

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

**100-436291**

**SECTION 3**

**SERIALS 211-305**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

## **NOTICE**

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# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

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

DATE: October 31, 1966

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

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

## PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend publication of a news release embarrassing to the Socialist Workers Party.

## BACKGROUND:

The Socialist Workers Party is running a candidate for Governor of New York. [REDACTED] New York law requires a Governor to be at least 30 years of age and a resident of New York. The Party apparently hoped for a controversy over [REDACTED] not being a resident in order to gain publicity by comparing her to Senator Robert Kennedy. They did not get this publicity.

Our New York Office recommends publication of an item ridiculing the Socialist Workers Party by publicizing these facts and comparing [REDACTED] to past Socialist Workers Party candidates who also have not met required standards. New York feels the Party can be disrupted and neutralized if this item appears immediately before the election. This will prevent undue publicity because of the time element.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached humorous release be given to the "New York Daily News" by the Crime Records Division to embarrass the Socialist Workers Party.

Enclosure  
100-436291  
TJD:dsm  
(6)

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO MEMBERS IN  
SAC CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION  
FEB 26 1975

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

"HER SLIP IS SHOWING..."

Proud of my reputation as an independent thinker, I may once again hop, skip and jump over the voting machine. My choice for Governor, as leader of the ticket, should reflect the utmost consideration as to which candidate will do the best job. The choice, however, is made a little easier by the presence on the ballot of JUDY WHITE, candidate for Governor on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. JUDY's platform indicates that, if elected, she will crusade for a voting age of 18; however, her own age of 28 would preclude her serving, even if elected. Seems there are only three requirements for this job in the State Constitution, to wit: a U. S. citizen, attainment of 30 years of age, residency in New York for five years immediately preceding election. Her residency in New York for less than six months also appears to leave something to be desired. The Socialist Workers Party seems to have a flair for running curious candidates as evidenced by JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN, its 1961 candidate for president of the borough of Manhattan. JOHN's arrest record ran from petty larceny to first degree murder and later received free room and board in Clinton Prison. How such candidates manage a spot on the ballot is interesting speculation. Do you get the impression its leg-pulling time?"

TJD:dsm  
(7)

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

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



SAC, New York (100-146608)

11/9/66

Director, FBI (100-436291) — 211

REC- 52

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ci-85-11/1/66

See BSH/1/66

11/15/66-217

ReNYlet dated 10/24/66, which suggested a humorous item concerning the Socialist Workers Party be furnished the "New York Daily News" on a confidential basis.

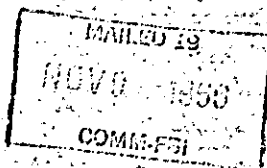
This item was furnished the "New York Daily News" by the Crime Records Division in the form set out in relet.

TJD:rwf  
(4)

NOTE:

Memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 10/31/66 and captioned as above recommended furnishing this item to the "New York Daily News." This was approved by the Director and handled by the Crime Records Division.

ENCLOSURE



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)

BS 100-442

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On the basis of the foregoing and as all discussions locally in this matter took place during closed SWP membership meetings, Boston feels that any publicizing would be detrimental to the Bureau's interests as well as that of the informant.

However, Boston will keep in mind the Bureau's disruptive program in the future and should any subsequent incidents arise where the information can be furnished as suggested by the Bureau without disrupting the Bureau's interests or Boston informants, the Bureau will be promptly advised of the details prior to any positive action being taken.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 11/15/66

Rebulet 8/26/66 and Boston report of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] dated 8/12/66 captioned,  
"Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts."

In connection with the reported internal dispute within the SWP, Boston in rerep, this information was obtained during closed sessions of the SWP, Boston by a highly valuable informant in SWP affairs locally who is currently the only informant actively participating in SWP, Boston affairs.

Source has further advised at subsequent contacts that since the [REDACTED] moved from Boston to New York in August, 1966, no further discussion or internal strife has occurred within the branch and that the "bug" issue is now a dead issue. He further noted that recent editions of the "Newsletter" now being printed in New York have carried a union "bug" label.

Classified by 2822  
Exempt from GDS, Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Boston  
AVS:maj  
(3)

REC 106

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *DUB*  
*m/m* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) -P-

SUBJECT: *C* SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 12/22/66

*P. J. [unclear]*

Re Newark letter to the Bureau dated 10/24/66.

The Newark SWP continues to experience financial difficulties and SWP functions are often cancelled because of poor attendance. Most of the members continue to be dissatisfied with the leadership provided by [redacted] the Organizer.

This matter is being closely followed and the Bureau will be kept advised.

*1-910 9+D*  
2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Newark

DE:lab  
(4)

REC-8

100-436291-13

15 DEC 23 1966

*7260*  
7 DEC 30 1966

*INT. SEC. [unclear]*





# Editorial/02

WCBS-TV, 51 WEST 52 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

WCBS-TV Editorials express the views of the station's management on important community issues. Because opinions on these issues may differ, WCBS-TV will consider requests for time on the station from those representing differing views. CLARK B. GEORGE, Vice President, CBS Television Stations Division and General Manager, WCBS-TV.

SUBJECT: ELECTION LAW REFORM

SPOKESMAN: Michael F. Keating

BROADCAST: November 18, 1966  
6 PM Evening Report  
November 21, 1966  
7 AM Morning Report

In covering the recent elections in New York, we discovered what we consider to be a serious flaw in our election law, a flaw that should be corrected immediately. And the flaw is that, under the present system, a person can run for governor or other state offices even though that person may not be eligible to serve if elected, according to the provisions of our state Constitution.

For example, the state Constitution says that in order to serve as governor, a person must be 30 years old, a resident of the state for the five years preceding the election, and a United States citizen. But, the Secretary of State tells us, there is no procedure that calls for an automatic check to determine that a candidate nominated for governor meets those qualifications.

Now, in the past election, the Socialist Worker Party candidate for governor was a woman named Judith White. But if she had been elected, according to the Constitution she could not have served, because she is 28 years old. And, as I mentioned, the state Constitution says that the governor must be at least 30.

Since the Constitution does contain certain qualifications for the office of governor, then the same qualifications should apply to the people who run for that office. It doesn't make sense to have a candidate running for an office that the Constitution says he is not eligible to fill. Everyone who votes for that candidate throws his vote away, and, in a tight race, those votes could be crucial. If that candidate should happen to win election, it could result in a breakdown of our government.

In our opinion, the law should ensure that candidates on the ballot are eligible to serve in the office for which they are running.

\* \* \*

We would like to remind our viewers that WCBS-TV will consider requests for time for the presentation of views differing from those expressed in our editorials.

100-436211-24  
ENCLOSURE

NY 100-146608

[REDACTED] advised that he would furnish additional results of this investigation.

Concerning the suggested article submitted to the Bureau in re New York let, dated October 24, 1966, and in turn afforded the "New York Daily News", the New York Office has no information indicating that this article appeared in this publication. It is noted, however, that the enclosed Columbia Broadcasting System editorial was presented by CBS - TV on November 18, 1966 and November 21, 1966. Established liaison sources on CBS had been unable to date to ascertain the motivating force behind this editorial. It is noted, however, that this editorial contains an allegation which was included in the suggested article.

The Bureau will be advised of any additional tangible results concerning the above matter, and will continue to explore all possibilities for additional disruptive techniques in regard to this program.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-336291)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) P  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 1/20/67

Re New York letters to the Bureau, dated 9/21/66, and 10/24/66; Bureau letters to New York, dated 9/30/66 and 11/9/66.

On 10/13/66, information referred to in New York letter 9/7/66, was furnished to [REDACTED] Division of Employment, New York State Department of Labor, New York City. At this time [REDACTED] advised that this matter would be handled by [REDACTED] Field Investigator, and that both he and [REDACTED] fully understood the circumstances under which the information was furnished, and that the Bureau's interest in this matter would be kept strictly confidential.

During November and December, 1966, [REDACTED] was contacted, at which time he advised that the investigation of this matter was pending at this time. Furthermore, that checks were being made by this department, the results of which had not yet been received.

On 1/11/67, [REDACTED] advised that his investigation disclosed that among the individuals employed by Photo-Comp Press in New York City who had claimed unemployment compensation, one [REDACTED] who was listed on the original partnership papers of this firm, had been found to claim such compensation for a four week period, during which time he was an employee of this firm. [REDACTED] stated that this department intends to proceed against [REDACTED] to reclaim the amount of compensation furnished for this period of time.

In addition to the above, [REDACTED] made available the names of several individuals who were temporarily employed by Photo-Comp Press, which information was not available to the New York Office.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) ENCLOSURE  
1 - New York

AJG:pas

(3)

JAN 23 1967

INT. SEC.

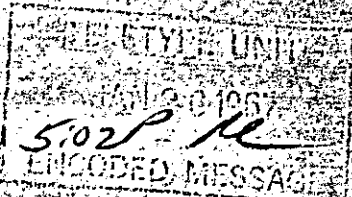
DELETED COPY SENT TO  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 20 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

RADIOGRAM TO SAN FRANCISCO  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

NOTE CONTINUED:

basic revolutionary groups cited by Attorney General under Executive Order 10450. Arrest of [REDACTED] would disrupt activities at SWP headquarters. Radiogram used in view of time element involved. If next radio contact missed, send by urgent teletype.





CODE

1/26/67

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SAC SAN FRANCISCO (100-50564)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-436291)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM.

REURTEL JANUARY TWENTY-FIVE LAST.

AUTHORITY GRANTED TO ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO AND BERKELEY  
POLICE DEPARTMENT SOURCES THAT [REDACTED] MAY APPEAR  
AT SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS, SAN FRANCISCO,  
JANUARY TWENTY-SEVEN AND TWENTY-EIGHT NEXT. INSURE BUREAU  
NOT EXPOSED AS SOURCE OF INFORMATION. SUBMIT PERTINENT RESULTS  
IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

RCP:dmk  
(4)

COPIES DESTROYED

NOTE:

352 JUL 22 1970

San Francisco teletype 1/25/67 advised [REDACTED]  
of "Young Socialist," publication of Young Socialist Alliance,  
youth group of Socialist Workers Party, would be in San Francisco,  
area 1/23-27/67, on secret tour because of two warrants for  
arrest outstanding in San Francisco for participation in "sit-in"  
demonstration. San Francisco advised there are two warrants for  
arrest outstanding for [REDACTED] who furnished above  
information, advised on 1/24/67, he had received a newsletter  
which is sent to all SWP and YSA members in San Francisco area.  
Newsletter stated [REDACTED] would be at SWP headquarters 1/27-28/67,  
therefore, source believed it would be impossible for anyone to  
pinpoint him as source of data that [REDACTED] would be at the head-  
quarters if she were arrested by police. The SWP and YSA are

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

JAN 27 1967

TELETYPE UNIT  
JAN 25 1967  
ENCODED MESSAGE

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

MS

FBI NEW YORK /13

708PM DEFERRED 1/25/67 WMS

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO  
SF VIA WASH  
FROM NEW YORK

ENCODED

*C.D. Brennan*  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, IS-SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM

*m* DIRECTOR 100-436291, SAN FRANCISCO 100-50564, NY 100-146608

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE JANUARY TWO FIVE INSTANT.

*1* NEW YORK RECOMMENDS APPROVAL BE GRANTED SAN FRANCISCO TO  
UTILIZE DISRUPTION TECHNIQUE OUTLINED IN RETEL SINCE ITS USE WILL  
NOT JEOPARDIZE SOURCES OR INVESTIGATION AT NEW YORK.

IF TECHNIQUE IS APPROVED AND UTILIZED, SF ADVISE NY RESULTS  
PROMPTLY FOR POSSIBLE FOLLOW UP TECHNIQUE AT NY.

END

SHD THIS BE RELAY?

REC-1

&

1-902 94D

100-436291-21

YES IT SHOULD DIDN'T YOU GET A TAPE? GA

JAN 31 1967

YES BUT NO RELAY LINE

JRL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

57 FEB 8 1967

RELAYED TO SF

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] WAS RECONTACTED TO DETERMINE IF HE COULD ADVISE A SITUATION WHERE [REDACTED] ARREST WOULD NOT RISK EXPOSING HIM AS THE SOURCE. ON JANUARY TWENTYFOUR, LAST, INFORMANT ADVISED THAT HE RECEIVED A NEWSLETTER FROM THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA) ON THAT DATE WHICH INDICATES THAT AT EIGHT PM ON JANUARY TWENTYSEVEN AND TWENTYEIGHT NEXT, [REDACTED] WILL BE AT THE OAKLAND-BERKELEY HEADQUARTERS OF THE SWP. SINCE THIS NEWSLETTER IS SENT TO ALL SWP AND YSA MEMBERS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO PINPOINT THE INFORMANT AS THE SOURCE.

PERMISSION REQUESTED TO ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO AND BERKELEY PDS OF THE OUTSTANDING WARRANTS AND OF THE FACT THAT SHE WILL BE IN BERKELEY ON JANUARY TWENTYSEVEN AND TWENTYEIGHT NEXT AT EIGHT PM AT SWP HEADQUARTERS.

NEW YORK ADVISE BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO WHETHER ANY SUCH ACTION WOULD JEOPARDIZE INVESTIGATION OR SOURCES AT NEW YORK.

END

HOLD

[REDACTED]

0000000000

JAN 25 1967

ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Wick  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

1201 PM GENT 1-25-67 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-436291) AND NEW YORK

(NEW YORK VIA WASH)

.....ENCODED.....

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-50564)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) IS - SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM

[REDACTED] ADVISED JANUARY NINETEEN LAST THAT [REDACTED] (BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO - FOUR FOUR ONE SEVEN NINE SIX, NEW YORK ONE ZERO ZERO - ONE FIVE SIX THREE THREE SIX, A NEW YORK SUBJECT WHO IS [REDACTED] WILL BE IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA ON A TOUR FROM JANUARY TWENTYTHREE - TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT. INFORMANT STATED THAT [REDACTED] TOUR WAS TO BE KEPT SECRET BECAUSE THERE IS REPORTED TO BE A WARRANT OUTSTANDING FOR HER IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

BERKELEY AND SAN FRANCISCO PD INTELLIGENCE UNITS ADVISED ON JANUARY NINETEEN, LAST, THAT THERE WERE NO OUTSTANDING WARRANTS FOR [REDACTED]

ON JANUARY TWENTYTHREE, LAST, SAN FRANCISCO PD INTELLIGENCE UNIT ADVISED THAT SAN FRANCISCO PD HAS TWO WARRANTS OUTSTANDING FOR [REDACTED] ONE WARRANT NO. ONE ZERO TWO TWO ZERO SIX, CALLING FOR NO BAIL, AND NO. ONE ZERO THREE ZERO TWO NINE, CALLING FOR ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS BAIL. BOTH WARRANTS ISSUED ON CHARGES OF SIX ZERO TWO OF PENAL CODE FOR "SIT-IN" ARRESTS AT SAN FRANCISCO.

END PAGE ONE

RELAYED TO



FBI

Date: 1/30/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-50564)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Remytel 1/25/67 and Butel 1/26/67.

Intelligence Unit, San Francisco PD advised on 1/30/67 that information regarding their warrants for [REDACTED] was furnished to the Berkeley PD with instructions to use their own discretion in serving the warrants.

Berkeley PD advised San Francisco PD that they could not effect the apprehension without breaking into the meeting at SWP Headquarters and decided reasons not serious enough to warrant such action.

San Francisco informants advised that [REDACTED] is presently in Los Angeles but is believed to be returning to San Francisco later this week. Attempts will be made to locate [REDACTED] in San Francisco and to advise the San Francisco PD so that they can arrest the Subject.

Bureau and New York will be kept advised.

1-910-74REG 22  
3 - Bureau  
2 - New York (100-146608)  
1 - San Francisco  
JRS:mfm  
(6)

JAN 31 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

DELETED COPY SENT U.S. AIR MAIL  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)

FBI

Date: 2/7/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-50564) - C - 5- (D.F.)  
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurtel 1/26/67 and myairtel 1/30/67.

CALIF  
 NY  
 [REDACTED] attended conferences held in San Francisco on February 4 and 5, 1967, to plan demonstrations against U.S. policies in Vietnam to take place 4/15/67. Her attendance at these conferences was confidentially furnished to the Intelligence Unit, San Francisco PD. Because there were approximately 300 persons present at the conference, the PD decided that if they were to arrest [REDACTED] at the conference, there would probably be a mass protest which they felt would cause more trouble than would be gained from serving their warrants. They stated that they preferred to arrest her away from the conference at her residence.

[REDACTED] it was after dark before the PD could be advised. A recent San Francisco court ruling has made it illegal to serve misdemeanor warrants after dark without specific permission from the judge issuing the warrant. This permission has not been obtained in this instance, and the PD could therefore not act. [REDACTED] returned to New York on 2/5/67.

The San Francisco PD expressed regrets that they could not serve the warrants but felt that in this case it was better to take no action. They stated that [REDACTED] may return for the 4/15/67 demonstration, at which time it may be possible to isolate her under more favorable circumstances.

3 - Bureau  
 1 - New York (100-146608) (Info.)  
 1 - San Francisco

JRS:mfm  
 (5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

12 FEB 13 1967

REC 11 100-436291-2

RECEIVED CO. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.  
 FOR REPLY TO COMMUNICATIONS IN  
 SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
 DATED FEB 26 1967 AND FILED  
 IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE) [initials]

C.C. Wick

## Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 3/10/67

FROM

SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Newark letter to Bureau dated 12/22/66.

Meetings of the Newark Branch, SWP, are going poorly attended and are sometimes cancelled because of lack of attendance.

Newark will continue to follow this matter and advise the Bureau of any opportunities to further disrupt the Newark Branch, SWP.

REC-63

EX-104

15 MAR 13 1967

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Newark  
SFE:imk  
(3)

MAR 17 1967

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 3/30/67

Information has recently been received from an informant attending the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention held in Detroit, Michigan, 3/24-26/67, that the YSA-Local at Milwaukee, Wisconsin was expelled at this convention, allegedly due to affiliations with the Workers World Party.

Information has further been received by the NYO indicating that a member of the Workers World Party in NYC recently stated that the entire YSA at Milwaukee, Wisconsin had "gone over to the Youth Against War and Fascism" (youth group of the Workers World Party).

The NYO desires to explore disruptive possibilities which might emanate from this situation.

Milwaukee is requested to furnish the NYO information available concerning events leading up to the occurrence of the above expulsion, together with any additional information available which might be successfully utilized in a disruptive tactic in connection with captioned program.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINFIELD IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT IN 1975  
DATED FEB 26 1975  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE) *Don 16*

REC 12

SI 109

- 1-910 94D
- ② - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Milwaukee (RM)
  - 1 - New York (44)

AJG:rmp  
(5)

54 APR 7 1967

12 MAR 31 1967



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



# Memorandum

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 4/12/67

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY, 4/6/67.

The general observations outlined in relet present interesting possibilities, particularly in relation to the U. S. Trotskyite interpretation of the Chinese situation.

Recently the SWP suffered the loss of an entire branch in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, over the leadership's interpretation of the Chinese Revolution as expressed in "The Militant". This situation definitely appears as food for thought from a disruptive standpoint.

Full exploration of domestic possibilities of the CIA operation mentioned in relet would entail considerable research in order to sufficiently establish its value. In order to reasonably embark on this endeavor, it is felt that we should be in possession of as many examples and specifics of this CIA operation as possible. Primarily, this would enable the NYO to obtain a clear outlook as to the avenues of approach used by CIA, and, secondarily, negate any duplication of effort in determining the feasibility of a similar program.

It is thus recommended that the Bureau consider obtaining a sample of CIA documents, together with any other information, including tangible results, which could be examined by the NYO for possible utilization in light of the above.

Clarification of the term "causing additional rifts among the Trotskyists themselves", set out in paragraph one of relet, is requested.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

AJG:msb  
(3)



5010-108

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

DATE 8/5/77

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

4/20/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

REC-14 EX-110

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet 4/6/67 and NYlet 4/12/67.

The phrase in Bulet 4/6/67 "causing additional rifts amongst the Trotskyites themselves" is believed to need no further clarification. This clearly means one possibility of the proposed operation would be to cause further splinters within the already splintered organized Trotskyite organizations.

INDEXED BY ROUTING  
FBI (S) 67  
DATE 8/5/77

Classified by 3-8  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAILED 6  
APR 19 1967  
COMM-FBI

CLASSIFIED BY 5024  
EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE 1  
EXEMPTION 1  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON 1/16/74

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

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NY 100-146608

The article further noted that proponents of this new law, which takes effect immediately, have contended that New Yorkers should not have to waste their votes on a candidate who could not take office even if elected.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE:

5/5/67

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP Internal Security  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlets to Director, 10/24/66 and 1/20/67.

Relets concerned the suggested disruptive tactic of publicizing the ineligibility of the SWP's candidate for Governor of New York State during 1956, which suggestion was accepted by the Bureau and furnished to the "New York Daily News" by Crime Record Division. No subsequent publication of this information was noted in this New York City newspaper, however, a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) editorial subsequently appeared on television on 11/18/66, which contained allegations similar to those furnished New York City newspapers. Although it has not been definitely established it is suspected by the New York Office CBS may have received this information from the "New York Daily News." For the information of the Bureau the State of New York recently passed a law which would nullify any future instance of ineligible candidates running for public office.

It is noted that "New York Times," 4/23/67, contained an article on page 75, which stated that the "anti-Judy White bill" which barred an ineligible person from being nominated for public office has been signed by New York State Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER. It was disclosed that New York State Attorney General LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ drafted this bill which was sponsored by New York State Senator EDWARD J. SPENO, Nassau County Republican chairman. The article noted that WHITE running as Gubernatorial candidate for the SWP received 12,506 votes out of 6.1 million cast.

2 - BUREAU (RM)  
1 - NY

AJQ:rvs

4 MAY 16 1967

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

DELETED COPY SENT US, INC.  
FOR RELEASE TO MEMBERS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). 5/20/67



5010-108



The former members of the Milwaukee SWP have agreed to respect all financial obligations incurred to the SWP through March 1, 1967."

\* \* \* \* \*

Motion: that the former members of the Milwaukee SWP shall adopt as a provisional organizational designation -- "Progressive Workers of America" ... carried.

For the information of American Socialists and Workers:

Motion of the Milwaukee SWP Executive Committee, for Mar. 26, 1967  
ON DISAFFILIATION FROM THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
Motion carried (19 for, 0 against)

"The Milwaukee Branch of the SWP severs its affiliation with the SWP of America, to direct its energies to uniting all genuine internationalists and revolutionary socialists who support a consistent Marxist position of solidarity behind the revolutionary conquests of the Maoist regime in China, the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the Maoist struggle against capitalist restoration in the USSR.

The Milwaukee members attribute the continuing organizational crisis in the SWP -- its membership decline, endless splits and expulsions, deepening conservatism and administrative abuse -- to the fundamentally incorrect position taken in 1950 by the Institutional Majority (and its co-thinkers in the Fourth International) on the Chinese Revolution and its leadership party; and to the progressive abandonment of the working-class character and orientation of the SWP.

The decision of the Milwaukee Marxists, to sever the ties which bind them to a moribund clique of "trotskyist" trustees in the SWP administration, was not taken casually, but deliberately, after a decade of disciplined and frustrating effort to correct the programmatic errors of the SWP Institutional Majority on the Chinese question, to halt its steady adaptation to petty-bourgeois moods and futile political adventures.

In the face of administrative fraud we have concluded that the handful of persons in the Party, who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, has abandoned the principled method and contributions of Trotskyism to the struggle of the working-class, not only in name, but in theory and practice. The whole dismal future of the SWP is summed up in The Militant for January 23, 1967, in a dangerously false positional document, entitled "The Upheaval in China -- An Analysis."

The Krushov revisionists and their liberal allies in the camp of imperialism also know that the broad revolutionary front of Maoism in China has undertaken essentially Trotskyist tasks in extending the socialist revolution into the stage of workers' democracy and cultural re-construction. It is entirely true that the Chinese Marxists carry out these tasks in their own way, in accordance with their own deep understanding of Chinese realities, and as the genuine organizers of the proletarian dictatorship in China. Lenin once said: "Theory is grey -- but the tree of life is ever green."

100-151171-226  
ENCLOSURE

theorists of the New York literary salon. The magnitude of the event comes clearer into focus as we see that a rejection of the Bukharinist victory permits an inversion of the Trotskyist formula to read: An alliance with Stalin never, but Bukharin yes! Amazing!

They argue in assault of the proletarian internationalism practiced by the Chinese that: "All those designated as Khrushchevites may not be wrong," and that "...Peking's sectarian and suicidal refusal to consider any joint action with the Soviet Union...in defense of Vietnam against U.S. aggression...jeopardizes the security of China itself." Since when has a refusal to collaborate with Moscow's (Bukharinist) counterrevolutionary intrigues and designs described sectarianism? Would helping Moscow sell out the Vietnamese revolution constitute an act of proletarian solidarity? Or are Moscow's demands of negotiations on Ho Chi Minh, and Moscow's attempt to make North Vietnam a rationed satellite, revolutionary tasks? China has consistently demanded immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops!! Is this a sectarian slogan, comrades Hansen and Warde?

Would in fact it not be suicidal for Peking to lend any assistance to Kremlin counter-revolutionary plots? Kosygin knows which side of the cultural revolution he is on -- so does Dean Rusk. It is relieving to note that Hansen and Warde have climbed on the same bandwagon -- it's safer. To admit they are in error would require of the S.W.P. leadership admission of ten years of centrist backsliding. Mao Tse-tung calls for the urgent task of overthrowing the Kremlin bureaucracy. In calling for the overthrow of Mao Tse-tung, Warde and Hansen have overthrown Trotsky. Not out of malice, but because they no longer know the difference between revolution and counter-revolution.

\*\*\*\*\*

~~DOWN-WITH-THE-HANSEN-WARDE-MYTHOLOGY.~~

ADOPT THE SLOGAN: ONE WORKER IS WORTH A DOZEN  
PETTY-BOURGEOIS STUDENTS.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM -- MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT.

Respectfully submitted for  
the Milwaukee Local

S/ J. Eyzan

until he proved himself capable of recruiting proletarians. Your pessimism at least has cost us the proletarian orientation. If Trotsky thought the class composition of the New York branch was bad in 1939, we're glad that he's spared the sight of the national party today. Workers have better things to do than attend petty-bourgeois literary salons and most don't have any middle class friends in the antiwar movement.

### Indonesia

The charge that Peking is guilty of promoting the class collaborationist popular front ideology of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) is a foul and underhanded misrepresentation worthy only of a 7th rate sophist. Who trained and nurtured the P.K.I? What school did they evolve from? Peking? No, comrades, the Comintern. The popular frontism of the P.K.I. was "fait accompli" long before the Chinese intervened.

If one reads Peking Review one would have seen that what the C.C.P. was actually trying to do was to salvage that organization from popular frontism in a friendly and fraternal manner. For example: Peking Review would publish a speech by Aidit and alongside would be a document from the Chinese experience running counter to the P.K.I. activity. Otherwise how do you explain all the articles on guerrilla warfare, and Mao's writing on the Anti-Japanese war, etc, etc. It seems incredible that we should have to explain such obvious and simple phenomena. It further demonstrates the ideological and methodological poverty and confusion taught by Hansen and Warde.

### How Hansen and Warde Have Junked Trotskyism on the Russian Question

"We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet Bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the U.S.S.R.; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the U.S.S.R. is subordinate to the question of the world proletarian revolution." L. Trotsky, "The U.S.S.R. In War."

Comrade Trotsky, propounding the above formula, noted further that an alliance with Stalin was possible but with Bukharin never, and that the formation of another workers' state anywhere in the world would signal the downfall of the Moscow regime.

Comrades in the S.W.P., Swabeck and Boulton, have noted that what is now on the Russia Question, since the Burnham-Shachtman split on the eve of W.W.II, has been the victory of the Bukharinist wing in the Kremlin over the Stalinists (20th congress). This has been an extremely important development in world politics, wholly uncomprehended by the professional



Hansen and Warde side with the enemies of the proletariat.

Cultism, Paternalism, and a Psychoanalytic Category

Maoism, the Militant writers claim, is a sickening cult of the individual and a desecration of Scientific Socialism. Trotskyists have traditionally understood this term (in its organizational context) as a substitution by ideological and programmatic allegiance by personal allegiance to an individual and family politics. (Stalin ... internationally; Abernism in S.W.P. history.)

The Chinese family in the Confucian conception elevates the father (paternal image) on grounds of superior wisdom derived from longer experience in life. (The male-chauvinist content granted on historical necessity.) The eldest father holds leadership on family affairs on this basis.

Psychologically it has a far healthier content than the male role in the family deriving from Protestantism and the Puritanical sexual morality, the latter being described by extensive father (castration) fear and unsolved Oedipal attachments. It is not surprising that we find in Hitler's Nazi big brother image (a logical extension of Protestantism) a strong homosexual contingency. But how hard it is to condemn a people for their affection to the one man above all others most responsible for liberating their country and ushering in a new epoch in history. We will grant a potential danger ... however we find in China (contrary to Nazi Germany), a healthy elevation of the wisest father, who in fact acts in an anti-paternalistic manner by demanding the people master the Marxist-Leninist method. The party has taken a giant step toward combating the problem of cultism by elevating not Mao, the man, the image -- but Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Even in its simplicity the Maoist literature makes the logic of contradiction understandable to the mass of people. It would be interesting to note how Hansen and Warde would react were the names Mao Tse-tung and Leon Trotsky reversed in historical roles now. In fact Hansen and Warde are the real culprits on the question of cultism. They envision for L. Trotsky, the old warrior jew, phony De Leonist saint-hood on the parlor politics model. Their attack on Maoism neatly covers their own crime.

What these "militant" writers really fear are the class-conscious and educated masses of China today capable of giving the petty bourgeois intellectuals a run for their money. Ping pong players and peasants discuss how the philosophy of Marxism in Mao's thought can contribute to their everyday lives. What a great, a beautiful moment for mankind this is. Why do you cower in a corner with utter pessimism, Hansen and Warde? You evidently believe capitalism will be around a long time, or you would not permit cadres to indulge in middle class professional careers. Trotsky put forward the motion [sic] that every non-proletarian in the party be placed on candidacy

an oppressed majority class to the interests of its rulers and their state right. It subordinates (in fact substitutes) the class interest of the oppressed to the national (ruling class) interest. Nationalism is in no way applicable to China. If the Chinese had not been holding mass demonstrations (in the millions) in support of North Vietnam and the N.L.F. now, and over the years ... if the Chinese had not been giving military and non-military aid ... one might feel it worthwhile to discuss nationalism. However the charge is groundless and another of the Hansen-Warde slanders.

This charge, based on an international omission in a domestic problem, is equivalent to charging a Castro speech on the question of sugar production with narrow nationalism if he were to exclude in his report mention of the Afro-American liberation movement.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is not to be tampered with by petty journalists. This revolution has as its goal the making of Socialist Man free of self-interest. It is expropriating the last vestiges of old culture. Workers are setting up their own councils, in some cases over the party apparatus. Leninist norms for self management are being extended on an unbelievable scale. Mao Tse-tung and his left wing have stood the masses on their feet. By claiming ignorance of reality, Warde-Hansen evade the truth and stand Marxism on its head. Not only do they call this expropriation of the Thermidorian tendency nationalism, but "narrow" nationalism.

"Have these Gentlemen ever Seen a Revolution" F. Engels.

#### Leninism or Bourgeois Democratic Parliamentarianism

Warde and Hansen go on to tell us that in addition we have not heard the minorities side in China, and, they continue, "they may not be wrong." This is a vicious lie predicated upon bourgeois democratic norms. By what right do you hang the fate of the Chinese people, alas, the world proletariat, from the Parliamentary nose count, Comrades Hansen and Warde? How do millions of youth become organized against an enemy they have never heard? Or in China do administrators and people in authority not have the right to address the masses? Now it is the people who are being heard! By debates in the street and posters on every wall. This is Leninism! This is democracy!

Let Hansen and Warde cry alligator tears. How nice and safe it is here in this bastion of high imperialism, with all its comforts and institutionalized excesses. Hansen and Warde must really feel sympathy with their brothers in China who belong "to that great fraternity The Mystic Knights of the Middle Class" (J. Boulton).

The only guarantees on the road toward cementing the dictatorship of the proletariat are of rough terrain. Sharp class battles are bound to break out at every critical conjecture. We are witnessing one such battle in China, and

constitution. This is proof only to an impoverished mind! Completely removed in time and place, different governments, different people, one becomes proof of the other. How absurd. It's like saying the proof of Castro's tyrannical dictatorship lies in Miami Gusano testimony. After all we haven't been to Cuba; they have. All that's proven is that all documents cannot be trusted. But Warde and Hansen offer no method for arriving at the reality. This is further evidence that they have forfeited their right to instruct cadres in anything.

The fact remains that Chinese documents can be trusted. To claim otherwise is to demand the ultimate empirical evidence, and since when have Marxists been from Missouri. The worst fate a revisionist can expect in China is severe criticism and demotion. Where are the Moscow Trials, comrades? And where is the Chinese Siberia? To call this third stage in China's Revolution a purge is to throw away our dictionary.

Or do we believe the rumors emanating out of Hong Kong? Recall the reports from the Riga lie factory in the Twenties, claiming among a host of other atrocities that Lenin had nationalized women? If Hong Kong is not the Riga of the Pacific, what is it?

The Chinese say that a comrade who has made mistakes, after criticism and self criticism should be handled leniently. Cure the sickness to save the patient. If this is not Trotskyism on the question, what is?

It may be true that some individuals calling themselves Trotskyists are in Chinese jails. However the fact that they have called for (and no doubt tried to implement) the overthrow of the party leadership that made the revolution, branding it counter-revolutionary, more than justifies their incarceration. How did Lenin handle the Social Revolutionaries calling for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks during "war communism."

### What is Nationalism?

The claim that the C.C.P. August 8th plenum on the Cultural Revolution, in not mentioning the Vietnam war, issued a narrow nationalistic and non-Marxist statement, is incredible.

The Chinese from the outset have described in Marxist terms the nature of American Imperialism's role in Vietnam. They have noted every escalation and provocation, and have done marvelous work in educating their people to the nature and danger of the war, the reasons for the possibility of invasion, and the Chinese Peoples' sacred internationalist task of assisting Vietnam.

What is nationalism and what are its origins? Nationalism originates in class society as a mode of thought binding

HOW WARDE AND HANSEN GIVE CRITICAL SUPPORT TO THE  
WORKERS STATE IN CHINA

How often have we witnessed in The Militant an article or photograph publicizing the tremendous advances of socialist construction and planning in China? On the other hand, how many times have we seen that worn out photograph of toiling, huddled, and starving masses readily compiling [sic] with the ignorant American consciousness of China? Who was publicizing this image of Russia until the 1950's but the academic bourgeoisie. Such business for Socialists!!

If planned economy and state ownership of the means of production were precisely what we defended in the U.S.S.R. in spite of Stalin, why is it, even given the erroneous analysis of China as a deformed workers state, that the Warde-Hansen leadership cannot bare [sic] to credit socialist planning with a single achievement? Certainly any serious revolutionary would laugh in their face were they to reply that, "Well we did write one sentence in all those pages where we said China must be defended." What miserable hypocrisy!! Trotsky wrote volumes on exactly how and in what we defended the U.S.S.R. The Warde-Hansen gang write a sentence.

THE SIX ASSAULTS ON CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The January 23 Militant broadside in defense of the Chinese Restorationists contains six major assaults on the ruling left wing in China, and a host of complementary charges. We shall answer them point by point.

1. Chinese documents cannot be trusted. Stalin's 1936 constitution is equivalent to the August 8th plenum decision of the C.C.P. Central Committee on the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."
2. In now mentioning the Vietnam war the 16 points of the August 8th plenum decision describe non-Marxist narrow nationalism.
3. Maoism is a sickening cult of the individual and a desecration of scientific socialism.
4. China is responsible for the Indonesia catastrophe.
- 5 & 6. China is responsible for the destruction of the World Communist Movement (implying unity should be preserved) and China is selling out the Vietnamese people and revolution by sectarianism toward the U.S.S.R. in rejecting combined defense

Empiricism

The Warde-Hansen offering, as proof that Chinese documents cannot be trusted, Stalin's (or rather Bukharin's) 1936



## RED GUARDS AND WHITE SOCIALISTS:

### Political Resolution of the Milwaukee Local

by  
James Eyman

#### INTRODUCTION

Insofar as the Milwaukee local's disagreement with the N.E.C. Political Resolution Draft begins with the first sentence ("The War in Vietnam is the Axis of world politics today."), by submitting this resolution the Milwaukee workers group (Y.S.A.) makes an urgent appeal to the membership of the Y.S.A.

We hold that to deny the Chinese Revolution the position of axis is to claim for a rifle decisiveness while ignoring the man who fires the shot. Indeed, even as the people of China were fulfilling Leon Trotsky's promise of 1940 that World War II could not but end in revolution, 1949 saw the Peng Shu Tse advancing the same way in the face of the Red Armies as Josef Stalin's hero of the Orient, Chiang Kai-shek, i.e. south! Where would the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people be without the inspirational model and solidarity of the Chinese Revolution? If left to the designs of the Comintern, have we any doubt the Asian arena would have been sold out on the European plan?

The Milwaukee Local cannot question the Peoples Republic of China's rightful seat as paradigm for the revolutionary peoples of Asia, nay the revolutionary peoples of the world. The fact that Washington knows Peking is imperialism's Enemy No. 1 speaks strongly enough, but now Peking's call for the overthrow of the Moscow bureaucracy (another Trotskyist task) places the question of China as the touchstone for our epoch.

#### THE IMMEDIATE TASK

The current line and strategic orientation of the Warde-Hansen leadership of the Socialist Workers Party has recently taken another grave turn to the right. The most significant feature of their editorial supplement on China for January 23 being, apart from an extension of their already counter-revolutionary line for Asia, the departure from Trotskyism on the Russian Question. As a first step in rectifying this disastrous course followed by the S.W.P. leadership and strongly influencing the politics and program for the Young Socialist Alliance, we feel the Y.S.A. has a heavy obligation to thoroughly denounce them at the 1967 convention.

100-46291-226  
ENCLOSURE

The awareness of events and conditions at the center enjoyed by many comrades coast-to-coast is apparently unknown to this leadership. Without denigrating this commentary to threats, veiled or otherwise, the leadership and its hand-picked youth might well prepare themselves during the forthcoming pre-convention discussions and at the convention. The untenable conditions which exist under this leadership include the complete lack of Party appeal to the black race coupled with the loss of most of the few remaining black comrades, the undeniable system of "male chauvinism" in regard to top Party roles and the appalling suspicion of the membership.

Witness the Party's current position. The leadership, in its press, has reached back and dug out Harry R. to once again attempt to publicly defend the Party's indefensible position as a radical organization. How much longer must the membership remain on the defensive even in the radical press! In spite of the gains in recruitment in the recent period, both the Party and youth organization show a decrease in overall membership. This points up one glaring fact - neither organization can hold old nor new members. It takes little imagination and logic to arrive at the deplorable basis for this situation. One need only consider the above facts as a starting point to arrive at this conclusion.

It is a small wonder that the state of affairs of current and prospective SWP members could, in truth, be summarized as "Turn on, Tune in and Drop out." Whether your reflections, comrades, result in a decision to struggle from within, as exhibited by the writer, or otherwise, matters much.

It is not too late, comrades!

"TURN ON, TUNE IN AND DROP OUT"

Notwithstanding the psychedelic inference of the above quote, this commentary is directed in somber fashion to those SWP members who desire to remain Marxist-Leninists in the tradition of Leon Trotsky.

The split of the entire Milwaukee Local of the SWP is merely the most obvious recent example of the sad plight of the Party today. The attached documents, which have been generally withheld from the Party membership, resulted in the following sectarian action by the leadership: Expulsion of the author for distribution of this document to a "non-Party organization."

Since when has the Young Socialist Alliance, whose ranks include mainly SWP members, been considered a non-Party organization?!! Has the YSA, the most effective training and recruiting arm ever enjoyed by the SWP, been reduced to such ambivalence? Hardly!

To any comrade who would permit himself a few moments of logical reflection, such action by the leadership can mean but one thing - one more frantic action displaying complete disregard for democratic centralism by suppressing any attempt to express a minority position.

Complete knowledge that such action would result in the loss of many Party members and youth seemed small indeed to this leadership when compared to the torturing thought that any semblance of opposition might exist to threaten the ivory tower inhabitants at the national headquarters.

Therefore, another attempt of expression has effectively been stifled in the eyes of the centrist leadership, who can now envision another kangaroo convention this year.

Or, has it??? - - - Does this leadership really believe that the membership en masse will continue this expected role of idolatry regarding the interpretations and pronouncements of the center? Does this leadership discount the fact that comrades exist in virtually every Party branch throughout the country that can no longer blindly follow the reasoning of a dictatorial leadership while watching trusted comrades and youth cast aside.

100-136411-236  
ENCLOSURE

NY 100-146608

It is not felt that the Party has afforded the documents attached to this letter to the rank and file membership. It is thus felt that these documents, though lengthy in one instance, are well written and should be delivered to Party members.

Should the Bureau concur with this tactic, the NYO will canvass all offices covering SWP branches, for the names and addresses of all Party members, excluding NC members and members, who in the opinion of any offices, should not receive this mailing.

The reference to the Party's defense of its position in its press refers to a current series of articles appearing in "The Militant". It would, therefore, be appreciated if the Bureau could afford the NYO an early decision on this matter, in order that the material can remain topical in its entirety.



# Memorandum

TO :  
FROM :  
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 5/16/67

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SWP  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Enclosed for the Bureau is a disruptive letter prepared by the NYO together with two attached documents.

This disruptive effort was prepared to take advantage of the current internal strife within the party over its interpretation of the Chinese Revolution.

The attached documents were obtained from [redacted] as attachments to SWP National Committee (NC) minutes. These documents were distributed by the SWP to all NC members and presumably received additional dissemination by Milwaukee SWP members who have resigned from the party. Thus, it is felt that the informant is not jeopardized in utilization of these documents.

The disruptive letter was prepared in an attempt to imply that it was written by a current SWP member, possibly a female, and not necessarily by a former Milwaukee member. It is felt that the creation of dissatisfaction with the Party leadership would lead to the greatest benefits at this time from a disruptive standpoint. The quotation utilized in this letter could be understood and appreciated by SWP members who are close to the "hippy" and LSD element on a national scale.

If the Bureau concurs with the recommendation of the NYO to disseminate this material, it is suggested that the letter and documents be typed in their entirety on commercial bond paper by the NYO, and prepared for mailings from New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. Mailings from these locations would not only help to belie the possible assumption that the material emanated from Milwaukee, but would lend an inference that the writer has confederates in these locations.

2-Bureau (Encls. 3)  
1-New York

ENCLOSURE

AJG:jca  
(3)



5010-108

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

DELETED COPY SENT USA, ETC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIMES IN  
SWP CIVIL SUITS LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIL FILE) AND FILED

3 encl.  
NOTED  
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REC 32

MAY 17 1967

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

5/22/67

REC-126

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

X-113

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet 5/16/67 recommending a disruptive letter with two controversial documents that have been circulated among the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leadership be mailed anonymously to SWP members from New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Authority is granted for you to prepare up to one hundred copies of these documents in mimeograph form and to thereafter cause their mailing to rank and file members from the areas recommended. Take the usual precautions to insure these documents cannot be associated with this Bureau. Carefully follow this action to determine if the results of the initial mailing warrant additional mailings or additional supporting follow-up action.

It would appear this technique will serve the disruptive purpose outlined in Bulet 4/6/67 by associating a segment of the domestic Trotskyite movement with the international pro-Chinese Communists.

The Bureau appreciates your interest.

DR:scr

(5)

NOTE: Disruptive documents consist of two-page letter prepared by New York which is critical of SWP leadership which encloses two documents prepared by the Milwaukee Local of the SWP setting forth their disagreement with the national organization as a result of the failure of the latter to uphold the Chinese cultural revolution. The two SWP documents have not been afforded dissemination to rank-and-file Party members and with the New York-prepared cover letter their mailing will reflect unfavorably upon the SWP national leadership and undoubtedly compound existing disruption within the organization.

MAILED Z  
MAY 22 1967  
COMM-FBI

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
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Callahan  
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Felt  
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Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

6/8/67

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

*gs*  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulets 4/6/67 and 4/20/67.

Attached is one Xerox copy each of articles captioned "Peru Publishes Resolution on 'Yankee Forgery' in Argentine Trotskyite Weekly" and "Argentine Trotskyites Accuse 'Spartacists' Splinter Group of Uniting with Imperialism Against Trotskyism." These articles were furnished by the Cental Intelligence Agency as samples of disruptive material prepared as part of an operation to link Cuban and Chinese Communists with the Fourth International.

You should carefully analyze this material and submit any recommendations you determine appropriate for counterintelligence action.

Enclosures - 2

DR:scr (4)  
*scr*

MAILED 2

JUN 7 1967

COMM-FBI

REC 6

EX 109

JUN 8 1967

*Ben*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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56 JUN 14 1967

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*declassified by  
2040 7/25/77  
HOM*

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *hwb*  
*SWP* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 6/14/67

Re Newark letter to the Bureau, 4/28/67

[redacted] advised on 5/18/67, that at a meeting of the Newark Branch, SWP, on 5/17/67, it was suggested by [redacted] that anti-war activity be shelved and the time and effort be expended to building up the Party and the Branch. *U*

*U* Bi-weekly SWP Open Forums have ceased to exist. *U*

[redacted] have advised on various occasions that the biggest single obstruction to increasing the Branch was [redacted] with his temperamental and opinionated methods. [redacted] has unintentionally discouraged many prospective members, solely through his behavior. *U*

The Newark Branch has gained one new member, who has appeared infrequently at SWP Junctions during the past year. *U*

Newark will follow this matter and be alert for any opportunities to disrupt the Newark Branch, SWP. *U*

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Newark  
SFE:mcm  
(3)

JUN 23 1967

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

JUN 16 1967

*INT*



# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *RIDB/17* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 7/28/67

*CR*  
*Cut*  
*Shelton*

Re Newark airtel to New York 5/29/67 and Newark letter to the Bureau 6/14/67.

Referenced Newark airtel to New York recommended the names of [REDACTED] to receive mailings of a Bureau-approved, anonymous, disruptive letter prepared by the New York Office, together with two documents to be enclosed with the anonymous letter.

*Erasmus*  
*Shelton*

No information has been received from informants which would indicate persons recommended to receive anonymous mailing, referred to in referenced airtel of 5/29/67, have received same.

Newark will be alert to any forthcoming information in this matter and will pursue any opportunity which may arise to disrupt the Newark Branch, SWP.

*U*

DELETED COPY - SEITE USA, INC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

REC 53

EX-113

*1 910 7+D*

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Newark  
SFE:sda/aas  
(4)

15 JUL 31 1967



5010-106

19 AUG 3 1967

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

NY 100-146608

It would thus appear that if [redacted] could be furnished with some Fourth International ammunition to bolster his position and defend himself, he might "shoot down" the SWP leadership in the eyes of additional SWP members prior to or at the time of his inevitable expulsion. The document "PERU PUBLISHERS RESOLUTION ON 'YANKEE FORGERY IN ARGENTINE PRO-TROTSKYIST WEEKLY'", in part or totally, might serve [redacted] well in this regard, bearing in mind that the SWP claims complete accord with the International Secretariat of the Fourth International (IS of FI).

The possibility or mechanics of such a tactic is speculative at this time since several factors would have to be determined including (one) authority to utilize the document in part or totally (two) the existence and availability of a copy of the original issue of "Voz Obrero" to substantiate the translations. The ability of the SWP leadership to refute the authenticity of the document is a factor, however it is felt that, in the presence of substantiating evidence, the SWP would accept the document as an expression of the thinking of the IS of the FI in South America without extensive investigation. It is noted from information previously made available by highly confidential sources that the SWP's sources of information in South America are practically nil.

Prior to proceeding further in the development of this tactic, the NYO feels that it should have in its possession a resume of [redacted] position on the Chinese Revolution and his current situation and objectives in order to properly evaluate the above points.

If the Bureau feels that this possibility has merit and is able to determine the above two factors, the NYO will request Los Angeles Office to furnish the necessary information. An early response would be appreciated, due to the relative proximity of the above convention.

FBI

Date: 7/27/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY, 6/8/67.

The NYO has reviewed the documents enclosed with relet for Counter-Intelligence possibilities under captioned program.

These documents appear to be well-written from a pro-Trotskyist standpoint and necessarily deal with conditions and activities in Central and South America.

Prior to embarking on a research project to determine if similar documents or a similar program could be effected in the United States, the following interesting development is pointed out which could have bearing in this matter.

[REDACTED] long-time SWP National Committee member, who has for years extolled the virtues of the Chinese Revolution, was recently suspended from SWP membership. A source has advised that it is expected that [REDACTED] will be formally expelled at the forthcoming SWP National Convention scheduled in October, 1967. It is also believed that [REDACTED] and his sympathizers in Los Angeles may move into the Workers World Party, if this occurs.

3 - Bureau  
1 - New York

REC 37

AJG:d11  
(5)

18 JUL - 28 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF INITIALS  
DATE 8/5/67

EX-115

SAC, New York (100-146608)

SECRET

8/8/67

REC 37, Director, FBI (100-436291) — 230

1 - Mr. Thompson

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM



Theoretical documents used for disruptive purposes in this program should originate with the Trotskyites themselves or should be prepared by Special Agent personnel or qualified informants and sources knowledgeable of the Trotskyite movement. The documents furnished by CIA may be used only as samples to aid you in preparing theoretical material. ✓

The Bureau will be pleased to afford consideration to specific recommendations for disruptive action to further splits within the domestic Trotskyite movement. ✓

DR:clb  
(5)

CLASSIFIED BY 5024

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION

SCHEDULE 1, DECLASSIFICATION

EXEMPTION

AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED 5/11/77

SECRET

Classified by 3832  
Exempt from GDS, Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

3/11/77

Aut

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MAILED 27  
AUG 8 1967  
COMM - FBI  
Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT



## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *RWB/100* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: SEP

Re Newark letter to the Bureau dated 7/28/67.

Newark SWP informants have recently advised that the [REDACTED] Newark Branch, SWP, has gone to Scotland and may be in that country for about one year.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

With the above in mind Newark will follow this situation with a view toward anonymously notifying [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

*Handwritten: 2040 7/25/77 Hpm*

[REDACTED] has been previously described by informants as a sympathizer of the Newark Branch, SWP, but does not attend branch, SWP, but does not attend branch meetings.

It is noted that one or two SWP affairs have been held at the [REDACTED] residence and [REDACTED] may surmount the dilemma of [REDACTED] absence by asking the [REDACTED] to host all SWP functions until [REDACTED] returns to the U.S.

Newark will follow the above and advise the Bureau of any opportunity of implement the plan as outlined.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Newark  
SFE/mbm  
(3)

REC-31

16 SEP 27 1967

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 8/5/67



5010-108

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

SAC, New York (100-146608)

11/1/67

Director, FBI (100-436291)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet 8/8/67 regarding the use by your office for disruptive purposes of two documents prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Copies of these documents were furnished you by Bulet 6/8/67.

On 10/27/67 CIA advised it had no objection to the use of these documents by the FBI. CIA is currently endeavoring to obtain original copies of the newspapers which contained the text of these documents and these will be furnished to you as soon as made available. Advise the Bureau of your recommendations for the use of these documents prior to conducting counter-intelligence action.

DR:scr (5)

Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

MAILED 11

NOV 1 1967

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

53 NOV 13 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CLASSIFIED BY

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION

SCHEDULE \_\_\_\_\_

EXEMPTION CODE \_\_\_\_\_

AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON \_\_\_\_\_

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

On another occasion, information was furnished to a reliable source within the Division of Employment, New York State Department of Labor, to the effect that a member of the SWP had been gainfully employed while receiving unemployment benefits.

In May, 1967, an anonymous mailing was made to selected rank and file SWP members of a letter critical of the SWP leadership. This letter purportedly originated with the Milwaukee local of the SWP and set forth their disagreement with the national organization as a result of the failure of the leaders to uphold the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

RECOMMENDATION:

That our disruptive program directed against the SWP be continued subject to annual evaluation.

*Aut*  
*St*  
*OK*  
*W.C. Sullivan*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 11/9/67

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## PURPOSE:

To evaluate and secure approval for continuance of our disruptive program directed against the SWP, a militant Trotskyite organization.

## BACKGROUND:

This program was initiated 10/12/61 to cause disruption within the SWP and to alert the public to the organization's subversive character. Prior to October, 1967, this program was supervised as an adjunct to the Bureau's counterintelligence program directed against the communists, the Klan and hate-type groups. Currently, however, this program is being supervised by the substantive desk responsible for handling the investigation of the SWP. Offices where the SWP is concentrated participate in the program on a regular basis, while any office may participate when appropriate. A control file is maintained at the Seat of Government. There are no instructions relating to this program in Bureau manuals or SAC Letters and all instructions are forwarded to the field under the program caption. The field is required to secure prior Bureau authority before initiating any disruptive action. *PO*

## CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS:

Since the last evaluation of the program, five suggestions have been submitted by the field for disruptive action. Three of these suggestions have been approved for implementation.

In October, 1966, a humorous yet ridiculing item depicting the SWP candidate for Governor of New York State as being an unqualified candidate was released to the "New York Daily News."

100-436291

TJM:jav

(5) *jav*

REC 55

CONTINUED - OVER

3 NOV 14 1967

110-10-1967



## Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-43691)

DATE: 11/29/67

FROM

RWB/100 SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Newark letter to the Bureau, 9/25/67.

The disruptive plan outlined in referenced letter cannot be entertained further, inasmuch as [REDACTED] advised on 10/16/67, that at a membership meeting of the Newark Branch, SWP, on [REDACTED] it was announced that all SWP functions would be held at the residence of [REDACTED] in the future since [REDACTED] did not like the idea of being the

4 - Newark

APPROPRIATE AGEN (100-49167)

FIELD OFFICE (1-134-190)

RECEIVED BY

DATE

12/1/67

12/1/67

12/1/67

12/1/67

12/1/67

12/1/67

12/1/67

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

12/16/74

SAC, Newark (100-46426)

12/22/67

REC  
Director, FBI (100-436291) -- 231

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurlet 11/29/67.

A review of Bufiles indicates that [redacted] has in the past been contacted by Agents of your office at which time he was furnished information of a public source nature on a confidential basis. Prior to any decision being reached at the Bureau as to whether or not Boyd should be orally furnished information concerning the subversive background of [redacted] it is first desired that you review your files and advise the Bureau whether or not you are in possession of any public source information concerning [redacted] that would serve the purpose suggested by you in relet.

TJM:jav  
(5) *jav*  
NOTE:

[redacted] is not on the Security Index; however, his wife is included thereon as she is a current active member of the SWP. [redacted] has attended numerous functions of the SWP in the past year including several membership meetings held at his residence. A source recently advised that [redacted] has not officially joined the SWP because he thought he could better influence young minds by staying where he is. It is noted that he is [redacted]

[redacted] is an established source of the Newark Office and as part of the disruption program, Newark has recommended that information concerning [redacted] be orally furnished [redacted] on a confidential basis with a view towards having [redacted]

DELETED COPY SENT U.S. NYC  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *1/25/75*

MAILED 3

DEC 21 1967

COMM-FBI

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

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 1/18/74

51 JAN 25 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*Declassified*  
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7/27/77  
11 PM

SAC, Los Angeles

12/21/67

Director, FBI

SWP

IS - SWP

DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReDDrop of [REDACTED] dated 12/5/67 captioned

Page two of reren indicates that [REDACTED] is an employee at the [REDACTED] California, and in connection with this employment, he signed a California Loyalty Oath.

You are requested to review your file concerning [REDACTED] and submit recommendations regarding the anonymous sending of public source information regarding him to appropriate state authorities in line with the above-captioned program.

TJM:jav

(5)

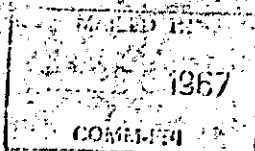
NOTE:

[REDACTED] is a Security Index subject who has been associated with the YSA. Origin has recently been transferred from Portland to Los Angeles. A review of Bufile indicates that some public source information concerning the subject is available.

REC- 60

DEC 20 1967

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



59 DEC 22 1967  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI--(100-436291) DATE: 1/2/68

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-46426)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bureau letter to Newark, dated 12/22/67.

Review of the Newark file on [REDACTED] fails to disclose the existence of any public source material concerning [REDACTED] which could prove of value in connection with notifying the character of [REDACTED].

Newark will remain alert for any such material and will forward same to the Bureau for approval for dissemination to [REDACTED].

RECEIVED COMM. SEC. USA, NYC,  
FOURTH AVENUE  
S.W.P. CIRCULAR LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (S.W.P. MAIN FILE).

*Declassified  
2018  
7/25/77  
H/M*

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark  
SFE/jz  
(3)



5010-108

DATE *1/2/68* EX-108  
JAN 17 1968  
XEROX

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



SAC, Newark (100-46426)

1/15/68

Director, FBI (100-436291)-236

REC-52

101

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

Reurlets 11/29/67 and 1/2/68.

Authority is granted for an Agent of your office to contact [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for the purpose of orally furnishing to him, on a confidential basis as recommended by you in referenced letter of 11/29/67, information concerning the subversive background of [REDACTED]. The information so furnished must be appropriately synopsisized so that its disclosure does not endanger any of your sources. It must be unmistakably impressed upon [REDACTED] that the Bureau cannot be divulged as the source of this information and he should insure that no possible embarrassment results to the Bureau from his use thereof.

Follow this matter through sources available to you and advise the Bureau of any tangible results.

TJM:skr

(8)

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, dated 1/12/68, captioned as above, prepared by TJM:skr.

MAILED 12

JAN 16 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 1/15/68

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-16-80 BY SP-5 BJS/MLP  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61697)

SUBJECT: SWP  
IS - SWP  
Disruption Program

DATE: 1/2/68

*[Signature]* B. G. [unclear]

Re Bulet to Los Angeles dated 12/21/67 directing that Los Angeles submit recommendations regarding the anonymous submission of public source material concerning the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) membership of [redacted] to appropriate state authorities in view of [redacted] employment at a California State Hospital and the California Loyalty Oath Requirement of state employees.

On 1/2/68, [redacted] Office of the Attorney General for the State of California, 217 West First Street, Los Angeles, California, advised [redacted] as follows:

The California Loyalty Oath Requirement from every public employee of the State of California is incorporated in Article 22, Section 3, of the California State Constitution. The loyalty oath is also incorporated in California Government Code Sections 18150 through 18158. These sections were amended by the 1945, 1953, and 1967 California statutes in Chapters 123, 1250, and 159 respectively.

On December 21, 1967, the California Supreme Court in case referred to as "Vogel versus the County of Los Angeles" (no citation available at this early date) in a six to one decision held that the loyalty oath required of every public employee of the State of California is unconstitutional since it infringes on the right of freedom of associations guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

In view of this decision, it would appear that anonymous mailings would not effect subject's release and therefore the Los Angeles Office does not recommend the submission of public source material to appropriate state authorities.

*[Signature]*

② - Bureau (134)  
1 - Los Angeles

WCH:unh  
(3)

REC-62

EX 103

100-436291-237  
JAN 4 1968

JAN 21 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291) ✓  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 1/11/68

ReNYlet 7/27/67; Bulet 11/1/67. ✓

The NYO has held in abeyance a recommendation concerning the use of CIA documents mentioned in relets pending possible receipt of corroborating material (newspapers) from CIA. It is deemed advisable that such material be available in order to lend authenticity to any disruptive technique based on these documents.

It may be noted that [REDACTED], the dissident SWP leader from Los Angeles, has been formally expelled from the Party. Thus consideration of the above documents would have to be viewed under alternative and existing future conditions.

Concerning current avenues of possible disruption, the NYO is currently surveying the background and personalities of FRED HAISTEAD and [REDACTED] respectively. It has been recently learned that [REDACTED] will become "married" on January 14, 1968, in a Yoruba (African) ceremony at SWP headquarters in New York City. As of 1/11/68, there is no record of application for marriage filed in the Manhattan Marriage Bureau.

In regard to the above, [REDACTED] while engaged on a speaking tour on the West Coast, was described during 11/67, by a San Francisco newspaper as married and the father of a 12-year old son.

The NYO will ascertain the legality of [REDACTED] impending marriage, consider possibilities of publicizing any irregularities regarding the actions of the candidate and furnish the Bureau specific recommendations for approval of possible action.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - NY 100-146608 (44)

AJG:mm1

(3)

REC-19

101

JAN 15 1968



5010-100

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

Memorandum to Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

excellent. In similar instances in the past, he has, in the name of the Boy Scouts, expressed his appreciation to the Bureau for its interest in the scouting movement.

RECOMMENDATION:

The scouting movement in America needs no justification and its accomplishments speak for themselves. Individuals who have subversive backgrounds, especially those as [redacted] who remain in the scouting movement for the expressed purpose of influencing young minds, represent a distinct threat to the goal of the scouting movement and should be removed or neutralized. It is recommended, therefore, that the attached letter be approved authorizing the Newark Office to orally furnish [redacted] on a confidential basis, synopsized information concerning the subversive background of [redacted]. This is to be done with the clear understanding of [redacted] that the Bureau cannot be divulged as the source and no possible embarrassment to the Bureau must result therefrom.

*W.C.S.* *W.C.S.* *✓* *OK* *H*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: 1/12/68

FROM : C.D. Brennan *Bant*

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY & SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

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

## PURPOSE:

To authorize the Newark Office to orally furnish information to [redacted] an established source at the National Headquarters of the Boy Scouts of America, concerning the subversive background of [redacted]

## BACKGROUND:

[redacted], and is employed by a [redacted] agency in Newark, New Jersey. He is neither on the Security Index nor the Reserve Index but is the subject of a current Bureau security investigation. His wife is [redacted]

[redacted] though not an official member of the Socialist Workers Party, has attended many Socialist Workers Party membership meetings, some of which were held in his own home. In November, 1967, the Organizer of the Newark Branch Socialist Workers Party was overheard to tell [redacted]

[redacted] and join the Socialist Workers Party. [redacted] replied that he thought he could better influence young minds by staying where he is. Newark has advised that its files contain no public source information of a subversive nature concerning [redacted]

America, [redacted] Boys Scouts of America, [redacted] has in the past been contacted by Agents of the Newark Office and [redacted]

Enclosure  
1 - 100-448125  
100-436291  
TJM:skr  
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

54 JAN 24 1968

REC-28

100-436291-239

REC-28

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 1/31/68

Re: Bulet to Newark, 1/15/68

Relet granted authority for an Agent of this office to contact [redacted] Boy Scouts of America (BSA), for the purpose of orally furnishing to him on a confidential basis, the subversive background of [redacted]

Information concerning [redacted] was orally furnished to [redacted] on a confidential basis by [redacted] on 1/19/68. [redacted] was contacted at [redacted] [redacted] furnished the information in such a manner as to preclude the identification of the Bureau sources, and [redacted] reminded [redacted] that the Bureau could not be divulged as the source of the information furnished.

[redacted] advised [redacted] that since Scoutmasters are re-registered in March each year, no overt action to remove [redacted] will be taken until that time. At that time, [redacted] registration will not be renewed. By handling the matter in this fashion, [redacted] felt that the role of the Bureau in this matter would be further protected.

Newark will follow this matter closely and advise the Bureau of any tangible results.

Further investigation of [redacted] is pending coverage of leads set forth in Newark report of [redacted] dated 11/30/67, and entitled, [redacted] SM - SWP".

4-Bureau (RM)

2-Newark

SFE:mcm

(6)

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

DELETED COPY SENT TO  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAIN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY IN  
DATED FEB 28 1968  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)



5010-108

declassified  
2010  
7/25/77  
11/11

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 3/28/68

FROM : *WDB/* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: *O* SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP  
(OO: Newark)

Re Newark letter to the Bureau, 1/31/68.

On 3/27/68 [redacted]  
Boy Scouts of America (BSA), advised [redacted] as  
follows relative to the matter of [redacted]  
re-registration as [redacted]:

[redacted] is under the district jurisdiction of  
the [redacted], BSA, and as yet the registra-  
tions for Scoutmasters in that area have not been received  
from the District Director. The deadline for registrations  
is 3/30/68; however, a period of grace extends until 4/15/68.  
[redacted] is not supposed to be re-registered; however, final  
verification of his status is pending pending receipt of  
all registrations from [redacted].

This matter will continue to be followed and the  
Bureau advised.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO AGENTS IN  
SWP CIVIL DISRUPTION LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-10 (SWP MAIN FILE).

4 - Bureau (RM)  
(2 - 100-488125) [redacted]

2 - Newark  
(1 - 100-49167) [redacted]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DISSEMINATION  
DATE 8/5/77

APR 5 1968

REC- 59/11-4-6241-211

15 APR 1 1968

INT. SEC.

DECLASSIFIED  
20/6/77  
HFM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO  
FROM  
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 1/26/68

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re New York letter to Director, 1/11/68; memorandum of [redacted] to SAC Los Angeles, 1/5/68, entitled "SW - SWP"

For the information of the Los Angeles Office, relet set out information regarding the "marriage" of [redacted] African Yoruban ceremony at SWP headquarters in NYC. Relet further set out that the NYO was desirous of utilizing this situation, if possible, in connection with captioned program. This "marriage" was performed on 1/14/68.

The records of the Manhattan Marriage Bureau for the period 11/27/67 - 1/20/68, reflect no record of this marriage. The records of the Bronx Marriage Bureau, covering the residence of [redacted], for the period 7/1/67 - 1/24/68, contained no record of this marriage.

Sources of the NYO have advised that [redacted] has not divorced his legal wife and is reportedly providing financial support to her.

Inasmuch as referenced memorandum, setting forth a report of [redacted], reflected that certain SWP members in Los Angeles are aware of [redacted] having more than one wife "as in Africa" and "is something which will not help our movement", the NYO desires to more fully explore these feelings.

Los Angeles is requested to recontact [redacted] and discuss this situation from a disruption standpoint. Los Angeles is further requested to furnish the NYO any information and suggestions relating to the manner in which this situation could best embarrass the SWP or constitute a disruption in their current electoral campaign.

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Los Angeles (RM)

14- MAY 13 1968 (44)

AJG:mm1

(5)

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



5010-108

EX-116

REC 8

100-436291-292

INT. SEC.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61697) (P\*)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 5/16/68

Re New York letter to Director dated 4/26/68 in which Los Angeles is requested to contact [redacted] to discuss the marital situation of [redacted] in regard to its possible use from a disruption standpoint in the SWP.

On 4/24/68, 4/30/68, and 5/13/68 [redacted] was asked how he and other SWP members felt about [redacted] marital situation. After thinking the situation over, [redacted] advised that he really does not think it would make any difference to the bulk of SWP members, liberal voters of all races or to Negroes. One possible outcome of publicizing [redacted] marital situation could possibly be to raise the hue and cry of "white racism", and add to the "persecution complex" of minority groups. In addition [redacted] is positive that [redacted] would utilize the "persecution complex" in every campaign speech he will make on college campuses and other places.

On 5/10/68 [redacted], also extremely knowledgeable in SWP matters, stated practically the same opinion as [redacted].

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (100-146608) (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles

WNH/pih  
(5)

EX-116

REC 172 MAY 20 1968

54 MAY 24 1968

R. C. R. / J. J. J.  
INT. SEC.

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 5/29/68

FROM

*FWP/12*

SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS-SWP  
(OO: NK)

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Newark letter to the Bureau dated 3/28/68.

On 5/15/68, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that for some unknown reason the [redacted] BSA, has not yet submitted the registrations for Scoutmasters in their area, even though the deadline and grace period for such action is past. It is noted that [redacted] which troop is under the jurisdiction of the above Council.

[redacted] assured [redacted] he will look into the above matter.

Newark will advise the Bureau of pertinent developments in this matter.

DELETED COPY SENT NYC, NYO,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT MATTER  
DATED FEB 20 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-15 (SWP MATR FILE).

REC-18

100-436291-2

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 5/31/68

4 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Newark

SFE:lgd  
(6)



50 JUN 10 1968

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

*[Handwritten signature]*  
DECLASSIFIED  
204  
7/15/77  
*[Handwritten initials]*

UNREG COPY FILED IN

FBI

Date: 7/22/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-11)

FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (100-23089)

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C  
(SWP)

At a recent meeting of the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP), it was reported that the CBSWP plans to man literature tables at a forthcoming "teachers conference" to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, 8/8-12/68. All branch members of the SWP will be asked to help, as teachers will be coming from all over the country.

Cleveland Division has determined the teachers conference mentioned above will be a meeting of the American Federation of Teachers.

Bureau authority is requested to alert Cleveland established source [redacted] Cleveland Board of Education, regarding the foregoing in order that he may be able to thwart the plans of the SWP in that regard.

[redacted] is a long-established source who has been utilized in the counterintelligence program in the past. His discretion and reliability are assured, and the Bureau's interests will be protected.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Cleveland  
JNO/drm  
(4)

IN 100-16 (SWP REC-65 FILE). jrm/h

ST-100

JUL 24 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Se

er

Classified by 1382  
Exempt from GDS  
by of Declassification and Control  
2010  
1/17

SAC, Cleveland

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7/25/68

REC-65

Director, FBI (100-436291) — 245

ST-100

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

Reurairtel 7/22/68, captioned "Communist Party, USA,  
Counterintelligence Program; IS - C."

Based upon your assurances that the Bureau's  
interests will be fully protected, authority is granted to  
alert established source, [REDACTED], Cleveland  
Board of Education, that the Socialist Workers Party plans  
to distribute literature at the "teachers conference" to be  
held in Cleveland 8/8-12/68. Advise Bureau of any positive  
results.

For your future guidance, the caption used in  
reairtel is only for use in connection with matters relating  
to counterintelligence operations directed against the  
Communist Party, USA.

RCP:pab  
(4)

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

NOTE:

Cleveland advises [REDACTED] is a long-established source  
who has been utilized in counterintelligence actions in the  
past and that his discretion and reliability are assured.  
The SWP is a communist splinter group designated under EO 10450  
which has been active in campus protests, anti-Vietnam and  
racial demonstrations.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Winter \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 11  
JUL 25 1968  
COMM-FBI

1 AUG 1 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

2040 7/27/77  
Hm



NK 100-46426

It is felt that [REDACTED] removal from the scout-  
ing program, where he would have a strong influence in shaping  
the minds of young boys, reflects the successful application  
of the disruption program for a worthy cause.

Newark will be alert for new disruption operations  
which will have more direct bearing on the Newark Branch, SWP.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *RWB/er* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS-SWP  
(OO:NK)

DATE: 7/29/68

RE: Newark letter to Bureau, 5/29/68

On 6/6/68, [redacted] Boy Scouts of America (BSA), at the [redacted] that [redacted] advised [redacted] has not re-registered for the current year. The registration normally comes in by at least May 1st and should be submitted in March or early April. [redacted] advised that in the event a registration of this unit is not received by 7/1/68, the troop would be dropped.

On 7/12/68, [redacted] BSA National Headquarters, North Brunswick, N.J., advised [redacted] that as of that date, no registration had been received from [redacted] and there has been no request received on an individual basis from [redacted] of that unit.

It is the opinion of [redacted] that the local Scout Executive in the [redacted] has probably told the sponsoring institution that an application for charter renewal, on the basis of leadership by [redacted] would not be approved. While the majority of troops seek charter renewal by 7/1/68, a further check will be made on this matter about 8/1/68, to insure that [redacted] has not made application for any post in the Scouting organization.

On 7/16/68, [redacted] BSA National Headquarters, North Brunswick, N.J., advised [redacted] that [redacted] has not been re-registered as Scoutmaster by [redacted]

3-Bureau (RM)

REC 37

2-Newark

SFB:mcm  
(5)

14 JUL 30 1968

53 AUG 1968

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

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

NY 100-146608

"SWP has recently suffered its usual reversal among fellow radical organizations in its attempts to infiltrate and dominate the anti-war scene. HALSTEAD is scheduled to push for the return of all US personnel abroad. As a past champion of FIDEL CASTRO, he believes all countries should be left to fend for themselves and establish their future Utopias on the scale of the current Cuban Paradise. Intervention into the affairs of nations by countries or forces other than "the imperialist US" is not a plank in HALSTEAD's platform. It should be an interesting experience for Mr. HALSTEAD when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom".

FBI

Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)  
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
 IS-SWP  
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM

FRED HALSTEAD, SWP candidate for President, has scheduled a tour of Japan and possibly South Vietnam. [redacted] advised on 7/22/68, that HALSTEAD is scheduled to depart sometime after 7/26/68, at which time a farewell party is being held at SWP headquarters, NYC. The SWP and HALSTEAD have publicly stated that the purpose of this tour is to "go to the troops". The following is a squib, written in a humorous vein, which could possibly be placed with the US Army Personnel Information Service:

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Trotskyist version of a Communist Utopia, has announced that their candidate for President of the United States, FRED HALSTEAD, will shortly tour 'Japan, Vietnam, India, Jordan, Yugoslavia, and several European countries'. The alleged purpose of this trip is to reach GIs on foreign bases in order to propagandize on behalf of this Communist splinter organization in the US. HALSTEAD purports to be a champion of the anti-war activities in the US, the latest tactic and intervention by the SWP in order to gain recruits. Evidently, the SWP, whose total membership has not deviated more than 50 members in a decade, now feels that the pickings for recruits and sympathy are better abroad. In the US, the

REC 13

3-Bureau (RM)  
 1-New York [redacted] (INV) (CI)  
 1-New York (100-110453) (FRED HALSTEAD) (44)  
 1-New York (44)

AJG:eac

(7)

C. C. Platter

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN

SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER M Per

DATED FEB 26 1975

AND FILED IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

Per

INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

4 JUL 24 1968



1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

July 25, 1968

REC 13

100-436291-247

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Trotskyist version of a Communist Utopia, has announced that their candidate for President of the United States, Fred Halstead, will shortly tour Japan, Vietnam, India, Jordan, Yugoslavia, and several European countries. The alleged purpose of this trip is to reach GIs on foreign bases in order to propagandize on behalf of this communist splinter organization in the U. S. Halstead purports to be a champion of the antiwar activities in the U. S., the latest tactic and intervention by the SWP in order to gain recruits. Evidently, the SWP, whose total membership has not deviated more than 50 members in a decade, now feels that the pickings for recruits and sympathy are better abroad. In the U. S. the SWP has recently suffered its usual reversal among fellow radical organizations in its attempts to infiltrate and dominate the antiwar scene. Halstead is scheduled to push for the return of all U. S. personnel abroad. As the past champion of Fidel Castro, he believes all countries should be left to fend for themselves and establish their future Utopias on the scale of the current Cuban Paradise. Intervention into the affairs of nations by countries or forces other than "the imperialist U. S." is not a plank in Halstead's platform. It should be an interesting experience for Mr. Halstead when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom.

RCP:pab  
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, dated 7/25/68, captioned "Socialist Workers Party, Disruption Program; Internal Security-SWP," prepared by RCP:pab.

XEROX COPIES BEING FURNISHED TO ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF FOR INTELLIGENCE; OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS; COMMANDER, NAVAL INTELLIGENCE COMMAND, BY LIAISON.

son \_\_\_\_\_  
eLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
ohr \_\_\_\_\_  
ishop \_\_\_\_\_  
isner \_\_\_\_\_  
llahan \_\_\_\_\_  
rad \_\_\_\_\_  
ll \_\_\_\_\_  
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DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). JPM/LS

9 AUG 6 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Re: Socialist Workers Party

## Disruption Program

The proposed squib is attached in blind memorandum form. It does not jeopardize any sources.

It is recommended the squib be approved and sent by Liaison to the intelligence branches of the Armed Forces.

Wed

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 25, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

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

## PURPOSE:

This memorandum recommends we furnish a blind memorandum to the intelligence branches of the Armed Forces by Liaison which would hamper the efforts of the leader of the Socialist Workers Party in trying to contact members of the Armed Forces abroad.

## BACKGROUND:

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for President of the United States, has scheduled a tour of various foreign countries to "go to the troops." The SWP is a communist splinter group designated under Executive Order 10450 which has been active in campus unrest, anti-Vietnam protests, antidraft and racial demonstrations. Information concerning his trip has been previously disseminated.

New York has prepared a squib which describes Halstead and the SWP in an uncomplimentary manner. New York recommended the squib be furnished the Army for use in its publications to decrease the effectiveness of Halstead's efforts to contact military personnel. We believe the squib should be furnished the intelligence branches of all the services through Liaison in order to get the maximum benefit for use in the publications of the Armed Forces.

Enclosures (3)

100-436291

RCP:pab

(7)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam
- 1 - Liaison

DELETED COPY SENT CONTINUED - OVER  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

57 AUG 3 - 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 9/24/68

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (100-29002)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

ReBulet 7/25/68.

On 8/1/68, established source [REDACTED], Cleveland Board of Education, was confidentially apprised of the plans of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to man literature tables at the meeting of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in Cleveland in August, 1968. [REDACTED] said he would pass this information to appropriate officials without divulging the source.

The AFT meeting was held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Public Square, 8/19-23/68. Subsequently, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both reported the SWP was not permitted to set up literature tables at the AFT meeting nor to distribute any literature inside, but were forced to attempt to pass out their literature outside the hotel which was not at all effective.

RECEIVED BY [REDACTED] WEA, INC.  
FOR REVIEW TO MEMBERS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-13 (SWP MAIN FILE). *grr/ls*

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Cleveland  
(1- 100-23089)  
JNO:eds  
(4)

*EX-102*

REC-18

SEP 25 1968

INT. SEC.



5010-108-01

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



### WHO BUSTED SMC'S ASS?

Events since the disaster on June 20-30, have again demonstrated that everything the YSA touches turns to pure horseshit. Kipp Dawson and her gang of hypocrites took poor old SMC apart, changed all the pieces around, and put it back in the form of a sterile YSA group. Useless talk and parliamentary procedure is the new name of the game.

We who had served SMC from the beginning shed a few bitter tears, packed our bags and left. Linda Morse had the vision too. She saw through the Trotskyite shit and followed her nose through the door. She wasn't alone either. Many others, including Resistance, WRL, SDS and the Du Bois Clubs, followed her into the clear. So, we formed the Radical Organizing Committee to deal with issues related to the dirty war in Vietnam, the draft, racism and campus complicity. We wonder how long it will be before YSA takes a load on the RCC.

We admit to a few hangups - mostly financial - but the Trotskyites have had many for years. There's the street-meeting hangup. We suspect that any SMC activity in the future will be in the form of YSA street meetings - zero contributions to the ending of the Johnson war. While the Trotskyites talk and talk, the war goes on and on.

All of which builds to a fine point - known to most of the independents in SMC for a long time. The old-line organizations have completely dried up....nothing but dust between the ears. Let's face it, the contributions of the SWP, YSA and PL to the movement have been minimal to say the least. The CP died of old age several decades ago, although we understand Gus is living real well.

We think RCC has something new to offer - a new approach to the problems of our times, a new light on the rise of radical consciousness within the student movement. This time, baby, the fascist tactics of the YSA are not going to get the chance to wreck the organization. No more committee packing and other high handed crap so neatly done by the Trotskyites. YSA can stick with its own hangups. We don't want 'em!

With it all, you have to admire the way YSA operated. Kipp and Syd were beautiful....just beautiful. They stuffed their platform up our collective asses smiling all the while. They were pained when we left. Kipp still looks pained.

We'll work for RCC now. Let's see what happens. A final word for YSA. "You busted our ass. You and you alone. Good luck mothers."

- Peace

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 9/26/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an unsigned letter sent to 68 peace groups, new left groups and selected individuals, during 8/68, under the COINTELPRO at NY, with prior Bureau authority.

It is to be noted that the SMC is presently under the domination of the SWP and YSA.

On [redacted] (protect) advised that at a closed membership meeting of the New York Local-SWP on [redacted] the above mentioned letter was a major topic of conversation. Shock and indignation was expressed that such a letter could have been written by someone in the ROC. The letter was described as a vicious attack on the YSA and the CP. SWP members were particularly incensed over sections of the letter which stated the CP died of old age several decades ago and the next to last paragraph describing the action of KIPP DAWSON and SYD STAPLETON regarding their YSA platform.

Source also stated that while some members tried to treat the letter lightly, it was evident most considered it a serious matter and were extremely angry over its contents.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 25 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). gem/dfc

REC-28

100-436291-258

ENCLOSURE

ICC 904 DB

ICC 90242

3-Bureau(RM) (Encl. 3)

1-New York

JGC

EX-103

18 SEP 27 1968

REC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *RW3* SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (C)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP  
(OO: Newark)

DATE: 9/30/68

Re Newark letter to the Bureau dated 7/29/68.

On 9/26/68, [REDACTED] advised the Newark Branch, SWP, has been dissolved by the order of the National Office, SWP. All Branch members will become SWP members-at-large.

In view of this startling development, Newark is closing captioned file, subject to reopening if and when the Branch is reorganized.

REC-28

12 OCT 1 1968

*1 10473*

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark  
SFE:aas  
(3)

INT. SEC.

5 OCT 1968



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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet to Director, 4/26/68, and LAlet to Director, 5/16/68.

It is to be noted that sources of the LA Office feel that any attempt to embarrass [REDACTED] because of his marital situation would not make any difference to the bulk of SWP members and could possibly raise the cry of white racism and add to the persecution complex of minority groups.

The NYO concurs with this opinion and will give no further consideration to this matter at this time.

1 - 904 25  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (#44)

EX 110

REC-34

JGG:djg  
(3)

OCT 16 1968



61 OCT 22 1968

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



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 12/30/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet to Director 10/14/68.

Review of SWP matters in the recent past by the NYO, fails to reflect any suitable material which could be utilized as disruptive material at this time.

This matter is being followed in the NYO and any material of a suitable nature will be considered and the Bureau will be advised.

1 904 22  
REC-33

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York  
JGG

22 DEC 31 1968

INT. SEC.



67 JAN 4 1969

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

FLASH

FLASH

FLASH

FLASH

FLASH

FLASH

DESPERATE DAVE DANGLES DINGUS

Murderously Mangles MOBE

Washington, D. C. Jan. 20 - Speaking in his usual high pitched voice, Dave Dellinger, National Chairman of the National Mobilization Committee (MOBE), today claimed that the anti-inaugural demonstrations called by his organization had been responsible in getting the Paris peace talks going again.

Dellinger made this startling disclosure before an audience of newsmen in the dingy Hawthorne School which housed many of his followers. A cluster of the latter stood behind their Guru sniffing and fingering wilted flowers. Dellinger, looking pale - more fairy-like than ever - tried to control the squeaks in his voice to no avail. "How many demonstrators did MOBE bring to the inaugural?", he was asked.

"At least 10,000," he answered.

"Bullshit", was heard in several sections of the room.

Dellinger shuffled his notes. "Let's make that 5,000."

"Bullshit".

"Would you believe 3,000?" Silence. Dave rolled his eyes at the ceiling. "I'm not going to play at numbers," he chirped. "What matters is that MOBE accomplished so much. We did get the peace talks going. We did break some windows in the National Geographic Society building. Despite police brutality, our brave people managed to throw cans and sticks at the President." His voice went higher - sounding like glass bells in a soft summer breeze. "We shook the establishment, gentlemen."

Associated Press stood up. "We understand MOBE is broke. That you lost control of the thing. That SDS and many other organizations in the peace movement refused to back you. That you have no idea how MOBE funds were spent."

Dellinger put a finger in his mouth and sucked it reflectively. Some minutes passed before he spoke. "MOBE is solvent, boys. As of this morning, we have \$1.54 in the treasury. The price of peace is high." He tried to look grim. "SDS, of course, is just a bunch of dirty college kids with grass for brains. We didn't want them or need them." He formed his lips into a cute bow. "I must go now. We're hitching a ride back to New York today unless we can raise bus fare."

He shoved four fingers into his mouth and was led slowly from the room humming "We Shall Overcome."

ENCLOSURE

254

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : *JFM* SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)(P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

*With [unclear] [unclear]*

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an unsigned letter sent to peace groups, new left groups and selected individuals, during February 1969, under the COINTELPRO at NY, with prior Bureau authority.

Included in the above were many members of the YSA and SWP at NY.

On [redacted] advised that the contents of this letter were discussed at the closed membership meeting of the SWP-NYL on [redacted] and it was on the basis of this letter that one members was overheard to say that MOBE was now broke and could no longer be considered effective as an anti-war group.

*21*

RECEIVED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT 75 LETTER  
DATED FEB 20 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

*2046  
7/27/77  
1/11/78*

REC-31

3-Bureau(RM)  
2-New York

JGG/Jgg

15 MAR 17 1969



70 MAR 27 1969

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

ITEM: Mark well the date April 5th, kiddies. That's the day our old pals in the YSA-SWP-SMC coalition fall flat on their hard-worn asses. Any demonstration planned by the young Socialist Alliance is bad enough, but when they are joined by their fellow finks in the Student Mobe and Socialist Workers, we develop a strong urge to vomit into the wind. In any event, April 5th promises to be a genuine "peace dud" to be salted away with the YSA collection of duds. Our fair city may be waist high in dog shit now, but on April 6th you'll be swimming in bull shit.

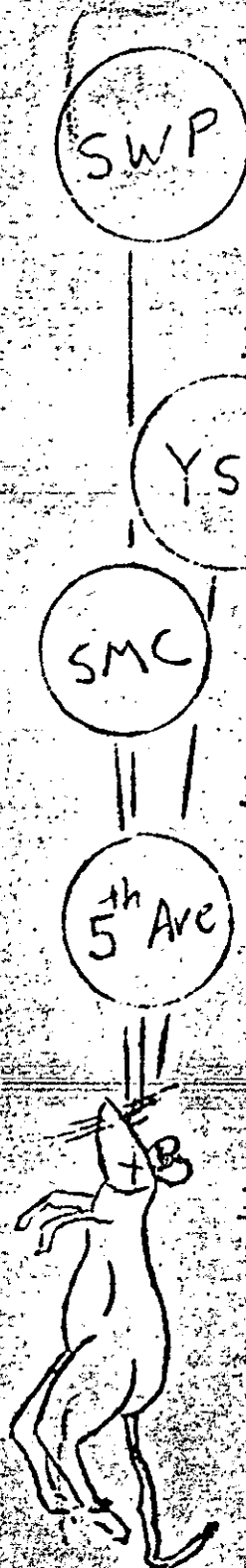
ITEM: Speaking of April 6th, the original plans of SWP-YSA called for the "peace march" to be held on that date - the same date on which the Christian world celebrates Easter. The master plan was presented to the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee by Rick Wadsworth, Joanna Misnick and several other "kids" a few weeks ago. Stout hearts on the Committee turned to jelly when they visualized movement people being massacred by irate Christians dressed in Easter finery. "Let's make it April 5th", whined Fifth Avenue. "We don't want the plastic society too pissed off!" That was that. Wow!

ITEM: Chicago's "Vietnam GI" takes a rather dim view of the whole bit. Their opposition is natural when you figure the YSA'ers are trying to take the starch out of the GI movement. Other organizations have split from the April 5th extravaganza which, like most SWP operations, was formulated and put into motion with no consideration for other groups which might be interested. Take SDS for example. We're doing our thing April 12th. Even shaky Dave Dellinger is lending vocal support to the SDS scene. Don't look for us on the 5th, pals.

ITEM: The truth of the matter is that the SWP-YSA-SMC coalition has never had the guts to play it like it really is. They march to confront the establishment and find the landscape crawling with pigs. Since you can't sell the "Militant" to pigs, they cut and run. You'll never see Matilda Zimmerman with battle wounds, chums.

- Peace

Bernie  
(Sand Castle Class of '71)





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 4/24/69

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
(DISRUPTION PROGRAM)

Attached is a copy of an anonymous mailing leaflet entitled "NOTES FROM THE SAND CASTLE" sent to individuals and organizations just prior to their participation in the jointly sponsored YSA, SWP, SMC and Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee "peace" demonstration in NY, 4/5/69. The Bureau approved leaflet, handled under the COINTELPRO caption, was designed to disrupt plans for the demonstration and create ill-will between SWP-YSA and other participating non-Trotskyist groups and individuals.

Though there are no known tangible results to date, it is known from a Parade Committee source that the Parade Committee's New York Office is in possession of the leaflet.

RECEIVED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL RIGHTS LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

18 APR 25 1969

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York

VMS:cmv  
(3)



MAY 2 1969

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 5/26/69

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

ReNYlet, 4/24/69, and NY Airtel to Bureau, 4/14/69,  
under caption of main organization case file (Bufile 100-16).

Review of SWP activity in the recent past has failed  
to develop in suitable material which could be utilized for  
substantive disruption of the organization at this time.

The New York Office has been concentrating its  
attention on the connections of the SWP with the international  
Trotskyist Fourth International, a foreign political body.  
That organization is in the process of reorganization, and  
future investigative effort may show that the SWP is under  
the discipline of a foreign political party and as a result  
may be in violation of certain federal laws. This was  
reported in the Airtel referred to above.

New York will continue, of course, to remain alert  
to any material of a disruptive nature, consider the advisability  
of using it, and will keep the Bureau apprised.

RECEIVED 100-146608  
FOR RELEASE TO MEMBERS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1969 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

WMS:wms  
(3)

REC-63

5 JUN 27 1969

INT. SEC.



MUL 8 - 1969

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

DATE: 8/14/69

Re New York letter 6/26/69.

The SWP Convention is scheduled to be held in New York City 8/29/69 - 9/1/69.

New York intends to follow the proceedings of the convention in an effort to detect any activity which could be exploited for disruptive purposes.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

EX-111

REC 45

12 AUG 15 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

WMS:slb  
(3)



51 AUG 28 1969

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

NY 100-146608

[REDACTED]

"Maybe then we could get on with the job  
Trotsky had in mind for us."

"Your 'nasty' friends".

Since confidential sources feel that [REDACTED] is  
merely being "used" because of his color, and his Convention  
remarks indicate he might be aware of this fact, it is  
expected that [REDACTED] may become more outspoken regarding  
racism within the Party, all of which would create some  
diversion within its ranks, and could result in [REDACTED]  
resignation and conceivably other Negroes with whom [REDACTED]  
is friendly.

If authority is granted to prepare and mail the  
above letter, all precautions will be taken to insure the  
mailing cannot be associated with the FBI.



NY 100-146608

[REDACTED]

of the SWP signatures were invalid. According to the "Daily News", because the SWP had filed before LINDSAY's Independent Party, it won a top-line position on the ballot. Thus LINDSAY, the Liberal Party nominee, by challenging the SWP petition was making "a bid to win a second top line on the Nov. 4 ballot".

On 9/19/69, "The New York Times" reported that, "The Socialist Workers Party was removed yesterday from the ballot in the city-wide November elections when the Board of Elections ruled that most of the signatures on its petition were invalid" .... and this action "virtually assured Mayor LINDSAY a second top spot on the voting machines for his Independent Party".

[REDACTED]

In any event, the SWP political campaign has been disrupted in New York.

In an effort to further polarize blacks and whites within the SWP, and particularly to further irritate BOUTELLE over the "racism" within the Party, Bureau authority is requested to prepare the following anonymous letter on commercial stationery for transmittal to [REDACTED]

"Comrade" [REDACTED]

"Some of us within the Party are fed up with the subversive effect you are having on the Party, but since a few see your presence as an asset (because of your color only) not much can be said openly.

"Your racist remarks at the Convention show you to be utterly useless to the revolution to come. And then, as could have been expected, you and your friends have put the Party in a position of possibly having to defend a common thief.

"Why don't you and the rest of your fellow party monkeys hook up with the Panthers where you'd feel at home?"

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 9/30/69

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS-SWP

ReNYlet, 8/14/69.

The 23rd National Convention of the SWP was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat, NYC, from 8/29/69 to 9/1/69.

According to informant reports, all resolutions were passed unanimously and there was little disharmony among the delegates over issues facing the Convention.

A note of discord was struck, however, by [redacted] the current SWP [redacted]. On the second day of the Convention, [redacted] a Negro, lashed out at the SWP for continued "male chauvinism, petty bourgeoisism and racism still existing in the Socialist Workers Party". On the last day of the Convention, he struck a greater note of discord between blacks and whites within the SWP when he lashed out again at "personal cliquism", saying, "We don't know how to relate to each other. We do not have to love each other but we have to respect each other." He emphasized the "nastiness" of some comrades and the "nasty personal relationships" of comrades. He cited the "patronizing" attitude of the SWP toward blacks. He mentioned that one comrade recently quit the SWP, not for political reasons but because of the nasty treatment received from some SWP members. The SWP leadership appeared upset over the [redacted] remarks, especially since [redacted] is their [redacted].

Following the Convention, at a closed SWP membership meeting in New York, 9/10/69, the embarrassing announcement was made that [redacted] had been arrested with two other Negroes in Secaucus, N.J., the previous day, for possession of stolen property. According to a reliable informant who attended the meeting, the SWP

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-146275) [redacted]  
1-New York [redacted]

WMS:edw  
(4)

REC 17

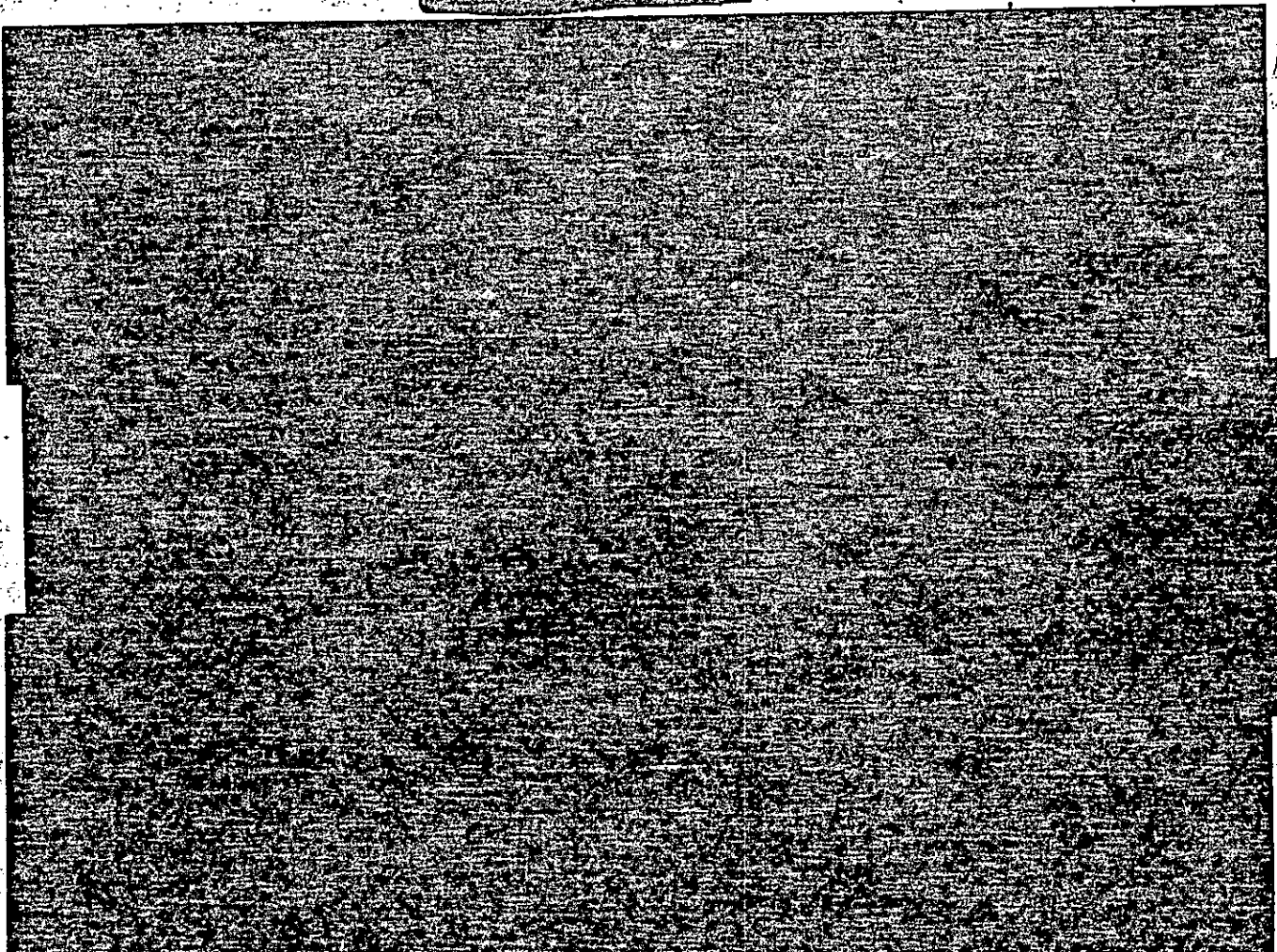
(41)

Successful  
7046  
7/3/77  
Hme



NY 100-146608

[REDACTED]  
leadership, claiming [REDACTED] was unaware the property in his possession was stolen, was desirous of keeping the incident quiet, salvaging their [REDACTED] and continuing to run [REDACTED].



Coincidentally, on 9/15/69, NY newspapers reported that the SWP petition for [REDACTED] and other candidates for city-wide offices filed with the Board of Election was to be challenged by supporters of Mayor LINDSAY who asserted that 80%

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SAC, New York (100-146608)

10/8/69

EX-106 REC-128  
Director, FBI (100-436291) 258

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

Reurlet 9/30/69.

Authority granted to prepare and mail anonymous  
letter set forth in relet.

Insure usual precaution taken in order that the  
letter cannot be traced back to the Bureau. Advise the  
Bureau of the results.

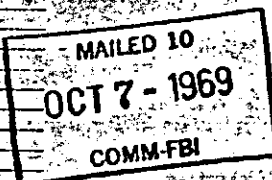
LAC:kle  
(4)

NOTE:

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a militant  
communist splinter organization which is growing rapidly.  
Members of the SWP are running for the office of mayor in  
New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] who is a Negro and who is a  
national leader of the SWP. At the SWP National Convention  
in August, 1969, [REDACTED] criticized "racism" existing in the  
SWP. NYO proposes to exploit this issue by sending an anonymous  
letter to [REDACTED] in the expectation that [REDACTED] who is  
quick tempered, will become even more outspoken on this issue.  
This will thus create a divisive split within the SWP. Such  
action may well result in [REDACTED] resignation from the SWP  
along with other members who support him, thus crippling the  
SWP in its march for expansion. The proposed letter starts on  
page three of the attached incoming communication.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLANNERS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT MATTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)

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



20 OCT 10 1969  
TELETYPE UNIT ☐



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10-9-69

FROM : C. D. Brennan *Brennan*

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

## Purpose:

To secure approval for discontinuance of our disruptive program against the SWP to eliminate paper work.

## Observations:

Captioned program was initiated on October 12, 1961, to cause disruption within the SWP and to alert the public to the organization's subversive character. Prior to October, 1967, this program was supervised as an adjunct of the Bureau's counterintelligence program directed against the communists, the Klan, and hate-type groups. Currently, this program is being supervised by the substantive desk responsible for handling the investigation of the SWP. Field is not required to submit status letters and potential counterintelligence actions are handled on an individual basis.

Since the last evaluation of this program in October, 1968, four proposals have been considered with three being approved by the Bureau. No significant tangible results have been reported to date.

## RECOMMENDATION:

In order to eliminate paper work wherever possible, it is recommended that captioned disruptive action be discontinued as a program. In the future, the disruptive action directed against the SWP will be handled on an individual case basis as deemed appropriate.

100-436291

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

REC-59  
EX-106

10 OCT 13 1969

LAC:k1e  
(4)

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED 3-29-74 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

51 OCT 15 1969

NY 100-146608

(and I know who they are), I confess that I believe it contains an element of truth. You have hindered the work of the Party by associating with cronies like those in Jersey.

"I cannot figure out who is using whom — or what. Are we using your black skin? And to what real advantage? Or are you using us to launch your black enterprises? If you are taking advantage of us, I'd just as soon see you get out of the Party — NOW. I don't think the brain-drain will be significant.

"I'm a racist, you say? No, just Trotskyist — a true Trotskyist. Can you really say the same?

"It's time we stopped playing up to you and your color and let you know openly how we really feel. Ask us point blank at the next meeting. Then watch our innocent faces and listen to us ask again, do you really believe this came from the SWP?"

"You better believe it.

"~~'thin-skinned'~~ non-monkey  
"P.S. So far, you seemed to be as adept at swallowing our paternalistic rhetoric as Dee and Bob have been over the years."

For the information of the Bureau "Dee" and "Bob" are nicknames of Veteran SWP Negro members, [redacted] and [redacted]

If Bureau authority is granted to send the above letter all precautions will be again taken to insure the Bureau cannot be identified as its originator.

the branch. [redacted] was visibly agitated and upset. The letter had a reference to him as "a common thief" (in that the Party was being used by him to defend him, a "common thief"). There was also a reference to him and his "fellow monkeys" (urging that he and his "fellow monkeys" quit the Party). [redacted] said the letter was signed "your nasty friend". Angrily, [redacted] burst out with these words: "I'm staying in the SWP". SWP members at the branch meeting were obviously stunned by the letter and some laughed nervously. Then there were various comments by SWP members who remained seated. [redacted] said, [redacted] you don't believe this came from the SWP? You know better." Someone else said facetiously, [redacted] did it!" [redacted] then tried to inject a tone of calm dignity and paternalism as he stated, "The Organizer will investigate the source of this letter". [redacted] comment was, "we've been through this before", and "no one in the SWP wrote that". The attitude of the SWP appeared to be one of attempting to cajole [redacted]. Someone also asked if the letter was signed, and [redacted] waved it about, saying that it was "typed" and had a "typed signature", and that it was mailed from New York City.

Since it is felt by this office that the letter received by [redacted] has had the effect of creating a measure of distrust on the part of [redacted] towards his Party comrades, it is felt that a second anonymous letter should be sent to him indicating (1) that the source of the first letter did without doubt originate with Party members and (2) indicate that opposition to [redacted] is somewhat widespread within the party and not the act of one individual with racist feelings. Accordingly, Bureau authority is requested to send the following letter:

"Dear [redacted]

"Though I rejected the racist tone of the letter sent you recently by party comrades



FBI

Date: 10/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)  
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
 IS-SWP

ReNYlet, 9/30/69; and Bulet 10/8/69.

Referenced Bureau letter authorized mailing of anonymous letter to [REDACTED] which was performed by this office on 10/10/69. The letter, as set forth in referenced New York letter, was mailed to [REDACTED] current precautions were taken to insure the letter could not be traced to the Bureau.

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] furnished a written report concerning a membership meeting of the SWP held in New York City, [REDACTED]. Included in the report was the following which transpired after two new members from Detroit were welcomed to the the SWP branch in New York City, and described as "here to bridge the age gap":

At this point, [REDACTED] suddenly got up and as he reached the microphone began by saying, "you can't be thin-skinned, Comrades". He said he received "a letter" in the mail and then read the letter to

- 100-904-D  
 (2) - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-146275 [REDACTED]) (41)  
 1 - New York

WMS:jem

(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

SEC



SAC, New York (100-146608)

11-3-69

REC 17

ST 109

Director, FBI (100-436291) 260

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM**  
**IS - SWP**

Reurairtel 10-29-69.

Authority granted to mail the anonymous letter as outlined in reairtel. Take the usual precautions to insure the letter cannot be associated with the Bureau and advise of any positive results.

LAC:ljz  
(4)

NOTE:

The Socialist Workers Party is a militant communist splinter organization which is growing rapidly. [redacted] who is a Negro and a national SWP leader, is a current [redacted] in New York City. According to information recently received by the New York Office, [redacted] is highly agitated over the practice of "racism" in the SWP. In order to provoke [redacted] to become more outspoken on the "racism" issue and to create a divisive split within the SWP, Bureau authority was granted for NYO to mail an anonymous letter to [redacted] on October 10, 1969. Referenced airtel reported that the aforementioned anonymous letter did, in fact, create a measure of distrust on the part of [redacted] towards his Party comrades. NYO now proposes to further exploit this issue by mailing a follow-up anonymous letter to [redacted] in which it will be indicated that the source of the first anonymous letter originated with Party members and, further, that opposition to [redacted] is somewhat widespread within the SWP and definitely not the act of one individual with racist feelings. The expectation is that [redacted] who is quick tempered, will become even more outspoken on the "racism" issue, and may well result in his resignation from the SWP along with other members who support him. The proposed anonymous letter starts at the bottom of page two of the attached incoming communication.

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

NOV - 3 1969

COMM-FBI

NOV 10 1969  
MAIL ROOM

## Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 12/30/69

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

ReNYlet, 10/29/69 and Bulet, 11/3/69.

Rebulet authorized mailing of second anonymous letter to [REDACTED] NY member of SWP and that organization's [REDACTED]. The letter, as set forth in referenced NY letter, was mailed to [REDACTED] current [REDACTED] on 11/6/69.

According to [REDACTED] appeared at the NY Local - SWP branch meeting, 11/10/69, displaying a disinterest in the discussions that took place. Prior to the meeting he was seen talking rather solemnly with [REDACTED], local NY Organizer. He sat alone during the meeting.

[REDACTED] was thereafter absent, according to [REDACTED] from meetings 11/17, 11/24, 12/1 and 12/8/69, but he finally made an appearance on 12/5/69 and appeared to be in a jovial mood.

No info was reported indicating the second letter was brought to the attention of the SWP membership or leadership. No reason was evident as to why [REDACTED] was absent from four successive membership meetings.

This office feels the two letters sent [REDACTED] have created doubts in his mind concerning the attitude of some SWP members toward his usefulness as a member. This doubt could in the future be made manifest when issues on which [REDACTED] has a difference of opinion arise.

Additional letters of the type sent, it is felt, would be counter-productive and may create the suspicion that they did not originate from within the ranks of the party.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (100-146275) [REDACTED] (41)  
1 - New York



59 JAN 7 1970

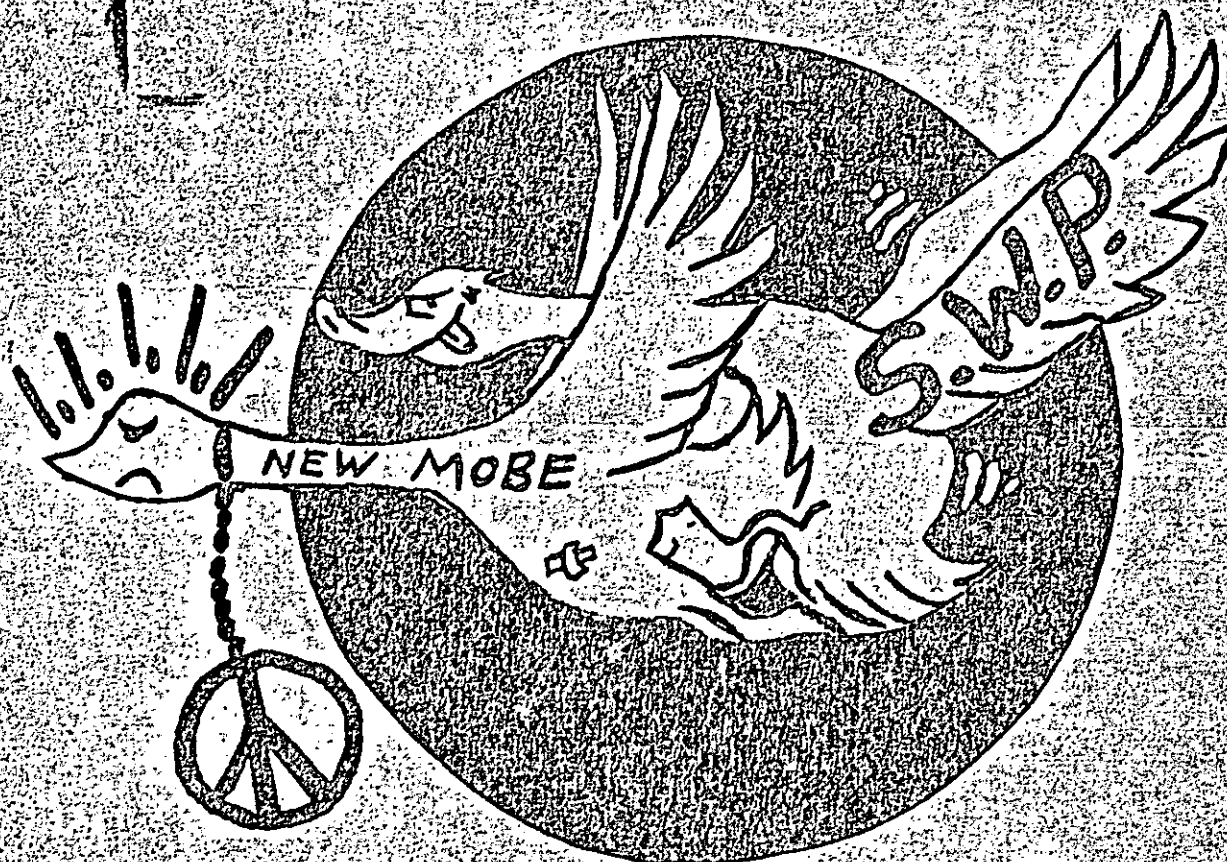
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO ATTORNEYS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 28 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). D. Smith

REC-15

1569  
JAN 20 1970  
JAN 25 1970  
HMA

# FLY UNITED?



## BALLS!

Dig it. It's time to pull the chain, brothers and sisters. If the peace movement in Amerika is to survive, the crap influence of the Socialist Workers Party and its bastard youth group - Young Socialist Alliance - must be flushed from New Mobe once and for all. Stagnant zeros like Freddie Halstead and Harry Ring, both members of the SWP Nat'l Committee, must be dumped. Let's get rid of the Carol Lipmans, Gus Horowitzs and the Joanna Misniks along with other SWP shits. DEMAND AN END TO SWP BALLING! Write New Mobe today at Suite 900, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

*Write today!*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 2/13/70

FROM: J. Lee

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: J. Lee

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS-SWP

ReNYlet, 12/30/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an unsigned leaflet entitled "Fly United?", mailed this past week to some 230 selected individuals and organizations in New Left and related groups under the COINTELPRO at New York with prior Bureau authority.

The leaflet is designed to cause disruption in the peace movement, primarily in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and to minimize the growing influence of the SWP in the movement. It is also designed to cause consternation and confusion in the SWP itself.

The enclosed has been marked "Obscene" because of its contents. The copy program on the leaflet has been written in the jargon of the New Left, necessitating the use of a certain amount of profanity.

Copies of the leaflet have been mailed to members of the SWP, its youth group the Young Socialist Alliance, the Student Mobilization Committee, CP USA, DCA and other groups.

No tangible results have been detected at this early date, although one source, [REDACTED] has attributed the leaflet to dissident elements in the New Mobilization Committee.

The Bureau will be kept advised of reported results.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - New York

WMS:jem  
(3)

REC-73

EX 110

9 FEB 17 1970

L. A. M. C.



FEB 23 1970

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

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

DELETED COPY SENT TO  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).



NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM  
1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005  
Area Code 212 737-8600

MEMO TO: National Steering Committee

RE: The Absolute Racial Imbalance of the NSC

Having for a short time served as a member of the NSC, and currently active in the Moratorium Committee - both in Washington and New York, I find it necessary to call attention to certain facts overlooked or shovelled under the rug by NMC leadership.

My understanding at the time I joined NMC was that it was to be run as a non-exclusionary organization - devoted to one primary cause, the immediate end of the frightful war in Vietnam. We were not to be side-tracked into supporting the aims of the militant left. We were not to be sucked into protests against the government's trial of the Conspiracy 8 in Chicago and the like. Our sights were to be adjusted at some later time when the war terminated. Or, so I thought.

Over the past several years the Trotskyites have literally taken control of the body proper and have repeatedly resisted efforts to recruit black brothers into NMC leadership. In addition, they have seen fit to use the good offices of the NMC to further their own political aspirations, nebulous as they are.

I have been sickened - on more than one occasion - by the promises made to the Black United Front, promises not kept, promises made with the mouth and not the heart. The attitude of the Steering Committee towards the BUF was and is a matter of disgrace. In the main, NMC leadership has been no better than the racist politicians and phony liberals who give lip service to the black community and turn their backs on any positive action.

The NMC leadership has demonstrated an appalling lack of sensitivity towards the largest minority in the country. If NMC is to survive the coming months, the situation must be rectified immediately. Our leadership - including the omni-present Trotskyites and other radicals - had better take positive steps before those who disagree with current policy, and there are many, either withhold future support or take decisive action to remove NMC leadership. It is my belief the NMC would greatly benefit under a leader like Sam Brown of MC.

To avoid senseless imbroglio, I choose to remain anonymous until the proper time. Just for the record - I am not Black.....

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 3/18/70

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - SWP

ReNYlet, 2/13/70.

To date, New York sources have failed to furnish any information relative to reaction to distribution of the leaflet referred to in relet.

A second leaflet, designed to accomplish the same purpose as the above-mentioned flyer, has this week been sent to members of the New Mobilization Steering Committee and other selected NMC officials under the COINTELPRO at New York with prior Bureau authority. A copy of the leaflet is attached. It is hoped that distribution of this leaflet will tend to polarize Trotskyists (SWP) and non-Trotskyists within the so-called peace movement.

New York is continuing to ascertain what reaction and results come from this leaflet as well as that of the flyer previously distributed.

ENCLOSURE

[ST-105]

REC 8

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York

WMS:mtw

(3)

2 MAR 19 1970

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 20 1970 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).



5010-108

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 5/19/70

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlets, 2/13, and 3/18/70.

Sources to date have failed to furnish any information relative to reaction to the leaflets referred to in referenced letters.

A review of the New York files concerning the SWP has failed to indicate any additional disruptive possibilities at this time. This office will remain alert for any useful disruptive techniques and, of course, will continue to look for some results from the distribution of the leaflets mentioned above.

ST-105

REC-26

100-436291-209

17 MAY 25 1970

- CC 94 D  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

WMS:mav  
(3)



5 JUN 4 1970

INT. SEC.

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

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : JFM/2 SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 7/27/70

ReNYlet, 5/19/70.

A review of NY files concerning SWP has failed to indicate any additional disruptive possibilities at this time. This office will remain alert for any useful disruptive techniques.

cc 94D

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

REC 16

EX-115

JEF:edm  
(3)

INT. SEC.



59 JUL 4 1970

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



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 9/29/70

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet, dated 7/27/70.

A review of New York files concerning the SWP does not indicate any possibilities for disruption of the SWP at this time. The NYO will remain alert for useful disruptive techniques.

ST 102

REC-36

10 OCT 11 1970

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JEF:ss  
(3)

INT. SEC.



OCT 9 1970

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 11/30/70

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet dated 9/29/70.

A review of New York files concerning the SWP does not indicate any possibilities for disruption of the SWP at this time. The NYO will remain alert for useful disruptive techniques.

REC-52 100-436291-113  
EX-113100-9700  
② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New YorkJEP:lh  
(3)

58-108

1970

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 1/28/70

Re: Let 11/30/70.

A review of New York files concerning the SWP does not indicate any possibilities for disruption of the SWP at this time.

The SWP will conduct a campaign of disruption and sabotage techniques.

EX-115

REC 19

- (2) - Bureau (100-436291) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-146608) (RM)

JMF:lm  
(3)

12 FEB 2 1971

INT. SEC.



67

5 FEB 9

1971

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

## Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 3/31/71

FROM: *Jeff*

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608) (P)

SUBJECT: *Jeff*SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet, dated 1/29/71.

A review of New York files concerning the SWP fails to indicate any possibilities for disruption of the SWP at this time. The NYO will remain alert for useful disruptive techniques.

REC-65

12 APR 2 1971

7-Bureau (RM)  
7-New YorkJEF:ss  
(3)

5010-108

7 APR 13 1971

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



Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Braudigan

4/27/71

- 1 - Mr. Gray
- 1 - Mr. C.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Duckertford
- 1 - Mr. Hannell
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

To afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations, it is recommended the COINTELPROS operated by the Domestic Intelligence Division be discontinued.

At the present time this Division operates COINTELPROS as follows:

- COINTELPRO - Espionage
- COINTELPRO - New Left
- COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
- COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA
- Counterintelligence and Special Operations
- COINTELPRO - Black Emergency
- Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

These programs involve a variety of sensitive intelligence techniques and disruptive activities which are afforded close supervision at the Seat of Government. They have been carefully supervised with all actions being afforded prior Bureau approval and an effort has been made to avoid causing in harassment. Although successful over the years, it is felt they should now be discontinued for security reasons because of their sensitivity.

In exceptional instances where counterintelligence action is warranted, it will be considered on an individual basis with tight procedures to insure maximum security.

**ACTION:**

If approved, attached airtel will be sent to all field offices discontinuing our COINTELPROS.

Enclosure

- 1 - 65-68280
- 1 - 100-443698
- 1 - 157-9
- 1 - 100-3-104
- 1 - 105-174234
- 1 - 100-443698
- 1 - 100-438201

100-436291  
MAY 1971  
10/13/71

Classified by  
Exempt from GDS, Category  
Date of Declassification

59 MAY 18 1971

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

4/28/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Brannigan
- 1 - Mr. Gray
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Scott
- 1 - Mr. Stachelfor
- 1 - Mr. Wonnell
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

Effective immediately, all COINTELPROS operated by this Bureau are discontinued. These include:

- COINTELPRO - Espionage
- COINTELPRO - New Left
- COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
- COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA
- Counterintelligence and Special Operations
- COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
- Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis.

You are reminded prior Bureau authority is required before initiating any activity of a counterintelligence nature.

2 - All Field Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

- 1 - 65-86269
- 1 - 100-449693
- 1 - 157-9
- 1 - 100-3-104
- 1 - 105-174254
- 1 - 100-449693
- 1 - 100-436291

DR:afw  
(136)

NOTE:  
by DR:afw

See memorandum, same caption, dated 4/27/71, prepared

DUPLICATE YELLOW

59 MAY 19 1971