

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**NEW LEFT**

**100-449698**

**SUB A**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

## NOTICE

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# FBI Counterintelligence Plan Against Radicals Outlined

By Susanna McBea  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The man responsible for the FBI's controversial counterintelligence program against extremist groups in the 1960s was former Assistant Director William C. Sullivan, whom the late J. Edgar Hoover ousted in 1971, according to a Brandeis University professor.

John T. Elliff, an assistant professor of politics who has studied the FBI for the last three years, made the disclosure in testimony before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. He also said that Sullivan was the source of another program, the so-called "Huston plan," which called for bugging, break-in, and mail cover operations against radicals.

Sullivan, who is now retired, confirmed Elliff's comments about his role in the counterintelligence program but said he was not the "sole source" of the "Huston plan."

Elliff, who has written numerous articles on the FBI and is now working on a book about the bureau, said Sullivan's role in the counterintelligence-disruption program is revealed in two memos the FBI released last January.

One, dated May 9, 1968, was written to Sullivan, then head of the domestic intelligence division of the FBI, by his deputy, Charles D. Brennan.

The memo outlined the rationale for starting an FBI program to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities" of the New Left.

"It shows that the program initiated in the office headed by Sullivan," Elliff told a reporter after his testimony. The next day Director Hoover sent memos all over the country initiating the program, Elliff noted.

The second memo, dated April 27, 1971, also was written by Brennan, then head of the intelligence division, to Sullivan, then assistant to Hoover. That memo said the counterintelligence programs, which the FBI called COINTELPROs, should be discontinued "for security reasons because of their sensitivity."

Elliff cited a memo that Hoover sent to field agents the next day that said, "Effective immediately, all COINTELPROs operated by this bureau are discontinued."

Sullivan, reached last night at his home in Sugar Hill, N.H., said several FBI men working for Brennan thought up the program. "I had nothing to do with the thought behind it but I approved it 1,001 per cent," he said. "And I was responsible for it."

Elliff told the Senate subcommittee he learned of Sullivan's role in the 1970 surveillance plan that was named for a former White House aide, Tom Charles Huston, from several interviews with Sullivan and with current FBI officials.

Sullivan confirmed Elliff's description of him as the acting chairman of the working group that devised the plan, which President Nixon approved in July, 1970, then rescinded five days later at the insistence of Hoover. Huston has since said he told Mr. Nixon at the time that the plan was illegal.

Sullivan said that the intelligence community represented on the working committee was concerned over the FBI's inability to solve "the bombings and killings that were going on at the time."

He said he suggested reinstatement of old techniques, including burglaries, which the FBI had used at least since 1926 and which Hoover had discontinued in mid-1966. But he said, that others on the committee advocated their reinstatement, too, and that the "Huston plan" was therefore a group effort.

"I accepted it as traditional government policy," Sullivan said. Hoover later told him he was worried that the plan was

"too dangerous," and both he and the director outlined Hoover's objections in footnotes to the plan itself, Sullivan added.

In his testimony, Elliff outlined a fascinating power struggle between Sullivan, whom he called the FBI's "leading intellectual," and Hoover, who ultimately forced Sullivan to resign in October, 1971. Hoover died in May, 1972.

Referring to the counterintelligence operations, Elliff said, "While Hoover approved those measures, Sullivan chafed under the director's other restrictions. For example, FBI agents were barred from undercover infiltration of New Left groups. Instead, they had to recruit informants and sources from outside the bureau's ranks."

However, Elliff related, before the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago, Sullivan defied Hoover's rule and assigned several unmarried agents from the local field office to grow long hair and beards and join the protesters.

"When the convention ended they cut their hair, shaved, and were reassigned to the West Coast. The agent in charge of the Chicago office apparently cooperated with Sullivan, and the director never learned of the incident."

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- The Washington Post
- Washington Star-News
- Daily News (New York)
- The New York Times
- The Wall Street Journal
- The National Observer
- The Los Angeles Times

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By Margaret Thomas—The Washington Post

FBI Director Clarence Kelley testifies at Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing

that he has no objection to a 10-year limit on the director's tenure.

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# Hoover Ordered FBI to Plant Spies, Forge Papers Against Extremists

By Susanna McBee  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The late J. Edgar Hoover issued orders calling on FBI agents across the country to expose, disrupt, and "otherwise neutralize" a variety of black, white and left-wing groups from 1961 to 1970.

The targets were the Black Panther Party, six unnamed "black nationalist-hate groups" and six unnamed black leaders, the Ku Klux Klan and nine unnamed white "hate" groups and the Socialist Workers Party.

FBI tactics against the tar-

gets included fabricating documents so they would appear to be "pilfered from police files," planting spies pretending to be "disgruntled police employees," and discrediting leaders of extremist groups in their own communities.

These disclosures came in seven severely censored documents that the FBI released yesterday to NBC newsman Carl Stern, who had sued for release of the Hoover memos under the Freedom of Information Act.

They were the second of a series of secret memos re-

leased by the Justice Department in response to Stern's suit. The first two memos, made public last Dec. 6, disclosed Hoover's counter-intelligence program (called COINTELPRO) against the New Left that went from 1968 to 1971.

A major goal of Hoover's campaign against "black nationalist hate groups" was to prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement," accord-

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# Disrupt Extremists. Hoover Told FBI

HOOVER, From A1

ing to a March 4, 1968, Hoover memo.

It said that one black leader, whose name is deleted but who may be Malcolm X, "might have been such a 'messiah'; he is the martyr of the movement today." Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965.

The memo listed other names, all deleted, who, it said, "all aspire to this position." One leader, whose name is blanked out but who may be the 76-year-old Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, "is less of a threat because of his age," the memo said.

Another would-be messiah, whose name was deleted but was probably Martin Luther King, could "be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism," Hoover wrote. The man "has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way," Hoover added.

In the same memo he noted that in the summer of 1967 leaders of an unnamed group being watched by the FBI were brought to the attention of police in an unnamed city.

"They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail," Hoover said. As a result, they spent most of the summer in jail and no violence took place that could be attributed to them, he added.

Hoover's 1968 memo referred to the tense summer the year before when Detroit and Newark erupted in bloody riots that killed 69 persons and injured 3,500 in the two cities.

He noted that in 1968 the counter-intelligence program against black organizations was being carried out by 41 FBI field offices. Besides trying to head off the rise of a "messiah," the program was designed to prevent the coalition of "militant black nationalist groups."

In explaining, Hoover warned, "An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution."

Other goals included preventing

violence, keeping such groups from attracting young members, and preventing them "from gaining respectability."

Hoover told his agents, "You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first the responsible Negro community," then to the white community, especially liberals "who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist[s] simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement."

Hoover outlined his "disruptive-disinformation operation" against the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland and San Francisco in a May, 11, 1970, memo:

"Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information, and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader," he proposed.

They would be on police and FBI stationery and if they were supposedly FBI documents, they would be marked as "early indicating they had files," he said. The Panthers would be made to think they came from a "disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers."

Then phony documents would be prepared "pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants, ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades, espousing as 'clearly indicating they had personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members, indicating electronic coverage where none exists, outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions, revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds . . ."

A Dec. 24, 1970, Hoover memo noted that a leader, whose name was blanked out but who was probably Eldridge Cleaver, had "broken with the . . . organization."

An Oct. 12, 1961, Hoover memo on the Socialist Workers Party said it should be disrupted "along similar lines" to the way the FBI attacked

the Communist Party.

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Former Yippee leader Abbie Hoffman has lost the first round in his legal battle to stay out of prison for the next 15 years.

New York State Supreme Court Judge Abraham Kalina dismissed a motion entered by Hoffman and two other co-defendants which challenged New York's drug laws. Hoffman and his co-defendants had argued that the New York law which classified cocaine in the same category with heroin was unconstitutional. They argued that cocaine, unlike heroin, was not a narcotic.

However, Judge Kalina ruled that there was "sufficient evidence to show a rational and reasonable basis" for classifying the two drugs in the same category.

Hoffman and three others—Carol Ramer, Michael Drosman, and Diane Peterson—were arrested last August after allegedly selling three pounds of cocaine to undercover policemen. The charges against Drosman were later dropped when it was determined by a grand jury that Drosman was a magazine journalist covering the New York drug scene.

The three remaining defendants could be sentenced to a minimum of 15 years in prison if convicted.

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# More Documents Released On FBI War on Radicals

By Orr Kelly  
Star-News Staff Writer

The FBI, on orders from Atty. Gen. William Saxbe, has shed more light on its four-year campaign, start-campaign, starting in 1968, to disrupt the activities of black militants, the New Left and other radical groups.

In documents made public yesterday, the FBI revealed it strove to thwart the rise of a "messiah" among blacks, to prevent the formation of a coalition among black groups and to confuse the Black Panthers by sending them misleading documents.

The new revelations also spell out the details of FBI campaigns in the early 1960s against the Socialist Workers party and the Ku Klux Klan.

THE FBI counterintelligence program, called COINTELPRO, was apparently called off by then-director J. Edgar Hoover on April 28, 1971.

The documents disclosed yesterday urged FBI agents to imitate a police department which arrested Black Nationalist leaders "on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail" and suggested a "disruption — disinformation" operation in the San Francisco Bay area to confuse and break up the Black Panther party.

Saxbe called release of the documents, partially censored, "an act of administrative discretion." These and earlier documents were released in response to a newsman's lawsuit under the Freedom of Information Act.

SAXBE, decided to release the new documents in response to an appeal from newsmen, whose request had been denied by FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley.

The first of the operations described in the new documents was the one aimed at the Socialist Workers party. It was begun in 1961. All of these special operations were apparently stopped in the spring of 1971, although there were indications in documents released earlier that specific disruptive activities might still be continuing.

The effort to deal with the black "hate groups" was ordered in a letter to FBI offices in September 1967.

AGENTS WERE ordered to "prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community" — the responsible Negro community, the white community and Negro radicals.

"The response of the field to the counter-intelligence program to the Communist

party, U.S.A. indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence," the message to the field offices said.

The FBI also proposed to its field office in San Francisco that it attempt to confuse the Black Panther party by anonymously sending copies of what appeared to be FBI documents to Black Panther leaders.

"Xerox copies of true documents, documents that subtly incorporated false information and entirely fabricated documents would periodically be sent anonymously to the residence of a key Panther leader," the suggestions to the FBI in San Francisco said.

"The operations would afford us a continuing means to furnish the Panther leadership true information which, in their interests, they may not ignore," the proposal said.

The effort to deal with the white "hate groups" such as the Klan, were ordered in a directive sent out on Sept. 2, 1964.

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UPIO 18

(KELLEY)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO CHALLENGE REVOLUTIONARIES, SAYS FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLEY, AND THAT IS WHY HE DEFENDS THE LATE J. EDGAR HOOVER'S EFFORTS TO "NEUTRALIZE" THE NEW LEFT.

KELLEY SAID FRIDAY THAT WHILE HOOVER'S COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE MOVES AGAINST THE NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS IN THE 1960S MAY BE SUBJECT TO CRITICISM NOW THAT THERE ARE NO CIVIL DISRUPTIONS, "THERE MUST BE SOME EFFECTIVE WAY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE...OF THOSE WHO USE ANY MEANS TO FOMENT REVOLUTION," HE SAID.

IN A RELATED STATEMENT, MADE IN A NEWS CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA, KELLEY SAID PROGRAMS SUCH AS HOOVER'S MAY NOT BE THE ANSWER TO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS. BUT HE SAID SOME TYPE OF PLAN MUST BE DESIGNED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THESE MOVEMENTS.

KELLEY SAID HE AND ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT BORK DISCUSSED THE SITUATION AND AGREED THAT A CURRENT EVALUATION OF THE FBI'S REACTION TO NATIONAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES SHOULD CONTINUE.

THE FBI MADE HOOVER'S MEMOS ABOUT THE PROJECT PUBLIC ON THURSDAY AFTER BORK DECIDED NOT TO APPEAL A U.S. DISTRICT COURT RULING THAT NBC NEWSMAN CARL STERN WAS ENTITLED TO SEE THE MEMOS UNDER THE 1966 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

ONE MEMO ISSUED ON MAY 10, 1968, SET UP THE PROJECT CALLED "COINTELPRO -- NEW LEFT" AND THE OTHER, DATED APRIL 28, 1971, TERMINATED THE PROJECT WITHOUT EXPLANATION. THE FBI DID NOT MAKE PUBLIC ANY OF THE INFORMATION GATHERED UNDER THE PROJECT.

KELLEY SAID HE WANTED TO EXPLAIN HOOVER'S PROJECT FURTHER "BECAUSE OF THE MISCONCEPTIONS, MISAPPREHENSIONS AND FALSE CONCLUSIONS" THAT COULD BE DRAWN FROM THE PARTIAL DISCLOSURE.

HE REVIEWED INCIDENTS OF THE "ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS," INCLUDING 300 ACTS OF ARSON, NINE DEATHS AND 600 INJURIES ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES, IN ADDITION TO THREATS TO SABOTAGE POWER AND WATER SUPPLIES AND TO DISRUPT TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS.

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UPI 1187

(FBI)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLEY TODAY DEFENDED A "COUNTER INTELLIGENCE" OPERATION THE LATE DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SET UP IN THE LATE 1960S TO "EXPOSE" AND "NEUTRALIZE" NEW LEFT EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES.

KELLEY SAID THAT WHILE THE COUNTER MOVES AGAINST THE NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS MAY BE SUBJECT TO CRITICISM NOW THAT "PEACE" HAS RETURNED, THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE SOME WAY TO "MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THOSE WHO USE ANY MEANS TO FOMENT REVOLUTION."

"WHILE SUCH A COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM MAY NOT BE THE ANSWER THERE MUST BE SOME EFFECTIVE WAY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE..." HE SAID.

KELLEY REVEALED HE AND ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT BORK HAVE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION AND AGREED THAT A CURRENT EVALUATION OF THE FBI'S REACTION TO NATIONAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES SHOULD CONTINUE.

"MR. BORK AND I BOTH FEEL THAT PERHAPS ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION IS REQUIRED AND THIS IS BEING GIVEN THOROUGH STUDY," KELLEY SAID. THE FBI MADE PUBLIC HOOVER MEMOS ABOUT THE PROJECT YESTERDAY AFTER BORK DECIDED NOT TO APPEAL A U.S. DISTRICT COURT RULING THAT NEC NEWSMAN CARL STERN WAS ENTITLED TO SEE THE MEMOS UNDER THE 1966 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

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# Congress Should Investigate Subversion

What is the mission of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

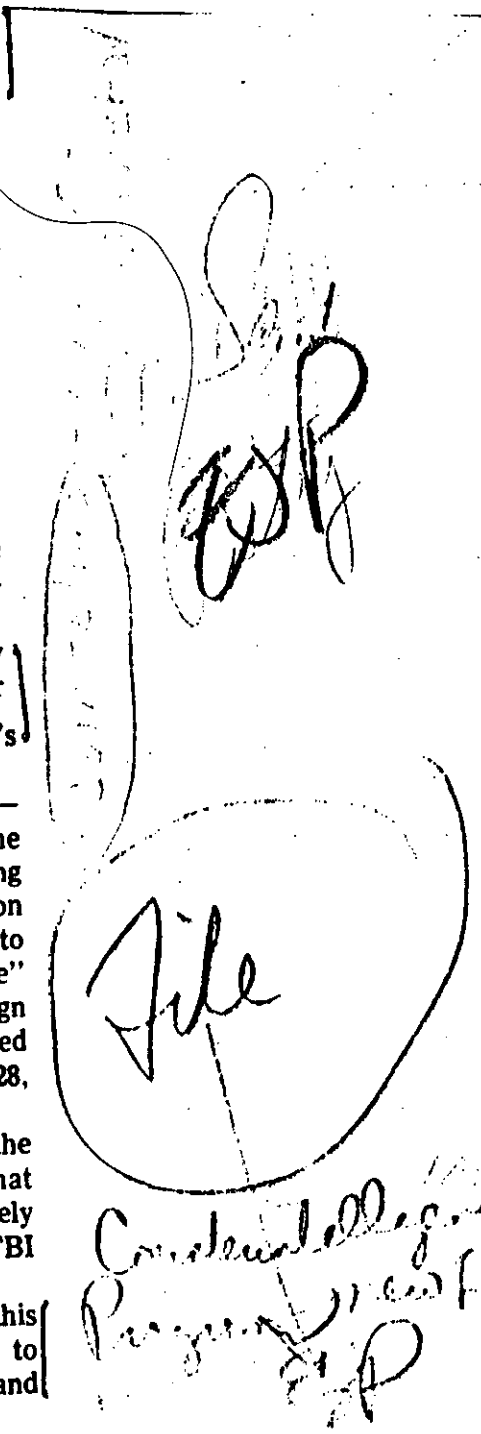
According to the 1970 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the FBI is "The investigative arm of the United States Department of Justice . . . . It does not evaluate the results of its investigations or recommend prosecutive action. In general, the FBI is responsible for the enforcement of all federal criminal statutes with the exception of those specifically delegated to other federal agencies. The jurisdiction of the FBI covers more than 160 federal investigative matters encompassing two major categories: General investigations and domestic intelligence. In the latter field, the FBI has responsibilities in matters of espionage, sabotage and subversive activities."

The Britannica article was written by JEH, who turns out to be the late J. Edgar Hoover. The quote above is from the horse's mouth.

Why then, in light of the FBI's mission — which does NOT include evaluation of the results of investigations or recommending prosecutive action — did the FBI embark on May 10, 1968, upon a secret campaign to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" the new left in this country? The campaign lasted almost three years. Hoover ordered the campaign, and cancelled it on April 28, 1971.

There are certain gut reactions to the FBI which deserve parsing out. One is that any criticism of the bureau is subversively motivated. Another is that all that the FBI does is dangerous.

It's hard to get through some minds this idea: That the FBI has vital functions to perform, including that of infiltrating and



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Page 4  
The Missoulian  
Missoula, Montana

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Editor: EDW. A. COYLE  
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reporting the activities of all domestic subversives, left and right, but that it is extremely dangerous for the bureau to exceed its mission and take direct non-channel countermeasures against individuals or groups it dislikes.

It IS the proper function of the FBI to keep close track of potential subversives. It is NOT the proper function of the FBI to disrupt or neutralize any LEGAL activities, however pernicious Hoover or other FBI men might think those activities to be.

In 1968 and later, anti-war demonstrators seemed paranoid in their suspicion that the FBI was disrupting their work. In light of the Hoover directive, it appears they were right.

Hoover directed the bureau to become involved in political work. It would be suicidal for a free country to allow its federal police agency to become involved in political activities in behalf of any persuasion.

The revelation that Hoover, without telling his boss, the attorney general, got the FBI involved in political activities is profoundly shocking because it is profoundly dangerous to freedom. It is subversive because it destroys faith in the bureau's impartiality and even in its capacity to obey the law.

Like Watergate, the FBI activities that exceeded the FBI mission to investigate but not evaluate need thorough investigation by Congress. This nation does not need political police or thought police, who would destroy freedom in order to save it.

And by the way, the Encyclopedia Britannica is poorly advised to have articles written by persons whose impartiality is no better than J. Edgar Hoover's.

— Reynolds

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### Kent State Probe

CLEVELAND—A federal grand jury probing the 1970 Kent State University shootings questioned the man in charge of the campus at the start of demonstrations that led to the shootings.

The panel also turned its attention to the students wounded in the May 4, 1970, clash between student demonstrators and the Ohio National Guard in which four students were killed. At least three of the nine wounded were called to testify.

Dr. Robert Matson, who was in charge of Kent State when student protests against U.S. involvement in Cambodia began several days before the violent confrontation, spent about two hours before the panel. He said he answered all the jurors' questions, but he declined to discuss them in detail, saying his attorney had advised against it.

Among those wounded who said they were called to testify yesterday were John R. Cleary, 22, of Scoria, N.Y.; Donald S. MacKenzie, and Alan Canfora. All said they were sent away without

a jury appearance and told to return today.

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- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

### 17 FBI PROGRAMS

# Anti-Left Plans Revealed

By Orr Kelly *A-12*  
Star News Staff Writer

Seven secret Federal Bureau of Investigation programs designed to monitor and disrupt the activities of groups ranging from the New Left to black extremists were tightly controlled from FBI headquarters in Washington, according to new documents made public as the result of a law suit.

Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe said shortly before he took office Friday that he did not think the FBI's activities against the New Left — one of the seven programs — would pass the test of constitutionality.

The information on the bureau's activities was provided in two memoranda associated with the efforts to disrupt the New Left. They were made public in response to a law suit filed in behalf of Carl Stern, a reporter for NBC, by Ronald Plessner, who is associated with Ralph Nader's Freedom of Information Clearing House.

THE FIRST memo, dated May 9, 1968, is from FBI agent C. D. Brennan to his boss, W. C. Sullivan, then assistant director in charge of the bureau's domestic intelligence division. Sullivan has since retired from the FBI, and Brennan has been assigned as a special agent outside Washington.

"The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously attacked the director and bureau in an attempt to hamper our investigation of it and to drive us off the college campus," the memo said. "With this in mind, it is our

recommendation that a new counter intelligence program be designed to neutralize the New Left and the Key Activists.

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of this group and persons connected with it," it continued.

"All proposed counter intelligence action must be approved at the seat of government prior to instituting it. This new program will be supervised at the seat of government by a special agent supervisor in the Internal Security Division."

J. EDGAR Hoover, then FBI director, gave his approval and the program was ordered into operation a short time later.

In a second memo dated April 27, 1971, Brennan recommended to Sullivan that the effort to disrupt the New Left and six other similar programs be ended "to afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operation."

"These programs," the memo said, "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 action being afforded prior bureau approval and an effort has been made to avoid engaging in harassment. Although successful over the years, it is felt that they should now be discontinued for security reasons because of their sensitivity."

The memo said some operations might be continued, on a highly selective basis, "with tight procedures to ensure absolute security."

Solicitor Gen. Robert H. Bork, who was acting attorney general at the time the first documents detailing the anti-New Left operation were made public, asked the FBI to conduct an investigation of its own operation, including the question of whether the operations had violated any laws.

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
 J.P.  
 S.P.  
 W.P.  
 R.P.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

100-449678-17

NOT RECORDED  
25 JAN 22 1974

Date JAN. 6, 1974

100-449658

*Handwritten notes:*  
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# The Hoover Documents and the Left

The detail that sticks most fiercely in my mind from Kirk Sale's *SDS* (Random House, 1973, 752 pp., \$15.00) is that in 1969 there were 2000 fulltime undercover agents operating inside the New Left. My experience around SDS and the antiwar movement made me doubt there could have been even 20, and among the fulltime regulars of SDS there certainly were not 200. So I tended to doubt the 2000 figure. Maybe it was only another police-dropped pseudofact meant to divide people.

Yet it stung and doubts persisted. Police identification of the East Coast Black Panther Party is known to have been extensive and profound. At a certain moment in 1969 and 1970 the New York BPP chapter was altogether a creature of the NYPD's red squad under Finnegan Flannigan (whose partners Caulfield and Ulasewitz matriculated to *Green*). This and similar if not

coordinated police activity against black liberationists in Los Angeles and Chicago alone makes the 2000 figure seem less immodest, more proportionate. When there was so much to be thrown at the radical blacks, what might have been around for throwing at the radical whites?

Through summer and fall just past I labored at an essay-review of Sale's book centered on the inconscionable theme that the New Left was destroyed much less by its own internal failings and self-contradictions than by concerted police repression. I quote from its opening passage:

"Everyone sees that SDS committed suicide and that Weatherman was the act. But what if SDS was being murdered at the same time? For example, by the Nixon state now? Would that count for anything - Is the question worth coming back to in the light of Watergate lessons about Nixon's methods, the question of the cause of SDS's death at the moment ~~when the student~~ antiwar movement was about to explode?"

The piece was rejected. The four-page rejection note gave me to think it was rejected because this was its chosen theme, instead of two dozen other things. I filed it away in the rejected section and decided to forget the unconscionable theme. Maybe I was being too paranoid.

Then two weeks ago NBC-TV's Carl Stern, having long before sued to obtain them under the Freedom of Information Act, was given copies of till-then secret FBI papers disclosing that the late Hoover ordered an all-out FBI campaign to destroy the New Left. Savor the language of Hoover's memo of May 10, 1968, and recall that it is written a month after King's death and with the Paris May Days in the background.

*File*  
*Conrad*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state)

3

THE PHOENIX  
BOSTON, MASS.

100-11196-100-1

NOT RECORDED  
165 JAN 30 1974

Date: December 18, 1973  
Edition: Weekly  
Author: Carl Oglesby  
Editor: Harper Barnes  
Title: HOOVER DOCUMENTS AND THE LEFT

Character:  
or  
Classification: 100-  
Submitting Office: BOSTON

Being Investigated

JAN 31 1974

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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### Leftists War On FBI

American leftists, perhaps convinced that control of the nation's future is within their grasp, have declared war on that once-powerful guard against subversion, the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Ironically, the radicals are putting the FBI on the defensive for its role of investigation and exposure during the late 1960s against New Left subversion of universities and other institutions. That subversion included rioting, bombing, arson, kidnaping, homicide, beatings, wholesale destruction of property, disruption of education, promotion of drug use and advocacy of guerrilla warfare and revolution.

One radical group represented by American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyers is suing in federal court, charging its members' civil rights were violated during the secret three-year project ordered by the late FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" New Left groups and individuals "who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands."

Hoover issued his directive in May, 1968, at a time of massive national disorders fomented by a network of Communist, Socialist, Marxist and other radical extremist organizations. These included the Communist Party USA, the Students for a Democratic Society, various "antiwar" groups and the Socialist Scholars Conference, with agents on university campuses from coast to coast.

The Socialist Scholars Conference, organized in 1965, outlined its central objectives, in a position paper issued June 14, 1970, as first "A Permanent Social Revolution" and next "Seizure of State Power."

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

INDIANAPOLIS STAR

INDIANAPOLIS, IN

PAGE 12

NOT RECORDED  
165 JAN 30 1974

Date: 12-18-73  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

NOT RECORDED  
165 JAN 30 1974

Classification:  
Submitting Office:  
 Being Investigated

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JAN 31 1974



New Left strategy, as described by Alice Widener in her brilliant study of Socialist subversion, "Teachers of Destruction," had four chief aims: 1. Destroying the U.S. system of justice by eliminating impartiality and substituting socialist bias in our courts. 2. Disrupting domestic tranquility by aggravating discontent over real and imagined grievances and by instigating riots and demonstrations calculated to lead to violence. 3. Dismantling our military defense system by undermining the morale and might of our armed forces. 4. Wrecking the productive capacity of our great industries, which make weapons for our defense and consumer goods for our prosperity and well-being.

Also on the New Left agenda, Mrs. Widener wrote three years ago, long before the Watergate episode and its overblown sequels, were plans to foment extreme domestic crises and to force the "abdication" of President Richard M. Nixon.

Meanwhile, the promotion of drug addiction, antipatriotism, pornography, sexual deviation, irresponsible behavior patterns and rejection of sound values — features of the New Left's "cultural revolution" continued to do their damage.

For reasons as yet not made public, Hoover terminated the FBI's New Left operation and other counterintelligence operations against the Communist Party and other extremist groups in April, 1971.

Radicals who were subjects of the FBI's campaign against unlawful revolutionary activities aimed at U.S. institutions are now running to seek the protection of institutions that were — and beyond doubt still are — targeted for destruction, namely the courts and the Constitution itself. Why, they ask, was the FBI ordered to watch them and counter their plots?

Most Americans wonder why the FBI was ordered to stop.

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# Cointelpro: The FBI's Seven Programs to Disrupt Political Groups

The FBI, following a federal court order, has released two extremely revealing documents which list the Bureau's seven counterintelligence programs and provide, for the first time, undeniable proof that the agency set up a formal program to infiltrate and disrupt wholly legitimate political organizing.

The seven Bureau Cointelpros—counterintelligence programs—were:

- 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

The two documents, released as a result of a suit filed by Ralph Nader's Freedom of Information Clearing House, a public interest law group, on behalf of Carl Stern, NBC investigative reporter, were the directives through which the late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover set up and then discontinued the Cointelpro - New Left. The attack on the New Left was initiated on May 8, 1968 and discontinued on April 28, 1971. We learn of the other six programs only because the directive which terminated Cointelpro - New Left was the same order that discontinued the other six Cointelpro programs. It is not known when the other six programs were initiated or for how long they functioned.

The Hoover directive that ended these programs was apparently part of the Bureau's frantic response to the first revelations from the so-called Media Files. On March 8, 1971, a still-unknown group called the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI burglarized the Media, Pa., office of the FBI and took all files, bulletins, dossiers and Bureau internal documents - everything but the toilet paper - while the agents and practically every other red-blooded American boy were home watching the Clay-Liston fight. Three weeks later, they began to mail batches of internal FBI documents to newsmen and lawmakers, revealing with the Bureau's own files the FBI's policies and programs of political repression. The Citizens' Commission, still unapprehended today, kept sending out batches of documents over the following several months with a devastating effect upon the Bureau's public image. (Led by *Washington Post*, which ignored threats and pleas from then Attorney General John Mitchell and Hoover, the press spread before the nation the first hard documentary evidence of the extent to which the FBI had become a political police agency, a guardian of orthodoxy daunted by neither the Constitution nor the Bill of Rights.)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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3

THE PHOENIX  
BOSTON, MASS.

Date: December 18, 1973  
Edition: Weekly  
Author: Vin McLellan  
Editor: Harper Barnes  
Title: SECURITY MATTERS

NOT RECORDED

165 JAN 29 1974

Submitting Office: BOSTON

Being Investigated

*RSD file*

*100-449697*

55 JAN 29 1974

A Hoover directive of May 14, 1968 set forth the goals and purposes of Cointelpro-New Left. "The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents," wrote the Director. "We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents."

In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts in their leadership."

[All Bureau offices, Hoover ordered, must follow the activities of New Left organizations and its key activists "on a continuous basis" to take advantage of all counterintelligence opportunities and "also inspire action where circumstances warrant."

The unexplained phrase "inspire action" is understood by veteran bureau watchers to refer to agent provocateur activity - such as that documented in the activities of Boyd Douglas in the Berrigan Case in Harrisburg and of Robert Hardy in the Camden 28 Case - where the FBI infiltrator became the prime mover in initiating and organizing illegal activity to trap anti-government activists.

The "immediate termination" order on all seven programs - a typical action by Hoover, who governed the Bureau with blunt sweeping directives - may have

played into the internal bureaucratic war ongoing in the Bureau at that time. The order itself, however, brings to mind the rash of Hoover memos in March of 67 limiting on-campus FBI activity after a Ramparts expose on CIA funding and infiltration of the National Student Association caused a public uproar.

(Hoover - fearful of the flak from the Media exposures - terminated the programs at a time when the thrust of administration policy and internal Bureau politics was pushing for more, not less, "infiltrate and disrupt" programs.

Hoover ended the programs in May, 1971. In July, 1970, presidential security advisor Tom Charles Huston received President Nixon's approval of a domestic security program which called for increased illegal electronic surveillance, illegal mail inspection, break-ins, and intensified informer tactics against dissident American citizens. Putting all his prestige on the line, and reportedly threatening to expose the Nixon-ordered "Kissinger taps" of the newsmen and high government officials, Hoover forced Nixon to

withdraw the Huston plan, but Huston continued to maintain a drumbeat of White House criticism that the FBI was being too soft on domestic dissent.

It was after Hoover issued the directive cancelling the Cointelpro operations that the deputy director of the FBI, William Sullivan, formerly head of the Bureau's Domestic Intelligence Division, stole the records of the "Kissinger taps" from the FBI files and delivered them to Asst. Attorney General Robert Mardian who turned them over to John Erlichman. Sullivan's theft was apparently an attempt to disarm Hoover and gain White House support for himself as Hoover's successor. But the old man put them all down and wiped out his bureau opposition in the fall of 1971, firing Sullivan and demoting Chester Brennan, then head of the Domestic Intelligence Division.

In August, 1970, after Hoover had torpedoed the Huston plan in July, the Bureau held an important internal policy conference on the New Left, according to Bureau insiders. From the circulated Media Files, it is obvious that the Bureau responded directly to

the threat and advanced criticism by Huston. From memos of the special agent in charge at Media to his agents we see the impact. The agents were ordered to restructure coverage of the left into a split jurisdiction, the "New Left" and the "old" left, and were urged to step up interviews with young left activists to (in the oft quoted and notorious phrase) heighten the endemic paranoia and strengthen the fear "that there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox." Hoover also first authorized at this time the recruitment of informers under 21 years of age - something Huston had pressed for in his aborted program.

(In the same Media memos, circulated on September 9, 1970, after a briefing on the Washington conference, the agents were warned to keep a tighter rein on agent provocateurs. "There have been a few instances where security informers got carried away, during a demonstration, assaulted police, etc.")

Academics who worked with the Bureau in the summer of 1971, after the Cointelpros were cancelled, report that top Bureau officials were willing to admit to them that the agency was still using counter-intelligence agents to infiltrate and factionalize the Black Panthers. It seems that Cointel programs among black militants, particularly the Panthers, were continued. Indeed, with agents already in place and their politics already known within the group they had infiltrated - it would be almost impossible for an informer known as militant and inflammatory to suddenly "change" from fratricidal hawk to dove.

"They told me quite frankly that the Bureau informers within the Black Panthers had been told to align themselves with either the Cleaver faction or the Newton faction and intensify the split," said one college professor who had consulted with Bureau officials.

Even in the Hoover Cointelpro termination memo, Hoover noted that "in exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence actions is warranted... (such action) will be considered on an individual basis."

The single most striking thing that comes to mind reviewing these Cointel programs is the almost universal success that they enjoyed. The New Left, the Communist Party, White Hate groups like the KKK and "Black extremists" like the Black Panthers have all been wracked with bloody factioning, schisms and leadership splits. It is a cliché today that the New Left factionalized itself to death; perhaps now more thought ought to be given to the hand of the Bureau in all that.

The Bureau's infiltration and the resulting organizational corruption of the Communist Party is a story that millions learned from "I Led 3 Lives" on 50s television.

The story of the Bureau's infiltration of the KKK is set forth in the 1970 book by the Bureau's historian, Don Whitehead: "Attack on Terror, the FBI Against the KKK in Mississippi." Objective analysis of Whitehead's story shows that, even if Bureau policy on Cointel is negative, with infiltrators in place seeking information on criminal activities they invariably engage in "inspired action" for Cointel purposes. Spreading rumors, gossip and factional hatred, Whitehead says FBI infiltrators soon reduced Klan meetings to "bickering, distrust and wrangling over money."

Many young leftist veterans would find the image familiar.

The story is the same among the Black Power groups, leadership squabbles, petty bickering, bloody in-fighting (literally, with assassinations and gunplay between rival organizers and ideologues) reduced and finally destroyed every militant Black group, with the exception of the Black Muslims.

On the white left, strangely, it is the Socialist Workers Party, an "old left" group, that seems to have best withstood the determined efforts of Bureau agents to fragment and demoralize - this despite the fact that the Bureau considered them a key target and had actually gone so far as to focus Cointel program directly against the group. (SWP now has a pending lawsuit in New York for an injunction against harassment, infiltration and intimidation of their members.)

We have gone long past the point where any aware citizen could doubt that activists in dissident and minority political groups are subjected to surveillance, mailcover, wiretapping and infiltration. And when the President personally approves a policy of burglary - as Nixon admitted when he said he approved the Huston plan - little should surprise.

But still, it is difficult to acknowledge the scale involved. Next to wiretapping, infiltrators and informers have drawn the most public attention. Yet for all the dozens of celebrated informers which the government has brought forward - from Douglas, to Lemmer, a state coordinator for the Vietnam Veteran Against the War, to Tom Mosher, a white who became so important to the Panthers that in 1971 they

refused to meet with Weatherman representatives without him present - there is still reason to believe that the surface is barely scratched.

Almost all the informers who have been revealed are almost palpably crazy - schizoid paranoids; and there has been much talk that this is the standard species for the role. Unlikely. Long-standing Bureau policy has been to reveal only expendable infiltrators unless absolutely necessary to do otherwise. And no one familiar with the Media files - which document a plan to get an informer on every block of the Philadelphia ghetto can doubt that they have numbers to chose from.

We have some glimpses of the divisive tactics used by the Cointel programs on the record. The use of informers to split the groups, as in the Panthers, is obvious. More sophisticated tactics were also used. Robert Wall, a former FBI agent who resigned after five years service in 1970, has reported how he was assigned to Cointelpro-New Left in Washington, D.C. One of the divisive ploys he recounted involved a letter written to the leaders of the National Mobilization Committee in D.C. threatening that the Blacks in Washington would not support an upcoming rally unless a "security bond" of \$20,000 was given to a black organization. The Bureau forged the signature of the leader of the black organization, and at the same time had its informers in the black organization suggest the idea of the security bond to the leaders of the black group informally. "Later," said Wall, "through informants in the NMC, we learned that the letter had caused a great deal of

confusion and had a significant effect on the planning for the march."

Wall also revealed that the Cointelpro relied heavily on leaking "confidential" FBI files and "sometimes just fanciful lies" to sympathetic media contacts. Hoover's memo setting up the New Left Cointel stresses covert use of the media as a Bureau policy to be



*Informer Boyd Douglas: Important to FBI's Game Plan.*

implemented locally - like in Boston.

Frank Donner, director of the American Civil Liberties Union project on political surveillance said that he has learned from Bureau sources that FBI technicians developed a machine capable of perfectly reproducing a signature and used it tactically to sow distrust and dissension among Communist Party members.

The Bureau planted "signed documents" in the car of a N.Y. Communist functionary by the name of William Anderson and arranged to have them discovered and Anderson denounced as an FBI spy. The CP went so far as to turn the papers over to an "expert

attached to the Russian embassy" who pronounced the signature Anderson's. Anderson was discredited and bounced from the Party. (A civil libertarian note: Membership and activity in the CP is constitutionally protected.)

Another Cointel project that was revealed in the Media papers was a program to mail articles critical of the New Left to unfathomly "liberal" college administrators anonymously. One of the Media documents is a note assigning colleges to agents for the selective distribution of a article from *Barron's* on the barbarian hordes at Columbia.

The FBI fought a nine-month court battle attempting to withhold these documents, but the D.C. federal court found that the Bureau's claim that they were "investigative law enforcement files" specious and ordered them revealed as agency "policy and programs" under the Freedom of Information Act. This was the first time the courts have compelled the Justice Department to make a Freedom of Information revelation and will set a precedent that will be very useful for those who dislike hidden government policy.

Although the court ruled in September, the FBI delayed release until a week ago Thursday - in the last week of the Congressional session and on the same day that Gerald Ford was sworn in as vice president. The Bureau apparently hoped to avoid Congressional inquiry and to have the news lost in the flood of copy about the Ford oath.

On both counts, for the time being, the Bureau can be credited with meticulous planning and successful implementation.

4/28/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - Mr. Gray  
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore  
1 - Mr. Sackelfoss  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Ryan.

From: Director, FBI

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

One of the Documents Made Public By the Courts.

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Director's Sec'y	_____

### Editorial Comment

# Secret FBI Memo

Did J. Edgar Hoover go too far in his orders issued secretly "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the New Left back in 1968?

Ramsey Clark says yes. So do other super-supporters of civil liberties who feel that the grand old chief of the FBI overstepped inherent freedoms when he instructed field offices of the agency to open an active file on the New Left movement and its key activists.

In the 1968 memo, just now brought to light, Hoover wrote:

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and other-

wise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherence. It is imperative that the activities of these groups be followed on a continuous basis..." Hoover did not name the organizations, but he apparently had in mind the SDS Weathermen, the Black Panthers, the Yippies and other militants.

Hoover said the FBI "must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or useful adherence." Then he added: "consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups..." How this would be done was not made clear in the memo, but he made it clear that the program was a sensitive operation and should be a closely held secret.

We all remember the anarchistic activities of some of the New Left groups, the burning of campus buildings, the stories of bomb factories, the killing of participants whose "peaceful revolution" suddenly turned into violence. During these very trying days, Mr. Hoover apparently decided to fight fire with fire.

It will also be recalled that Ramsey Clark was probably the worst attorney general ever to serve the United States; that he sat in his office and watched the burning and sacking of downtown Washington; that later, when he had been succeeded as attorney general, he carried his own "peace" plan to the North Vietnamese as an emissary of anti-war extremists. Of course Ramsey Clark feels that the FBI strayed off base, but it is doubtful that he was ever told about the memo.

It is unthinkable that Mr. Hoover, the exponent of law and order, would deliberately create incidents in the name of the Far Right. Yet, if counterattacks were necessary, we believe a large body of peace-loving Americans would have said "amen." The secret memo will be argued for a long time by extremists on both ends.

*File 100-449657*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page: \_\_\_\_\_

Newspaper: \_\_\_\_\_

City and State: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 10/10/73

Edition: \_\_\_\_\_

Author: \_\_\_\_\_

Editor: \_\_\_\_\_

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165 JAN 28 1974

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### Drew A Blank

Television newsman Carl Stern may have been looking for something sensational when he demanded, under the Freedom of Information Act, to see a memo issued by the late J. Edgar Hoover in May of 1968 ordering agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to keep an eye on the "New Left" movement. Mr. Stern may now be disappointed. The memo shows only that Mr. Hoover told the FBI to do what obviously was demanded by circumstances in the United States of America at that time.

There had been 159 disturbances serious enough to be classified as riots in American cities during the summer of 1967. The Kerner Commission reported in March, 1968, that militant organizations and agitators had "sought to encourage violence" by playing on racist emotions. April saw the Columbia University campus turned into a battleground by the Students for a Democratic Society, whose chapters then began fomenting riots on scores of campuses across the country.

In this atmosphere Mr. Hoover alerted the FBI to try to "neutralize" organizations and individuals "who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands." It was clear the target was not a legitimate political movement but a sinister, organized attempt to sow havoc in our society.

If there were any FBI memos showing that Mr. Hoover failed to understand the menace that was loose in the streets of America in 1968, Mr. Stern would have a pretty good story. As it is, he drew a blank.

0 Contemp/PRO - New Left - General

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)  
Page 1-10

SAC 1-100 (101)  
San Diego  
California

Date: 12/11/73  
Edition: Home Edition  
Author: Nixon  
Editor: News Organization  
Title: ...

100-449671-  
**NOT RECORDED**  
165 JAN 30 1974

Character:  
or  
Classification: 90  
Submitting Office: San Diego  
 Being Investigated

*Handwritten notes:*  
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# FBI memo 'a blank

TELEVISION NEWSMAN Carl Stern may have been looking for something sensational when he demanded, under the Freedom of Information Act, to see a memo issued by the late J. Edgar Hoover in May of 1968 ordering agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to keep an eye on the "new left" movement. Mr. Stern may be disappointed. The memo shows that Mr. Hoover told the FBI to do what obviously was demanded by circumstances in the United States of America at that time.

There had been 159 disturbances serious enough to be classified as riots in American cities during the summer of 1967. The Kerner Commission reported in March, 1968, that militant organizations and agitators had "sought to encourage violence by playing on racist emotions." April saw the Columbia University campus turned into a battleground by the Students for a Democratic Society, whose chapters then began fomenting riots on scores of campuses across the country.

IN THIS ATMOSPHERE Mr. Hoover alerted the FBI to try to "neutralize" organizations and individuals "who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands."

It was clear the target was not a legitimate political movement but a sinister, organized attempt to sow havoc in our society.

If there were any FBI memos showing that Mr. Hoover failed to understand the menace that was loose in the streets of America in 1968, Mr. Stern would have a pretty good story. As it is, he drew a blank.

Do not file - Mr. Hoover - General

*Handwritten initials: EJP*

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-4 News Pilot  
San Pedro, Ca.

NOT RECORDED  
165 JAN 30 1974

Date: 12/11/73  
Edition: Tuesday  
Author:  
Editor: Robert F. Beck  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Los Angeles

Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED  
165 JAN 30 1974

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Director's Sec'y	.....

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# THE BLADE'S Pages of Opinion

PAGE 16 TOLEDO, OHIO, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1973

## Mr. Hoover's Memos

**P**UBLICATION by the FBI of two memos by the late J. Edgar Hoover has lifted the lid just a crack on a counterintelligence operation about which, although it ended more than two years ago, the public almost certainly will be hearing much more. Scant as the details now are, revelation of the documents is sufficient to suggest ramifications so far-reaching as to make exposure both imperative and disturbing.

The memos showed that in May, 1968, Mr. Hoover ordered a campaign against the so-called New Left which was to go beyond a role of gathering information and aim at direct disruption of the movement. Involved were agents seemingly expected not merely to infiltrate and keep tabs on potential troublemakers but even to provoke action, presumably to provide grounds for counterattack. The program, however far it actually went, continued for three years before Mr. Hoover called it off.

Quite aside from whether any of the FBI's techniques against radical activities of that period were illegal — a matter of dispute — the memos raise some clearly disturbing points. One effect of their unveiling, obviously, is to reinforce the conclusion that Mr. Hoover had in the later years of his long reign over the agency exceeded his function and authority; he took upon himself the judgment of whether individuals or groups of various political persuasions were to be permitted to operate freely or were to be treated as threats to national security.

Counterintelligence - New Left - General

*Smith*  
*RTH*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Blade  
Toledo, Ohio  
page 16

Date: 12-11-73  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: Bernard Judy  
Title:

Character:  
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Classification:  
Submitting Office: Cleveland

Being Investigated

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Similarly, and even more crucial, the published documents lend credence to charges that the FBI itself had been carried beyond its assignment as an expert detection and law enforcement agency and turned into an instrument of political harassment and suppression. Such suspicions are not fostered by the memos alone: The FBI has dropped prosecution of some cases in recent years rather than disclose information to the courts about its activities. That certainly leaves reasonable grounds for fearing that the agency may have become far less interested in law enforcement than in other functions too nefarious to be publicly acknowledged.

Clearly there are grave dangers involved here. If the methods hinted at in the Hoover memos prove to have been used, the FBI was in some respects not much removed from the secret-police tactics of totalitarianism. Even if the agency only appears so to a substantial segment of the public, the FBI will have suffered a loss of respect that can only impede the performance of its proper tasks. And in either case, the entire affair offers dismaying evidence of how thin the line can be between protecting national security and undermining the nation's very foundations of constitutional democracy.

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# Mr. Hoover Alert To Danger

TELEVISION NEWSMAN Carl Stern may have been looking for something sensational when he demanded, under the Freedom of Information Act, to see a memo issued by the late J. Edgar Hoover in May of 1968 ordering agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to keep an eye on the "New Left" movement. Mr. Stern may be disappointed. The memo shows that Mr. Hoover told the FBI to do what obviously was demanded by circumstances in the United States of America at that time.

versity campus turned into a battleground by the Students for a Democratic Society, whose chapters then began fomenting riots on scores of campuses across the country.

In this atmosphere Mr. Hoover alerted the FBI to try to "neutralize" organizations and individuals "who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands."

It was clear the target was not a legitimate political movement but a sinister, organized attempt to sow havoc in our society.

There had been 159 disturbances serious enough to be classified as riots in American cities during the summer of 1967. The Kerner commission reported in March, 1968, that militant organizations and agitators had "sought to encourage violence by playing on racist emotions. April saw the Columbia Uni-

versity campus turned into a battleground by the Students for a Democratic Society, whose chapters then began fomenting riots on scores of campuses across the country. If there were any FBI memos showing that Mr. Hoover failed to understand the menace that was loose in the streets of America in 1968, Mr. Stern would have a pretty good story. As it is, he drew a blank.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 6  
 The Illinois State Journal  
 Springfield, Illinois

Date: 12-11-73  
 Edition:  
 Author:  
 Editor: Robert L. Woods  
 Title:  
 Character:  
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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: SI  
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 165 JAN 28 1974

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# The Michigan Daily

Eighty-three years of editorial freedom

Edited and managed by students at the University of Michigan

420 Maynard St., Ann Arbor, Mi. 48104

News Phone: 764-0552

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1973

## Subversion by the FBI

**A**MID THE CONTINUING controversy over the myriad of scandals that surround the battered Nixon administration the disclosure that the Federal Bureau of Investigation worked actively to destroy New Left political groups may go largely unnoticed.

According to informed sources in the Justice Department, the FBI engaged in a widespread "counter-intelligence" program against leftist organizations from May 1968 to April 1971.

It is unfortunate that this recent revelation has been overshadowed, for its long-term political significance may be far greater than that of the juiciest Watergate detail.

If these reports are true then it appears that the American government has engaged in rather strange political behavior for a nation that terms itself a democracy and the leader of what is euphemistically called the "free world".

The FBI apparently decided that groups of American citizens engaged in legitimate political activity constituted a threat to the government and should

be crushed with whatever means, both legal and extra-legal, that were necessary.

**SOME ASPECTS OF** government efforts to destroy leftist organizing efforts were obvious. A series of conspiracy trials was launched by the government against radical activists. None of these trials resulted in conviction, but the government did force the left to channel much of its energy into the courts.

At the same time, covert operations were used to undermine the left from within. Undercover FBI agents infiltrated various political groups both to gain information and to divide and disrupt. Reportedly one function of these government provocateurs was the promotion of pointless violent action that provided right wing politicians like Nixon and Agnew with plenty of ammunition for the campaign trail.

While it is impossible to attribute the decline of the New Left solely to this FBI program, it is clear that such government action succeeded in disrupting the movement and cutting it off from possible allies in the American body politic.

In itself this brazen use of federal power to destroy political opposition is shocking, but seen in the context of government policies that would relegate constitutional liberties to the National Archives, it is horrifying.

### TODAY'S STAFF:

News: Dan Biddle, Jeff Day, Mike Duweck, Gene Robinson, Charles Stein  
 Editorial Page: Marnie Heyn, Eric Schoch, Chuck Wilbur  
 Arts Page: Diane Levick  
 Photo Technician: David Margolick

55 JAN 29 1974

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)  
 The Michigan Daily  
 University of Michigan  
 Ann Arbor, Michigan  
 P. 4

*File*  
*100-449691*

Date: 12/11/1973  
 Edition:  
 Author:  
 Editor:  
 Title:  
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 Submitting Office: Detroit  
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# FBI Files Reported Explosive

## Tactics to Meet New Left Threat

By Margaret Gentry  
WASHINGTON (AP) -

Secret FBI files contain potentially explosive information describing tactics used in a calculated effort to destroy the New Left movement, according to informed Justice Department sources.

The material is so sensitive that only a handful of officials outside the FBI know even general details of the so-called counterintelligence program operated nationwide for three years.

Few officials will discuss it even on a confidential basis for fear of disturbing delicate negotiations that could lead to at least partial public disclosure.

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley refuses to discuss details.

However, knowledgeable sources say the program involved the widespread use of agents-provocateurs to infiltrate leftist groups and encourage them to undertake possibly violent activities.

### "Inspire Action"

The late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said as much when he told FBI field offices, in the 1968 memorandum establishing the program, to "also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant."

Hoover ordered the program on May 10, 1968, and terminated it without explanation in a memo on April 28, 1971. Department sources say Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general when it began, never knew about it. John N. Mitchell, the attorney general during the remainder of the program, probably knew nothing about it.

*Handwritten notes:*  
check records  
1/27/74

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE E-6

Date: 12-9-73  
Edition: MORNING  
Author: MARGARET GENTRY  
Editor: JOHN E. LEARD  
Title: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Character:  
or  
Classification: 100-10658\*  
Submitting Office: RICHMOND  
 Being Investigated

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100-44

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The sources say they doubt that President Nixon or former President Lyndon B. Johnson knew of it.

The bare-bones Hoover memos and the FBI refusal to disclose additional information raise scores of questions about the tactics, the scope of the operation, and the legality and constitutionality of some of the methods.

#### Similar Plan

The Hoover operation bears a similarity to a domestic security plan drafted by a former White House aide and approved, at least briefly, by Nixon.

The White House security plan surfaced in connection with the Watergate investigation. As outlined in 1970 memos written by Tom Charles Huston, then a White House aide, the plan was to force Hoover to accept a joint intelligence operation with the other national security and intelligence agencies.

The targets were "individuals and groups in the United States who pose a major threat to the internal security" and the tactics were to include illegal burglaries and mail interceptions, widespread wiretapping, and a vastly expanded network of informers on college campuses.

Throughout the planning stage, Huston wrote, Hoover strenuously objected to the White House project, insisting that "current operations are perfectly satisfactory" and that no one outside the FBI "has any business commenting on" FBI intelligence operations.

Nixon, in a statement last May 22, said that on July 23, 1970, he had ordered implementation of the plan, including break-ins. But Nixon said he was "prompted by the opposition of Director Hoover" to retract the order five days later.

The Hoover operation also lends support to the allegations of widespread and possibly illegal spying conducted by the FBI against several radical activists involved in recent trials. The allegations have been made by defense lawyers who demanded access to relevant FBI documents.

In those cases, federal prosecutors have dropped the charges rather than disclose the information.

Another angle is the likelihood of civil suits against department and FBI officials claiming damages for alleged violation of constitutional rights because of unjustified harassment. Two suits seeking nearly \$30 million have filed in the last five months.

Justice Department sources acknowledge that FBI officials may have violated the law with some counterintelligence tactics. But FBI officials have insisted in private meetings that no illegal or unconstitutional action was taken.

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Director Sec'y	J.

Cointelpro - New Left - General

# Kelley defends Hoover action on New Left

WASHINGTON (UPI) — FBI Director Clarence Kelley yesterday defended a "counter intelligence" operation the late Director J. Edgar Hoover set up in the late 1960s to "expose" and "neutralize" New Left extremist activities.

Kelley said that while the counter moves against the New Left activists may be subject to criticism now that "peace" has returned, the government must have some way to "meet the challenge of those who use any means to foment revolution."

"While such a counter intelligence program may not be the answer there must be some effective way for the federal government to meet the challenge . . ." he said.

Kelley revealed he and Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork have discussed the situation and agreed that a current evaluation of the FBI's reaction to national security emergencies should continue.

"Mr. Bork and I both feel that perhaps additional legislation is required and this is being given thorough study," Kelley said.

The FBI made public Hoover memos about the project Thursday after Bork decided not to appeal a U.S. District Court ruling that NBC newsman Carl Stern was entitled to see the memos under the 1966 Freedom of Information Act.

One memo issued on May

10, 1968, set up the project called "Cointelpro — New Left" and the other, dated April 28, 1971, terminated the project without explanation. The FBI did not make public any of the information gathered under the project.

Kelley said he wanted to explain Hoover's project further "because of the misconceptions, misapprehensions and false conclusions" that could be drawn from the partial disclosure.

He reviewed incidents of the "atmosphere of lawlessness" — over 300 acts of arson, nine persons killed and almost 600 injured on college campuses and threats to sabotage power and water supplies and to disrupt transportation and communications.

"Now in the context of a different era where peace has returned . . . some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counter-intelligence program," Kelley said.

He said he shared the public's "deep concern about citizens' right to privacy and preservation of all rights gathered under the Constitution . . ." but he said the late 1960s were a time when "a hardcore revolutionary movement which came to be known as the 'New Left' set out, in its own words, to bring the government to its knees through the use of force and violence."

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2

The Star-Ledger Newark, N.J.

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File 100-449698

Date: 12/8/73

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor: Mort Pye

Title:

100-449698-7

NOT RECORDED

165 JAN 28, 1974

Classification:

Submitting Office: Newark, N.J.

Being Investigated

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FBI — NEWARK	

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# Kelley Defends Plan To Curb Extremists

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While such a counter intelligence program may not be the answer, there must be some effective way for the federal government to meet the challenge...

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"Now in the context of a different era where peace has returned ... some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program," Kelley said.

He said he shared the public's "deep concern about citizens' right to privacy and preservation of all rights under the Constitution" but he said the late 1960s were a time when "a hard-core revolutionary movement which came to be known as the 'New Left' set out, in its own words, to bring the government to its knees through the use of force and violence."

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*COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT - GENERAL*

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**55 JAN 29 1974**

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE A-15

Date: 12-8-73  
Edition: MORNING  
Author:  
Editor: JOHN E. LEARD  
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Character:  
or  
Classification: 100-10658\*  
Submitting Office: RICHMOND

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**165 JAN 28 1974**

UPI 1187

(FBI)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLEY TODAY ~~REVEALED~~ A "COUNTER INTELLIGENCE" OPERATION THE LATE DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SET UP IN THE LATE 1960S TO "EXPOSE" AND "NEUTRALIZE" NEW LEFT EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES.

KELLEY SAID THAT WHILE THE COUNTER MOVES AGAINST THE NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS MAY BE SUBJECT TO CRITICISM NOW THAT "PEACE" HAS RETURNED, THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE SOME WAY TO "MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THOSE WHO USE ANY MEANS TO FOMENT REVOLUTION."

"WHILE SUCH A COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM MAY NOT BE THE ANSWER, THERE MUST BE SOME EFFECTIVE WAY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE..." HE SAID.

KELLEY REVEALED HE AND ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT BORK HAVE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION AND AGREED THAT A CURRENT EVALUATION OF THE FBI'S REACTION TO NATIONAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES SHOULD CONTINUE.

"MR. BORK AND I BOTH FEEL THAT PERHAPS ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION IS REQUIRED AND THIS IS BEING GIVEN THOROUGH STUDY," KELLEY SAID.

THE FBI MADE PUBLIC HOOVER MEMOS ABOUT THE PROJECT YESTERDAY AFTER BORK DECIDED NOT TO APPEAL A U.S. DISTRICT COURT RULING THAT NBC NEWSMAN CARL STERN WAS ENTITLED TO SEE THE MEMOS UNDER THE 1966 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

UPI 12-07 06116 PES

*COINTELPRO - New Left*

KELLEY 12-8

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO CHALLENGE REVOLUTIONARIES, SAYS FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLEY, AND THAT IS WHY HE DEFENDS THE LATE J. EDGAR HOOVER'S EFFORTS TO "NEUTRALIZE" THE NEW LEFT.

KELLEY SAID FRIDAY THAT WHILE HOOVER'S COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE MOVES AGAINST THE NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS IN THE 1960S MAY BE SUBJECT TO CRITICISM NOW THAT THERE ARE NO CIVIL DISRUPTIONS, "THERE MUST BE SOME EFFECTIVE WAY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE...OF THOSE WHO USE ANY MEANS TO FOMENT REVOLUTION," HE SAID.

IN A RELATED STATEMENT, MADE IN A NEWS CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA, KELLEY SAID PROGRAMS SUCH AS HOOVER'S MAY NOT BE THE ANSWER TO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS, BUT HE SAID SOME TYPE OF PLAN MUST BE DESIGNED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THESE MOVEMENTS.

KELLEY SAID HE AND ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT U. BORK DISCUSSED THE SITUATION AND AGREED THAT A CURRENT EVALUATION OF THE FBI'S REACTION TO NATIONAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES SHOULD CONTINUE.

THE FBI MADE HOOVER'S MEMOS ABOUT THE PROJECT PUBLIC ON THURSDAY AFTER BORK DECIDED NOT TO APPEAL A U.S. DISTRICT COURT RULING THAT NBC NEWSMAN CARL STERN WAS ENTITLED TO SEE THE MEMOS UNDER THE 1966 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

*100-449698-11*

ONE MEMO ISSUED ON MAY 10, 1968, SET UP THE PROJECT CALLED "COINTELPRO -- NEW LEFT" AND THE OTHER, DATED APRIL 22, 1971, TERMINATED THE PROJECT WITHOUT EXPLANATION. THE FBI DID NOT MAKE PUBLIC ANY OF THE INFORMATION GATHERED UNDER THE PROJECT. NOT RECORDED

KELLEY SAID HE WANTED TO EXPLAIN HOOVER'S PROJECT FURTHER OF THE MISCONCEPTIONS, MISAPPREHENSIONS AND FALSE CONCLUSIONS THAT COULD BE DRAWN FROM THE PARTIAL DISCLOSURE.

HE REVIEWED INCIDENTS OF THE "ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS," INCLUDING 300 ACTS OF ARSON, NINE DEATHS AND 600 INJURIES ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES, IN ADDITION TO THREATS TO SABOTAGE POWER AND WATER SUPPLIES AND TO DISRUPT TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS.

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- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

# FBI War On Left Revealed

By Orr Kelley  
Star News Staff Writer

The FBI on orders from J. Edgar Hoover conducted a secret nationwide campaign from May of 1968 until April 1971 to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" the New Left in America.

The widespread operation, stressing disruption rather than intelligence-gathering, was known under the code name of "COINTELPRO — New Left" and was ordered in a directive from Hoover to all 58 FBI offices on May 10, 1968.

Then, abruptly and without explanation, Hoover on April 28, 1971, sent a second message to all FBI offices calling off the operation.

**HOOVER'S ORDER**, all knowledge of which was to be kept hushed, was made public yesterday after Acting Atty. General Robert C. Bork decided not to appeal a district court case in which Carl Stern, a reporter for NBC news, had won the right, under the Freedom of Information Act, to see documents connected with the operation.

The second message revealed the existence of five or six other similar operations dealing with espionage, the disruption of white hate groups, the Communist Party U.S.A., counterintelligence and special operations, black extremists, and the Socialist Workers party. All these operations were ordered ended at the same time.

In his order, Hoover emphasized that the New Left would be controlled by disruption, rather than the traditional FBI role of gathering information of criminal activities. He also ordered special agents in charge of offices across the country to use "reliable and cooperative news, media representatives" to expose "the devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activities."

"You are cautioned," Hoover said in his message, "that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the bureau and appropriate within office security should be afforded this sensitive operation."

In one sentence, Hoover directed that the FBI not only take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence but "also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant." FBI officials refused to discuss whether this phrase ordered the use of provocateurs within the New Left organizations.

At that time, in the spring of 1968, there was growing concern about demonstrations protesting the Vietnam war and violence believed to have been caused by the New Left.

**THE ORDER WAS** issued shortly after the assassination of black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had provoked serious disturbances in a number of cities, including Washington, and a month before the assassination of Robert Kennedy. Hoover was being criticized at the time for what appeared to some to be a failure of the FBI to move vigorously against the New Left.

Hoover's order went out shortly after the Defense Department had set up a special riot control center in an effort that later grew into a much-criticized army intelligence operation involving civilians.

There was no explanation in the 1971 order ending the COINTELPRO operations. The order was issued less than two months after activists had burglarized the FBI office at Media, Pa., and had begun distributing secret FBI documents to the news media.

**THERE WERE** strong indications that Bork's decision not to appeal the order to make the documents public was vigorously, but unsuccessfully, resisted by the FBI, now headed by Clarence M. Kelley.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington)
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 12-7-73

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DEC 14 1973

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Star-News Staff Writer

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The second message revealed the existence of five or six other similar operations dealing with espionage, the disruption of white hate groups, the Communist Party U.S.A., counterintelligence and special operations, black extremists, and the Socialist Workers party. All these operations were ordered ended at the same time.

In his order, Hoover emphasized that the New Left would be controlled by disruption, rather than the traditional FBI role of gathering information of criminal activities. He also ordered special agents in charge of offices across the country to use "reliable and cooperative news media representatives" to expose "the devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activities."

"You are cautioned," Hoover said in his message, "that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the bureau and appropriate within office security should be afforded this sensitive operation."

In one sentence, Hoover directed that the FBI not only take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence but "also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant." FBI officials refused to discuss whether this phrase ordered the use of provocateurs within the New Left organizations.

At that time, in the spring of 1968, there was growing concern about demonstrations protesting the Vietnam war and violence believed to have been caused by the New Left.

**THE ORDER WAS** issued shortly after the assassination of black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had provoked serious disturbances in a number of cities, including Washington, and a month before the assassination of Robert Kennedy. Hoover was being criticized at the time for what appeared to some to be a failure of the FBI to move vigorously against the New Left.

Hoover's order went out shortly after the Defense Department had set up a special riot control center in an effort that later grew into a much-criticized army intelligence operation involving civilians.

There was no explanation in the 1971 order ending the COINTELPRO operations. The order was issued less than two months after activists had burglarized the FBI office at Media, Pa., and had begun distributing secret FBI documents to the news media.

**THERE WERE** strong indications that Bork's decision not to appeal the order to make the documents public was vigorously, but unsuccessfully, resisted by the FBI, now headed by Clarence M. Kelley.

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# Hoover War on New Left Bared

By Laurence Stern  
 Washington Post Staff Writer

The late J. Edgar Hoover issued written orders to all FBI offices in May, 1968, to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the New Left movement.

He discontinued the campaign without explanation three years later.

The Hoover memoranda were made public yesterday by acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork after the Justice Department decided not to appeal a U. S. District Court decision requiring production of the documents. NBC newsman Carl Stern sued for release of the Hoover memoranda under the Freedom of Information Act.

Hoover directed that the disruption program be carried out in heavy secrecy and that it be aimed at "disrupting the organized activity of these groups . . . No opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership."

The targets of the FBI counter-intelligence campaign were described by Hoover as "New Left organizations and key activists."

The May 10, 1968, memo instructed: "The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activists must be exposed to

public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media, both locally and at the seat of government." (Seat of government was Hooverese for Washington, D.C.)

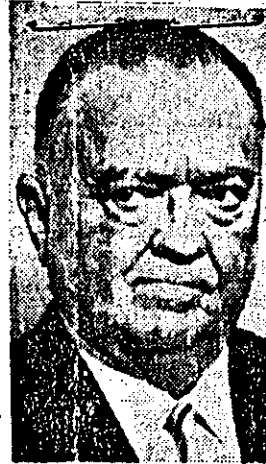
The directive charged all bureau offices throughout the nation with the responsibility for taking advantage "of all opportunities for counter-intelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant."

Hoover did not spell out the specific nature of those actions.

Justice Department officials said there was no evidence in the agency's files that then-Attorney General Ramsey Clark approved or was even aware of the New Left counter-intelligence program. Stern's suit called for production of all documents that related to the campaign.

In his memorandum launching the campaign Hoover cautioned that "the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation."

He added:  
 "The bureau has been very closely following the activities of the New Left and the key



J. EDGAR HOOVER  
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activists and is highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic and tie the arms of law enforcement officials to the detriment of our society.

"The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized," he said.

Hoover's memo canceling the bureau's counter-intelligence effort, labeled by the late director as "COINTELPROS," was issued on April 28, 1971.

"Effective immediately," the director decreed, "all COINTELPROS operated by this bureau are discontinued." He enumerated specifically programs against espionage, the New Left, white hate groups, the Communist Party USA, black extremists and the Socialist Workers Party disruption program.

During the year prior to the

cancellation relations between Hoover and the Nixon administration grew severely strained. Hoover was privately criticized in controversial memoranda of former White House domestic security adviser Tom Charles Huston for having been ineffective in dealing with internal security matters.

President Nixon announced last May that because of Hoover's objections he canceled a July 15, 1970, decision memorandum authorizing electronic surveillance, mail inspection, break-ins and intensified informer tactics against American citizens and U.S. groups in domestic intelligence operations.

Release of the two Hoover memoranda yesterday was the first time the Justice Department released documents in a Freedom of Information Act challenge. Bork said, "The law and the public policy expressed in the Freedom of Information Act did not warrant appealing the District Court decision."

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# What's News

The FBI made public a memo the late J. Edgar Hoover wrote in May 1968 ordering a counterintelligence program "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" New Left organizations and their leaders. He canceled the operation in April 1971. The FBI released the memo after losing a suit by an NBC newsman under the Freedom of Information Act.

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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# Hoover's Spying on Left Told

WASHINGTON (AP) — The FBI marshaled a three-year nationwide counter intelligence program "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" what the late J. Edgar Hoover called the "new left movement," according to internal memos made public Thursday.

Hoover directed all FBI offices on May 10, 1968, to launch an attack against groups and individuals "who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands." Hoover terminated that project and several other counterintelligence programs without explanation in a directive to FBI offices on April 28, 1971.

In the three-page memo establishing the program and the brief notice terminating it, Hoover never defined or identified specific organizations or individuals subject to the spying program.

The FBI released copies of the memos after Acting Atty. Gen. Robert H. Bork decided not to appeal a federal court order requiring the memos to be given to NBC television newsman Carl Stern, who had filed suit to obtain them under the Freedom of Information Act.

In the 1968 memo, Hoover instructed FBI offices to open an active file on the "New Left movement and its key activ-

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# Hoover

By Laurence Stern  
Washington Post Staff Writer

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- The Washington Post Times Herald 42
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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Cointelpro

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(INFORMATION)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT BORK WILL NOT APPEAL A COURT DECISION THAT THE FBI MUST TURN OVER FILES ON ITS "NEW LEFT" COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM TO A NEWSMAN, THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED TODAY.

A SPOKESMAN SAID BORK, ACTING AS SOLICITOR GENERAL, NOTIFIED ATTORNEYS FOR NBC NEWSMAN CARL STERN THAT HE WILL NOT APPEAL A U.S. DISTRICT COURT DECISION THAT IT MUST PRODUCE THE DOCUMENTS UNDER THE 1966 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

THE DOCUMENTS STERN SOUGHT, BOTH ISSUED BY THE LATE FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, ARE A THREE-PAGE MEMO AND A ONE-PAGE "AIRTEL," OR EXPEDITED MEMO, TO FBI FIELD OFFICES.

PRESS SPOKESMAN JOHN HUSHEN SAID THEY CONCERNED THE FBI'S "COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -- NEW LEFT" (COINTELPRO -- NEW LEFT). HE SAID THE "AIRTEL" WAS A MEMO TERMINATING THE PROGRAM.

"BORK SAID IN REACHING THE DECISION HE DETERMINED 'THE LAW AND THE PUBLIC POLICY EXPRESSED IN THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT DID NOT WARRANT APPEALING THE DISTRICT COURT DECISION,'" HUSHEN SAID.

BORK'S DECISION WAS UNANIMOUSLY CONCURRED IN BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S CIVIL DIVISION, ITS FREEDOM OF INFORMATION COMMITTEE AND THE SOLICITOR GENERAL'S OFFICE, HUSHEN SAID.

HUSHEN SAID THE WHITE HOUSE WAS NOTIFIED ABOUT THE DECISION "A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO" BUT A FORMAL NOTICE DID NOT GO TO STERN'S LAWYER UNTIL LATE WEDNESDAY. STERN IS NOW FREE TO PICK UP THE DOCUMENTS, HUSHEN SAID.

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- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

### Press Center Sues to Get FBI Papers

The newly formed Press Information Center filed its first Freedom of Information Act suit yesterday on behalf of a broadcast reporter seeking information on alleged FBI counter-intelligence activities against the New Left.

The center was established jointly by the National Press Club and Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsible Law.

The suit was filed on behalf of Carl D. Stern, an NBC News reporter who has been trying since 1971 to get FBI and Justice Department documents relating to "Cointelpro-New Left."

A statement released by the Press Information Center said Stern began his investigation when he saw a Justice Department document instructing FBI agents to mail anonymous letters urging colleges "to take decisive action against the New Left."

*R. H. HARRIS*

- The Washington Post Times Herald 2/1/73
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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COINTELPRO - GENERAL

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- NBC CORRESPONDENT CARL L. STERN SUED THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WEDNESDAY UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT TO FORCE RELEASE OF INFORMATION ABOUT AN ALLEGED FBI EFFORT TO UNDERMINE "NEW LEFT" ORGANIZATIONS.

STERN ASKED THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT HERE TO ORDER ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST TO MAKE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS "CONCERNING A COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION." HE SAID HIS MARCH 20, 1972, REQUEST TO SEE THE DOCUMENTS WAS REFUSED SEPT. 20 BY DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL RALPH E. ERICKSON.

STERN SAID HE HAD BEEN SEEKING JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ALLEGED FBI PROGRAM SINCE 1971, WHEN HE VIEWED A DOCUMENT INSTRUCTING FBI AGENTS TO MAIL ANONYMOUS LETTERS TO COLLEGE EDUCATORS URGING THEM "TO TAKE DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST THE NEW LEFT."

STERN'S SUIT IS THE FIRST BROUGHT BY A WORKING JOURNALIST UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE PRESS INFORMATION CENTER, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AND RALPH NADER'S CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF RESPONSIVE LAW.

ENACTED IN 1967, THE ACT PROVIDES THAT ALL INFORMATION IN GOVERNMENT FILES IS TO BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, WITH EXCEPTIONS COVERING NATIONAL SECURITY AND TRADE SECRETS, INTERNAL PERSONNEL FILES AND LAW ENFORCEMENT INVESTIGATIONS MATERIAL.

THE PRESS INFORMATION CENTER SAID THE FBI PROJECT WAS DESCRIBED BY ROBERT WALL, A FORMER FBI AGENT, IN THE JAN. 27, 1972, ISSUE OF THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS.

WALL SAID IT WAS AIMED AT THWARTING AND UNDERMINING "NEW LEFT" ORGANIZATIONS BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN MARCHES OR PEACE RALLIES.

THE PURPOSE, HE SAID, WAS TO "CREATE DISSENT AMONG THE VARIOUS GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE NEW LEFT AND TO PREVENT THEM FROM WORKING TOGETHER".

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