FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

NEW LEFT

MINNEAPOLIS

100-449698-43

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTICE

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 8/1/68

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
~~DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT~~

Re Bureau letter dated 6/7/68 authorizing anonymous mailings of copies of "Time" magazine article concerning [redacted]

On 7/19/68 anonymous mailings pertaining to this matter were made to the following individuals:

[redacted]

These letters were mailed anonymously, typed on paper obtained from a local source, and the envelopes were obtained as regular stamped envelopes through the U. S. Post Office, being mailed from the University Station in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

100-449698-45-6

Submitted herewith is a sample xerox copy of the anonymous note and a copy of the "Time" magazine article.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) REC-47
2 - Minneapolis
WPE/bab
(4)

ENCLOSURE

1 AUG 5 1968

AUG 14 1968

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

5010-108-02

TO WHOM IT SHOULD CONCERN

Persons affiliated with the SDS group on our Campus have privately stated that Herbert Marcuse [redacted] plans to visit with them in the near future. Attached is an article which recently appeared in Time magazine concerning him. Let us not permit the type of situation which recently plagued Columbia University.

A CONCERNED Gopher

100-449698-43-6

~~100-449698~~ 314

ENCLOSURE

COMMUNISTS

Russia Wooing

Who was that gentleman ta[illegible] so much like a Super-European? Jean Monnet? Paul Henri-Spaak? Not at all. It was none other than the foreign editor of Pravda, the official organ of Russia's Communist Party—a man whose words and ideas could reasonably be expected to reflect the latest thinking and policy ambitions of the Kremlin. Last week, vacationing in The Netherlands, Yuri Zhukov spoke to the Dutch political weekly *Haagse Post* about what Russia has in mind when it comes to Europe, East or West. His obvious message: After soft-pedaling for the sake of *détente* their desire to replace U.S. influence in Europe with their own, the Russians are once again busily out to woo the Europeans.

Zhukov, 60, assured Europeans that they need not be scared by the "dire predictions" of French Journalist Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber that U.S. business may one day dominate the Continent's economy. "If all Europeans, that is you and we, pull together," he said, "we can soon be boss in our own house." Then he cracked: "The Americans, with their strange habit of liquidating their leaders, should turn to their own neighbors, Canada and Mexico, for cooperation."

Dismissing NATO as "a completely useless affair," Zhukov admitted sportingly that the same might be said of the Warsaw Pact. "We must dissolve the two blocs and organize a system of European cooperation, economically, scientifically, culturally and even politically." For a start, Zhukov backs a Belgian project calling for a "Pan-European orientation conference," at which parliamentarians from all European countries would voice their plans for collaboration.

Fleas & Elephant. A united Europe is bound to emerge as the world's leading power, predicted Zhukov, making it clear that Russia ought to be included in the family. Even before the birth of the U.S., he said, "Dutch merchants traveled to St. Petersburg and Peter the Great came to Holland to learn a trade." This type of cooperation, he feels, continues today in such enterprises as the French Renault and Italian Fiat auto plants in the Soviet Union.

Charles de Gaulle's vision, in which the Continent is also divorced from the U.S., calls for a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Zhukov's view does not stop at the Urals: "Russians are Europeans, no matter what side of the Urals they live on." Yet Russia obviously considers De Gaulle an ally in its European policy, so much so that even his recent fulminations against Communism in France do not bother Zhukov in the slightest. "That's election talk," he says. Nor does he think much of the student radicals who have lately upset De Gaulle. Comparing Rebel Leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit with Leftist Guru Herbert Marcuse of the University of California, Zhukov said: "Cohn-Bendit is a flea and Marcuse an elephant, although I strongly criticize his ideas too."

EDITOR ZHUKOV (IN THE NETHERLANDS)
No peer since Peter the Great.

Little Hope. The Russians, who two years ago proposed an all-European security conference to disband the Continent's military pacts, are looking next door again with renewed interest. While the Viet Nam war persists, they foresee little hope for enlarged trade or other accords with the U.S. Instead, they seem ready to make new overtures to Western Europe, with its increasingly sophisticated technology. Moreover, with the U.S. preoccupied elsewhere, and with some Europeans wary of U.S. influence in their countries, Moscow may now feel that it has an outside chance to impose its own political formulas on the Continent.

WILLY BRANDT (AT 1967 NATO MEETING)
No relaxation without relations.

WEST GERMANY

Conversation in Berlin

In addition to imposing strict travel control over passenger and freight traffic between West Berlin and West Germany, Communist Boss Walter Ulbricht has solemnly decreed that no senior officials of the West German government may set foot on East German territory. Last week Ulbricht's law was flouted by his closest ally. After secret arrangements worked out by the Soviet Union through Swedish intermediaries, a black Mercedes with a Russian driver called for West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt in West Berlin, whisked him past East German checkpoints without even bothering to stop, and drove him to a suburban villa in East Berlin.

There, with only three aides present, an extraordinary confrontation took place. For eight hours, Brandt, the author of West Germany's policy of conciliation toward Eastern Europe, talked with the U.S.S.R.'s ranking authority on German problems, Pyotr Abrasimov, the Russian Ambassador to East Germany and a member of the Communist Party Central Committee.

What did they talk about? On his return to West Berlin, Brandt was unusually closemouthed about his meeting, refusing to answer newsmen's questions. But, after talking with many of Brandt's Socialist and Cabinet colleagues, TIME Correspondent Herman Nickel pieced together what happened in East Berlin. His report:

First over coffee, then at supper on the terrace, and later over Russian cognac, Brandt tried to impress on his Soviet host the fact that, as he put it, "the East German measures are damaging and place a burden on efforts to reach a *détente*." Despite the good personal relations between the two men (they met five times while Brandt was still West Berlin's mayor), it was a tough session. Though he issued no blustery warnings, Brandt made it clear that Bonn would not allow itself to be provoked into abandoning its policy of improving relations with the East bloc—a policy whose moderate success in Bucharest, Prague, Belgrade and Budapest obviously seemed to Ulbricht and his Soviet backers to be a dangerous flanking operation.

In a cool ploy, Brandt openly mused whether the East German moves were indeed serving the best interests of the Soviet Union. He explained that Ulbricht's aggressive actions only encouraged the rise of right-wing extremism

NO-449698-43-6
ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

This new development presents a great threat at the University of Minnesota and potential for a counterintelligence attack.

It should be noted that in prior years there has been little or no rebellious or dissident political activity among students at the University of Minnesota. Almost all student political action groups have ceased to function during the summer months, therefore, it is questionable as to whether there will be any significant organized New Left activity, with the exception of the information previously stated.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

Pursuant to Bureau letter dated 6/17/68, no contact will be made by the Minneapolis Office, as previously indicated, with [redacted]

Attempts will be made, however, to obtain necessary information relating to the identity of the key persons involved in continuing the current status of both [redacted] on the campus of the University of Minnesota so that these persons may be indirectly furnished information in such a manner to negate or nullify the actions of both [redacted] on campus. Likewise, attempts will be made to establish the identity of key persons who are seeking or who are in a position to block [redacted] of Minnesota.

The above information will be solicited in an indirect, discreet manner, possibly through the normal course of other business conducted on the campus of the University of Minnesota.

An item appeared in the 6/28/68 issue of "Time" magazine, on page 20, referring to comments of Editor YURI ZHUKOV, who is a foreign editor of Provda in the Netherlands. In this article ZHUKOV is quoted as follows:

[redacted]

"That's election talk," he says. Nor does he think much of the student radicals who have lately upset De GAULLE. Comparing Rebel Leader DANIEL COHN-BENDIT with Leftist GURU HERBERT MARCUSE of the University of California, ZHUKOV said: 'COHN-BENDIT is a flea and MARCUSE an elephant, although I strongly criticize his ideas too.'"

Bureau authority is requested to make anonymous mailings of this news release in "Time" magazine to key persons on the high administrative level who may be in a position to block the [redacted] University of Minnesota.

3. Tangible Results

There are no known tangible results under this program to date.

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 7/8/68

REC- 12

Director, FBI (100-449698) 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1
1 [redacted]

100-449698-43-3

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReMPairtel 6/28/68.

Authorization is granted to make anonymous mailings of copies of the "Time" magazine article concerning Dr. Herbert Marcuse to key administrative personnel at the University of Minnesota. You should attach the article to a brief anonymous note to the effect local SDS members have privately stated [redacted] plans to visit with them in the near future and the attached article is to alert responsible officials to his background and likely future violence by SDS as a result of his visit.

You should obtain paper from a local source and insure material prepared is not traceable to the Bureau or Government. Furnish a copy of the letter to the Bureau after mailing.

Results of this counterintelligence operation should be promptly furnished the Bureau.

MAILED 5
JUL - 8 1968
COMM-FBI

MLS:jes
(6)

NOTE: [redacted] The 6/28/68 issue of "Time" magazine quotes Yura Zhukov, foreign editor of "Pravda" in the Netherlands as follows: "COHN - BENDIT (French leftist student leader) is a flea and Marcuse an elephant, although I strongly criticize his ideas too." It appears alerting University of Minnesota officials to [redacted] radical background and association with [redacted] is warranted and could lead to its blocking his appearance there.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JUL 18 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 7/3/68

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 [redacted]
1 [redacted]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reurlet 6/14/68 which reports that several individuals active in the New Left movement smoke marijuana.

Your letter points out that an informant suspects these individuals of being addicted to narcotics. You should alert the informant to advise you promptly when he receives information that these individuals are having a party where marijuana will be used. You should promptly report this information to the police department upon your receipt of it. The informant should also be alert to any of these individuals being in possession of narcotics. If the informant can determine that any of them possess narcotics, an effort should be made to determine its location. Your contacts on the police department should be immediately advised so that the narcotics may be seized and the individuals involved arrested.

100-449698-43-4

Obviously, no action should be taken which will compromise the informant. Keep the Bureau advised of any action contemplated.

BAW:jes
(6)

REC-3

JUL 8 1968

EX-103

NOTE:

Bulet to all offices dated 5/23/68 requested all offices to advise the Bureau of evidence of immorality among the New Left elements. MP has advised that three of the New Left leaders in the MP area smoke marijuana and may be addicted to narcotics. A MP criminal informant has said these individuals smoke marijuana. If these individuals could be arrested while doing so or be found in possession of narcotics, they would be completely neutralized. MP is being instructed to furnish this type of information to the police department which we should do in any case.

COMM-FBI

66 JUL 11 1968 MAIL ROOM TYPE UNIT

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 7/3/68

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau airtel to all offices captioned as above dated 5/28/68.

Enclosed herewith are 15 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled "New Left Activities--University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota."

The only senior college or university within the Minneapolis Division at which there appears to be any significant New Left activity is at the University of Minnesota.

The informants referred to in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

MP T-1 [redacted] 100-449698-43-5

MP T-2 [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 15) (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
WPE/bab
(5)

EX 109

REC-21 17 JUL 9 1968

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY ACSI; ONI; OSI; RAD; SEC SERV.
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORM 7-10-68
HOW FORM R/S
BY R/S

INT. SEC.

JUL 18 1968

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

MP T-3 [redacted]

MP T-4 [redacted]

MP T-5 [redacted]

MP T-6 [redacted]

The letterhead memorandum is being classified "confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants of continuing value the disclosure of which information may tend to jeopardize their future effectiveness.

As previously explained to the Bureau, the current informant coverage on New Left organizations and activities in the Minneapolis Division appears to be satisfactory. [redacted] coverage concerning the Afro-American Action Committee. Additional information concerning activities of [redacted] Additional coverage in this organization is currently being sought. It is felt, however, that other racial informants may move into a position to enhance our coverage. The activities [redacted] The current coverage on this organization appears to be quite satisfactory.

In respect to an evaluation of the potential for violence on campuses within the territory of the Minneapolis Office for the coming year, there appears to be no real expectation of any extensive violence. On the basis of previous activity, it is questionable as to whether any violence can be expected. Of significance, however, is that de individuals can be expected to appear on the scene and th prospect for disorder and violence becomes questionable.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. MP 100-14155 Minneapolis, Minnesota
BU 100-449698

July 5, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 2046
ON 9/20/77
EFG FTC

NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

The following is a summary of New Left activity at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota:

New Left Organizations

There are three organizations operational at the University of Minnesota which can be classified as New Left organizations. These organizations are the Students for Democratic Society (SDS), the Afro-American Action Committee, and the Minnesota Mobilization Committee. UMINN

In regard to the SDS, the University of Minnesota Directory of Student Organizations for 1966-67 compiled by the Student Activity Bureau states that the SDS at the University of Minnesota has as its stated purpose the following:

> "Seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern, one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. Maintains a vision of a democratic society where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. Seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political, and social organizations."

9/20/77 EFG FTC

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

100-449698-255

ENCLOSURE 100-449698-43-5

NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

CONFIDENTIAL

On June 4, 1968, MP T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the SDS group at the University of Minnesota during the fall quarter of 1967 was a relatively small group consisting of about eight to ten core members and additional persons who were sympathetic. The organization was completely ineffective and influential as a campus political organization. For all political purposes it became defunct and ceased to exist during the winter quarter of 1968.

On May 16, 1968, MP T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that early in May, 1968, the SDS at the University of Minnesota was re-organized. The [redacted] This new group held its first meeting early in May, 1968, on which occasion approximately 75 persons attended.

There is no regular membership currently in this group; however, about 30 to 40 people have indicated a real interest and have regularly attended meetings in May, 1968.

The new group, in the same manner as the previous organization of the SDS, does not desire to align itself with the national organization of the SDS. It is an independent organization using the SDS name for the purposes of publicity and disguise.

In regard to the Afro-American Action Committee, MP T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on May 6, 1968, advised that the Afro-American Action Committee is predominately a Negro organization at the University of Minnesota dedicated to ridding the University of Minnesota of racism and promoting the aim of Black Power. This organization is not known to have a formal structure or regular membership. Approximately 15 to 25 Negroes have supported this organization.

MP T-4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on January 11, 1968, advised that the Minnesota Mobilization Committee was a newly-formed organization

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

specifically organized for the purpose of pooling together all of the various anti-war organizations in the area and to be the prime mover of this activity in the future. This organization resulted from a regional conference held at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, on December 2, 1967, by various peace groups. This conference was largely planned and organized by the Twin Cities Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (TCB-SWP). MINN

For a characterization of TCB-SWP, see attached appendix page.

On June 7, 1968, MP T-4 advised that there was no regular membership within the Minnesota Mobilization Committee. Its meetings are open to all members of the public and there is no regular membership. The organization is not a student organization as such; however, a number of students from the University of Minnesota opposed to the war in Vietnam and military draft are supporting this organization.

ATTENDED MEETING WEB DUBOI CLUB 11-30 AND 12-7-69 - MINN. MASS. - MO. - WIS

Ring Leaders

[redacted]

On May 16, 1968, MP T-2 advised that [redacted] at the University of Minnesota. STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Records of the Office of Faculty, University of [redacted]

[redacted] with police officers. He was convicted of the charge of "interfering with police officers" and sentenced to six days in the workhouse.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] was one of the two or three main leaders in the final confrontation between university officials and protesting students on the University of Wisconsin campus on October 18, 1967. [redacted] demands were so unreasonable that it became clear that he and his followers had no intention to comply with the law and in fact were intent upon disrupting the university to the point of civil violence.

The [redacted] edition of the "Milwaukee Journal," a Milwaukee, Wisconsin, daily newspaper, stated that [redacted] had been arrested in Madison, Wisconsin, on a disorderly conduct charge for his activity on October 18, 1967.

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed [redacted] in attendance at meetings of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) held in Madison, Wisconsin, November 30 and December 7, 1964.

For characterization of the DCA, see attached appendix page.

MP T-5, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] was present at a DCA meeting of the University of Wisconsin on October 11, 1966.

[redacted]

On June 4, 1968, MP T-1 advised that [redacted] has participated in several anti-war rallies and demonstrations at the University of Minnesota as well as in

front of the Federal Courts Building in downtown Minneapolis, Minnesota, during the past year. He is an advocate of Black Power and participated in a protest demonstration in defense of H. Rap Brown in Minneapolis on March 20, 1968. He has been a principal speaker at several protest demonstrations and his principal concern is with the liberation of the Negro.

The November 15, 1967, issue of the "Minneapolis Star," a daily newspaper published in Minneapolis, Minnesota, carried an article identifying H. Rap Brown as chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

For characterization of the SNCC, see attached appendix page.

The [redacted] issue of the "Minneapolis Tribune", a daily newspaper published in Minneapolis, Minnesota, carried an article entitled "U Militant Admits Breach of Peace." This article referred to [redacted] as the leader of a militant black organization at the University of Minnesota who pleaded guilty to a breach of peace charge stemming from his arrest on May 1, 1968. He pleaded guilty in Hennepin County Municipal Court on May 17, 1968. He was initially arrested at the University of Minnesota because he had failed to pay $185 in overtime parking tickets.

Various informants familiar with Communist Party and SWP activities in the Minneapolis area in the past have previously been contacted concerning [redacted] however, all advised they have no information to indicate that he is closely aligned with or influenced by either the Communist Party or SWP.

[redacted]

On January 25, 1968, MP T-6, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]

[redacted]

Records of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, show that [redacted]

On June 4, 1968, MP T-4 advised that [redacted] joined the TCB-SWP in [redacted] He has been an extremely active member of the TCB-SWP since that time. He has served on the Executive Committee of the TCB-SWP and as of June, 1968, is considered [redacted] of the TCB-SWP. During the past year he has been active on the campus of the University of Minnesota organizing youth and has been making regular reports to the TCB-SWP concerning student and demonstration activities, particularly the activities of the Minnesota Mobilization Committee in which he is highly active and a leader. During a portion of the current year, he has been paid by the party for his student organizational activities in the Minneapolis area. It is felt that next fall he will be the full time paid regular organizer of the TCB-SWP.

Disruptive Activities

There have been no disruptive activities resulting in violence or necessitating arrest during the past year at the University of Minnesota according to MP T-1 as of June 4, 1968. Source advised, however, that there were only several

occasions in which the protest demonstrations on the campus at this university were other than completely orderly or conducted in a peaceful fashion. During October, 1967, there were three days of protest action in connection with the Dow Chemical Company recruiters who made an appearance at that time. The protest action did result in direct confrontation with these recruiters in which it was necessary to move the recruiting offices to another building. This demonstration was conducted largely by persons sympathetic to the SDS, but had no real organizational sponsorship. Another incident involving direct confrontation was in May, 1968, when about 15 demonstrators interrupted the inaugural program for President Malcolm Moos at the University of Minnesota on May 9, 1968. The group marched in front of the auditorium stage and stood behind the speaker demanding that certain stipulations of this group be heard concerning the protest of a recent arrest of Lester Cannon. No violence occurred, nor were any arrests necessitated. The group which participated in this event were largely supporters of Lester Cannon and the Afro-American Action Committee.

There has been no indication of outside influence in any of the direct confrontation incidents, nor has there been any evidence of faculty participation.

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.

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against

CONFIDENTIAL

you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

(1)

TWIN CITIES BRANCH
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

A source advised on May 23, 1967, that the Twin Cities Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (TCB-SWP) was formed on August 21, 1955, through the merging of the Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, branches of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This merger was carried out with the approval and under the direction of the national office of the SWP.

The TCB-SWP is an affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(1) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-[illegible])

FBI

Date: 6/28/68

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Rebulet to Minneapolis 6/17/68 and bulet to all offices 5/10/68.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

The potential for counterintelligence action against the New Left within the Minneapolis Division has previously been set forth in Minneapolis letter dated 5/21/68. It appears to date, the most logical targets for this action continue to be the potentials against [redacted]

100-449698-43-3

Subsequent to Minneapolis letter dated 5/21/68, a new development has occured having potentials under this program. By teletype dated 6/7/68 the San Diego Office advised Minneapolis a confidential source had advised on 6/7/68 that [redacted]

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Minneapolis
WPB:ldo
(4)

REC-12

JUL 8 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ INT. SEC.
Special Agent in Charge

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/31/68

FROM : SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68.

In regard to potential counterintelligence action against the New Left within the Minnesota-Dakotas area covered by the Minneapolis Division, such action will, by necessity, be primarily directed against specific individuals or activities rather than organizations. For some time there has been no significant or effective New Left organizational activity within the Minneapolis Division, with possibly several exceptions. Within the past month there has been an attempt to reorganize and activate a new Student for Democratic Society (SDS) at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota. There has also been a relatively small but highly radical Negro student group at this University known as the Afro-American Action Committee. It appears that the new organization impetus given to the SDS is the result of the recent appearance of a new radical and militant leader on the campus of the University of Minnesota. He is [redacted] who was formerly a New Left leader and trouble-maker at the University of Wisconsin. The principal activist and leader of the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC) is a young Negro militant known as [redacted]

It would appear that at the present time the most effective and meaningful counterintelligence attack within this district should be directed against these two individuals, despite the fact that, to date, neither of these two organizations has been too effective. Both interest groups, however, do have great potential for future activity.

REC-105

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted] was arrested on the campus of the University of Minnesota in May, 1968, for an accumulation of 14 traffic violations on the campus. His arrest as a Negro caused considerable consternation and accusations of police racial prejudice. Radical elements subsequent to this arrest demanded [redacted] release, caused several protest demonstrations, and interfered with inaugural proceedings of the new University of Minnesota president during the second week in May, 1968.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Minneapolis

MCT N100-449698-43-1

JUN 5 1968

WPE:CK
(3)

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PERS. REC. UNIT

This group made unreasonable demands as a counter-maneuver to [redacted] arrest, including the request for suspension of five police officers, numerous Negro scholarships and the disarming of the University of Minnesota police. None of these requests have been honored. The final upshot of the incident was considerable publicity; however, the usually Left-Wing-slanted student newspaper, the "Minnesota Daily," carried numerous articles severely critical and chastising [redacted] and his followers. It is felt that [redacted] lost considerable prestige as a result of this incident.

In considering a counterintelligence attack on [redacted] the AAAC, the Minneapolis Office has detected several points of vulnerability in each case. [redacted] the AAAC are vulnerable in that [redacted] The AAAC is considered a campus student political group receiving student group privileges such as the use of University facilities. Such privileges are allowed only to student-approved organizations by the University administration; however, the AAAS has never received administration sanction. This group likewise, at least unofficially, does not permit white student membership despite the fact its main hue and cry is racial discrimination.

In respect to specific contemplated action by the Minneapolis Office, it is felt it would be quite imperative at this time to make contact and to take into confidence several persons who could deal more directly with the problems and implementing our planned attack.

On May 28, 1968 [redacted] voluntarily contacted [redacted] of this office and specifically requested advice and counsel as to what he and his department might do to oust [redacted] from this University, as well as possibly other trouble-making elements on the faculty and the student body. He expressed considerable disgust in the fact

that his hands were tied to deal with any specific problems of this nature directly. He felt it was necessary for him "to play the game under the table" in order to be effective. He pointed out that heretofore the University of Minnesota has been unusually fortunate in not being plagued with radical and violent elements. He has received recent information that New Left national leaders such as at Columbia University and at Berkeley, California, are vitally concerned about the lack of New Left activity at the University of Minnesota and plan to make organizational attempts to get this University off of "dead center." He felt that at the present time [redacted] presented the greatest potential for student radical agitation of any person who has ever been at this University.

It should be noted that [redacted] has been in almost daily contact with this office and has been unusually helpful, cooperative and reliable. [redacted] is likewise vitally concerned with the current New Left problem. It is requested that Bureau authority be granted to contact both [redacted] to devise plans to neutralize current organization efforts by [redacted] and possibly have him removed from the University of Minnesota.

The Bureau is also requested to authorize the Minneapolis Office to make contact with [redacted] Minneapolis Division. [redacted] University of Minnesota, [redacted] the Young Americans for Freedom, which is currently the most effective and best-organized Right-Wing student political group at the school. [redacted] and this group have previously carried on their own campaign to negate and neutralize New Left demonstrations and activities. [redacted] has been particularly helpful to the Minneapolis Office in the past in combating radical and subversive elements at this school. He has given every indication of being extremely reliable. He is highly intelligent and discreet and has good contact at the office of the "Minnesota Daily," the student newspaper at this University.

MP #100-14155

[redacted]

University of Minnesota [redacted] is extremely capable, reliable and discreet. It is felt that through her, arrangements could be made for publicizing embarrassing incidents relating to New Left action and people, as well as striking at points of vulnerability directed at [redacted] and the AAAC. [redacted] will likewise be utilized in an attempt to neutralize organizational efforts by [redacted] as well as publicize embarrassing details concerning [redacted] and the AAAC.

Should the Bureau authorize these contacts, they will be made in a discreet manner. The Minneapolis Office will approach this matter with these individuals on the basis of its being a personal concern on the part of the Agent making the contact and not as any part of a planned or organized program.

The Minneapolis Office will closely pursue this matter and take advantage of any particular incident as it presents itself; however, it is felt the most significant action that could be currently taken is the action previously explained.

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 6/17/68

1-110

REC 125 Director, FBI ~~(100-449698)~~ - 59

100-449698-43-1

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reurlet 5/31/68.

Authority is denied to contact [redacted] to devise counterintelligence plans. Your office is to devise counterintelligence plans and submit them to the Bureau for approval. In the event it is necessary to take [redacted] into your confidence to carry out one of the plans, you should then ask Bureau authority. The existence of the Counterintelligence Program is not to be made known to individuals outside the Bureau.

With regard to your suggestion to utilize [redacted], in counter-intelligence activity on the campus, such request is not approved. Absolutely no use of [redacted] is to be made in captioned Program in view of possible embarrassment to the Bureau. You may, however, accept any information they may volunteer in matters of interest to the Bureau.

BAW:jes
(6)

NOTE: Bulet to all offices dated 5/10/68 instructed that all offices advise the Bureau of counterintelligence plans to disrupt the New Left. The MP Office did not suggest a specific plan; however, it requested permission to contact [redacted] individuals are very cooperative with the Bureau and are considered reliable sources. The purpose of the contact was to devise counterintelligence plans to neutralize the New Left at the University of Minnesota. It is not desirable that counterintelligence plans be discussed with outsiders.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

55 JUN 25 1968

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/14/68

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to All Offices dated May 23, 1968.

1. False Allegations of Police Brutality

There have been no attempts on the part of any militant minority elements attempting to disrupt or take over college campuses within the Minneapolis Division area. There have, however, been various antiwar and draft protests, as well as anticollege administration actions and only in a very few instances have there been minor skirmishes of a physical nature. There have been no known arrests with these New Left protests or skirmishes. Almost all instances of protest and student provocation have terminated in a peaceful manner with no necessity for police action. There have been no instances of alleged police brutality, largely in view of the fact that police have not been needed to intercede in most cases.

In view of this situation there have likewise been no instances in which undue provocation or violence have been taken towards the police.

2. Immorality

There is evidence of immorality existing among the New Left elements within the Minneapolis Division; however, from reports of other areas it would appear that the extent of immorality and depraved conduct is not nearly as extensive in this area. A number of individuals in the New Left

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Minneapolis
WPE:jsm
(3)

REC-46 100-449698-127
100-449698-43-2
EX-102
15 JUN 20 1968

57 JUL 3 1968

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Movement are undoubtedly closely associated with the hippy element, which is obvious from their dress and outward conduct; however, in many cases no specific information relating to immoral actions is known.

In respect to known questionable activities, the prime movers of the New Left activity at the University of Minnesota are several individuals who have dominated the existing elements of both the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the W.E.B. DuBois Club at the University of Minnesota during the current school term.

[redacted] This informant has been with these three individuals on occasions when they have been smoking marijuana and have thrown wild parties involving the hippy elements and loose sex behavior. This informant suspects all three of these individuals of being on narcotics and particularly [redacted] as being addicted and seriously having effected his health.

A review of the Minneapolis files reflects the following information relating to leading characters in the New Left Movement:

[redacted]

[redacted] SDS and has been active in remnants of the DuBois Club.

In October, 1967, 25 residents of the West Bank area near the University of Minnesota were arrested on drug violations. Immediately after this series of arrests, [redacted] protest action in front of the office of the President of the University of Minnesota protesting the police action, requesting all participants in the protest to be stoned, at what he termed a "stone-in" as a peaceful protest maneuver.

[redacted]

A release in the "St. Paul Pioneer Press" on [redacted] refers to the fact that [redacted] had told the press he would show up "stoned" if he were ever called upon to testify about the University Chapter of the W. E. B. DuBois Club before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

He was described as being well-known on the University campus as a cut-up. He loves to shock people and likes publicity.

[redacted]

According to [redacted] frequently uses marijuana and is suspected of using other drugs. [redacted] is not known to have a criminal record; however, he is associated with the hippy element of the West Bank area near the University of Minnesota and participates in many of the wild uninhibitive parties together with other people of the group.

[redacted]

According to [redacted] he is a frequent user of marijuana and no doubt is involved in using habit-forming drugs. According to this source, [redacted] has been hooked on drugs and his physical and mental health has been degenerating rapidly. He is almost completely ineffective politically because of his loose morals and drug habits.

[redacted]

According to [redacted] has within the past two years become hooked on habit-forming drugs and is completely deteriorating physically and mentally. He has previously been active in the DuBois Club movement, but during the current year has not been in school, in view of the fact that he has [redacted]

In May, 1968, the [redacted] advised that [redacted] frequently is observed participating in various types of protest activity.

[redacted]

[redacted]

According to [redacted] as of March, 1968 [redacted] has frequently attended SDS meetings and has participated in various student protest activities. He, however, is not a leader or an advocate of violence. According to this source, he is barely tolerated by other members of the SDS and demonstrators. He is both mentally and socially deficient. He is reported to be considered as a real problem and to have personality disorders; however, there have been no reports to date that he has been a user of drugs.

[redacted]

In connection with the latter arrest, subject was involved in a drinking party at the [redacted] in which arrests were made in view of the fact that the proprietor felt there was immoral activity in the room in which [redacted] was located with others. On this same occasion, [redacted]

at the University of Minnesota and has been active in the

Black Power Movement. [redacted] role during protest demonstrations. [redacted]

Date	Offense	Disposition
[redacted]		

difficulty in obtaining funds from one of the offices at the University of Minnesota, [redacted] became highly incensed and indicated that [redacted]

After a demonstration at the Federal Building in Minneapolis in [redacted] to have destructive and explosive tendencies. One of the principal contributing factors to [redacted] condition was the fact that [redacted] hated White people with a tremendous intensity [redacted]

[redacted]

The "Milwaukee Journal" as of March, 1968, indicates that he was arrested in Madison, Wisconsin, on a disorderly conduct charge for his activities on October 18, 1967.

[redacted] during a demonstration when [redacted] interferred with police officers. He was convicted of the charge of interferring with police officers and sentenced to six days in the workhouse.

The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, advised that the [redacted] This suit is currently pending.

During the Spring Quarter, he has been active in organizing demonstration rallies in Minneapolis and organizing SDS meetings on the campus.

3. Action by College Administrators

Almost all demonstrations and protests of the New Left of any magnitude or importance in recent years in the Minneapolis Division has taken place at the University of Minnesota. There has been no particular problem of New Left activity in other smaller colleges in the area. There are, of course, certain individuals on smaller college campuses causing agitation, but the student political climate on these campuses have not been favorable to their actions.

At the University of Minnesota there have been no clear-cut examples in which a firm stand by college officials have been particularly effective nor has there been any clear-cut examples of vacillating attitude in unfavorable results.

The University of Minnesota currently has a student body in excess of 40,000 people. This University has no doubt had less problems with New Left elements than any other school of its size. There currently appears to be some organized attempt by elements in other areas to get this student body off of "dead center." The reasons for the success in dealing with the New Left element at this school is highly speculative.

Of possible interest to the Bureau are theories and practices by University administration officials.

[redacted] has maintained over the years that his office has been effective in following a policy of not permitting a situation in which the students would have a basis for a fight with the administration. He has continually contended the main underlying motives in students desiring highly controversial speakers on the campus was merely to find a basis for a scrap with the University officials. He has been very successful in not permitting this to happen. He has done so by granting almost complete freedom in having national communist leaders, as well as persons like GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL, appearing at this school. He is personally not in favor of such appearances, but believes that his liberal policy has curbed considerable trouble. Administrators at the University of Minnesota have been very tolerant towards protest actions on the part of students and have leaned over backwards to hear the voice of the students' protest. They have drawn a distinct line between listening tolerantly and taking a weak vacillating position. In general, they have permitted students to do everything but clearly violate the law. When clear-cut violations of the law can be established, arrests are made and firm prosecutive action is taken. When arrests have been made, the police have been on a sound basis and therefore, the mass of the student body has been in support of the administration.

A recent example of this was the arrest of [redacted] a militant Black Power group. It was not necessary to have arrested [redacted] for any outwardly known actions; however, he had accumulated fourteen traffic tickets in the area of the University of Minnesota. The campus police arrested and charged him, bringing him to jail. Considerable consternation

followed this arrest in view of the fact that [redacted] Several protest actions were taken as a result of this arrest, however, no violence was involved. The final upshot of the entire event was that the student body was sympathetic with the action taken by the administration. Several highly critical editorials were published in the student newspaper criticizing [redacted] and he lost considerable popularity and stature among students at this school.

Another example of success by tolerant action was a sit-in in front of the office of the President of the University in which certain students were protesting a small increase in tuition. This demonstration, which was of a peaceful nature, occurred in about May, 1966. The 30 or 40 students who participated in this event fully expected to have a confrontation with the police by their refusal to leave the building after normal business hours at which time the building was locked. The administration decided not to lock the building on this occasion and during the course of the long night, the police served the demonstrators coffee. The demonstrators became highly incensed at this fine treatment and the protest action died an immediate natural death.

It would appear in summary that the administration has followed an action of listening honestly and acting firmly and honorably.

Of particular significance, however, is the fact that the University of Minnesota has been plagued with violence prone undergraduate students who have not remained at the school for a long period of time, but has not been plagued with any faculty members who have been highly militant or advocates of violence.

The Minneapolis Office will be continually on the alert for the type of information set forth in this letter and will promptly and thoroughly report such information to the Bureau.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI DATE: 5/31/68

FROM : SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68.

In regard to potential counterintelligence action against the New Left within the Minnesota-Dakotas area covered by the Minneapolis Division, such action will, by necessity, be primarily directed against specific individuals or activities rather than organizations. For some time there has been no significant or effective New Left organizational activity within the Minneapolis Division, with possibly several exceptions. Within the past month there has been an attempt to reorganize and activate a New Student for Democratic Society (SDS) at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota. There has also been a relatively small but highly radical Negro student group at this University known as the Afro-American Action Committee. It appears that the new organization impetus given to the SDS is the result of the recent appearance of a new radical and militant leader on the campus of the University of Minnesota. [redacted] The principal activist and leader of the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC) is a [redacted]

It would appear that at the present time the most effective and meaningful counterintelligence attack within this district should be directed against these two individuals, despite the fact that, to date, neither of these two organizations has been too effective. Both interest groups, however, do have great potential for future activity.

REC-106

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted] was arrested on the campus of the University of Minnesota in May, 1968, for an accumulation of 14 traffic violations on the campus. [redacted] caused considerable consternation and accusations of police [redacted] Radical elements subsequent to this arrest demanded [redacted] release, caused several protest demonstrations, and interfered with inaugural proceedings of the new University of Minnesota president during the second week in May, 1968.

1 JUN 5 1968

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Minneapolis

MCT N100-449698-43-1

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

WPE:CK
(3)

INT. SEC.

PERS. REC. UNIT

SAC, Minneapolis 8/28/68

From Director, FBI (100-449698) [redacted]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReDEtel 8/19/68 captioned "Peace and Freedom; New Politics Parties National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan."

Retel shows that [redacted] distributed approximately $2,000 to delegates during the above Convention. Bufiles contain no reference to [redacted]

Both Detroit and Minneapolis are to immediately conduct investigation to identify her and to obtain complete background information concerning her. This is to be furnished to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination along with recommendations as to whether further investigation is warranted. You are to also include in your recommendations as to counterintelligence action which can be taken against her.

2 - Detroit

BAW:jes
(6)

ST 102

REC 17 ~~100-449698-352~~
100-449698-43-7

19 AUG 29 1968

MAILED 82
AUG 28 1968
FBI

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

VIA TELETYPE
SEP 4 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Tompkins
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

R 20

URGENT 9-4-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT.

RE BUREAU TEL SEPTEMBER THREE LAST.

INASMUCH AS TWO LARGE LOCAL GROUPS WITH WHICH MINNEAPOLIS WAS SENDING ONE SOURCE EACH, DECIDED AT THE LAST MINUTE NOT TO ATTEND THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, NO MINNEAPOLIS SOURCES WENT TO CHICAGO.

AIR MAIL COPY CHICAGO.

EX-100

100-448698-43-8

RECEIVED 1:39 PM VXC

REC-9

17 SEP 6 1968

61 SEP 13 1968

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 9/30/68

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68 and Minneapolis letters to the Director dated 7/3 and 8/1/68.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

During the 1967-68 academic year, there has been no real significant New Left activity within the Minneapolis territory from the viewpoint of students being involved in arrests, direct confrontation, or violence. During the very brief period of the new school year, there has been no real indication of increased or decreased activity, and thus no real evaluation can be made at present concerning specific future potentials. It would appear from previous actions that the main area of New Left concern will be at the University of Minnesota in the Minneapolis and St. Paul area which currently has an enrollment of close to fifty thousand students. Of particular interest in this respect is the fact that the two principal personalities as targets of this program during the last spring quarter; namely, [redacted] no longer appear to be enrolled in the U of M. According to recorded enrollment data to date and sources available, these two individuals have not been seen on this campus or are recorded in the enrollment records.

It appears from sources available that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) will again be active on the U of M campus. In view of the different objectives of these groups and certain existing hostilities, a good potential exists whereby these differences and this hostility can be exploited in the future. When current leaders are identified, attempts

EX 110 REC-33 100-449698-480

2 - Bureau
2 - Minneapolis
WPE:dmd
(4)

100-449698-43-110

OCT 7 1968

OCT 17 1968

INTL SEC

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will be made to take advantage of personal conflicts. Future potential which can be utilized to an effective advantage is anonymous mailings of student and underground newspapers to responsible college officials as well as influential donors and legislators of Minnesota, and one to St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

In the past, there has been considerable usage of marijuana and drugs in the West Bank area near the University of Minnesota, and frequently arrests have been made. These arrests, and particularly if and when they concern elements of the New Left, present possibilities of embarrassment to these individuals and the movement. This situation will be followed closely. There appears to be no real concern about this future appearance at this University. No real evaluation can be made at this time.

In general, it is quite early to make specific evaluations of potentials as the specific new leaders and organizations have not been identified. To assure that these concerns will be fully considered in all areas during September, office memorandums were directed to all agents of the Minneapolis Office, particularly alerting them to the dangers of the New Left and the need for reporting of their activities as well as the needs for current effective coverage. It is realized that effective and on-the-spot coverage will be necessary to properly assess current potentials under this program.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Present pending counterintelligence action consists largely of more effective coverage of New Left activity and particularly attempting to identify the actual and potential individuals who will be involved in the scene of activity. It appears that almost an entirely new set of characters will be active on the local New Left scene. Until these characters and organizations have been identified, little effective action can be taken.

In recent months, significant mailings have been made. Re letter dated 8/1/68, refers to proposed mailings of "Time" magazine articles concerning [redacted] These mailings were made as outlined and approved. It might be noted that officials at the University of Minnesota fear that [redacted] was making plans to come to the University of Minnesota. Fifteen copies of reproductions of the article appearing in "Ramparts" magazine entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia

is a Warning to All American Universities" were distributed. Ten of these copies were made available to administrators of the University of Minnesota, two to officials at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota, two to Carlton College, Northfield, Minnesota, and one to St. Cloud State College at St. Cloud, Minnesota.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no known specific tangible results which can be reported at this time. It might be noted that [redacted] has not come to the University of Minnesota and there currently appears to be no real concern about his future appearance at this University. No real evaluation can be made as to whether the anonymous mailings were effective.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/24/68

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two enclosures; one enclosure being marked obscene containing two recent articles which appeared in the "Minnesota Daily", a student newspaper published at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The other item is entitled, "SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos", by EUGENE H. METHVIN, which article recently appeared in the "Reader's Digest", 10/68 issue.

The Minneapolis Office requests Bureau authority to use these items in connection with the above-captioned program. If such use is sanctioned, the article entitled, "SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos", will be anonymously mailed to administrative officials of the University of Minnesota; University of North Dakota; Carleton College and Moorhead State College, at which schools there appears to be a current threat of SDS activity. Authority is also requested to mail a copy of the "Minnesota Daily" dated 10/1/68 which portrays NANCY LEHMANN carrying an obscene sign to her parents and to mail a copy of the 10/8/68 issue of the "Minnesota Daily" to the parents of JOHN BRIDGEMAN, the author of the obscene letter contained in this issue.

(2) - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 2)
1 - Minneapolis
WPE:ldo
(3)

Sealed
ENCLOSURE
~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED~~

100-449698-43-11
~~100-449698-566~~

REC 51

11-4
~~18 OCT 28 1968~~

~~EX-114~~

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

5010-108-02

Minnesota Daily

An Independent Student Publication

'71 Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota—Tuesday, October 1 No. 7

English Dept. chairman

daily protests essay ban

By RICK MITZ
Assistant City Editor

"We believe that censorship, be books, the classroom, or wherever, has no place in this institution of higher learning. Any attempt to impair academic freedom should be resisted by the faculty, administration, students, and the community."

—petition distributed at yesterday's rally

Leaflets, petitions, protest signs, and four-letter words greeted the audience of a Rally yesterday in front of the English Dept.'s Vincent Hall headquarters.

The rally was held to protest English Dept. Chairman J. W. Clark's decision to prohibit the use of the essay, "The Student As Nigger" from freshman English classes.

The essay condemns teachers for treating students as slaves, and blames students for accepting their roles as "niggers."

THE ISSUE of the rally, however, seemed to be lost amid debates on obscenities.

The first speaker at the midday demonstration was Nancy Lehmann, CLA junior, of the Free University.

Miss Lehmann, megaphone in hand, denounced "the system" saying the banning of the essay was "the worst kind of censorship."

MOST OF HER speech, however, was an argument with various members of the crowd of 200 over the use of four-letter words.

"Fuck society!" Miss Lehmann cried out to the gathering crowd. At that point, a student in the crowd asked, "What's the purpose of using four-letter words?"

Rick Sklader, CLA senior, pushed his way through the crowd and tried to explain. He suggested that students run into their classrooms and yell, "Fuck!" "Your teacher will grimace," he said.

AFTER MUCH debate on the subject of obscenity, Sklader drew an analogy between being a "nigger" and toilet training. "They're both learned," he said.

"Some of us like our toilet training," a member of the crowd yelled out. "It keeps the floor clean."

Eli Rosenfield, a math teaching assistant, also defended the use of four-letter words. "My father can't

Rally
(Continued on page 5)

MSA evaluation booklet unfinished

The Minnesota Student Assn. (MSA) Course Evaluation Booklet, scheduled for completion before school started this fall, is still far from finished.

Because of mechanical failures, an inadequate summer staff, and resistance by some persons not being surveyed, the booklet's coordinators won't finish it until winter ers by circling responses graduated from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly." There was also room for additional comments.

But several teachers failed to return the questionnaire, and many replies were received from teachers whose classes had not filled out questionnaires, Bob Swisher, MSA senator, said yesterday.

Photo by Morris

Demonstration in front of Vincent Hall yesterday.

Daily printers, other local stee

...avoid these words in his publication, the students should ... his immediate dismissal.

Ambrose is a Daily staff member.)

campus forum

...e presses

...th A. J. Burns (Campus ... 4). The Daily should ... any events which are ... illogical, or aestheti... ...sing." Publishing news ...nice is an insult to the ... the many readers who ...part of the University ... (they seem to be the ...e complaining).

I suggest that you ...g any articles about ...ace (prejudicial), ... (illogical), or Hu... (aesthetically dis...

Bill Hvot
S.B.A. junior

...ord weakened

...o the use of the "four... in the Daily, but for ...sons than most. What ...tes of obscenity fail ...hat to force the accep... obscene term is to ...word's utility.

...eauty of obscenity, its immediate connotative effect, is purely a function of its unacceptability in common parlance. Once the word is commonplace, it will be little different from its Latin-derived synonym.

In recent times the frontiers of acceptability have been pushed back further and further until now there are probably only two or three words unacceptable to ordinary newspaper reporting. Now the Daily is launching an attack against this last bastion of obscenity. With the demise of the obscene word our language will have lost something.

John Ellis Anderson
CLA senior

...e Daily justified

I disagree with the outraged puritans. I think the Daily did a good job of covering the demonstration in front of Vincent Hall. The four-letter word on the poster was exactly what the protest was about,

Campus Forum

(Continued on page 5)

Minnesota Daily

campus forum

...to the editors

(Continued from page 4)

censorship of an essay without regard to the merits of the work.

I also congratulate the Daily for taking a bold step against our ridiculous hang-ups about useful, direct, and meaningful words. I'm incredulous that anyone can be offended by a piece of paper with an impersonally written word that doesn't pertain to them personally or to anybody else.

Quite frankly, I think ability to use these words in the right way, as the Daily did, is a mark of maturity. Even in casual, everyday conversation there are occasions when these earthy words are ...nable additions. A person who ... use them skillfully will appear ... impressive and dignified. I enj... the company of a girl more if ... can say "fuck" or "shit" in a gra...ful way. It makes her all the m... charming and attractive.

Only sick people give ... words an abrasive tone when ... say them. People free of the hang-ups are empowered in th... conversation with an assertive ...berness and an aura of propri... and diplomacy.

John Bridgin...
CLA sen...

CYCLING IN EUROPE — SUMMER, 19...

Report of Minnesota Hostelers

Wednesday, October 9

8:00 p.m.

343 Coffman Union

Sponsored by American Youth Hostels

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That's what you pay for all these personal checking

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SDS: ENGINEERS OF CAMPUS CHAOS

A small but highly active band of college students, calling themselves Students for a Democratic Society, are doing everything they can to dispense with both democracy and society.

by Eugene H. Methvin

During the past year, college campuses across the United States from Columbia to Stanford exploded with violence, bloodshed and arson. In the thick of this disruption was an organization of self-proclaimed radicals called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

This fall, as classes resume, educators and police who once shrugged off SDS as just another band of youthful rebels are bracing for more trouble. To see why, look at a sampling of SDS's recent record. At the University of Wisconsin last fall, 70 persons were injured after an SDS-organized riot against Dow Chemical Co. recruiters. At the University of Georgia, SDS-led demonstrators occupied the administration building, demanding that women students be allowed to drink and stay out all night. At San Francisco State, they launched a rampage of looting, brawling and attempted arson of a campus bookstore, all in the name of defending four hoodlums who had beaten up the editor of the student newspaper. At the University of California in Berkeley, they deployed radio-directed students as shock troops, erected barricades and fought pitched battles with police in an assault on the Oakland Induction Center.

New York University philosophy professor Sidney Hook sums it up: "By their lawless actions, the members of SDS threaten to become the true grave diggers of academic freedom in the United States."

SALABLE LINE. SDS was activated in June 1962 by a gathering of 59 collegians at Port Huron, Mich. The organization's first manifesto was the "Port Huron Statement," a 30,000-word mildly Marxist economic critique of America. In it, the members were, in one SDSer's words, "naming the enemy and then saying how to get him."

This has proved a most salable line among the new collegiate generation. In just 14 years, America's college population has skyrocketed from 2,600,000 to seven million. Typically, at Cornell the biggest freshman and sophomore classes fell to green teaching assistants with an average age of 26; at Berkeley, 900 graduate assistants carried the instruction load in the first two years, and classes often bloated to 1500. Thousands of students arrived on campus expecting close and intellectually enriching contact with wise professors, and instead crashed up against the increasing impersonality, the anonymity and regimented demands of today's mass universities.

Some among them began looking for a scapegoat. Yale psychologist Kenneth Keniston calls the activists a tiny minority with a "protest-prone personality." Prof. Lewis Feuer, who quit Berkeley in disgust after campus totalitarians took over, found them "possessed by a terrible, compulsive irrationality that corrupted their idealism." Another critic diagnosed this significant and talented minority as "super-idealists, unhappy because America fails to live up to its textbook image, upset because life is different from dreams."

Bored with the prospect of ordinary careers in the affluent "post-industrial" technocracy, many of these students began cranking SDS mimeographs, walking picket lines and attending SDS rallies. By mid-1968, SDS claimed to have 6300 dues-paying members with another 35,000 unregistered participants in 250 chapters, all under the direction of SDS headquarters in a shabby two-room flat on Chicago's West Madison Street.

MIMISKIRTS AND MANUALS. The student who walks into an SDS meeting today hears Marxist rhetoric often virtually indistinguishable from Radio Moscow's worst Stalinist paranoia. SDS organizers denounce "oppressors," "exploiters," and the "Al Capones who run this country." The university is a "colony" of "the military-industrial complex." Members refer openly to themselves as "professional revolutionaries" whose careers are "committed to the destruction of imperialism and capitalism." SDS National Secretary Greg Calvert boasted to a New York Times reporter: "We're working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We're actively organizing sedition."

Scores of those who have swallowed the SDS hook are attracted by big issues such as slum poverty, civil rights and the Vietnam war. But SDS strategy also calls for pouncing on any issue that will excite students. At Princeton it was letting girls in the dormitories, at the University of Texas the presence of a Confederate flag, at San Francisco State a food-price protest and demand to take over the cafeteria and bookstore, at the University of Chicago a controversy over draft-deferment exams and class rankings.

"Every attempt should be made to connect campus issues with off-campus questions," advises former SDS Vice President Carl Davidson. "In the high schools, raise demands to wear long hair and miniskirts, and then politicalize them," prescribes a California SDSer. At Wisconsin, another reports, "We organized dormitory students around rules, and then it was easy to move them on such issues as the unviersity's relation to Chase Manhattan Bank."

Specific suggestions for throwing monkey wrenches into the machinery of society include such tactics as: Picking public fights with welfare workers; starting trash-can fires and pulling fire alarms in high schools as "forms of protest"; making appointments by the score with university deans and registrars--to "overuse the bureaucracy"; checking out an inordinate number of books to disrupt libraries and study programs; disrupting draft boards by registering under a false name so "federal agents will spend much time attempting to track down people who do not exist." Such tactics are far more than youthful pranks. Their ultimate goal is nothing less than the destruction of society itself.

HOW PINK? Though the SDS has an image of independent radicalism, mounting evidence indicates it is not as much a "New Left" as it would have press and public believe. For instance:

Communists have sat in on SDS meetings and coached organizers from the start. In turn, SDS leaders have been welcomed at secret communist conventions.

The 1965 SDS convention repealed a constitutional stipulation barring communists from membership. Subsequently, Communist Party leaders quietly told members they "could work through SDS." Soon a Progressive Labor Party group sympathetic to the Red Chinese moved into SDS. Today the Maoist, Stalinist and Trotskyite Communist Parties abound at SDS conventions and control some SDS chapters.

SDSers maintain contacts with communist nations through frequent foreign travels. Tom Hayden, an SDS founder and its tactical chieftain, visited Hanoi in 1965 with top U.S. Red strategist Herbert Aptheker. He has also sojourned in Moscow, Peking and Havana. In September 1967, ten SDSers journeyed to Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, for a week-long ultra-secret pow-wow with Vietcong and North Vietnamese representatives. Other leaders went to Havana for Castro's International Cultural Congress last January.

A strong communist flavor was vividly apparent at SDS's national convention in East Lansing, Mich., last June. Moved by the romantic image of Castro, delegates spouted the maxims of Che Guevara and paraded in khakis. Of the three national officers chosen, only one failed to proclaim himself a communist. Before her unanimous election as inter-organizational secretary, non-student Bernadine Dohrn, 26, was asked if she was a "socialist." Her reply: "I consider myself a revolutionary communist." At that, the audience of 500 rose in cheers.

The SDSers marched the red flag of communist revolution and the black flag of anarchy to the dais of their convention hall. Without a ripple of dissent, speaker after speaker espoused the dogma that American society must be destroyed by constant disruption now and revolutionary "armed struggle" when the time is ripe. "The ability to manipulate people through violence and mass media has never been greater, the potential for us as radicals never more exciting, than now," one speaker proclaimed. Behind the scenes, FBI intelligence has revealed, a secret workshop in "sabotage and explosives" dealt with what type of bomb best destroys communications and how to fire Molotov cocktails from shotguns.

Yet it would be a mistake simply to identify all SDS members as Moscow or Peking communists. Indeed, many are actively anti-Kremlin and non-communist. Their common bond "is a passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down," says FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. "To put it bluntly, they are a new type of subversive, and their danger is great."

To understand how dangerous, look at the SDS in action at the most explosive of the recent disorders--the upheaval at Columbia.

REVOLT AT COLUMBIA. Late last year, 300 delegates to the SDS National Council at Bloomington, Ind., decided to launch a national campaign they dubbed "Ten days to shake the empire." Secret caucuses picked Columbia for a "beacon" demonstration whose flare would spark a nationwide conflagration.

Field general for the insurrection was junior Mark Rudd, who had been named Columbia SDS chapter chairman after returning from a January tour in Cuba. On March 27, he led a hundred followers into Low Library, Columbia's large-domed administrative center, and demanded that the university end its sponsorship of a defense research institute. Ordered to appear for disciplinary action, Rudd announced that a new march would be made into Low Library on April 23. Blocked by 200 anti-SDS students on that date, he and his followers stormed into Hamilton Hall, Columbia's main undergraduate classroom center. There they imprisoned Dean Henry Coleman and two aides for 25 hours and unveiled a list of "demands," ranging from complete amnesty for Rudd and others to stopping construction on a nearby gym bordering Harlem. The next day, an SDS raiding party smashed into and occupied Low Library; later three other university buildings were seized. Raiders broke into the university president's office, filched his files, handed out copies of his personal correspondence. They set up a "war room" in one building and coordinated activity through a network of 40 walkie-talkies, telephones and runners.

Shut out of their classes, other students were outraged. They formed a "Majority Coalition," swiftly marshaled 2000 signatures demanding that the university president take "firm action." Said Coalition spokesman Paul Vilardi: "Students do have some reasonable complaints, but what SDS is doing to Columbia is like slitting your wife's throat because she eats crackers in bed."

But President Grayson Kirk vacillated. He suspended gym construction, and reportedly promised to end military research, even to tender his own resignation "for reasons of health." So 400 anti-protesters, wearing coats and ties as their own badge of protest, formed a human wall around Low Library offices to stop food and messengers. The radicals tried to storm through, swinging fists, but the blockaders held. Finally, with the radicals rumored to be arming themselves with pipes, staves and bricks, Kirk sent the Majority Coalition home and asked police to clear the buildings.

At Low Library, 500 students and faculty blocked the way; at Fayerweather Hall, another 125. They screamed "Police brutality!" into grinding television cameras as police formed a standard riot wedge and charged, bloodying noses and heads. Police arrested 707--26% not on Columbia student rolls.

"This cop violence is good!" said Rudd. "We're going to get a lot of help." Grabbing the police intervention issue, SDSers inveigled many former critics into joining a campus-wide strike. The Columbia faculty gave in and canceled formal classes for the rest of the school year.

But that was not the end of the Columbia tragedy. Four weeks later Rudd and his followers marched into Hamilton again. Campus gates were barricaded, and, following a peaceful arrest, fires were set in Fayerweather, and bricks were hurled at police. Someone even broke into the office of a professor who had condemned extremism, and there burned his manuscript and notes representing ten years of research.

TIME TO GET TOUGH. The sad lesson of Columbia was stated by New York Times education writer Fred M. Hechinger: "Any society, academic or otherwise, that lacks the will to defend itself against illegitimate disruption and takeover is crippled and, as a free society, may be doomed."

Indeed, the lessons must now be clear to all:

1. Students and faculty must support prompt action to maintain campus peace. At Brooklyn College, when SDSers seized the registrar's office, other students condemned the disrupters as "today's version of Hitler's storm troopers," demanded "strict enforcement of the law"--and got it. College authorities summarily expelled the rebels, police carted them off, and peace returned to Brooklyn College.

2. College administrators must not appease or temporize with totalitarian minorities using coercion and anti-democratic tactics. Although the intervention of civic police was abhorrent to all, both students and administrators at Columbia admit that firm action taken against the first few hundred Hamilton Hall sit-ins would have avoided the escalation of protest to a university-wide strike. Before Columbia's troubles were over, 5000 students were involved, a serious clash with police had occurred, and the entire school had suffered an inestimable loss of prestige.

3. We must all support basic university reforms that are needed. Inevitably, a "knowledge factory" atmosphere has developed from the campus population explosion, with accompanying depersonalization and frustration. Educators must pay far more attention to the individual student and to legitimate, orderly expression of grievances.

Talking to educators and students around the country, I find a hopeful, growing determination that responsible, forceful action by the democratic majority can demolish the SDS "imperialist conspiracy" syndrome. "Students are usually idealists and in fact come to college to seek a better world by getting the best possible education," Columbia junior Jonathan Edelstein said to me. "But if we let a dictatorial extremist minority who think they have already found all the answers rob us of that opportunity, we will lose the future."

(Copied from the Reader's Digest, October, 1968)

1 - [redacted]

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 11-4-68

Director, FBI ~~(100-449698)~~ 566
REC-51 100-449698-43-11

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

EX-114

Reurlet 10-24-68.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail a copy of the photograph, submitted as an enclosure to relet, to the parents of [redacted] You may also anonymously mail a copy of the letter written by [redacted] in support of [redacted] to his parents.

In making these mailings you are to take all necessary steps to protect the Bureau as the source.

With respect to the "Reader's Digest" article, the Bureau has ordered reprints in quantity. A supply will be sent to you on receipt at the Bureau.

RHH:dgf
(4)

NOTE:

By relet Minneapolis recommended that a copy of the photograph be sent to the parents of [redacted] This photograph appears in the "Minnesota Daily," a student newspaper published at the University of Minnesota. The photograph was taken during a demonstration conducted by students at the university. The photograph shows [redacted] carrying a large sign bearing the quotation "obscene (a four-letter word) Puritans." While there is no indication in the article appearing in the "Minnesota Daily" that the demonstration is inspired by the New Left, the tenor of the photograph is such that it shows obvious disregard for decency and established morality. An article also appeared in this same newspaper written by [redacted] This article supports [redacted] use of obscenities. Minneapolis recommended further that this material be sent anonymously to his parents. Minneapolis also requested copies of an article in the "Reader's Digest" by Eugene H. Methvin entitled "SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos."

MAILED 20
NOV 4 - 1968
COMM-FBI

NOV 13 1968
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

0-1 (Rev. 8-5-64)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: SAC, Minneapolis (Your file 100-14155) DATE: 11/5/68

FROM: Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-449698-43) Room No. 902 9&D

☒ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 9/19/68.

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ report ☒ letter ☐ letterhead memo ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ submitted ☒ will be submitted 11-15-68

Reporting employee

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☒ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

☐ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ letterhead memo ☐ 90-day progress letter by (Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O - 781-652
907-7 48

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 11/15/68

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReMPlet to Bureau 9/19/68.

In addition to the investigation set forth in MPairtel to Bureau in the case entitled "Peace and Freedom, New Politics, Party's National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/17-18/68" the Minneapolis Office has conducted additional investigation in an attempt to further identify [redacted] Security sources of the Minneapolis Office have previously been alerted to her and a recent canvas of informants fails to reflect any additional information. A review of the Minneapolis File entitled "Minnesota Peace and Freedom Party" which refers to numerous individuals in the area associated with this organization failed to contain any reference to her. A recent check of the Minnesota Driver's License Bureau, St. Paul, Minnesota, failed to reflect that any person having such name was revealed as a driver in the State of Minnesota. It would appear that [redacted] is not a resident of the State of Minnesota nor is she active in New Left activities; therefore, no additional active investigation is being conducted to attempt to identify her.

ST-103

REC 56 ~~100-449~~ 60

100-449698-43-12

ICI 902 (PHD)

2 - Bureau
2 - Detroit
2 - Minneapolis
1 - 100-14211

28 NOV 21 1968

PE:EBB
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INT SEC

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

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 12/31/68

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all Offices dated 5/10/68 and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 9/30/68.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The principal potential for counterintelligence action within the Minneapolis Division at the present time appears in attempting to prevent the formation of several newly proposed groups of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at several of the smaller colleges in the Minnesota-Dakotas area. Since the beginning of the new school term, sources have advised that certain elements are attempting to organize and receive school recognition of SDS groups at the following colleges in Minnesota: Mankato State College, Lea College, St. Cloud State College, Moorhead State College, Winona State College, and a college in Aberdeen, South Dakota, known as Northern State College.

It is felt that placing copies of the recent SDS article appearing in the October issue of Readers Digest in the hands of responsible and key officials at these colleges could have a considerable deterring effect.

[redacted] has periodically become involved in a leadership roll of New Left protest activity. His last activity was over a year ago; however, he recently again acted [redacted] in which a small group of Negroes confronted the president and made demands. This incident provoked some ill feeling and resulted in publicity. [redacted] has

REC 49 100-449698-183-13

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
WFE:cjp
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15 JAN 8 1969

EX-103

61 JAN 17 1969

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

been almost completely inactive for a year, but he may be a potential troublemaker in the future as he is considered a good speaker and has an ability to lead students.

At the present time inquiries and concerns are being made as to the means of possibly stifling [redacted] activities. Quite recently it was confidentially learned that one of the reasons that [redacted] has been relatively inactive and unusually quiet is that he misappropriated some funds, presumably an amount in excess of $900. [redacted] Within the past month there has been a complete shake-up in this organization with new leadership taking over, which leadership appears to be friendly and cooperative to this Office. Discreet inquiries are being made as to [redacted] actual manipulations and misappropriations so that this situation might possibly be exploited to an advantage in quelling his future activities.

In the past there have been cases of usage of marijuana in the West Bank areas near the University of Minnesota. Although no recent arrests have been made of individuals involved in any possible New Left activity, it is generally known that many of the participants in the local protests and demonstrations are users of drugs. Close liaison is being maintained with the Minneapolis Police Department as well as the University of Minnesota Police Department to pursue any opportunity involving the arrest of persons active in the New Left movement.

It should also be noted that the Minneapolis Office has specifically attempted to increase its informant coverage in the New Left area; and, hence, with the increased coverage, additional opportunities and potentialities in the counterintelligence field should be presented and will be pursued.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

By letter dated October 24, 1968, the Minneapolis Office requested to obtain authority to disseminate the article entitled "SDS, Engineers of Campus Chaos" appearing in the October issue of Readers Digest. Likewise, authority was requested to mail copies of the Minnesota Daily, dated October 1, 1968, portraying an obscene sign carried [redacted] to her parents as well as a copy of the October 8, 1968, issue of the Minnesota Daily to the parents of [redacted] Copies of the Minnesota Daily dated October 1, 1968, were mailed to [redacted]

The twenty copies of the SDS article appearing in Readers Digest furnished by the Bureau on November 15, 1968, have been distributed at the colleges previously mentioned where it appears new SDS groups are forming and attempting to obtain college recognition.

The Minneapolis Office feels that this article has tremendous counterintelligence value and has requested 500 additional copies of this Readers Digest reprint which will be distributed to all areas and to persons who may prevent subsequent SDS actions.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no known specific tangible results which can be reported at this time. It might be pointed out, however, that recent press articles and statements by militants have indicated that the climate for radicalism in the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota area in general has not been favorable and this New Left activity has been curtailed considerably.

P 100-14155

A recent article in the October 6, 1968 issue of the Minneapolis Tribune refers to a survey being made concerning student radicalism at the University of Minnesota. The article stated that the possibility of hoards of screaming students invading the University of Minnesota buildings for the SDS and perusing the president's private correspondence was declared not to be likely. The survey showed that despite some gripes, students at the University of Minnesota were not about to seize buildings or riot in order to dramatize their complaints. The survey showed that all students preferred to effect reason by going to others with authority or organizing through the students governments. It should be noted that to date, no acts of violence or arrests in connection with such acts have been made among the radical student elements within the Minnesota-Dakotas area.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 1/14/69

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 11/4/68 and Minneapolis FD-399 dated 12/3/68.

By letter dated 10/4/68 the Minneapolis Office submitted a copy of an article entitled "SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos" by EUGENE H. METVIN which appeared in the October issue of "Readers Digest". The Minneapolis Office requested Bureau authority to use the dissemination of this material in connection with the above captioned program. By letter dated 11/4/68 the Bureau advised that reprints of the "Readers Digest" article have been ordered and that a supply would be sent to the Minneapolis Office.

Twenty copies were furnished to the Minneapolis Office which were almost immediately disseminated. The Minneapolis Office is interested in a large supply of this article and in Minneapolis letter dated 12/31/68 it was explained that the principal potential by this program was in attempting to prevent the formation of newly formed groups of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) within the division. It was pointed out that currently at at least six senior colleges SDS groups are in the status of formation.

In the past the Minneapolis Office has received various requests from college officials for such information relating to the un-American and subversive nature of the SDS. It is felt that this information in the hands of key college officials and other persons in high and influential positions could readily use this information to a good advantage. Likewise the Minneapolis Office desires a supply of these articles for future reference purposes.

~~100-449698-712~~

100-449698-43-14

(2) [redacted] (RM)
- Minneapolis
PE:wkb
(4)

REC 17 10 JAN 16 1969

EX-101

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

MP 100-14155

An FD-399 was submitted on 12/3/68 requesting a copy of this "Readers Digest" article and a notation was returned on this request requesting to resubmit this request for appropriate consideration including justification showing the requests could be evaluated. Minneapolis Office is hereby resubmitting a request of 500 copies of new reprints of this article.

SAC, ~~Minneapolis (100-1456)~~ 1/29/69

REC-121

Director, FBI ~~(100-449698)~~ 100-449698-43-14

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 1/14/69.

Relet requested authority to purchase 500 copies of an article by Eugene H. Methvin appearing in the October, 1968, issue of "Reader's Digest. The justification given for this purchase was that these pamphlets would be disseminated to key college officials and other persons in high and influential positions in an attempt to "prevent the formation of newly formed groups" of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) within the division.

While this article is well written and can be useful in your Counterintelligence Program, it is not felt that you should rely so heavily on it in attempting to neutralize the New Left. You should, in addition to using this pamphlet, seek local examples wherein SDS and other New Left organizations have conducted disruptive programs inimical to the best interests of the Nation.

The Bureau has no objection to your use of this pamphlet, but it is felt 125 copies of the article should be sufficient for your needs. This amount is being sent to you by separate cover.

WHH:jes
(4)

NOTE:

The Methvin article referred to above is well written and exposes SDS as the anarchistic revolutionary organization that it is. We have previously furnished MP 20 copies of Methvin's article for use in captioned Program. By relet, MP requested authority to puchase 500 of these reprints for use in combatting the New Left in the division. It is [redacted] request is out of line and we are furnishing [redacted] 125 copies.

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

31 JAN 31 1969

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 3/24/69

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Attached hereto is a sample copy of a letter to be directed to [redacted] who has recently indicted several leaders of the Afro-American Action Committee at the University of Minnesota, for destruction of property at Morrill Hall in January, 1969. [redacted] which organization is believed to be responsible for the take-over of Morrill Hall on the occasion. The purpose of directing this letter to [redacted] would be to discredit [redacted] and to expose her subversive connections. It is felt the facts contained within the letter are unknown to [redacted] office.

It should be noted further that [redacted] office if interested can obtain these facts publically inasmuch as [redacted] has publically testified and has previously stated she is willing to publically testify that [redacted] was the person who recruited her into the CP some years ago. [redacted]

It is being recommended that the attached letter be mailed to [redacted] anonymously. It should be noted that in view of prior experiences with his office the Bureau has requested that prior Bureau authority be had prior to any contact with his office. It should further be noted that a protest demonstration by new left radicals was previously conducted against [redacted]. Furthermore, various new left groups at the University of Minnesota are planning large protest demonstrations against his office and these indictments during the week of April 3, 1969.

[redacted]

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
2 - Minneapolis
WPE/mls
(4) [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

REC. 110 100-449698-43-15

APR 11 1969

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

5010-108-8

Bureau authority is requested to anonymously mail the attached letter or any ammended communication by the Bureau which may be deemed appropriate in view of the facts.

Minneapolis, Minnesota
(To Be Dated)

Dear [redacted]

As you no doubt are aware the people who attempted to destroy Morrill Hall are also attempting to destroy the country. Just in case you do not already know, your friend [redacted] has some pretty good connections. [redacted] by the way refused to testify several years ago before the hearings of the House on Un-American Activities Committee when these hearings were held in Minneapolis. [redacted] who did testify before this committee against local communists can give you the full story on [redacted] and his Communist Party membership.

Maybe you are already aware of all this. If not, it is certainly an interesting set of facts.

A concerned American

100-449698-43-15
~~100-449698-836~~

ENCLOSURE

1 [redacted]

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 4/9/69

1 - [redacted]

Director, FBI ~~(100-449698)~~

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 3/24/69.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail [redacted] the letter submitted as an enclosure to relet. Prior to mailing this letter, you should delet the words "your friend" in line 4 of the letter since they are not appropriate to the text of the letter. In addition, the words "parents" should read "parent" since only one individual is thereafter named.

In preparing this letter you should take all necessary precautions to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source.

MHH:slw
(5)

NOTE:

By relet MP advised that [redacted] for taking part in the destruction of property during a recent disturbance at the University of Minnesota. MP pointed out that [redacted] who has been previously identified as a communist. MP suggests that an anonymous letter pointing out this fact and the fact that a source is available to publically identify [redacted] As the letter will be sent anonymously, there will be no chance of embarrassment to the Bureau. It is to be noted that following [redacted] New Left groups conducted protests against the [redacted] additional protests are in the planning stage.

MAILED 24
APR 8 - 1969
COMM-FBI

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

51 APR 15 1969

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 4/8/69

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet to all offices dated 5/10/68, and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 12/31/68.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Referenced Minneapolis letter refers to the principal potential for counterintelligence to the new left in this division as being in the area of attempting to prevent the formation of newly proposed political groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It is felt that the main potential under the program continues to be in this direction.

It is realized that actions taken in the area of prevention cannot be as dramatically pontrayed or the results as accurately compiled as to the actions of a counter or sabotage nature. It is felt, however, the final outcome in the area of prevention is many times more significant.

It has been the experience of the Minneapolis Office in connection with other counterintelligence programs that techniques of a sabotage nature which may be utilized to impede a given incident or event have many times resulted in the final analysis as having an opposite effect. Many times the final result cannot be controlled and, therefore, the actions taken may not be advantageous.

100-449698-43-16

Several recent incidents have occurred in which it was initially felt that certain actions by the new left forces appeared to have been a victory for them. However, subsequently unknown and uncontrollable developments have [redacted] these actions to work against the radical forces and vice versa.

REC-6 100-449698-85

REC'D DOW INTELL DIV APR 10 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
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APR 21 1969

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Such actions as preventing a new SDS chapter to be formed, preventing situations of confrontation, keeping militant leaders from obtaining influential positions or discrediting them and attempting to control and curtail public criticism enhancing the radical cause, and in general preventing an inflamed climate are courses which the Minneapolis Office will constantly pursue.

In respect to potential under this program, it should be noted highly militant new left activity has been at a minimum within the Minneapolis Division as compared to other areas of the country. In line with this, there are no real significant new left leaders at the present time who, if inactivated, would significantly curtail the present new left movement.

Local SDS groups currently existing have poor leadership and have even encountered considerable difficulty in obtaining any leader. At present, there are no new left key activists within the Minneapolis Division. As a result, it is difficult to concentrate on neutralizing any key persons whose actions would seriously affect the new left movement.

Referenced letter refers to a leader known as [redacted] The proposed action against him has been explored. It should be noted that he has been completely inactive since November, 1968, and the condition of possible embarrassment to him is not possible to exploit in view of the fact that the funds which he embezzled have been replaced.

Another area of possible potential is the fact that protest demonstrations by new left elements are being proposed in the Minneapolis, Minnesota area and various groups are involved in the sponsorship and the intended participation of these events. There already are strained relationships between some of these organizations, such as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), SDS, and the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC). The potential for bringing about further difficulty between these groups will [redacted] explored.

MP 100-[redacted]

Also of further significance is the fact that the Minneapolis Office is, with Bureau authority, increasing its informant coverage on the campuses where new left activity exists and with the added coverage, greater opportunity and potential for this program can be expected.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The Minneapolis Office is continuing to disseminate the article entitled "SDS, Engineers of Campus Chaos," which article appeared in the October, 1968, issue of "Readers Digest."

By letter dated 3/24/69, the Minneapolis Office requested authority to make an anonymous mailing to [redacted] This letter would tend to expose the current [redacted] weeks.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As previously indicated in this letter, it is difficult to recognize the results of preventive-type measures under the program. In line with the usage of the "Readers Digest" article pertaining to the SDS, it should be noted that this article was specifically furnished to key officials at several colleges in the area where SDS sanction was being pressed. Likewise, specific requests were made by certain college officials for this type of public information in order that they would have some foundation for denying SDS college approval. This article was furnished to officials at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota; Northern College at Aberdeen, South Dakota; Mankato State College, Mankato, Minnesota; Lea College at Albert Lea, Minnesota; and St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minnesota, as well as Carleton and St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota.

All these colleges during the fall of 1968 have encountered problems with students attempting to [redacted]

MP [redacted]

form SDS groups and have them recognized. To date, the only college which has been successful in organizing and approving such an organization has been St. Cloud State College, which group has been completely inactive since this organization late in 1968. The extent to which this program can be credited for preventing these organizations to form is not clearly known.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 7/8/69

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Minneapolis letter to the Bureau dated 3/24/69, directing Bureau authority to furnish certain information to [redacted]

The amended letter has been anonymously mailed to [redacted] In connection with this information it is at this time deemed desirable to furnish similar information to [redacted]

In recent months [redacted] has been conducting an "open mike" type radio program for [redacted] in which he has been adamantly critical of all forms of Radicalism, Communism, Socialism, and also Liberalism. In connection with this program [redacted] has been constantly seeking information to discredit and neutralize local leftist-type activity. His program is quite widely received and of considerable local concern. He has recently been very active in promoting the election campaign of [redacted] theme.

Bureau authority is requested to anonymously refer [redacted] as explained in referenced letter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
WPE:ras
(4)

REC-72 100-449698-43-17

JUL 10 1969

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INT. SEC.

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The Bureau's advice is also sought relative to very carefully and cautiously using [redacted] through an anonymous fashion for incidents in the future, particularly incidents which are news worthy and in which [redacted] can be steered to sources to discredit the New Left.

It might be noted that many times immediate action, almost within the hour, is required to be effective and that the normal delays in communications have created a situation in which the utilization of this possibility would be of no value.

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 7/22/69

REC-140

Director, FBI (100-449698) 43-17 1 - [redacted]

EX-103

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 7/8/69.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail a letter to [redacted] Take all necessary precautions to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source of this letter.

[redacted] can be used in an anonymous fashion in future counterintelligence actions; however, Bureau approval must be received prior to taking any counterintelligence action. If time is of the essence, you should contact the Bureau by teletype or telephone.

BAW:jes
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JUL 22 1969
MM-FBI

NOTE:

We previously authorized the Minneapolis Office to anonymously furnish information concerning [redacted] It now desires to furnish the same information to [redacted] who is anticommunist and who has been conducting an interview-type program in the Minneapolis area.

[redacted]

the Communist Party. This action will discredit [redacted] expose her subversive connections.

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

JUL 28 1969

MAIL ROOM ✓ TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/6/69

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68, and Minneapolis letter to the Bureau dated 7/1/69.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Minneapolis letter dated July 1, 1969, indicated that during the summer months it was anticipated that New Left activity would be curtailed considerably. As a matter of fact, New Left activity within the Minneapolis area during the recent summer months was much less than anticipated and almost completely negligible. There has been no significant Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) activity within the territory or other types of organized anti-war, anti-draft, or anti-establishment activity. Likewise, there has been no indication of New Left activity among black elements in recent months. The potential of the Counterintelligence Program will be tremendously enhanced with the recent return of students to the college campuses during the present fall term of school. It is exceedingly difficult to evaluate the potentials in the specific area of New Left activity at this time in view of the almost complete lack of on-going activity. When future New Left activity takes shape and form, as well as the appearance of new persons and former personalities in the New Left scene, it will then be possible to more accurately assess the potentials of the program.

On October 20, 1969, a local trial is scheduled at Minneapolis, Minnesota, to try several leaders of the Afro-American Action Committee, who are charged with disturbances in a take-over of the administration building at the University of Minnesota, in January, 1969. There has been no organized

EX-103

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
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REC-81 100-449698-43

OCT 8 1969

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OCT 15 1969

concern over this matter in recent summer months, but it is anticipated that New Left elements in the weeks to come will concern themselves with this opportunity for protesting and demonstrating. At present there are no organized plans or efforts by New Left elements to pursue this matter. This matter is being closely followed by the Minneapolis Office, and any opportunities to implement this program to advantageous purposes will be considered.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

In August an anonymous letter, which was authorized in Bulet dated July 22, 1969, was mailed to [redacted]

Agents in the Minneapolis Office and other agents specifically assigned to New Left concerns in colleges within the area were previously alerted to our concern over the Counterintelligence Program of the New Left. Of particular concern has been the formation of new student New Left organizations, and particularly the SDS. These agents are again being alerted to our concerns in this regard. It would appear that great possibilities exist in this program, particularly in attempting to curtail the approval by college officials in recognizing newly formed SDS Chapters. To a great extent, this can probably be accomplished by making available public information to reliable and key college officials concerning the aims, purposes, and problems arising from a new SDS group. It is felt that this technique has been particularly significant in the past, and at present this situation is being closely pursued.

One of the most significant advantages to be gained in combating New Left movements can probably be attained through more complete and on-the-scene informant-type coverage at the colleges. The Minneapolis Office has in recent months intensified its informant coverage program and is currently increasing its coverage of New Left matters. In addition to being more knowledgeable as to better avenues of pursuit, these sources through direct or indirect means can be utilized to counteract critical future New Left efforts.

Pending action under this program is entirely contingent upon the shape and form of future developments of New Left activity on local colleges.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Referenced letter dated July 1, 1969, refers to various officials of the University of Minnesota who have been furnished public source material concerning the SDS and an indication of change of attitude by these officials. There has been a recent indication of further change in the thinking of the administration of the University of Minnesota, particularly dealing with disruptive tactics by students. At the time the black students took over the administration building, the president of the University and the administration, in general, were quite adamant about not calling in the police to quell the disturbance. In the September 29, 1969, issue of the "Minnesota Daily", a student newspaper at the University of Minnesota, a report was made by the University of Minnesota Commission on Demonstrations dealing with the possibility of disruption during the coming academic year. In addition to more firm provisions by the administration, it was concluded that the police would be called in for any incident which involved the destruction of property. The extent to which the Counter-intelligence Program may have affected this change in policy is not clearly known.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 11/4/69

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Attached hereto is a copy of a sample letter to be furnished to [redacted] Minnesota. It is recommended that this letter be mailed anonymously from the Anoka, Minnesota, area so that [redacted] possibly further explore this matter and give publicity to the contents of the letter in some forthcoming [redacted] prior to the coming November 15 moratorium events. The contents of the letter will explain the attempts to belittle the leadership of the local moratorium organization.

In line with this program, a significant event is being reported in which it was not possible to obtain Bureau authority prior to taking local action during a signficiant protest rally. In line with our responsibility to disseminate such information to local agencies, it was not felt that Bureau approval was absolutely necessary.

On the morning of October 20, 1969, a large mass rally had been planned by a local Liberation Coalition to be conducted at the main entrance of the Minneapolis City and County Building. The purpose of this protest rally was to attempt to free three Negro students who were on that occasion required to appear in Hennepin County Court on charges of conspiring to riot and destroying property at the University of Minnesota during January, 1969. This protest rally had been planned for a number of months.

On Sunday afternoon on October 19, 1969, the local SDS chapter announced that no attempts of direct confrontation would be made with the police by the participants in the protest until 11 AM on the morning of October 20, 1969, at which time the police had terminated the permit to conduct such a mass rally. It was felt that at 11 AM the police would attempt to move the protestors from the area, and at this time the local militants would attempt to create some type of incident with the police. This information was obtained from several confidential sources on October 19, 1969. This information was likewise immediately

ENCLOSURE

(2) - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
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furnished to the Hennepin County Sheriff's Office, who have police responsibility for this building, as well as the Minneapolis Police Department, which is responsible for the area outside of the building.

The ceremonies at the rally on the morning of October 20, 1969, were conducted in a relatively orderly fashion. Most of the speakers who were scheduled to appear had given their talks and the program was almost completed prior to 11 AM. At this point an official of the Police Department requested to make an announcement to the protestors, in which he announced that the group should feel free to remain as long as they desired in that the Mayor had decided not to remove the group at 11 AM.

Subsequent information revealed that this announcement startled and bewildered leaders of the rally, and any hopeful plans for creating a confrontation were completely destroyed. The entire rally was concluded in a very peaceful manner. An informant who initially furnished this information from the SDS meeting on October 19, 1969, and subsequently indicated that SDS leaders were highly dejected over the announcement made by the Police Department, indicated that their entire plans for a confrontation were defeated.

[redacted]

Anoka, Minnesota

[redacted]

You have done a great job to keep the wild radicals from taking over this town. Now they are throwing snide remarks at Vice President Agnew for labeling the organizers of the recent moratorium as professional dissidents. It was amusing to me to see [redacted] on a recent television program acting as one of the organizers for this moratorium at a meeting held at the University of Minnesota. He was also one of the speakers at Macalaster College on the night of October 15.

By his own admission, [redacted] is a member of the SDS and the Young Socialist Alliance. To top it off, he is a high school drop out [redacted] and was committed by court order to the mental hospital there about two years ago.

Why will people listen to a kook like this and denounce our Vice President? Maybe the people should know more about these things!

A Concerned Citizen

[redacted]

100-449698-43-19

ENCLOSURE

1 - [redacted]

SAC, [redacted] (100-14155) 11/18/69

REC-128

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 43 -

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 11/4/69.

Authority is granted to prepare and anonymously mail the letter submitted as an enclosure to referenced communication.

In preparing this letter, all necessary steps are to be taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source.

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NOTE:

Minneapolis has recommended an anonymous letter be prepared and submitted to [redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota. This letter would furnish [redacted] with background on [redacted] who is a member of the SDS and Young Socialist Alliance. [redacted] has been active in organizing for the moratorium at the University of Minnesota. Minneapolis suggested that such a letter could be useful in that [redacted] could further investigate [redacted] and publicize him on his program.

NOV 19 1969
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NOV 28 1969
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

1 - [redacted]

12/12/69

[redacted] CODE

1 - [redacted]

TELETYPE URGENT

TO SAC MINNEAPOLIS (100-11696)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-427226)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA); INTERNAL SECURITY - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

Counterintelligence Program

REURTEL DECEMBER ELEVEN LAST CAPTIONED "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT."

AUTHORITY GRANTED TO ANONYMOUSLY MAIL PUBLIC SOURCE MATERIAL CONCERNING THE HOLDING OF THE YSA CONFERENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS TO THOSE INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFIED IN RETEL.

ASSURE ALL NECESSARY STEPS ARE TAKEN TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE BUREAU AS THE SOURCE OF THIS MATERIAL.

100-449628-43

NOT RECORDED
200 DEC 16 1969

1 - 100-449698

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(5)

NOTE: The YSA, the youth group of the SWP, is holding a conference at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. Liberal elements of the University's administration and student body have authorized this conference to be held at the University. Minneapolis feels that if concerned officials of the University and other elements of the community are apprised of the fact that the University is allowing its facilities to be used for this conference steps will be taken to make facilities unavailable to this group. In retel Minneapolis requests authority to mail copies of news releases on the subject together with public information relating to the YSA to key individuals in the legislature, University Board of Regents members and veterans' groups with a view toward bringing pressure to bear on the University to cancel the use of school facilities for the conference.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

9 DEC 19 1969

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 1/15/70

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices 5/10/68 and Minneapolis letter to Bureau 10/6/69.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

It is exceedingly difficult to evaluate the potentials under this program within the Minneapolis Division for the next several months. There are no activities of a mass or significant nature planned at the present time by local New Left groups. The New Left groups under investigation by the Minneapolis Office are at the present time quite inactive and future programming by these groups is quite indefinite. At present the only planned activity by any of these groups is general indications that the NEW MOBE plans to participate in the nationwide anti-war conferences as of April 15, 1970. No specific plans have been made.

A situation of possible potential is a rather silent battle which is being waged by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) group in the Twin City area for control within the NEW MOBE. It appears advantageous at this time to have neither group in control. The NEW MOBE is currently operated by a number of anti-war groups and a fragmentation of this organization appears to keep the group in a less active and effective organization. Minneapolis Office will seize upon any opportunity in the future to assist in an anonymous way of continuing the battle between SDS and YSA.

It should further be noted that in the past the most significant events in which it has been possible to implement the counterintelligence program has come about in a spontaneous manner. For example, in January a year ago, an unannounced, unplanned seizure was made of the Administration Building at the University of

[redacted]

(2) - Bureau (RM)
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100-449698-43-20

REC-15

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Minnesota, and such type of activity may occur at any time despite the fact that there is currently no reason to believe there is any intent or dissatisfaction of militant persons anticipating a serious protest. Should such spontaneous events occur, the Minneapolis Office will attempt to take advantage of the program.

4. In line with potentials under this program, it might be noted that in recent months additional informant coverage has been effected and this situation should assist considerably in seizing on any future unpredicted opportunities.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

During the past several months the Minneapolis Office has attempted to take advantage of several opportunities under the program. By letter dated November 4, 1969, the Bureau was requested to authorize a letter to be directed to [redacted] relative to YSA people being involved in the proposed moratorium events to November 15, 1969, in an attempt to counteract this action. This letter to [redacted] was not approved by the Bureau until November 18, 1969, and it was therefore not possible to take this action in connection with the proposed November 15, 1969, event.

On December 11, 1969, a radiogram was directed to the Bureau relative to making anonymous mailings to legislators, Board of Regents members at the University of Minnesota, American Legion and VFW commanders and other persons who would normally be able to pressure the proposed YSA conference scheduled to be held at the University of Minnesota during the last week in December, 1969. The Bureau did approve this action by teletype dated December 12, 1969. Some mailings have been made to members of the Board of Regents at the University of Minnesota. This was done to assure that all officials directly concerned with the problem of the YSA convention there would be aware of the local news releases. It was planned that subsequent mailings would be made to persons who would oppose these actions, such as VFW and American Legion commanders. Prior to the time that these intended mailings were made, it was learned through [redacted] that the local YSA people were hopeful of public opposition to the National YSA Conference being held at the University of Minnesota and were attempting to create as much unfavorable publicity as possible in order to create public opposition and hence receive considerable publicity. In view of this information, no further mailings were made.

It was subsequently learned during the YSA conference that leaders of the group were highly disappointed that no one had challenged them to a greater extent. They became quite elated when the mayor of Fridley, Minnesota, a suburb, publicly challenged the usage of State of Minnesota porperty for this conference. [redacted] subsequently became involved in a local TV debate with one of the YSA officials and considerable local publicity in various types of news media followed this event. The YSA leaders were highly pleased over the results of the publicity. In connection with this conference, the YSA received extensive publicity concerning its dealings with the Minneapolis Police Department to hold a parade in certain areas of Minneapolis. It was initially felt that some counterintelligence action could be taken to prevent this parade. Through informants, however, it was learned that the YSA did not, in fact, even intend to hold this parade, but was really using the challenge to the Police Department to create public sympathy and publicity.

The Minneapolis Office, by letter dated April 8, 1969, and on previous occasions, has expressed its concern over actions of a sabotage nature ultimately resulting in a backfiring effect. Largely for this reason, no further actions were attempted in connection with the recent YSA conference.

As an outgrowth of the recent YSA National Conference in the area, a possiblility exists to pursue another matter. The January 10, 1970, "Minneapolis Tribune" carried a news release that four students at the University of Minnesota whose names and addresses were listed, filed a complaint with the Minnesota Human Rights Department, charging that their rights were violated when they were ejected from the YSA conference in December, 1969. There have also been numerous news releases to the opposition that [redacted] has made and continues to make against the recent YSA conference. A separate letter is being directed to the Bureau at this time setting out a proposed anonymous letter to [redacted] in order to alert him to pursuing another matter which could embarrass certain Left Wing elements who were responsible for bringing a questionable speaker to the University of Minnesota in November, 1969.

The public is generally not aware of the fact that LEE WEINER, one of the "Chicago Eight", appeared at the University of Minnesota on November 19, 1969, as a guest speaker. The public is likewise not aware that his appearance was sponsored by the Union Board of Governors at the University of Minnesota and that the funds used to bring WEINER there was in fact State tax money. Of further significance is the fact that less than 30 people attended the meeting sponsored by tax money. It is felt that possibly the individuals currently challenging the University of Minnesota relative to yielding to radical groups might be informed concerning WEINER's appearance and thus have further ammunition to pursue their attack. Should the Bureau agree with this anonymous mailing, the Minneapolis Office will proceed accordingly.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

The most significant tangible results of this program which can be listed at this time would be the action taken by the Minneapolis Office in October, 1969, at which time a liberation coalition held a mass protest at the City Hall in Minneapolis, Minnesota, when they intended to confront the Police Department at the proposed deadline for termination of this protest at 11:00 a.m. on October 20, 1969. The Minneapolis Office informed the Police Department of this information and on the basis of the information furnished to them, they made a public announcement to the group that they could continue their protest indefinitely which action completely befuddled the protestors and eventually resulted in the entire action being a failure by the radicals. Confirmation through Bureau informants was received that this police action resulting from our information completely stymied the entire protest action. It is interesting to note here that an action on the part of the police at an opportune time to encourage the protestors had a considerable deterring effect to them whereas some normally planned action to attack them coming from the police would have only played into their hands.

It is felt that previous anonymous mailings and preventative measures taken by the Minneapolis Office may have had considerable effects, but there is no way of making a logical assessment of tangible results.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 7/2/70

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Bureau authority is requested to contact [redacted] and extremely cooperative concerning certain information which may facilitate this program.

In this regard during the last two weeks of May, 1970, a total of 17 young persons were arrested on the campus of the University of Minnesota and charged with disorderly conduct in connection with national student strike activities. This matter is being heard in local court and has been delayed for trial until the last week in September, 1970. It is believed this trial was scheduled at that time without any particular forethought as to the logical impact or consequences. It might be noted that this is the first week of school for the fall term at the University of Minnesota, at which time all students will be returning to classes.

This trial will undoubtedly receive considerable publicity and add tremendous impetus to planned radical activities early in the fall quarter. Should it be possible to have this case heard at an earlier or later date, the consequences may not lend themselves nearly as favorable to the radical element. Authority is being requested to bring this to the attention of the [redacted]

100-449698-45-23

It might further be noted that the five local SDS leaders that are currently serving jail sentences have also been fined the excess of $750 to pay for the damages effected by them on the raid on the Criminal Justice Studies Offices in March, 1970.

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REC 85 JUL 6 1970

EX-115

RESEARCH SECTION

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There was no indication to date that this fine has been paid or the University has been reimbursed for these damages. It was recently ascertained that the local SDS group opened a new bank account at the [redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota, and on occasions rather sizeable sums of money have been available in this account. It is felt that possibly if officials of the University of Minnesota Police Department were to be aware of these funds, these sources may be adapted to the advantage of the University and the disadvantage of the local SDS group.

Through previous dealings with [redacted] it can be presumed that he would act discreetly and hold the matter in confidence.

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 7/21/70

REC-139

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 43-23 [redacted]

EX-109

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 7/2/70.

Authority to contact [redacted] Department, for the purpose of pointing out to him that the forthcoming trial of students could trigger radical activity on the campus and to advise him of the existence and location of funds of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is denied.

It is not felt desirable that the Bureau enter into the prosecution by the authorities of the students in any manner. It is likewise not felt that the [redacted] use of the information relating to funds in possession of SDS. This Department could not prevent the use of these funds by SDS leaders in paying the fines that have been exacted against them.

Your interest in preparing and making these suggestions is appreciated and you should continue to give this Program your close attention.

RHH:jes
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NOTE:

By relet, Minneapolis noted that 17 young people were arrested in May, 1970, on the University of Minnesota campus on charges of disorderly conduct and that their trial has been scheduled for September, 1970, which coincides with the beginning of a new academic year. Minneapolis suggested that [redacted] be contacted and that it be brought to his attention that the scheduling of trials at this time would add impetus to radical campus activity early in the academic year. Minneapolis also suggested that it advise [redacted] of the location of SDS funds which are in a local bank in the hope that these funds could be denied to SDS members for use as bail money.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 4-1-70

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5-10-68 and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 1-15-70.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

During the next several months there will undoubtedly be the usual increased spring disruptive activities by college students and other youths. It is anticipated there will be the usual unscheduled minor demonstrations and protests arrising from unforeseen and unpredictable events as they occur. In addition to this, there are a number of large scheduled events which currently present opportunity under this program. Some of the events which are scheduled in the near future are as follows:

There is the spring anti-war offensive for which there are general plans for a large mass public parade and demonstration scheduled for April 18, 1970. There will undoubtedly be smaller events subsequently scheduled during anti-war week at that time. It is also anticipated that a protest will be made at the annual stockholders meeting of the General Electric Corporation scheduled to be held in Minneapolis during the week of April 22, 1970. Honeywell, Inc., will hold its annual stockholders meeting in Minneapolis on April 28. Various local protest groups have expressed interest and concern over these events. However, to date there have been no specific plans, however, these plans are currently being made. Informant coverage is excellent in most cases and when specific and final planning has been consummated, it will then be possible to more accurately assess appropriate counterintelligence action. However, efforts will be made to utilize this program to the fullest advantage. The Minneapolis Office is currently submitting a letter to the Bureau to obtain authority to proceed with several plans of action.

REC-112 100-449698-95-22

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II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

By letter dated 2-3-70, the Bureau authorized anonymous mailing to [redacted] An anonymous communication was mailed to him from the University of Minnesota Branch Post Office as of 2-27-70.

The 3-24-70 edition of the Fargo Forum carried a unique item entitled "University Prof Sick of the Younger Generation". In addition to this article being unusually well written, it appears to have a highly significant message relative to the sollutions of campus rebellion. By separate communication, this article is being forwarded to the Bureau for approval for appropriate dissemination to key areas.

Although there has been indication that New Left elements are concerned with the annual stockholders meeting of the General Electric Corporation in April, there has been no expression of any specific-type actions which will be taken. However, this matter will be closely pursued in the immediate future. In the case of the Honeywell stockholders meeting scheduled for April 28, it would appear that New Left elements are primarily seeking publicity and disruption in connection with the actual closed stockholders meeting. At least 39 persons have purchased Honeywell stock for the express purpose of appearing at the meeting to contest Honeywell's war production. At present there is a behind the scenes type of strategy on the part of both Honeywell officers and the dissenters who intend to appear and possibly disrupt the meeting. It is presently not known what action will be taken by either side. However, informant coverage is excellent and it can be anticipated that at least immediately prior to the meeting the planned course of this action by each group will be specifically known. At this time an excellent opportunity could exist to neutralize some of the impact by the dissenting group. A recommendation is being made by the Minneapolis Office relative to this situation through separate communication.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As previously explained, it is exceedingly difficult to enumerate any positive tangible results of this program.

It might be noted, however, that in the past a considerable amount of anti-New Left and SDS propaganda has been furnished to officials of the University of Minnesota. A concentration of effort has been made at this University in view of the fact this institution has been the target of the principal New Left activities within the Division.

On 3-6-70 very unexpectedly a group of SDS members seized the Criminal Justice Studies Office where they caused considerable disruption by turning over office furniture, equipment, and destroying records. As a result of their antics, the University officials came forth with an immediate response as to action to be taken. President of the University of Minnesota announced that he would endorse local arrests and prosecution for the perpetrators of this action and the University would assist in every way to bring about such prosecution. Two of the persons involved in the disruptive action were part-time staff people who were immediately discharged from their employment and there are current indications that the SDS approval on the campus may be removed. It should be noted that the course of action taken by the President and other administrators is a complete reversal of the action taken by them a year ago when a group of black students took over the administration building in which case the administration did not permit police intervention and was highly indignant about local prosecution. As late as last June a large segment of the administration had endorsed and approved the usage of the University facilities for holding the National SDS conference at the University of Minnesota.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 4-1-70

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Submitted herewith is a xerox copy of an article which appeared in the Fargo Forum, Fargo, North Dakota, in the March 24, 1970, evening edition. The article is entitled "University Prof Sick of the Younger Generation". It is felt that placing this article in the hands of university and college administrators, who have been inclined to deal with student disruption in a light fashion in the past, may alter their subsequent views on disorders.

Bureau authority is requested to reproduce this article and to mail it anonymously to the President of the University of Minnesota, as well as other key administrators and Board of Regents members there who have consistently taken a light and liberal approach to the problem. Likewise, mailing should be made to other college administrators where this material might be effective.

It is anticipated that New Left elements plan to embarrass officials of Honeywell, Inc., in connection with their presence at the annual stockholders meeting scheduled for next April 28 in Minneapolis. Very recently at least 39 persons, including University staff members and clergymen have purchased Honeywell stock for the express purpose of being at this meeting and expressing their dissent over Honeywell war production. At the present time there is a behind the scenes form of strategy taking place by both executives of Honeywell, Inc., and the dissenting group as to the manner in which each can most effectively present their position. Informant coverage is excellent and it can be anticipated that at least on the day of the meeting or a day prior thereto that final plans by the dissenting group will be made known. In the normal course of business any plans for violence would be revealed to Honeywell officials.

REC. 112 100-449698-45-21

2 Bureau (RM) (Enc. 1) ENCLOSURE
1 Minneapolis
WP :lkp
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8 APR 14 1970

INT. SEC.

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

MP 100-14155

Bureau authority, however, is being requested to reveal to [redacted] any specific plans by the dissenting group which may be used simply to obtain publicity or embarrass Honeywell officials so that Honeywell officials can circumvent the dissenters strategy. It might be noted that [redacted]

Honeywell Inc.

It's Time To Call Halt

University Prof Sick of the 'Younger Generation'

Dr. K. Ross Toole is a professor of history at the University of Montana in Missoula, Mont., where he received his bachelor's and master's degrees in history. He received his Doctor of Philosophy from the University of California in Los Angeles.

The accompanying treatise was written by Dr. Toole as an expression of his personal feelings to a brother, who had copies of it made. The Forum asked and received his permission for republication.

By DR. K. ROSS TOOLE

I am 49 years old. It took me many years and considerable anguish to get where I am — which isn't much of anyplace except exurbia. I was nurtured in depression; I lost four years to war; I am invested with sweat; I have had one coronary; I am a "liberal," square and I am a professor. I am sick of the "younger generation," hippies, yippies, militants and nonsense.

I am a professor of history at the University of Montana, and I am supposed to have "liaison" with the young. Worse still, I am father of seven children. They range in age from 7 to 23 — and I am fed up with nonsense. I am tired of being blamed, maimed and contrite; I am tired of tolerance and the reaching out (which is always my function) for understanding. I am sick of the total irrationality of the campus "rebel," whose bearded visage, dirty hair, body odor and "tactics" are childish but brutal, naive but dangerous, and the essence of arrogant tyranny — the tyranny of spoiled brats.

I am terribly disturbed that I may be incubating more of the same. Our household is permissive; our approach to discipline is an apology and a retreat from standards — usually accompanied by a gift in cash or kind.

It's time to call a halt; time to live in an adult world where we belong and time to put these people in their places. We owe the "younger generation" what all "older generations" have owed younger generations — love, protection to a point, and respect when they deserve it. We do not owe them our souls, our privacy, our whole lives, and above all, we do not owe them immunity from our mistakes, or their own.

Every generation makes mistakes, always has and always will. We have made our share. But my generation has made America the most affluent country on earth; it has tackled, head-on, a racial problem which no nation on earth in the history of mankind had dared to do. It has publicly declared war on poverty and it has gone to the moon; it has desegregated schools and abolished polio; it has presided over the beginning of what is probably the greatest social and economic revolution in man's history. It has begun these things, not finished them. It has declared itself, and committed itself, and taxed itself, and damn near run itself into the ground in the cause of social justice and reform.

Its mistakes are fewer than my father's generation — or his father's, or his. Its greatest mistake is not Vietnam; it is the abdication of its first responsibility, its pusillanimous capitulation to its youth, and its sick preoccupation with the problems, the mind, the psyche, the raison d'etre of the young.

Since when have children ruled this country? By virtue of what right, by what accomplishment should thousands of teen-agers, wet behind the ears and utterly without the benefit of having lived long enough to have either judgment or wisdom, become the sages of our time?

100-411675-15-21

ENCLOSURE

The psychologists, the educators and preachers say the young are rebelling against our archaic mores and morals, our materialistic approaches to life, our failures in diplomacy, our terrible ineptitude in racial matters, our narrowness as parents, our blindness to the root ills of society. Balderdash!

Society hangs together by the stitching of many threads. No 18-year-old is simply the product of his 18 years: he is the product of 3,000 years of the development of mankind — and throughout those years, injustice has existed and been fought; rules have grown outmoded and been changed; doom has hung over men and been avoided; unjust wars have occurred; pain has been the cost of progress — and man has persevered.

As a professor and the father of seven, I have watched this new generation and concluded that most of them are fine. A minority are not — and the trouble is that minority threatens to tyrannize the majority and take over.

Arrogance is obnoxious; it is also destructive. Society has classically ostracized arrogance without the backing of demonstrable accomplishment. Why, then, do we tolerate arrogant slobs who occupy our homes, our administration buildings, our streets and parks, urinating on our beliefs and defiling our premises? It is not the police we need, (our generation and theirs) it is an expression of our disgust and disdain. Yet we do more than permit it, we dignify it with introspective flagellation. Somehow it is our fault. Balderdash again!

Sensitivity is not the property of the young, nor was it invented in 1950. The young of any generation have felt the same impulse to grow, to reach out, to touch stars, to live freely and to let the minds loose along unexplored corridors.

Today's young people did not invent it; they do not own it. And what they seek to attain, all mankind has sought to attain throughout the [illegible] Shall we, therefore, approve the presumed attainment of it through heroin, speed, LSD and other drugs? And shall we, permissively, let them poison themselves simply because, as in most other respects, we feel vaguely guilty because we brought them into this world? Again, it is not police raids and tougher laws that we need; it is merely strength. The strength to explain, in our potty, [illegible] way: that what they seek we sought; that it is somewhere but not here and sure as hell not in drugs; that, in the meanwhile, they will cease and desist the poison game. And this we must explain early and hard — and then police it ourselves.

Society, "the establishment," is not a foreign thing we seek to impose on the young. We know it is far from perfect. We did not make it; we have only sought to change it. The fact that we have only been minimally successful is the story of all generations — as it will be the story of the generation coming up.

Yet we have worked a number of wonders. We have changed it. We are deeply concerned about our failures; we have not solved the racial problem but we have faced it; we are terribly worried about the degradation of our environment, about injustices, inequities, the military-industrial complex and bureaucracy. But we have attacked these things. We have, all our lives, taken arms against our sea of troubles — and fought effectively. But we also have fought with a rational knowledge of the strength of our adversary; and, above all, knowing that the war is one of attrition in which the "unconditional surrender" of the forces of evil is not about to occur. We win, if we win at all, slowly and painfully. That is the kind of war society has always fought — because man is what he is.

Knowing this, why do we listen subserviently to the violent tacticians of the new generation? Either they have total victory by Wednesday next or burn down our carefully built barricades in adolescent pique; either they win now or flee off to a commune and quit; either they solve all problems this week or join a wrecking crew of paranoids.

Youth has always been characterized by impatient idealism. If it were not, there would be no change. But impatient idealism does not extend to guns, fire bombs, riots, vicious arrogance, and instant gratification. That is not idealism; it is childish tyranny.

The worst of it is that we (professors and faculties in particular) in a paroxysm of self-abnegation and apology, go along — abdicate, apologize as if we had personally created the ills of the world — and thus lend ourselves to chaos. We are the led, not the leaders. And we are fools.

As a professor I meet the rebels and the revolutionaries every day. They are inexcusably ignorant. If you want to make a revolution, do you not study the ways to do it? Of course not! Che Guevarra becomes their hero. He failed; he died in the jungles of Bolivia with an army of six. His every move a miscalculation and a mistake.

Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi-minh led revolutions based on a peasantry and an overwhelmingly ancient rural economy. They are the pattern-makers for the SDS and the student militants.

I have yet to talk to an "activist" who has read Crane Brinton's, "The Anatomy of Revolution," or who is familiar with the works of Jefferson, Washington, Paine, Adams or even Marx or Engles. And I have yet to talk to a student militant who has read about racism elsewhere and-or who understands, even primitively, the long and wondrous struggle of the NAACP and the genius of Martin Luther King — whose name they invariably take in vain.

I assert that we are in trouble with this younger generation not because we have failed our country, not because of affluence or stupidity, not because we are antideluvian, not because we are middle-class materialists — but simply because we have failed to keep that generation in its place and we have failed to put them back there when they got out of it. We have the power; we do not have the will. We have the right, we have not exercised it.

To the extent that we now rely on the police, mace, the National Guard, tear gas, steel fences and a wringing of hands, we will fail.

What we need is a reappraisal of our own middle-class selves, our worth and our hard-won progress. We need to use disdain, not mace; we need to reassess a weapon we came by the hard way, by travail and labor, firm authority as parents, teachers, businessmen, workers and politicians.

The vast majority of our children from 1 to 20 are fine kids. We need to back this majority with authority and with the firm conviction that we owe it to them and to ourselves. Enough of apology, enough of analysis, enough of our abdication or responsibility, enough of the denial of our own maturity and good sense.

The best place to start is at home. But, the most practical and effective place, right now, is our campuses. This does not mean a flood of angry edicts, a sudden clamp-down, a "new" policy. It simply means that faculties should stop playing chicken, that demonstrators should be met not with police but with expulsions. The power to expel (strangely unused) has been the legitimate recourse of universities since 1200.

More importantly it means that at freshman orientation, whatever form it takes, the administration should set forth the ground rules — not belligerently but forthrightly.

A university is the microcosm of society itself. It cannot function without rules for conduct. It cannot, as society cannot, legislate morals. It is dealing with young men and women, 18 to 22. But it can, and must, promulgate rules. It cannot function without order — and, therefore, who disrupts order must leave. It cannot permit students to determine when, what and where they shall be taught; it cannot permit the occupation of its premises, in violation both of the law and its regulations, by "militants."

There is room within the university complex for basic student participation but there is no room for slobs, disruption and violence. The first obligation of the administration is to lay down the rules early, clearly and positively, and to attach to this statement the penalty for violation. It is profoundly simple — and the failure to state it — in advance — is the salient failure of university administrators in this age.

Expulsion is a dreaded verdict. The administration merely needs to make it clear, quite dispassionately, that expulsion is the inevitable consequence of violation of the rules. Among the rules, even though it seems gratuitous, should be these:

1. Violence, armed or otherwise, the forceful occupation of buildings, the intimidation by covert or overt act of any student or faculty member or administrative personnel, the occupation of any university property, field, park, building, lot or other place, shall be cause for expulsion.

2. The disruption of any class, directly or indirectly, by voice or presence or the destruction of any university property, shall be cause for expulsion.

This is neither new nor revolutionary. It is merely the reassertion of an old, accepted and necessary right of the administration of any such institution. And the faculty should be informed, firmly, of this reassertion, before trouble starts.

This does not constitute provocation. It is one of the oldest rights and necessities of the university community. The failure of university administrators to use it is one of the mysteries of our permissive age — and the blame must fall largely on faculties because they have consistently pressured administrators not to act.

Suppose the students refuse to recognize expulsions, suppose they march, riot, strike. The police? No.

The matter, by prearrangement, publicly stated, should then pass to the courts. If buildings are occupied, the court enjoins the participating students. It has the awful power to declare them in contempt.

If violence ensues, it is in violation of the court's order. Courts are not subject to fears, not part of the action. And what militant will shout obscenities in court with contempt hanging over his head?

Too simple? Not at all. Merely an old process which we seem to have forgotten. It is too direct for those who seek to employ Freudian analysis, too positive for "academic senates" who seek orgastic self condemnation.

This country is full of decent, worried people like myself. It is also a country full of people fed-up with nonsense. We need (those of us over 30 tax ridden, harried, confused, weary and beat-up) to reassert our hard won prerogatives. It is our country too. We have fought for it, bled for it, dreamed for it, and we love it. It is time to reclaim it.

[redacted]

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 4/23/70

REC-129

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 43-21

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 4/1/70.

Authority is granted to reproduce and anonymously mail copies of the newspaper article submitted as an enclosure to relet to the President of the University of Minnesota and other key administrators and the Board of Regents of that University. Copies of this may also be mailed to other college administrators as circumstances may dictate. Assure that all necessary steps are taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source of these mailings.

Authority is also granted to contact [redacted] for the purpose of furnishing him with information relating to plans by dissident groups to interrupt the stockholders meeting of that corporation currently scheduled for 4/28/70. In furnishing this material, you are to advise [redacted] that this information is being furnished in the strictest confidence and that under no circumstances is the Bureau to be identified as the source of his information. Of course, the security of your sources should be paramount in furnishing any information to [redacted]

RHH:jes
(4)

MAILED 4
APR 23 1970
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

Dr. K. Ross Toole, a professor of History at the University of Montana, has written an article concerning the "younger generation" in which he states it's time that the older generation takes a realistic look and deals with the antics of the younger generation in a forceful manner. He points out that the older generation should be proud of its achievements, not cringe guiltily before the accusations of the younger generation. Minneapolis recommends that this article be reproduced and anonymously mailed to the President

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

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

MAIL ROOM TYPE UNIT

NOTE CONTINUED:

of the University of Minneapolis and key officials of that University who have taken a liberal approach to campus disorders. It further suggested that it be made available to other college administrators. Minneapolis further requests that [redacted] be furnished information relating to efforts by dissident groups to disrupt the annual stockholders meeting of the Honeywell Corporation. Minneapolis feels that by knowing in advance the plans of these groups Honeywell may be able to circumvent efforts to disrupt the corporate meeting. [redacted] is a highly trusted individual [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 7/1/70

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to all offices dated 5/10/68 and Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 4/1/70.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Since the close of the spring session of school in early June, significant New Left planned and organized activity has appeared to have completely ceased. This has been the usual pattern of radical action in recent years within the Minneapolis Division. To add to the status of inactivity is the fact that five of the most active local Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leaders are currently detained in the Hennepin County Workhouse, Minneapolis, on local charges and will undoubtedly remain there until late next August. Little if any activity can be expected from the SDS group at the University of Minnesota, which is the only functioning group of the SDS within this Division.

It can be expected that possibly small, unplanned sporadic events may occur by radicals; however, there is no indication at the present time of such events, and hence, no plans for counterintelligence action can be made relative to specific activity of New Left groups or individuals during the coming summer months. Currently the most significant potential under this program would appear to be relative to initiating action at the University of Minnesota which may tend to neutralize some of the concerns which may normally lend impetus to the expected increase in radical activity with the coming fall term of school. A separate letter is being submitted relative to such action.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

On April 27, 1970, seven copies of the article appearing in the "Fargo Forum" dated March 24, 1970, approved in Bureau letter of April 23, 1970, were anonymously mailed to the president of the University of Minnesota and other key administrators dealing with student political activity.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Minneapolis
JPE:mew
(3)

REC 85 100-449698-43-74

EX-115 JUL 6 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

7-21-1970

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

Other pending counterintelligence action is explained in a separate letter submitted at this time relative to actions to be taken at the University of Minnesota, particularly relative to the activities which may relate to the fall term of school.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As previously explained in Minneapolis letter of April 1, 1970, a rather drastic change of position has occurred by the president of the University of Minnesota relative to his stand pertaining to New Left activities. It cannot be reasonably determined to what extent any of the anonymous mailings may have had relative to his change of position. It might be noted, however, that in a recent commencement address in June to the graduating seniors, President MOOS made some of his strongest statements condemning irresponsible students and New Left activity.

Probably the most significant neutralizing effect on New Left activity in recent months has been the detention of five local SDS leaders who are currently serving jail sentences in the Hennepin County Workhouse, Minneapolis, for their physical attack on property in the Criminal Justice Studies Department of the University of Minnesota during March, 1970. As the result of local charges against these individuals, these persons were sentenced on May 15, 1970, to serve 90 days each in the Workhouse and to pay for damages to the property in excess of $750. All of these individuals are currently serving the sentences and are presently detained. The prosecution on the local charges can be attributed to the fact that the evidence gained by the University of Minnesota Police Department was gained because of the fact they had advance information concerning the secret plans of the intended attack by SDS members, which information came to the attention of the Minneapolis Office through our confidential sources and which was immediately relayed to the University of Minnesota Police Department to enable them to set up cameras and to obtain necessary witnesses to bring about successful prosecution. It is felt these prosecutions have had a tremendous deterrent effect on SDS activity at the University of Minnesota.

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-184369) 11/4/70

SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14235) (RUC)

REVOLUTIONARY UNION
IS - RU

Cointelpro - New Left

Re San Francisco airtel dated October 22, 1970; Buairtel dated October 28, 1970, and Minneapolis telephone call to San Francisco dated November 3, 1970.

San Francisco airtel dated October 22, 1970, makes reference to a previous airtel dated October 15, 1970, which enclosed a paper "Becoming a National Organization." Certain offices, including Minneapolis, were referred to pages four and five of this paper in an effort to identify one or two individuals to be interviewed in line with referenced San Francisco and Bureau airtels.

Since Minneapolis was not in possession of this paper, a telephone call to San Francisco on November 3, 1970, subsequently determined there is no one within this division to be interviewed. Accordingly, the Bureau and San Francisco are being advised no interviews being conducted by this division since Minneapolis has no information indicating RU membership or activities.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - 105-184369
1 - 100-449698
3 - San Francisco
2 - 100-61281 (RM)
1 - 100-60968 (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
1 - 100-14235
1 - 100-14155

MJF:rjw
(8)

100-449698-43

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 11/6/70

FROM SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to Minneapolis dated 10/13/70.

Reproductions of the article "Charge to Graduates" by ERIC A. WALKER, President of Pennsylvania State University was mailed in a secure manner to both [redacted] of the University of Minnesota as well as [redacted] of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota.

On 11/5/70, it was determined that 4 out of 5 SDS subjects who were recently convicted in local court, participated in the General Motors Strike at Detroit, Michigan on 11/3/70. These individuals were previously charged locally with destruction of property at the University of Minnesota in connection with a raid in the Criminal Justice Building on 3/6/70. They were each given a 90 day jail sentence with a 2-year probation. Terms of their probation, according to the local [redacted] the Hennepin County Probation Office, Minneapolis, Minnesota, is that none of these persons would be permitted to leave this state without permission from him. He was questioned preceding the Detroit trip as to whether these individuals had given any indication of leaving town, at which time he stated that they had not and he would consider it a violation of their probation, should they actually do so. Secondly, he informed should he learn of such action by these individuals, he would take action to have their parole removed.

[redacted] who made the trip to Detroit on 11/3-4/70, has positively identified photographs of 4 of these persons making this trip.

The Bureau is requested to immediately authorize the Minneapolis Office to make this information available to the local probation officer.

1-900 D REC-71 100-449698-43-25

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2 - Minneapolis
WPE: jes
(4)

EX-106

11 NOV 9 1970

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

11/19/70

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1

Airtel

To: SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155)

EX-115
REC-123

From: Director, FBI (100-449698) 43-25

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT

Reurlet 11/6/70.

Pursuant to your request, you are authorized to contact appropriate local probation officer and make available to him information indicating violation of probation by four SDS members. Thereafter, you should advise the Bureau of action taken by local authorities concerning this apparent violation of probation by these individuals.

HM:cal
(5)

NOTE:

Referenced MP letter advised that four SDS members, who had been convicted in local court for destruction of property at the University of Minnesota and who are currently on probation, had apparently violated their probation by traveling to Detroit, Michigan, to support the strike against General Motors. Terms of probation prohibit their leaving Minnesota without permission of the probation officer which had not been granted. A bus driver has identified photographs of the individuals who made the trip to Detroit. Revocation of probation of these individuals could result from action outlined above.

MAILED 9
NOV 1 1970
COMM-FBI

53 DEC 1 1970 MAIL ROOM ✓ TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 1/6/71

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a Xerox copy of a cartoon showing a pair of hippies and containing comments by them which are both humorous and carrying a message highly ridiculing so-called New Left protests. There is also enclosed a Xerox copy of an article appearing in the December, 1970, issue of "Reader's Digest" entitled "Prescription for Revolution."

Bureau authority is requested to reproduce the cartoon item and mail it anonymously to various persons who are currently active, particularly in the leadership capacity, in the New Left movement. The Xerox copy of the "Reader's Digest" article is as such not suitable for distribution; however, it is noted that reprints can be obtained through the publisher. This article is being brought to the Bureau's attention for possible useage by other offices as well as considering the advisability of reproducing this article at the Bureau for general dissemination under the program.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

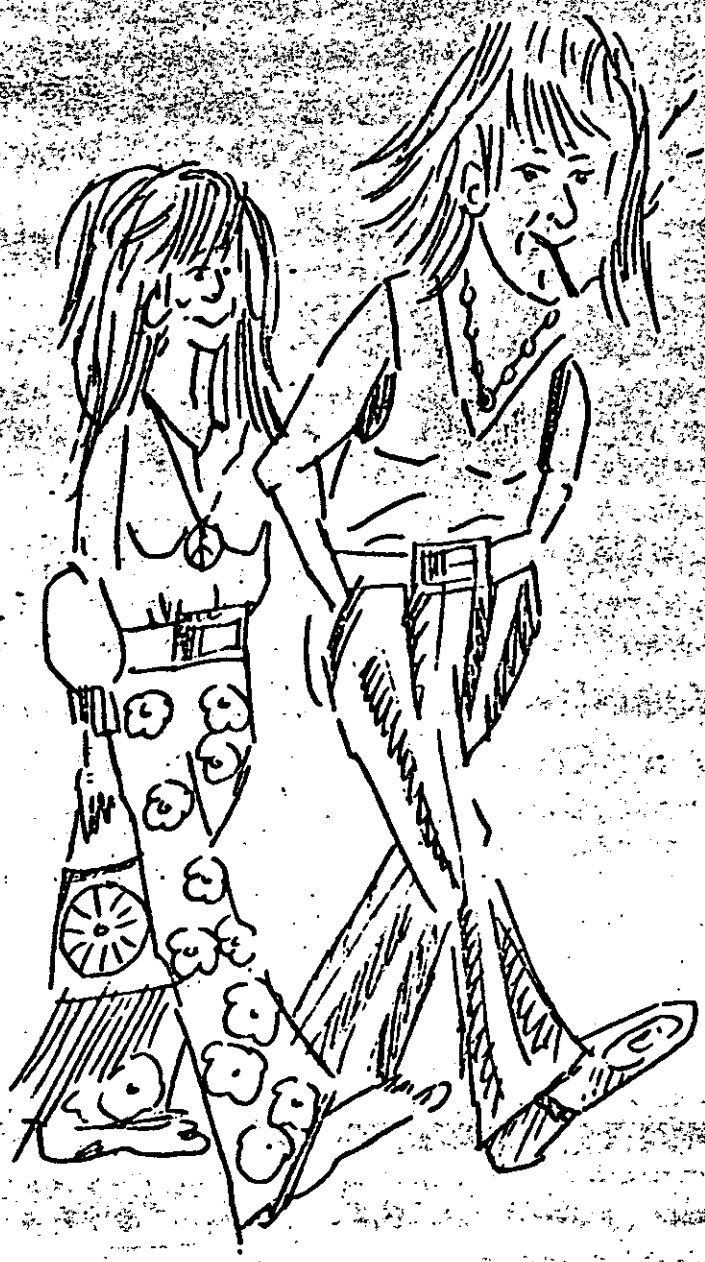
EX-115
REC-54 100-449698-43

(2) - Bureau (Encs. - 2)
1 - Minneapolis

12 JAN 11 1971

WPE:ebl

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



I'll run over and pick up my unemployment check and then drop off at the University to see what's holding up my check on the Federal Education Grant and look into my reasearch grant check. You go to the free VD clinic and check on your tests; then go to the free health center and pick up my glasses and after that go down and pick up the food stamps and slide by the food market and then we'll meet at the Federal Building at 12:00 for the mass picketing of the stinking establishment.

From the past, a grim reminder for today

Prescription for Revolution

Condensed from HUMAN EVENTS

PAUL HARVEY
News analyst; syndicated columnist; author of "Testing Time," "Uncommon Man," etc.

TODAY's rioters, bombers, burners, cop-killers are certainly not all communists. But there *are* pros prodding the amateurs, showing them how, egging them on, fanning the flames. And, so that they'll know we know them—

I have here a copy of a letter of instruction to revolutionaries:

> Go to the youth. Form fighting squads everywhere of 3, 10, 30 persons. Let them arm themselves at once as best they can, be it with a revolver, a knife, a rag soaked in kerosene for starting fires. . . .
>
> Do not make membership in the party an absolute condition—that would be an absurd demand for an armed uprising. You must proceed to propagandize on a wide scale. Let 5 or 10 percent make the rounds of hundreds of workers' and student study circles, and supply each group with brief and simple recipes for making bombs.

The author of this document: Nikolai Lenin.

There are a few more sentences in his letter—written on October 16, 1905—that you should know about, because we face a situation now with important similarities to the one then:

> Squads must at once begin military training. Some may undertake to kill a spy or blow up a police station, others to raid a bank to confiscate money for the insurrection. . . .
>
> Let every group learn, if only by beating up policemen; this will train hundreds of experienced fighters who tomorrow will be leading hundreds of thousands.

HUMAN EVENTS (SEPTEMBER 26, 1970).
422 FIRST ST., S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003. © 1970 BY GENERAL FEATURES CORP.

When Lenin wrote this prescription for revolution, the Russian people were bitter about military defeats in the Far East. The Japanese had virtually destroyed the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, and, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "patriotic feeling began to turn against the government. The war grew extremely unpopular."

Thus, when Lenin sent this letter to the combat committee of what later became the Communist Party, the climate was right for revolution. So students and workers were organized, guns were stolen, thousands of young people demonstrated. Hundreds were killed or injured in pitched battles with police and troops. Fire bombs were thrown into public buildings, police attacked, schools and colleges disrupted. Czar Nicholas II tried many political concessions, but, just 12 years after that letter was written, Russia fell.

Only a tiny fraction of the anarchists were communists. Most were just people unhappy about conditions who let themselves be misled.

For information on reprints of this article, see page 70

SAC, Minneapolis (100-14155) 1/20/71

EX-112

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 43-24 - 1 - [redacted]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

REC-122

Reurlet with enclosures dated 1/6/71 captioned above.

Authority is granted to reproduce the cartoon item enclosed with your letter and to mail it anonymously to New Left activists in your territory. In mailing the cartoons, you must be sure that they cannot be traced to the FBI. Advise Bureau when your proposed action has been taken and any following results noted.

RJS:jlm
(4)

NOTE:

Minneapolis submitted a cartoon concerning two hippies which it proposes to mail anonymously to New Left activists in the Minneapolis area. The cartoon ridicules New Left hippies. Minneapolis is authorized to mail out the cartoon in line with the above.

MAILED 9
JAN 20 1971
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

54 FEB 1 1971

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 1/6/71

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-14155) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet 5/10/68 and MPlet 10/1/70.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

As indicated in relet 10/1/70 it was anticipated there would be increased New Left activity during recent months, particularly with the beginning of a new school term. Although there has been some attempts to reorganize such groups as the SDS at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, there is, at present, very little significant New Left activity and the anticipated increase is not what would normally be expected.

It would appear that the principal potential under this program would be an attack at New Left activity emanating at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, inasmuch as all other New Left activity in the area is practically negligible. It might be noted the SDS has reorganized and elected persons who are completely new to the organization. The old SDS leaders have been unusually quiet, possibly due to the previous arrest of five leaders and the fact that these persons are threatened by their probation. Among the potentials would be to have the probation removed as previously indicated in MPlet 7/6/70 and to ascertain more information concerning the current new SDS leaders and their vulnerable points of attack.

2 - Bureau
1 - Minneapolis

WPE:ebl
(3)

REC-4

100-449698-43-27

12 JAN 11 1971

JAN 14 1971

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It is further felt there is considerable potentiality in the anonymous mailings inasmuch as it is felt these mailings in the past have been significant inasmuch as certain of the targets at which they have been directed, have changed their course of direction considerably.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

By separate communication we are submitting two items for review and approval to be distributed possibly among New Left elements and school officials.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

The current decrease in overall New Left activity could conceivably be attributed in some respects to our previous action under this program. Of particular significance is the current hard-line approachebeing taken by college administrators in the area, particularly [redacted] University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, to whom considerable mailing has been directed in the past.