so-called intelligence we might get. I stated I told Mr. Connell we would do that and that SAC Johnson would be in contact with Connell and anything he wanted to let Johnson know. I told Mr. Johnson we are not going to get into anything political but anything of extreme action or violence contemplated we want to let Connell know.

Mr. Johnson stated he would get in touch with Mr. Connell promptly and set it up. I told Mr. Johnson that Connell is presently in

JEH:rm (8)

XEROX

AUG 30 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Bishop, Sullivan

August 15, 1968

New York. Mr. Johnson said he would probably be out in Chicago early next week.

Mr. Johnson stated that things look a little tense out there, and I said I think we are going to have some trouble. I stated we want to be thoroughly prepared that we plug every possible hole we can plug to have coverage. I said I wrote a memo to the Attorney General (Ramsey Clark) yesterday about his failure to approve wire taps out there but I didn't think it will have any effect but that we want to try to cover it as well as we can; that if anything goes wrong, we will be blamed.

Mr. Johnson stated we have what he believes is excellent coverage of that area and he believes we will be in a position to handle Mr. Connell, the Secret Service and local authorities intelligence concerning the kooks coming in from outside and the troublemakers there.

I remarked that I didn't know if the President is going out there but, if he does, that will add trouble to the demonstrations. Mr. Johnson agreed and stated the area is extremely tense.

Mr. Johnson said he appreciated my call and that he will be in touch with Mr. Connell just as soon as he comes to Chicago.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1:30 PM
DATE 8-15-68
BY

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989504 Page 155

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 8/22/68

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Chicago, Illinois

Democratic Party

John Criswell, National Treasurer, Democratic Party, called this afternoon to indicate that he had had dinner with Marvin Watson, the Postmaster General, last night, and Watson had informed him of the great service performed by the FBI during the last Democratic Convention, in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Criswell wanted to know if the same services could be performed this time in Chicago. He also asked if I could personally go out and take charge, as was the case in Atlantic City.

I told Criswell that Bill Connell, Executive Assistant to the Vice President, had already called regarding this matter, and had personally discussed the entire matter with the Director. I stated the Director had made complete arrangements to have a topflight group of experienced agents, under the supervision of the Special Agent in Charge of the Chicago Office, handle this assignment. I told Criswell I felt certain these men would do an excellent job and the Vice President's office would be kept fully advised at all times of need-to-know information.

Criswell expressed appreciation and stated he did not know Connell had already made the request in question.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

EX-109

CDD:CSH (3)

REC-34

16 AUG 26 1968

NW 55162 Docid:32989361 Page 456

Ex. 69

8-26-71
~~6-24-71~~

11-2

THE [illegible]

CLYDE TOLSON

[illegible] CUTIVE'S CONFERENCE

In attendance at the Conference on 8-26-71 were Messrs. Mohr, Sullivan, Bland (for Bishop), Casper, Cleveland, Conrad, Gale, McDaniel (for Walters), Miller (for Ponder), Mintz (for Dalbey), Rosen, Shroo (for Brennan), Soyars, Tavel, Walsh (for Callahan) and Felt.

Pursuant to your instructions, members of the Conference were briefed concerning recent attempts by various newspapers and reporters to obtain information about or from FBI personnel. Members were specifically advised that there should be absolutely no conversations with or answers of any sort to representatives of the Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Columbia Broadcasting System, and National Broadcasting Company. The only acceptable answer to such inquiries is "No Comment."

It was emphasized that these instructions applied equally to the Field and in telephonic conversations with the field concerning cases likely to result in press inquiries, precautionary reminders concerning the above representatives of the news media should be given.

For information.

[WMF:crt]
(4)

1 - [Mr. Casper]

REC-24

[66-2554-12972]

ST-103

5 SEP 8 1971

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to [illegible] by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

07 SEP 8 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 3/30/64

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 -
1 -
1 -

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

The New York Office has proposed that as a counterintelligence action publicity be afforded the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), a recently organized educational-propaganda arm of the Communist Party (CP), USA. AIMS is currently attempting to enlist the sympathies of students and faculty members throughout the country. Herbert Aptheker, National Committee member, CPUSA, is acting in the capacity of director of AIMS.

To expose this educational-propaganda arm of the communists, the New York Office proposes a statement such as the following be given the widest possible circulation through cooperative news media sources at the Seat of Government:

"The CPUSA, in its constant effort to woo adherents to its philosophy if not actually into its ranks, is again forming a propaganda organization, this time a very subtle one under the name of the American Institute for Marxist Studies, better known in CP circles as 'AIMS.' The CPUSA has placed enough importance in this organization to take Herbert Aptheker, a leading spokesman of the CP, away from his editorship of 'Political Affairs,' the theoretical organ of the CPUSA, to work full time in setting up AIMS. Aptheker has enlisted Joseph R. Morray to assist in the AIMS operation on the west coast. Morray is the ideal front man for the CP (although he is not trusted by the CP leaders) since he is an Annapolis graduate and thereby, on the surface, lends an air of respectability to AIMS. Morray used to teach young Marxists at the University of Havana. In the October 8, 1961, issue of 'Bohemia,' a magazine of the Cuban Government, Morray was quoted as saying:

AIMS)

REC-17 100-3-104-34-Ser 683

(10)

EX-101

15

56 APR 20 1964

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 458

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-3-104-34

"'The Cuban Revolution has brought forth methods of its own in the manner whereby Socialism can be arrived at. At the same time, it demonstrated that the postulates of Marxism are indisputable, scientific and social truths...I wish to let it be known that in my opinion, the Cuban Revolution is of universal importance. I believe that it will kindle and capture the enthusiasm of the masses of the United States because the Revolution's great accomplishments cannot be hidden from them forever.'

"The CP recently opened a headquarters for AIMS at 20 East 30th Street, New York, New York. Aptheker and his staff, with the assistance of communist dupes throughout the United States, are preparing to spread the germs of Marxism in an attempt to infect unsuspecting and naive Americans who are placed in contact with this communist propaganda."

Publication of the above data will not jeopardize sensitive Bureau sources.

ACTION:

That this memorandum be routed to Mr. DeLoach so information regarding AIMS may be made available to cooperative news media sources in an effort to expose this educational-propaganda effort of the CP.

DR FJB/73

Handled 4-6-64

REC FROM
OCT 7 1975
FBI

SAC, New York

April 10, 1964

Director, FBI

1

1354

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES)

ReNYlet 3/20/64.

The Bureau will endeavor to obtain publication of the information submitted by you concerning the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) through cooperative news media sources at the Seat of Government. Your interest in forwarding this item is appreciated and you are encouraged to be alert for such items in the future

Reference is made to your letter dated 3/23/64 captioned "American Institute for Marxist Studies, Internal Security - C" wherein plans for a symposium of this organization scheduled to be held at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel in New York City on 4/23/64 are set out. You should carefully follow developments regarding this symposium and submit counterintelligence recommendations at the earliest possible date to expose the communist nature of the organization and symposium. Specifically consider releasing information to cooperative news media sources locally exposing the communist nature of AIMS.

Advise the Bureau in the event the information submitted with your letter dated 3/20/64 is published in the local press.

REC-38

19 APR 13 1964

1 - New York

EX-103

NOTE:

The information referred to has been released by Mr. DeLoach's Office and sets forth the communist associations of AIMS, a new communist propaganda front.

(AIMS)

MAILED 25
APR - 9 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

: Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: 8/9/65

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

OM : F.J. Baumgardner

UBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(GUS HALL)

Elizabeth Hall, wife of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, recently purchased a blue 1965 Oldsmobile 98 Holiday Sports Sedan for the use of her husband. Gus Hall is presently in upstate New York on his annual monthly vacation. As a disruptive tactic, it is recommended the following or a similar statement be released to a cooperative news media source, preferably a nationally syndicated columnist at the Seat of Government, to expose the high living of Hall, the leader of the alleged "Party of the working class:"

> The top United States Red, Gus Hall, does not worry about the heat this summer. He is being chauffered about in his expensive new 1965 air-conditioned, high-powered blue sports sedan. Comrades of the self-proclaimed leader of the American working class should not allow this example of Gus's prosperity to discourage their continued contributions to the Party's coffers. Upon his return from his annual month's vacation, Hall very likely may require additional dues, payments and contributions to cover his tabs. After all, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, cannot be expected to survive on the salary he draws of $120 a week.

ACTION:

That this memorandum be routed to the Crime Records Division so the above information may be confidentially made available to a cooperative news media source, preferably a nationally syndicated columnist.

REC-59

EX-101

(8)

1 AUG 11 1965

50 AUG 17 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 26, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

PURPOSE:

To recommend item be furnished cooperative national news media source by Crime Records, designed to curtail success of Martin Luther King's fund raising for the Washington Spring Project.

BACKGROUND:

Martin Luther King has now scheduled the Washington Spring Project, his "poor people's march on Washington, D. C.," for the latter part of April, 1968. King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has sent out a mailing to 70,000 potential financial contributors. King asked these 70,000 to contribute to the Washington Spring Project for the feeding and housing of the marchers.

At the same time, churches in the Washington, D. C., area have said they will feed and house King's marchers.

SUGGESTION:

That the above facts be given a cooperative news source by the Crime Records Division so that a story could be

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - ...
1 - ...

REC 39

EX 106

APR 9 1968

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

given nation-wide circulation that King does not need contributions from the 70,000 people he solicited. Since the churches have offered support, no more money is needed and any contributed would only be used by King for other purposes. This item would need nation-wide circulation in order to reach all the potential contributors and curtail their donations. A sample item is attached.

ACTION:

That the facts about King's solicitation of funds unnecessarily be given a cooperative news source by the Crime Records Division.

[Wiel]

Harold 4/6/68

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 463

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), today finds himself in the embarrassing position of having too much money, or at least the probability of too much money. The SCLC sent out a huge mailing to its contributors pleading for funds for the Washington Spring Project, the "poor people's march on Washington." Thousands of contributors were urged to support the march financially in order to feed and house the demonstrators. But the churches in the Washington, D. C., area have offered to house and feed the demonstrators.

Now the contributions are beginning to roll in from the mailing and King doesn't need the money. An embarrassment of riches has befallen King, who will only use the money for other purposes. The churches had better come through with all the housing and support the demonstrators need, because there will be little money left for the "poor people" by the time the march rolls around.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

[100-445006-83]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: May 10, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend copy of document showing Communist Party, USA, interest in the Poor People's Campaign be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

BACKGROUND:

The Poor People's Campaign (PPC) was initiated by the late Martin Luther King, Jr., as a massive civil disobedience campaign to force passage of legislation favorable to Negroes. We have just received, and disseminated to appropriate interested agencies, a Communist Party, USA, (CPUSA) document concerning the PPC. (Copy attached)

This document is signed by William L. Patterson for the Party's Negro Work Department. It is addressed to all Districts of the Party, all National Committee (NC) members, Heads of all Negro Work Departments, and Chairmen of all commissions. The first heading in the document reads, "All-out Support to the Poor People's March."

The document calls for "mobilization in support" of the PPC. The CPUSA wants to organize the unemployed and the South as a followup to the PPC.

Enclosure

REC. 116 100-448006-1224

RECEIVED FROM

68 MAY 17 1968

100-448006

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

CONTINUED - OVER

Tel. Room
DeLoach
Mohr
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Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
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Memorandum G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
100-448006

PROPOSAL:

To show CPUSA interest in the PPC it is suggested a copy of the attached CPUSA document be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

For the background information of the news source an article in the 1/24/67 issue of "The Worker," the east coast communist newspaper, page two, identified William L. Patterson as the Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, National Negro Commission.

ACTION:

That attached copy of CPUSA document regarding PPC be furnished news source on confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

ADDENDUM: CRIME RECORDS DIVISION: TED:jo 5/13/63

If approved, this document would be given, on a very confidential basis, to [redacted]. His attention would be drawn to the fact that in the January 24, 1967, issue of "The Worker," William L. Patterson, who is the person who issued this document, is publicly described as Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party, USA.

W 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 466

To all Districts and N.C. Members
Heads of all Negro Work Departments
Chairmen of all Commissions

May 1, 1968

I. All-out Support to the Poor People's March

The Poor People's March on Washington has begun. Evidence of its great power to mobilize for the fight against poverty is emerging. The evidence should be recognized and publicized.

Directed by Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, local progressive black leaders and far-sighted white supporters have held meetings with President Johnson's Cabinet and Congressional leaders.

These meetings expose the hypocrisy of official governmental leadership and the role of government in maintaining millions, especially black citizens, in poverty and misery.

What becomes obvious is that if poverty is to be abolished the people must become abolitionists.

The Poor People's March can become an instrument for mobilizing and activizing millions against poverty.

Every phase of its development makes for the enlargement of struggle, the unification of the people and the loosing of creative ideas of struggle.

II. Political Significance Vital

The encampment in Washington is of historical significance, politically in awakening the American people, ideologically in revealing the role of government and the relation of forces needed to assure victory for the people organizationally and programmatically in mapping out and projecting the historically necessary follow through

The project in its many ramifications impinges on every crisis problem confronting the country, reveals the power of Negro leadership, the dire need for unity and coordination in struggle. The tragic picture of the polarization of poverty and consequent degradation alongside of uncqualled wealth, ruthless rapacity and affluence is presented.

But the dominant factor of it all is: the development shows the limitless potentialities for successful struggle.

(See May Fortune Magazine for details of the polarization of wealth and usurpation of power).

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 467

III. Impact of March and the Follow Through

Reaction fears the impact of the March on labor, black citizenry, youth, women, all decent people who dare think. The impact can be strengthened by the popularization of the March everywhere, schools, churches, labor bodies, among students - everywhere. That popularization should take the form of mobilization in support. Constructive support demands discussion of the follow-up. This is the essence of the case since the March is not an end in itself.

IV. Our Tasks

The Negro Work Department calls on all district leadership to recognize and through action acknowledge possibilities for deepening and sharpening the struggle against poverty. This can lead logically to the question of the organization of the South, of the unorganized and the unemployed. This step is not only vitally important in relation to a successful fight against poverty but in relation to every major issue before the nation.

The logic of this step as a follow-up flows out of the association of the March with the strike of Memphis garbage workers and the unity of white-black workers in struggle.

Correct steps in publicizing the March and its massive ramifications can help awaken the creative imagination of black and white alike.

The people are in motion. The battle for their clarification, unification and direction is a challenge we can neither evade or avoid.

William L. Patterson
For Negro Work Department

RECEIVED FROM
FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 14, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 (Mass Media)
1 - (Mass Media)
1 -

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend item about number of teen-agers in the Poor People's Campaign be furnished news media source on confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

BACKGROUND:

The Poor People's Campaign (PPC) is the campaign of massive civil disobedience initiated by the late Martin Luther King, Jr., to force passage of legislation favorable to Negroes. We have learned that at least two of the PPC caravans moving toward Washington, D.C., are composed largely of teen-agers and young men in their early twenties.

This is an unstable element with a real potential for violence. The recent riot in Washington started with looting by teen-agers and young men. This information has been disseminated to appropriate interested agencies and it is felt it should also be publicized by the news media. Attached is a summary of these facts which protects our sources.

ACTION:

That attached summary be given a cooperative news media source by the Crime Records Division on a confidential basis to publicize the number of young people involved in the PPC.

REC 8 [illegible] 123

Enclosure

(8)

RECEIVED [illegible] MAY 17 1968 FBI

May 14, 1968

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN
OR "CHILDREN'S CRUSADE"?

The Poor People's Campaign may be turning into a "children's Crusade" and the number of teen-agers descending on the Nation's Capital reminds officials that the recent riot in Washington began with teen-age looting. Of the 369 "poor people" in one of the caravans moving North on Washington, there are 315 of school age. Most of those in the "Midwest Caravan" are teen-agers or young men in their early twenties. Members of a teen-age group called the "Invaders" are in one caravan.

Parents of these young people have protested, knowing the potential for trouble in this situation. But the "children" come anyway and Washington, D.C., faces an explosive situation. The presence of so many teen-agers and youngsters only adds another unpredictable element to the Poor People's Campaign.

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1968
FBI

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 17, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend photographs of demonstrators on Poor People's Campaign (PPC) be furnished cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

Attached are six photographs of PPC participants taken by [redacted] in Cleveland, Ohio, at rally 5/14/68. These show the militant, aggressive appearance of the participants and might be of interest to a cooperative news source. Furnishing the pictures to a news source will not jeopardize our source.

ACTION:

That attached photos of PPC be furnished cooperative news media source on confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

Enclosures - 6

(8)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - (Mass Media)
1 - (Mass Media)
1 -

EX-115

REC- 25 1 MAY 28 1968

RECEIVED FROM

ROUTE ENVELOPE

Tolson
DeLoach
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
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Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 22, 1968

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend an item regarding the Poor People's Campaign be given a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division. A source has advised that some leaders of the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) feel that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker group, is trying to dominate the PPC in Washington, D. C. The AFSC has assisted the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in various phases of this campaign. This situation is so serious that Fred C. Bennette, in charge of security for the PPC, refuses to go to the campaign office in Washington because of the presence of AFSC representatives.

An item has been prepared, copy attached, to show this jealousy on the part of PPC leaders. It is felt this should be given a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

ACTION:

That attached item regarding the Poor People's Campaign be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by Crime Records.

Enclosure

(8)

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - (Mass Media)
1 - (Mass Media)
1 -

REC- 6 JUN 5 1968

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 472

REC-24

"FRIENDS" TOO FRIENDLY FOR
LEADERS OF POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Leaders of the "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, D. C., are not exactly grateful for the assistance of the American Friends Service Committee on the campaign. They feel this help is a subtle effort to dominate the campaign.

One campaign leader is so irritated with the "Friends" that he refuses to go to the campaign office at 1401 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., because of the "Friends" there. He claims the representatives of the American Friends Service Committee that are at the campaign office are uncooperative.

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - (Mass Media)
1 - Mr (Mass Media)
1 -

(9)

NOTE:

See memo G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned as above, dated May 22, 1968, prepared by

RECEIVED FROM
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FBI

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Trotter

ENCLOSURE

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 473

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/5/68

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN)

This is to recommend item about the large number of cars bought by the Poor People's Campaign be furnished a cooperative news media source by Crime Records on a confidential basis.

The Poor People's Campaign has purchased three buses and twelve cars to transport demonstrators and leaders. Although the campaign is to dramatize alleged poverty, the campaign has spent thousands of dollars for cars and buses.

ACTION:

That attached item about this extravagance be furnished a cooperative news media source by the Crime Records Division on a highly confidential basis.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - (Mass Media)
1 - (Mass Media)

JUN 10 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sul
1 - Mr. T.E. Bis
1 - Mr. G.C. Moo
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REC- 59
EX-105

NOTHING PEDESTRIAN ABOUT THE POOR PEOPL

The Poor People's Campaign is on the march in Washington, D.C., but not on foot. The campaign is now buying cars and buses, twelve cars and three buses so far. The mule train got great publicity for the poor people, but when it comes to the hard work of "turning the Nation's Capital upside down," in the words of Reverend Abernathy, the poor people invest in several thousand dollars worth of automotive equipment.

The three buses are being used to shuttle the demonstrators around Washington on their appointed rounds and the cohen cars do the job of transporting campaign leaders to Resurrection City from their quarters at the Pitts Motor Hotel. Of course, the angry demonstrators who went to the Pitts Motor Hotel to get Reverend Abernathy for a stay in the muddy camp didn't get to use these cars.

The Poor People's Campaign bought two more cars over the Memorial Day weekend, making the fleet as large as some of the car rental agencies in Washington. If the campaign leaders used commercial bus lines for their trips back and forth from their hotel, the thousands spent on cars would feed a lot of children in Resurrection City.

(10) 1st

NOTE:

See memorandum from G.C. Moore to W.C. Sullivan, captioned "Counterintelligence Program Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence (Poor People's Campaign)," dated 6/5/68, prepared by TJD/1st.

Tolson
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Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt

RECEIVED FROM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 21, 1969

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Attached is an article concerning the criminal activities of the Black Panther Party (BPP) for the Crime Records Division to furnish a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis.

The extremist and highly violent BPP has been involved in criminal activities since its inception. The BPP has been involved in robberies, attacks on police officers, and other serious crimes. Many individual members have long criminal records. Details of this activity have been compiled in the attached article.

Exposure of these activities by nationwide news media would show the true nature of this extremist group.

ACTION:

That attached article be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division to expose the criminal nature of the BPP.

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - (Mass Media)
1 - (Mass Media)
1 -

JUN 6 1969

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 476

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9/5/69

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. R.H. Horner

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT

Tolson
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Grady

This memorandum recommends approval for distribution under the Mass Media Program of a blind memorandum revealing evidence of the growing dissatisfaction of militant blacks with the New Left.

At a recent conference of the United Front Against Fascism held in Oakland, Calif., and sponsored by the Black Panther Party (BPP), one of the resolutions adopted was that a petition for community control of police departments should be circulated in the black, brown and white communities. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has balked at the idea of white community control of its police force. This has resulted in vitriolic attacks on SDS by leaders of the BPP and SDS has ineffectively explained its position.

Previous information has also been developed that the New Mobilization Committee (NMC), which under the name of the National Mobilization Committee sponsored demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention and the Presidential inauguration, has made plans for a demonstration in Washington, D. C., on 11/15/69 to protest the war. The Black United Front (BUF) in Washington, D. C., has demanded of this group $25,000 in order to receive its support.

In order to further split the black militants from the New Left, it appears that should this information be publicized it will create dissension within both the New Left and black militant groups. A blind memorandum setting forth this information has been prepared which could be used by a nationally syndicated columnist to focus attention on this developing situation.

REC-73 87-3

EX-103

4 SEP 11 1969

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum be approved and forwarded to the Crime Records Division for use in the Mass Media Program.

Enclosure ENCLOSURE

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

(8)

P 8 1969

THE WIDENING RIFT

From all appearances, the honeymoon between the black militants and the New Leftists is about over.

An indication of this state of affairs is the recent disclosure in "New Left Notes," the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organ, and "The Black Panther," the official publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), that these two organizations have fallen out over the issue of community control of the police. A decision to call for such control, reached at a recent United Front Against Fascism Conference held in Oakland, California, and sponsored by the BPP, was more of a hurdle than SDS could take. SDS balked at white community control of police. In a subsequent statement by David Hilliard, a BPP official, printed in the Party's newspaper, the rift between these organizations was brought into the open. Hilliard charged SDS with slogan hawking and not being revolutionaries. In the usual gutter vernacular, he berated SDS as nationally chauvinistic and nationally socialistic.

SDS subsequently answered Hilliard (if that is what it could be considered) in a wishy-washy statement printed in its publication, "New Left Notes." In this statement, SDS called the whole thing a misunderstanding based on faulty information about SDS's position. It characterized itself as being dedicated to building a revolutionary youth movement among white youth of the "mother country." This latter statement has not set well with black militants.

More recent evidence of this rift is indicated by demands recently made by the Black United Front (BUF) in Washington, D. C., on the New Mobilization Committee (NMC). This latter group, under the name of National Mobilization Committee, sponsored such demonstrations as those which were held in Washington, D. C., during the inauguration of President Nixon and during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The NMC has been organizing a demonstration which is to be held in the Nation's capital on November 15, 1969, which will protest the war in Vietnam. The BUF first notified NMC that it would demand that NMC pay BUF $1 per head for each demonstrator coming to

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

ENCLOSURE

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 478

Washington, D. C., for this demonstration as a price for its support of the demonstration. It later modified this demand to ask for a flat $25,000 for its support. This demand poses a real problem for NMC since that organization is still in debt from the demonstrations it has sponsored in the past. It also poses tricky ideological problems. Some Committee leaders feel this is out-and-out extortion by the blacks and that it should not be paid. Others feel that the funds should be paid if possible, but the question then arises what about other Negro organizations which might be even more deserving of the funds than BUF. For instance, such an organization as the National Welfare Rights Organization, which is composed of black welfare recipients, might have a better claim to these funds. It also poses other interesting possibilities which the New Leftists are not anxious to face. That is, will this be a recurring demand which can be expected in the future from the blacks. If such is the case, it would become an additional burden for the protest movement. It is obvious that this situation must be handled with kid gloves for if the blacks are alienated, hope for success for any protest movement in Washington, D. C., will be eliminated.

It appears, therefore, that militant blacks are becoming increasingly unwilling to accept the leadership of the white New Left movement, but are ready to strike out on their own to seek objectives which, up to now, have only been secondary in the scheme of things as far as the leftists are concerned.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 479

177

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1969
FBI

1 - Mr. C. D. DoLoach
11/10/69
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop (Route through for review)
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
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1 -

Airtel

To: Legats, London (Enclosure)
Tokyo (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - NEW LEFT

Bureau has received information indicating that the North Vietnamese have received reports indicating majority of Americans actively participated in antiwar demonstrations 10/15/69. Attached is a draft of an article which presents the true picture.

If possible, you should contact Press Attache in your Embassy to determine if he has suitable contacts to have article appear in local press. If this is not practical, review local press for an article which gives figures for participants closest to the actual count indicated in attached article. Cut out the article and mail it to the North Vietnam Peace Delegation in Paris, France, using a commercial-type envelope purchased locally and take every precaution to insure that the action taken cannot be traced back to you or the U.S. Government. Advise Bureau of action taken on this matter.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unite (Route through for review)

(12)

NOTE:
See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 11/7/69, captioned as above, prepared by

ENCLOSURE

REC 85 100-448998

4 NOV 12 1969

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MAILED 23
NOV 12 1969
COMM-FBI

RECEIVED FROM

SEP 5 1975

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On October 15, 1969, an organization known as the Vietnam Moratorium Committee sponsored nation-wide demonstrations in the U.S. to protest U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam. The predominant theme of these demonstrations was to remove all U.S. troops from Vietnam immediately. Demonstrations occurred in every state and at a majority of the colleges in the U.S. There have been conflicting claims as to the number of individuals who participated in these demonstrations. In view of the fact that these claims vary greatly depending upon the political viewpoint of the individual making them, some analysis is necessary.

To begin with, figures used by individuals involved in the demonstrations and by the committee organizing it appeared to be greatly exaggerated. For example, at Washington, D. C., the figure of 50,000 demonstrators is claimed. Actually, individuals capable of estimating crowd size placed the number at not over 25,000. In addition, at many of the demonstrations it was difficult to separate the demonstrators from spectators in estimating numbers. While absenteeism ran high in colleges and high schools throughout the country, the number of demonstrators on the campuses was relatively small. Obviously many of the students took the opportunity to take the day off as most of the schools excused anyone absent so they could take part in the Moratorium if they desired.

It is also well to note that many of the demonstrators were pacifists based upon their religious belief and had as their objective peace, not the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Reliable sources in the news media in the U.S. estimate the total number of demonstrators as 500,000, the majority of which were of high school and college age. Inasmuch as the population of the U.S. exceeds 200,000,000, 8,000,000 of which are college students, it is obvious that a very small part of the population took part in these demonstrations. Even utilizing the Vietnam Moratorium Committee's claims of 1,000,000 demonstrators, this would amount to only 1/200 of the population. Utilizing the more reliable estimate of 500,000, it would only amount to 1/400 of the population. Even if the entire 500,000 demonstrators were college students

ENCLOSURE 182

they would only amount to 1/16 of the youth presently attending colleges in the U.S.

Viewed in this light, it is obvious that the demonstrations were not a mass cry for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam but rather an indication that some of the individuals who are obviously next in line for military service in Vietnam object to having their lives disrupted by participating in a war which they cannot understand.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/15/70

M : G. C. Moore

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ECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

To recommend that attached news media item be furnished to a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis. The item relates to open criticism by black extremist Stokely Carmichael of the Black Panther Party (BPP) organization and ideology.

Carmichael was formerly Prime Minister of the BPP. In that capacity he was a leading spokesman for the BPP and it was largely through his public statements that the BPP enjoyed such widespread success during its efforts to recruit new members and expand its chapters across the Nation.

Carmichael publicly resigned from the BPP in July, 1969, primarily because he felt that the BPP should remain an exclusively black organization whereas other leaders of the group favored cooperation with white radical groups.

Carmichael departed from the U.S. in December, 1968, and resided in Africa until his return to the U.S. on 3/18/70 for a brief stay. During his stay he has made a number of public appearances at universities and on television programs. It was during an appearance on 4/10/70 at the New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, D. C, that he expressed his criticism of the BPP.

ACTION:

That the attached item be furnished to a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis. It is felt that publication of Carmichael's utterances against the BPP may be used in generating additional mutual animosity between him and the Panthers to the benefit of the Bureau.

Enclosure

REC 3 APR 21 1970

(91) 7 MAY 1970

armichael

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
pril 15, 1970, captioned "Counterintelligence
, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence
ly Carmichael)," prepared by [illegible]

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 484

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

April 16, 1970

1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin
1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson
1 - Mr. P. E. Nugent

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Vociferous Stokely Carmichael, perennial exponent of black extremism, left the United States in December, 1968, and since that time has been studying Pan-African ideology at the feet of deposed Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah. Pan-Africanism stresses the unification of blacks and the establishment of a land base in Africa from which to mount black revolution against white society. The Pan-African movement under Nkrumah's leadership, and with Carmichael's most eloquent backing, does not allow for participation in any form by the hated white whether he be radical or racially moderate.

Indeed, Carmichael, as the foremost exponent of the black power movement, publicly resigned from his position of Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party in July, 1969, over the Black Panther Party's decision to enter into a coalition with elements of the radical white New Left movement.

At a public appearance at the New Bethel Baptist Church, Ninth and S Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., on the evening of April 10, 1970, Carmichael launched a vindictive attack on the Black Panther Party organization and its black-and-white-revolution-together ideology. Carmichael labeled the Black Panther Party's ideology false and stated it is his view blacks are unable to understand or relate to it. As if fearful of what might ensue, Carmichael called for the cessation of Black Panther Party attacks on him, and in defense of his own position, stated that if the Black Panther Party organization does not want to join him, they should refrain from attacks on his ideology.

100-448006

PEN:jlm/mbs
(11)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 485

5

SAC, Boston

REC-123

2/27/68

Director, FBI

10

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop
1 - [illegible]
1 - [illegible]

Reurlet 2/9/68.

You are authorized to furnish derogatory information about the Nation of Islam (NOI) to established source [redacted] the Bureau of the results of your contact with [redacted] and of results of any program using material you furnish.

Your suggestions concerning material to furnish [redacted] are good. Emphasize to him that the NOI predilection for violence, preaching of race hatred, and hypocrisy, should be exposed. Material furnished should be either public source or known to enough people as to protect your sources.

Insure the Bureau's interest in this matter is completely protected by [redacted]. Your alertness and interest in forwarding this suggestion are appreciated by the Bureau.

(6)

NOTE:

Boston notes [redacted] who is reliable, discreet, and an admirer of the [redacted] files contain [illegible] derogatory about [redacted] covers [illegible] Island and Southern Massachusetts, [illegible] with a Negro population of 20,000. A program exposing the NOI should be particularly valuable on this station.

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/9/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATION LIST HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

ReBulet to Albany, 8/25/67.

In connection with captioned program, the Boston Division is submitting the following suggestion:

[redacted] produces a radio program over [redacted] which features a controversial subject of interest to the general public. The program features a guest who is involved in some way with the topic under discussion.

[redacted] the Boston Division, is thoroughly reliable and discreet, and has a high regard for the FBI.

Radio Station [redacted] covers the State of Rhode Island and large areas of Southern Massachusetts.

Through [redacted] program, it would be possible to present the local leader of the NOI in Providence and the minister of the NOI in Boston, Mass., in a discussion of NOI activities, aims, and policies. Sufficient public source data would be furnished [redacted] to enable him to discuss subjects which would be embarrassing for the NOI to answer on the one hand or to avoid answering on the other.

EX-113 REC-74

100-448006-10

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Boston

(4)

1 FEB 12 1968

RECEIVED

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 487

Such questions could include efforts of NOI members to stop a car in the Summer Traffic Tunnel, Boston, Mass., on 6/14/64 under the impression that the occupant was MALCOLM X and for the purpose of assassinating him. Another subject could be the beating of LEON PHILLIPS, aka LEON AMEER, NOI member from New Haven, Conn., in the lobby of the Sherry-Biltmore Hotel, Boston, Mass., on 12/25/64. PHILLIPS subsequently died in his hotel room on 3/13/65. The hatred this group bears for the white man could be explored as well as questions on local administration of the Temples and their methods of financing themselves by sales of Muhammad Speaks and donations. Still another subject could be the escapades of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD with respect to his secretaries.

It is believed that this program, properly developed, could portray the NOI in its true light. It is noted that the Providence, R. I., area has a Negro population estimated at about 20,000 persons.

The Bureau can be assured of discreetness and the fact that the Bureau's interests will be protected.

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SAC, Tampa

8/27/68

Director, FBI
REC-81

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 -
1 - [illegible] has

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS)

Reurairtel 8/20/68.

Authority is granted to furnish public source data and local material concerning extremist black nationalist groups, including the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO).

[redacted] is being furnished on a confidential basis and the Bureau cannot be revealed as the source.

For your information Bureau files contain no information concerning [redacted] and no derogatory information concerning [redacted] The Bureau appreciates your interest in the Counterintelligence Program directed against black nationalist extremist groups. Keep the Bureau advised of the results of this counterintelligence action.

(6)

NOTE:

[redacted] has expressed an interest in exposing black nationalist extremist groups, including JOMO, on a television special program to be presented as a community service. [redacted] is a friend of the Special Agent in Charge, Tampa, and on many occasions has expressed his admiration for the Director. [redacted] is a respected member of the community and a check of Bureau files reveals no derogatory information concerning him or his television station. Tampa recommends he be furnished public source data and assures this will in no way cause embarrassment to the Bureau.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEP 3 1968

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 489

Letter to SAC, Tampa
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

NOTE CONTINUED:

The organization JOIN is headed by one [redacted] who has been arrested for destroying a mural in the City Hall at St. Petersburg, Florida, and most recently arrested for spitting on a police officer. [redacted] has told our Agents that a "black revolution is imminent and all white people will die." [redacted] called the FBI "vector" one of the biggest racists in the United States and claimed the FBI is responsible for the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. [redacted] has said he wants to teach Negro children his philosophy of hating white people. His organization claims it has a secret "Man Mau" (terror) squad. We concur with Tampa that this organization should be publicly exposed. Recently Miami Division was authorized to assist a television station in exposing black nationalist extremists and excellent results were obtained. This operation should also serve to neutralize the activities of this extremist group.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 9 1975
FBI

61 JAN 26 1969

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 490

Date: 8/30/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, TAMPA

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBulet to all offices, 8/5/68.

On 8/30/68, [redacted] advised that he is constantly on the alert for special programs to be presented as a community service at his station. [redacted] is viewed by over 500,000 persons in the Tampa, St. Petersburg area. He stated that because of the emphasis being placed on racial matters in the area at this time, he is very much interested in preparing a special program of any organizations in the field at this time. He stated that he was aware of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) and its leader [redacted] of St. Petersburg. He stated that of late there have been many programs, particularly of the news type, where WALLER has been seen agitating racial situations, particularly in St. Petersburg, Fla. [redacted] further advised that he wondered if there would be some public source material that the FBI could direct him to which would assist him in determining whether such a TV special would be informative and worthwhile for the Tampa - St. Petersburg area.

EX-109 REC-37

It is to be noted that [redacted] is a friend of the SAC of the Tampa Office and several Agents of the Tampa Division. He has expressed on many occasions great

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Tampa

(4)

22 AUG 27 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

TP 157-3213

admiration for the FBI and its Director, Mr. HOOVER, and as a matter of fact, explained on 8/20/68, that when he graduated from college, he had considered applying for the FBI as a Special Agent, but when he found that it required a law degree, he went into the entertainment field instead. He stated, however, he has always been an FBI "buff" and is interested in the excellent record compiled by the FBI. It will be noted further that [redacted] is a very respected member of the community and has served actively on many civic organizations in the Tampa area. He has been with [redacted] and is in a pivotal position with that firm.

Tampa believes that [redacted] would be an excellent source to whom to furnish source material for an expose type TV special on JOMO. It would appear that within a reasonable time such a program encompassing interviews together with news clippings that are available to [redacted] already, would certainly serve the Counterintelligence Program. It may further be noted that the leaders of JOMO in St. Petersburg, particularly [redacted], have been eager to have the news media cover their activities. It is also believed that [redacted] having an inflated ego, will eagerly consent to interviews and because of his emotional state, it may well be anticipated that he will make wild remarks and present JOMO in a most unfavorable light in the Negro and white communities. It may well be anticipated that since [redacted]'s followers are mostly teenagers and have been prone to make wild remarks themselves, that they will likewise present themselves in a most unfavorable light. It will be noted further that [redacted] has stated that in dealing with the FBI he at no time will divulge any relationship that he has with the FBI or the fact that they cooperated in any presentation that he might make. He stated that he could not bring himself to do anything to any organization such as the FBI which he has admired for so many years.

Tampa therefore feels that furnishing source material to [redacted] for a special TV program will in no way cause embarrassment to the Bureau and therefore recommends to the Bureau that it authorize the Tampa Office to approach [redacted] with specific information which he might utilize in any program he may prepare. If the Bureau approves

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 9 1975
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 492

TP 157-3213

this suggestion, Tampa assures the Bureau that it will not furnish any information to [redacted] which could be traced to the FBI or which will expose any live informants being operated by the Tampa Division.

COMAFRI

RECEIVED FROM

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 493

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/7/69

FROM : SAC, TAMPA

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReTPlet, 1/23/69.

On 2/7/69 I personally viewed the final edited version of the one-half hour film program. This film will be shown at [redacted]

Viewing of the film by me, ASAC WILLIAM S. SULLIVAN, and Special Agent Supervisor DAVID A. BRUMBLE was at invitation of WILLIAM D. FAVOR, Station Manager of WFLA-TV Station, Tampa, Fla., who has no knowledge of Bureau's involvement in production of this film.

Also present at time of viewing were [redacted]

The film is an excellent production fully exploiting the Junta of Militant Organization, Students for a Democratic Society and Student Protest Demonstration at Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla. and represents maximum results of this program.

At end of viewing Mr. FAVOR was asked if he would make available the film for closer examination by Bureau representatives. He advised that he was most receptive to this idea and if the Bureau would furnish him with one-half hour of video TV tape, he would reproduce the film for the Bureau and they could retain the copy as their own.

REC 105

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - Tampa

Tampa believes obtaining a copy of this program will be of excellent benefit not only as an aid to Tampa investigations but as an aid to other Bureau field divisions in promoting similar type of counterintelligence programs.

SUBJECT:

Mr. FAVOR, in addition to showing film on 2/9/69, and at suggestion of [redacted] will rebroadcast this program once again at a later [illegible] was also receptive to my suggestion to make this film available to civic groups such as PTA's, American Legion, Rotary, Kiwanis, etc. by KFLA.

Bureau is requested to furnish Tampa with one-half hour of TV video tape in order same can be furnished to Mr. FAVOR in order that a copy of the [redacted] program can be obtained. If Bureau not in possession of same, Bureau is requested to authorize Tampa Division to purchase same locally.

Subsequently on 2/7/69 [redacted] advised that he will obtain for the Bureau a copy of [illegible] taken in preparing for this program which was not included in the program for which no video tape necessary.

Bureau will note that Bureau's participation in producing this program has not been exposed by [redacted] and there is no indication Bureau's affiliation will become known at any future date.

RECEIVED FROM
MAR 9 1975

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

(233)

: MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: October 21, 1969

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1
1
1

Mr. Walters

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

This is to advise of highly successful results of counterintelligence exposing the black extremist Nation of Islam (NOI) in Miami, Florida.

We previously authorized the Miami Division to cooperate with an established source at [redacted] who was preparing a television program exposing the NOI. The NOI is a pseudo-religious organization which preaches hatred of the white race. This documentary expose of the NOI was shown at 9:30 PM 10/9/69 and the audience rating for this show was in excess of 200,000.

[redacted] was elated at the response. The station received more favorable telephone calls from viewers than the switchboard could handle. Community leaders have commented favorably on the program, three civic organizations have asked to show the film to their members as a public service, and the Broward County Sheriff's Office plans to show the film to its officers and in connection with its community service program.

This expose showed that NOI leaders are of questionable character and live in luxury through the large amount of money taken as contributions from their members. The extreme nature of NOI teachings was underscored. Miami sources advised the expose has caused considerable concern to local NOI leaders who have attempted to rebutt the program at each open meeting of the NOI since the program was presented. Local NOI leaders plan a rebuttal in the NOI newspaper. Attendance by visitors at weekly NOI meetings has dropped 50%. This shows the value of carefully planned counterintelligence action.

ACTION:

None. For information.

REC 18

Excellent

13 NOV 5 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1/22/70

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -
1 -

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS 1 - 1
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

Recommended that selected offices handling major chapters of the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP) be contacted and their recommendations obtained regarding reliable and trustworthy contacts in the television and/or radio media who might be interested in the preparation of programs on the BPP.

Letters to the Attorney General dated 1/15/70 and 1/20/70 advised him of adverse reaction of the BPP to the Columbia Broadcasting System television program "Sixty Minutes" which devoted a segment of its 1/6/70 program to the BPP. New York has recommended that the Bureau may wish, through its liaison with national media, to encourage programs wherein the BPP can be seen in its true light.

The BPP has been getting support and financial contributions from misguided individuals who apparently are unaware of the true nature and motives of this violence-prone group. We have been attempting to counteract this and to expose the BPP for what it is through our mass media program in which the true facts regarding this organization are made known to selected news media contacts. In our counterintelligence program we have been very successful in the Miami, Florida, area in having two television programs shown locally on the extremist Nation of Islam and on white hate groups. This was handled by our Miami Office through a reliable contact. These programs were favorably received by the viewing audience and showed the extremist groups involved in their true light.

Rather than dealing with national media contacts, it is believed we should check with selected offices handling BPP matters and obtain their observations and recommendations regarding the preparation of television and/or radio programs on the BPP through established contacts locally. They will be instructed to make no contact at this time without prior Bureau authority. Any concrete proposals set forth by the offices will be made the subject of separate memoranda before any action is initiated.

Enclosure 1-23-70.

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

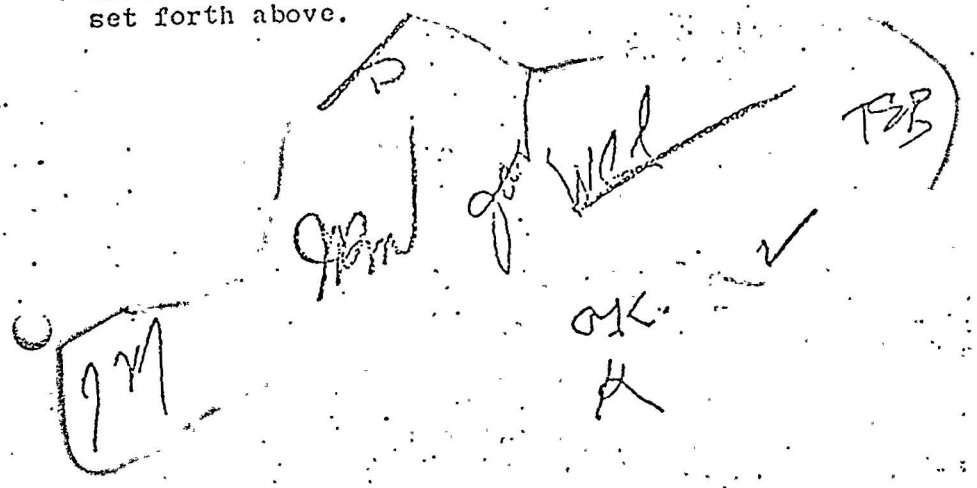
XEROX FEB 4 1970

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 497

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS
100-448006

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached letter will be directed to each selected office in line with the comments set forth above.



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SEP 8 1965
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 498

128

1 - Mr.

SAC, Jackson 2-26-69

Director, FBI

COINTELPRO NEW LEFT

EX 106 REC-

JNairtel 2-11-69.

Referenced airtel requests authority to furnish [redacted] "Jackson Daily News," with additional material on the New Left and to aid him in the preparation and writing of a pamphlet on the history, aims, and purposes of the New Left.

It is not felt desirable that you furnish any assistance to [redacted] in preparing this pamphlet nor should you direct him in its preparation.

You may, however, furnish him with the additional articles included herewith relating to SDS and the New Left which he may use in the preparation of his pamphlet.

On the occasion of contacting him in this regard, you should advise [redacted] of the fact that the Bureau's interest in this matter is to be maintained in the strictest confidence and that the Bureau's assistance is not to be referred to in his writings.

MAILED 6
FEB 26 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures - 13

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1969
FBI

(4)

NOTE:

By reairtel Jackson advised that [redacted] had advised the Office that he desires to publish a pamphlet setting forth the history of the New Left. This pamphlet will be published and distributed with the assistance of the American Legion who will finance it. The pamphlet will be distributed to major colleges and a number of high schools in the State. We have previously furnished [redacted] with two documents on the New Left entitled "Students for a Democratic Society, Front Runner of the New Left" and "Campus or Battle Ground? Columbia is a warning to all American Universities." [redacted] used these documents to write a series of articles in his paper, which was well received. Jackson suggested that

Tolson
Delloach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tele. Room
Holmes

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Letter to SAC, Jackson
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

NOTE CONTINUED:

it be authorized to assist [redacted] in the preparation and writing of a pamphlet on the New Left and that it be supplied with additional documents to be furnished to [redacted] for his use in this regard. We are furnishing the Jackson Office with the below listed public source material to assist [redacted] in this project with the above noted restrictions.

Jackson advises [redacted] has been discreet, trustworthy and reliable in previous dealings with the Bureau and he has been contacted on many occasions in the past concerning Klan and Civil Rights matters.

1. An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
2. Message From the Director: Appearing in Sept. 1, 1968, Law Enforcement Bulletin
3. High School Reform Toward a Student Movement by Mark Kleiman (article by SDS)
4. Smash the Military Machine in the Schools (A National Winter-Spring Offensive) article by SDS
5. The Hope of Democratic Survival (A Speech by Sidney Hook - printed in The Georgia Alumni Record)
6. SDS Against the World by Jonathan Rubinstein (New York Magazine 10-14-68.)
7. The Rebel Rousers (an article by George Nobbe - New York Sunday News 5-5-68)
8. SDS Sets Out on Radical Path (article by Jack [illegible] 7-15-67 National Guardian)
9. Carl Davidson Outlines Four-pronged Strategy (article in 11-11-67 edition of National Guardian)
10. Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement (an article appearing in the 1-18-69 Guardian)

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1975
FBI

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 4

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 500

NOTE CONTINUED:

11. Viet-Vets,- New Recruits Reshape SDS (an article by Carl Davidson, Guardian, 11-16-68.)

Vic ——

12. SDS, An Introduction (a pamphlet released by National Office SDS)

13. Don't Mourn, Don't Mourn, Organize, Organize, SDS guide to Community Organizing.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1969
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 501

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 2/11/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, JACKSON

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau 10/2/68;
Bureau letter to Jackson 10/18/68.
Jackson letters to Bureau 11/21,22/68, and 12/4/68.

On 2/7/69 [redacted], Jackson, Mississippi, advised that he has recently been receiving inquiries and references to the series of articles [redacted] in the Jackson Daily News from 11/19/68 through 11/26/68.

[redacted] advised that he desires to publish a pamphlet setting forth history, aims, purposes, et cetera, in order to ridicule the "New Left", particularly in Mississippi. In his pamphlet he intends to set forth subversive affiliations in the "New Left" and to shed an unfavorable light on "New Left" activities.

100-449665-54-9

[redacted] advised that the American Legion in Mississippi would be more than willing to finance and distribute the publication of any such pamphlet.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Jackson

(5)

REC-20

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1969
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 502

[redacted] advised that the pamphlet would be distributed to major colleges, junior colleges, and a number of high schools in Mississippi.

[redacted] has been most cooperative in the past and has been contacted on many occasions by Bureau Agents regarding various matters in related investigations, primarily concerning the Ku Klux Klan and/or civil rights activities in the State of Mississippi. He is friendly, discreet, reliable and is a loyal American.

Reference is made to Bureau letter to Jackson dated October 18, 1968, in which the Bureau furnished material which was extremely valuable to [redacted] in providing [redacted] with background information on the New Left, [redacted] in the series of articles [redacted] 11/19/68 through 11/26/68.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

The Jackson Division requests Bureau approval to contact [redacted], to aid him in the preparation and writing of his proposed pamphlet.

If above request approved, additional material, if available on New Left, be forwarded to Jackson.

The Jackson Division desires to know if pamphlets or other publications to ridicule the New Left have been published. If so, Bureau is requested to furnish these pamphlets and publications in order to exhibit them to [redacted] to aid him in his preparation of a pamphlet.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 5 1968
FBI

1 -
1 -

ST-110

7-2-70

SAC, San Francisco

Director, FBI

REC-21

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C.
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SF file
Bufile

COINTELPRO -
NEW LEFT
SF file
Bufile

ReSFlet 6-15-70.

Authority is granted to contact [redacted] for the purpose of furnishing him copies of the material submitted as enclosures to relet.

On the occasion of your contact with [redacted], advise him that under no circumstances is he to divulge the Bureau's interest in this matter.

Your interest in participating in the counterintelligence program is appreciated, and you should continue to give it close attention.

(7)

MAILED 8
JUL 2 1970
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

By relet, San Francisco submitted copies of eight documents all of a public source nature. San Francisco recommended that this material be furnished to [redacted], an established source of the San Francisco Office, with the suggestion that he might wish to prepare an article on the activities of the Bay Area Institute, a New Left-type organization located in San Francisco, and an affiliate of the Institution for Policy Studies.

RECEIVED FROM
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FBI

DOCUMENT FILED IN

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 504

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/15/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SF file
Bufile

COINTELPRO -
NEW LEFT
SF file
Bufile

Re Report of SA at San Francisco, dated 6/15/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following:

(1) A copy of an article in "Barron's" weekly magazine captioned "Radical Think Tank", from the 10/6/69 issue.

(2) A copy of an article in "Barron's" captioned "Ivory Tower Activists," from the 10/13/69 issue of "Barron's".

(3) A pamphlet concerning a meeting of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars of Stanford University, to be held 4/3/70, at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco.

(4) A newspaper article from the "Oregon Daily Emerald" issue of 4/10/70 captioned "Weisberg--Possible Ecology Not Effective."

ENCLOSURE

4 - Bureau (Enc. 8)
(2 -
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4 - San Francisco
(2
(2 -

(8)

JUN 19 1970

RECEIVED FROM
ST-111 5 1975
FBI

NOT -SINO-SATELLITE-

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 505

SF 100-61761
SF 100-60968
FTD/jb

(5) An article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 10/19/65 "Katzenbach Protests SDS."

(6) Article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 11/4/65 captioned "VDC May Hold Legal March".

(7) An article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 2/4/66 captioned "Conelan's Office Locked".

(8) A blank page containing two typed notices of articles in the "Ann Arbor News", Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated 3/24 and 25/65, concerning ALLAN HABER.

Articles 4 through 7 contain characterizations of

It is recommended that a copy of the enclosed be furnished to [redacted] who is an established source of the San Francisco Office and has been used on prior occasions under COINTEL Program, with the suggestion that [redacted] may wish to write an article concerning the activities of the Bay Area Institute which is located in San Francisco.

RECEIVED FROM
SEP 6 19..
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 506

311

1 - Mr. Floyd
1 - Mr. Shackelford

10/28/68

SAC, New York

REC-123

1 -

Director, FBI

100-449698-34-36

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 10/16/68 EX-114

Authority is granted to send a letter, signed with a fictitious name, to the editors of "Life" magazine. Furnish the Bureau the results of your action.

1 - Paul Krassner)

(7)

NOTE:

Krassner is the Editor of "Realist" and is one of the moving forces behind the Youth International Party, commonly known as the Yippies. Krassner is a spokesman for the New Left. "Life" magazine recently ran an article favorable to him. New York's proposed letter takes issue with the publishing of this article and points out that the "Realist" is obscene and that Krassner is a nut. This letter could, if printed by "Life," call attention to the unsavory character of Krassner.

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SEP 1975

FBI

MAILED 24
OCT 28 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

RELEASED FROM
SEP 5 1975

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/16/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/18/94 BY SP8 MAC/GAT (JFK)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

The 10/4/68, issue of "Life" magazine contained a three page feature on PAUL KRASSNER, editor of "Realist" and self-styled "hippie". KRASSNER (Bufile 105-109991; Nyfile 105-45809) is carried on the RI of the NYO.

Bureau authority is requested to send the following letter to the editors of "Life" on an anonymous basis. It is noted that the "Life" article was favorable to KRASSNER.

Sirs:

Your recent issue (October 4th), which devoted three pages to the aggrandizement of underground editor (?) Paul Krassner, was too, too much. You must be hard up for material. Am I asking the impossible by requesting that Krassner and his ilk be left in the sewers where they belong?

That a national magazine of your fine reputation (till now that is) would waste time and effort on the cuckoo editor of an unimportant, smutty little rag is incomprehensible to me. Gentlemen, you must be aware that "Realist" is nothing more than blatant obscenity.

Your feature editor would do well to read a few back issues of "Realist". Try the article in 1963 following the assassination of President Kennedy, which describes disgusting necrophilism on the part of LBJ. To classify Krassner as some sort of "social rebel" is far too cute. He's a nut, a raving, unconfined nut. As for any possible intellectual rewards to be gleaned from "Realist" - much better prose may be found on lavatory walls.

If this article is a portent of things to come in "Life", count me out, gentlemen, count me out.

Howard Rasmussen,
Brooklyn College, School of General Studies.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York
(3)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

6/25/70

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -
1 -
1 -

Airtel

EX-110

To: SAC, Los Angeles

REC 16

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReLAairtel 6/17/70.

You are authorized to prepare a letter as set forth in relet and mail to Army Archerd, the Hollywood "gossip" columnist. Insure that mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

(8)

JUN 25 1970
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

Los Angeles proposed that a letter from a fictitious person be sent to Hollywood "gossip" columnist of the "Daily Variety" in connection with his column on 6/11/70 indicating Jane Fonda, noted film actress, would attend a Black Panther Party fund raising function on 6/13/70. The proposed letter states the writer attended the function and was searched upon entering, urged to contribute funds for jailed Panther leaders and to buy guns for "the coming revolution." Also, that Jane and one of the Panthers led a refrain "We will kill Richard Nixon, and any other M..... F.....who stands in our way." It can be expected that Fonda's involvement with the BPP cause could detract from her status with the general public if reported in a Hollywood 'gossip' column.

JUL 1 1970

FBI

Date: 6/17/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (P)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau, 6/15/70, entitled "COMMITTEE UNITED FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS (CUPP), IS-MISCELLANEOUS, THREAT AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON".

Bureau authority is requested in sending the following letter from a fictitious person to ARMY ARCHERD, Hollywood "gossip" columnist for the "Daily Variety", who noted in his 6/11/70 column that JANE FONDA, noted film actress, was to be present at the 6/13/70 Black Panther Party fund raising function sponsored by CUPP in Los Angeles. It is felt that knowledge of FONDA's involvement would cause her embarrassment and detract from her status with the general public.

"Dear Army,

I saw your article about Jane Fonda in 'Daily Variety' last Thursday and happened to be present for Vadim's 'Joan of Arc's" performance for the Black Panthers Saturday night. I hadn't been confronted with this Panther phenomena before but we were searched upon entering Embassy Auditorium, encouraged in revival-like fashion to contribute to defend jailed Panther leaders and buy guns for 'the coming revolution', and led by Jane and one of

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Los Angeles

REC 16

2 JUN 19 1970

EX-110

(6)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

RESEARCH SECTION

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1964 O - 346-090 (11)

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 510

the Panther chaps in a 'we will kill Richard Nixon, and any other M------F------ who stands in our way' refrain (which was shocking to say the least!). I think Jane has gotten in over her head as the whole atmosphere had the 1930's Munich beer-hall aura.

"I also think my curiosity about the Panthers has been satisfied.

"Regards

/s/ "Morris"

If approved, appropriate precautions will be taken to preclude the identity of the Bureau as the source of this operation.

RECEIVED FROM

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 511

July 6, 1971

Mr. Mohr:

Re: LEONARD B. BOUDIN
ATTORNEY FOR DANIEL ELLSBERG

By memorandum R. D. Cotter to C. D. Brennan dated June 28, 1971, it was recommended and approved that pertinent information concerning Boudin be used in connection with the Mass Media Program.

[This paragraph indicates that information about Boudin's political and legal defense activities was "called to the attention" of a reporter for a national news service. The FBI believed this information would discredit Boudin.]

ACTION

For information.

Enc.

T. E. Bishop

1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

JFB:asg
(7)

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Subsequent publication of the Klan's activities resulted in a number of Klan officials ceasing their activities, and no information was developed indicating the Klan was able to expose informants through the use of the polygraph.

2. On February 29, 1972, FBIHQ responded to a request of the Louisville Field Office, authorizing an anonymous letter be forwarded to a Black Panther Party (BPP) office in New York City. This anonymous letter contained a newspaper clipping discrediting one Benjamin Franklin Simmons, a black extremist endeavoring to affiliate with the Cleaver Faction of the BPP. Subsequently it was determined that "seeds of doubt" concerning Simmons' leadership qualities had been planted at the Cleaver Faction Headquarters.

Information relating to the above proposals and authorizations did not appear in any Cointelpro-type file of this Bureau. The proposals and authorizations were handled in substantive organizational and individual files, and no copies were placed into a Cointelpro file. The FBI communications approving the two actions were reviewed by various officials at FBIHQ. Office procedures in effect in Director J. Edgar Hoover's office at the time indicate both proposals were approved by Mr. Hoover.

RECEIVED
SEP 21
FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 513

ROGERS

EXHIBIT 70

10/1/35

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

May 8, 1958

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I thought you would be interested in the following information.

In August of 1956, this Bureau initiated a program designed to promote disruption within the ranks of the Communist Party (CP), USA. In this connection, we have since capitalized on many situations that have developed within that organization. For example, following the denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchev in February, 1956, and the revelation of widespread anti-Semitism throughout the Soviet Union, the domestic communist organization was split into divergent views which extended from the rank-and-file membership to the top leadership. Recognizing the potential offered by this situation, we attempted to perpetuate this dissension since to do so would tend to prevent the CP from concerted action in furtherance of their conspiratorial activities.

Several techniques have been utilized to accomplish our objectives. As an example, we have briefed carefully selected informants in the largest CP districts to engage in controversial discussions around such issues as Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolution and the cult of Stalin, as well as to be critical of certain leadership factions, both locally and nationally. Acrimonious debates ensued, suspicions were aroused, and jealousies fomented. In addition, we resorted to anonymous mailings to active CP members, otherwise inaccessible, who might be affected by anticommunist material. These mailings were directed principally to those who had serious doubts regarding the competence of Party leaders and their ability to carry out the stated aims of the organization and concerning whom defection was considered a distinct possibility. When suitable anticommunist material was unavailable for the purpose, we conducted research and prepared documents to meet our immediate requirements.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In recent months we have received indications of tangible accomplishments achieved by this program in the nature of disillusionment and defection among Party members and increased factionalism at all levels of the organization. The program itself has created consternation within the CP. Party leaders are unable to determine whether these operations are Government inspired or represent activities of dissident elements inside or outside the Party.

As a matter of information, there is enclosed one copy each of two pamphlets prepared by this Bureau and utilized under this program in connection with anonymous mailings. These documents have been particularly effective. To illustrate the degree of concern of the Party leadership, the most recent development is noteworthy.

THIS SENTENCE HAS BEEN EXCISED AS IT COULD IDENTIFY INFORMANTS PROVIDING COVERAGE OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS.

The above data is also being made available to the Honorable Robert Cutler at the White House for the information of the President.

Enclosures (2)

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1953
FBI

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 515

124-73

January 10, 1961

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Room 3143
Department of Justice Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Enclosed for your information is a summary memorandum setting forth the over-all activities of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and its threat to the internal security of the United States. This memorandum clearly reveals the CPUSA as part of the international communist conspiracy and the Party's complete domination by and subservience to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our responsibilities in the internal security field and our counterattack against the CPUSA are also set out in this memorandum. Because of the nature of some of the material contained in the enclosure, it is requested that its contents be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

A copy of this letter and a copy of its attachment are being furnished to the Honorable Byron R. White. The information in the attachment is also being furnished to the Honorable Dean Rusk.

Sincerely,

SENT UNDER SIGNATURE
OF DIRECTOR, FBI

JUL

FBI

Enclosure

1 - Honorable Byron R. White (Enclosure)

January 10, 1961

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

THE THREAT

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) presents a greater menace to the internal security of our Nation today than it ever has since it was first founded in this country in 1919. The dangerousness of the CPUSA cannot be evaluated except in the light of its relationship to the international communist conspiracy and its ties to the Soviet Union. In this regard it is well to note that the rate of progress achieved by the international communist offensive is unparalleled in history. In the past 43 years, it has advanced steadily and surely, never varying its eventual goal of dominating the world, until today its empire extends from East Germany to China. This empire is so vast and sprawling that when night settles on its western frontier, dawn already is breaking on its eastern frontier. This international communist conspiracy controls one-fourth of the land area and approximately one third of the inhabitants of the earth.

The CPUSA is a vital link in this world-wide conspiracy. It utilizes elaborate security measures to conceal its operations while vigorously promoting front groups as well as other concealed outlets in furtherance of its clandestine pursuits. It is completely dominated by and is subservient to the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union. This fact has been made abundantly clear on a number of occasions, some of which are:

THIS PORTION HAS BEEN EXCISED AS IT COULD IDENTIFY SENSITIVE SOURCES PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING CPUSA FUNCTIONARIES

REC

FBI

THIS PORTION HAS BEEN EXCISED AS IT COULD IDENTIFY SENSITIVE SOURCES PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING CPUSA FUNDING AND TRAVEL ABROAD BY CPUSA FUNCTIONARIES.

In light of the above, it can be readily seen that the seriousness of the domestic threat from a Soviet-dominated CP in the United States is in direct ratio to the world threat posed by its masters in the Soviet Union.

The CPUSA at its 17th National Convention held behind closed doors in New York City in December, 1959, outlined a vigorous program aimed at infiltrating every area of American life. In this respect, A CP LEADER declared, "We want to participate in, organize, and lead the broadest of united front movements--on every level--in 1,000 ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues--if possible, with 180,000,000 people." Included in the principal targets for infiltration are youth, minority groups, Negro organizations, labor unions, mass organizations, education and American politics.

Under the leadership of , a Moscow-trained LEADER , the Party is driving to increase its membership and influence on the American scene.

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FBI RESPONSIBILITIES

Our responsibilities in the internal security field are twofold: (1) to collect intelligence information and disseminate it to appropriate Government agencies and (2) to obtain legally admissible evidence for prosecution under existing Federal statutes.

By Presidential Directive dated September 6, 1939, the FBI was designated as the civilian intelligence agency primarily responsible for protecting the Nation's internal security. Since that date, it has been the FBI's duty to investigate subversion within the United States and to correlate all information relating to America's internal security and disseminate these data to interested Federal agencies. Federal laws within the FBI's jurisdiction aimed primarily at the CPUSA are the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

FBI COUNTERATTACK

The FBI's counterattack against the CPUSA is many-pronged. Some of our more effective programs are: penetration of the Party at all levels with security informants; use of various techniques to keep the Party off balance and disillusion individual communists concerning communist ideology; investigation of every known member of the CPUSA in order to determine whether he should be detained in the event of a national emergency; and gathering evidence to be used in prosecutions of communists and communist organizations.

THIS PORTION HAS BEEN EXCISED AS IT COULD IDENTIFY SENSITIVE SOURCES PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING CPUSA FUNDING.

FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 519

THIS PORTION HAS BEEN EXCISED AS IT COULD IDENTIFY SENSITIVE SOURCES PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING CPUSA FUNDING AND CONTACTS ABROAD.

As an adjunct to our regular investigative operations, we carry on a carefully planned program of counterattack against the CPUSA which keeps it off balance. Our primary purpose in this program is to bring about disillusionment on the part of individual members which is carried on from both inside and outside the Party organization.

In certain instances we have been successful in preventin communists from seizing control of legitimate mass organizations and have discredited others who were secretly operating inside such organizations. For example, during 1959 we were able to prevent the CPUSA from seizing control of the 20,000-member branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago, Illinois.

FBI

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We are keeping abreast of the activity of the CPUSA, which is attempting through its programs to infiltrate American institutions and groups and to increase its influence on the American scene, by intensive investigation into every facet of its activity. Over the years we have investigated thousands of individual members of the CPUSA in order to determine whether they might constitute a potential danger to the internal security of the country in time of a national emergency. The results of these investigations are furnished various departments and agencies of the Executive Branch of the Government when information is developed during the course of the investigations of interest to them. The dissemination of this information enables these departments and agencies of the Government to take whatever action is necessary from a policy standpoint as it relates to the security of their operations.

Prosecution has been a major weapon against the CPUSA. The Department of Justice first instituted prosecution against leaders of the CPUSA in New York City in 1948. Since that time prosecution has been instituted against numerous individual communist functionaries, against the CPUSA as an organization, against communist front organizations and against labor unions controlled and dominated by communist elements. The primary evidence in all of these prosecutions was furnished by our security informants. We have made available approximately 100 security informants for testimony in these cases.

The Supreme Court of the United States is presently considering communist cases under the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Smith Act of 1940. As was expected, CPUSA functionaries have indicated the Party will go underground if a decision is rendered against them by the Supreme Court. Should this occur, we will, of course, through our informants, attempt to go underground with them and thus keep advised of their activities and whereabouts.

RECOR

FBI

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 521

K433

The Attorney General September 17, 1969

Director, FBI

INVESTIGATION OF KLAN ORGANIZATIONS
RACIAL MATTERS (KLAN)

Reference is made to my communication of June 13, 1969, concerning the strength of the Ku Klux Klan. (NOT PERTINENT)

I thought you would be interested in learning of the significant progress we have recently made in our investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. During the last several months, and while various national and state leaders of the United Klans of America remain in prison, we have attempted to negate the activities of the temporary leaders of the Ku Klux Klan.

By the careful use and instruction of selected racial informants we have been able to initiate a split within the United Klans of America in North Carolina. This split was evidenced by a Klan rally held in Concord, North Carolina, on September 15, 1969. Approximately 150 Klan membership cards were tacked to a cross and burned to signify this breach.

We will continue to give full attention to our responsibilities in an effort to accomplish the maximum possible neutralization of the Klan.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

2 - Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division

1 - Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

1 - Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division

This document is prepared in [illegible] and is not for dissemination [illegible] proceedings by [illegible] authorized person-

19

EXHIBIT 114

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: October 2, 1964

FROM: MR. D. E. MOORE

cc

SUBJECT: BARON
ESPIONAGE - RUSSIA

Prior memoranda have advised of the starting of the trial of the SEVEN illegal agents in this case, Mr. and Mrs. Robert K. Baltch, in the Eastern District of New York and motions by defense counsel regarding the nature of evidence to be submitted in this case.

The Judge originally denied the motions, but Assistant Attorney General Yeagley has advised that USA Hoey in answering questions by the Judge gave answers which were too broad and which the Government cannot support and therefore it is necessary for the Government to make additional statements to Judge Dooling who is sitting in this case in the Eastern District of New York. My memorandum of September 30, 1964, advised that while we were not aware of the contents of the conversations between USA Hoey and Judge Dooling, we had no objections to Yeagley's proposed amending statement as it was correct.

Subsequently on the afternoon of 10-1-64, Departmental Attorneys Thomas K. Hall and Kevin Maroney advised Supervisor [redacted] and myself that USA Hoey's statement to Judge Dooling was unfortunate because it was too broad. They believe that the Judge's query pertained to any tainted source at the Baltch residence and was confined to eavesdropping devices, but that Hoey in his answer had not confined the answer to the residence or to eavesdropping, either of which would perhaps have prevented the current problem. (No information obtained from wiretaps or microphones is contemplated to be used in this case and the only tainted source is a mail intercept which did not take place anywhere near the residence).

Subsequently on the evening of 10-1-64, Mr. Hall advised that he had just learned that apparently Hoey in his discussions with the court had stated, or at least indicated, there was no microphone involved in this case and, of course, this was incorrect and the Department felt the record had to be corrected. He

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SULLIVAN - MR. MOORE
JARO: ESPIONAGE -

asked if the Bureau had any objection and was advised in the negative. This morning Mr. Hall called to advise that USA Hoey had now requested advice as to what answer could be given the court should he be asked (1) if there was a wiretap involved in this case and (2) if there was a mail intercept in this case. After checking, I called Hall back and said that we would leave the answer to #1 up to the Department, but that if the Department saw necessary, the Bureau would not object. However, with regard to #2, under no circumstances is the Bureau willing to admit that a mail intercept was utilized and Hall said he would pass this information on to Hoey and Assistant Attorney General Yeagley who is in New York.

Hall advised that he had discussed this case with Acting Attorney General Katzenbach this morning and Katzenbach was of the opinion that the Department must be candid with the Judge. He said Katzenbach recognized the problems, but felt that in view of the value of the case, an effort should be made to go ahead with the trial even if it might be necessary drop the overt act where our tainted source is involved, and proceed on a general conspiracy basis with the recognition that the verdict might be against us, but we would have revealed Soviet espionage activities to the people. Hall said he was passing on the Acting Attorney General's comments to Assistant Attorney General Yeagley. Hall said that the motions of defense counsel and the complications with regard to the answers may eventually force the Government to drop the prosecution. He said in view of the many facets involved, he did not feel there was any reason to agree to a pre-trial hearing on the issue of tainted source if this should be required by the court, and rather than do this, they are prepared to drop the espionage charges and attempt to proceed on lesser grounds.

ACTION:

SAC NYO, was advised of the above developments and requested to keep in close touch with Yeagley in New York and you will be kept advised of developments.

- 2 -

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 524

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 2/27/65

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: THE LONG COMMITTEE

The Attorney General called on the morning of February 27, 1965, to advise he wanted to consult with the Bureau on certain problems raised by the Long Committee, which is exploring the use of mail covers, et cetera. He noted there was a possible problem concerning Chief Inspector Montague's testimony and whether it was necessary for Montague to change his testimony. Also, he felt that Internal Revenue Service had been using investigative techniques which they should not use and this could pose a problem. He said that the President had asked him to coordinate with all executive agencies concerning the problems raised by the Long Committee.

Inspector Moore and I met with the Attorney General in his office this afternoon. Mr. Courtney Evans was present. I told the Attorney General that in Montague's testimony he was told by Attorney Fensterwald that if any of the questions had national security implications Montague should not answer them. Consequently, Montague was estopped from doing other than answering in the negative when asked questions touching on national security. With this interpretation, it was questionable whether an attempt should be made to change or explain Montague's testimony.

[redacted]

I made it clear to the Attorney General that from our dealings with Montague, he was a man of integrity and sacrificed his personal desires for the welfare of the country and had cooperated fully with us. The Attorney General said he had no intention of changing one word of Montague's testimony, but he was considering advising Long and Fensterwald that there were extreme delicate national security matters touching on the areas being covered by the committee and there could be exceptions to the answers given in the testimony when they touched on such sensitive security matters. He said further that he contemplates seeing Senator Long and impressing on him that the committee would not want to stumble by mistake into an area of extreme interest to the national security as they nearly did in a matter

CONTINUED - OVER

1 - Mr. Tolson
2 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Moore

AHB:gjf
(6)

REC-56

25 MAR 12 1965

MAR 15 1965

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 525

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson
Re: The Long Committee

affecting CIA [redacted] Katzenbach contemplates asking for a list of the witnesses who will appear before the committee together with a brief summary of the expected testimony. On the basis of this, he will be able to advise Senator Long when he should steer clear of a sensitive area.

I told Mr. Katzenbach that I certainly agree that this matter should be controlled at the committee level but that I felt pressure would have to be applied so that the personal interest of Senator Long became involved rather than on any ideological basis. Mr. Katzenbach said that he had already talked to Vice President Humphrey about Fensterwald, [redacted], and that Humphrey had promised to talk to Long concerning Fensterwald. Katzenbach said that in addition to the Vice President he might have to resort to pressure from the President himself, although he would prefer to work it out without resorting to the President. He indicated there was no one on the committee itself who could be helpful [redacted].

Mr. Katzenbach said that he expected trouble from the possible activities of IRS and the military in the investigative field; that if some of these matters are uncovered before the committee they will tend to undermine the restricted and tightly controlled operations of the Bureau. I told him that our operations are tightly controlled and particularly in the delicate areas of concern, we restrict ourselves to important security matters.

Mr. Katzenbach said he was going to see Senator Long on Monday and wanted to know if the Bureau would like someone to go along with him. I told him no.

ACTION:

Mr. Katzenbach said he would advise us of the results of his conversation with Long. He also asked that I advise the Director of our discussion and I told him I would.

- 2 -

RECEIVED [illegible]
OCT 10 1975

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson
Re: The Long Committee

I called Mr. DeLoach and briefed him on this problem in order that he might contact Senator Eastland in an effort to warn the Long Committee away from those areas which would be injurious to the national defense. (Of couse I made no mention of such a contact to the Attorney General.) Mr. DeLoach advised that Senator Eastland is in Mississippi and he will contact him upon his return Monday.

I don't see what all the excitement is about. I would have no hesitancy in discontinuing all techniques — technical coverage, microphones, trash covers, mail covers etc. While it might handicap us I doubt they are as valuable as some believe & none warrant that being used to justify them.

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 527

740 (30)

9:40 AM March 2, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. GALE
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. DE LOACH

The Attorney General called and advised that he had talked to Senator Long last night. Senator Long's committee is looking into mail covers et cetera. The Attorney General stated he thought somebody had already spoken to Senator Long as he said he did not want to get into any national security area and was willing to take steps not to do this. The Attorney General stated that Mr. Fensterwald was present for part of the meeting and Fensterwald had said that he had some possible witnesses who are former Bureau Agents and if they were asked if mail was opened, they would take the Fifth Amendment. The Attorney General stated that before they are called, he would like to know who they are and whether they were ever involved in any program touching on national security and if not, it is their own business, but if they were, we would want to know. The Attorney General stated the Senator promised that he would have a chance to look at the names if he wanted to, personally and confidentially, and the list would have any names involving national security deleted and he would tell the Senator how many but no more.

The Attorney General stated that the Postmaster General is going down there this morning himself which he, the Attorney General, thought would be helpful to Chief Inspector Montague of the Post Office Department.

The Attorney General stated that Senator Long also said he is not going to propose legislation to abolish mail covers as he thought they served a useful purpose but he did think that control should be tightened. I stated I thought there was great laxity in the matter of mail covers and the matter of tapping telephones.

I stated I have always been of the view and recommended back when Tom Clark was Attorney General that no agency of the Government should tap a telephone except with the written approval of the Attorney General. I stated

Tolson
Belmont
Hoht
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

XEROX JLH:edm (10)

MAR 3 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC- 38 REC 121-8-47

MAR 3 1965

March 2, 1965

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, Gale, Rosen, Sullivan, DeLoach

there would then be in one place a list of all phone taps and the purpose and reason for them. I stated that it is a fact, insofar as I am concerned, that I am the only head of an agency who does not have authority to tap telephones. I stated that I know that subordinates down the line in some agencies will tap phones without the knowledge of the chief of the agency and there is grave suspicion in Washington by some newspapermen that their phones have been tapped by agencies of the Government trying to find out where they are getting their information. I stated I have always been opposed to the law whereby it is necessary to get the authority of a court to tap phones because of the composition of some of our courts and the employees thereof, but I have always felt that the President should issue an Executive Order confidentially to all agencies that all phone tapping be discontinued except when specifically approved by the Attorney General so there would be in one place a list and then if any committee in Congress got on the warpath, the Attorney General would have a list he could vouch for as being the only phones tapped by the Government. The Attorney General stated that made sense. I stated many agencies are opposed because they realize there would be a marked restriction. I stated we only have 46 phone taps, which is a low number for a country the size of ours and the area we have to cover. The Attorney General stated no one has any idea how many phone taps the whole Government has.

I stated there is also a school being conducted in California by a private organization which instructs the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service in the matter of phone tapping and they have sent their own personnel there to be trained. I stated Internal Revenue has also from time to time hired private outside phone tappers to do their tapping. I stated it is that type of thing if there were a real investigation which would come out. The Attorney General commented that he would not guarantee some of it won't come out. I stated I was amazed when I learned of the school in California as I saw a reference to it in the newspaper and wanted to know what it was and what officers attended. I stated we have our own instructors and do it ourselves.

I stated I thought the Attorney General had made good headway with Senator Long. The Attorney General stated he thought it would be helpful,

NW 55162 DocId:32989584 Page 529

March 2, 1965

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, Gale, Rosen, Sullivan, DeLoach

[redacted]

The Attorney General stated the Senator said he did not want to get into this and he would give him, the Attorney General, the names and a summary of the testimony can told Fensterwald to do so, but he, the Attorney General, can't say Fensterwald is going to do it; that he will on some but he did not know that he would on all. I stated I had no faith or confidence in Fensterwald and neither did Senator Eastland. The Attorney General stated that Senator Eastland may have already talked to Senator Long or else the Vice President, but somebody had waked him up. I stated Senator Eastland said he would do it Wednesday, but he may have called him.

The Attorney General stated that is where it stands now and we shall see what happens.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 11:22 AM
DATE 3-2-65
BY

- 8 -

EXCERPTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF FORMER FBI INSPECTOR DONALD MOORE

RE: WHETHER MR. KATZENBACH WAS INFORMED THAT THE FBI OPERATED PROGRAMS INVOLVING DIRECT ACCESS TO MAIL BY BUREAU AGENTS

27. Moore also testified that he informed Attorney General Katzenbach in 1965 of the fact that the FBI did have on-going programs which, at a minimum, involved direct access by FBI agents to the mail

Mr. Belmont was then Assistant to the Director of the FBI.

At 30: Mr. Moore. One Saturday morning I received a call from Mr. Belmont who asked me to come to his office and see him. I don't remember whether he mentioned on the phone, but I believe he did, that this involved our mail coverage.

After meeting Mr. Belmont in his office, he advised me that . . . on the previous day the Chief Postal Inspector, Mr. Montague had testified before a subcommittee in Congress.

Mr. Dick. Was this the Long Committee?

Mr. Moore. Yes, it was before Senator Long of Missouri. Mr. Montague had been asked not to give any answers which would in any way relate to national security matters.

Mr. Dick. Who had asked him that?

Mr. Moore. I presume it was the subcommittee or the staff.

Mr. Dick. I see. I mean, this wasn't something he was told by the Postmaster General or Attorney General prior to going in?

Mr. Moore. No, no, as I understand it, one of the questions asked Mr. Montague was whether mail ever left --

Mr. Moore. The hands of the Post Office.

Mr. Montague felt he could not give a question or no answer without revealing certain relationships with the FBI and he answered no, and apparently thereafter, either immediately contacted Mr. Belmont, or the Attorney General, or both, and was to make certain that he had answered correctly.

Mr. Belmont wanted me to go with him to see the Attorney General. He talked to Mr. Tolson, and thereafter Mr. Belmont and I went to see Attorney General Katzenbach.

I believe Mr. Katzenbach was aware of the problem, but I don't know whether this had been from a discussion with him by Mr. Belmont or Mr. Montague. We discussed the problem of Mr. Montague's answer, because he certainly did not want to respond incorrectly to the subcommittee.

It was pointed out that we do receive mail from the Post Office in certain sensitive areas, and at the meeting I believe Mr. Katzenbach agreed that he would talk to Senator Long on this issue.

Mr. Katzenbach does not recall this meeting, although he does not deny that it occurred. He testified that he cannot remember ever being informed by anyone in the FBI, including Mr. Belmont and Mr. Moore, that the FBI had direct access to mail or that the FBI ever opened mail.

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At 32: Mr. Moore. . . . and Mr. Katzenbach did not ask us for details of our arrangements with the Post Office. He just was told that on some occasions we do obtain mail.

* * *

Mr. Dick. But he was made aware of the fact that the Bureau would receive direct access to mail --

Mr. Moore. Yes.

Mr. Dick. In its project?

Was he also made aware of the fact that mail was actually, at least some mail, was actually being opened by the Bureau?

Mr. Moore. I can't say that we covered the matter to that extent. We did -- the problem concerned Mr. Montague's answer. We wanted to let the Attorney General know what the problem area was, and the fact that we did receive some mail from the Post Office, it left the custody of the Post Office. And I do not believe we discussed it further.

Mr. Dick. Do you recall whether he asked why the Bureau wanted direct access to mail?

Mr. Moore. No, I do not. I had the impression that there was no thought of us discontinuing what we were doing.

Mr. Dick. He didn't ask whether mail was being opened by the Bureau?

Mr. Moore. I don't believe so.

Mr. Dick. And he wasn't told this voluntarily by either yourself or Mr. Belmont?

Mr. Moore. I don't believe so. I can't be certain of that. But I don't want to say that he was specifically told that the mail we received from the Post Office was being opened.

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At 44: Mr. Dick. Was he aware that these were on-going projects, rather than isolated instances? I am referring to Mr. Katzenbach.

Mr. Moore. Yes, I believe he was.

* * *

At 48: Mr. Dick. When you spoke to Mr. Katzenbach, did you feel any need to hold back the fact of the mail openings as opposed to the fact that Bureau agents were getting direct access to mail. Do you understand my question?

Mr. Moore. Yes, I understand your question. It is perhaps difficult to answer. Perhaps I could liken it to if you have a defector in place in the KGB, you don't want to tell anybody about the name, the location, the title or anything like that. Not that you don't trust them completely, but the fact is anytime one additional person becomes aware of it, there is a potential for the information to be, to go further. And I am sure if Mr. Katzenbach asked any questions, he asked at that meeting, I am sure they were answered fully, and truthfully.

Mr. Dick. But you can't recall him asking whether mail was opened?

Mr. Moore. I can't . . . .