

File #:

62-HQ-116395

Serial Scope:

EBF 971

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Assassination Records Collection Act of
1992 (44 USC 2107 Note). Case#: NW
68262 Date: 09-22-2022

971

3

del X

17

10/17/75

The Honorable General

U. S. Senator
COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES
(OSC)

Reference is made to OSC letter dated 9/12/75,
requesting dates of letters, names & addresses of
candidates & addressees. On 10/1/75, representative
of the FBI met w/John Elmer in an effort to
clarify the referenced request. Enclosed is
approval & forwarding is the original of memo.
Copy of memo is being furnished for your
records.

#m0816
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/00 BY SP-2ALM/HG

RETAIN COPIES
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE COPIES
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE REQUEST 9/12/75

#MOR16
INFORMATION GENERATED
BY THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE
9/12/100 SP-2 AUMT/TG

ANGELA DAVIS

#MDR16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/00 BY SP2ALM/STG

#moe/c
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/00 BY SP-2 A.M./K

5-88 (2-20-58)

1. Name		
DAVIS,	ANGELA	YVONNE
(Last)	(First)	(Middle)
2. Address		
1919 Oregon St.		
(Apt. No.)	(No. and Name of Street)	
Berkeley,	California	USA
(City)	(State)	(Country)
3. Treatment		
Photograph outside and contents		
<input type="checkbox"/> One-Time Check <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Watch List Until Canceled		
Duration _____		
HUNTER Request No.		
250		

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.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES

4/15/69

1/6/69 - 2/29/69

ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS, aka
Tamu

WILLIAM H. SNELL

yfs

#mde16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALK/ATG

SM - C

SUBJECT

REFERENCES: New York (100-80641) airtel to Bureau (100-3-69)
(dated 12/10/68 captioned "CP-USA Organization; IS-C")
Los Angeles letter to Bureau dated 3/23/69.
LOS Angeles letter to Bureau dated 3/27/69.
Bureau FD-01 to Los Angeles dated 3/27/69.

- P -

ENCLOSURES:

TO BUREAU

Two copies FD-376.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Two copies FD-122 recommending that DAVIS be included
in the Security Index. Priority III, sent to Bureau 4/15/69.

- 5 - Bureau (100-439922)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles
2 - Boston (RM)
2 - San Diego (100-14064) (RM)
3 - Los Angeles (157-2325)

COPIES DESTROYED

833 NOV 12 1970

12 APR 18 1969

Copy made by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

Date 4/23/69 by [signature]

Routing slip for
info

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 the Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

date 4/23/69 by [signature]

by [signature]

LA 157-2325

Instant report is being submitted instead of LHM as per FD-01 dated 3/27/69 to facilitate handling.

An extra copy of this report with appropriate FD-376 and photograph for Secret Service are being furnished the Bureau in the event DAVIS is included in the Security Index. Los Angeles has prepared an extra copy of the report and FD-376 with photograph and will furnish to Secret Service, Los Angeles on Bureau approval.

No interview with DAVIS is being recommended. DAVIS is presently living with DEACON ALEXANDER (STANLEY SAMUEL ALEXANDER), Los Angeles file 100-70526, Bureau file 157-10023 currently on the Los Angeles Security Index and the Los Angeles Agitator Index. It is felt an interview would result in possible embarrassment to the Bureau.

This report is being classified Confidential because it contains information from informants which if disclosed could reasonably result in their disclosure and compromise their future effectiveness.

Records of the Jefferson County Board of Health, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, Birmingham, Alabama, were viewed by the Birmingham Division.

Records of the Drivers License Section, California Department of Motor Vehicles, were caused to be reviewed by IC FREDERICK M. FREEMAN, Sacramento Division, with negative results.

Records of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office were reviewed by IC MERTON R. ANDERSON.

Records of the Los Angeles Police Department were reviewed by IC MILLARD T. ANDERSON.

- B -
COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

Records of the Los Angeles Traffic Court were reviewed by Special Employee GAREY D. POWELL.

Records of the Retail Merchants Credit Association, Los Angeles, California, were reviewed by IC BERNARD P. BLAIS.

Records of the Los Angeles County Voters Registration were reviewed by Special Employee GAREY D. POWELL.

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will upon Bureau approval include DAVIS in the Security Index, and disseminate copy of this report to Secret Service.

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Will submit results of investigation per referenced letter dated 3/27/69.

SAN DIEGO

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA: Will submit results of investigation per referenced letter dated 3/27/69.

INFORMANTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
LA T-1 Records Clerk UCSD San Diego, California	157-2325-11
LA T-2 SOURCE	157-2325-13

- C -
COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

LA T-3
*

157-2325-55
Orally to SA CHARLES K. JOHNSON
on 3/29/69

134-1210A-563
-599

LA T-4
*

157-2325-16

LA T-5
*

134-2004A-582

LA T-6
*

134-1606A-621

LA T-7
*

Orally to SA DAVID R. PENDER
on 12/4/68

134-107A-732 through 740

LA T-8
*

134-262A-766 through 804

LA T-9
*

134-195A-985 through 1020

LA T-10
*

Orally to SA THEODORE J. A'HEARN
on 7/23/68

134-2702A-618

LA T-11
*

134-37A-915 through 1003

LA T-12
*

134-66A-1544 through 1546

*INFORMANT
SYMBOL NUMBERS

- D -
COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

LA T-13
INFORMANT #, 134-202A-714

LA T-14
SOURCE

157-2325-13

- E* -
COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

LA 157-2325

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS
Also known as
Tamu

April 15, 1969

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☒ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

#MDR/b
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2ALM/HIS
ON 12-27-00

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM) NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

Enclosure(s)

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

#MDR16
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 ALM / JTG
ON 12/27/00

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: WILLIAM H. SNELL
Date: 4/15/69

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 157-2325

Bureau File #: 100-439922

Title: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS, also known as "Tammy", resides at 1107-1/2 West 87th Street, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS is presently unemployed. Background data is being set out. On 6/21/68, DAVIS was elected as a staff member of the Los Angeles Chapter of SNCC. DAVIS dropped out of SNCC and joined the Communist Party. DAVIS is a member of the Che Lumumba Club, Noranda Smith Section, SCDGP. DAVIS' activities in connection with the SCDGP are set out. Description data set forth.

- P -

DETAILS:

Investigation in this matter was predicated upon receipt of information from LA T-3 that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS was a member of the Communist Party in 1969.

BACKGROUNDATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

BIRTH DATA AND CITIZENSHIP

Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

On January 30, 1969, records of the Jefferson County Board of Health, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, 1912 Eighth Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama, reflected that under Birth Certificate number 3737026 for the year 1944, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS was born January 26, 1944, the daughter of BENJAMIN FRANK DAVIS and SALLYE MARGURITE BELL.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and

LA 157-2325

EDUCATION

LA T-1 (6/6/68)

DAVIS attended graduate school in 1968 in the Philosophy Department at the University of California, San Diego. DAVIS supposedly attended Brandeis University, Boston, Massachusetts from the period 1961 to 1965.

IDENTIFICATION
RECORD

The following is an identification record furnished by the FBI Identification Division:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

2-6-69

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER **NONE ASSIGNED**, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ON

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD San Diego Calif	Angela Yvonne Davis #282660	10-5-67	1-blocking entrance to pub bldg 2-disobey peace officer 3-disturb peace	rel 849(b) PC detentic only not an arrest

- 3 -

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.
 Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly connected with subject of this record.

LA 157-2325

ARREST RECORD

Records at the following agencies were reviewed and reflected no identifiable record on DAVIS:

Los Angeles Sheriff's Office
Los Angeles, California
April 1, 1969

Los Angeles Police Department
Los Angeles, California
April 1, 1969

Los Angeles Traffic Court
Los Angeles, California
March 27, 1969

LA T-2 (3/13/68)

Source advised that on March 13, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS was interviewed by the Los Angeles Police Department as a burglary suspect but was released without arrest.

CREDIT RECORD

On April 1, 1969, the Retail Merchants Credit Association, Los Angeles, California, records were reviewed which reflected no identifiable record on DAVIS.

VOTERS REGISTRATION
RECORD

On April 1, 1969, the records of the Los Angeles County Voters Registration, Los Angeles, California, were reviewed revealing that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS registered in the Democratic Party on March 5, 1968.

RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

LA T-3 (3/21/69)

LA 157-2325

Source advised that DAVIS resides at 1107 1/2 West 87th Street, Los Angeles, California with DEACON ALEXANDER (STANLEY SAMUEL ALEXANDER), Negro youth organizer for the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP). Source stated that DAVIS is not employed at the present time but that she is traveling periodically between Los Angeles and San Diego.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE LOS ANGELES
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (LASNCC) (See appendix)

LA T-4 (7/3/68)

On June 21, 1968, the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (LASNCC) held a reorganizational meeting at its headquarters, 1914 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California at which time new Los Angeles SNCC officers were elected. ANGELA DAVIS was elected a staff member of the editorial staff.

LA T-5 (5/16/68)
LA T-6 (6/3/68)

On May 12, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS was a special guest speaker at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (See appendix) located at 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS spoke on some of SNCC's major projects.

On June 2, 1968, Sergeant DAVID KENT, Intelligence Unit, New Orleans Police Department, furnished miscellaneous papers on the Los Angeles SNCC. Among these papers was a letter headed "Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Liberation School" addressed to brothers and sisters and signed by one ANGELA DAVIS, Coordinator. The letter stated that conventional education has failed to meet the needs of Black people in this country and that there is need to create educational structures which will respond to Black people's needs.

LA 157-2325

LA T-7 (12/4/68)

On December 4, 1968, source advised that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS had dropped out of the LASNCC and had joined the SCDCP.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

MEMBERSHIP IN THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

LA T-3 (3/29/69)

On March 29, 1969, source advised that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS is a member in good standing of the Che Lumumba Club, Moranda Smith Section (MSS) SCDCP, Los Angeles, California.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE
AT SCDCP MEETINGS

LA T-8 (8/1/68)
LA T-9 (8/1/68)

On July 21, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general membership meeting of the SCDCP at 7213 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles. Topic of discussion centered around the need for political reorganization of the working class.

LA T-10 (8/9/68)

On July 23, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a staff meeting of the SCDCP at 1254 East Manchester, Los Angeles, California.

LA T-8 (11/14/68)

On November 8, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general membership meeting of the SCDCP held at 7213 Beverly

LA 157-2325

Boulevard, Los Angeles. The speaker was GUS HALL, Chairman, Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA).

On November 7, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general meeting of the SCDP at 7213 Beverly Boulevard. The speaker was GUS HALL, Chairman of the CP, USA.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE AT CLUB
MEETINGS OF THE SCDP

LA T-3 (7/24/68)
LA T-8 (7/29/68)
LA T-11 (8/6/68)

On July 18, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDP held at 2138 Third Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around politics.

LA T-7 (7/30/68)
LA T-12 (8/2/68)

On July 28, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Cyril Briggs Club, MSS, SCDP at 3048 South Victoria Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around capitalism in other foreign countries and racism.

LA T-3 (8/6/68)

On July 31, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. Topic of discussion was a report from the SCDP and various committee reports.

LA T-11 (12/10/68)

On November 25, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDP, at 2128 Third Avenue. Topic of discussion centered around racism.

LA 157-2325

LA T-10 (1/9/69)
LA T-11 (1/28/69)

On December 5, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. The topic of discussion centered around Communist Party youth action in the community.

LA T-11 (1/29/69)
LA T-13 (1/29/69)

On January 16, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 1048 Oxford Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around racism.

LA T-3 (2/6/69)
LA T-11 (2/14/69)

On January 30, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. DAVIS advised that she is dissatisfied with the Black people's progress in the community.

LA T-3 (3/29/69)

On March 29, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP at 1048 South Oxford, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS paid \$14.00 for club dues.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE AT
A MEETING OF THE NEGRO
MEMBERS OF THE SCDGP

LA T-8 (8/12/68)
LA T-9 (8/12/68)
LA T-12 (8/14/68)

LA 157-2325

On August 4, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of all Negro members of the SCDGP at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around the election campaigns, working class trade unions, and building of the Communist Party.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE FURTHERANCE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

LA T- 8 (10/17/68)
LA T-11 (10/17/68)

On October 13, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended the annual People's World (PW) banquet held at the Miramar Hotel, Wilshire and Ocean Avenue in Santa Monica, California. Topic of discussion centered around problems of the Mexican-American.

The PW is a West Coast Weekly Communist newspaper.

LA T-8 (2/18/69)
LA T-9 (2/18/69)

On February 9, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended the 31st Anniversary Celebration of the PW held at the Alexandria Hotel, Fifth and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion was student unrest.

MISCELLANEOUS

LA T-11 (7/24/68)

On 7/24/68, source was shown a photograph of ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS taken 10/5/67. Source stated that the woman in the photograph strongly resembles the woman who, on 9/11/67 with a male companion, purchased a shotgun at Sportstown, 2673 La Cienega, Los Angeles. Source added that if the woman in the photo is about 5'7", 135 pounds, and has pierced ears, she is almost certainly the woman who assisted in purchasing the shotgun.

LA 157-2325

DESCRIPTION

The following is a description of ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS as obtained from LA T-2, LA T-3 and Los Angeles County Voters Registration files:

Name	ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS, aka
	Tamu
Sex	Female
Race	Negro
Height	5' 8"
Weight	145
Date of Birth	January 26, 1944
Place of Birth	Birmingham, Alabama
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Black
Education	Attended Brandeis University Boston, Massachusetts between 1961 to 1965. Graduate student, Department of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego, 1968.
Residence	1107 1/2 West 87th Street Los Angeles, California
Previous residences	6250 South Venice Los Angeles, California
	536 Rushville La Jolla, California

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 8, 1968, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, Page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities".

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIXLOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

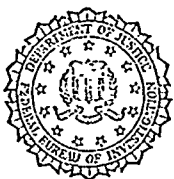
The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
April 15, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Report of SA WILLIAM H. SNELL dated
and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

JANE FONDA

#mDr16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 AUM/196

SAC, Los Angeles

Director, FBI

JANE FONDA
SM - ANA

6/25/70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 RLM/110

1 - Mr. R. L. Strain
1 - Mr. J. F. Morrissey
1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff

A review of available information concerning captioned individual indicates that she has been extremely active in the antidraft and anti-Vietnam movement; has made sizable contributions to black extremist groups, and has, by her actions and statements in general, indicated anarchistic tendencies and a definite propensity for fomenting violence endangering the internal security of this country.

If you have not already done so, you should initiate a security-type investigation of captioned individual in accordance with instructions contained in the Manual of Instructions, Section 87D, relating to such matters. The purpose of your investigation is to determine the extent of subject's anarchistic tendencies, a resolution of all ramifications regarding her association with various aspects of the New Left movement and black extremist groups and to ascertain if indeed her actions do pose a definite threat to the security of this country. In view of subject's position of prominence in the theatrical field, your investigation must be handled by a mature and experienced agent. No action should be taken which could result in embarrassment to the Bureau.

Results of the above investigation should be furnished the Bureau in report form, accompanied by recommendations as to whether or not subject's name should be considered for inclusion on the Security Index.

For your information, the Denver Office is origin in the Sedition investigation of the subject, Denver file 14-36, Bufile 14-30877. Denver is requested to furnish the Los Angeles Office with a copy of all pertinent information concerning the subject.

2 - Denver

22 JUN 25 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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.

MAILED 5
JUN 24 1970
COMM-FBI

Folsom _____
DeLoach _____
Trotter _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

7:30 PM (8)

68 JUL 1 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Los Angeles
RE: JANE FONDA

NOTE:

A current Sedition investigation is underway concerning the subject as a result of statements attributed to her wherein she advocated servicemen receive a dishonorable discharge rather than going to Vietnam. She has appeared on and been excluded from numerous military installations as a result of her anti-Vietnam activities. She has been associated with the Women's Strike for Peace, the Movement for a Democratic Military, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and has made sizable contributions to the Malcolm X Organization of Afro-American Unity and the Black Panther Party.

RALPH ABERNATHY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/ETG

ATLANTA	ATLANTA	5/28/68	5/10/68 - 5/24/68
FILE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY	TYPE BY
RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY		SA ALAN G. SENTINELLO	jsja
		CHARACTER OF CASE	
		RACIAL MATTERS	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 AEM/STG

NON PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT

LEADS:

CHICAGO, NEW YORK, AND WFO DIVISIONS (INFORMATION)

Information copies of this report furnished Chicago, New York, and WFO because of subject's frequent presence in those cities.

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

We'll follow and report pertinent activity of subject.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				RECOVERIES	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
FINES	SAVINGS					
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE					DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
8-Bureau (RM) 1-11th MIG, Fort Mc Pherson (RM) 1-NIS, Charleston, S. C. (RM) 1-Secret Service, Atlanta (RM)					MAY 29 1968	
Cover Page B 8-Atlanta (157-257)					157-257	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report					CC TO: CITA REQ. REC'D 5-27-68 JUN 2 1968 BY: WFW SAC R.A. Abernathy	
cc	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157
cc	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157	157-157
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9 JUN 7 - 1968

AT 157-257.

Copies:

- 1-Chicago (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (Info) (RM)
- 1-WFO (Info) (RM)

INFORMANTS:

AT-T-1 is **INFORMANT**

Instant Report

134-389A-228
134-389A-229
134-389A-230
134-389A-232
134-389A-429
134-389A-430
134-389A-508
134-389A-538
134-389A-576
134-389A-577
134-389A-834
134-389A-834
134-389A-1043
134-389A-1069
170-289A-421
170-289A-424

AT-T-2 is **SOURCE** _____

AT-T-3 is **SOURCE** _____
(By request).

AT-T-4 is ← **ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCES**
AT-T-5 is ←

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Atlanta has not conducted active investigation of subject.

B
(COVER PAGE)

AT 157-257

By separate communication subject has been recommended for inclusion in Agitator Index.

This report has been classified "Secret" because it utilized information from **INFORMANT**. Information furnished by **INFORMANT** must be classified Confidential.

C*
(COVER PAGE)



~~SECRET~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

May 24, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

#MDR 18
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 ALM/ljt
ON 12/27/00

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☒ may be available through FBI, Atlanta

~~SECRET~~

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, Atlanta, Georgia
(Registered Mail)

Enclosure(s)

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Copy to: 1 - 111th MIG, Region V, Fort Mc Pherson, Georgia
1 - NIS, Charleston U. S. Naval Base, Charleston, S. C.
1 - Secret Service, Atlanta, Georgia

Report of: SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Date: May 24, 1968

Field Office File #: 157-257

Bureau File. #:

Title: RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY

#MORIS
DECLASSIFIED BY *SP-2 AML/JTG*
ON *12/27/00*

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Subject born 3/11/26, Linden, Alabama, resides 690 Laverne Drive, NW, Atlanta, Georgia, serves as pastor West Hunter Street Baptist Church and serves as President Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Served in U. S. Army 8/12/44 - 10/27/45, honorable discharge, ASN 349 94 505. Credit satisfactory. Atlanta PD records reflect three traffic violations. In connection with SCLC matters, subject has been in contact with individuals having prior CP membership or affiliation. Description set forth.

- p* -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH

The 1964 "yearbook" published by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 334 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, reflected RALPH D. ABERNATHY was born March 11, 1926 at Linden, Alabama.

B. CITIZENSHIP

By virtue of his birth, ABERNATHY is an American citizen.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION ~~SECRET~~
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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C. EDUCATION

The 1964 SCLC "yearbook", supra, reflects ABERNATHY is a graduate of Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama.

The January 21, 1967 - January 27, 1967, edition of the "Chicago Defender", a weekly Chicago, Illinois, newspaper on Page 20, published an article entitled "The New Covenant Sunday - SCLC Leader to Speak". This article reflected ABERNATHY previously attended Atlanta University and was the recipient of a Doctor of Law (LLD) from Allen University.

D. EMPLOYMENT

On May 17, 1968, Mr. JOHN A. BITTER, Credit Bureau of Greater Atlanta, Inc., advised IC MARION W. DAVIS his records reflect RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY was employed from 1951 to 1961 as pastor of the First Baptist Church, 347 North Ripley Street, Montgomery, Alabama. Since 1961 Abernathy has been employed as pastor of the West Hunter Street Baptist Church, 775 Hunter Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia. These records also indicate that since 1961 ABERNATHY has held the office of Secretary-Treasurer SCLC.

As of May 20, 1968, ABERNATHY continued to be employed as pastor of the aforementioned church and to also serve SCLC on a full-time basis as President.

AT-T-1, 5/68

E. AFFILIATION

Mr. JAMES R. WOOD, Director of Public Relations, SCLC, on May 2, 1961 furnished a SCLC brochure which set forth the history of this organization and biographical data concerning several individuals

in connection therewith. This brochure reflected that ABERNATHY at that time served as President of the Montgomery (Alabama) Improvement Association.

F. RESIDENCE

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Atlanta, supra, reflected ABERNATHY resided at 76 Cerro Street, SW, Atlanta from 1961 until 1967. His current residence is 690 Laverne Drive, NW, Atlanta.

In having his current residence constructed, ABERNATHY as of early 1967, had incurred substantial expense.

G. MARITAL STATUS

The January 21, 1967-January 27, 1967, issue of the "Chicago Defender", supra, reflected ABERNATHY was married to JUANITA ABERNATHY, nee JONES.

H. MILITARY SERVICE

Mrs. THELMA TURNER, Georgia State Driver's License Bureau, Atlanta, advised IC MARION W. DAVIS on May 17, 1968, that her records reflect ABERNATHY was inducted into the United States Army at Fort Benning, Georgia, on August 12, 1944. He received an honorable discharge October 27, 1945 at Foster General Hospital, Jackson, Mississippi. His Army Serial Number was 349 94 505. On March 22, 1968, ABERNATHY was issued a new State of Georgia Veteran's Driver's License number V-018805.

I. CREDIT

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Atlanta, supra, reflected ABERNATHY has a satisfactory credit rating. These records contain a report dated February 20, 1962, from the Montgomery, Alabama Credit Bureau indicating that as of February 2, 1961, ABERNATHY

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was the defendant in a slander action brought by one L. B. SULLIVAN seeking \$500,000 damages. This matter was still pending as of February 20, 1962.

J. ARRESTS

On May 17, 1968, Mr. JOHN TALLENT, Station Captain's Office, Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta, advised IC MARION W. DAVIS he could not locate a record identifiable with ABERNATHY.

Miss JO PRESSLEY, Identification Division, Atlanta Police Department, on May 20, 1968, advised her records reflect ABERNATHY was arrested as follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
March 28, 1963	Red Light	Fined \$20; City of Atlanta Municipal Court
September 13, 1963	Red Light	Fined \$30; City of Atlanta Municipal Court
November 17, 1964	Lane Ordinance	Fined \$25; City of Atlanta Municipal Court

II. ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT

Unless indicated otherwise activities referred to took place in Atlanta, Georgia.

Characterizations of individuals and organizations where available are set forth in the appendix section of this report.

On July 6, 1965, Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, SCLC, conferred with ANDREW J. YOUNG, Executive Vice-President, SCLC; RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL, Program Director, SCLC; HARRY WACHTEL and ABERNATHY regarding the recent arrest in Selma, Alabama, of a Rev. REESE affiliated with SCLC, who had been accused of embezzling

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funds of the Dallas County, Alabama Voter's League.

AT-T-1, 7/65

Rev. KING called a conference on February 12, 1966 of SCLC officers and other individuals for the purpose of examining the immediate financial condition of SCLC and endeavoring to determine methods of increasing the organization's income. ABERNATHY attended this conference as did RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL, HOSEA WILLIAMS, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC, JUNIUS GRIFFIN, Director of Public Relations, SCLC, CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON took an active part throughout this meeting.

AT-T-1, 2/66

On March 16, 1966, JAMES HARRISON, Comptroller, SCLC explained to STANLEY LEVISON various problems experienced by the SCLC Finance Office and the fact that ABERNATHY as Treasurer of SCLC appeared reluctant to act on suggestions to solve some of these problems. LEVISON told HARRISON he appreciated the problems experienced by the Finance Office and assured him he would discuss the matter with ABERNATHY in order that ABERNATHY would take necessary action.

AT-T-1, 3/66

On June 13, 1966, Rev. KING conducted a conference of SCLC officers and other individuals for the purpose of examining the current financial status of SCLC and ascertaining methods of reducing the expenses of the organization. ABERNATHY attended this conference at which CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, and HARRY WACHTEL were also present and took an active part. RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL and HOSEA WILLIAMS each attended portions of this conference.

AT-T-1, 6/66

ABERNATHY on July 7, 1966, reviewed financial contributions recently received by SCLC from the general

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public and noted that these contributions averaged approximately \$1200 per day. He explained to several employees of the SCLC Finance Office he thought these contributions were the result of a spontaneous reaction by the public to the recent shooting of JAMES H. MEREDITH in Mississippi rather than the solicitation efforts on the part of STANLEY LEVISON.

AT-T-1, 7/66

Rev. KING on July 25, 1966, reminded ABERNATHY they were to attend a meeting of the Executive Board of the American Foundation on Non-Violence (AFN) to be held July 26-27, 1966 in New York City. KING said HARRY WACHTEL would also attend this meeting.

AT-T-1, 7/66

AFN is a tax arm of SCLC located in New York City of which HARRY WACHTEL serves as Executive Director.

AT-T-1, 7/66

On August 9, 1966, ABERNATHY attended a meeting of the SCLC Executive Board held as part of the tenth annual SCLC Convention August 8-11/1966, in Jackson, Mississippi. During this meeting a discussion ensued concerning the desirability of SCLC's retaining the services of ROSA WILLIAMS, because of current publicity suggesting involvement of WILLIAMS with one HAROLD EELTON ANDREWS, who was convicted in July, 1966 in the United States District Court, Northern District of Georgia, on a charge of Interstate Transportation of a Stolen Motor Vehicle. In response to this discussion, ABERNATHY said he and Rev. KING were of the opinion that SCLC was sorely in need of the continued services of an individual possessing the energy and resourcefulness of WILLIAMS,

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and therefore felt SCLC should retain WILLIAMS.

AT-T-1, 8/66

At the aforementioned meeting of the SCLC Executive Board, ABERNATHY explained that in the early part of 1967, SCLC would engage in a fund raising activity which would involve Rev. KING's making a "pilgrimage to the Holy Land". He said this activity had been proposed by a travel agency (not identified) and STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL had previously been requested by SCLC to ascertain the feasibility of this proposal and recommended SCLC proceed therewith.

AT-T-1, 8/66

ABERNATHY was present November 22, 1966 at a meeting of the SCLC Executive Staff which Rev. KING called for the purpose of considering methods of raising funds for SCLC. JUNIUS GRIFFIN and HOSEA WILLIAMS attended part of this meeting. STANLEY LEVISON attended the entire meeting and actively participated.

AT-T-1, 11/66.

During the latter part of January, 1967, officers of SCLC met in Chicago, Illinois, to discuss lack of progress in SCLC's voter registration drive in that city. In attendance at this meeting was ABERNATHY, HOSEA WILLIAMS, and STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON and WILLIAMS during the meeting became involved in a heated argument regarding SCLC's support of the voter registration drive. As a result of this argument, WILLIAMS left the meeting stating he was resigning from SCLC. ABERNATHY pleaded with WILLIAMS not to resign to which WILLIAMS eventually agreed.

AT-T-1, 2/67

On February 10, 1967, ABERNATHY requested HARRY WACHTEL to forward \$5,000 of AFM funds to SCLC to assist the organization with its payroll obligations

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as of the middle of February, 1967.

AT-T-1, 2/67

On February 7, 1968, Rev. KING and ABERNATHY and several executive officers of SCLC including HOSEA WILLIAMS and JAMES BEVEL, former Director of Direct Action, SCLC met in Washington, D. C. with STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The purpose of the meeting was to afford SCLC opportunity to request SNCC not to interfere with SCLC's pending Poor People's Campaign (PPC).

AT-T-1, 2/68

On March 13, 1968, a meeting of several officers of SCLC including Rev. KING and ABERNATHY was held for the purpose of discussing problems relating to certain procedures utilized by the Southern Christian Leadership Foundation (SCLF) as indicated by a recent Internal Revenue Service audit of the SCLF. On March 14, 1968, STANLEY LEVISON met with the same individuals to further discuss these problems.

AT-T-1, 2/68

The SCLF is a tax arm of SCLC.

AT-T-1, 3/68

On April 5, 1968, the Executive Staff of SCLC met for the purpose of resolving several matters relating to the death of Rev. KING the previous day. One of the matters resolved was that ABERNATHY would assume leadership of the organization. HARRY BELAFONTE and STANLEY LEVISON, and HARRY WACHTEL attended this meeting:

AT-T-1, 4/68

As of April 22, 1968, SCLC elected to pay ABERNATHY \$6,000 annually to cover personal expenses incurred by him as President of SCLC. A decision was also made by SCLC to employ an Assistant Pastor of the West Hunter Street Baptist Church in order that

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ABERNATHY might devote sufficient time to his duties with SCLC. These decisions were made by a committee of several SCLC executive officers. Also serving on this committee was HARRY DELAFONTE, STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL.

AT-T-1, 5/68

In connection with the PPC, SCLC contemplates holding a massive demonstration in Washington, D. C., on May 30, 1968 and anticipates 300,000 people will participate therein. During the middle of May, 1968, SCLC intended to request BAYARD RUSTIN to serve as organizer and coordinator of this demonstration. ABERNATHY advised the SCLC staff that RUSTIN had apologized to him for his recent criticism of the PPC and inquired how he might assist in the PPC.

AT-T-1, 5/68

In June, 1960, the "Committee to Defend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.," "The Struggle for Freedom in the South" and the "Southern Christian Leadership Conference Student Defense Fund" in a combined appeal solicited funds from the Soviet Embassy, Czechoslovakian Embassy and the Rumanian Legation all in Washington, D. C. These organizations appealed for assistance in defending the Southern Negroes, who were risking their career, facing jail terms and death in their struggle to make the United States totally democratic. This appeal for contributions was made under six names, one of which was Rev. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Treasurer, SCLC.

AT-T-2, 6/60

On August 18, 1961 a news release type communication issued by the "Carl Braden Clemency Appeal Committee" was distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). This communication revealed that on August 18, 1961 a delegation of Southern Integration Leaders would take petitions, signed by over

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18,000 leaders in the field of Human Rights representing over 50 states of the United States to President JOHN F. KENNEDY requesting him to free CARL BRADEN. According to the communication, ABERNATHY was chairman of this delegation.

AT-T-3, 8/61

ABERNATHY on June 9, 1963, conferred with Rev. KING, CLARENCE JONES, and STANLEY LEVISON as to methods of dramatizing a proposed march on Washington, D. C., intending to pressure Congress into enacting Civil Rights legislation.

AT-T-3, 6/63

During the early part of May, 1968, ABERNATHY informed STANLEY LEVISON he was scheduled to speak on May 31, 1968, at commencement exercises of Alabama State College. ABERNATHY requested LEVISON prepare a speech for him to utilize on this occasion and LEVISON agreed to do so.

AT-T-4, 5/68

On May 5, 1968, ABERNATHY discussed with STANLEY LEVISON a proposal that SCLC become a membership organization and conduct a membership drive. They agreed the time was appropriate for implementation of a membership drive.

AT-T-4, 5/68

STANLEY LEVISON on May 7, 1968, advised WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD, Executive Director, SCLC, he would be unable to meet with him and ABERNATHY on May 8, 1968, as previously arranged for the purpose of discussing how operations of SCLC could be made more efficient.

AT-T-4, 5/68

The May 9, 1968, final edition of the Atlanta

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Journal, a daily Atlanta newspaper, Page 2A, published an article entitled, "ABERNATHY Says Soul Force, March to Solve Ills of Poor". This article revealed that on May 8, 1968, ABERNATHY addressed the weekly forum of the Atlanta Hungry Club on the theme, "The Poor People's Campaign, A Memorial to Dr. KING". ABERNATHY declared that the PPC was neither begging nor threatening violence but demanding "with a thrust from a non-violent sword".

The above article indicated that on May 8, 1968, ABERNATHY flew to Atlanta from Montgomery, Alabama, to deliver this speech and immediately after left for Birmingham, Alabama.

On May 9, 1968, WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD, informed STANLEY LEVISON that ABERNATHY wished him to express his appreciation to LEVISON for preparing a speech he delivered in Atlanta on May 8, 1968.

AT-T-4, 5/68

In early May, 1968, STANLEY LEVISON complained to WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD it was imperative that ABERNATHY operate SCLC with a firm hand and not spend all his time making public appearances. LEVISON cautioned that if ABERNATHY did not do so, he would find HARRY BELAFONTE and himself reluctant to assist him and SCLC.

AT-T-4, 5/68

On November 17, 1964, DORA E. MC DONALD, Secretary to the President, SCLC, made necessary travel arrangements for Rev. KING and other persons to travel to Oslo, Norway in connection with the presentation of the Nobel Prize to KING. According to the arrangements made by MC DONALD, ABERNATHY was to travel in a group of persons which included BAYARD RUSTIN, LAWRENCE REDDICK, HARRY WACHTEL, and LEONORA WACHTEL.

AT-T-5, 11/64

Rev. KING on May 26, 1966, informed ANDREW J. YOUNG, that a Whitehouse Conference on Civil Rights was to be held June 1-2, 1966. He said in addition: to himself and YOUNG, ABERNATHY and RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL would attend this conference.

AT-T-5, 5/66

III. MISCELLANEOUS

The April 10, 1965 edition of the "Philadelphia Evening Bulletin" a daily Philadelphia, Pennsylvania newspaper on Page 3 published an article, "Get Ready - We're Coming, Rev. KING's Aide Tells City." According to the article, ABERNATHY spoke on April 9, 1965, at the Bright Hope Baptist Church, Philadelphia. During his speech ABERNATHY pleaded for a negotiated peace in Vietnam and urged the admission of Red China to the United Nations. He endeavored to explain this did not mean he was giving into Communist philosophy.

On October 13, 1966, the Atlanta Journal on Page 25 of its final edition published an article entitled, "KING, Aides Confer, Discuss Black Power." The article reflected Rev. KING had called a meeting of "top SCLC leaders" to discuss the topic of "Black Power" and future programs of SCLC. According to JUNIUS GRIFFIN the meeting commenced on the evening of October 12, 1966, and was expected to terminate late in the afternoon of October 13 or early October 14, 1966, and "involved eight members of SCLC's Research Committee". The article indicated GRIFFIN named those in attendance at this meeting as ABERNATHY, JAMES BEVEL, MRS. DOROTHY COTTON, Director of Citizenship, SCLC, "New York attorneys" CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, HARRY WACHTEL, RALPH HILSTEIN, "International President of the Packing House Workers" and BAYARD RUSTIN.

The Atlanta Journal on Page 6A of its final edition December 29, 1967, published an article captioned, "KING's Aide Plans World Peace Trip". This article revealed that on January 3, 1968, ABERNATHY would embark on a trip "meet with heads of state, religious and

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community leaders in Geneva, Rome, Istanbul, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Saigon, Kyoto, Tokyo, and Honolulu! He would also, according to the article, attend a meeting of the International Inter-Religious Symposium on Peace, January 14-17, 1968, in New Delhi, India.

On May 10, 1968, the Atlanta Constitution, a daily Atlanta newspaper, on Page 1 published an article captioned, "Marchers for the Poor Mass Here" bylined ALEX COFFIN. According to this article, ABERNATHY addressed PPC members in Atlanta on the night of May 9, 1968, regarding the PPC. He promised a non-violent crusade but stated, "I don't want anyone to expect me to be MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. . . . I say to the nation, to the United States, with RALPH ABERNATHY, You've got hell on your hands".

IV. DESCRIPTION

The following descriptive data was compiled from information reflected by records of the agencies referred to above.

Name	RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY
Sex	Male
Race	Negro
Date of birth	March 11, 1926
	Linden, Alabama
Height	5' 8"
Weight	180 pounds
Build	Stocky
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Black
Complexion	Dark
Address	690 Laverne Drive, NW Atlanta, Georgia
Occupation	Minister Pastor of West Hunter Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia President, SCLC

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Marital status

Married
JUANITA ABERNATHY
Nee JONES

Dependants
Military service

Three children
United States Army
August 12, 1944 -
October 27, 1945
349 94 505

Army Serial Number

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APPENDIX

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INDIVIDUALS

HARRY BELAFONTE

On October 28, 1958, a confidential source advised that according to JEAN SMITH, Secretary at Communist Party Headquarters, New York, HARRY BELAFONTE had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL) before coming into prominence as an entertainer.

The YCL has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

JAMES BEVEL

BEVEL, in early March, 1966 was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side F.E.B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCC). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front. BEVEL, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification, and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country was only a beginning which would lead to a full attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this BEVEL was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL

/ On February 26, 1953, a confidential source advised RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

A confidential source advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL attended a Labor Youth League convention on August 13, 1950, at the Algonquin Club, 1450 Fayetteville Street, Durham, North Carolina.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CARL and ANNE BRADEN

Mrs. ALBERTA AKEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court, in a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE BRADEN, as having been known to her as members of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

The Courier - Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 3, 1959, reported that CARL BRADEN had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress on February 2, 1959, in Atlanta, Georgia. The story noted that he had been convicted under this charge on January 21, 1959, and that the charge arose from his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Louisville Times, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 27, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme Court had, on that date, affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction of BRADEN.

The Courier - Journal on May 2, 1961, reported that CARL BRADEN had surrendered to the United States Marshal at Atlanta, Georgia, on May 1, 1961, to begin serving a one-year prison sentence for contempt of Congress.

The Courier - Journal, on February 2, 1962, reported that CARL BRADEN had been released from the Federal Prison Camp at Allenwood, Pennsylvania, on February 1, 1962. BRADEN indicated that he would return to his home, Louisville, Kentucky.

On August 30, 1963, a confidential source advised that CARL BRADEN and his wife, ANNE BRADEN, continue to reside at 4403 Virginia Avenue and are still employed as Field Secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

A confidential source advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times," August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

JUNIUS GRIFFIN

Source, in June 1964, made available a flyer distributed by the Militant Labor Forum, announcing a party scheduled for May 30, 1964, at 116 University Place, New York City, which was for the purpose of welcoming home the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presidential candidate. Scheduled to participate in a symposium at this affair was one JUNIUS GRIFFIN, author of "New York Times Series on Harlem Hate Gangs." This symposium was described as relating to "What's Behind Harlem Hate Gang Scare?"

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

RALPH HELSTEIN

A confidential source advised on June 16, 1964, that RALPH HELSTEIN resides at 5806 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, and is the International President of the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, with offices at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

A confidential source advised in November, 1953, that he was recently advised that HELSTEIN was registered in the Communist Party about 1946, that he (HELSTEIN) joined under pressure and remained in the Party organizationally only a few months.

A confidential source advised on June 20, 1956, that RALPH HELSTEIN, 603 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, was a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A confidential source advised on February 26, 1957, that he had identified a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of, and in a position of leadership in, the Labor Youth League.

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KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR.

A Communist Party functionary described MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. as a confirmed Marxist in February, 1962.

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STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

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HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as JACK H. O'DELL, was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee.

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL told FOWNA SMITH December 27, 1963, he would not go back to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the same basis because he is now a "left person" and if they cannot accept him the way he is then they will have to forget about him.

LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK

LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK is Professor of Social Sciences at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland. He currently resides at 3704 Winterbourne Road, Baltimore, Maryland.

On September 17, 1943, a confidential source advised she had learned that Dr. REDDICK, who was then Director of the Schomburg Library, 103 W. 135th Street, New York City, was one of the most important unpublicized members of the Communist Party (CP). She stated that REDDICK seemed to be a source of information in regard to socialism and communism in the United States and the Soviet Union.

A confidential source on March 23, 1951, said that he met LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK in 1943, through EUGENE GORDON, a staff member of the "Daily Worker" and that both GORDON and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS advised him that LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK was at that time a member of the CP. The source also said that REDDICK was an instructor at the George Washington Carver School.

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast communist newspaper, which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The George Washington Carver School has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 5 and 11, 1954, LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Atlanta, Georgia. He, at that time, stated that he was not, and had never been, a member of, or a sympathizer with, the Communist Party.

On January 21, 1964, a confidential source advised that on January 18, 1934, Dr. LAWRENCE REDDICK visited with BENJAMIN J. DAVIS at the home of JACOB GREEN, State Chairman of the CP in Maryland. During conversation between REDDICK and DAVIS, it was mentioned that they had attended school together in Georgia and REDDICK commented that if he had stayed with DAVIS, he would have also joined the CP.

BAYARD RUSTIN

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

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9 - 12, 1957.

A confidential source advised on September 20, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "RUSTIN calls me constantly--openly."

A confidential source advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York.

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

HOSEA WILLIAMS

During October, 1964, a confidential source advised that on October 3, 1964, RUTH BAILEY, then an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), Harlem, New York Office, while discussing several SCLC personalities with one CONNIE CAMPBELL, referred to WILLIAMS. BAILEY said WILLIAMS had mentioned to her (date not specified) that on a prior occasion (date not specified) HENRY BYRON O'DELL had told him more about politics than he could read.

AT 157-257

ORGANIZATIONS

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91).

~~SECRET~~

AT 157-257

1 SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party Functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

~~SECRET~~

37*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
May 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-257

Title	Ralph David Abernathy
Character	Racial Matters
Reference	Report of SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA at Atlanta 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.

SSC Request 9/12/75

Work Papers
Not sent to SSC

#m0816
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/JTG

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-459279)

DATE: 2/20/73

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5089) (P)

SUBJECT: JANE FONDA, aka
SEDITION (KEY ACTIVIST)
OO: Los Angeles

#MDR 16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALM/716

Enclosed are five copies for the Bureau, and two copies for the Boston and San Francisco offices of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) setting forth information furnished by (one JEFF STEIN of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, University of California at Berkeley, California) regarding a plan of action for 1/15/73, in connection with a fund raising campaign for replacement of the Bach Mai Hospital in North Vietnam.

Two copies of an FD-376 are being furnished to the Bureau to facilitate transmittal to U.S. Secret Service, Washington D.C. A copy of this LHM has been furnished locally to U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles.

This information was received from (CSLA 4703-S) who obtained a copy of the letter, which was directed to JANE FONDA by JEFF STEIN, dated 1/8/73. This letter was in FONDA's possession during 2/15/73, and the contents of the letter have been paraphrased in order to protect the technique utilized by the above source in obtaining the letter. If the information contained in this letter is disseminated further, it is requested that it be appropriately paraphrased.

No further action is being taken in this matter by the Los Angeles office. The original of this letter is being maintained in the files of the Los Angeles office. In the event San Francisco should desire a copy of this letter, it will be furnished upon request.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 134-2087A)

TC/pml
(8)

OFFICE COPY

157-5089-15

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LA 157-5089

Copies of this LHM are being furnished to the Boston office, inasmuch as it is indicative in the letter that the Boston office has an interest in this matter.

The files of the Los Angeles office contain no suitable characterizations for the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, University of California at Berkeley, or any information identifiable with JEFF STEIN.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report activities of JANE FONDA.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

February 20, 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

#m2216
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/216

JANE FONDA

On February 15, 1973, a first source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that an individual identified only as Jeff Stein directed a letter dated January 8, 1973, prepared on the stationery bearing the letterhead of "Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 8 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, California, 94720" to Jane Fonda. In this letter, Stein stated that it was his intent in furnishing this letter to Fonda, to fully apprise her of the plans for the "January 15" action as requested by her in a previous conversation.

According to source, Stein said the first plan of action was a fund raising effort, which began independently "simply out of our need to express our outrage of the bombing, etc., and a parallel wish to re-energize the anti-war movement in the Bay area." Source advised Stein stated the fund raising program was necessary for replacement of the Bach Mai Hospital, and also a vital stage in educating the populous as to the political nature of the war in Indo-China.

Source advised that Stein indicated in his letter that the Bach Mai project in San Francisco was a national campaign, and that the individuals affiliated with the Bach Mai project in San Francisco, were associated with the national organization of the Bach Mai project, and that all funds received for this project were to be forwarded to the Bach Mai project in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Source advised that Stein said in his letter that the Bay area headquarters for the Bach Mai project is located at 857 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California:

- 5 - Bureau (100-459279) (RM)
- 1 - U.S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (157-5089)
(1 - 134-2087A)

TC/pml
(12)

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157-5089-1523

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JANE FONDA

Source advised that throughout the letter, Jeff Stein gave many indications that he has been in previous contact with Jane Fonda regarding the above issue.

Jane Fonda is the well known actress who has been an active supporter and spokesman for the anti-war movement since early 1970. She is National Coordinator of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). During November and December 1972, she toured Okinawa, the Philippines, and Japan, with a group presenting anti-war programs.

The VVAW is an ad hoc organization of veterans opposed to the war in Vietnam. VVAW is an anti-war organization organized in 1967 and headquartered in New York City. Its published objective is "to demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops from Indo-China."

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.

SAC, Los Angeles

Director, FBI

JANE FONDA
SM - ANA

#moel6
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/22/86 BY SP2 ACM/1876

6/25/70

1 - Mr. R. L. Strain
1 - Mr. J. F. Morrissey
1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff

A review of available information concerning captioned individual indicates that she has been extremely active in the antidraft and anti-Vietnam movement; has made sizable contributions to black extremist groups, and has, by her actions and statements in general, indicated anarchistic tendencies and a definite propensity for fomenting violence endangering the internal security of this country.

If you have not already done so, you should initiate a security-type investigation of captioned individual in accordance with instructions contained in the Manual of Instructions, Section 87D, relating to such matters. The purpose of your investigation is to determine the extent of subject's anarchistic tendencies, a resolution of all ramifications regarding her association with various aspects of the New Left movement and black extremist groups and to ascertain if indeed her actions do pose a definite threat to the security of this country. In view of subject's position of prominence in the theatrical field, your investigation must be handled by a mature and experienced agent. No action should be taken which could result in embarrassment to the Bureau.

Results of the above investigation should be furnished the Bureau in report form, accompanied by recommendations as to whether or not subject's name should be considered for inclusion on the Security Index.

For your information, the Denver Office is origin in the Sedition investigation of the subject, Denver file 14-86, Bufile 14-3087. Denver is requested to furnish the Los Angeles Office with a copy of all pertinent information concerning the subject.

2 - Denver

22 JUN 25 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 5
JUN 24 1970
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TELETYPE UNIT (5)

60 JUL 1 1970

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, Los Angeles
RE: JANE FONDA

NOTE:

A current Sedition investigation is underway concerning the subject as a result of statements attributed to her wherein she advocated servicemen receive a dishonorable discharge rather than going to Vietnam. She has appeared on and been excluded from numerous military installations as a result of her anti-Vietnam activities. She has been associated with the Women's Strike for Peace, the Movement for a Democratic Military, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and has made sizable contributions to the Malcolm X Organization of Afro-American Unity and the Black Panther Party.

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-459279)

DATE: 2/20/73

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5089) (P)

SUBJECT: JANE FONDA, aka
SEDITION (KEY ACTIVIST)
OO: Los Angeles

#MORIG
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALM/1016

Enclosed are five copies for the Bureau of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) setting forth information that PHAM THANH VAN, Expert De La Delegation, Du Gouvernement Revolutionnaire Provisoire, De La Republique Du Sud Viet Nam, A La Conference De Paris, Sur Le Viet Nam, corresponded with JANE FONDA during November 1972, when he requested information from FONDA as to the identities of individuals in the United States, who he could contact relative to the anti-war movement.

Two copies of an FD-376 are being furnished to the Bureau to facilitate transmittal to U.S. Secret Service, Washington D.C. A copy of this LHM has been furnished to U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, California.

Information contained in this LHM was obtained from (CSLA 4703-S) and is being paraphrased in order to protect the technique utilized by this source in obtaining this information.

The original of this letter is being retained as an exhibit in the files of the Los Angeles office.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report activities of JANE FONDA.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles
41 - 134-2807A)

TC/pml
(4)

OFFICE CSA

157-5089-1519

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CA

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
February 20, 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/JAG

JANE FONDA

On February 15, 1973, a first source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he learned that Pham Thanh Van, Expert De La Delegation, Du Gouvernement Revolutionnaire Provisoire, De La Republique Du Sud Viet Nam, A La Conference De Paris, Sur Le Viet Nam, was in contact by letter dated November 13, 1972, with Jane Fonda. Source advised that in Pham Thanh Van's letter, he reiterated that when he was in personal contact with Jane Fonda in France "last Friday 10", Fonda indicated that she would furnish him with some addresses in the United States that he may contact in connection with the anti-war movement in the United States. Source advised that the purpose of this letter was to remind Fonda to furnish him the addresses as she had promised.

Jane Fonda is the well known actress who has been an active supporter and spokesman for the anti-war movement since early 1970. She is National Coordinator of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). During November and December 1972, she toured Okinawa, the Philippines, and Japan, with a group presenting anti-war programs.

The VVAW is an ad hoc organization of veterans opposed to the war in Vietnam. VVAW is an anti-war organization organized in 1967 and headquartered in New York City. Its published objective is "to demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops from Indo-China."

- 5 - Bureau (100-459279) (RM)
- 1 - U.S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles (RM)
- ② - Los Angeles (157-5089)
(1 - 134-2807A)

TC/pml
(8)

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157-5089-1518

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CA

JANE FONDA

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.

- 2* -

INVESTIGATION

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-459279)

DATE: 2/20/73

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5089) (P)

SUBJECT: JANE FONDA, aka
SEDITION (KEY ACTIVIST)
OO: Los Angeles

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALM/ATG

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), and two copies enclosed for the Chicago office, setting forth information relative to a contact between JACK MABLEY, associate editor of the "Chicago Tribune" with JANE FONDA.

Two copies of an FD-376 are being furnished to the Bureau to facilitate transmittal to U.S. Secret Service, Washington D.C. A copy of this LHM has been furnished locally to U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles.

This information was received from (CSLA 4703-S) and is being appropriately paraphrased in order to protect the technique concerning the manner in which it was received. It is requested that if this information should be further disseminated by the Chicago office, that it be appropriately paraphrased.

A copy of this letter is being retained in the files of the Los Angeles office, and in the event Chicago should desire a copy of this letter, it will be furnished upon request.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report activities of JANE FONDA.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
2 - Chicago (RM) (Enc. 2)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 134-2807A)
TC/pml
(6)

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157-5089-1522

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
February 20, 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

JANE FONDA

#mpe16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 AEM/12TG

On February 15, 1973, a first source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he learned that a letter dated "September 6, _____", from Jack Mabley, who identified himself as the associate editor of the "Chicago Tribune/Chicago Today", 435 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was sent to Jane Fonda.

This source advised that in this letter, Jack Mabley was in sympathy with Jane Fonda, and stated that "as you go from church basement to church basement, you have to wonder if anybody is listening. It's a rough road you've chosen...and you must have wondered if you were reaching anyone, but those who already believe as you do." Mabley mentioned that while Fonda was in Chicago, the press media gave great emphasis to violence and trouble in connection with demonstrations, however, "the responsible protest was largely ignored". According to source, Mabley, in his letter, also mentioned that one of his co-workers "really caught hell" when he wrote an article stating that Fonda had taken a correct position in connection with her protest. Mabley, according to source, in closing his letter, stated the people who "stick it out in the fight against the killing are a special kind of people".

The "Chicago Tribune" is a Chicago daily newspaper.

Jane Fonda is the well known actress who has been an active supporter and spokesman for the anti-war movement since early 1970. She is National Coordinator of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). During November and December 1972, she toured Okinawa, the Philippines, and Japan, with a group presenting anti-war programs.

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INDEXED

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5 - Bureau (100-459279) (RM)

1 - U.S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles (RM)

2 - Chicago (RM)

2 - Los Angeles (157-5089)

1 - 124-2807A

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(10)

157-5089-1521
OFFICE COPY

JANE FONDA

The VVAW is an ad hoc organization of veterans opposed to the war in Vietnam. VVAW is an anti-war organization organized in 1967 and headquartered in New York City. Its published objective is "to demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops from Indo-China.

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.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2/17

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES	DATE 1/8/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/17/72 - 1/2/73
TITLE OF CASE UNSUB, aka Art Jasky; JANE FONDA - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH C. ALSTON	TYPED BY kah
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/TJG		CHARACTER OF CASE EXTORTION	

REC-106 G (in A/L 12/2/72)

REFERENCES: Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 10/19/72.
 Los Angeles airtel to Sacramento dated 11/2/72.
 Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 11/9/72.
 Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 11/20/72.
 Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 12/1/72.
 Washington Field airtel to Los Angeles dated 12/8/72.
 Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 12/14/72.
 San Francisco letter to Los Angeles dated 12/15/72.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

It should be noted that STEVE JAFFE telephonically contacted the Los Angeles Office on 10/17/72, at 12:05 p.m. At that time he advised that he represented JANE FONDA and that

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
APPROVED						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 2 - Bureau (9-54978) (1 - 100-459279) 1 - Sacramento (Info) 3 - Los Angeles (9-4932) (1 - 157-5089)						5117-6 REC 27 ST-103 3 JAN 14 1973		
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency	2cc BAO (100) 0"					JSTX DATA/PROC FATE		
Request Recd.						RECORDED COPY FILED IN		
Date Fwd.	1/58 FEB 6 1973							
How Fwd.								
By	FJM/KW							

COVER PAGE

LA 9-4932

she had received a threatening letter. He said that he had been advised by former Attorney General RAMSEY CLARK to contact the FBI. JAFFE further stated that he would like to bring the letter to the Los Angeles Office of the FBI on 10/17/72, between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m., and relate the facts to an agent. JAFFE did not appear at the Los Angeles Office as he stated; therefore, he was telephonically contacted at his residence by SA JOSEPH C. ALSTON at approximately 5:00 p.m., 10/17/72. During this conversation he stated, "I just couldn't make it today, but I'll be in tomorrow".

An information copy is being furnished to the Sacramento Office as investigation is currently pending in that division.

On 10/25/72, (CSLA 5521-E) advised SA ROGER J. LA JEUNESSE, JR., as follows:

He has learned that one STEVE JAFFE, an individual who is associated and/or affiliated with JANE FONDA, was recently contacted by Special Agents of the FBI. The contact by the Agents was initiated by JAFFE in behalf of FONDA who had reportedly received, through the mail, threats against her life. According to this source, JANE FONDA and others closely associated with her seriously considered the matter prior to calling the FBI. Because of the apparent threat contained in the letter, they felt it necessary to report the matter to the Bureau and subsequently did so. In addition, JAFFE furnished to interviewing agents what he represented to them to be FONDA's itinerary up through 11/5/72. This source has learned, however, that the itinerary furnished to the Agents by JAFFE is not, in fact, a complete and factual report of her planned travels. This source has further learned that JAFFE is in the process of attempting to employ a private investigator to furnish appropriate "body guard" coverage for JANE FONDA in her upcoming travels.

CSLA 5521-E was recontacted on 10/26/72, and advised he learned that STEVE JAFFE was still attempting to locate and hire the services of a private investigator to provide protection for JANE FONDA on her current tour.

- B -

COVER PAGE

JAFFE, according to this source, is an agent's representative who handles RYAN O'NEIL and GODFREY CAMBRIDGE, both of whom are entertainers. He was formerly an investigator for JAMES GARRISON, the New Orleans, Louisiana District Attorney. His father is reported a doctor and JAFFE is approximately 26 or 27 years of age.

Apparently JAFFE, in attempting to obtain the services of a private investigator, learned that the cost for such services would be prohibitive. In view of the foregoing, he has decided to utilize ROBERT DUGGAN "and his people" to perform bodyguard services for FONDA in her travels.

JAFFE desires to obtain the services of a reputable private investigator to conduct an independent investigation to determine if the FBI "is doing their job".

On 11/2/72, this same source advised as follows at approximately 9:40 a.m.:

The secretary to STEVE JAFFE contacted a former private investigator, MICHAEL MC COWAN, in Los Angeles at 1:00 a.m., 11/2/72. She advised that a Bakersfield, California radio station had apparently received a telephone call from someone advising that JANE FONDA was to be shot when she appeared in Bakersfield on 11/2/72. This source explained FONDA was scheduled to make a personal appearance in Bakersfield at 10:30 a.m., 11/2/72. In addition to the foregoing, ROBERT DUGGAN, mentioned above, reportedly also telephonically contacted MC COWAN during the morning of 11/2/72, to seek guidance from MC COWAN as to what he, DUGGAN, should do in view of the reported telephone threat to the Bakersfield radio station. MC COWAN is alleged to have told DUGGAN to inform the Bakersfield Police Department and other personnel that he, DUGGAN, might be utilized in performing security services on behalf of FONDA.

On 11/2/72, the above information was telephonically furnished to the Sacramento Office (Bakersfield Resident Agency), who immediately advised appropriate local authorities.

- C -
COVER PAGE

LA 9-4932

On 10/27/72, CSLA 3184-S advised SA ROBERT H. CLAUDIAS that his files contained no information identifiable with the American Liberty League (ALL).

On 11/2/72, CSLA 4703-S advised SA DANNY B. JAMES that his files contained no information relating to the ALL.

On 11/2/72, CSLA 3971-S advised SA JOSEPH R. CONLON that the information concerning the ALL in the files of the Long Beach, California, Police Department originally came from GENE ESQUIBEL, Bomb Analyst, Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence branch of the California Department of Justice, Sacramento, California.

Investigation referred to on page 11 of this report was captioned, "UNSUB; aka Myron P. Betz; JESSE M UNRUH - VICTIM; EXTORTION, OO: Sacramento, Los Angeles file 9-4304".

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will check the records of the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters in an effort to identify ART JASKY, L. E. RANCK and J. CLARITY.

D*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: JOSEPH C. ALSTON
Date: 1/8/73

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 9-4932

Bureau File #: 9-54978

Title: UNKNOWN SUBJECT,
Also Known As
Art Jasky;
JANE FONDA - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION : -

Synopsis: STEVE JAFFE, who handles public relations for JANE FONDA, appeared at the Los Angeles Office on 10/18/72, with threatening letter addressed to FONDA, c/o STEVE JAFFEY, Radio Station K.A.B.C., Los Angeles. Letter was mailed from Costa Mesa, California, 8/7/72, and signed "ART JASKY". Letter indicates FONDA will be assassinated by a member of the "American Liberty League" (ALL), a "secret organization". Efforts to identify "ART JASKY" negative. According to Long Beach, California Police Department, the ALL was known in Los Angeles-area in 1936 to 1939. They swore to protect the constitution and claimed to have 2,000 members. Efforts to further identify ALL or any of its members negative.

- P -

DETAILS

#m DR/6
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/116

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date of transcription 10/19/72

STEVE JAFFE of Gershenson, Dingilian and Jaffe, Public Relations, 120 El Camino Drive, Suite 212, Beverly Hills, California, telephone number 278-2343, appeared at the Los Angeles Office of the FBI and advised as follows:

JAFFE handles public relations for JANE FONDA. On about July 20, 1972, he was telephonically interviewed at his office by MARV GRAY of Los Angeles radio station KABC (radio talk show), regarding JANE FONDA's visit to Hanoi. At the conclusion of the interview, he indicated that if the listeners desired to correspond with JANE FONDA, they should write to her in care of him, radio station KABC, Los Angeles, California.

Approximately a week ago he had occasion to return to KABC on another matter, at which time he was given a manila envelope containing approximately 80 letters addressed to JANE FONDA, most of which are derogatory. Among the 80 letters was one addressed to "JANE FONDA c/o STEVE JAFFEY Radio Station K.A.B.C. Los Angeles, Calif.", and signed "ART JASKY", which was mailed at Costa Mesa, California, on August 7, 1972. The letter (a xerox copy of which is attached), signed "ART JASKY" indicates that FONDA will be assassinated by a member of the "American Liberty League (A.L.L.)", a "secret organization". JAFFE put the letter from "ART JASKY" in his briefcase until he had the opportunity to bring it to the attention of former Attorney General RAMSEY CLARK. He subsequently exhibited the letter to CLARK who advised him that it is a violation of the Federal Extortion Statute and that the FBI should be notified.

On October 19, 1972, at his request, JAFFE was recontacted at his office in Beverly Hills. During this interview, JAFFE advised that he and his staff had re-read all the other letters received from KABC. He stated that in his opinion the handwriting in the letter bearing the signature "CLARENCE F. STAUFFER, Principal, West Covina Christian School, West Covina, California" (a xerox copy of which is attached),

2

Interviewed on 10/18/72 and Los Angeles and 10/19/72 at Beverly Hills, California File # Los Angeles 9-4932

SA's JOHN E. TRUAX and
by JOSEPH C. ALSTON/JCA/kah

Date dictated 10/19/72

2
LA 9-4932

is very similar to the handwriting in the letter signed "ART JASKY". He further stated that in his opinion, the wording in the letter signed "Mrs. ANN SMITH", mailed at Los Angeles on July 23, 1972, is similar to that in the letter signed "ART JASKY" (a xerox copy of which is attached).

Mr. JAFFE additionally advised that while in the Los Angeles area, JANE FONDA can be contacted at 11415 Canton Drive, Studio City, California, telephone number 980-0121. He stated that she is currently on a series of speaking engagements and furnished her itinerary from October 27, 1972 through November 6, 1972. He said that she is currently in Illinois and will be traveling throughout Illinois and Ohio for approximately a week making speeches at various locations.

Mr. JAFFE advised that JANE FONDA is aware of the letter signed "ART JASKY". He was advised of FBI jurisdiction and he stated he would contact appropriate local authorities and furnish them the details of this matter.

4
Not given
Post
V-19*
SSC



Jane Londa
C/o Steve Gaffey
Radio Station K-A.B.C.
Los Angeles, Calif.

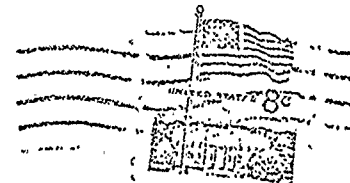
To: Walter J. Ford

8-6-72

I am writing you concerning your anti-Il. activities, your trip to Hawaii and your traitorous activities while there etc. Because you are a traitor to the U.S. you are now destined for assassination. I want you to know Communist friends that I am a member of an Organization, with 100 members scattered throughout California, the name is; "American Liberty League," a secret organization (A.L.L.) All for one, and one for all, and every member in this organization has just recently pledged that all will work for your assassination. With members pledged to your assassination it is impossible for you to hide, or get away without getting killed at some time or another. No matter where you go on this earth from now on, it will be impossible for you to go anywhere, without a member from (A.L.L.) keeping you under surveillance.

Somewhere, sometime, somehow, when you are at the right place, at the right time, a shot will ring out ending your life. Every member knows that after he shoots you he will be caught, and tried for murder, but he also knows that there is no more capital punishment, and his chance of getting out of the pen in seven years is very good, and getting out sooner for good behavior. The assassin will be free while you are rotting in your grave. Remember traitor Ford, your assassination will not come off in the next few days. It would be in the next few weeks, next few months, a year, or years from now but please believe me, you are never will a natural death. A Member of A.L.L. Dist. 1000

C. F. STAUFFER
West Covina Christian School
763 North Sunset Avenue
West Covina, California 91790



Jane Fonda
% Marv Gray
K.A.B.C.
Los Angeles, Cal.
90016

6

West Covina Christian School.

CLARENCE F. STAUFFER, P. O. Box 100
763 NORTH SUNSET AVENUE
WEST COVINA, CALIFORNIA 91790
Phone (213) 962-7089

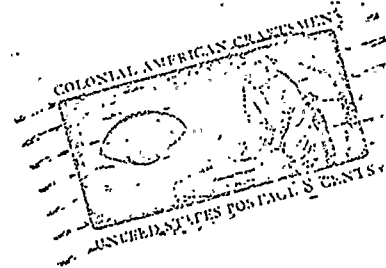
7-26-

Dear Fonda:

You are guilty of treason
in your statements and actions
in N. Vietnam and other places
you shoot off your infamous mouth.
If your motives were honest
denounce the atrocities of your
N. Vietnam Chummies which
have been documented.

If you enjoy your Communist
murders so much (as you
seemed in your pictures sitting on
an anti aircraft gun) why not
stay in N. Vietnam? We will
make a contribution to send
you back there if you will
promise to stay. We have
had enough of you.

Clarence F. Stauffer



Mr Jaffe (for Jane Fonda)
c/o Marv Gray
K A B C
Los Angeles, Calif. 90016

July 21, 1972

To Jane Fonda,
(or Hanvi Hannak as
everyone is now saying)

Many of us are sick and tired
of hearing you rave against
our fair land.

Your treachery is "aiding and
abetting" acts against our men
who were unfortunately (the
democrats) sent over there and
sent strategic material to the
Soviets to help shoot them.

This war has been carried on
and on because even Arthur Goldberg,
long ago, when he was in the U.N.,
said, "we don't want to win in
Vietnam!" Why was he a party
to send or help send all those
men to be doomed by not
allowing them to get it over?!

Suppose that had happened
with the Israelis when they
went after their cousins, attacking
them. (The Arabs, who are also
Semites as we all know.) They finished quickly.

Many of my friends and
acquaintances feel as I do. Many
of us are in Education.

We all hope that you'll
decide to move to Hanoi or to
a Soviet Country of your choice.

In the meantime we're
all planning to boycott your
films!

Hoping to see you move,
Mrs. Ann Smith.

JANE FONDA, victim, is described as follows:

Name	JANE FONDA
Aliases	Jane Seymour Fonda Mrs. Roger Vadim Jane Seymour Plemiannikov Lady Jane Seymour Brokaw Fonda Plemiannikov
Sex	Female
Race	White
Birth Data	December 21, 1937 New York, New York
Height	5' 8"
Weight	115 pounds
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Blonde
Marital Status	Married
Husband	ROGER VADIM PLEMIANNIKOV
Father	HENRY FONDA
Daughter	VANESSA PLEMIANNIKOV
Nationality	American
Employment	Motion picture actress
Address	11415 Canton Drive North Hollywood, California
FBI Number	601 714 H

On October 19, 1972, the facts of the case were presented to Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA) RICHARD L. ROSENFELD, Los Angeles. Mr. ROSENFELD advised that the letter signed "ART JASKY" is a violation of the Federal Extortion Statute and if the writer of the letter is properly identified his office would institute prosecution.

Efforts to locate a record identifiable with "ART JASKY", "Mrs. ANN SMITH", or "CLARENCE F. STAUFFER" in the files of the Los Angeles Office met with negative results.

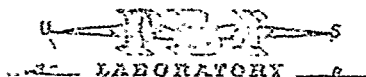
During an extortion investigation conducted in 1970, the Long Beach, California, Police Department advised on March 23, 1970, that the following information was obtained from "Los Angeles Intelligence files":

LA 9-4932

"The 'AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE' (A.L.L.) was known in the Los Angeles area in 1936 - 1939. It appears that the A.L.L. could be classified as a forerunner of our present day 'radical-right' groups. They swore to 'protect the Constitution' and wrote letters to then President Roosevelt. They claimed 2,000 members. The Los Angeles headquarters in 1939 was located at 510 South Spring Street, Los Angeles. National Headquarters was listed as the National Press Building, Washington, D.C. The Los Angeles leader was L.E. RANCK; other officers were J. CLARITY and STEDMAN G. SMITH. They received publicity in a newspaper published in 1939 to the effect that they were starting a group in San Francisco to go 'all out to save the Constitution for everyone'".

On October 19, 1972, the original letters and envelopes signed "ART JASKY", "CLARENCE F. STAUFFER" and "Mrs. ANN SMITH", were forwarded to FBI Headquarters, Washington, D.C., requesting a handwriting and latent fingerprint examination.

The results of the requested examinations are as follows:

DEPT
of JusticeFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: SAC, Los Angeles (9-4932)

Date: November 9, 1972

Re: UNSUB, aka
Art Jasky;
JANE FONDA - VICTIM;
EXTORTION

FBI File No. 9-54978

Lab. No. D-721024090 NL

Specimens received 10/24/72

- Q1 Envelope postmarked "COVINA, CA 91722 JUL 27 PM 1972," bearing handwritten address "Jane Fonda c/o Marv Gray KABC Los Angeles, Cal. 90016"
- Q2 Accompanying handwritten letter dated 7/26/72 on West Covina Christian School letterhead, beginning "You are guilty of treason"
- Q3 Envelope postmarked "LOS ANGELES, Calif. PM 23 JUL 1972," bearing handwritten address "Mr Jaffe (for Jane Fonda) c/o Marv. Gray KABC Los Angeles, Calif 90016"
- Q4 First page of accompanying two page handwritten letter dated 7/21/72, beginning "(or Hanoi, Hannah as everyone is now saying) Many of us"
- Q5 Second page of accompanying handwritten letter beginning "Suppose that had happened with the Israelis"
- Q6 Envelope postmarked "COSTA MESA, CA PM AUG 7 1972," bearing handwritten address "Jane Fonda c/o Steve Jaffey Radio Station K.A.B.C. Los Angeles, Calif."
- Q7 Accompanying handwritten letter dated 8/6/72, beginning "I am writing you concerning your anti-U.S. policy,"

Result of examination:

Specimens Q1 through Q7 were searched through the appropriate sections of the Anonymous Letter File without effecting an identification. Photographs will be added to the file for future reference.

7-4932-9

No indented writing was found in Q1 through Q7. No watermarks were found in Q1, Q3, Q6, and Q7. A watermark "TA - NON - KA Bond" was found in Q2. This watermark is registered to Badger Paper Mill, Inc., West Front, Peshtigo, Wisconsin. A watermark "EATON" was found in Q4 and Q5. This watermark is registered to Eaton Paper Corporation, 75 S. Church, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

An eight-cent U. S. postage stamp which came from a coil of stamps was attached to Q1. An eight-cent U. S. postage stamp which came from a sheet of stamps was attached to Q3. An eight-cent U. S. postage stamp which came from a coil of stamps was attached to Q6.

Due to a lack of comparable letters and letter combinations, a definite conclusion was not reached as to the number of writers responsible for the questioned writing on Q1 through Q7.

Specimens Q1 through Q7 will be returned separately. Photographs are retained.



FEDERAL

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

REPORT

of the

IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

YOUR FILE NO. 9-4932
FBI FILE NO. 9-54978
LATENT CASE NO. A-62205

November 20, 1972

TO: SAC, Los Angeles

RE: UNSUB., AKA
ART JASKY;
JANE FONDA - VICTIM
EXTORTION

REFERENCE: Airtel 10-19-72

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY: Los Angeles

SPECIMENS: Three envelopes and accompanying letters, Q1 through Q7

Listed Q specimens described in separate
Laboratory report.

Eight latent fingerprints developed on Q6
and six latent fingerprints developed on Q7. No latent
prints of value developed on other specimens.

On basis of information furnished, no
fingerprint record located in Identification Division
files for Art Jasky.

Specimens enclosed, together with an itinerary,
which was also submitted.

Enc. (8)

15

L. Patrick Gray, III
L. Patrick Gray, III, Acting Director

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

LA 9-4932

The following investigation was conducted by SA
WILLIAM C. CARROLL:

On October 31, 1972, records of the Newport Beach Police Department, Costa Mesa Police Department, and the Orange County Sheriff's Office were checked in an effort to identify ART JASKY with negative results.

On November 4, 1972, records of the Voters Registration were checked using the name ART JASKY with negative results.

LA 9-4932

A review of the Los Angeles Central Telephone Directory on October 25, 1972, disclosed a listing for STEADMAN G. SMITH, Attorney, 1608 North Vine Street, Los Angeles, California, telephone number 462-7241. There was no listing in this directory for J. CLARITY, L.E. RANCK or ART JASKY. On the same date, the following Los Angeles and Orange County area telephone directories were reviewed in an effort to locate a listing for a STEADMAN G. SMITH, J. CLARITY, L.E. RANCK and ART JASKY with negative results:

- Long Beach Directory
- South Bay Area Directory
- Mid-Cities Area Directory
- Western Section Directory
- Northwestern Section Directory
- Airport Area Directory
- Orange County Telephone Directory

Efforts on October 25, 1972, to locate a California driver's license through the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), Sacramento, California, for ART JASKY met with negative results. DMV records did, however, disclose a license issued to STEADMAN GARRETSON SMITH (driver's license number Y0519728) born May 20, 1898. His last known address as of 1965 was 6777 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, California.

The records of the California State Bar Association, 1230 West 3rd Street, Los Angeles, California, disclosed on November 6, 1972, that STEADMAN G. SMITH, Attorney, 6777 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, died on September 3, 1965. His partner, FRANK RAYMOND DAVIS, is currently practicing law at 1608 North Vine Street, Hollywood.

On November 10, 1972, FRANK RAYMOND DAVIS, Attorney, Smith and Davis, Suite 400, Hollywood-Taft Building, 1608 North Vine Street, Hollywood, California, telephone number 466-4363, advised as follows:

STEADMAN GARRETSON SMITH, his former partner, died in 1965. DAVIS first became associated with SMITH in the early 1960's. During his association with SMITH he never heard him

LA 9-4932

mention the American Liberty League (ALL), or anyone by the name of L.E. RANCK, ART JASKY or J. CLARITY. He advised that to the best of his knowledge SMITH was an individual of impeccable character and reputation. DAVIS mentioned that he is currently representing SMITH's widow, now Mrs. PEGGY BAXTER. In the presence of SA JOSEPH C. ALSTON, he telephonically contacted Mrs. BAXTER. She advised Mr. DAVIS that she had never heard of the ALL, J. CLARITY, L.E. RANCK or ART JASKY. She stated that she was confident that her deceased husband was never a member of ALL. She pointed out, however, that during the 1930's and 1940's SMITH was very close to LEONARD DIETHER, now a retired Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge. She said that Judge DIETHER would be aware of all of SMITH's affiliations during that period of time.

On November 27, 1972, Judge LEONARD DIETHER (retired) was contacted in Department 26, Los Angeles County Court House, First and Hill, Los Angeles. Judge DIETHER advised that he was a close associate of STEADMAN G. SMITH from about 1920 up until the time of his death in 1965. He said that he never heard SMITH mention the ALL and he is confident that he was not a member or in anyway connected with that organization. He further advised that to the best of his knowledge SMITH was not acquainted with anyone by the name of J. CLARITY, L.E. RANCK or ART JASKY.

The files of FBI Headquarters, Washington, D.C., the Washington Field Office, Washington, D.C., and the San Francisco Office were searched in an effort to locate pertinent information relating to the ALL with negative results.

The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Los Angeles, which were checked on October 30, 1972, by SC HELEN WARD SULLIVAN failed to disclose any information identifiable with ART JASKY, STEDMAN G. SMITH, L.E. RANCK or J. CLARITY.

The records of the Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles, California, which were checked on November 1, 1972, by SC PHILIP S. ANDRIST, failed to disclose any information identifiable with ART JASKY, STEDMAN G. SMITH, L.E. RANCK or J. CLARITY.

LA 9-4932

The records of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, Los Angeles, California, which were checked on October 31, 1972, by SC JAMES G. BROWN, failed to disclose any information identifiable with ART JASKY, STEDMAN G. SMITH, L.E. RANCK or J. CLARITY.

The files of the Los Angeles Police Department and Los Angeles Sheriff's Office Intelligence Divisions, which were checked on October 30 and October 31, 1972, respectively, contained no information relating to the ALL.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

7/30

, 1975

☐ Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to MENDENHALL 10-87

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

List all SERIALS in 105-67845

PER MENDENHALL

Subject RALPH ABERNATHY

Birthdate & Place _____

Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 9/30 Searcher Initials EC

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

105-67845-21870, 36877
ep #2; 37497 ep #8

Ralph D.

✓ 105-67845-36673 ep #12
105-67845

Ralph David

105-67845-38250

#mde/b
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALM/106

Ralph. Allen. Mathey
See:

21870 - Indexed in body
of report.

36877: 7-11-70

Indexed in body
of report

37497 - 8. 8 3-29-71

Indexed in body
of mail

36673 - 8. 12, - 11-3-70

Indexed in body
of report

~~382504~~

#MDR16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/175

Ser.

38250

Id: 8-9-71

To: Kotor, Mikhail
(Secretary General) Soviet
Peace Committee
Ul. Kropotkina 10 Moscow
Russia

From: Kahn, Albert E
13026 Denno Road
Helen Ellen, Calif.

3rd. P: Ohermathy Ralph (David)
(Head, Sec Atlanta, Ga.
attended Budapest Peace
Council, May 71) Hungary

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

9/30

1975

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Searching Unit, 4543-JEH-FBI Bldg.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review
<input type="checkbox"/>	Attention
<input type="checkbox"/>	Return to <u>MENDENHALL 4587</u>
	Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
<input type="checkbox"/>	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Subversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nonsubversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Restricted to Locality of
<input type="checkbox"/>	Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Buildup <input type="checkbox"/> Variations

Listed all serials in 105-67845
per mendenhall

Subject ANGELA DAVIS
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 9/30 Searcher Initials DD13
 Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
✓	105- 67845-	32297
		- 32435
		- 32946
		- 33448
		- 34446; 35259
		- 37082; 37107
		- 37144; 37197
		- 37214; 37357
		- 37365; 37368
		- 37370X; 37381
		- 37410; 37428
		- 37565; 37771
		- 37902; 38708
		- 38387; 38923
		- 38997; 39064
		- 39178-001; 39329
		- 39110; 39180

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/02 BY SP-2 ALM/BJG

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Angela Davis
 Supervisor Mendenhall Room 4587
 R# _____ Date 9/30 Searcher Initial DD
 Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Angela Davis

105⁶-67845-39516

-39719-ep1

-39847

FBI

Date: 4/28/72

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439932)
(ATTENTION: DID)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-64397) (P)

RE: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS
SM - C
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 4/27/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an 18 page letter written by Subject and found in the effects of GEORGE JACKSON after his death at San Quentin.

This copy was supplied by VERNON S. PICCINOTTI, Investigator, California State Attorney General's Office

*attached pages
not sent to SSC EX-115*

REC-58 5-42110 326

3 MAY 8 1972

ENCLOSURE
② - Bureau (enc. 1)
2 - San Francisco
JWR:mjp (S-2)
(4)

#mde16
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DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALM/ATG

5-2-72

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

7/8 I'm totally intoxicated, overflowing with you and wanting you more than ever before. An hour and a half since the last embrace, you're in your cell, I'm in mine and all this shit is again between us, but yet I feel you in me, on me, all over me; these sensations are all so real, not like memories about to fade. You're still here, I see you, we are one and this indestructible togetherness they'll never be powerful enough to wrest away from us. I do not need to say that I feel envious of you now, your powers of expression. With words effortlessly at my command like you, I'd be able to pour out the thousand pages describing all the nuances of ~~the~~ all those vast feelings I felt today, feelings which have been accumulating over centuries, today infinitely magnified, achieving dimensions of the concrete and now still undiminished in their intensity. Our tremblings and quiverings. Did you notice my shaking legs? And did you know that sometimes as you talked, your lips would begin to tremble, just slightly, almost imperceptibly? That tiny little sight which I saw evoked huge waves of things inside me I never realized were there. That so much love could exist anywhere, in any two people, even between us, I never realized. It makes me feel all fluttery and kind of weak, not, though in the sense of succumbing to weakness, for it makes me feel so much stronger, stronger with your strength without end, my life-long husband. The most perfect moments of my life, that is what today was all about, a perfection screaming for more love and for the battle that must naturally accompany it. Did you notice too those few vague instants of something like fear, not really fear, but flashes of total, almost unconscious absorption of me in you, your love, your body. I had to catch myself, because it seemed that I was falling, losing myself in depths holding nothing but you -- I don't know whether I'm coming across clearly -- falling into you, oblivious of everything else, perhaps completely under your power. A kind of undefined Angst, similar to the way I was instinctively resisting the things I felt during the very first moments our eyes met, our lips spoke. As I was pulling myself together then after the court appearance in Salinas -- or better, as I tried futilely to replace the habitual reigns -- I was struck by a similar sense of ~~inexorably~~ inexorably succumbing to you, just you, being absorbed by that huge beautiful man with whom I had instantly and unexpectedly fallen in love. Yet, George, as I pursue those sensations now, I realize that it was both times not fear, just the vestiges of an irrational desire to leave standing and vaguely erect, ruins of walls which were crumbling to bits. Those walls, you know, could be penetrated and destroyed by no one but you. They're down, gone, all of them, and I'm rejoicing. Did you detect any of these things? I want so terribly to talk about you, but again the words escape me, the words which would correctly articulate all the things I want you to know. The feelings aren't elusive, just the words, the right one. In my mind I say 'beautiful', 'magnificent', 'peerless in every way' 'unparalleled by anyone, anything,' and ~~xxxxx~~ with these generalities ~~xxxxxx~~ make a desperate effort to conjure up those things in you which captivate me, all these utterly inexpressible things which are concrete and real and immediate, but these labels are meaningless; you are infinitely more than all of them can even pretend to infer. Could you feel what I was feeling? This morning, as I had begun earlier to relate to you, this morning, shortly after eight-thirty, as I walked the new yards ~~surrounding~~ in air, it seemed -- from

this cell towards you, towards you, questions, an incalculable number whizzed through my mind. All the millions of pieces I had tried to fit together into a picture xenz which would somehow begin to reflect the reality of the man I love, they would all be there, those and more, in an arrangement perhaps different from the one I envisioned, more perfect than the perfection I had already conceived. I knew before that I would be overwhelmed, that despite all the efforts, all my efforts during our past, you were going to be something more, surpassing all that I had managed to discover before --- but how?? how?? There were also the less profound, though at that moment equally important questions like how your tongue would feel during a prolonged search inside me (the last time was far too brief because I was much too restrained); how would your beautiful body taste to my lips. Would you be as excited and as agitated as I felt myself to be, or would you be cool, cold even (as you insist I'm cold), in your passion. I remembered you sort of on the cool side before. Would you be 'serious' most of the time or loving, playing -- or an exquisite combination of both (as of course you were). The smile xhnx with which you'd greet me, I already knew from memory (it was that giving, inviting smile which captured and melted me before); but if I seemed slightly and uncontrollably unaggressive, how would you react? I mean, slightly unaggressive in kissing and embracing, the external things -- out of habit assumed of necessity long ago -- and though I desperately desired to do and be all the things you wished, I wished (I don't know who wanted it most), I also wanted to avoid all spurious fronts. I wanted to be me, yes me with my flaws and weaknesses (and strengths too). You had to see me this time as I am, natural, completely natural, but at the same time I was afraid that I'd turn out to be something less than the image you've carried with you for so long. It was inevitable that I'd worry and wonder how you'd respond finally face to face with the reality/ Questions, questions, many more, all of which immediately dissolved into the first flaming embrace. (From that moment on and even now, I was on fire). There were so many unanticipated learnings about new things, as your expressions and things behind them when, stealing a glimpse of you out of the corner of my eye, I would catch you watching me when you thought my attention was elsewhere. And more physical things too, like the delectable mole on your forehead just beyond your hairline -- every piece of you is beautiful and delicious, especially your beautiful (or should I say magnificent, too?) soft ass and the harder thing in front. But I was incensed when I remembered that you had forgotten (on purpose?) to allow me a view of those legs; I want to learn every inch of you -- how else will I be prepared to follow every detail of those hours and days of love? Do you think I'm too hung up on things external? -- or were you just a bit embarrassed, a little shy, like me? (A lot of folks proved to be vulnerable to bourgeois modesty today, didn't they, not us, of course -- the others, I mean.) / If you knew what a hard time I'm having tapping out these few words -- my mind wanders into other worlds, worlds full of you, my chin in my hand, reality-fantasies lure me away from this machine and before I know it, the minute-hand on this other machine they've just installed, has made half a revolution. Today, today, though time seemed short, eight hours but a moment, it was a moment containing a happy, loving eternity. Temporarily, I'll say goodbye, goodnight. I'm going

trying to stay in this upright position. I'm going to stretch out on the bed on the floor, whichever is best for you and let loose all that's holding me together. Unrestrained, we'll do again all the things we did today and those things too we could not yet manage. Love you, love you with love even more unbounded, even more unconquerable. Your life-long wife.

6/9 I'm just back from that San Francisco court appearance where these traces of you all over my face and neck were exposed to full view. There're far more conspicuous now than they were yesterday, you know. I guess I have to confess that my initial, and I suppose natural, reaction was to be a bit embarrassed when I saw in those huge dark marks in the mirror this morning. But it goes without saying that those remnants of bourgeois sensibilities were quickly dispelled by irrepressible visions of their meaning. Last night was hours and hours of lying awake savoring the earlier moments of the day. I tried to force myself into sleep and into the dreams I knew were awaiting me, but the hours passed so swiftly that finally I was preparing for the trip to San Francisco and had not once drifted into sleep. Do you realize, George, what you've done to me -- I'm totally under your power, you power-mad male. If there's a concealed television camera in my room, these pigs must have thought I was crazy, lying awake all night, staring at the ceiling, smiling all the time, sometimes startling even myself with bursts of uncontrollable laughter. It's almost as if I were a stranger to myself -- your wife is just not the type to lose control over her emotions, but then, never before have I wanted to give myself without reservations to another. It's later in the evening now. Earlier, as I was writing, I was suddenly attacked by a huge wave of depression which I couldn't ward off.

Am I being selfish or 'mamaish' when I want so desperately for us both to live in order to love together and fight together? Whatever it is, it's all I want and without it I cease to be -- it's just that simple. You were not serious yesterday, George, when you said that if anything should ever happen to you, I should be able to take it in stride? You couldn't have been, unless you profoundly underestimate my love or else profoundly overestimate my ability to be strong and persevere without you. Am I wrong for feeling this way? This was just part of the depression, the other side being more akin to anger than sadness, the anger of having to grapple with the eleven years. I've told you many times before how difficult it is for me to ponder at any great length what you have had to endure -- it seems that I'm becoming increasingly incapable of dealing with the wild, uncontrollable rage brought on by attempts to reconstruct those years. With no immediate outlet, I feel it turning inward, building up inside, eroding things. I know how strong those years have made you -- the dialectics of the situation. While I stand in awe of this terrible, superior man you've become, (something I don't think I can even begin to understand) still my anger remains unassuaged. George, I hate those robots as much as you do, for what they've done to you and all our people entrapped by their maneuverings. But even -- and this is a wild, fictitious 'if' -- even if this were the best of all possible worlds, the unique exception of its goodness being your eleven years past, struggle for me would be just as intense, just as absolute as now in the worst of all possible worlds. These two different faces of the depression I've just described are actually the two controlling factors of my life. I wonder whether they're completely reconcilable, I wonder, because while the one

is utterly inconceivable without the other, the love inconceivable without the hate because I could not love you without being committed to destroying your enemies, your enemies, there still remains for me a sense in which the love is a realm by itself, a sense in which it predominates over all. I want you to understand precisely what I mean, but I don't seem to be able to accurately characterize these awesome feelings which are churning me up inside. It can't be this simple, but let me imagine a situation in which I were confronted with the possibility of annihilating a thousand of our enemies and I knew that with the termination of the whole thing, you would be gone and I'd still be here, here without you, I would either have to say no or become what Huey in his earlier period called a revolutionary suicide. You might think I'm overrationalizing our relationship, but I sort of see a scale of ideals; the supreme rung of course would be us together loving struggling; if this should prove unachievable, then I would want to sacrifice all for you. And this second thing is not the same as saying that "if I can't be with you, I want to die" -- no unnecessary, futile deaths. I'm saying that if with my death I could buy your freedom, it would be a happy, beautiful way to go. The last combination on the scale is nothing less than the final abyss -- no, no, it was not meeting you that was the worst thing event of my life, George, George, it's losing you, losing you. I told you once about a terrifying game I used to play as a child. I'd concentrate all my powers on trying to evoke the presence of nothingness, it was the most frightening thing I could imagine, abstract terror swalling me, not feeling terror, but being it. Perhaps without reason I was a morbid child; but morbid would be far too generous a term to describe the very same sensations, now attendant to each uninvoked reflection upon the prospect of losing you. Is this, then, the irrational, ambivalent love of an overly protective-possessive mother for her child? Is this love turning into its opposite, beckoning you back to the womb? But I want you to wield the sword; it's even presumptuous of me to think that I could offer you what no one can take away, the raison d'etre of your life. If you were not already the mighty warrior that you are, I would not have been so inexorably attracted to you. Though I have become instinctively defensive each time you accuse me of the mama complex (even when it's meant in jest), because I think I'm beginning to fathom the extent to which your life has been so thoroughly fashioned by your struggle against the mater familias, it would be hypocritical of me to continue to conceal what I realize now are immutable desires to possess you. But, George, isn't the kind of possession I'm talking about of a wholly distinct species. It's not, I hope with all my being, the same yearning for possession in face of which you naturally and rightly recoil. I don't know, I just don't know. The more, it seems, I seek some clarity in my own feelings, the more numerous become the facets of this dilemma. The more I determine to discover some answers, the more elusive they become; nothing I do will banish this hopeless feeling of entrapment. But what I am doing? The last thing I want to do is to have you worrying because you think I'm depressed. And there's much too much to be happy about right now -- I'm still floating drunk full of you. Do you mind if I indulge myself for a few minutes and recall those things which make me laugh all over. I like your long, unruly hair and the way it was sticking all up in the front, that

down over your forehead. I like your beautifully sculptured face, the wide, strong cheekbones, the delicious lips, the stray hairs which can't quite pass for a mustache or beard and yes the invisible knot on your forehead and the broken nose with the invisible what-ever-it's-supposed-to-be on the side, the tiny scars next to your eye and that perfectly positioned mole on the tip of your nose. I like your massive chest and the next time, next week, I hope, I'm going to follow the outline of that funny looking Maltese falcon with the tip of my tongue. I like the upper part of your back which I kissed and the lower part which I scratched (did it leave any marks?). And those powerful hands -- I shudder to think of what it's like to be on the receiving end when they're all tensed up in fists, but I know how good they feel in gentle, loving exploration and in those firm embraces of which I only got a hint. Two other areas I've already alluded to, you know which, but then, too, it was only a taste. Try to imagine how anxious I am at this moment. I like your well-molded, terrible arms, now memories and pictures, you didn't show me the real thing yesterday. And your legs, too, I expect to get a glimpse of them very soon. And your voice with the memories of four centuries, it makes things quiver inside me -- and the way you say words that end in 'ny' just like Jon (I told you you'd call me skinny, even though I'm far from it). It all adds up to one thing: I love you George Jackson, every inch on the outside and all the depths and dimensions of your awe-inspiring mind. With this, I'll close for now. please accept this stumbling sometimes misshapen love I'm trying so hard to surrender to you. Ex Goodnight George, your wife sends infinite love.

2/10 Do you realize that you have completely destroyed me? I've done nothing since that last embrace, nothing that's not immediately bound up with you--thinking, dreaming, fantasizing, writing. You'd better catch me, I might very well be going crazy. If this happens, you'll have to accept ~~the~~ the blame. But it's already happened. I'm crazy with love and desire and I guess you're already willing to accept all the consequences. Remember what you were saying about H? I'm not sure whether you were entirely correct, it might be something else; he may have ~~been~~ felt threatened in a different way. In any event, ~~he~~ ~~has~~ been acting sort of strange lately. Actually, I've seen him only briefly -- yesterday during the court appearance in San Francisco. He was unusually reticent, he snapped at me a couple of times and looked really depressed. It may have had something to do with what was going down in the courtroom, yet the fact that he told S. that he had been extremely depressed after the meeting made me think that that may have had something to do with ~~his~~ his attitude yesterday. Apparently he told S. that he was upset that we had to carry out our 'private life' under the scrutiny of the pigs. But you aren't supposed to become despondant about a thing like that; you're supposed to be enraged. I'm going to discuss the whole thing with him when the next time he comes in -- when that'll be, I don't know, he hasn't given any indication that he wants to see me. So you think I'm 'bourgeois'? I thought I had explained all that away, but, since we made a vow of complete and total honesty, I'll tell you something which is probably going to strengthen whatever suspicions you had before. I like to listen to classical music -- this bad habit dates back to my high school days and I just can't ~~xxx~~ I'm listening

months, they decided to cease resisting my requests for a radio; it was delivered to me yesterday. I discovered this really fantastic classical music station that plays primarily the stuff I like most -- Renaissance and Baroque music. Are you laughing out loud? I don't tell many people about this anachronistic habit, but somehow or another I became accustomed to working by that kind of music during my high school and college days. For some reason, I find it soothing and settling. I think I may have told you about my thorough; neurotic sophomore year at Brandeis when I locked myself in my dormitory room for practically the entire year, absorbed in stuff like the thousands of pages of Proust's *A la Recherche du Temps perdu* (The English title sounds funny, I think -- In Remembrance of Things Past -- did you ever read any of it?) Schopenhauer's morbidly pessimistic philosophy, the ultimate conclusion of which is that in order to solve the problems of life, to combat the irrational Will that is embodied in every living thing, human beings ought to all become sexually abstemious ^(as, e.g., the Buddhists) and the human race will eventually die out. Then there was Nietzsche and Bergson, etc., etc., all absorbed against the background of Bach, Vivaldi, Scarlatti, Handel, Mozart, etc., etc. I roomed that year with this Swedish girl who'd spend most of her time -- days and nights at her boyfriend's place, so I could enjoy almost total solitude. Now, you'll probably think me crazier than ever, but remember that this was the period of the neurotic, long-distance entanglement with the German. By now, I've purged my system of practically all that shit, but this passion for Baroque music never left me. Jon knew, he never failed to make fun of me whenever he caught me in the midst of one of those sessions. It's memorialized in that film that French woman did -- she came over to the house on Raymond one day to take some shots and caught me working to the tune of -- I think it was also one of the Brandenburg Concertos. When she filmed me sitting at my desk, I didn't know the sound system was picking up the music. When I insisted that the sound should be cut out, they said people would think that the music had been added by the filmmaker anyway. Enough of this -- you now know another one of my funny little idiosyncrasies. / It's strange, though, how confinement stimulates memories you think are already irretrievably buried under all the muck of the past. These last ^{nine} months lack their temporal dimension; things don't even appear to happen sequentially in here, just one undifferentiated experience, all now revolving around July 8. I'm talking about just months, incapable of surmounting the dizziness evoked by the excruciating knowledge that you've accumulated more years than I have months. Yes I remember very vividly the argument about who it was that called the pigs down upon you, I remember the kick and the disapproving expression. I think he meant that whoever did it, she knew then that it was the product of a failure to resist being manipulated by our enemies. You know, I wished I'd been able to communicate more with Robert when the occasions presented themselves. With both of us being sort of naturally aloof, we never really tore down the walls. -- I recall one particular day when I had this uncontrollable desire to lay myself bare before him; I wanted to tell him how hopelessly in love with you I was, how beautiful and too how painful; how I had vowed to dedicate my life, my being to one thing: you, your freedom, our love. But I just wasn't prepared at that time, the stammering and stammering never became anything coherent. But I did manage to tell him that he had fathered a man who was a unique specimen of ^{kind} in every way imaginable; a brilliant

thinker and writer, the epitome of the perfect revolutionary, a man equal to any task placed before him. Did you know about the little things Robert used to do for me -- like buying me cartons of Gauloises which were hard to find in L.A., bringing little things back from the pharmacy where he worked, having my car repaired when it broke down. I felt a real warmth sometimes. Like the evening we all sat around plowing through volumes of old family photographs and he'd carefully reveal the identity of each figure and the occasion of the picture. Always he would say that if only he knew how, what to do to set you loose from the chains, the concrete, the steel, he wouldn't hesitate for a moment. In a lot of ways he's a really beautiful man. You shouldn't allow his weaknesses to completely overshadow his strengths; he's lived so long in a world ~~that's~~ designed to distort and confound. So have we all. I'm certain you don't have to look very far to discover traces of that in me, in every other person around you. I don't want to rekindle unpleasant memories but when he gave his approval to the plan to transfer you to Folsom, it could not have been merely out of a slavish desire to please the authorities; in some way it must have been a contorted expression of his love for you. He loves you deeply, all his children -- it's so clear. I'm thinking of things for which I hated my parents so much as a child. And while I ~~have~~ hesitate to compare my experiences to yours which have been so much more intense, more painful and have made you so much stronger, there is, perhaps a vague kind of analogy. As, for instance, when my mother forced me into being a eight-year dedicated Girl Scout (which I never became, of course, at least not the dedicated part.) I was pushed through the whole gamut: Brownies, Intermediate G.S., Senior G.S. I did enjoy ~~it~~ roughing it -- camping out in the woods, hiking, etc, but could not tolerate all the trappings that went along with it. Not because I was at that age anti-American, but out of an instinctive revulsion. The ~~year~~ summer before I left the South for high school in New York, there was a Girl Scout "Roundup" in the hills of Colorado where thousands and thousands of insipid girls from all over the world would ~~be~~ participate in inane ceremonial activities for a few weeks. I refused to be one of the eight or nine Blackfigures from B'ham to legitimize this event, but my mother insisted -- we fought and fought and finally she threatened not to send me to school (at this point it was HS in N.Y. or Fisk) the coming fall or anytime in the future. So I went to this ridiculous affair, a combination of flag ceremonies, being struck by lightning and trying to keep out of the path of the well-represented Lesbians. The story of my early life can be culled from incidents like this. Finally I broke loose and did what I wanted to do. But I could break loose. In a sense in which you couldn't. My futile fantasies: Why couldn't our positions have been reversed. Out in the streets you would have made so much more of your life than I have of mine; you would have been so much more of an asset to our people. I say this fighting ~~the~~ tears of rage. Before I sat down to the typewriter today, M came in with some material she wanted me to review before she returns this evening to pick it up. ~~The last thing in the world I feel like doing right now, but I promised and she'll be disappointed if the thing is untouched when she returns -- I guess I should try to at least go through the motions of looking that stuff over.~~ Its later now. I was about to tell you again how much I love you before I began work on that pamphlet when they told me ~~that~~ Fania was here. For some strange reason, they per-
mitted her to bring Esa (two months old now) into the attorney's

revolutionary grabbed . I told Fania that we'd make arrangements for her to be present at the next meeting. H. came out too - for a while. Seemed in much better spirits than yesterday. Yesterday may have been his first real experience before a ~~xxxx~~ genuine California fascist judge, the kind that stands with his profile to the audience while the bailiff announces him, then clicks his heels, rotates around and takes his seat. Of course he refused to listen to anything H had to say. That may explain his attitude of yesterday; in any event, I asked him whether he was 'embarrassed' about Thursday and how he felt about it in general. His reply: he was upset and mad that we couldn't just be together, you and I, away from the leering faces of those pigs. He wanted, he said, to do something similar to ~~thaxxxSaxxx~~ what those South American guys did - the ones we we talked about briefly - but, he said, he felt so powerless at that moment. He left with a comment about how painful the meetings must be, kindling up desires that can't be consummated, not immediately, at least. He loves you, I'm sure of it, though he might feel slightly competitive in ways other than what you talked about. I've noticed, for instance, how impressed he is each time he reads one of your articles. He also identifies with you very strongly. / George I love you I love you, and I just want to keep saying it over and over. George, tell me exactly what you meant when you said that physical love was not that important. That love does not need the act, that the act is not a sine qua non of love? That is true. Our love is already total, without boundaries, but what more perfect way to express a very important part of it? Immediately following your answer to that question, I would like you to tell me every detail of those first hours beginning with me on my face, you on top, my feet entwined about your neck - - and don't forget about the missing chair, you beautiful man. / A scene frozen in my mind: I am standing in the little glass cubicle downstairs, standing waiting loving desiring and then hot-cold rage when the chains begin to rattle as you slowly descend the stairs surrounded by that small army of mindless but armed automatons. I, your wife, your comrade, who's supposed to love you fight with you fight for you. I'm supposed to rip off the chains, I'm supposed to fight your enemies with my body, but I am helpless, powerless, I contain the rage inside, I do nothing, I stand there watching ~~xxxxxx~~ forced to assume the posture of a disinterested spectator, the whole scene perceived through glass, laboratory-like, mad at them for thrusting this thing upon me, mad at myself for doing nothing. Mad at myself too because I could not fail to see how much counterforce you were exerting upon yourself: each step, long hard unwilling to be restrained by chains and pigs, your entire body, with each foot movement, in a hard sway and the muscles of your face tensing with each sway. As I reexperience this now my pulse beats faster, I begin to breathe harder and I see myself tearing down this steel door, fighting my way to you, ripping down your cell door and letting you go free. I feel as you do, so terrible is this love. / George I love everything about you -- there were so many things I'd planned to tell you for which there just wasn't enough time. I wanted to tell you how beautiful your P.S. on Ulysses was. It's inconceivable that any Black man or woman who's half-way sane can avoid, after the slightest contact, ~~xxxxxx~~ falling madly in love with you. This is why I often wonder whether I deserve to have so much of you. And I'm not really jealous ~~wham~~ of all the female attention that's centered on you. They should fall in love with you - they'd be crazy if they didn't. Sometimes I wonder how ~~loved~~ another woman as you loved me. /

would of course be painful, but I would not love you less and would not be spiteful. Only if you stopped loving me would I be hopelessly crushed/ Since this whole letter is more stream-of-consciousness than anything, I might as well tell you about a strange kind of thing I recalled as I thought of your loving me and another woman simultancously. There was a man, a German, a sculptor who called himself a revolutionary who lived in the factory structure adjacent to the one I lived in. He had two wives - one older, one very young. Mary Bach had an entire factory floor to herself, the older one with two children, the younger with one. While they lived separately more or less, their meals were taken communally and the man would shuttle between the two lofts at his own pleasure. Despite the wierd arrangement they were thought to have a relationship far less fucked-up than the norma~~m~~ monogamous kind -- so people thought and so they themselves insisted. But one of the last times I saw them, they were all three on a tram, apparently going out together, but very untogether, sitting apart each showering nasty looks on the other two. Probably, each of the women should have had another man/ But even if you did love another woman, I know I could never love another man, but, still, I wouldn't be spiteful. ~~kk~~ I'd better stop this -- you might think I'm encouraging you to go out and find another woman. And while we're on this subject, did you remeber that in that letter to Robert I was telling you about Thursday, you told him how ~~xxxxxx~~ crushed you'd be if I ever married another man for life. I wanted to write you immediately and tell you that that was one thing you wouldn't have to worry about -- but I didn't know whether you would have approved of Robert having shown me the letter. / Do you know how elated I was when I first discovered that you loved me? I've told you before, but I feel like talking about it once more. I think I was sort of embarassed when your mother and sisters first told me that you were 'in love with me.' You said Thursday something like you fell in love with a picture -- I thought then that you had probably fallen upon a picture which made me look better than my actual appearance and that you weren't that serious at all. But, then at that time I did not know George Jackson. He was an abstract figure, a brother I had to fight with and for. Even then I felt good each time one of your family said something about how you felt about me, but I didn't know how to respond to something so remote. Until I saw you...and stunned, I just stared the entire time. I felt sort of stupid and schoolgirlis as I watched you diligently sifting through a stack of papers while I was falling, falling and thinking to myself at the same time: he's hardly aware I exist. There were the big smiles and the brief interchange during the recess when I was timid and stuttering. Did you notice me during a second recess standing a few yards from the barrier waiting for some sign of invitation, at least recognition ~~for~~ you who were then surrounded by so many others. My pretext for a second chance with you was Dearmon, whom I was going to introduce to you (the sister you thought was my sister -blood, that is.). But you didn't seem to notice me and disappointed, I eventually had to leave. All the time I was sort of admonishing myself to stop acting like a young love-struck girl experiencing her first great infatuation. Just contr yourself, you'll soon get over it. That's what I kept telling myself ~~kk~~ during the trip back and the next few days in L.A. But there was the second love bolt when I read the letter Betsy handed me at that anti-war rally in Monterrey where Frances and I spoke. As I skimmed

love message. So I excused myself, saying I had left something in the car on the other side and tried to slip away from the brother who was acting as security for me. He followed me, of course, but I was able to make some excuse so he'd at least allow me a few minutes alone in the car. He was probably watching the expressions on my face, but I paid no attention to anything except handwriting telling me you loved me (which I still couldn't bring myself to really believe), words so alive, so clearly beginning to unveil the reality of the man who had so totally captivated me. During the trip back -- we took the seaside road through fog and curving mountain ways, and green woods and water -- I was beside myself with a then inexplicable kind of happiness and I pried from Frances everything about you she would divulge. The serious, detached side of me was all the while observing that spectacle ~~xxxx~~ in disbelief. / I must stop now for the day. Loving you and growing ever more impatient....

7/11 I've been trying to wait until the Sunday visitors come and leave, whoever they are, because this thing really shouldn't be in the typewriter when I leave the room, nor should they see me trying to conceal it. But visiting begins at noon and it's already after 1 and I'm sitting here, still dreaming. Actually I'm not in the mood to make conversation with strange faces today. Hopefully no one will show. / Before anything else is said, let me tell you about that other thing I dig about you so much: the way you laugh, loud, clear, unabashed. Last night after lights went off, it started again, grew and grew until finally the whole cell was full of the way you laugh. I stretched out on the bed, put my face in the pillow, and joined you in your laughing, laughing because we love, but too laughing at the stupidity of these pigs surrounding us who are convinced that the order they're paid to protect is absolute and invulnerable, laughing at what you said about them: the only real problem they'll present is that there'll be too many holes to dig. I guess I'm still high. / One visitor has come and gone: Ronnie Stevens, a Black cat in the CP who writes now for the PW and is supposed to be working on the campaign. He used to work with the Panthers -- there're a couple of interesting things about him I'll tell you whenever we can get together after all the present shit is dealt with, as the graves are being dug. As for the other visitor -- it's a white cat from the Party who was a schoolmate of mine at Elisabeth Irwin in NY, whom I saw, the last time in Cuba. I don't really feel like talking about party-related things and people, so I'll drop this for now. / But marginally party-unrelated is an interesting statement Rosa Luxemburg made while she was in a German prison in 1917 -- I've been meaning to convey it to you for a long time, because I think it essentially describes your (my, too?) posture towards the mass movement as opposed to the Party's. This, she said in a letter to a friend who was apparently disillusioned by the apathy of the German working class: "There is nothing more subject to rapid change than human psychology. The Psyche of the masses embraces a whole world, a world of almost limitless possibilities: breathless calm and raging storm; base treachery and supreme heroism. The masses always represent what historical conditions make of them at a given moment, and the masses are always profoundly capable of being very different to what they may appear at any given moment. It's a poor navigator who steers his ship by the superficial weather signs around him, and fails to use the means science has given him to foresee

Disappointment' in the masses is always a com-

spirit of the masses, but on the inexorable laws of historical development. He will steer his course by these laws in defiance of all disappointments and he will rely on history to bring about the gradual maturing of his actions." She was a fantastic woman. That so little attention has been paid to her works is probably attributable to irrational male fears as well as to the fact that she was an innovative Marxist--/ Second visitor has now come and gone. As I was talking to him a chicano brother slipped over (usually they don't allow anyone else near the women's visiting section when I'm out there) -- he said he had not too long been out of San Quentin and was working with Luis Talamantez and George Jackson and the other brothers over there, which gave me the chance to say a few words in praise of my husband. On the subject of other brothers at Q, I asked Fania yesterday to make contact Ericka so she can get some word to Hugo Pinell. Fania will ask her to try to arrange a visit if it's possible. I'll now return to some of the little things we talked about on Thursday -- you don't like my shaven legs. You know, before I shaved them for the first time since December, I was thinking about asking you whether it was OK with you, but I figured that you didn't want to be bothered with such trivia. But since you did mention it, I'd like to know what you get out of hairy legs. Most Black men say that hairy legs are supposed to be sexy, the hairier the better; what's this all about? I can remember way back during my elementary school days, all the older boys would drool over the music teacher who had extraordinarily large, extraordinarily hairy legs. I started shaving mine after a short while at this almost all-white High School in N.Y. -- simply because all the white girls did. (Interruption -- Visit from Howard) The problem now is that after so many years with the razor, the hair is hard, stiff and much too abundant -- before where there was one hair, there are now two or three. Outside my pants and boots always conceal what I have always thought to be rather funny looking legs -- but if you insist that I leave them as they are, I guess the matter is closed. / On the subject of hair, what should I do with this mess on top of my head. You seemed to want to be able to see more of my face (I think: the more concealed, the better). Should I try to get some of it hacked off? Whatever you say. Yours is beautiful. I had intended to steal some of it from you Thursday, because I didn't get to keep the first strands you sent me. Remind me the next time if I get so wound up in you that I like Thursday past I forget all the things I've planned for the session. I've been promised, incidentally, that the day is Thursday again, this time with Ruchell, an John and Fleeta. Do you think we'll be too many people for the cubicle downstairs? Howard will not make it more than likely -- he'll be away in New York for a few days. Actually Franklin & Kendra will still be back east too, so all of us, Margaret, Fania and I guess that's it, unless there has to be a lawyer representing each of us. If the meeting can't be arranged for this Thursday, then there'll be big problems stemming from our court appearances -- all next week more than likely. In fact I think Friday will be the only free day next week. Do you think that your investigator could come on Saturday if it doesn't come off for this week so we could get together on Friday of next week? In any event, ~~we will, for the time being, shoot for~~ Thursday. / I assumed you noticed in this morning's paper the advertisement for a series the Examiner is doing on me. I can imagine that it'll be an elaboration on that article Life did last summer -- of course the parasites are going to project things like the relationship with

that by now they would have already scraped the bottom in things pertaining to my personal life. I wouldn't be surprised, however, if the Germany guy consented to give them an interview on all kinds of things that would have been better left unsaid. George, you never have told me how you relate to that whole affair --- on that tape I heard in NY you said something about not having enough privacy to talk about such things, but really how does it make you feel that I was once involved not only with a white man but even worse, with a German. Is it so repulsive that you don't want to think about it? That's the way I feel. After I broke with him, I trained myself to think of that period of my life only as an aberration --- I've completely repressed whatever pleasures, no matter how slight, were incidental to that era. I've never described in detail the events which precipitated the catastrophic decision to tie myself to that man. (I get the feeling I might be boring you - if so, just skip this whole section) Actually, I think I have ~~xxxxxx~~ related some of these events to you, but not as the backdrop against which that absurd affair was conceived. At Brandeis, my first year, I found myself thoroughly confused, searching for things the ~~known~~ contours of which I was not yet aware. Surrounded by neurotic white people who got their kicks from suicide attempts, fucking in front of picture windows, driving themselves to verges of insanity competing with one another for new records in time spent in library carrels. I could not grapple with all this madness, had trouble relating to most of the white folks (there were about five or six Blacks amid thousands of whites). During the first days of that school year I happened into a group of crazy foreign students - Africans, Latin Americans, Indians, Vietnamese, Philipinos and all kinds of Europeans - French, Greeks, Italians, Swedes and yes Germans. Some of the people were really beautiful. I remember taking an older Philipino woman (she was 23-24ish and I was 17) under my wing. She was at first culture-shocked, having, for instance, never been alone with a man, not to mention having kissed one. And there was an extraordinarily beautiful Vietnamese woman who was eventually deported from the U.S. because of her political activities and I attended North Vietnamese meetings with her later in Paris. There were crazy Greeks whom I later encountered in the streets of Athens where I had run away to from Frankfurt, trying to get as far away from people I knew with only my thumb to take me. / But I'm going off on tangents, for I was about to tell you how wild and flippant even I was during the first few months of Brandeis. Confused, as I said, disoriented, dissatisfied, but not in a position to pinpoint the underlying causes nor to project solutions, I became abstractly rebellious, ostentatiously assailing authority in whatever form it appeared --- this in spite of my 'aloofness' or 'reserve' or whatever you choose to call it. As when, for no apparent political reason, I decided to attend a formal dance in my jeans (my uniform during that time, jeans and Army-Navy store turtlenecks). There were also the wild parties the foreign students would have, waking up the entire campus after curfew with loud Greek dances curving all over the particular area where the thing was taking place. ~~I remember one incident which was particularly~~ funny --- the occasion was an affair given by some staid old respectable community woman to honor the foreign students. With this other girl, I crashed it; we went in and began to fill our purses with all the meticulously arranged throughout the house.

stuffed them with food and quickly departed. There was another, more serious incident, which I think I may have mentioned to you last year -- The same girl and I left campus one weekend with not particular place to go and with nothing to take us there, no money, no nothing. We decided, once off the campus that we'd head ~~xxxxxx~~ North, perhaps to Gloucester, Mass, simply because the ~~xxxxxx~~ rocky beaches and fishermen's wharves were aesthetically pleasing. (We had signed out for New York, because you could only leave campus overnight if you gave an address and tel# where you could be reached.) By the time we had hitched to Gloucester, we were of course hungry, but had no more than ten or twenty cents, so we scanned the area for a gullible restaurant owner who would give us a free meal. When we offered in this tiny seaside restaurant to wash dishes in exchange for a solid meal, the old man was so moved that he ordered his waitress to bring us anything we wanted and conveniently forgot the ~~xxxxxx~~ washing part. We ate, walked around, absorbed the sights, but then decided that ~~xxxxxx~~ it would probably be disastrous for us to sleep on the rocks as we'd planned -- it was Novemberish and close to freezing outside. So we spent our pennies for coffee while we tried to define the alternatives open for the night ahead. The decision was to return to Brandeis, to make a longer story shorter, but after we'd hitched the hundred miles or so, it was after curfew and we couldn't be caught galavanting about the campus. A friend in the men's dormitory right off the highway was kind enough, after we aroused him, to spend the night in another room and give us his two beds for the next few hours. Things worked out perfectly, until sometime later in the week a snitch told the woman's dean that we had not gone to N.Y. and had, in fact, violated one of the most sacred rules of the university by spending the night surrounded by men. Followed a prolonged affair, threats to expell us, our trying to convince the dean that we had not in fact slept in the men's dorm, but had gone there ~~xxxxxx~~ early that morning, after having slept with the rocks in Gloucester. The most humiliating part about it all was the trial -- before a disciplinary board composed of frigid white girls who insisted that we had compromised the honor of the university by accepting rides with strange men and wandering alone in strange places. It was humiliating, but outwardly I laughed at them, mocked them and called them all kinds of subtle names. By then, the charges of sleeping in the men's dormitory had been dismissed, but they gave us the stiffest sentence for the other offense -- we were confined to our dorm rooms after dinner for each day during the ~~xxxxxx~~ following months....[I've decided to watch the news on the T.V. set they just installed, but I'll be returning soon.]

7/12 Didn't make it back last night. It was the first time I've been allowed any contact with the other women in the jail; the three in the 'felony cell' were eager to talk so I stayed back there until almost ten. Two are in on drug charges and the other for the con game. This last one really puzzles me; I can't figure out whether she's Black or white. She looks white, long straight hair, etc. but if you heard her on the telephone you'd swear that she was Black -- not only the jargon, but intonation, everything. But I've met white women before who've grown up with Blacks all their lives and sound the same way. Maybe I'll ask her -- or Len Holt, who's supposed

it seems, so I'll close it with a one-sentence ending: The German I had despised before for his German arrogance and his intellectual aloofness, I accepted finally as an anchor, an excuse for embracing what I then took to be things more serious. But I'll not say more unless ~~xxx~~ there's something in it which captures your interest. / I'm expecting M shortly; she is planning to see you today or tomorrow, so she said the last time I saw her. I certainly hope this long thing hasn't bored you too much and I hope too that you are beginning to see that my love for you can never be anything short of total. Love always, your wife. / So it was not yet goodbye after all -- M. did not show today and I feel drawn back to you. Seriously George, do you think I ~~x~~ might be on the verge of something like love-induced insanity? I am still not fit for anything. Today during a conference with Howard and the attorney who has prepared the appeal on the bail motion I had to gather up all my energies and powers of concentrations simply in order to keep my attention focused on the subject of the discussion. All these continual wanderings towards you are irrepressible. But let me relate a rather amusing anecdote: My mother unexpectedly appeared today and of course one of her first comments had to do with the markings on my face and neck. Now I'm sure you've begun to detect this strange unreality that pervades between us whenever matters pertaining to things sexual are at issue. Myself, I always regress to adolescence when I have to discuss such things with her. And she is always so naive that I find her virtually impossible to communicate with. Her question today: What is that on your face as she leaned over to touch it. I looked at Howard helplessly, I guess, as I felt my whole face turning red. Don't laugh at me. Anyway, I mumbled something under my breath about having hurt myself and then started to laugh. Howard, of course, called me a liar. So I said: you know, mother, ~~x~~ George and I were together for eight hours the other day, it's where he 'kissed' me. Dig her reaction, only my mother would say something like this: What happened?, did he accidentally burn you with a cigarette? By then, I felt like going through the floor. Howard saved the day by explaining to her that you have extraordinarily hot lips and that if she looked more closely she ~~could~~ actually make out your lip prints in three places. She's in another world. But she's been really beautiful around this whole affair -- yesterday, some kind of a bomb (a little one) exploded a few yards away from her during an L.A. rally and there was a bomb threat during one the day before. She should be used to bombs by now -- for years the area where the house in B'hara is located was called Dynamite Hill. / When I suggested that thing about our having a more public marriage ceremony, it was conceived only for its publicity value. The first vow was absolute, it fused us for life and if we did have a ceremony, we would not be more married than we are now; it would only be an affirmation of what already exists for the benefit of others. And then, too, I've always disagreed with those among the lawyers who, for the purposes of the case, do not want to concede that the relationship exists, because they feel that that might be Harris' strongest point. Whether or not it's true that it's ~~xxx~~ the most compelling element of his case, I'm certain he has access to an abundance of evidence concerning ~~xxx~~ us and our love since at the House of D you were my favorite subject and I couldn't resist ~~xxx~~ our marriage that day ~~xxx~~ I heard you say yes yes and ~~xxx~~ George I love you, ~~x~~/ George George

I have been meaning to ask you this little thing for months and months, since I read the manuscript of your book, actually almost a year. Why on February 19, 1968 did you serve notice to Robert that you did not wish to be addressed by your first name, that you preferred Lester? I always wondered. Two months later you begin again to sign your letters, George. I wondered too whether I should call you just George or like Jon and the rest of your family, George Lester. Names are strange. When I was a freshman at Brandeis, I too decided that I didn't want to be known as Angela and introduced myself always as Yvonne. Did you know that at one time Jon was going to assume another name? He was considering one which has left my memory -- as it turned out it meant something like little cowboy in Spanish, after the young brother who convinced Che to include him in his group. You know who I'm referring to? -- he was 15 or 16 and fell during a decisive battle before the revolution was won. I think Jon decided that ~~xxxxxx~~ he was too big to ~~so~~ call himself 'little' anything. / Jon- I never realized that there were so many physical similarities between you two. Alike in every other way, yes, but I didn't know, for instance that your behinds are almost identical in shape and position and the folds in your chest, they kept reminding me of Jon. Also in the way you talk, there is more to it than the way you say 'ny' - tone, inflection, even the hesitations. But then some of this may be projection, a desire to rediscover Jon, whom I love so deeply, in you. / M just phoned to say that she'll be coming tomorrow for sure. I hope. She'll also try to have the order altered to allow Fania and Kendra to attend the meeting which I think is now definitely scheduled for this Thursday. H. said earlier that he had given them notice here and M will inform Parks tomorrow as well as John's Fleeta's and Ruchell's lawyers. I wonder if they all have to be present. I certainly hope not. / I should stop this, I'm probably wasting precious moments of ~~xxx~~ your time rambling on like this only because I want to continue to feel as close to you as we were on Thursday. George you are really destroying me, can't you see. If you don't figure out some way of pulling me out of this, I'll be useless until we ~~xxxxxx~~ we are finally rejoined for ~~xxxx~~ the duration of our lives. Do you realize that I've dropped everything I was involved prior to Thursday. And I just remembered that I was asked to have a statement ready for today, -- for this group of artists ~~xx~~ working around the case. William Marshall (the Black actor - do you know him) asked me for it long ago. Did I tell you that last year he had asked me to accompany him to Mexico during the Xmas vacation where he had to do some work on a film? I finally found something which may make you a little jealous!! But that was before you - and I politely declined. But he's a good man, kind of handsome, too, tall and huge. You know I'm just saying this to get back at you, because I can't manage to feel so much as a twinge of attraction for any other man. / I can't fight this compulsion - another page is close to complete. -- But, seriously, I'm going to end now -- I promised the other women I'd bring them some books and things this evening and I guess I'll watch the 6 o'clock news. So I'll put this away reluctantly and reaffirming this mad mad love ~~xxxx~~ and the pains of separation. I love you totally. Your wife.

7/16 That was a vicious note I just received, that and some of your most recent comments that were just conveyed to me. Will you tell me what is going on? I'm 'beautiful but misled, beautiful but under the wrong influences.' And you talk about a calculated plan to disrupt and divide which would have been avoided had you not been dissuaded by me earlier in the year from bringing a certain scheme to fruition. I hope you recall what I said at the time about Fania, Margaret, Kendra and Franklin because I'm not going to go through the ritual of repeating it again. My feelings in that regard remain unaltered. That you could decided that Fania, Kendra and I were involved in a calculated move against you is beyond my comprehension. Even now I keep reaching for that note, staring at it in disbelief. George, you've dealt me a blow that hurts with an intensity as great as the love I feel for you. I can't feel angry, it just hurts with terrible piercing pains. There's nothing that could make me stop loving you, but I see now how easily that love can destroy me. How could you do this George? You did not even attempt to answer Penny when she asked how it was possible that I might have been involved in or at least have assented to what you have interpreted as 'an effort to divide and disrupt.' / Listen George---the only reason Fania and Kendra were at that meeting at all was because I in had so strongly insisted. Like me they have been extremely concerned about the lack of political work around your case. You knew from the outset that their position differed from yours; that's why I can't understand that you would interpret conversations that had with Fleeta and John about their assessment of the situation as a clandestine attempt to draw them away from you. I suppose you think that I was there occupying you the entire time in order to detract your attention from the other discussions that were transpiring. I don't believe you. You said nothing to me when I questioned Fleeta in your presence about his feelings about the committee. But I suppose I'm the only one you even permit to articulate legitimate political disagreements before you. What makes this whole thing hurt so much is that I'm certain that were it not for this thing called love that's supposed to be between us, you would have by now turned against me just as viciously as you've turned against my sister and Kendra. And you wonder why people are apprehensive when they confront you. You know that Kendra and Franklin knew about those plans--you had told about five people that I know of and the word was all around. You recall I suppose that I was reluctant to tell you the reasons she was 'scared' when she visited you. I should have told you about the long thing she, Franklin and I went through after they had discovered that you had sent the word out on them, but I did not want to kindle up bad memories. I should have, and certainly would have said something about it if I had realized that you would start talking in those terms again... Do you have any other plans from Kendra and Fania besides ~~xxxxxxx~~ adding their names to the Panther Blacklist? George I can't stop loving you, but how can I face my sister who I know would never do anything she thought was detrimental to you./ Just hours ago I was still drunk with love, anxiously awaiting your message, but a few lines and a few words were enough to send me plummeting into agony. I have not been able to get past that little note dated today. You have paralyzed me. Under any circumstances I'll love you to the end, but things are closing in and I'm convinced that if they continue

we saw each other when we did -- it makes me realize that I have
not always been as alone as I feel at this moment. I doubt whether
I'll ever fully recover from the shock that you think so little of
me....

7/22 This has been a week I didn't think I would be able to survive. Not for many months have I been so depressed. Since I received word that you had, if only tentatively, placed me in the adversary camp, so many other things around me have crumbled, but I don't think this is an appropriate time to bother you with all the details of my troubles. You're the only one who can bring me out of states like this, but there's this huge thing between us. Even on this level of communication, I feel extremely uncomfortable. I don't love you less -- that's something beyond my control. But I just can't go on like this. Please be kind to me and let me know immediately what this whole thing is all about. / I guess I really was angry when I wrote this letter of the 16th. The anger has more or less subsided, although I essentially feel the same things I expressed in that anger; the anger has given way to this unabated depression. If someone sees you tomorrow, please send back some word. I love you, but do you feel the same as before?

7/23 I hope you're feeling better than I. Send some message today before things deteriorate any further. I love you George; we've got to get this thing together.

7/30 These last two weeks have been awful in every way. The full impact of your note and the discussion you had with M still isn't clear to me, except that people on the committee (Davis) are being told that they are not to mention even casually your name, John's Fleeta's, Jon's Xmas', McClain's or Ruchell's. / I don't know whether that is supposed to apply to me or not. As I said before, I really couldn't believe that you would ever accuse me (Fania & Kendra too) of consciously working against you. John's visit the other day did not help matters much -- the only message he brought was that you 'assumed' that since you hadn't heard anything from me, that I was not involved in whatever it is that is supposed to have happened. This whole thing is still weighing so heavily on me that it is difficult to talk about anything else. These last two weeks, I've done nothing and have hardly been able to think about anything else. I'm a wreck...but only because I love you so unreservedly.

8/5 How long has it been now, three weeks almost? The whole time I've been as if in a daze, going through the motions of things which have long since lost all meaning, desperately trying to reach you, but failing in each attempt. M has been reluctant to come, because of what occurred the last time -- I had persuaded H, who for quite different reasons appears to want to avoid direct contact with you, but when he got there last week, you were in court. John promised he'd come by, but I've seen nor heard nothing of him. I think that M will try to see you today, I think, I hope. / There's not even Ruchell anymore to at least assure me that nothing drastic has happened. It's been a night mare and I've not been able to keep myself from falling into those deep depressions. Since I couldn't receive any word from you, I was all prepared to set up a meeting for last week or was it week before. In any event, J told me that you didn't want to come just now. He didn't know why except that you wanted to save the last one for later. John is here now -- I'd like to hear from you soon. -- Love you

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LA 157-2325

Instant report is being submitted instead of LHM as per FD-01 dated 3/27/69 to facilitate handling.

An extra copy of this report with appropriate FD-376 and photograph for Secret Service are being furnished the Bureau in the event DAVIS is included in the Security Index. Los Angeles has prepared an extra copy of the report and FD-376 with photograph and will furnish to Secret Service, Los Angeles on Bureau approval.

No interview with DAVIS is being recommended. DAVIS is presently living with DEACON ALEXANDER (STANLEY SAMUEL ALEXANDER), Los Angeles file 100-70526, Bureau file 157-10023 currently on the Los Angeles Security Index and the Los Angeles Agitator Index. It is felt an interview would result in possible embarrassment to the Bureau.

This report is being classified Confidential because it contains information from informants which if disclosed could reasonably result in their disclosure and compromise their future effectiveness.

Records of the Jefferson County Board of Health, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, Birmingham, Alabama, were viewed by the Birmingham Division.

Records of the Drivers License Section, California Department of Motor Vehicles, were caused to be reviewed by IC FREDERICK M. FREEMAN, Sacramento Division, with negative results.

Records of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office were reviewed by IC MERTON R. ANDERSON.

Records of the Los Angeles Police Department were reviewed by IC MILLARD T. ANDERSON.

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COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

Records of the Los Angeles Traffic Court were reviewed by Special Employee GAREY D. POWELL.

Records of the Retail Merchants Credit Association, Los Angeles, California, were reviewed by IC BERNARD P. BLAIS.

Records of the Los Angeles County Voters Registration were reviewed by Special Employee GAREY D. POWELL.

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will upon Bureau approval include DAVIS in the Security Index, and disseminate copy of this report to Secret Service.

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Will submit results of investigation per referenced letter dated 3/27/69.

SAN DIEGO

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA: Will submit results of investigation per referenced letter dated 3/27/69.

INFORMANTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
LA T-1 Records Clerk UCSD San Diego, California	157-2325-11
LA T-2 (CSLA 3184-S)	157-2325-13

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COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

LA T-3
~~LA 4131-S~~

157-2325-55
Orally to SA CHARLES K. JOHNSON
on 3/29/69

134-1210A-563
-599

LA T-4
~~HO 1266-R~~

157-2325-16

LA T-5
~~LA 4359-S~~

134-2004A-582

LA T-6
~~LA 4322-S~~

134-1606A-621

LA T-7
~~LA 3484-S~~

Orally to SA DAVID R. PENDER
on 12/4/68

134-107A-732 through 740

LA T-8
~~LA 3655-S~~

134-262A-766 through 804

LA T-9
~~LA 3633-S~~

134-195A-985 through 1020

LA T-10
~~LA 4688-S~~

Orally to SA THEODORE J. A'HEARN
on 7/23/68

134-2702A-618

LA T-11
~~LA 3663-S~~

134-37A-915 through 1003

LA T-12
~~LA 3063-S~~

134-66A-1544 through 1546

- D -
COVER PAGE

LA 157-2325

LA T-13
LA 3664-S

134-202A-714

LA T-14
(Conceal per
request), MEL
MILCH, Proprietor
of Sports Town
2673 La Cienega
Los Angeles,
California

157-2325-13

- E* -
COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

LA 157-2325

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 PM/ JLG
ON 12-27-00

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 15, 1969

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS
Also known as
Tamu

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☒ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

Enclosure(s)

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

#mdr/b
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 A-M/216
ON 12-27-00

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: WILLIAM H. SNELL
Date: 4/15/69

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 157-2325

Bureau File #: 100-439922 ✓

Title: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS ✓

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C ✓

Synopsis: ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS, also known as "Tamu", resides at 1107-1/2 West 87th Street, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS is presently unemployed. Background data is being set out. On 6/21/68, DAVIS was elected as a staff member of the Los Angeles Chapter of SNCC. DAVIS dropped out of SNCC and joined the Communist Party. DAVIS is a member of the Che Lumumba Club, Moranda Smith Section, SCDGP. DAVIS' activities in connection with the SCDGP are set out. Description data set forth.

- P -

DETAILS:

Investigation in this matter was prodictated upon receipt of information from LA T-3 that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS was a member of the Communist Party in 1969.

BACKGROUND

BIRTH DATA AND CITIZENSHIP

On January 30, 1969, records of the Jefferson County Board of Health, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, 1912 Eighth Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama, reflected that under Birth Certificate number 3737026 for the year 1944, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS was born January 26, 1944, the daughter of BENJAMIN FRANK DAVIS and SALLYE MARGURITE BELL. X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and

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.

LA 157-2325

EDUCATION

LA T-1 (6/6/68)

DAVIS attended graduate school in 1968 in the Philosophy Department at the University of California, San Diego. DAVIS supposedly attended Brandeis University, Boston, Massachusetts from the period 1961 to 1965.

IDENTIFICATION
RECORD

The following is an identification record furnished by the FBI Identification Division:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

2-6-69

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER **NONE ASSIGNED**, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ON

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD San Diego Calif	Angela Yvonne Davis #282660	10-5-67	1-blocking entrance to pub bldg 2-disobey peace officer 3-disturb peace	rel 849(b) PC detentic only not an arrest

- 3 -

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.
 Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

LA 157-2325

ARREST RECORD

Records at the following agencies were reviewed and reflected no identifiable record on DAVIS:

Los Angeles Sheriff's Office
Los Angeles, California
April 1, 1969

Los Angeles Police Department
Los Angeles, California
April 1, 1969

Los Angeles Traffic Court
Los Angeles, California
March 27, 1969

LA T-2 (3/13/68)

Source advised that on March 13, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS was interviewed by the Los Angeles Police Department as a burglary suspect but was released without arrest.

CREDIT RECORD

On April 1, 1969, the Retail Merchants Credit Association, Los Angeles, California, records were reviewed which reflected no identifiable record on DAVIS.

VOTERS REGISTRATION
RECORD

On April 1, 1969, the records of the Los Angeles County Voters Registration, Los Angeles, California, were reviewed revealing that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS registered in the Democratic Party on March 5, 1968.

RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

LA T-3 (3/21/69)

LA 157-2325

Source advised that DAVIS resides at 1107 1/2 West 87th Street, Los Angeles, California with DEACON ALEXANDER (STANLEY SAMUEL ALEXANDER), Negro youth organizer for the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP). Source stated that DAVIS is not employed at the present time but that she is traveling periodically between Los Angeles and San Diego.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE LOS ANGELES
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (LASNCC) (See appendix)

LA T-4 (7/3/68)

On June 21, 1968, the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (LASNCC) held a reorganizational meeting at its headquarters, 1914 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California at which time new Los Angeles SNCC officers were elected. ANGELA DAVIS was elected a staff member of the editorial staff.

LA T-5 (5/16/68)
LA T-6 (6/3/68)

On May 12, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS was a special guest speaker at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (See appendix) located at 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS spoke on some of SNCC's major projects.

On June 2, 1968, Sergeant DAVID KENT, Intelligence Unit, New Orleans Police Department, furnished miscellaneous papers on the Los Angeles SNCC. Among these papers was a letter headed "Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Liberation School" addressed to brothers and sisters and signed by one ANGELA DAVIS, Coordinator. The letter stated that conventional education has failed to meet the needs of Black people in this country and that there is need to create educational structures which will respond to Black people's needs.

LA 157-2325

LA T-7 (12/4/68)

On December 4, 1968, source advised that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS had dropped out of the LASNCC and had joined the SCDP.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

MEMBERSHIP IN THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

LA T-3 (3/29/69)

On March 29, 1969, source advised that ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS is a member in good standing of the Che Lumumba Club, Moranda Smith Section (MSS) SCDP, Los Angeles, California.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE
AT SCDP MEETINGS

LA T-8 (8/1/68)
LA T-9 (8/1/68)

On July 21, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general membership meeting of the SCDP at 7213 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles. Topic of discussion centered around the need for political reorganization of the working class.

LA T-10 (8/9/68)

On July 23, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a staff meeting of the SCDP at 1254 East Manchester, Los Angeles, California.

LA T-8 (11/14/68)

On November 8, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general membership meeting of the SCDP held at 7213 Beverly

LA 157-2325

Boulevard, Los Angeles. The speaker was GUS HALL, Chairman, Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA).

On November 7, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a general meeting of the SCDGP at 7213 Boverly Boulevard. The speaker was GUS HALL, Chairman of the CP, USA.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE AT CLUB
MEETINGS OF THE SCDGP

LA T-3 (7/24/68)
LA T-8 (7/29/68)
LA T-11 (8/6/68)

On July 18, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP held at 2138 Third Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around politics.

LA T-7 (7/30/68)
LA T-12 (8/2/68)

On July 28, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Cyril Briggs Club, MSS, SCDGP at 3048 South Victoria Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around capitalism in other foreign countries and racism.

LA T-3 (8/6/68)

On July 31, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. Topic of discussion was a report from the SCDGP and various committee reports.

LA T-11 (12/10/68)

On November 25, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue. Topic of discussion centered around racism.

LA 157-2325

LA T-10 (1/9/69)
LA T-11 (1/28/69)

On December 5, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. The topic of discussion centered around Communist Party youth action in the community.

LA T-11 (1/29/69)
LA T-13 (1/29/69)

On January 16, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 1048 Oxford Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around racism.

LA T-3 (2/6/69)
LA T-11 (2/14/69)

On January 30, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP, at 2128 Third Avenue, Los Angeles. DAVIS advised that she is dissatisfied with the Black people's progress in the community.

LA T-3 (3/29/69)

On March 29, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of the Che Lumumba Club, MSS, SCDGP at 1048 South Oxford, Los Angeles, California. DAVIS paid \$14.00 for club dues.

DAVIS' ATTENDANCE AT
A MEETING OF THE NEGRO
MEMBERS OF THE SCDGP

LA T-8 (8/12/68)
LA T-9 (8/12/68)
LA T-12 (8/14/68)

LA 157-2325

On August 4, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended a meeting of all Negro members of the SCDGP at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion centered around the election campaigns, working class trade unions, and building of the Communist Party.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE FURTHERANCE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

LA T- 8 (10/17/68)
LA T-11 (10/17/68)

On October 13, 1968, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended the annual People's World (PW) banquet held at the Miramar Hotel, Wilshire and Ocean Avenue in Santa Monica, California. Topic of discussion centered around problems of the Mexican-American.

The PW is a West Coast Weekly Communist newspaper.

LA T-8 (2/18/69)
LA T-9 (2/18/69)

On February 9, 1969, ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS attended the 31st Anniversary Celebration of the PW held at the Alexandria Hotel, Fifth and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California. Topic of discussion was student unrest.

MISCELLANEOUS

LA T-14 (7/24/68)

On 7/24/68, source was shown a photograph of ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS taken 10/5/67. Source stated that the woman in the photograph strongly resembles the woman who, on 9/11/67 with a male companion, purchased a shotgun at Sportstown, 2673 La Cienega, Los Angeles. Source added that if the woman in the photo is about 5'7", 135 pounds, and has pierced ears, she is almost certainly the woman who assisted in purchasing the shotgun.

LA 157-2325

DESCRIPTION

The following is a description of ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS as obtained from LA T-2, LA T-3 and Los Angeles County Voters Registration files:

Name	ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS, aka
	Tamu
Sex	Female
Race	Negro
Height	5' 8"
Weight	145
Date of Birth	January 26, 1944
Place of Birth	Birmingham, Alabama
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Black
Education	Attended Brandeis University Boston, Massachusetts between 1961 to 1965. Graduate student, Department of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego, 1968.
Residence	1107 1/2 West 87th Street Los Angeles, California
Previous residences	6250 South Venice Los Angeles, California
	536 Rushville La Jolla, California

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 8, 1968, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, Page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities".

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIXLOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

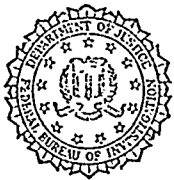
The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
April 15, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Report of SA WILLIAM H. SNELL dated
and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

010000Z JAN 68
[CIA] BY COURIER

M. E. Schwab

SUBJECT : Hunter Report No. 28,280 (Items 73B08Z/AA)

Info. from Bureau Inf. 200
No dissemination outside Bureau
Use for lead purpose only
Do not make copies
If furnished to " " paraphrase

Attended by _____ I can see
U.S. _____ of illegible
Contents _____
Contents _____ difference value
Russian letter of no value but translation
should be retained.

date

REC-110

16 APR 23 1973

"ROUTE IN ENVELOPE"

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Date impossible to determine
(unless impossible, insert date or event)

84 APR 27 1973

SECRET/SPECIAL HANDLING

~~SECRET~~
~~SPECIAL HANDLING~~

NLY

SUMMARY

73BO8AA To : FONDA, Jane, c/o CHARTWELL-FRENCH-PERENCHIN AG(ENCY?);
28Jan73 9720 Wilshire Blvd.; Beverly Hills, Calif.
Engl/PH From: REBANE, J(ohannes-Jaan); Oru 7-3; Vilyandi, Estonian SSR J
BH

Soviet movie fan writes to an American actress active in peace demonstrations requesting her autograph today on this first day of peace in Vietnam.

(TN: There are many correspondence traces on the surname REBANE in and out of the Soviet Union but none on a Johannes or Jaan.)

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET/SPECIAL HANDLING

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Date impossible to determine
(unless impossible, insert date or event)

SECRET
SPECIAL HANDLING

*J. Robert, 808900 Wilshire, Box 7-3
Estimote/1155R*

PAR AVION
BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION



*Mrs. Jane Fonda
c/o Chartwell - French - Perenchon
9720 Wilshire Bl.
Beverly Hills, California
M. S. A.
C. M. A.*



73B08

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

CLASSIFIED BY 002221
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF E.O. 11652, EXEMPTION CATEGORY:
S 5B(1), (2) or (3) (circle one or more)

Viljandi,
January 28, 1973.

Dear Mrs. Jane Fonda,

First of all I should like to beg your pardon for having the heart to write to you. My only excuse for doing this is the greatest respect I feel for you, for your film works and your social activities against the war in Viet-Nam.

If asked to name my favourite film actors I would mention you in the first place. So I belong to the millions who share my opinion that your way of acting is excellent, that it has depth and intelligence.

I should like to emphasize that you have won the heart of Soviet cinema-goers as well as you have received the greatest approval everywhere all over the world.

You have played in very many films, they have varied from bright comedies to the penetrating human dramas. The only film which I have seen with your participation is "They Shoot Horses, Don't They?". This film has given an impression I never

SECRET

shall forget. All the more I have read about you, about your art as well as many publications discussing your political activities, your fervent struggle against the war. To this effect your name has acquired legendary force here in the Soviet Union.

Today, on the first day of peace in Viet-Nam, I should like to ask you for your permission to present you my greatest entreaty - with all my heart I desire to receive your autograph.

In all likelihood you will have no opportunity for dealing with the matter of no consequence like this one, all the more that my English which leaves much to be desired does not inspire confidence. Only your generous complaisance can guarantee that you will understand my desire.

I should like to affirm that your generous reply would signify for me more than that ever could be expressed by me. I should retain your autograph with the deepest pride and never stop to recall your magnanimity with unfailing gratitude.

Please do not refuse to do

me the supreme honour by giving your
magnanimous attention to my modest
entreaty. Please do not refuse to do an
admirer of your art very, very happy!

Thank you ever so much. I
wish you to accept assurances of my most
sincere and profound respect and affection.

Wishing you new successes and
achievements in your creative work and
all the happiness of the world in your
personal life, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

Jaane Rebane

JAAAN REBANE

202900 VILJANDI

ORU 7-3

ESTONIA

SOVIET UNION

SECRET
SPECIAL HANDLING

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section9/30, 1975

☐ Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to MENDENHALL 4557
 Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

LIST ALL SERIALS IN 105-107845
PER MENDENHALL

Subject INSTITUTE FOR POLICY
 Birthdate & Place STUDIES
 Address WASH., D. C.

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 9/30 Searcher Initials EC

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NR105-17845

#MDR/6
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2 ALN/EB

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: OCT 12 1970

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
SM-MISC
OO:WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-27-00 BY SP-2 ALM/276

Re St. Louis airtel to WFO dated 8/28/70 captioned,
"MARCUS G. RASKIN", Buffalo let to WFO dated 9/2/70, and Bulet to
WFO dated 9/17/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 5 copies of an LHM dated
and captioned as above. All other receiving offices have two
enclosures of the LHM.

The LHM is classified "Confidential" to protect the
identity of (WF 2075-S) who is of continuing value to this Bureau.
live informant

The first source mentioned in the LHM is (CARL
BACZENCAS, Superintendent of Communications, Granite City Steel
Company, Granite City, Illinois (protect by request) (on official))

The second source mentioned in the LHM is
(ROLAND L. LOOMIS, Manager of Corporate Security, Corning Glass
Works, Corning, New York (protect by request) (on official))

The third source mentioned in the LHM is (WF 2075-S)
(located in WF 100-46784-293) *live informant*

The "other investigative agency" who provided information
to the FBI was the (Naval Intelligence Service Office, (NISO),
Washington, D. C.) *Third Agency*

Both the IPS and MARCUS G. RASKIN have been the subjects
of security investigations at WFO for sometime. RASKIN is
currently a Security Index Priority I subject.

3-Bureau (Enc. 5)
2-WFO

Copies Cont'd on page 2

CMS:mab
(55)

USAC, OSE, DNT, CIA

SS, RAO, SSD 10/20/70

RIS HMM lip

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

8 OCT 12 1970

EX-103

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

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2-San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-St. Louis (Enc. 2) (RM)

All offices receiving this letter are requested, as per Bureau instructions, to contact established sources familiar with industries engaged in National defense work, to determine if industrial security officers in these plants have received similiar inquiries from the IPS. Submit pertinent information to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

Investigation re IPS continuing at WFO.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
OCT 12 1970

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTH WEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

On August 21, 1970 a source who is in a position to furnish reliable information advised the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as follows:

"Gentlemen:

"The attached letter was received in the mail today. Perhaps the times we live in have made me super-conscious of our nation's security, but the letter sounds a little shady to me. For example, wouldn't this be a perfect way for a foreign power (or even radical Americans) to determine what it takes to destroy American industry?

" For all I know, the Institute for Policy Studies could be a communist front for an espionage operation.

"At any rate, we're NOT going to provide Mr. Raskin with the rather vital information he asks for... and you may put his letter in your files in case you decide he also sounds suspicious to you."

The letter to which the first source is referring was typed with an IPS letterhead, dated August 17, 1970, and signed Marcus G. Raskin, Co-director. The letter was addressed to Granite City Steel, Public Relations Department, Granite City, Illinois. It stated as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

*declassified
7/16/75
by 7225 Tsupper*

33

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTES FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTH WEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

" Dear Sirs:

" I am doing a study of the problems of industrial security. As a starting point, I would appreciate any written materials which you might have concerning this question including a biographical resume of the person or persons in charge of your security program. Thank you very much."

On August 28, 1970 a second source who is in a position to furnish reliable information advised that the Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York received a letter from Marcus G. Raskin, which is identical to the one described above.

On 9/22/70 another investigative agency provided the FBI with information that the Hewlett-Packard Company, Palo Alto, California also received a copy of the above described letter from Marcus G. Raskin of the IPS.

~~Re the IPS:~~

The IPS has been characterized in an article in the Washington, D. C. weekly newspaper, "The Examiner" dated September 24, 1967 page 22 by Edith Kermit Roosevelt. She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in U.S. cities, and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conference and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

Re Marcus Goodman Raskin:

Raskin has been publicly described as Co-director and Trustee of the IPS; AB University of Chicago; JP University of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Chicago Law School; Trustee of Antioch College, associate editor of Ramparts Magazine, and author of many articles on public policy.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices in San Francisco, California. The September 10, 1967, issue of the "Denver Post" contained an article on "Ramparts" which states in part that it is "radical in style and politics". It belongs to the left, if not the new left...

In addition, Marcus Raskin has also been publicly described as a co-defendant with Dr. Benjamin Spock on charges of conspiracy to advise others to avoid the draft.

More recently Raskin was credited in a Washington Post newspaper article entitled "Military Influence Deplored," as urging at a conference on Military Budget and National Priorities, the dismantling of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department, and the National Security Agency within the next decade as the only sure way of reversing the "national security" state.

In April, 1970 a third source who has provided reliable information in the past advised that Marcus Raskin was one of the speakers at a convention of Federal Employees for Peace, Equality, and Priorities held in Washington, D. C. Raskin stated in part that such Government agencies as the FBI, Secret Service intelligence services of other Government agencies, and the military should be done away with, in that order. He labeled these agencies as un-American. He stated that the capitalistic system in the United States is causing imperialism and aggression in other parts of the world and that Federal employees should organize to encourage the Government to change these policies and to do away with the above mentioned agencies.

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449935)

DATE: 12/29/70

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (100-20859) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/PTG

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
SM - MISC
OO: WASHINGTON FIELD

Re WFO letter to Bureau, 10/12/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM and two copies for WFO, setting forth information obtained through contact with established sources familiar with industries engaged in national defense work in the Rochester, N.Y. area.

The first source mentioned in the LHM is ROBERT B. FARRELLY, Manager of Office and Services Administration, Xerox Corporation, Webster, N.Y. (protect per request). *an official of*

The second source mentioned in the LHM is MARK H. TUOMEY, JR., Director of Industrial Security, Kodak Park, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N.Y. and a former FBI agent (Protect per request). *an official of*

The third source mentioned in the LHM is JOHN D. HOSTUTLER, Executive Director, Industrial Management Council, Rochester, N.Y. (protect per request). *an official of*

LHM classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect sources of value to this Bureau. *(was declass. per)*

3 - Bureau (Encs. 5) (RM)
2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (100-46784) (RM)
2 - Buffalo
JRC;sds
(7)

REC-65

48

8/5 to diff. agencies EX-113
advising to declassify their copies
Chas/mcg 1/17/81
JAN 9 1971
BY

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

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOT CONFIDENTIAL
7225
7/24/68

several years, is now engaged in two programs aimed at American security. Program 1 is a document IFS is now circulating to radical groups around the country, "A Proposal for the Formation of Liberation Collectives and Brigades and for the Disruption/Liberation of Washington." It is a call for all-out sabotage of government, beginning at the Potomac. There are five basic demands:

1. immediate withdrawal of United States forces from Southeast Asia
2. \$5,500 a year guaranteed income for every family of four
3. "liberation" of all "political prisoners" (i.e., Black Panthers, draft resisters, military deserters, etc.)
4. "independence" for the people of Washington, D.C.
5. immediate end by colleges, corporations, churches, etc., of "complicity" with the United States "war machine" and the police.

IPS urges brigades, if they can be recruited, to descend on Washington (no date has been set, but late October or November are being mentioned) and (1) hold "teach-ins" for federal employees, (2) meet with staffs of "genocidal agencies" (described as the Army, CIA, HEW, etc.) and force closure of those agencies if necessary, (3) public hearings, televised on the Capitol lawn, with members of Congress being forced to explain their support of "genocide," with possible sit-ins in the Capitol, (4) blocking highways and bridges to the Pentagon and CIA buildings in Virginia, (5) stopping armed forces conscription and enlistment, (6) opening of government hospitals and cafeterias "to all people" and turning military reservations over to "people who need housing." New Leftist leader Rennie Davis, recently publicized by the media for his successful campaign to sabotage a March for Victory in Washington, is chief organizer of the program, assisted by IPS co-founder Arthur Waskow, one of the authors of The Liberal Papers a few years back (which called for dismantling United States offensive

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

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7225
TJM/aw

and defensive forces). Waskow and Davis have established liaison with groups around the country.

A man who once had a place of honor in the office of President Kennedy's National Security Council, Marcus Raskin, heads up IPS's Program 2 which at the moment is collecting information about the men who handle security for the nation's industrial plants. Raskin, another Liberal Papers author, was once on Ramparts board of directors, and was an out-spoken critic of the CIA and the National Security Agency and other intelligence organizations. In mid-August Raskin sent a letter to the public relations departments of 500 American companies, informing the PR men: "I am doing a study of the problems of industrial security. As a starting point I would appreciate any written materials which you might have concerning this question including a biographical resume of the person or persons in charge of your security program. Thank you very much." PR men habitually respond to such inquiries without asking questions themselves. Contacted by "Combat" Raskin said he was doing the research for a book which would show "the class background and educational background of the men who head various programs, who are part of the business elite." He said one of his interests was to find out what happened to ex-military officers and ex-FBI agents. Most American firms will not conceal the background of their security managers, but when a man who in the past has attacked national security programs (e.g., nuclear testing, Skybolt missiles, etc.) tries to compile a filing cabinet of dossiers on the men who guard the country's industrial plants, security agents are suspicious. Not suspicious enough though. Raskin told "Combat" that he has received more than 200 replies."

"Combat" is a newsletter published by National Review, Inc., and is described as a Newsletter that "keeps you informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 9, 1970 that it had come to his attention that such an inquiry had been received by the Corporate Information Section of the Corporate Relations Division, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York, a number of months ago. A brief reply was directed to the sender informing him that such information as that requested was not available.

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declassified
6/14/75 by 7225
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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOT RECORDED
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JAN/1971

The source advised that no record was maintained of the inquiry and reply by the Eastman Kodak Company, and recollection of the incident was disclosed by an official in charge of the department.

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 9, 1970 that the Industrial Management Council of Rochester, which maintains contact with Industrial Management personnel from Rochester firms, was aware of contact made by IPS with the Xerox Corporation and the matter was brought up at one of the Industrial Management meetings, primarily to alert responsible persons to the possibility to receiving such an inquiry from Raskin. No additional information has come to the sources' attention of any additional contacts with local industry.

Re the IPS:

The IPS has been characterized in an article in the Washington, D.C. weekly newspaper, "The Examiner" dated September 24, 1967, page 22, by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT. She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in U.S. cities, and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conference and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left. EC

Re MARCUS GOODMAN RASKIN:

RASKIN has been publicly described as Co-director and Trustee of the IPS; AB University of Chicago; JP University of Chicago Law School; Trustee of Antioch College, associate editor of "Ramparts Magazine," and author of many articles on public policy.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices in San Francisco, California. The September 10, 1967 issue of the "Denver Post" contained an article on "Ramparts" which states in part that it is "radical in style and politics." It belongs to the left, if not the New Left...

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INSTITUTES FOR POLICY STUDIES
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C.

In addition, MARCUS RASKIN has also been publicly described as a co-defendant with Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK on charges of conspiracy to advise others to avoid the draft.

More recently RASKIN was credited in a Washington Post newspaper article entitled "Military Influence Deplored," as urging at a conference on Military Budget and National Priorities, the dismantling of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department, and the National Security Agency within the next decade as the only sure way of reversing the "national security" state.

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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Declassified 6/4/75 By 7225
JSM/aw

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

#mor16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/STG

TO : Freedom of Information Act Unit
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: February 24, 1975

FROM : Susan M. Hauser
Staff Assistant to the
Deputy Attorney General

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST - Mitchell Rogovin

ncw
X
Enclosed herewith is a request under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. 552, for access to any records relating to the Institute for Policy Studies.

Pursuant to 28 CFR § 16.5 which took effect on February 19, 1975, the responsible division shall, within ten working days, either comply with or deny a request for records unless unusual circumstances warrant an extension of time.

In cases where additional time is required, extensions shall be granted by the head of the division in increments of five days or less. The requester should be notified of the reasons for the time extension and the date on which a determination is expected.

If the request is denied, the requester should be informed by the head of the responsible division of 1) the exemption(s) authorizing the withholding of the records, 2) how the exemption applies to the record withheld and, where relevant, a brief explanation of why discretionary release is not appropriate, 3) the name and title of the person(s) responsible for the denial, and 4) his right of administrative appeal within 30 days to the Attorney General and the availability of judicial review thereafter.

Copies of all acknowledgements, extension notices, and responses should be forwarded to my office, Room 4212.

REC-4

EX 104

100-177935-2910
16 MAR 6 1975
11-800

ENCLOSURE



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Freedom of Information Act Unit
Federal Bureau of Investigation

February 24, 1975

Susan M. Hauser
Staff Assistant to the
Deputy Attorney General

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST - Mitchell Rogovin

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Copies of all acknowledgements, extension notices, and responses should be forwarded to my office, Room 4212.

THURMAN ARNOLD (1891-1969)
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 MILTON V. FREEMAN
 NORMAN DIAMOND
 WILLIAM L. MCGOVERN
 CAROLYN E. AGGER
 G. DUANE VIETH
 REED MILLER
 ABE KRASH
 WILLIAM D. ROGERS
 B. HOWELL HILL
 JULIUS M. GREISMAN
 EDGAR H. DRENNER
 DENNIS G. LYONS
 STUART J. LAND
 ROBERT E. HERZSTEIN
 JAMES R. MCALEE
 MITCHELL ROGOVIN
 WALTER J. ROCKLER
 CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR.
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 DAVID R. KENTOFF
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 RICHARD J. WERTHEIMER
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 MYRON P. CURZAN
 JAMES A. DOBKIN
 STEPHEN L. HESTER
 MICHAEL N. SOHN

ARNOLD & PORTER

1229 NINETEENTH STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TELEPHONE: (202) 872-6700

CABLE: "ARFOPO"

TELEX: 89-2733

February 20, 1975

RONALD E. HAYDAHEK
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 ANDREW S. KRULWICH
 PATRICK F. J. MACROBY
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 LINDA F. BLUMENFELD
 LEONARD H. BECKER

MARTIN RIGER
 ROBERT PITORSKY
 OF COUNSEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/27/09 BY SP-2ALM/JTG

Office of the Deputy Attorney General
 United States Department of Justice
 Washington, D. C. 20530

Gentlemen:

Pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, as amended, and 28 C.F.R. § 16.3, I hereby request that you make available for inspection and copying any investigatory files maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, either in its office at the seat of government or in its Washington Field Office, relating to the INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, subject of course to the exceptions enumerated in 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(7), as amended by P.L. 93-502.

Sincerely yours,

Mitchell Rogovin
 Mitchell Rogovin

Attorney for Institute for Policy Studies

D.C.

As Co-Directors of the Institute for Policy Studies, we hereby authorize Mitchell Rogovin to act on behalf of the Institute in connection with this claim, and to inspect and copy any documents made available thereunder.

Marcus G. Raskin

Richard J. Barnett

100-447735-290

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 1/15/73

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)
IS-RA
(OO:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-27-00 BY SP-2 ALM/TJS

Re Bu Letter to WFO, 12/3/72, and enclosure;
no copies New York.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and for New York, one copy, of an LHM dated and captioned as above. The LHM is classified "Confidential" as unauthorized disclosure could reasonably be expected to damage national security by compromising a sensitive informant who has furnished valuable information regarding Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

Source utilized is (WF 4868-S) live informant

The delay in reporting this information is due to the fact that the information as obtained by (WF 4868-S) was in a form not readily reducible by the FBI Laboratory to its present written form.

A copy of the enclosed LHM is furnished to New York because of the letter mentioned therein to the Center for Constitutional Rights, 588 9th Avenue, New York, New York 10036. The Rubin Foundation mentioned in the enclosed is probably the Samuel Rubin Foundation, New York, New York, which has contributed liberally to IPS in the past.

Regarding the letter to the Center for Constitutional Rights, source also made available two succeeding drafts of this letter, each of which contained successively less information. After the first draft, reported in the enclosed, information about STAVINS and BOROSAGE contacting the office was deleted, as was the information about the funding for the Academy and the \$5,000,000 grant from the RUBIN foundation.

- 2- Bureau (Enc. 5)
- 1- New York (Info) (Enc. 1)
- 1- WFO

EAW:pp
(4)



WFO 100-46784

(WF 2154-S) who is familiar with some phases of IPS activity was contacted by SA ROBERT W. SONNEN on 1/4/73, and was unable to furnish any pertinent information additional to that set forth in the enclosed. WFO indices contain no references to the Academy for a New Society being established by IPS.

WFO will remain alert for information regarding IPS' international activities and Bureau will be advised of same by appropriate communication.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
January 15, 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The Institute For Policy Studies (IPS), has been described as the "think tank" of the New Left and is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On August 23, 1972, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting of IPS fellows was held in Washington D.C. (WDC), on July 5, 1972. Among those present were Marcus Raskin, Karl Hess, Leonard Rodberg, Robert Borosage and Ralph Stavins.

The Fellows were informed that a donor was interested in funding an International Institute to be established by IPS. In general, the discussion raised the following questions regarding such a grant.

1. What is the donor's view of the International Institute and how does his view affect IPS options with regard to the proposal? When might IPS expect such a grant? (Raskin suggested early 1973, as a likely date.)
2. What directions have been taken by people in other countries and what sort of International Institute would relate to those directions and how? How would such an Institute positively or negatively affect the direction and coherence of IPS and the importance of dealing with this aspect of the proposed funds?
3. Whether IPS should try to build an International Institute dealing the the Third World or Europe, or whether that is the choice. Whether the money could be used to fund various international groups on a project basis. Whether such projects would be supported on an on-going basis in terms of years.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by Courtland J. Jones
Exempt from GDS, Category 2/1/1
Date of Declassification Indefinite

DECLASSIFIED BY
EPG 6/4/75
6570

100 41111 -167
ENCLOSURE

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Would the establishment of an office in Geneva, according to the donor's perceptions of an International Institute preclude setting up groups to study in other places?

The confidential source also made available the draft of a letter from Marcus Raskin, Co-Director, IPS, to the Center for Constitutional Rights, 588 9th Avenue, New York, New York, 10036. The contents are set forth below.

This letter is to inform you of the substantive terms of the \$5000 grant to the Center. We of course require a report of expenditures in accordance with the Internal Revenue Code and you will receive a letter from us in due course outlining our procedures. The Institute is continuing its work on national security and attendant issues. Completed studies and work in progress of Institute fellows and students suggests that important questions of constitutional rights, whether in the areas of record keeping, first amendment rights, or property rights, may be abrogated almost unconsciously through the extension of state bureaucratic power within the United States. Under the terms of this grant it is our intention that consideration should be given to bringing forward affirmative legal action on certain issues. We would also hope that a conference of professors, practicing lawyers, law workers and students would be called to discuss what research and legal work should proceed from the IPS studies. It is our hope that such a conference and affirmative legal action would delimit constitutional rights in the area of national internal security so that the objective of active citizenship might be reached. I will ask Mr. Stavins and Mr. Borosage to contact your office so that planning may go forward on this grant. The IPS is initiating the Academy for a New Society in Geneva, Switzerland. It will concern itself with the major problem of transition.

The four problems with which it is concerned are:

1. Development of knowledge for new societies which will generate equitable use of resources among the people of the world. Transform faulty superstructures of society and develop the practice of justice and equality among people. Part of theoretical and practical work for these purposes will be carried out through development of an encyclopedia of plans and practice for a new society.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. The uneven distribution of development, the horrors of war and environmental death require attempts to seek means of dismantling internal and external imperialism in nations. Such means will be developed through teaching, action research, muckraking, and discussion among scholars and students from many nations. As Americans we will be especially concerned with the operations of American corporate military and other interests abroad.

3. The Academy will establish conference centers in Geneva and other regions of the world to train scholars and others in issues facing the irrespsective society, the effects, beneficial or harmful, that other nations have on the internal life of their nation.

4. Development of an educational facility for international civil servants in Geneva, where the United Nations' specialized agencies are domiciled, so that their concern may be aired and they may undertake advance work on a project requiring discussion with scholars and the UN practitioner outside the UN.

While the Academy will be housed in Geneva, it is understood that there will be centers in different parts of the world. Conference centers will be economic and social reconstruction projects, initiated by people in groups from those respective geographic areas. It is the intention of the organizers of the new Academy to meet with scholars and others interested in this project in Geneva, France, and England in the Fall of 1972.

The funding for the Academy will be initiated by a \$5,000,000 grant to the IPS from the Rubin Foundation. Those funds will be used for the purposes outlined above.

Sincerely,
Marcus G. Raskin
Co-Director

The confidential source furnished the following list of names as possibly being a list of individuals who would be invited to participate in, or present ideas to the Academy for a New Society being established by IPS in Geneva, Switzerland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

X Journal France
Regorz Paris

Serge Jonas
Edition Anthropos
15 Rue Racine
Paris 6

Henry Lefebvre
30 Rue Rambouteau
Paris 3

Alain Touraine Maison Des Science
54 Boulevard
France

X Great Britain Parliamentary Labor Party
Shirley Williams
(former Undersecretary for Education)

Jerry Fowler
Northeastern Polytechnic
London

Dick Clemens
Left Journalist, The Tribune
Raspail

Serge Mallieux
New Left Review

Henri Foucault
Encyclopedia

Perry Anderson
7. Carlisle Street,
Soho Square
London

Claude Levi Straus, If time

Robert Rowthorne,
Faculty of Economics at Cambridge

SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Jac Vigneron
Paris

Paul Friaese
Commissariat de Plan

Will Wadderbourn
Department of Law
Southeast Marxist Corporation

Aque Pierre Bourdieu
Les Reproductions

Dorothy Wadderbourn
Industrial Relations at the Imperial College
of Technology

Jean Paul Chevimon

Michel Orquard
Paujp
Dartre

Erich Hobsbawn
Birkbeck College
London, Nassington Road

Alain Clement

Lemon/da Kencoates
London

Claude Julian/Lemond

Leszek Kolakowski
All Souls de Beaudoir

Iris Murdoch
Cedar Lodge Steeple
Ashton, Oxfordshire

Ann Cixous
Vincennes

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ralph Milliband
Edis Street,
Leeds Row

Tom Bottonore
Sussex Ditch
Ling Lewes

Emanuel de Cadt
Sussex

Martin Bernal
Cornell

Steve and Hilary Rose
Regents Park
London Social Services and Science

Sir Solly Zuckerman
RHS

Crossman Jonathan
Miller-Lander

Germany

Jurhgen Habermas

Elaus Ofte
(Max Planck Institute)
Starnberg, near Munich

X Metal Workers Union
Europische
Sas Ofte, who to see there

Wolfgang Abendroth (Wilhelm)
Rosser Strasse 53
Marberg, Lahn

Juso, Kursbuch - Wangenbach

X Verlag, Karl

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Markus Michel

Peter Von Oertzen
Minister of Education in Saxony at Hanover

Oskar Neget -
Trade Unions and Education
Hanover, at the Technical University

Italy

Lelio Basso
Rome at the Senate

Alessandro Pizzorno -
via Santa Croce 3
Milano

Donatella Venturi

Vittorio Foacone

Bruno Trentin
Rome

Francesco Ciafaloni
Einaudi, Publisher, Turin Quadern
Piacenti
Franco Ferri
Istituto Gramsci
Rome

Giorgio Amendola

Franco Ferrarotti
University of Rome

Overmann in Sociology and Psychology, Reach
him through the Sociology, University of
Frankfurt.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Oscar Negt - INE Economics,
Possibly in Bremen Institute for Social Forschung

Habermas Prokop
Frankfurt in Sociology
Field is mass media

*Womagazines
Kursbuch, 17

*Das Argument
Berlin

Wolfgang Haug, Editor
Berlin

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

9/30

, 1975

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per Mendenhall

Subject JACK NELSON
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address L.A. TIMES REPORTER

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 9/30 Searcher Initials DRB

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Not Listed in file105-67845

#MDR16
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SPECIAL HANDLING

15 July 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Att: Mr. D. J. Brennan

SUBJECT : Hunter Report No. 23,590

REC-40

May 1971

► This transmits item(s) 70E27BJ

which may be of internal security interest to you.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR PLANS:

Referral
Needed

Att:

James ANGLETON

Special Notation

Info. from Bureau Inf. 200
No dissemination outside Bureau
Use for lead purpose only
Do not make copies
If furnished to field, paraphrase

Attachment destroyed because

- U.S. address or addressor illegible
- Contents illegible
- Contents of no intelligence value
- Russian letter of no value but translation should be retained.

EX-115

REC-40

9 JUL 14 1971 date

SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

319 Elm Drive C
Madison, Wisconsin
53705

1 PM
25 MAY
1970

70E27BK KWM
25 May 70
Eng/FA

TO: ~~X~~SLEPIAN, David
Delegate to Popov Exchange
c/o Intourist, Moscow U.S.S.R.

U.S.

FROM: ~~X~~SLEPIAN, Steven
319 Elm Drive C, Madison, Wisconsin

Hawaii

3P: ~~X~~BERNARD, Michael; ~~X~~LOOMIS, John } WISC.

Brother in the U.S. writes to brother, described as a "Delegate to POPOV Exchange" in Moscow. Writer states that he has finished a report for Sociology that is due on Monday; comments about his athletic pursuits; the first since he left Hawaii. States he plans to inquire about taking ballet lessons at Antioch (sic). Comments that "the other night" he was with Michael BERNARD and they smoked some grass with people "from the floor who we haven't smoked with before." States that this is a "learning experience" and he was getting directional flashes regarding his future. Comments on various fields in which he plans to develop. Writer continues: "Two weeks from tomorrow I hope to be getting a ride towards summit with John LOOMIS, the man in the van who is bumming until he gets vocational directives." States that will give him 20 days before he has to be in Antioch. Writer says he has been frightened by the fact that he has been intellectually stagnant since 11th grade... "I need to feel intelligent as some people need to feel strong or handsome." Writer states that things are changing fast and relationships continue in transition and new developments are hard to accept. "I am sure you have found it hard to accept phase two and have often thought where did it go?..." Writer wishes addressee a good trip comments "...be the real representative you are." (Typed "Steve" - not signed)

RECEIVED

6784 - 37640

Dear David; another lazy saturday. this morning i rose to finish a report for sociology that is due on monday. i went to lunch with a few friends-institutional food gets heavier every time the cycle regains-and then we went to play basketball. first exercise since hawaii and it felt good. i have been stretching/limbering (vs weight lifting) to loosen up my body. human muscular-skeletal system has amazing possibilities and as with everything else, the further one goes the more there is revealed that demands to be learned. i have been thinking about dance (hence the limbering) and i may inquire about ballet lessons at antioch. the other night i was with michael bernard and we smoked some grass with people from the floor who we haven't smoked with before. it is always such a learning experience. everybody's personality appears to be purified and strengthened, making it free and easy to make friends and promote understanding. During the night i was getting directional flashes-insights into the direction i should move in, setting goals towards which i should work to. the first thing that i was thinking of was developing wood-craft skills. it is a long time past since i was in a workshop. i hope that at antioch they have a good wood-working facility and either a carpenter, sculptor who could help me. i think i would be interested in making furniture ala uncle bull. i really feel a trend towards developing physical skills. secondly i realised that the best direction to take in music would be classical. although i want to play abstract and nonmelodic (actually nonharmonic is better description) jazz i feel that this type of music is the last stage in development. first i want to know how to play all other forms of music, classical, pop, show tunes, hymns, etc. classical is best for texture, tonality and perhaps, mechanics; and now that i have progressed in my mechanical skills i may begin to do justice to the classics. thirdly, i want to develop my voice. i cannot speak for more than ten minutes straight without becoming hoarse and having my voice crack. this is just out of disuse-i don't speak with people very often and then it is on a common slang level. fourthly i want to be able to appreciate mathematics as concept. i am not interested in mechanics but i am interested in proof development, relationships and abstractions. the same applies to chemistry and that is why i hate the course so much. it is all mechanics, memorization. and lastly i would like to learn how to dance, not classical-social dancing like waltzes, foxtrot but either ballet, modern-jazz dance-all forms of improvisational dance. so these are the things that i will be engaged in for a while besides increased reading and vocabulary work and perhaps the guitar thrown in. two weeks from tomorrow i hope to be getting a ride towards summit with john loomis, the man in the van who is bumming until he gets vocational directives. that will give me less than twenty days before i have to be in antioch and i am looking forward to that time with increasing fervor. enough of this sedentary and stagnated existence! last night i was frightened by the realisation that i have been intellectually stagnant since 11th grade. i don't find that i am capable of grasping new concepts or ideas with any increased understanding, clarity or speed, but, indeed, i am unaware of being confronted by anything so interesting in that time. i have assumed that my intellectual development would match anyone else's but what an illusion. i need to feel intelligent as some people need to feel strong or handsome.

things are changing very fast. relationships are ever in transition and new developments are hard to accept. i am sure you have found it hard to accept phase two and have often thought "where did it go?" well, i have too. it has happened, i know it and feel it but i can't understand it in a very basic way.

have a good trip and be the real representative you are love
steven

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section9/30, 1975

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

105-67845-28251, 31137Jeremy T.105-67845-25587, 25588✓ 28251, 28261, 31137, 31577,105-6784534257, 34258, 34273,35244, 35730Jeremy JUDAH105-67845-39734, 39831#MDC15
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 12/22/00 BY SP2 ALM/JVG

Jeremy Stone - Hunter

28251 - 5/24/68

TO: NINA I. SHAKHOVA
PEREKOPSKAYA ULITSА (STREET), 17
SECTION 5, APT. 398
MOSCOW, I-209

FROM: JEREMY J. STONE
CLAREMONT, CALIF.
(1788 DANBURY ROAD; ALSO
DEPT. OF MATHEMATICS,
POMONA COLLEGE)

31137 - 5/12/69

TO: SHAKHOVA, N.
17 PEREKOPSKAYA ST., SECT. 5, APT. 398
MOSCOW M-209

FROM: STONE, JEREMY
WASH., D.C.

Pos S
Referral

25587 - 1/2/68

To: STONE, JEREMY, DR.
1788 DANBURY ROAD
CLAREMONT, CALIF.

From: KAZAKEVICH, VLADIMIR D.
P.O. BOX 346
Moscow, K-9

25588 - 1/13/68

To: V. D. KAZAKEVICH
P.O. BOX 346
Moscow K-9, USSR

From: JEREMY J. STONE

28261 - 3/30/68

INDEXED IN BODY OF LETTER

31577 - 8/9/69

To: SHAKHOVA, NINA
17 PEREKOPSKAYA ST., SECT 5, Apt. 398
Moscow M-209

From: STONE, JEREMY J.
264 A "G" STREET, S.W.,
WASH., D.C. 20024

34257 - 2/15/70

TO: CHAMKRELIDZE, R (EVAR) V.
Moscow V-333

FROM: STONE, JEREMY J., DR.
FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
WASH., D.C.

34258 - 2/15/70

TO: YEVEUSHENKO, YUGENIY
Moscow

FROM: STONE, JEREMY J., DR.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOW,
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (N.Y.C.)
WASH., D.C.

34273 - 2/15/70

TO: MURAVYEV, DMITRY, MR., SEC. GEN.
INSTITUTE OF SOVIET AMERICAN RELATIONS
Moscow

FROM: STONE, JEREMY J.
EXEC. COUNCIL MEMBER AND
DELEGATE AT LARGE, FEDERATION OF
AMERICAN SCIENTISTS, W.D.C.

3P: GRAVEL, MIKE
SENATOR OF ALASKA

35244 - 5/14/70

TO: SHAKHOVA, NINA I.

17 PEREKOPSKAYA St., SEC. 5, Apt. 398
Moscow M-209

FROM: STONE, JEREMY J.

264 A "G" St., N.W., WASH., D.C.

35730 - charged out to:

King / Vaughn Room 5442

Subject - Dead

since Aug. 6

section 772

39734

~~ltd.~~ 12-31-71

Indexed on body of
mail

39831; ltd.: 10-8-72

To: Brennan Donald George
Hudson Institute
Croton-on-Hudson
N.Y.

From: Shakhova, Nina
C 1; Perekopskaya ul, 17,
Sect. 5 Apt 398, Moscow

3 P; Stone, Jeremy Judah,
Washington, D.C
Russia

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-434872)

DATE: 1/25/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-38670)

SUBJECT: JEREMY JUDAH STONE
SM - C

#MOR16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/JAG
1125/94 89803 RDD/KFA
#337238, 339336, 339337, 340196, 340198

Enclosed is one Xerox of correspondence and contacts with the C & P Telephone Company, Washington, D. C., by subject. The information was furnished by (SAC Contact HORACE R. HAMETON)

an official of C & P Telephone Co
The enclosures disclose subject is a Director and National Council member of the Federation of American Scientists, 203 C Street, N. E., Washington, D. C., which is making inquiries regarding wiretapping by the FBI.

The foregoing is furnished for information purposes.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 3)
2 - WFO
(1 - 80-93)
RGK:MCP
(4)

ENCLOSURE

EX-115

REC 8

JAN 26 1971

INT. SEC.

XEROX

FEB 22 1971

FEB 25 1971



FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

203 C Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002
Code (202) 546-3300

HERBERT F. YORK
Chairman

DR. JEREMY J. STONE
Director

Irvin L. Goldberger
Vice Chairman

January 14, 1971

National Council Members

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ichael H. Goldhaber
orton Halperin
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avid R. Inglis
arvin Kalkstein
. E. Luria
Matthew S. Meselson
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J.J. Primack
George William Rathjens
Leonard S. Rodberg
Arthur H. Rosenfeld
Cameron B. Satterthwaite
Herbert Scoville, Jr.
Victor W. Sidel
Jeremy J. Stone
Victor Weisskopf
Lincoln Wolfenstein

Mr. Frank M. Steadman
General Counsel
C & P Telephone Company
1710 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Steadman:

As I explained to you when you were kind enough to grant me an interview with yourself and Mr. Howard C. Anderson, Vice President and General Counsel of C & P, the Federation of American Scientists is looking into the question of privacy of communications with a view to informing our members. I have left you with three requests. I wanted to know the number of persons who had asked C & P to check their lines with a view to possible evesdropping. I wanted to speak to the management of the security department that conducts such checks. And I wanted the privilege of interviewing some of the men who deal directly with customers in installing and checking phones. I appreciate your willingness to consider these requests and I look forward to your response.

As I mentioned to you over the telephone, I am still confused about certain questions and wonder if, for the sake of precision, I might write you about them. The fact of the matter is that I have received conflicting reports on some of these questions.

1. As far as is known to C & P, representatives of other Government agencies do not a) own trucks that are designed to give the impression that they are telephone company trucks; b) send their personnel into homes along with C & P personnel (whether with Government warrants or otherwise) in such a way as to create the illusion that both are repair men c) otherwise represent themselves directly or indirectly, as telephone company personnel. Is this correct?

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22. 1971

ENCLOSURE

2. As far as is known to C & P, has any telephone company employee ever been disciplined or fired for electronic evesdropping whether authorized or unauthorized. How common is this?

3. You have advised me that the telephone company does not "place the taps" that may be authorized by court order. Does it, however, a) lease lines for that purpose b) supervise the placing of the taps c) otherwise cooperate in the placing of the tap. In the case of court-ordered evesdropping that may use the telephone lines, does the telephone company cooperate with law-enforcement officials whose warrant is to evesdrop electronically on conversations not taking place over the phone, but who wish to use the telephone on the premises (or its lines) for evesdropping purposes. Does it, for example, supervise the placement of suitable devices on telephones?

4. You have advised me that, apart from national security evesdropping, the telephone company advises persons on whose lines evesdropping devices are found that such devices have been found, even if the devices were placed by court order. You said that this is done after the Department of justice is notified. May I see a blank copy of a form advising a private party that evesdropping had been going on on his line? How many persons were advised that such devices had been found over the last few years? How many devices have been found? How many persons issued requests for inspection of their lines? Are reports of these statistics made to the F.C.C.?

5. Does the telephone company have written procedures for verifying and handling requests of the Federal Government for cooperation in national security evesdropping cases? Is it satisfied that all requests made to it, in this regard, by the Justice Department, military intelligence agencies and/or the CIA were personally authorized by the Attorney General acting for the President?

6. Has the telephone company found evidence of wiretapping by Soviet or Eastern European agents?

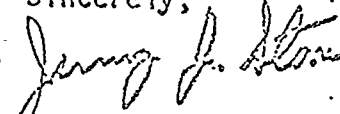
7. Has the telephone company ever uncovered a bugging device in the office, or at the home, of a Congressman or Senator? I do not wish to know particulars of a private nature, of course.

Let me thank you in advance for helping me with these questions. As you know, a sizable number of persons seriously question the security of their telephone lines. A complete and full answer to these questions would, I am sure, allay many of the anxieties my members feel.

- 3 -

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,


Jeremy J. Stone
Director

JJS:dc

FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

203 C Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002
Code (202) 546-3300

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Irvin L. Goldberger
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DR. JEREMY J. STONE
Director

January 4, 1971

Mr. Thomas E. Bolger
President
Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone
Company of Virginia
1710 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bolger:

I am writing to you as Director of the Federation of American Scientists to request an interview to discuss certain aspects of telephone company involvement in bugging and wire tapping. The Federation is interested in such matters with a view to encouraging appropriate congressional action. If you or one of your associates could discuss these sensitive questions with me, it would be most helpful.

Sincerely,

Jeremy J. Stone
Jeremy J. Stone
Director

JJS:bmc

#MDR16
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DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2ALM/PTG

THE CHESAPEAKE AND POTOMAC TELEPHONE COMPANIES

#MOR16 /
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DATE 12/27/00 BY SP-2 ALM/1376

Washington, D. C., January 18, 1971.

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE:

Re: Interview with Dr. Jeremy J. Stone

In response to Dr. Stone's letter to Mr. Bolger, a copy of which is attached, I called Dr. Stone on January 7, and arranged to meet with him on January 8 at 2:30 p.m. in my office. Howard C. Anderson was present during most of the meeting.

In response to our inquiry, Dr. Stone described the Federation of American Scientists as a nonprofit organization interested in legislative action with respect to issues affecting science and society. With respect to himself, Dr. Stone stated that he held a doctorate in mathematics, although he was not actively pursuing that discipline at this time. He indicated that he had recently written on political subjects, and that his current activity was directed toward political and social problems.

Dr. Stone stated that he was interested in our procedures for handling national security and other authorized wiretapping. He was told that we had specific procedures for handling court-ordered wiretapping which we would outline for him, but that we would not discuss national security wiretapping and that this aspect of the subject should properly be discussed with the Federal agencies involved.

Dr. Stone expressed dissatisfaction with our refusal to discuss national security wiretapping; he stated that one of his concerns is that uncontrolled cooperation between the "bureaucracies" of the Telephone Company and the F.B.I. was a distinct possibility and would impose a real hazard to the legitimate privacy of individuals. He expressed a strong feeling that this area was a legitimate concern for organizations such as his, and that a refusal to discuss the subject was unwarranted.

We repeated that we would not discuss national security wiretapping, and that anything that was said did not apply to this area. With respect to court-ordered wiretapping, we stated that our practice was that an employee of the Company would inspect the court order to determine that it was valid on its face before any cooperation was given. Dr. Stone asked to see the form on which a record of such inspection was made. He stated that the procedure for inspection would undoubtedly require a form and he appeared skeptical of our statements with respect to our practice. He continued to talk of the action of the F.B.I. and

2 ENCL
200X

appeared to be ignoring the distinction between personal security and other lawful interceptions. We again pointed out that we were discussing only procedures in court-ordered interceptions, and further told him that the assistance provided in such cases was ordinarily limited to cable and pair information, and that additional assistance was only provided under unusual circumstances. We stated that, to our knowledge, additional assistance in no case had included the actual connection of the tap by employees of our Company.

Dr. Stone inquired about our handling of requests for line checks by subscribers who suspect a tap. We told him that a check would be made, and that the customer would be advised whether or not evidence of tampering was found. Taps would be reported to law enforcement agencies to determine if they were court-ordered and to afford opportunity for investigation if unlawful, but that the customer would be advised in any event.

Dr. Stone asserted that our statements were inconsistent with testimony by Bell System witnesses at Congressional Hearings. He indicated that he was referring to testimony before the Long Committee, and we pointed out that the policy we were discussing was formulated to implement the provisions of the Omnibus Crime Control Bill of 1968 and that the practices were not necessarily applicable prior to that time. Dr. Stone requested the number of such inquiries from subscribers, and the results of our investigations. We indicated that we would see what information was available. He asked if reports of such activities were made to the F. C. C., and we said that we did not know whether any such reports were required, but that if required, they were undoubtedly made. Dr. Stone remarked that there was some conflict in testimony he had read concerning whether or not such reports were made.

Discussing the handling of customer complaints, we pointed out that a report to the suspect was required by the law within a short period following termination of the interception; Dr. Stone later indicated that he was not aware of this provision.

Dr. Stone asked how we would feel about impersonation of Company employees by law enforcement officials engaged in interceptions. He was told that we would not like such a practice. Dr. Stone asserted that such action was wide spread and shouldn't something be done by the Company about it. We replied that we had no knowledge of such impersonations, and since our employees were not in uniform it was difficult to distinguish between a Company employee and other craftsmen wearing tool belts. Dr. Stone again asserted that the practice was wide spread; that our craftsmen knew all about it; and that the Company should investigate the matter.

Dr. Stone asked if our statements reflected policy throughout the Bell System. He was told that we were speaking only for our particular Company, and that practices might or might not vary to some extent among other companies; this was a national problem as to which there had been discussions among the System companies, but the practices adopted by this Company reflected its view of proper procedures in the light of its particular situation.

Dr. Stone questioned whether the design of our plant facilitated unlawful tapping, and referred to some purported instance in New York where private lines had been wired with the connivance of craftsmen to permit dialing in on "thousands of lines." I indicated that I had no knowledge of the particular instances to which he referred, and stated that the technical aspects were beyond my competence. Dr. Stone indicated that his organization had the capacity to develop information in this area.

Dr. Stone indicated that he would like to pursue this subject further with employees in the security organization actually administering our practices and with linemen actually working in the City. I did not encourage him to believe that we would comply, but indicated we would consider this request and his request for information concerning the number of requests for line checks and the results of our investigations.

Frank M. Steadman, Jr.
General Attorney

FMS/pjf

183-10190

(JTG)
I HAVE FILE

100-434872



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

May 6, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Jeremy J. Stone

On April 22, 1966, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Jeremy J. Stone, of Harvard University, advised Dr. L. N. Kutakov, Senior Advisor of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, 136 East 67th Street, New York City, that he was sending several copies of his book for forwarding to interested persons in the Soviet Union. Stone indicated to Kutakov that he had already mailed copies of his book to several persons in the Soviet Union who are interested in disarmament.

The source advised that Stone intended to attend the International Congress of Mathematics in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and would be in Moscow with his wife, a student of the Russian language, as well as a Doctor of Mathematics, from August 14 to August 30, 1966. Stone indicated to Kutakov that if it were possible to discuss questions of disarmament with persons to whom his book had been sent, he and his wife could stay until September 5, 1966. Stone further indicated, according to the source, that his comments would reflect only his personal opinions, but this in no way would make him less eager to exchange views on the question of disarmament.

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YOUR AGENCY.

NY 105-CR

NYO indices further reflect that ISIDORE KAMINSKY STONE, father of JEREMY STONE STONE, was a CP member in the mid 1930's and was still active in the CP in 1945. He was editor and publisher of the "I. S. Stone Weekly," and in the past has been critical of the FBI and its investigation (Bureau file 100-97073, New York file 100-90340).

For the aid of the Boston Office, the communication is set forth in its entirety as follows:

It is on stationery entitled "Harvard University Center for International Affairs," and is addressed to Dr. L. N. KUTAKOV, Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations, 136 East 67th Street, New York, New York, and dated April 20, 1966.

"Dear Dr. Kutakov;

"I received today your letter of April 11 with its very thoughtful suggestion that you might be able to forward several copies of my book on my behalf, to interested persons in the Soviet Union. This is most kind and I would like to avail myself of this opportunity. I have already mailed copies of this book to the following persons interested in disarmament whom I have met; Academician Smolyanov, Millionshchikov, and L. I. Sedov, Professors Kulinsky, and Mr. V. P. Kovlichenko. I have also written to a Mr. Geronima who, by chance, had quoted my father's views on strategy. If you would, at your discretion, choose six other persons to whom the attached copies might usefully be sent, I should be very happy. In the event that I later send still further copies to the USSR, I shall assume that Academician V. A. Khvostov and Professor V. N. Laitsman, whom you mention, have already received one.

"Since we spoke at Harvard University, my interest in sending these books to the USSR has grown because of my decision to attend the International Congress of Mathematicians in August - you may have noticed that mathematics is my profession. It is my hope that it will be possible in August, not only to observe the Congress, but also to discuss those important questions of disarmament of which I have written. My wife, who is a student of the Russian language as well as a Doctor of Mathematics, will accompany me. We

NY 105-OR

will be in Moscow from August 14 to August 30 at least; if, in fact, it seems likely to be possible to discuss questions of disarmament and if your government permits us a longer visa we may stay until September 5. As you know, I am a non-governmental student of these matters. My comments would reflect only my personal opinions but I am no less eager to exchange views for that. Therefore, if it is possible, and convenient, for you to signify my interest in discussions to those persons to whom these books are sent I should be especially indebted.

"Thank you again for your assistance and, especially for reading my book; this is what authors most require.

"With best regards,

"Sincerely

"Jeremy J. Stone"

The NYO has summarized the above letter in the LHM in an effort to further conceal the confidential source.

Boston is requested to ascertain if the writer of this communication is identical to the son of the long-time CP member, ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE. If identical, Boston should handle in accordance with instructions contained in Section 105K of the Manual of Instructions.

Boston should also be alerted to the fact that the Soviet Intelligence Service is especially interested in cultivating and using persons of STONE's caliber. It is extremely possible that if STONE is the son of the long-time CP member, the KGB may be aware of this and could possibly utilize some way to approach STONE while he is in Moscow.