

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

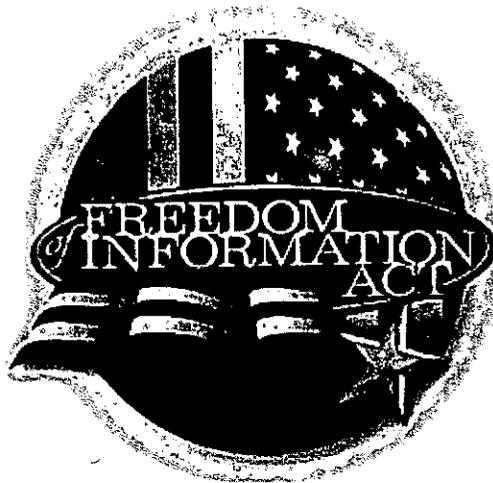
**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**NEW LEFT**

**SAN FRANCISCO**

**100-449698-47**

**SECTION 3**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

## NOTICE

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 11/16/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Cleveland letter dated 10/6/70, Bureau letter dated 10/15/70, New York letter dated 10/26/70, and Chicago letter dated 10/29/70.

Cleveland's suggestion that an ad be placed in one of the underground newspapers utilizing the April, 1970, SDS code has some merit, however the following will be noted. If the aforementioned code was known by all of the Weatherman, it has probably since been changed; however, depending upon the extent of the Weatherman communications system, all Weatherman might not be aware of the change in the code and some positive results might be achieved.

The Bureau asked if we thought placing such an ad in the "Berkeley Tribe" would be feasible. Although we cannot support this conclusion with concrete evidence, it is that of all the underground papers the "Tribe's" staff would be the one most likely to know the current SDS code and might not publish such an ad, realizing it was a police plant. It is also suggested the SDS fugitives might be leery of contacting a P. O. Box since the letters might be traced. The services of the various switchboards available in large metropolitan areas might offer them more security. In the Bay Area alone there are at least 12 such switchboards according to the underground press.

EX-111

REC-84

100-111610-47-1

12 NOV 19 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JEB/see  
(4)

*[Handwritten signature]*  
SEC



IDECA 1970

NR 009 SF PLAIN

914PM URGENT 11-27-70

TO DIRECTOR

SEATTLE (100-27151) (100-29237)

SAN DIEGO (100-13474) (100-14259)

SACRAMENTO (100-273) (100-1299)

PORTLAND (100-10496) (100-11048)

LOS ANGELES (100-68519) (100-71737)

BOSTON (100-55472) (100-52530)

DETROIT (100-30957) (100-35108)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-52152) (100-60963)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE (WSA), IS DASH SDS, BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR THREE NINE ZERO FOUR EIGHT; COINTELPRO DASH NEW LEFT, BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR NINE SIX NINE EIGHT.

RE BUREAU AIRTEL OCTOBER TWENTY THREE LAST.

SOURCES EXPECT LOCAL SDS LEADERS WILL ATTEND SDS NATIONAL

INTERIM COMMITTEE MEETING NOVEMBER TWO NEXT AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

PLANS FOR SDS, SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA DEMONSTRATION ARE FOR FOUR

P.M. RALLY NOVEMBER THREE NEXT AT ST. JAMES PARK, SAN JOSE,

END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED  
168 NOV 4 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN

4-1

cc to IDU  
adm. data deleted

56 NOV 13 1970  
377

PAGE TWO

AND PROPOSED MARCH TO A SAN JOSE GENERAL MOTORS DEALER IN SUPPORT OF STRIKING AUTO WORKERS. SOME SDS MEMBERS ASKED TO GO TO SAN JOSE NOVEMBER TWO NEXT TO DISTRIBUTE A HANDBILL URGING PUBLIC ATTENDANCE AT NOVEMBER THREE RALLY. AS OF THIS DATE, SAN JOSE POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS REFUSED SDS PERMIT FOR MARCH FOLLOWING RALLY. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY HOPES TO HAVE OPEN MEETING AFTER RALLY TO ACCQUAINT PEOPLE WITH WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE PROGRAM BUT NO MAJOR SDS DISCUSSIONS PLANNED, NOR HAS MEETING PLACE BEEN LOCATED AS YET. IF OPPORTUNITY EXISTS TO PROMOTE FACTIONALISM OR DISAGREEMENT WITH NATIONAL SDS HEADQUARTERS, IT WILL PROBABLY EXIST AT NIO MEETING, DETROIT, NOVEMBER TWO NEXT AND NOT THE SAN JOSE DEMONSTRATION. SAN FRANCISCO WILL USE LOCAL INFORMANTS TO COVER ACTIVITIES AT SAN JOSE NOVEMBER THREE NEXT.

AIR MAIL COPIES FORWARDED TO ATLANTA, CHICAGO, MIAMI, NEW ORLEANS AND NEW YORK.

END

HOLD

*cc: White*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/14/70

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/10/68 and San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 4/3/70.

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

A suggestion is being currently worked out and will be submitted in the near future to the Bureau for referral to the Department of Agriculture concerning abuses in the Food Stamp Program.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

San Francisco letters dated 6/15/70 and 9/28/70 concerned releasing information on the Institute for Policy Studies to a local newspaperman for an in-depth article. This has yet to appear in the press.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None during this period.

REC-78

OCT 22 1970

EX-1

2 - Bureau (RM) (AM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JEB/see  
(4)

INT/SEC

60 OCT 28 1970



FBI

Date: 10/16/70

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD ✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*COB/PA*

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

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)  
 FROM: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*Shelton*  
*Proff*

Re Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, dated 10/1/70.

San Francisco has had extensive experience in checking post office records on known box numbers and coverage of these boxes and recognizes the difficulty in attempting to locate an unknown box being used by Weatherman. Due to a large transient population, there has been a strong demand and high turnover in rentals at the main post office and sub-stations in San Francisco. This does not include the other San Francisco Bay Area communities of Berkeley, Oakland, South San Francisco, etc.

In considering possible means of penetrating Weatherman communications, the utilization of post office boxes was previously considered. [redacted] was contacted on this question and based upon his experience in the Weatherman organization, he expressed the opinion that the mail is infrequently used as a means of communication because the telephone is utilized in such a manner that it affords secure and instant communication.

Although it is recognized that penetrating underground communications is of prime importance, it is believed that investigative manpower consumed in attempting to identify a post office box being used by Weatherman on a countrywide basis would be very costly and that if further consideration is given to this technique, that it be tried on an experimental basis in one field division.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (INFO)(AM) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (INFO)(AM) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (INFO)(AM) (RM)
- 1 - New York (INFO)(AM) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (1 - 100-60968)
- (1 - 100-67132) (COMMUNICATIONS CENTER-WEATHERMAN)

REC-48

100-449698-411-68

EX-112

*100-60968*  
*1 - New York*  
*1 - Detroit*  
*1 - Chicago*  
*1 - Cincinnati*  
*1 - Bureau*

14 OCT 20 1970

EJO/sms #11

51068  
23 1970

*S. B. [Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

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

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

9/28/70

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61761) (P\*)  
(100-60968)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
BU File: 100-447935  
OO: WFO

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
BU-File: 100-449698

Re Bureau letter 7/2/70.

On 9/22/70 [redacted] for the San Francisco Examiner, advised that [redacted] had still expressed interest in the material furnished him regarding captioned organization. However, to their knowledge the organization had been relatively inactive in this area and they felt that it would be far more proper to wait until they engaged in some activity which would make their article appear newsworthy and prompted by the fact that the Institute for Policy Studies was engaged in a newsworthy item. It would also make it easier for them to ask more direct and embarrassing questions, and they will retain the material furnished and advise when it is used.

For the information of Washington Field, the [redacted]

[redacted] They advised that they had been inactive for several months and that some people they had looked to for help had been away for the summer and no new activities or publications were planned. They also reported that [redacted] who was reportedly associated with the Bay Area Institute on one event in April of 1970, had no connection with the organization and was living and working in a cabinet shop in Berkeley, California.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - WFO (100-46784) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JFS/dp  
(6)

100-447935-97  
NOT RECORDED

167 OCT 2 1970

3.9  
59 OCT 14 1970

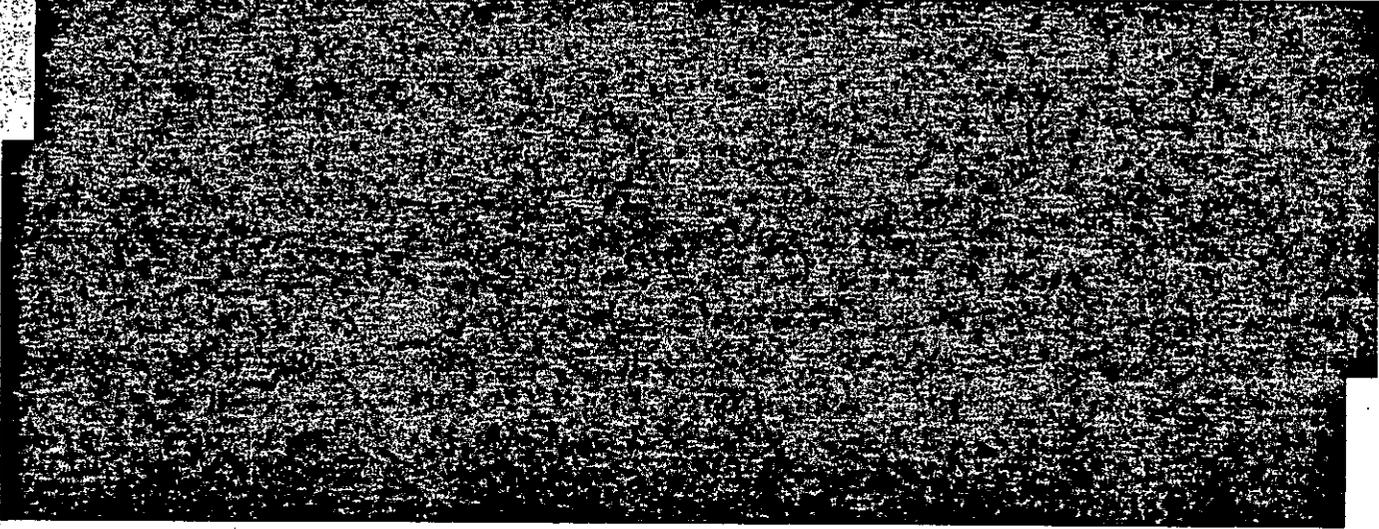
ORIGINAL FILED IN

SF 100-61761

100-60968

JFS/dp

Should Washington Field conduct any further investigation regarding captioned organization, it is requested that the identity of any employees in this area be determined for any funds furnished by them to this area be furnished to San Francisco.



For the information of Washington Field, the characterization of the Institute for Policy Studies may be viewed in the light that it was prepared for consumption by leaders of the industrial complex which subscribes to the services of Western Research Foundation and is undocumented to a great extent.

FBI

Date: 9/9/70

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

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: CHICAGO REPORT  
 BOX 1265, GRINNELL COLLEGE,  
 GRINNELL, IOWA  
 INFORMATION CONCERNING  
 SF 100-NEW  
 COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
 BU 100-449698  
 SF 100-60968

*Sum*  
*White*  
*Jan*  
*10/1/70*

*CR*

San Francisco has received by mail a 20 page newspaper captioned "The Second Battle of Chicago 1969" with the text by TOM THOMAS, photographs by LARRY FRANK, KEN SHAINNESS, and WILLIAM WILHELM, published at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa 50112. This is a detailed and ambitious description of the 10/8-11/69 SDS National Action in Chicago which is extremely favorable and presents the Weatherman attitude on the entire Chicago demonstration.

Omaha and Chicago were probably in previous possession of this newspaper, which can be described as an attempt to justify the Weatherman attempt to start a revolution in Chicago. But, it may be of particular significance for counterintelligence activity that this publication was mailed on a postage meter, #179697, postmarked Grinnell, Iowa, 8/27/70, if this meter is actually registered to Grinnell College or some business group.

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - 100-449698
- 4 - Chicago (RM)
- 2 - 100-40903
- 4 - Omaha (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
- 2 - 100-NEW (CHICAGO REPORT)
- 2 - 100-60968

EX-117

REC 17 100-449698-417-67

5 SEP 11 1970

JFS/see  
 (16)

*INT. SEC.*

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

*58* SEP 13 1970

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

SAC, San Francisco

7-2-70

Director, FBI

100-449648-117

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D. C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
SF file 100-61761  
Bufile 100-447035

COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT  
SF file 100-60968  
Bufile 100-449698

ReSFlet 6-15-70.

Authority is granted to contact [redacted] for the purpose of furnishing him copies of the material submitted as enclosures to relet.

On the occasion of your contact with [redacted] advise him that under no circumstances is he to divulge the Bureau's interest in this matter.

Your interest in participating in the counterintelligence program is appreciated, and you should continue to give it close attention.

RHH:plm  
(7)

NOTE:

By relet, San Francisco submitted copies of eight documents all of a public source nature. San Francisco recommended that this material be furnished to [redacted] for the San Francisco "Examiner", an established source of the San Francisco Office, with the suggestion that he might wish to prepare an article on the activities of the Bay Area Institute, a New Left-type organization located in San Francisco, and an affiliate of the Institution for Policy Studies.

58 JUL 13 1970

NOT RECORDED  
202 JUL 8 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
SF file 100-61761  
Bufile 100-447935

DATE: 6/15/70

COINTELPRO --  
NEW LEFT  
SF file 100-60963  
Bufile 100-449698

Re Report of SA [REDACTED] at San Francisco,  
dated 6/15/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following:

- (1) A copy of an article in "Barron's" weekly magazine captioned "Radical Think Tank" from the 10/6/69 issue.
- (2) A copy of an article in "Barron's" captioned "Ivory Tower Activists," from the 10/13/69 issue of "Barron's".
- (3) A pamphlet concerning a meeting of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars of Stanford University, to be held 4/3/70 at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco.
- (4) A newspaper article from the "Oregon Daily Emerald" issue of 4/10/70 captioned "Weisberg--Possible Ecology Not Effective."

4 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)  
 (2 - 100-447935)  
 (2 - 100-449698)  
 4 - San Francisco  
 (2 - 100-61761)  
 (2 - 100-60968)

FTD/jb #10  
(8)

NOT RECORDED  
202 JUL 8 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN



SF 100-61761  
SF 100-60968  
FTD/jb

(5) An article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 10/19/65 "Katzenbach Protests SDS."

(6) Article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 11/4/65 captioned "VDC May Hold Legal March".

(7) An article from the "Daily Californian" issue of 2/4/66 captioned "Cohelan's Office Locked".

(8) A blank page containing two typed notices of articles in the "Ann Arbor News", Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated 3/24 and 25/65, concerning ALLAN HABER.

Articles 4 through 7 contain characterizations of [REDACTED]

It is recommended that a copy of the enclosed be furnished to [REDACTED] for the San Francisco "Examiner" who is an established source of the San Francisco Office and has been used on prior occasions under COMTEL Program, with the suggestion that [REDACTED] may wish to write an article concerning the activities of the Bay Area Institute which is located in San Francisco.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 4/27/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Los Angeles letter to the Bureau, dated 4/16/70.

The surreptitious printing of 2,000 "People's World" (PW) subscription reply cards was suggested in referenced letter. This card which contains printer's bug Number 200 was not printed by Garrett Press, San Francisco, California, which does the weekly printing of the PW. It was printed by Cardoza Bookbinding Company in San Francisco.

San Francisco has no contacts or sources at the Cardoza Bookbinding Company and no way of knowing the basis of the PW's preference for having these cards printed at that plant rather than at Garrett Press.

San Francisco has had good relations over a long period of time with Garrett Press on a number of radical publications. If Garrett Press were the printer of this subscription card, this office would be very reluctant to propose an additional press run. This office knows of no local printer who could be approached to duplicate this card with the Cardoza Company union bug.

No further action or recommendation is being considered by the San Francisco Office.

*1 cc 904D*

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Los Angeles (100-71737) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco
- EJO/sms #11  
(6)

*100-449698-1166*

*APR 25 1970*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

54 MAY 6 1970

*7325 All Bur  
let to LA  
5-1-70  
HJ*



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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 3/31/70

FROM : *CB* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Memphis letter to Bureau dated 3/23/70.

The San Francisco Division has been in recent contact with ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ Exempt Organizations Sections, Field Audit Division, Internal Revenue Service, San Francisco, California. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ advised that the IRS is interested in receiving information regarding New Left organizations which have applied for or have received tax exempt status. Some of the organizations in which IRS is interested are the American Friends Service Committee, New Mobilization Committee, Bay Area Peace Action Council, Los Siete De La Raza, San Francisco Mime Troupe, and Glide Memorial Church. It should be noted that investigations on churches or church groups such as the American Friends Service Committee and Glide Memorial Church, cannot be initiated locally, but have to be authorized at the regional level of IRS. Some of the information needed by IRS is as follows:

1. Activities of organizations (rallies, demonstrations, etc)
2. Publications, copies if possible.
3. Any paid employees.
4. Direct or indirect payments to political activists and specific instances of such payments.)
5. Payments of large sums by exempt organizations.

*[Handwritten initials]*

Consequently, information in the files would be of inestimable value to IRS in their effort to deny or expel organizations from their tax exempt status. This course of action would necessitate the filing of tax returns and payments of taxes by these New Left groups. It would also mean that contributors would be denied a deduction and may cause them to hesitate to contribute as they may have in the past.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JEB/dp  
(4)

REC-21

13 APR 2 1970

56 APR 30 1970

*[Handwritten signature]*

*4/5 S.F. To see 4/10/70  
69-45 dated 8-26-69; 6/2/69  
11-10-69 - Bureau 5-15-70 CHH  
New Left Movement - Finance  
6/4*

65

SF 100-60968

JEB/dp

San Francisco Division also feels that a study of this technique would be of value to the Bureau's efforts in the counterintelligence program. It is further recommended by San Francisco that hereafter, intelligence reports and LHMs containing information such as those mentioned above, be disseminated locally to the IRS.

SAC, San Francisco (100-60968)

3/3/70

REC-127

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 47-64

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 2/18/70.

Authority is granted to furnish the Adult Probation Office of the County of San Francisco with public source material publicizing the activities of Cannon at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, and the booklet entitled "Vietnam--A Thousand Years of Struggle." This material should be furnished to the Probation Office through an established source if possible.

RHH:jes  
(4)

NOTE:

[redacted] was placed on two years probation in November, 1968, on charges of resisting arrest and interfering with an officer. Subject is a New Left activist and San Francisco has suggested furnishing his Probation Office with public source material relating to Cannon's participation in New Left activities at the University of Washington on 1/21/70 and with material which he has written while on probation.

MAILED 3  
MAR 2 - 1970  
COMM-FBI

*Upp*  
*Redfern*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Candy \_\_\_\_\_

51 MAR 4 1970

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/18/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

**[REDACTED]** was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department on charges of resisting arrest and interfering with an officer and on 11/22/68 was sentenced to two years probation, condition on serving 90 days in jail and that he not engage in any further unlawful disturbance or any unlawful activity.

Bureau permission is requested to furnish to the Adult Probation Office, County of San Francisco, who have been cooperative in the past, a February-March copy of the "Movement" for **[REDACTED]** shows **[REDACTED]** participation as the people's prosecutor in a people's trial of the American Army held at the University of Washington at Seattle on 1/21/70, at which time the Army was sentenced to death. Permission is also requested to invite the Probation Office's attention to a booklet entitled **[REDACTED]** published by the People's Press, 350 Grove Street, San Francisco during February, 1970. This 47-page booklet is a history of the struggles in Vietnam unfavorable to the United States.

It is believed that the San Francisco Probation Department may wish to bring this material to the attention of the judge who sentenced **[REDACTED]**. The San Francisco Probation Office has previously been advised that the Subject should be considered possibly armed and dangerous because of his display of a .38 caliber revolver to the press during a press interview during 1967.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
  - (1 - 100-60968)
  - (1 - 100-55441)

DPS/crv  
(4)

REC-73

100-449698-1147-14

12 FEB 20 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

DISPOSITION SHEET DETACHED AND HANDLED SEPARATELY

to SF  
RHR:jes 2/3/70



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-453833)

12/19/69

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61447) (RUC)

[REDACTED]  
SM-505

00: Sacramento

On the basis of information developed by the Sacramento Office at Fresno, California, regarding Subject's residence in Fresno, California, his part-time student status at Fresno State College as well as his employment at the U.S. Post Office at Sanger, California, and at the Cafe Midi in Fresno, a check was made of the outstanding warrants at San Francisco PD at which time it was determined that [REDACTED] was outstanding against the Subject in connection with his arrest during student demonstrations at San Francisco State College and that the warrant had been unserved because no known address could be located for the Subject by the San Francisco PD.

[REDACTED] of the General Works Detail of the San Francisco PD was advised on 12/10/69, by SA [REDACTED] where Subject could be located.

2-Bureau  
1-100-449698 (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)  
1-Sacramento (100-965)  
3-San Francisco  
1-81-461 (COOPERATION WITH POLICE)  
1-100-60968

JFS:at

(6)

NOT RECORDED  
49 DEC 22 1969

9-359  
59 JAN 12 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-453833-100

ret  
Date: 12/12/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (P)  
SUBJECT: "CHANGED"  
[REDACTED]

Classified by 2040-110-416/79  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1 (Sint) 2 (Encl)  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SM-ANARCHIST  
(NEW LEFT-FOREIGN INFLUENCE)  
Bufile 100-449913  
SF file 100-62659

0 COINTELPRO, NEW LEFT  
Bufile 100-449698  
SF file 100-60968

BAY AREA RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT  
IS-MISC  
Bufile 100-  
SF file 100-57728

Title changed to show addition of Reverend to  
Subject's name and [REDACTED] As shown in Leviathan  
magazine.

- 4-Bureau (Encls. <sup>17</sup>) (RM)
- 2-Washington Field (100-47902) (RM)
- 2-New York (100-new) (RM) (Encls. 4)
- 12-San Francisco
  - 1-100-62659 [REDACTED]
  - 1-100-14214 (THE RESISTANCE)
  - 1-100-62310 (LEVIATHAN)
  - 1-100-new (UNITED MINISTRIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION)
  - 1-100-63017 (GI-HELP)
  - 1-100-57728 (BAY AREA RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT)
  - 1-10-6896 [REDACTED]
  - 1-100-new [REDACTED]
  - 1-100-

100-449698-47

NOT RECORDED  
200 JAN 22 1970

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY THIS  
SLIP(S) OF Classified  
DATE 7-23-75

JFS:st  
(20)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge  
59 FEB 4 1970

X

M Per

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-449913-11

SF 100-62659

JFS:st

Re San Francisco letter and LHM, 7/13/69. u

[REDACTED]

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM regarding Subject's current travels and two copies of LHM of 7/13/69, for use in Cointelpro New Left decision and two copies of Legat Bonn letter of 10/31/69, and its enclosures.

Enclosed for New York is one copy of referenced LHM with two copies of letter from Director, Legat, Bonn with enclosures of 10/31/69. Also enclosed for New York is LHM regarding Subject.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of New York the Committee on Ecumenical Missions, United Presbyterian Church of USA is

[REDACTED]

Copy designated for Bureau file on Bay Area Radical Education Project since it is apparently identical with Subject and to show action taken as result of information obtained in that investigation.

SA [REDACTED] advised that during the past month while looking for a Selective Service fugitive he observed the offices of The Resistance and GI-Help on the 400 block of Guerrero Street, San Francisco, and noticed that people from this office were constantly going back and forth from the United Ministries in Higher Education at 491 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, with printing materials, etc.

First source is a pretext interview by SA [REDACTED] of unknown female worker at United Ministries in Higher Education, 491 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, (621-7035) and the Ministry to The Resistance at the same address.

Second source was pretext interview of [REDACTED] via telephone regarding publications of Radical Education u

Subject

SF 100-62659

JFS:st

Project on 12/10/69, by SA [redacted] during which she advised that that office was not really part of the Radical Education Project of Detroit, Michigan but that they may have one or two lists of the REP publications around the office of the United Ministries for Higher Education and the Bay Area Radical Education Project was just a name used sometimes by [redacted] to mail out reprints of articles he writes for Leviathan magazine or other reprints. u

[redacted]

LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Will make appropriate recommendation to the Bureau regarding its contacts with United Presbyterian Church and the possibility of discontinuance of the support of Subject and financing of his travels abroad which, unless he is also employed by a government agency appear to be against the interests of this group as well as the United States.

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.: At U.S. Dept. of State, Passport Office, obtain any additional information and photograph issued or obtained in connection with Subject's current travel.

[redacted]

SAN FRANCISCO

AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA: Verify Subject's return to U.S. residence [redacted] u

FD-315 submitted.

Subject



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

December 12, 1969

Classified by 2040 RAN 6/16/77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 3 (Confidential)  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

[REDACTED]

Reference is made to memorandum dated July 31, 1969,  
at San Francisco regarding [REDACTED]

A source at San Francisco, California, advised on  
December 10, 1969, that [REDACTED] was traveling abroad and  
his return to the San Francisco-Berkeley, California area was  
unknown but that all correspondence could be sent to him care  
of [REDACTED]

A second source advised on December 10, 1969, that  
[REDACTED] in addition to [REDACTED]  
did send reprints of articles to his contacts in foreign  
countries and sometimes uses the name Bay Area Radical Education  
Project of 491 Guerrero Street in mailing printed material.

The October-November, 1969 (Volume 1, No.6) issue of  
Leviathan in its editorial statement read in part as follows:

"....We began life as a magazine of the movement;  
we are in the process of trying to become a  
magazine of the revolution."

It also lists [REDACTED] as a member of its  
San Francisco staff.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classified  
DATE 7-23-79

[REDACTED]

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

ENCLOSURE X  
100-111969A-111

[REDACTED]

Sources in Japan, Germany, Switzerland and Italy should be advised of interest in [REDACTED] contacts and any security significance and [REDACTED] expected return to United States. u

[REDACTED]



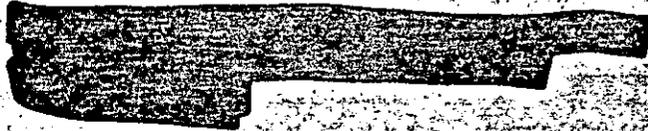
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

December 12, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title



Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum dated  
and captioned as above.

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

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

11/10/69

airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (100-64324)

From: Director, FBI (62-11181)

100-449698-47-

DEMOV

Reurairtel dated 11/6/69.

Authority is granted to mail copies of the anonymous letter, submitted as an enclosure to reairtel, to those recipients listed in reairtel.

In preparing and mailing these letters all necessary precautions are to be taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as their source.

Promptly advise of any results noted.

1 - Los Angeles (100-74259)

1 - 100-449698

RHH:bcw  
(6)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOTE:

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is sponsoring a massive demonstration in San Francisco on 11/15/69. The leadership of the NMC has excluded the Socialist Workers Party from planning sessions and a dispute has resulted between the two groups. This dispute offers an opportunity to drive a wedge between the SWP and the peace movement. SF has suggested an anonymous letter be mailed attacking the NMC's decision. This letter might serve to further this dispute.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-11181-181

NOV 18 1969

FBI

Date: 11/6/69

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

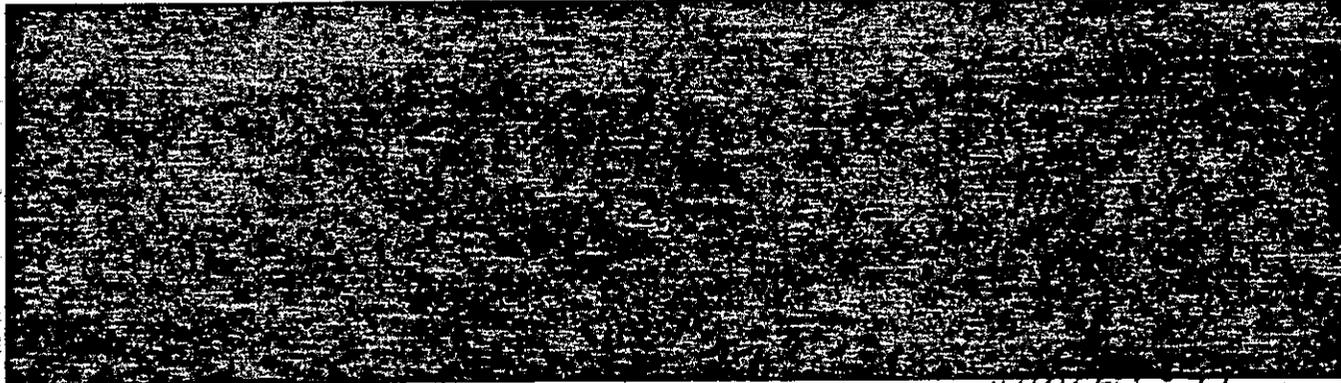
Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (62-111181) <sup>100-449698-</sup>  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-64324) (P)  
SUBJECT: DEMNOV

Re Bulet to San Francisco, dated 11/3/69; San Francisco letter to Bureau, captioned, "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT," dated 11/4/69; and San Francisco teletype to Bureau, dated 11/4/69 on DEMNOV

Enclosed for Bureau are two copies of proposed letter suggested by San Francisco for distribution. One copy to Los Angeles for information.

The following persons are suggested by San Francisco to receive the anonymous mailing:



- 5 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 2)
  - (2 - 62-111181) (DEMNOV)
  - (2 - 100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NL)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM) (Encl. 1)
- 4 - San Francisco
  - (2 - 100-64324) (DEMNOV)
  - (2 - 100-60968) (COINTELPRO-NL)

CMS:nac  
(9)

100-449698-1  
NOT RECORDED  
NOV 14 1969

CARBON COPY

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-111181-1871

SF 100-64324  
CMS:nac

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, Locals 1570,  
1352, 1928.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL  
EMPLOYEES, Local 1695.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S  
UNION (ILWU), Northern  
California District Council

ILWU Local 6.

ILWU FEDERATED AUXILIARY, PAINTERS AND PAPERHANGERS  
UNION, Local 4.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY LABOR COUNCIL.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION.

It is noted that the faction dominated by the SWP calling themselves NEW MOBILIZATION MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE, 2170 Bryant Street, San Francisco, has already made mailings of letters mildly critical of [REDACTED] conduct regarding the split. There is no indication, however, that these mailings have caused any concern by the recipients. For this reason, San Francisco feels that the anonymous letter to be circulated should be as strong as that suggested.

[redacted] the irrational "Czar" of the New Mobilization Committee, has appointed himself the grand master of the Peace Movement. His idea of peace is the physical attack upon members of the peace movement who oppose his leadership and the so-called cultural show he wishes to stage at the peace rally on November 15.

Instead of speakers that represent the people, expressing the anti-war sentiment and the corrupt fascist state of the present establishment, [redacted] and his lily-white Commies want to have a rock concert on the 15th. According to newspapers, [redacted] has spent more time pleading with the Parks and Recreation Board for permission to put on his show.

When the masses within the peace movement opposed him, [redacted] traveled throughout the United States crying to his big brothers for help. When your "little brother" comes crying to you, what can you do except to try appeasing him. This is exactly what happened. [redacted] told him, "Okay, dissolve all affiliation with the SWP and YSA."

Yet [redacted] are treading softly with these groups because they realize that SWP has been the real organizer of this mobilization and that this effort would fail miserably if left solely in the hands of the frustrated "Ziegfield" of the peace movement.

This kind of puppet leadership has no place in the peace movement. [redacted] would be more effective getting permits, arranging for leaflets to be printed, etc., but he has no leadership ability.

The problem of leadership should be resolved now-- before November 15. Let's show [redacted] and his traveling troubadours who the organizers really are.

We can do this by publicly renouncing his leadership and associating your group with BAPAC at 2170 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.

ENCLOSURE

*[Handwritten signature]*  
ENCLOSURE

11-13-69

airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (100-60968)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698) -47-63

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

EX-102

Reurairtel 11-4-69.

Your recommendation as set forth in reairtel is not being approved. It is noted that the proposed flyers would be distributed at the rally on 11-15-69, in San Francisco. It is felt that this would be a late hour for neutralizing this event. In addition, it is felt that there is an element of risk involved in attempting to distribute as many as 40,000 leaflets without the Bureau's connections becoming known. There is an added benefit that could accrue to either the Communist Party (CP) or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in that the leaflets distributed could garner funds for their cause.

This suggestion is appreciated and you should continue to give this program your considered attention.

RHH:djw  
(4)

NOTE:

In the current demonstrations against the war being planned in San Francisco, a split has developed between the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) and the SWP. In an effort to further this split, San Francisco suggested that the Bureau prepare 20,000 copies each of two pamphlets, one would solicit funds for the CP and the other for the SWP. It is to be noted that the NMC has received the endorsement of the CP. San Francisco suggested that these flyers could be distributed at the 11-15 rally through long

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAILED 4  
NOV 12 1969  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tel. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 NOV 24 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE CONTINUED:

established friends of the Bureau. These persons would then distribute these leaflets in bulk to teenagers who would distribute them at the rally. This is too risky and the benefits to accrue to the Bureau would not justify such a risk.

FBI

Date: 11/4/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*C.D. Brennan*  
*S. W. [unclear]*  
*R. [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of suggested leaflets to be printed by the Mechanical Section.

A mass anti-war demonstration planned for Washington D. C., and San Francisco, California, on November 15, 1969, spearheaded by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC), is in a state of confusion among the planners at San Francisco. The NMC led by [redacted] a local attorney and [redacted] and supported by the Communist Party (CP), attempted a takeover of the November 15, 1969 mobilization from the Bay Area Peace Action Council (BAPAC), a federation of various anti-war groups formed to lead the November 15, 1969 mobilization. The rift between the NMC and BAPAC went so far as to cause a fist fight between the groups at a meeting held jointly at San Francisco on October 16, 1969.

Although attempts are being made to show a united front by both groups, there is keen competition between [redacted] with his CP supporters and BAPAC, primarily made up of members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. There are indications of concern on the part of both groups as to who is to share in the proceeds expected from the coming November 15, 1969 rally. Both groups feel that the money rightfully belongs to their own group and this problem has not been resolved at this time. Because of the spirited competition between these two groups, the following recommendations are being made:

- 4 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
- (2 - 62-111181) (DEMNOV)
- (2 - 100-449698) (COINTELPRO)
- 4 - San Francisco
- (2 - 100-64324) (DEMNOV)
- (2 - 100-60968) (COINTELPRO)

REC-78 100-449698-47-63

15 NOV 14 1969

CMS/sms #11  
(8)

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

ACTION  
 PH [unclear]  
 11/13/69

COPY TO [unclear]

SF 100-60968

CMS/sms

It is recommended that the Mechanical Section print 20,000 leaflets in the fashion of the SWP claiming credit for the November 15, 1969 rally and the funds collected that day. It is also recommended that the Mechanical Section print 20,000 leaflets in the fashion of the NMC showing endorsements of [REDACTED] and the CP, disclaiming the SWP claim and making claim for the funds themselves. The leaflets are then to be distributed at the rally on November 15, 1969.

The San Francisco Division will attempt to locate long-established friends of the Bureau to whom the FBI can confide. These persons will then distribute the leaflets in bulk to teenagers who are usually found at these rallies attracted by the crowd and ceremonies. The FBI sources would then give instructions to these teenagers to distribute these leaflets at a certain time allowing them, the sources, to leave the area before they can be connected with these leaflets by members of both the SWP and BAPAC.

Examples of suggested leaflets are enclosed.

It is felt by the San Francisco Division that by taking the above recommended action, the rift between the CP and the SWP can be widened.

It is also felt that the November 15, 1969 rally may attract a lot of innocent persons conscientiously concerned about the Vietnam war. These people may unwittingly help further the CP and New Left cause by contributing funds to what they feel may be legitimate groups interested primarily in ending the war. If these people see leaflets indicating a fight between the CP and the SWP for the money collected, it may discourage them from contributing.

# BUILD

# THE FALL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE WAR



## Bring ALL the troops home now!

~~nov. 14 National Student Strike~~

nov. 15 March in San Francisco

**ASSEMBLE:** 7:00 am Embarcadero (near ferry)  
 9:00 am Hamilton Sq. (Steiner & Geary)

**RALLY:** 2 PM POLO FIELDS (Golden Gate Park)

*what* DONATED FUNDS WILL GO TO THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND NOT TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS ANNOUNCED BY [REDACTED]

Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help build the SWP

name \_\_\_\_\_ organization \_\_\_\_\_  
 address \_\_\_\_\_ phone \_\_\_\_\_

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
 Student Mobilization Committee

2170 Bryant St. San Francisco

tel: 285-8660

COPIES DESTROYED  
 R209 JUN 8 1971

NOV 18 1969

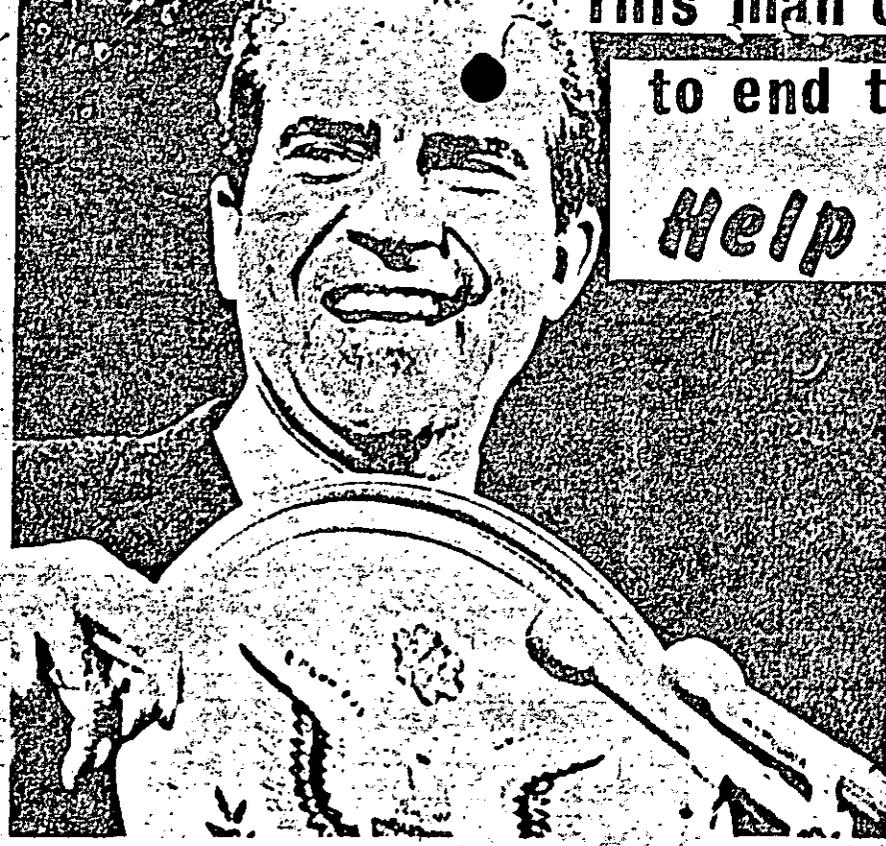
ENCLOSURE

This man can't make up his mind

to end the war in Vietnam

Help him decide!

From the Oct. 15 Moratorium, continue the Fall Offensive to end the Vietnam war



# MARCH NOV. 19

## San Francisco

bring **all** the GIs home **now**

**ASSEMBLE:** 7 am Embarcadero (near ferry)  
9 am Hamilton Sq. (Steiner & Geary)  
**RALLY:** 2 pm **POLO FIELDS** (Golden Gate Park)

- IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM
- END A BM AND ALL FORMS OF MILITARY
- SELF-DETERMINATION FOR VIETNAM AND BLACK AMERICA
- END RACISM AND POVERTY
- STOP THE REPRESSION - FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
- FREE SPEECH FOR GI'S

~~Rev. Mobilization Committee~~

~~(415) 20, 8560~~

~~DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO UNKNOWN COLLECTORS~~

~~Funds and volunteers are urgently needed to build the Nov. 15 March and Rally.~~

Send checks to  
**THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

~~2770 Bryant St. San Francisco 94110~~

683 McAllister, San Francisco 94110

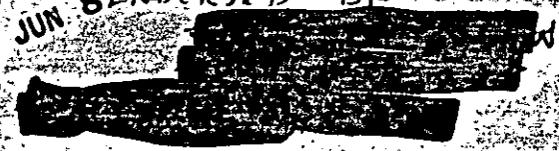
name \_\_\_\_\_ organization \_\_\_\_\_

address \_\_\_\_\_ phone \_\_\_\_\_

COPIES DESTROYED  
1209 JUN 8 1971

*J. P. [Signature]*  
NOV 18 1969

ENCLOSURE



F B I

Date: 11/5/69

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

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO  
NEW-LEFT  
IS - MISC

*Handwritten notes:*  
Bren  
W. J. ...  
D. ...

Re San Antonio airtel to the Bureau, 10/29/69, captioned as above, requesting public record information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] is not a member of any basic revolutionary organization or of any front organization at this time.

Enclosed herewith for San Antonio are two Xerox copies of an article that appeared in "Human Events" publication Washington, D.C., in its issue of 4/8/67, regarding "Ramparts" magazine. Only the portion of the story relating to [redacted] has been quoted. This appears to be the best possible record of information available concerning [redacted]

For information of the Bureau, this information was previously reported in the summary report of SA [redacted] dated 4/22/69 on [redacted]

Since [redacted] is a Key Activist, San Antonio should submit an LHM to the Bureau and act expeditiously of [redacted] s talks at the University of Texas on 11/13/69. The LHM should also summarize or include published press articles recording [redacted] appearance.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (100-10510) (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco

REC-66/100-449698-117-62

(1 - [redacted])  
WEH/rlg  
(6)

10 NOV 7 1969

53 NOV 19 1969

*Handwritten:* LHM REC.

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

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/8/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/10/68 and San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 7/11/69.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

We are thinking of preparing a quality brochure setting forth statements attributed to the SWP, YSA, and SDS and their individual members which have appeared in numerous newspapers and magazines showing the inconsistencies existing in these groups as regards the vital social, economic and political issues facing our country today. These brochures would not be attributable to the FBI but would be given in quantity to our select friends in organizations such as SMART (Silent Majority Against Revolutionary Tactics) and YAF (Young Americans for Freedom) to be distributed at rallies, demonstrations, and on the campuses of high schools, junior colleges and universities.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

A. New York letter to Bureau dated 1/20/69 and Bureau letter to New York dated 1/31/69 reflect San Francisco suggestion regarding [REDACTED] is still pending.

B. San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 6/26/69 contains suggestion that nation-wide distribution be given to an article in the Selective Service magazine entitled "War Protestor Changes View After Vietnam".

C. San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 8/27/69 and Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 9/5/69 authorized San Francisco to send a letter to the editor of the Black Panther Party newspaper.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None specifically; however, it should be noted that President NIXON and President PARK of South Korea were at the St. Francis Hotel on 8/21/69 and the Secretary of State appeared at the Fairmont Hotel on 9/25/69 during the International

(2) Bureau (AM-RM)  
1 - San Francisco

JEB/sea

REC-58

EX-106

(3)  
4 OCT 17 1969

100-60968-4961  
EX-106  
SEC 1

SF 100-60968

JEB/sea

Industrial Conference and Japan Week Celebration. With sufficient advance notice, elements of the New Left let it be known our leaders would regret this visit and total disruption would take place. As a result of thorough informant coverage we were able to learn enough of their advance planning to alert the State Department and Secret Service who were responsible for the safety of our leaders as well as the rest of the citizenry and thus enforce controls that were so effective the New Left's efforts were a "bust".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Confidential

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 9/19/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

Classified by 2040 RUV 6/16/77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau airtel dated 9/8/69.

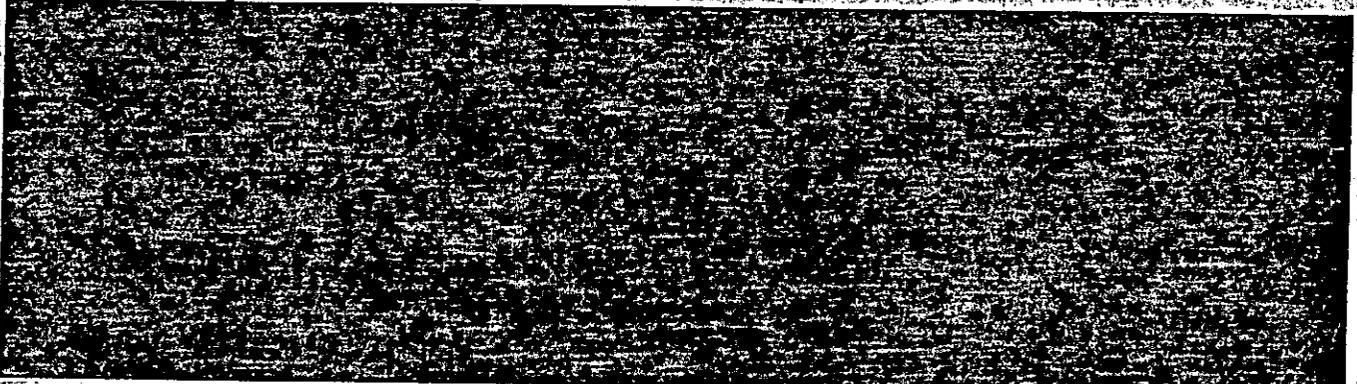
The history of the situation referred to in referenced Bureau airtel is as follows: u

The local Black Panther Party (BPP) newspaper contained an article written by DAVID HILLIARD in which he accused the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) of not cooperating with the BPP and circulating petitions for community control of police. There was some dissension among the various SDS and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) factions concerning this community control of police because they do not feel the whites should have control of the police in their area since there are more whites than minorities. There is so much disorganization and factionalism within SDS at this time that various chapters are not in contact with others and no overall policy on the part of SDS has evolved. u

The purpose of the National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism sponsored by BPP at Oakland, California, 7/18-21/69, was to organize a framework of committees all over the U. S. through which action could be taken through legal means resulting in "community control of police". Every source within the San Francisco Division and other divisions indicates that this program has been almost a total failure. The so-called "national committees to end fascism" did not materialize and, therefore, very little activity has resulted in furtherance of this plan. u

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S)

*Classified*  
7/23/77  
15



54 OCT 2 1969

GAH/APC/sea  
(5)

(157-1204 - BPP)  
(100-52152 - SDS)

17 SEP 22 1969

INT. SEC.

Confidential

SF 100-60968  
GAH/APC/sea

~~Confidential~~

As noted above [redacted] and [redacted] and numerous live informants can keep this office advised on a daily basis of any possible developments in this situation. u

- 2 -

~~Confidential~~

FBI

Date: 8/29/69

PLAINTEXT

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*WCS/p*

*C. [unclear]*

*6 [unclear]*

*ST*

*CR*

Re Bureau airtel dated 8/21/69.

San Francisco concurs that the friction between the New Mobilization Committee (NMC) and the Black United Front (BUF), would be an ideal situation for us to exploit. Both the BUF and the NMC are defunct in this area. At present, the NMC exists only in the person of security index Subject [redacted]. Local Sources have not reported any information concerning the friction between these two groups. As the date of the 11/15/69, Anti War Protest comes closer, local activists will undoubtedly take sides on this issue, at which time San Francisco will be in a better position to make more specific recommendations.

REC-128 100-449698-47-59

SEP 8 1969

EX-105

2 - Bureau

1 - San Francisco

JEB:jo

(3)

59 SEP 15 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

SAC, San Francisco (100-60968)

9/5/69

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 47 - 58

REC-42  
EX-111

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signature]*

Reurairtel 8/27/69.

Authority is granted to prepare and anonymously mail the letter to the editor of the Black Panther Party newspaper as submitted as an enclosure to referenced communication.

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

RHH: jlm  
(5) *[Handwritten initials]*

NOTE:

By reairtel San Francisco submitted a proposed letter to the editor of the Black Panther Party newspaper in which the writer expresses dissatisfaction with the Students for a Democratic Society and notes that he feels that the blacks are being used by the white New Left.

*[Large handwritten initials and scribbles]*

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

MAILED 23  
SEP 5 1969  
COMM-FBI

51 SEP 16 1969  TELETYPE UNIT

*[Handwritten initials]*

FBI

Date: 8/27/69

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

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

*Handwritten notes and signatures in the top right corner.*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel, 8/20/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies of a letter which San Francisco suggests be mailed directly to the Editor of the "Black Panther Party" newspaper, official publication of the Black Panther Party, Post Office Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco.

The Bureau will note that this letter contains numerous errors, both grammatical as well as typographical. As the Bureau is well aware, the Black Panther newspaper often contains letters to the Editor utilizing language and phraseology similar to the enclosure. It is felt that the editors of this newspaper will accept this letter as being legitimate and from one of their own kind.

*Vertical handwritten note on the left side: Let to SAC RHH/Jan 9/15/69*

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 2)
- 2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-601) (COINTEL - BN)

JEB:bas  
(4)

EX-111

REC-42

100-449698-47-58

AUG 30 1969

*Handwritten signature and initials at the bottom right.*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

EDITOR:

What's with this bullshit SDS out fit? I'll tell you what  
they has finally showed there true color WHITE. They are ///  
just like the commies and all the other white radical groups  
that suck upto the blacks and use us. We voted at our meeting  
in Oakland for community control over the pigs but SDS says  
no. Well we can do with out them mothers. We can do it by  
ourselves.

OFF THE PIGS POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Soul brother Jake

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/11/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*Handwritten initials: J.M.K.*

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/10/69 and San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 4/3/69.

## I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The recently-held SDS Convention in Chicago received considerable national publicity in the newspapers, particularly with regard to the split which occurred within the organization and seemingly the WSA/PLP faction emerging the stronger. We should do everything possible to encourage additional follow-up coverage by the wire services. In addition, cooperative news reporters and columnists on a local level should be encouraged to do feature articles on local SDS leaders and chapters, playing up the rift within SDS.

## II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

A. New York letter to Bureau dated 1/20/69 and Bureau letter to New York dated 1/31/69 reflect San Francisco suggestion regarding [redacted] is still pending.

B. San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 6/26/69 contains suggestion that nation-wide distribution be given to an article in the Selective Service magazine entitled "War Protestor Changes View After Vietnam".

## III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

A. San Francisco letter of 6/24/68 recommended that instead of [redacted]

B. [redacted] of German SDS, arrived in the U. S. in March, 1969, with the intention of remaining here.

- 2 - Bureau (AM-RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco
- JEB/sea

53 JUL 18 1969

REC-62

25 JUL 14 1969

INT. SEC. 1

*Handwritten: CC 90V*

SF 100-60968

JEB/sea

for 1 1/2 - 2 years on a speech-making and fund-raising tour. In this respect he visited the Bay Area. We suggested everything possible be done to prevent these activist aliens being admitted to this country. As a result [redacted] was not as successful as he planned and did not stay as long as he intended. He was subpoenaed before the Senate Internal Security Committee. He appeared, swore at the presiding senator, ridiculed the Committee and walked out.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 6/26/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies of an article entitled "War Protestor Changes View After Vietnam".

This article appeared on page 3 of the April, 1969, issue of "Selective Service", which is published by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. and is self described as a medium of information between national headquarters and other components of the Selective Service System.

The Bureau is requested to consider having all offices duplicate this article and mail it anonymously to those male SDS types and other New Left activists whose addresses are currently known.

*ALAN J. CHERNEY*

In connection with [redacted] the former SDS member, consideration might be given to writing in the following statement along the margin of this article, "If he can do it, why not you".

*100-449698-100*  
*100-60968-100*

*1 cc ltr. 9.2.69*

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
JEB/sea  
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC-63

REC-63

2 JUN 30 1969

56 SEP 15 1969

SI-100

REC-63

## War Protestor Changes View After Vietnam

Seven months of military life—the last five weeks in Vietnam—caused a profound change in the attitude of a former student protester.

PFC Alan J. Cherney, a California registrant, returned to the United States recently from his brief stint in combat with leg wounds and a new outlook.

Formerly a member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) while enrolled at the University of California at Riverside, he took an active part in student demonstrations denouncing American intervention and presence in Vietnam. However, when his induction order arrived he reluctantly complied, rather than face a prison sentence.

His metamorphosis began when he entered basic training at Fort Lewis, Washington. Impressed immediately by his drill sergeant, who was a Vietnam veteran, a college graduate, and a dedicated instructor, he became one of the better trainees.

Upon completion of basic training he moved on to advanced infantry training. In October 1968 he boarded a plane for Long Binh and a confrontation with the realities of the war in Vietnam.

Five weeks on the scene were enough to complete the change in his perspective about the issues he had so loudly protested.

Now convalescing back in the U.S. with lacerated feet and legs, PFC Cherney is quick to admit that the majority of his fellow protesters could not really appreciate the Vietnam situation and were motivated by "what they saw on TV or read in the papers—they have to be there physically to really know what it's about."

"To add meaning to the life of the Vietnam people today and tomorrow so that they recognize the value of freedom and won't fall for the Communist line of getting the 'American Imperialist' out of his country," PFC Cherney says, "is one of the most important things to be done."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/14/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)(100-55497)(P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT  
BUFILE 100-449698  
SF FILE 100-60968

[REDACTED]

SM-SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)  
BUFILE 105-142056  
SF FILE 100-55497

Reference is made to previous communications from San Francisco to the Bureau regarding the financing of New Left activities by universities and by capitalistic enterprises in the U. S.

By letter to San Francisco dated 2/18/69, the Detroit Office advised that [REDACTED] had been at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on [REDACTED] as a participant in an event billed as "Circus of Education." It was reported that [REDACTED] was one of a large number of speakers who appeared in this teach-in type event which involved principally a seminar type of overnight discussion between intellectuals. [REDACTED] was billed as a former [REDACTED] of SDS.

Detroit further advised that on the day following, [REDACTED] spoke at an SDS rally on the University of Michigan campus. In both appearances, but particularly in the latter appearance, [REDACTED] emphasized that the abolition of language requirements, a principal target of radical activities at University of Michigan recently, is but a minor element not worthy of serious consideration. He recommended to them they become involved in on-going protests at Michigan State University concerning the dismissal of [REDACTED]

- 4-Bureau (RM)
  - 3-Birmingham (RM)
  - 3-Detroit (100-33032) (RM)
  - 3-Sacramento (RM)
  - 2-San Francisco
- CLJ:st  
(15)

REC-31

15 MAY 19 1969

UNRECORDED COPY TO FILE

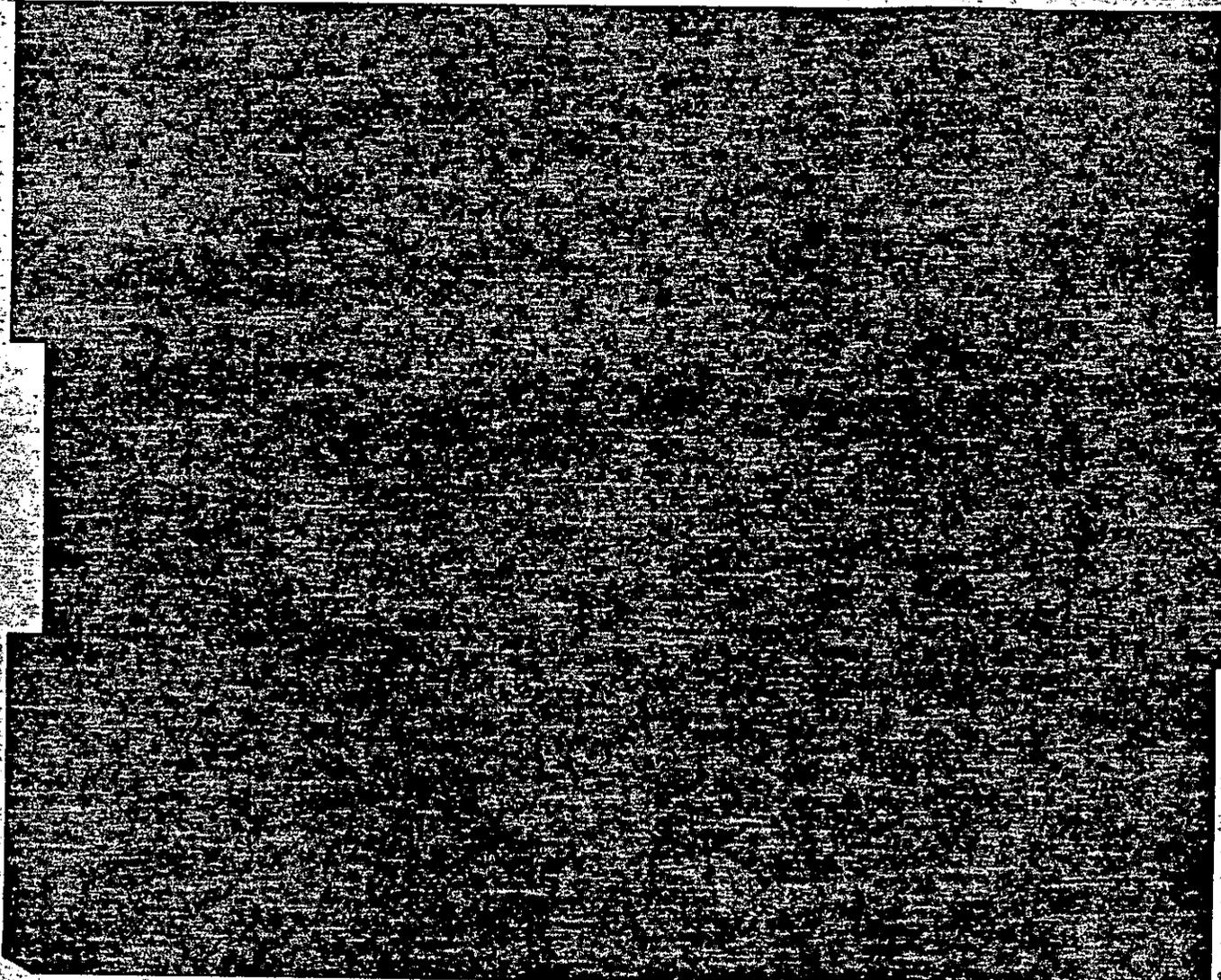
MAY 23 1969

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

SF 100-60968  
100-55497  
CLJ:st

He considered that certain professors were being persecuted and denied tenure because of their political beliefs. He wanted the students to become involved in the fight against increasing repression on campuses and warned them not to become lost in petty academic reform movements.

 went on to Michigan State University, East Lansing, after leaving Ann Arbor.



SF 100-60968  
100-55497  
CLJ:st

With regard to the investigation of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the following leads are set forth:

LEADS:

[REDACTED]

The attention of Birmingham and Sacramento is called to Bureau instructions that recordings are to be furnished the Bureau of remarks made by any Key Activist.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 4/10/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

4/4 - 10/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

Volume 2, No. 13 of "Good Times"

It will be noted that the name "San Francisco Express Times" has been changed to "Good Times" effective the enclosed issue.

*M. [Signature]*

*Handwritten notes:*  
4/23/69  
922-911

~~NOT RECORDED~~

APR 14 1969

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
  - 1 - 100-60968
  - 1 - 100-61019 ("GOOD TIMES")
  - 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

JEB/sea  
(5)

INT. SEC.

59 APR 23 1969

~~Confidential~~ FBI

Date: 3/26/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO  
SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY UNION  
IS - RU  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

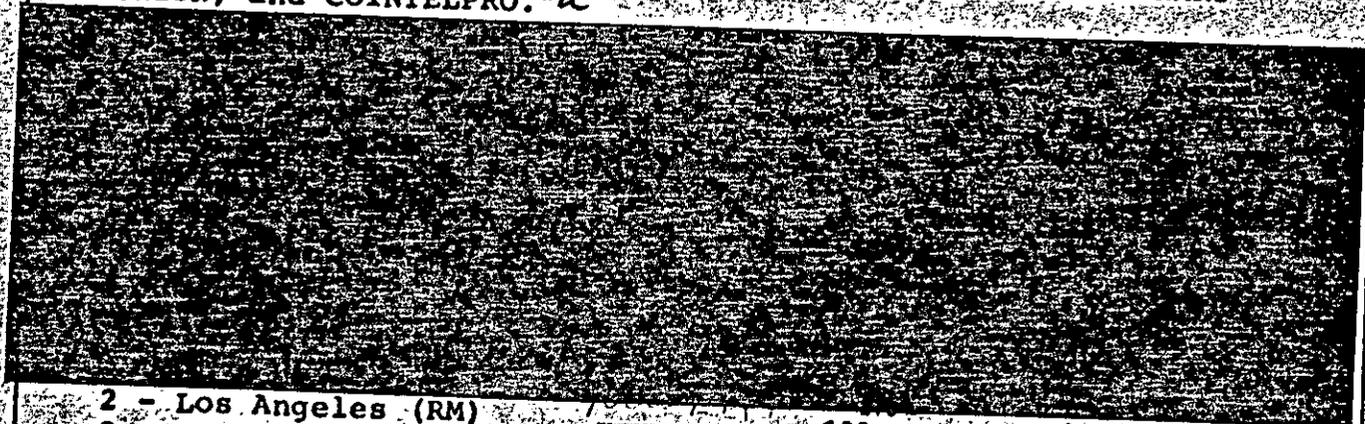
OO:SF  
Bufile 105-184369  
SF File 100-61281 (P) u

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY  
IS - PLP  
OO:NY  
Bufile 100-437041  
SF File 100-50255 (P) u

Classified by 2040 RAL 4/14/77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classified  
DATE 1-25-77

Re San Francisco airtel dated 3/21/69, "BAY AREA  
REVOLUTIONARY UNION," and San Francisco airtel dated  
3/25/69, "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY; REVOLUTIONARY  
UNION, and COINTELPRO." u



- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Seattle (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco

162 APR 3 1969

BW/cmp (100-60968 COINTELPRO)  
(15)

CARBON COPY

SEP 26 1975

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

59 APR 9 1969

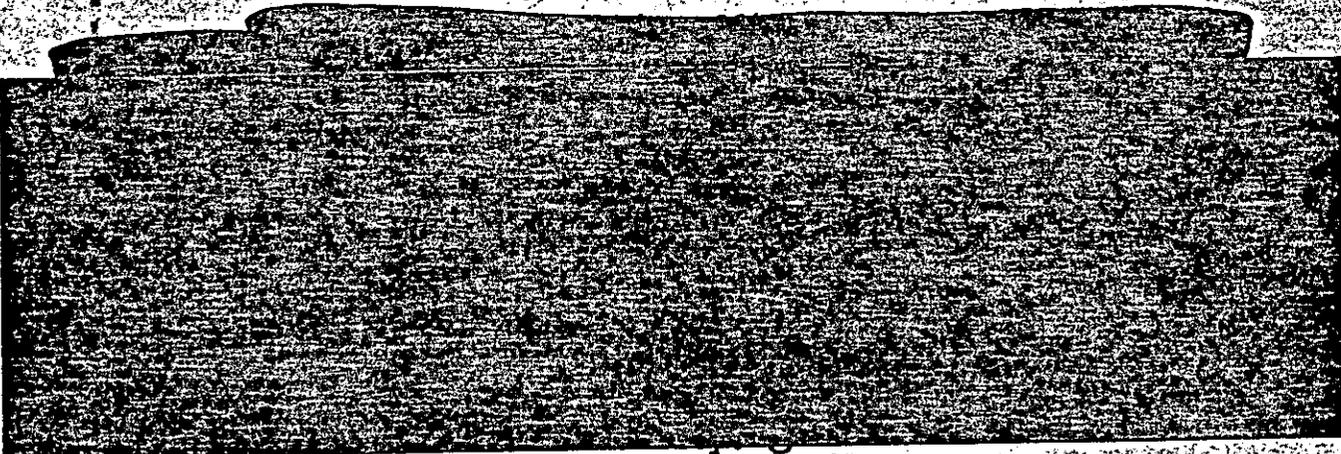
~~Confidential~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-164369-77

SF 105-184369

SF 100-50255

BW/cmp



In connection with this matter, [redacted] has advised that [redacted] planned on sending the RU documents to some 70 - 75 people around the country for their comments and criticisms. However, the identities of the individuals receiving these documents is not known to this office. However, it is known that these documents have come to the attention of [redacted] and [redacted] in Chicago and that at least the RU Statement of Principles has come to the attention of [redacted] and his group in Washington. 4



Recipient offices are requested to carefully consider this suggestion and furnish comments as to the feasibility of implementing it based upon PLP activity and informants in respective territories. New York is further requested to

~~Confidential~~

SF 105-184369

SF 100-50255

BW/cmp

analyze this suggestion in the light of the effects of the  
RU attack against the PLP on [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] likely reaction  
to such an attack. (u)

This matter should be given immediate attention  
in view of the RU's proposed surfacing date of 5/1/69. (u)

~~Confidential~~

~~Confidential~~

Date: 3/22/69 2040 ROK 6/16/77

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC SAN FRANCISCO  
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
IS - SDS  
OO: Chicago  
Bufile: 100-439048  
SF file: 100-52152  
  
BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION  
IS - RU  
NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE  
OO: San Francisco  
Bufile: 105-184369  
SF file: 100-61281

3 airtels destroyed  
1706 975

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
Bufile: 100-449698  
SF file: 100-60968

ENCLOSURE

- Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Albuquerque (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Boston (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2)(RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Dallas (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Denver (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Houston (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Las Vegas (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (Enc. 2)(RM)
- 1 - Springfield (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 6 - San Francisco

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., STATE

DATE FORW: 4/2/69  
HOW FORW: (info) WNY gdw  
BY: 100-449698-47  
100-9295

RECORDED  
8 1969

MAR 27 1969

BW:mb  
(32)

SEP 26 1975

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

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OR  
DATE Sent  
Confidential

Per \_\_\_\_\_  
INT. SEC. DIRECTOR

66 APR 5 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-449698-47

SF 100-52152

BW:mb

Re Bureau airtel, 3/21/69, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society, IS - SDS".u

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM setting forth pertinent information concerning the anti-PLP struggle shaping up for the SDS National Council, Austin, Texas, weekend of 3/28-30/69.u

Enclosed for the offices receiving copies of this airtel are appropriate copies of the enclosed LHM.u

The sources in the attached LHM are:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

It is the belief of this office that under our Counterintelligence Program against the SDS that Bureau informants attending the SDS National Council at Austin should be instructed to support the anti-PLP faction where such will be in character. These informants should also be instructed, where possible, to meet and converse with RU representatives inasmuch as the RU, after its surface in approximately May, 1969, will be making an attempt to extend its influence within SDS in various parts of the country.u

In connection with backing the anti-PLP faction, this office realizes that should PLP gain control of SDS, a substantial number of SDS people will leave that organization, however, it is felt that it is in the better interests of the internal security of this nation that no organized party gain.u

SF 100-52152

BW:mb

control of SDS thereby giving this organization, heretofore amorphous, a true national leadership which will be able to coordinate SDS activities inimical to the best interests of this country. u

- 3 -

(cont)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

[REDACTED]  
San Francisco, California

Confidential

March 25, 1969

2040. RLB 4/16/77

Category 2  
Indefinite

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

On March 9, 1969, SF T-1 advised that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Office, Chicago, Illinois, visited in the flat of [REDACTED] on that date and that [REDACTED] wanted to show them the anti-Progressive Labor Party (PLP) document being prepared by the Revolutionary Union (RU). u

Information concerning the SDS, PLP and the RU is set forth in the appendix. u

On March 10, 1969, SF T-2 identified [REDACTED] as a member of the Executive Committee of the RU. u

On March 18, 1969, SF T-1 advised that [REDACTED] of SDS, Chicago, was being sent to the West Coast over the weekend March 20-23, 1969, on SDS business and would contact [REDACTED] in San Francisco and other individuals in Los Angeles. SF T-1 advised that [REDACTED] had previously sent the RU document attacking PLP to [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED] and his group were favorably impressed by the paper, and wanted to excerpt whole pages of the RU paper for use at the forthcoming SDS National Council (NC) in Austin, Texas during the last weekend of March, 1969. u

On March 21, 1969, SF T-1 advised that [REDACTED] had arranged for [REDACTED] to work with [REDACTED] in Los Angeles, California, and that [REDACTED] had set up meetings for [REDACTED] with various groups in the Los Angeles area. u

[REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) [Signature]  
DATE 3/25/69

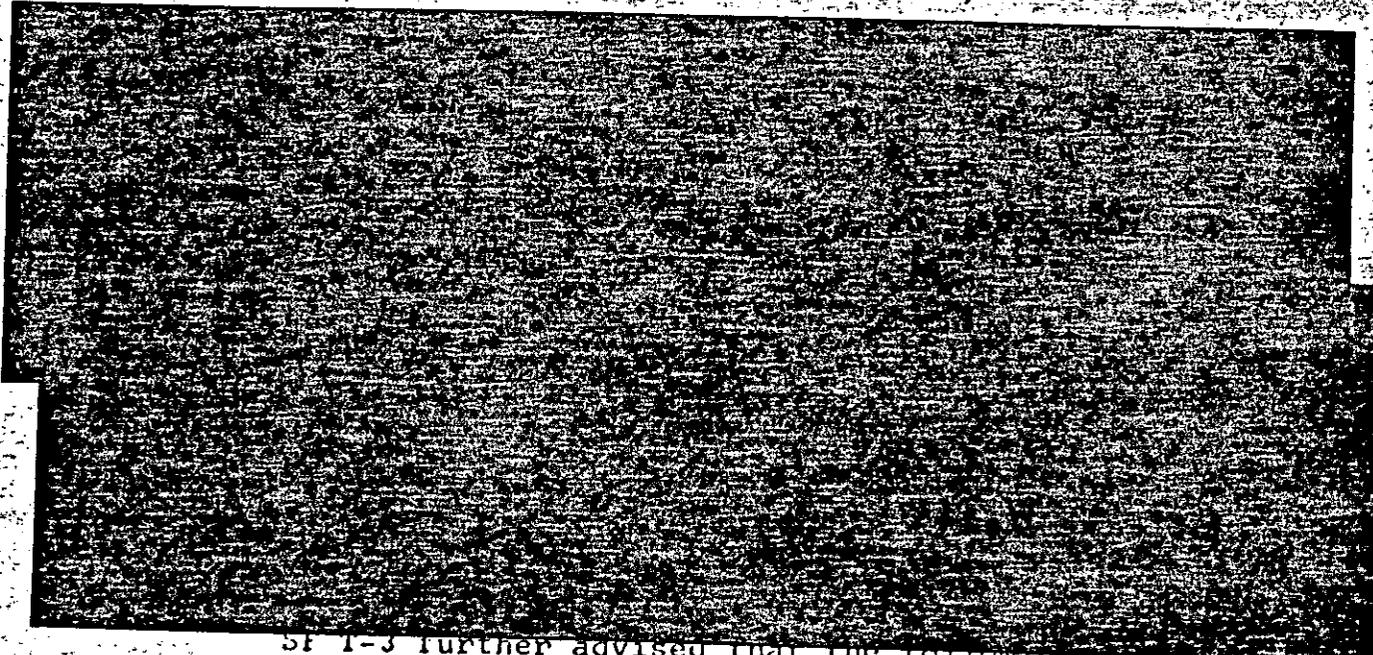
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL ENCLOSURE  
100-449698-47  
ENCLOSURE

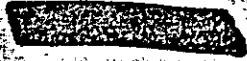
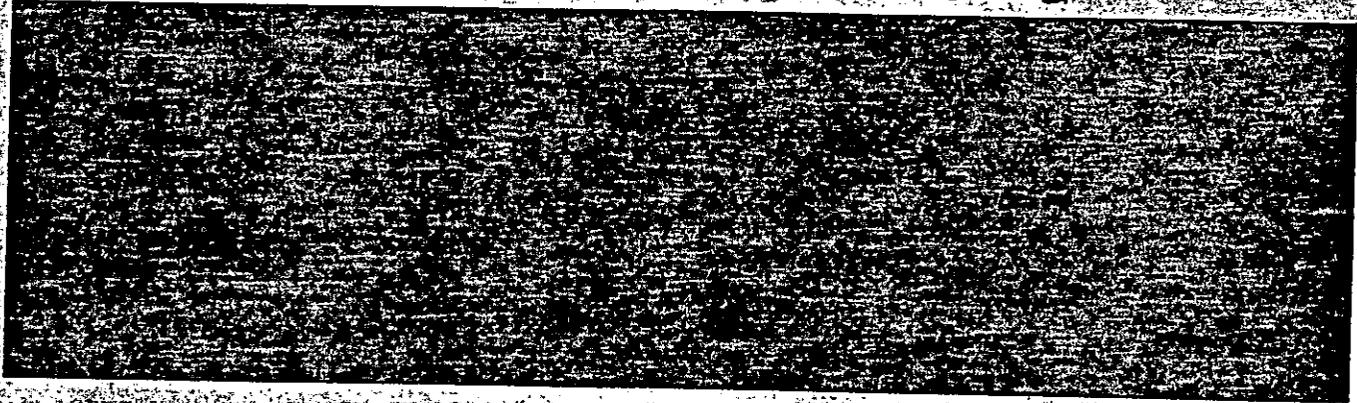
[REDACTED]

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

On June 9, 1968, SF T-3 advised that [REDACTED] attended the SDS National Convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, June 9-15, 1968. u



SF T-3 further advised that [REDACTED] will attend the SDS NC at Austin: [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], members of the Executive Committee; [REDACTED], a member of the peninsula group; [REDACTED], a member of the east bay local and possibly [REDACTED], a member of the Executive Committee. This group will go to the SDS NC in order to make contacts within SDS and to support the struggle against PLP. They have been instructed to report to the YMCA in Austin where they will be told where to go. u



1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level."

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY UNION  
Also Known As  
Red Union

A confidential source advised in July, 1968, that the Revolutionary Union, commonly known to its membership as the Red Union (RU), is a covert, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization formed in early 1968 for the purpose of instilling the line of the Communist Party of China into the political situation in the United States. The membership of the RU espouse the militant communism of MAO Tse-tung and believe in the necessity of violent revolution and open guerrilla warfare to overthrow the present political system in the United States and effect radical changes in this nation.

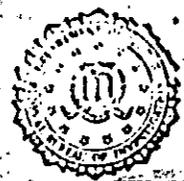
In August, 1968, a second confidential source advised that the RU in the San Francisco area consists of four locals, one in San Francisco, one in Palo Alto, and two in the East Bay area. The leadership of the RU consists of former long time members of the CP, USA whose revolutionary activities date back into the 1930's and who broke with the CP in the late 1950's, accusing the CP of revisionism. The membership of the RU is made up of radical, left-wing youths who have participated in student demonstrations and draft resistance movements. The RU looks to Communist China as the model of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and the works of MAO Tse-tung are read and discussed in the weekly education classes.

According to this source, the membership of the RU have studied and practiced guerrilla warfare techniques and some of the members have engaged in practice with firearms. The RU is against firearms control laws because such laws would make it more difficult for them to obtain weapons, and one of the leaders has stated that any traitor to the RU would be killed.

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

March 25, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum,  
dated and captioned as above

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

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

FBI

Date: 3/17/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
Bufile: 100-449698  
SF File: 100-60968 (P)

~~SM - ANA~~  
(NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE-WEST GERMANY)  
Bufile: 105-185245  
SF File: 100-62491 (RUC)

Re San Francisco airtels 2/19, 3/1, 3/6, 3/11/69, which suggested counterintelligence activity and reported on subject's activities while traveling through this area.

For retention by the Bureau and possible dissemination by the Bureau are two (2) rolls of recording tape made of subject's interview broadcast over FM station KPFA at Berkeley, California, the evening of 2/28/69, and morning of 2/29/69, which was similar to other talks the subject made.

- 6 - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (105-91354) (Info)(RM)
- 1 - New York (Info) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco

JFS/pae  
(10)

ENCLOSURE  
REC-31

100-449698-47-54

2 MAR 20 1969

Xerox copy of cover letter  
enclosed in Bufile 100-449698-47-54  
6/17/75

67 APR 10 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

1 cc placed in envelope 4-10-69

105-185245-54

SF 100-62491  
JFS/pae

A brief of this recording is contained in San Francisco LHM of 3/11/69, but actual excerpts and the tapes themselves or the entire recordings are more dramatic, give an indication of Subject's ideas, and strategy to ridicule the courts and established authority which would clearly indicate premeditation in his conduct before the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security recently at Washington, D. C.

It is felt that these tapes can be a valuable tool for use in the Bureau's counterintelligence program and may bring about changes in the admission to the United States of individuals like [redacted] who apparently hold the United States in contempt and come here to raise money to support activities against U. S. policy abroad. They might also prove valuable for training purposes.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 4/3/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany 5/10/68 and San Francisco letter to Bureau 1/6/69.

### I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

A. San Francisco letter to Bureau 2/19/69 pointed out the success at Stanford University by the Young Americans for Freedom in counter demonstrations and suggested other offices be so apprised and that discreet contacts be made on campus to encourage more of this activity.

B. San Francisco letter to Bureau 2/20/69 suggested articles written by former SI subject [redacted] be given widespread publicity.

### II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

New York letter to Bureau 1/20/69 and Bulet to New York 1/31/69 reflects San Francisco suggestion re [redacted] is still pending. This suggestion pertains to getting her fired as a school teacher in connection with her revolutionary teachings.

### III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

A. San Francisco letter to Bureau 1/3/69 and Bureau airtel 3/3/69 concerned exposing Stanford University [redacted] and his Revolutionary Union. Through a cooperative source in the news media, an article appeared in the "San Francisco Examiner" 3/23/69. Initial reaction to the article by members of the Revolutionary Union Executive Committee was one of disbelief. This matter will be followed and the Bureau advised when more specifics are known.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

JEB:hc  
(3)

REC 26

5 APR 7 1969

INT. SEC.

70 APR 18 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

51  
900

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) - 47  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 4/1/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following three newspapers:

3/28 - 4/3/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

3/25/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

4/69 issue of "The Movement"

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

REC-21

100-449698-47-57

*Encls returned  
924*

APR 3 1969

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 3)
- 4 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")
- 1 - 100-55184 ("THE MOVEMENT")

ENCLOSURE

INT. SEC.

JEB/sea  
(6)

XEROX  
APR 18 1969

53 APR 11 1969

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 3/26/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

3/21-27/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

3/18/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*MA*

*49*  
*COINTELPRO*

*send me RFLC 29  
922*

*100-449698-50*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

JEB/sea  
(5)

12 APR 1969

70 APR 8 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 3/18/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

3/14-21/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

3/11/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*11/30*

*100-449698-47*  
*MUIR*

~~REC-17~~

NOT RECORDED  
18 MAR 20 1969

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

JEB/sea  
(5)

INT. SEC.

*[Handwritten signature]*



APR 1 1969

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

VA ---03---

436PM DEFERRED 3/11/69 JOC

TO DIRECTOR (100-450008, 100-449698), CHICAGO, AND

NEW YORK (100-161443, 100-163303)

NEW YORK AND CHICAGO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-61415, 100-60968) IP

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

*WCS*

*Prints*  
CODE

*100-450008-141*

*100-60968-103*

**[REDACTED]** SM DASH SDS (KEY ACTIVIST), 00--CG,  
 COINTELPRO DASH NEW LEFT.

RE NY TEL MARCH TEN.

SF INDICES NEGATIVE RE S. PAPPIS OR SIMILAR SPELLINGS.

ALSO UNABLE TO IDENTIFY **[REDACTED]** OR SIMILAR NAME AS STUDENT  
 OR FACULTY MEMBER AT SF STATE COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF CALIF.,  
 BERKELEY, OR STANFORD UNIVERSITY. INDICES AND SOURCES ALSO  
 NEGATIVE RE **[REDACTED]** MENTIONED RETEL. SF ALSO UNABLE TO  
 IDENTIFY **[REDACTED]** COMPANION AT NY WHO SPOKE ON SF STATE COLLEGE  
 AS MEMBER OF SF STATE STUDENT STRIKE COMMITTEE THROUGH USE OF  
 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION FURNISHED RETEL.

END

RDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

MAR 12 1969

100-449698-41

NOT RECORDED  
183 MAR 13 1969

*NY FCC*

57 MAR 21 1969

COINTELPRO

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 3/11/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

3/7-13/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

3/4/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

EB/sea  
(5)

59 MAR 27 1969

~~100-449698-47~~  
~~100-449698-874~~

NOT RECORDED  
25 MAR 13 1969

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 3/5/69

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*Sho...*

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

2/28/69 - 3/6/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

2/25/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*1cc-brd*

ENCLOSURE

*Returned  
922D*

*100-449698-47*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
  - 1 - 100-60968
  - 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
  - 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

JEB/sea  
(5)

~~REC-21~~

NOT RECORDED  
17 MAR 7 1969

INT. SEC

*69* MAR 13 1969

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 2/26/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following three newspapers:

- 2/21 - 27/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"
- 2/18/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"
- 3/69 issue of "The Movement"

*retained  
922D*

*18*

*U*

*100-449698-47*

**ENCLOSURE**

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")
- 1 - 100-55184 ("THE MOVEMENT")

**NOT RECORDED**  
15 MAR 4 1969

JEB/sea  
(6)

*[Handwritten signature]*  
**INT. SEC.**

MAR 11 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 2/20/69

There is nationwide public confusion and concern regarding the revolutionary mood of youth and a genuine thirst for a basic and comprehensive explanation of its nature and growing propensity toward violence.

There is no information agency in our political structure which can research, select, and circulate many of the national studies and commentaries which evaluate the self-destructive anomalies in society.

The Bureau is the foremost agency with domestic responsibility having first-hand experience with the revolutionary nature of the alienated youth movement and an awareness of its growing propensity toward violence.

It is respectfully requested that the enclosed articles by LEWIS S. FEUER be read and consideration be given to methods of promoting their circulation through channels of the mass media.

LEWIS S. FEUER



FEUER is Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto and author of "The Scientific Intellectual" and "Spinoza and the Rise of Liberalism." He has written a new book, "The Conflict of Generations" which should be published in February, 1969, by Basic Books.

100-449698-47-49

100-449698-809



2 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 EJO/sms #11

ENCLOSURE - 110 REC 16

25 FEB 24 1969

INT. SEC.

55 FEB 11 1969

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

FEUER left the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley during the summer of 1966 after publishing a scathing attack on the administration, faculty, and students. He assailed the University of California at Berkeley as "a bastion for non-student guerrilla warfare against society" in an article in the "Atlantic Monthly" and made many predictions which are now true. FEUER put heavy blame on the Berkeley faculty's (free speech movement) resolution of December 8, 1964, which held that the content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the University. That created a "moral vacuum" he said, and "could be used to safeguard the advocacy and planning of immediate acts of violence, illegal demonstrations, terrorist operations, interference with troop trains, and obscene speech and actions. The freedom of speech which emerged, he declared, "was unilateral, a freedom for the New Left which the latter was prepared to deny to others."

Enclosed are two xeroxed copies of articles published by FEUER:

1. "Patterns of Irrationality" - A discussion of students and revolution which appeared in the October, 1968 issue of "Survey," a journal of Soviet and East European studies published quarterly in London, England.
2. "Conflict of Generations" appearing in the January 18, 1969, issue of the "Saturday Review," a weekly literature and education commentary.

LEG ST 1 09 1969

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

# Conflict of Generations

"As David wept for Absalom, many later generations were to weep for their sons. If the fathers were forbidden to send their children into the fires of Moloch, the children sometimes seemed to seek the flames themselves in obedience to a demon within."

By LEWIS S. FEUER

GENERATIONAL conflict, generational struggle, has been a universal theme of history. Unlike class struggle, however, the struggle of generations has been little studied and little understood. Labor movements have a continuous and intelligible history. Student movements, by contrast, have a fitful and transient character, and even seem lacking in the substantial dignity which a subject of political sociology should have. The student status, unlike that of the workman, is temporary; a few brief years, and the quantum-like experience in the student movement is over. Nevertheless, the history of our contemporary world has been basically affected by student movements. Social revolutions in Russia, China, and Burma sprang from student movements, while governments in Korea, Japan, and the Sudan have fallen in recent years largely because of massive student protest. Here, then, is a recurrent phenomenon of modern times which challenges our understanding.

Generational struggle demands categories of understanding unlike those of the class struggle. Student movements are born of vague, undefined emotions which seek for some issue, some cause, to which to attach themselves. A complex of urges—altruism, idealism, revolt, self-sacrifice, and self-destruction—searches the social order for a strategic avenue of expression. Labor movements have never had to search for issues in the way student movements do. The

Lewis S. Feuer is a professor of sociology at the University of Toronto. This article is adapted from chapters 1 and 10 of his book, *The Conflict of Generations*, to be published next month by Basic Books.

wage demands and the specific grievances of workmen are born directly of their conditions of life. But the conflict of generations derives from deep, unconscious sources, and the outlook and philosophy of student movements are rarely materialistic. If labor seeks to better its living conditions as directly as possible, student movements sacrifice their own economic interests for the sake of a vision of a nobler life for the lowliest. If historical materialism is the ideology of the working class, then historical idealism is the ideology of student movements. If "exploitation" is the master term for defining class conflict, then "alienation" does similar service for the conflict of generations.

WE may define a student movement as a congregation of students inspired by aims which they try to explicate in a political ideology, and moved by an emotional rebellion in which there is always present a disillusionment with and rejection of the values of the older generation. Moreover, the members of a student movement have the conviction that their generation has a special historical mission to fulfill where the older generation, other elites, and other classes have failed.

To their own consciousness, students in student movements have been the bearers of a higher ethic than the surrounding society. Certainly they are at odds with the "social system." As Walter Weyl said: "Adolescence is the true day for revolt, the day when obscure forces, as mysterious as growth, push us, trembling, out of our narrow lives into the wide throbbing life beyond self." No society altogether succeeds in molding the various psychological types which comprise it to conform to its material,

economic requirements. If there were a genuine correspondence between the material economic base and the psychological superstructure, then societies would be static, and basic social change would not take place. In every society, those psychological types and motivations which the society suppresses become the searching agents of social change. Thus, psycho-ethical motives, which are not only independent of the socioeconomic base but actually contrary to the economic ethics that the social system requires, become primary historical forces.

The Russian revolutionary student movement is the classic case of the historic workings of the ethical consciousness. When in the 1860s and 1870s several thousand student youth, inspired by feelings of guilt and responsibility for the backward people, embarked on their "back-to-the-people" movement, it was a collective act of selfless idealism.

The students' ethical consciousness was utterly independent of class interests and class position. The largest single group among those who were arrested in the back-to-the-people movement from 1873 to 1877 were children of the nobility. They could have availed themselves of the ample openings in the governmental bureaucracy. Instead, many of them chose a path of self-sacrifice and suffering. Rebuffed by the peasants, the revolutionary student youth later gave themselves to the most extreme form of individual terrorism. And when terrorism failed to produce the desired social change, circles of student intellectuals provided the first nuclei of the Social Democratic party. Lenin, aptly said that the intellectuals brought a socialist consciousness to the workers, who by themselves would not have gone

SB/January 18, 1969

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educated, the most disciplined and cultured—and essentially middle-class—Negro students who took the self-sacrificing initiative. In the next years came movements which resembled even more the “back-to-the-people” movement of the Russian studentry. The freedom riders of 1961, the several hundred white students in the Mississippi summer project of 1964 risking their lives to establish freedom schools among the Negroes, were descendants in spirit of the Russian students of the preceding century.

Nonetheless, the duality of motivation which has spurred student movements has always borne its duality of consequence. On the one hand, student movements during the past 150 years have been the bearers of a higher ethic for social reconstruction, of altruism, and of generous emotion. On the other hand, with all the uniformity of a sociological law, they have imposed on the political process a choice of means that are destructive both of self and of the goals which presumably were sought. Suicidalism and terrorism have both been invariably present in student movements. A youth-weighted rate of suicide is indeed characteristic of all countries in which large-scale revolutionary student movements are found. In what we might call a “normal” country or one in which there is a “generational equilibrium,” suicide, as Louis Dublin said, “is much more prevalent in advanced years than during youth.” But a “normal” country is one without a revolutionary student movement. Where such movements have existed, where countries are thus characterized by a severe conflict of generations, the rate of suicide has been highest for the youthful group. Nihilism has tended to become the philosophy of student movements not only because it constitutes a negative critique of society but because it is also a self-critique moved by an impulse toward self-annihilation.

Every historical era tends to have its own most significant choices, but the double-edged choice which confronts student movements is perhaps best expressed in the title of an essay by Ivan Turgenev, *Hamlet and Don Quixote*, written as the Russian student movement was being born. For Hamlet, with his negation, destructive doubt, and intellect turned against himself, was indeed the suicidal pole in the Russian student character, whereas Don Quixote, with his undoubting devotion to an ideal, his readiness to fight for the oppressed and to pit himself against all social institutions, represented the messianic, back-to-the-people component. The Russian student activist, like his successor, oscillated between these polar impulses; rejected by the people, he would often find in terrorism a sort of synthesis, for thereby he could assail a social institution in a

self. Don Quixote thus became a student terrorist. When his ventures in or miscarried, his passions turned against himself; in the last act, he was Hamlet destroying himself. Yet Turgenev believed that if there were no more Don Quixotes the book of history would be closed.

A student movement thus is founded upon a coalescence of several themes and conditions. It tends to arise in societies which are gerontocratic—that is, where the older generation possesses a disproportionate amount of economic and political power and social status. Where the influences of religion, ideology, and the family are especially designed to strengthen the rule of the old, an uprising of the young will be most apt to occur. A gerontocratic order, however, is not a sufficient condition for the rise of a student movement. Among other factors, there must also be a feeling that the older generation has failed. We may call this experience the process of the “de-authoritization” of the old. A student movement will not arise unless there is a sense that the older generation has discredited itself and lost its moral standing. The Japanese student movement which arose after the Second World War was based on the emotional trauma which the young students had experienced in the defeat of their country. Traditional authority was discredited as it never had been before; their fathers, elders, teachers, and rulers were revealed as having deceived and misled them. Japan in 1960 was far more technologically advanced than it had been in the Twenties, and also far more democratic. Yet because in 1960 the psychological hegemony of the older generation was undermined, there arose a large student movement where there had been none previously.

A STUDENT movement, moreover, tends to arise where political apathy or a sense of helplessness prevails among the people. The young feel that the political initiative is theirs, especially in countries where the people are illiterate. The educated man has an inordinate prestige in a society of illiterates. Throughout human history, whenever people of a society have been overwhelmingly illiterate and voiceless, the intellectual elite has been the sole rival of the military elite for political power.

This brings us to what is most significant for the theory of social change—namely, the consequences of the superimposition of a student movement on a nationalistic, peasant, or labor movement. Every student movement tries to attach itself to a “carrier” movement of much more major proportions—such as a peasant, labor, nationalist, racial, or

“The Japanese student movement which arose after the Second World War was based on the emotional trauma which the young students had experienced in the defeat of their country.”

beyond trade union aspirations. The intellectuals Lenin referred to were indeed largely the self-sacrificing revolutionary students.

The universal themes of generational revolt, which cut across all societies, produced in Russia a “conflict of generations” of unparalleled intensity because of special social circumstances. The Russian students lived their external lives in a social reality which was absolutist, politically tyrannical, and culturally backward; internally, on the other hand, they lived in a milieu imbued with Western cultural values. Their philosophical and idealistic aims transcended the social system, and were out of keeping with it. The Government opened universities to provide recruits for its bureaucracy. Some students followed the appointed path, but the universities became the centers not only for bureaucratic education but for revolutionary dedication. The idealistic student as a psychological type rebelled against the specifications of the social system.

The civil rights movement in the United States has likewise owed much to students as the bearers of an ethical vocation in history. A wave of sit-ins which spread through Negro college towns began on February 1, 1960, when four freshmen from the all-Negro Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at the lunch counter of the local Woolworth dime store. The surrounding community was

posed on the carrier wave in physics. But the superimposition of waves of social movements differs in one basic respect from that of physical movements. The student movement gives a new qualitative character and direction to social change. It imparts to the carrier movement a quality of emotion, dualities of feeling, which would otherwise have been lacking. Emotions issuing from the students' unconscious, and deriving from the conflict of generations, impose or attach themselves to the underlying political carrier movement, and channel it in strange directions. Given a set of alternative paths—rational or irrational—for realizing a social goal, the direction of a student movement will tend toward the most irrational means to achieve the end.

In the case of the Russian student movement, it was the opinion of the most distinguished anarchist, Peter Kropotkin, that "the promulgation of a constitution was extremely near at hand during the last few months of the life of Alexander II." Kropotkin greatly admired the idealism of the Russian students, yet he felt their intervention had been part of an almost accidental chain of circumstances that had defeated Russia's hopes. Bernard Pares, the historian, who had witnessed the masochist terrorist characteristics of the Russian students at first hand, wrote: "The bomb that killed Alexander II put an end to the faint beginnings of Russian constitutionalism." A half-hour before the Czar set out on his last journey on March 1, 1881, he approved the text of a decree announcing the establishment of a commission likely to lead to the writing of a constitution. Instead, the students' act of Czar-killing and self-killing brought into Russian politics all the psychological overtones of sons destroying their fathers; their dramatic idealism projected on a national political scale the emotional pattern of "totem and taboo," the revolt and guilt of the primal sons Freud described.

STUDENT revolutionary leaders made their debut in world literature in the novel *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo. The traits of the student activist, this new psychological type, were delineated there for all time. With a few changes, the characters of the Parisian student movement of the 1830s are identical with those of the Russian movement of the 1890s, the Chinese movement of 1917, and the Berkeley movement of 1964. The psychological types in history are universal; in diverse eras the same cast of characters acts out eternal human drives. Thus Victor Hugo describes the student revolutionary

students' idealism has tended to shape decisively their political expression. . . . Whenever a set of alternative routes toward a given end presents itself, a student movement will usually choose the one that involves a higher measure of violence or humiliation directed against the older generation.

activists in their secret circle, the Friends of A.B.C. . . .

It was a secret society, in a state of embryo, and we might almost call it a coterie, if coterie produced heroes. Most of the Friends of the A.B.C. were students who maintained a cordial understanding with a few workmen. These young men formed a species of family through their friendship.

[Their leader, Enjolras, twenty-two years old, the scion of a wealthy family] was angelically beautiful, and looked like a stern Antinous. You might have fancied that he had gone through the revolutionary apocalypse in some previous existence. He knew the traditions of it like an eye-witness.

He was of a pontifical and warlike nature, strange in a young man; he was a churchman and a militant; from the immediate point of view a soldier of democracy, but, above the contemporary movement, a priest of the ideal. He was serious, and did not appear to know that there was on the earth a being called woman. He had only one passion, justice, and only one thought, overthrowing the obstacle. On the Mons Arcadius, he would have been Gracchus; in the Convention, he would have been Saint-Just. . . . He was severe in his pleasures, and before all that was not the Republic he chastely lowered his eyes. . . .

Saint-Just, the *enfant terrible* of the French Revolution, was indeed, as Victor Hugo perceived, the precursor of the revolutionary student leaders. Twenty-four years old in 1793, the youngest man in the Convention, he overawed it as "an idea energized by a passion," deporting himself as one above humanity. Only a short time earlier, he had run away to Paris with his mother's silver and written an epic of pornopolitics, the *Organt*, in twenty cantos, which interspersed its critique of kings and priests with long scenes of passion, "the raping of nuns, and discourses on the right to pleasure." The university students at Rheims, where he studied law, were drawn to the character and leadership of Saint-Just, and took him as their hero. He evidently had a passion for equality, the back-to-the-people spirit of the student activist, and was said to walk the roads in all weathers to bring help to needy families.

Young Saint-Just had the austerity of death-seeking. "I am going to get myself

killed," he said as he left Paris for the armies, and he voiced his sense of alienation: "The man who is compelled to isolate himself from his fellow-beings, and even from his own thoughts, finds anchorage in time to be." A skeptic at twenty, an idealist at twenty-two, an executioner at twenty-five—and himself executed the next year—the student leader Saint-Just, who declared, "*Formons la cité*" ("Let us found the city"), became instead the symbol for inflexible terrorist dictatorship.

From the combination of youth, intellectuality, and altruistic emotion, arise certain further basic traits of student movements. In the first place, a student movement, unlike a labor movement, has at its inception only a vague sense of its immediate goals. It emerges from a diffused feeling of opposition to things as they are. It is revolutionary in emotion to begin with, and because its driving energy stems largely from unconscious sources, it has trouble defining what it wants. A Japanese student leader of many years' standing, Shigeo Shima, remarked: "One cannot understand the student movement if one tries

(Continued on page 66)

Students demonstrating in St. Petersburg, 1907—"The Russian revolutionary student movement is the classic case of the historic workings of the ethical consciousness."

—Historical Pictures Series

Continued from page 55

to understand it in terms of the labor movement. The strength of the student movement lies in its energy of consciousness trying to determine existence, instead of the other way around. An intellectual has been defined as a person whose consciousness determines his existence; in the case of the young intellectuals of a student movement, we might add that their ideological consciousness is founded on the emotional unconscious of generational revolt.

To the young student of a backward country whose mind is filled with the most advanced ideas, there is a heightened sense of the contradictions, the unfitness of things. In the stagnant world of Russia after the Decembrist defeat of 1825, Alexander Herzen wrote, "children were the first to raise their heads." Around them was a people, "frightened, weak, distracted" with its bureaucracy of "cringing officials." Not so the children. What impressed them was the complete contradiction of the words they were taught with the facts of life around them. Their teachers, their books, their university spoke one language and that language was intelligible to heart and mind. Their father and mother, their relations and all their surroundings spoke another with which neither mind nor heart was in agreement—but with which the dominant authorities and financial interests were in accord.

This contradiction between education and ordinary life nowhere reached such proportions as among the nobility of Russia. It is important to bear in mind that the culture of the student movements, of the intellectual elite, is the one genuinely international culture. Students at any given time throughout the world tend to read the same books. We might call this the law of the universality of ideas, or the law of universal intellectual fashions; or the maximum rate of diffusion for intellectual culture. At any rate, the Chinese students of 1917, like their counterparts in America and Britain, were reading Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, and later Lenin and Marx; earlier they had read Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Spencer. Kwame Nkrumah as a university student in America and Britain studied Marx and logical positivism; Jomo Kenyatta sunk himself in the writings of Marx and Malinowski. Today in Africa the young students, like their fellows in France, the United States, and Japan, read Marx, Camus, and the existentialist writers. In the Soviet Union, young university students try to find copies of Camus and Freud, and, overcoming the obstacles imposed by the Government against the free flow

intellectual community.

In this sphere of the intellect, historical materialism is clearly invalid, for the mode of production of the given society does not determine its mode of reading. Whatever the economic conditions, no matter how they vary from country to country, intellectuals tend to adopt the same ideas everywhere. In this sense, ideas resemble fashions: like the dress designs set in Paris, they diffuse rapidly throughout the rest of the world. Thus, an international intellectual culture arises, and a world-wide community of intellectuals. The aftermath of World War I set Japanese students reading the socialistic works of Bernard Shaw and Henri Barbusse. The Thirties brought Eliot, Hemingway, and Steinbeck; and after the Second World War, Camus, Sartre, Beauvoir, Arthur Miller, Norman Mailer, and Graham Greene. The intellectual is what he reads, and in all societies his world of books, with its moral imperatives, has seemed more real to him than the world of men.

Every student movement, however, also has a populist ingredient. A student movement always looks for some lowly oppressed class with which to identify psychologically. Whether it be to the peasantry, the proletariat, or the Negro, the students have a tremendous need to offer themselves in a self-sacrificial way, to seek out an exploited group on whose



behalf their sacrifices will be made. Conceiving of themselves as deceived, exploited sons, they feel a kinship with the deceived and exploited of society as a whole.

The Russian revolutionary student movement—the classical case—was periodically returning to the people, first the peasantry, later the proletariat, beginning in the 1860s with Herzen's cry, "V narod!" ("To the people!"). This Populist stage answers that vague emotional need for identification which is felt in advance of any political ideology. The identification with the people assuages the students' own sense of guilt. For this is then not simply a generational uprising, a rebellion against the fathers, but a movement on behalf of the people sanctified by the very ethic which the fathers themselves have professed but betrayed. The people, the proletariat, the peasantry, become a kind of projective alternative conscience which supersedes the fathers. Moreover, they are a

unhappy, and they give to the young intellectuals a feeling of being alienated from the physical sources of life. The students by themselves feel too weak to alter the structure of a society ruled by the older generation. Perhaps, in the psychoanalytical metaphor, this identification with a lower class assuages the castrational fears aroused by the students' revolt against their fathers.

THE populist and elitist moods in student movements can merge into a morbid self-destructive masochism, as they did, for instance, among the Russian students. The burden of guilt which a generation in revolt takes upon itself is immense, and it issues in perverse and grotesque ways. Nevertheless, something would be lost in our understanding of student movements if we were to see in them solely a chapter of history written on an abnormal theme. For student movements, let us remember, are the most sincerely selfless and altruistic which the world has seen. A student is a person who, midway between childhood and maturity, is imbibing the highest ideals and hopes of the human cultural heritage; moreover, he lives in comradeship with his fellow students, usually the last communal fellowship he will experience. The student feels that he will then enter into a maelstrom of competitive and bureaucratic pseudo-existence; he has a foreboding that he will become alienated from the self he now is. Articulate by education, he voices his protest. No edict in the world can control a classroom. It is everywhere the last free forum of mankind. Students meet together necessarily, think together, laugh together, and share a common animus against the authorities.

Curiously, generational consciousness was not clearly recognized as a mainspring of social change in modern times until the first stirrings of the Russian student movement. It was in Russia that men became dated by their generations: one was a man of the 'Forties,' the 'Sixties,' the 'Eighties.' Rudin, in Turgenyev's novel of that name as Kropotkin says, "was a man of the forties, nurtured upon Hegel's philosophy, and developed under the conditions which prevailed under Nicholas I, when there was no possibility whatever for a thinking man to apply his energy, unless he chose to become an obedient functionary of an autocratic, slave-owning state."

Often a generation's consciousness is shaped by the experience of what we might call the "generational event." To the Chinese Communist students of the early Thirties, for instance, the "Long March" with Mao Tse-tung was what one writer called their "unifying event." More than class origin, such a historical experience impresses itself on the con-

marked a generation in its coming of age. But the character of the historical experience was most important. What keeps generational consciousness most intense is the sense of generational martyrdom, the experience of seeing one's fellow-students assaulted, killed, imprisoned, by armed deputies of the elder generation. Whether in Russian, Chinese, or Latin American universities, or at Berkeley, the actual physical clash made students frenzied with indignation. The youthful adolescent resents the elders' violence, especially for its assault upon his new manhood. Student movements make of their martyrs the high symbols of a common identity. The Iranian Students' Association, for example, published a leaflet in their exile to commemorate "Student Day" for three of their comrades. Its language was that of the martyrology of generational consciousness:

The three students died but their memory and their heroic sacrifice will forever remain with us to guide the student movement of Iran. To honor their memories and to rededicate ourselves to the cause for which they gave their lives, this day will always be honored. . . .

Every student movement has cherished similar memories of brothers whom their fathers destroyed.

The generational struggle in politics, as a universal theme in human history, was naturally recorded by the earliest masters of political science, Plato and Aristotle, both of whom recognized its primacy as an independent factor in political change. To Plato, generational struggle constituted virtually the basic mechanism in political change, the always disequilibrating factor in systems of government, the prime agent in the alternation of political forms. To Aristotle, the psychological sources of generational conflict made for its universality. Generational conflict, in Aristotle's view, basically stemmed from the structure of the generations. The young, he wrote, love honor and victory "more than they love money, which indeed they love very little, not having yet learnt what it means to be without it. . . ." Political revolutions, according to Aristotle, were caused not only by the conflict of rich and poor but by the struggle between fathers and sons. He documented the embittered strain between the generations as revealed in their proverbs and maxims: "Nothing is more foolish than to be the parent of children"; "Never show an old man kindness."

Indeed, the concept of wisdom as it was first formulated in antiquity by the

generational pride and rebellion; the son was to be his father's good pupil. Thus, history's first document on the principles of right conduct, the Maxims of Ptahhotep, were already concerned with the conflict of generations. As Ptahhotep, a man of the Establishment, evidently Grand Vizier to the Pharaoh Iseki of the Fifth Dynasty in the twenty-seventh century B.C., set down the wisdom of a lifetime, he bade youth listen to their fathers: "How worthy it is when a son hearkens to his father! If the son of a man receives what his father says, none of his projects will miscarry. . . ." The Hebrew Proverbs echoed Ptahhotep's wisdom, yet wisdom proved feeble against the forces of generational uprising. As David wept for Absalom, many later generations were to weep for their sons. If the fathers were forbidden to send their children into the fires of Moloch, the children sometimes seemed to seek the flames themselves in obedience to a demon within.

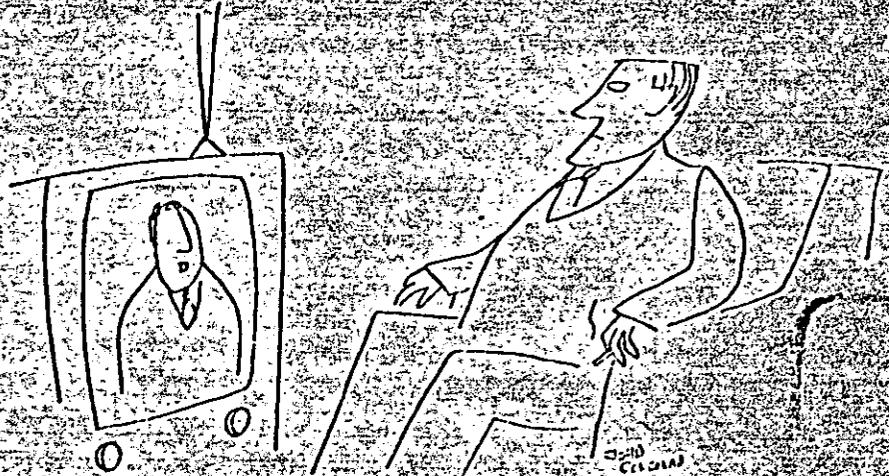
ONE can have generational equilibrium as well as a generational struggle; we must ask, therefore, what accounts for the breakdown of generational equilibrium and the emergence of overt struggle. Age differences in and of themselves do not necessitate the outbreak of generational conflict and the heightening of generational consciousness.

There can be little doubt that the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath were the prime factors in the disruption of the generational equilibrium in Europe. In their wake came not only the German movement of Karl Follen but also the Young Italy of Giuseppe Mazzini. No previous age in European history would have so honored the word "young"; youth, with its romantic enthusiasm, displaced the old with its conceived mission to rule. Secret societies of the young appeared; they brooded on

July, exhibited. At the Royal College of Genoa which he attended, the students "were principally preoccupied with the problem of how to overthrow authority." They learned they could do so "if only they were bold enough." A day before he was sixteen years old, in 1820, at the University of Geneva, Giuseppe helped organize a disturbance in the University Church over some trivial question of seating arrangements; he enjoyed his first arrest. The next year, in a more back-to-the-people spirit, he and his fellow-students demonstrated on behalf of the Carbonari revolt in Piedmont.

Mazzini and his fellow-students read Byron and Rousseau; he wept at the sorrows of Goethe's suicidal hero Werther. But self-destruction was more than romantic fantasy for the young student activists. Mazzini's close friend, the student Jacopo Ruslini, killed himself in disillusionment over the betrayal of comrades in Young Italy; his eldest brother too committed suicide as a student at Geneva. Young Italy drew its barrier between the generations; it excluded those over forty from its ranks and avowed that its sense of mission was not only to liberate the Italian people from foreign oppression but to liberate themselves from the old. They took to conspiracy and terrorism. Mazzini told Charles Albert of Sardinia: "Blood calls for blood, and the dagger of the conspirator is never so terrible as when sharpened upon the touchstone of a martyr." Thus the student movement was impelled to superimpose the irrational patterns of its general revolt on the movement for an independent Italian nation.

It was during the political reaction after the French Revolution that generational consciousness first became pronounced. The chronicles of the Old Testament had made use of the concept "generation," but theirs was primarily a



"Stay tuned immediately following the Presidential inauguration ceremonies, when we will present the all new, improved afternoon news."

and so. . . The "generation of 1830" wrote George Braudes, "had heard their childhood of the great events of the Revolution, had known the Empire, and were sons of heroes or victims." Now they saw the new order, bourgeois, timid, colorless, middle-class. An earlier youth had gone through Europe creating with its armies a new Europe and a new dream of freedom. Now the bourgeoisie ruled with its omnipotence of economic interests, the pursuit of money. The romantic "school" emerged, and it was indeed a school, for it issued out of the feelings of protest on the part of students against the social environment. The young found themselves speaking a common language "unknown to the rest of their contemporaries." They lived with enthusiasm, and with an awe and reverence for each other, unlike their bourgeois elders. "These young Romanticists," says Braudes, "felt like brothers, like fellow-conspirators; they felt that they were the sharers in a sweet and invigorating secret. . . . They were generation-conscious; their aim was to overturn tradition, conformity, order, formalism; they wanted passion, life, blood."

The conflict of generations is a universal theme in history; it is founded on the most primordial facts of human nature, and it is a driving force of history, perhaps even more ultimate than that of class struggle. Yet its intensity fluctuates. Under fortunate circumstances, it may be resolved within a generational equilibrium. Under less happy circumstances, it becomes bitter, unyielding, angry, violent; this is what takes place when the elder generation, through some presumable historical failure, has become de-authoritized in the eyes of the young.

Thus student movements have been the chief expression of generational conflict in modern history. As intellectual elites of the younger generation, they have had their special ethic of redemption, self-sacrifice, and identification. They have attained the greatest heights of idealistic emotion even as they have been enthralled by compulsions to destruction.

These student movements are more than an episode in the "modernization" of developing nations, for they can affect advanced industrial societies as well as traditional or transitional ones. They arise wherever social and historical circumstances combine to cause a crisis in loss of generational confidence, impelling the young to resentment and uprising. The unconscious ingredient of generational revolt in the students' idealism has tended to shape decisively their political expression. The will to revolt against the de-authoritized father has evolved into a variety of patterns of

movements from the more familiar ones of class and interest groups. The latter are usually conscious of their psychological sources and aims, whether they be material economic interests or enhanced prestige and power. Student movements, on the other hand, resist the psychological analysis of their emotional mainspring; they wish to keep unconscious the origins of their generational revolt. A politics of the unconscious carries with it untold dangers for the future of civilization.

WHEN generational struggle grows most intense, it gives rise to generational theories of truth. Protagorean relativism is translated into generational terms; only youth, uncorrupted, is held to perceive the truth, and the generation becomes the measure of all things. This generational relativism in the Sixties is the counterpart of the class relativism which flourished in the Thirties; where once it was said that only the proletariat had an instinctive grasp of sociological truth, now it is said that only those under thirty, or twenty-five, or twenty, are thus privileged. It would be pointless to repeat the philosophical criticisms of relativist ideology. This generational doctrine is an ideology insofar as it expresses a "false consciousness;" it issues from unconscious motives of generational uprising, projects its youthful longings onto the nature of the cosmos, sociological reality, and sociological knowledge, but represses precisely those facts of self-destruction and self-defeat which we have documented.

The reactionary is also a generational relativist, for he believes that the old have a privileged perspective upon reality, that only the old have learned through experience the recalcitrance of facts to human desire. But the philosophical truth is that no generation has a privileged access to reality; each has its projective unconscious, its inner resentments, its repressions and exaggerations. Each generation will have to learn to look at itself with the same sincerity it demands of the other. The alternative is generational conflict, with its searing, sick emotions, and an unconscious which is a subterranean house of hatred.

The substance of history is psychological—the way human beings have felt, thought, and acted in varying circum-



stances. There are those who see the dangers of "reductionism" in our psycho-historical method; they feel that the genesis of student movements in generational conflict has no bearing on the validity of their programs, goals, objectives. Of what import, they ask, is the psychology of "student" movements—so long as they work for freedom, liberating workers and peasants and colored races, university reform, and the end of alienation? To such critics we reply that the psychological origin of student movements puts its impress on both their choice of political means and underlying ends. Wherever a set of alternative possible routes toward achieving a given end presents itself, a student movement will usually tend to choose the one which involves a higher measure of violence or humiliation directed against the older generation. The latent aim of generational revolt never surrenders its paramountness to the avowed patent aims. The assassination of an archduke, for instance, may be justified by an appeal to nationalistic ideals which are said to have a sanctity overriding all other consequences; actually the sacred cause, the nationalistic ideal, becomes too easily a pseudo-end, a rationalization, a "cause" which affords the chance to express in a more socially admired way one's desire to murder an authority figure.

When all our analysis is done, however, what endures is the promise and hope of a purified idealism. I recall one evening in 1963 when I met with a secret circle of Russian students at Moscow University. There were twelve or thirteen of them drawn from various fields but moved by a common aspiration toward freedom. Among them were young physicists, philosophers, economists, students of languages. Their teachers had been apologists for the Stalinist repression, and the students were groping for truthful ideas, for an honest philosophy rather than an official ideology. Clandestine papers and books circulated among them—a copy of Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, George Orwell's 1984, reprints of Western articles on Soviet literature, a revelation of the fate of the poet Osip Mandelstam. The social system had failed to "socialize" them, had failed to stifle their longing for freedom. The elder generation was de-authoritized in their eyes for its pusillanimous involvement in the "cult of personality." Here on a cold March night in a Moscow academic office I was encountering what gave hope to the future of the Soviet Union. The conflict of generations, disentrained of its demerit, becomes a drama of sustenance and renewal which remains the historical bearer of humanity's highest hopes.

*Students and Revolution: A Discussion*

PATTERNS OF IRRATIONALITY

*Lewis S. Feuer*

WE ARE REDISCOVERING, as the essay of Leopold Labedz indicates, a truth which was well-known to ancient thinkers—the law of generational struggle. We think of Job, for instance, as in conflict with God, but we forget how he cried out: 'Upon my right hand rise the youth; they push away my feet, and they raise up against me the ways of their destruction' (Job, xxx, 12). Plato regarded generational struggle as the mainspring in the cycle of social systems, and Aristotle discussed it as a cause of social revolution. The modern era has been so pre-occupied with class struggle that it has tended to overlook the more basic theme of generational struggle. Indeed, there has been a tendency to assign to the causal role of class conflict what often has been the outcome of generational conflict. What the advent of economically prosperous societies has done is to bring into relief the universality of the law of generational struggle. Student movements were familiar enough in so-called economically underdeveloped countries, but when they acted in Japan in 1960 at a time of unprecedented prosperity, in the United States in 1964, and in Gaullist France, one could see that economic causation could be secondary to the sheer psychological power arising from the generational unconscious. Here is something which is

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about the whole, and whose reaction to 'audio-visual culture' can be compared to the horrified and scornful reaction of sixteenth-century ecclesiastics to secular culture. They are at once contesting the nature of education, its sixteenth-century methods and the sacrosanct association of forced labour and knowledge. According to them, the members of the teaching body behave like veterans of the First World War, except that the latter glorify the trenches and the war, and the former glorify the exhausting and deadening work demanded by the examination system in France, or indeed in Germany.

The second contact with society occurs when, on reaching adulthood, the young people realize that 'the experience of the older generation' has led only to chaos. Neither socialists nor liberals have been able, in half a century, to regulate a balance between the university and society. The university has been democratized, but it was not foreseen that this would have repercussions on society as a whole, or that the problem of function would differ in any way from what it used to be. The roads have been widened, but they forgot to widen the exits. I will not dwell on the 'technical' modalities of the second contact with society, which Mr Labedz has analysed very well. I should like simply to make a few complementary remarks.

However paradoxical it may seem, the events in France, at least at the beginning, reminded me more of Algeria in 1954 than of Russia in 1917. Like the Arabs, the young people have been completely ignored, whether by the state, society or simply the family. Like the Arabs, they felt ignored, rejected and despised. In Algeria in 1950, not a single Frenchman read the French-language Arab literature or press; they were not even aware that there was such a thing as Islamic political thought. In the same way, in 1968, neither the university nor the political authorities were aware of the student press or the extent of its strength and determination. Two worlds, cohabiting, ignorant of each other; adults and young people, like the French and the Arabs. The young became 'proletarianized', even, indeed especially, if they were the sons of the bourgeoisie, through their economic and social dependence on their parents and guardians; similarly, the Arabs were dependent on the colonial power.

Ferhat Abbas used to say to me in 1950: 'What good is it to me if you instal running water in my house if the house does not belong to me?' In the same way, the young people today say to the adults: 'What good are your reforms if we are not able to decide them?'

There is the same incomprehension on the part of authority (ministers, teachers, law, parents) who fail to see that the protesters want to make the decisions themselves and, like the Arabs, seek first of all to humiliate the former oppressor. A difficult dialogue and a difficult reconversion.

Finally, a word on the revolutionary capacity of youth. It was clear that the students regarded solidarity between themselves and young workers as a *sine qua non* for the progress of the revolution. It is not only

a revolt of youth, because the protest is grafted on to the international revolutionary tradition, which has already firmly taken root. It is a question of a return to the source; this is clear from the atavistic distrust of the dangers of bureaucracy, notably that associated with the 'offices' of parties, trade unions, etc. Beginning with the age-group born in 1944, this new revolutionary species has discovered, thanks to its own experience, a 'motor of history' which, in the twentieth century in the West, counts for as much as the class struggle: the problem of decision and of relations within the group.

By showing to the French people in May 1968 that they must take their destiny more firmly into their own hands, this generation has shown, like the socialists of yesterday, the problem of the alienation of labour, the alienation of knowledge, and the alienation of power within the framework of the group, the family and the state.

However, it has done more than 'those who were more experienced': it has gone out into the streets.

For many, it has provided a purpose for their lives.

### *Students and Revolution: A Discussion*

## PATTERNS OF IRRATIONALITY

*Lewis S. Feuer*

WE ARE REDISCOVERING, as the essay of Leopold Labedz indicates, a truth which was well-known to ancient thinkers—the law of generational struggle. We think of Job, for instance, as in conflict with God, but we forget how he cried out: 'Upon my right hand rise the youth; they push away my feet, and they raise up against me the ways of their destruction' (Job, xxx, 12). Plato regarded generational struggle as the mainspring in the cycle of social systems, and Aristotle discussed it as a cause of social revolution. The modern era has been so pre-occupied with class struggle that it has tended to overlook the more basic theme of generational struggle. Indeed, there has been a tendency to assign to the causal role of class conflict what often has been the outcome of generational conflict. What the advent of economically prosperous societies has done is to bring into relief the universality of the law of generational struggle. Student movements were familiar enough in so-called economically underdeveloped countries, but when they acted in Japan in 1960 at a time of unprecedented prosperity, in the United States in 1964, and in Gaullist France, one could see that economic causation could be secondary to the sheer psychological power arising from the generational unconscious. Here is something which is

truly a sociological law. For many years social scientists have been emphasizing the diversity of social systems and tending to adhere to what Karl Korsch, following Marx, called the 'principle of historical specification', that there were no trans-systematic universal sociological laws but that rather every sociological law was bounded by the domain of some given social system. An old insight may now re-emerge, that no sociological law has found its valid form until what it says is invariant for all social systems. Let us call this the principle of sociological invariance; I do not think we shall understand the phenomenon of student movements until we recognize the principle as exemplified, for instance, in the law of generational struggle.

Student movements arise in the environment of colleges and universities. These institutions may not in legal terms be *in loco parentis*; in psychological terms, however, they are the available substitutes for the students' fathers, and the revolt against the fathers seeks out by indirectness the university system, the administration, the faculty. Whether the universities be large and impersonal as in Berkeley, Tokyo, or Paris, or whether they be small as were the German universities of 1817 or even Columbia College in 1968, whether they be in metropolitan centres or as the German universities or Cornell in the United States in small villages, student movements can make themselves felt as strong political-emotional forces. Student movements, we must further note, arise from a duality of emotion; not only are they founded on generational struggle but they also express the altruistic, love-yearning of youth; they fuse Eros and aggression in the most personal form. The culture of the universities, moreover, transmitted by professors, is one which has always been 'alienated' from society; every university partakes of the oasis, ivory tower, or monastery. Whether in ancient Athens at the Platonic Academy, or in medieval Paris with Abelard, or at Columbia reading Marx and Mao with a young professor of political science, the student imbibes a standpoint of men who have chosen the academy because they have in large part rejected their times, whether Periclean Athens, or feudal France, or affluent America. The 'university culture' (as we might call it) contains a further ingredient: it cherishes and nurtures the belief that the intellectual *élite* should be the ruling one. Plato's *Republic* spoke for the alienated intellectuals of all times when it affirmed the claim of philosopher-kings to rule; every intellectual regards himself as a philosopher-king whose place has been usurped by Philistine businessmen, workingmen, or some other uncultured group.

OUT OF THIS COMPLEX psychological background issue student movements; they express the form which generational struggle takes in the university setting. It differs from its counterpart among young workingmen, for instance, who will look for new jobs, migrate, or found more militant unions for better working conditions. The energies of workers' generational struggle tend to be absorbed into the struggle for existence and the advancement of their material welfare. There is little sense of

guilt or self-reproach among them; they do not feel guilty for leaving their fathers' world because the fathers often gave them little besides poverty. Theirs and their fathers' material and spiritual universes were the same. The workingman's generational revolt is direct and personal, with a minimum of cultural trauma or crisis of value-transitions. Among students, however, generational revolt involves an intense heightening of emotions of guilt, self-aggression as well as aggression towards the elders. Usually children of the middle class, they have the guilt of living on their fathers' earnings or on those of ordinary working people around them, while they lead what, especially in the humanistic and social science fields, most of them inwardly feel is a vacation-like existence, reading books, having long discussions, arranging one's schedule of hours to one's wishes, choosing courses and professors to suit the way they would like to spend their time. Yet the university culture too reinforces and provides an ideology for the rejection of their fathers. With a large reservoir of aggressive energy made available by the lack of concrete material challenges in his environment, the student is ready and available to leave his studies for the avocation of a fractional, half-time or so, activist. Each demonstration he engages in is something of a puberty rite, or *rite de passage*; some find it therapeutic, and quickly 'get it out of their systems'; others become fixated in this situation, and then seek to become full-time 'non-students' or 'professional revolutionists' so that they can re-enact the drama of generational struggle with an allied quest for a culminating political hegemony. Added to all this is the fact that the university setting is the last community of comradeship which most students will know in their lives; the last preserve of pure friendship before one is enveloped by the competitive, unfeeling adult world. If only all society could be remade in the image of the university; every student movement is a last desperate protest on behalf of the children's world. The great teachers from Plato to Dewey who have looked to liberation from student movements have had precisely this dream of the Children's Renaissance. No wonder that John Dewey, living through the student revolt in China on 4 May 1919, felt himself alive for the first time in many years, and after two years in China remained reluctant to return to the United States where generational revolt was not taking a political form.

GIVEN THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL origins, one can understand why a self-destructive fate hovers over the evolution of student movements. The historical evidence indicates that they have probably been the most irrational force in modern history. We can show this briefly by referring to the three most consequential student movements in European history. The German student movement of 1815-1819 was largely responsible for the defeat of German liberalism for the next generation. The Russian student movement of the 1870s and 1880s was largely responsible for the destruction of the fragile beginnings of a Russian constitutionalism. The Bosnian student movement of 1914 did more

than any other group of individuals to bring about the First World War. These facts may come as intruders on our own emotions. Many of us have taken part in student movements; they are tied up with the most cherished emotions of our youth. It is therefore difficult to judge them in a scientific way, to ask with complete candour and objectivity whether these movements made a contribution or detribution (if I may invent a needed word) to the advancement of humanity. Let us at least mention some of the salient facts in the three cases I have mentioned.

Karl Follen, the first student leader of modern times, taught his entranced followers in the *Burschenschaft* that all means were justified to achieve the sacred end of the 'Christian German Republic'. One disciple of his, Karl Sand, decided to put the master's words into practice; therefore on 23 March 1819 he stabbed to death a reactionary dramatist, Kotzebue, trying unsuccessfully then to kill himself. Prior to the murder, the student Sand sketched a portrait of himself kneeling on the church steps, and stabbing himself. All Germany was shaken by his deed. The student activists hailed it, and flocked to Sand's execution; indeed, they purchased as sacred relics the boards on which Sand's blood was splattered, and for years thereafter, in a rite of a death wish, would gather with the executioner in a cottage built of the scaffold's timbers. But when the Prussian Chancellor, the liberal reformer Hardenberg, heard the news he said: 'Now a constitution is impossible!' Kotzebue's murder provoked the enactment of the Carlsbad Resolutions and the dominance of Metternich; liberties of the press and the universities were abrogated. As Walter Simon writes in his book *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement*, the assassination of Kotzebue was the most significant setback to reform because it gave credence to the view that a widespread conspiracy for violence existed, and that the time was not ripe for representative government.

The Russian student movement was the most heroic and masochistic there ever was. Dmitri Karakozov, Andrei Zhelyabov, Sophia Perovskaya, Alexander Ulyanov, S. V. Balmashev, Ivan Kaliaev, P. Karpovich, Yegor Sazonov, inscribed their self-sacrificial names beside such assassinated as Alexander II, Minister of Interior Sipiagin, the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich, Minister of Public Instruction Bogolepov, Minister of Interior von Plehve. What did they contribute to the rational evolution of Russian society? A man who admired them, Piotr Kropotkin, himself the most distinguished of the Russian anarchists, probably gave the answer when he wrote that 'the promulgation of a constitution was extremely near at hand during the last few months of the life of Alexander II'. He felt that the assassins' intervention was a historical accident which defeated Russia's hopes. Bernard Pares, who witnessed at first hand the activities of the Russian student movement, also wrote that 'the bomb that killed Alexander II put an end to the faint beginnings of Russian constitutionalism'. The propensity of the student movement for Czar-killing, bureaucrat-killing, and self-killing imparted

to Russian political life all the psychological consequences of sons destroying the fathers; the emotional inventory of *Totem and Taboo* was projected on a national scale. The Social-Revolutionary Party, supported by the peasantry, felt impelled to endorse student terrorism. Thereby in the long run it contributed to the weakening of liberal values and modes of political thinking and action.

No social scientist would suggest that Gavrilo Princip's murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 was the cause of the First World War. The rivalries and hatreds of European nations have been an oft-told story. Yet for two generations a tradition of peace had been taking root in Europe. Peaceful social democratic movements were gaining in influence; men of great stature, men of peace, such as Jean Jaurès, were growing in their influence on the European mind. It was likely indeed that Russia, if it were spared the stress of war, would evolve rapidly in a liberal capitalist direction. There was a hope in Europe that a rational society would emerge whose prophets were Wells, Shaw, Anatole France, Norman Angell. The equilibrium of Europe was unstable but the roots of a growing stability were there too. In Russia finally the students were putting aside the politics of generational revolt. Yet its echo in the Balkans was strong enough to upset the European balance of power and mind, and to set moving a self-destructive chain of events. Gavrilo Princip, student, less than 20 years old, dreaming every night that he was murdering gendarmes, enacted his heroic-masochistic politics of generational struggle, and imposed its pattern of self-destruction on almost all Europe and most of the world.

Gavrilo's act was not an isolated occurrence; it sprang from the whole culture of the Bosnian student movement, whose members made a cult of Zherajic who in 1910 had tried to murder the Governor, and then killed himself. Zherajic said: 'We are a new generation, we are new men in every way.' The student movement took this to heart in its attempts on and assassinations of the old men. Almost all such acts against Austrian officials from 1910 to 1914 were done by student activists. A pamphlet, *The Death of a Hero*, by an advocate of terrorism, Vladimir Gacinovic, was holy writ among them. 'Young Bosnia had no fixed programme or stable organization', wrote a later participant; it had instead its ethic of terrorism and suicide. The series of killings and attempts culminated in the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip, working as a member of a team of three student activists. Gavrilo too tried to commit suicide with potassium cyanide but failed. Later, in several months of psychiatric interviews, he gave abundant evidence of the strains of generational revolt which had obsessed him. But he could not comprehend the consequences of his deed, and reiterated the purity of his motive.

WHY HAVE STUDENT movements had this irrational influence on history? The answer is not far to seek. A duality of motive inspires student

activists. On the one hand, in an altruistic spirit, they attach themselves to labour movements, peasants', nationalistic, racial and colonial movements. At the same time, however, the student activists are trying to achieve the programme of their generational unconscious—somehow to destroy, undermine, subjugate, or humiliate the older generation. In their choice of tactics, therefore, student activists will be trying to achieve two goals, one allied to the aims of an underlying mass carrier movement, the other consisting of their objectives of generational struggle. Given any choice among means for achieving a given political end, from national liberation to civil rights, the student movements will always look for those means which involve in addition the prospect of inflicting defeat on the elders. Thus, a 'projective politics' arises in which apart from the avowed conscious aim there is also the projecting on the decisions of political action of one's unconscious, of one's revolt against the father. A self-destructive mode of political behaviour, accompanied by the traits which Mr Labeledz describes as a generational 'hypocrisy', develops. The superposition of a student movement on the processes of social change thus tends to deflect them from a rational evolution. Emotions issuing from the generational unconscious, deriving from the impulses to generational revolt, attach themselves to a more widespread mass political movement, and channel it into irrational directions.

We can thus understand why every student movement has tended to develop into an amoral force, advocating and defending all varieties of dishonesty. The idealistic component is very quickly subordinated to the turbulent feelings for destroying the elders; generational struggle involves feelings of guilt which are relatively absent in class struggle; they therefore take on a savagery of expression and personal hatred; by contrast, class struggles, fought over definable economic goals, are rational. All student leaders in modern history have been exponents of amorality—from Karl Follen and Nechayev to Mario Savio and Mark Rudd. At Columbia University last May, the patterns made familiar by the Berkeley student movement repeated themselves. The personal files of the President of Columbia University were stolen and photostated. Freedom of thought and speech was stamped out among the student activists. As one participant in the occupation of the Columbia buildings wrote, 'self-appointed censors' insisted on grabbing everything:

Later, when the intimidation went beyond verbal admonishments, I saw them as part of a kind of Stalinist approach to the truth that many of the radicals observed. Nothing was to be written that did not conform with the immediate demands of the 'revolution'. Every word had to follow the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] line. I was told by members of the Steering Committee that I had to clear anything written about the commune with them.

The longing for violence obsessed the chief student leaders: 'But aft-

the protests began and the days wore on and the violent intentions of some of the leadership became evident, more moderate students in the liberated buildings began voting instructions to the Central Committee to moderate both their demands and their tactics.' The moderates were told: 'You — liberals don't understand what the scene's about. It's about power and disruption. The more blood the better.' Above all, there was the generational hypocrisy, the corruption of student idealism by generational revolt; the crypto-issues were the real ones: 'But the three issues [the gymnasium, amnesty, and the University's affiliation with the Institute for Defence Analysis] were pretexts. The point of the game was power. . . . It was revolution. . . . Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment. . . .'<sup>1</sup> 'Participatory democracy' in practice was a transparent device whereby a 'highly organized minority' dominated an unorganized majority through a variety of pressures latent with violence, and compelled it to act against its better judgment.

A LAST WORD ABOUT THE middle-aged men who attach themselves to student movements in which they seek disciples. They would require a chapter in the psychology of politics. Bakunin, author of a catechism on the principles of destruction, seeking power through students, was sexually impotent, and became 'infatuated' with the student leader and murderer, Nechaev. John Ruskin, leading young Oxonians to repair a road, and sketching an authoritarian society, the Companions of Saint George, was similarly affected. Paul Goodman has written at length of how he has searched the streets and campuses to assuage his homosexuality; the 'Organized System' which he hates, and the hierarchy he defines, are a projective image of society as perceived with a homosexual's resentments. These 'youth-masters' (as we might call them) are for various reasons driven by a 'psychological imperialism' to seek out the student activists. Usually, however, they become alarmed when their student disciples draw the consequences in action of what they have taught. Paul Goodman preached violence, but when the Columbia students practised it, he decided he did not really mean it. He even decided after all his assaults on the Protestant ethic that 'maybe I am old-fashioned, Calvinistic'.<sup>2</sup> The latest youth-master, Herbert Marcuse, dismayed his disciples when they discovered that he enjoyed lecturing about revolution more than he did their practising it at Columbia. The disciples became disenchanted with their master at a public confrontation near Greenwich Village in May 1968. Their organ reported the scene:

Marcuse as the home favourite, is stripped down to white shirt

<sup>1</sup> Dotson Rader and Craig Anderson, 'Rebellion at Columbia', *The New Republic*, 11 May 1968, p. 10. Dotson Rader, 'More about Columbia', *The New Republic*, 8 June 1968, pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Goodman, 'The Black Flag of Anarchism', *New York Times Magazine*, 14 July 1968, p. 22.

sleeves, . . . ready to take on every last man who disputes his reign as philosopher-king of the New Left Republic. . . . Even Marcuse is an uptight philosopher-king as his noisy Republic seeks to hail him caesar. He tries to quiet things by noting that 'I have never advocated destroying college buildings for new institutions. . . . I advocate reformation within existing universities.' . . . But the mob seethes and someone yells that Marcuse is 'senile and infantile', only to be answered, 'you should be that senile'; etc. . . . Marcuse looks a bit grim, for he knows full well that comes the revolution of his *élite*, the first Robespierre down the pike will save the Republic's weal by presenting Marcuse's head in a basket to the angry mob.<sup>2</sup>

The succession of aged and middle-aged youth-masters is a pathetic incident in the history of student movements. Their vogue is an indication of the weakness in the intellect and emotion of student movements and student leaders. No student leader, indeed no student activist, has ever written an essay or a book which has been an enduring contribution in presenting its own standpoint, its own analysis of society. There have been Einsteins and Humes who have conceived their ideas and written their works in their twenties, and there have been great mathematicians like Galois in their teens. But not a single outstanding work of political thought has ever emerged from the student movement. The student activists are too confused in their emotions, and cannot be honest with themselves, because their programme so often reduces itself to denying whatever happens to be their fathers' world. When the student activists revolt against their fathers, they promptly therefore set about trying to find a new one among the would-be youth-masters of the elder generation. The youth-masters provide the students with oracular rewritings of nineteenth-century authors, but then the doctrine is of small importance; what counts is the instatement of a surrogate figure of the elder generation to approve of one's revolt.

Do the student movements of today represent a fascism of the left? Fascism classically has been linked with an apotheosis of the organic *Volk*, or the People; it has generally made a cult of youth, extolled violence, appealed to élitism, and ridiculed liberal democracy. The student movements repeat these themes, except that for the *Volk* they tend to substitute the Community. Also, whereas previous student movements tried to identify themselves with the peasantry or proletariat, the present movement looks for redemption either to the *lumpenproletariat* (as among the hippie section) or to the Negro race (as among its white Black Power auxiliaries) or the guerrilla fighters of Latin America, Asia, and Africa (as among the Maoist-Castroite contingent). All sections of the student movement are distributed in a sado-maochist continuum. The Stalinist theory of fascism held it was the rule of monopoly capital buttressed by a confused, vacillating middle class

<sup>2</sup> Michael C. D. Macdonald, 'The Freaking out of Arthur Schlesinger', *The Village Voice*, 9 May 1968, pp. 3 and 50.

In this sense, the student movements would not be regarded as fascist. But in its underlying emotional co-ordinates, which after all are the central ones, the fascist spirit is a primitivist one; it is the resurgence of primitivism under the conditions of modern social existence. The neo-primitivist wants to reinstate violence, destruction, and sadistic sexuality; it demands that where there was ego and super-ego, let there be id. It hates rationality and representative democracy; although advocating an elitism of the alienated intellectuals, the latter's alienation leads them to a philosophical anti-intellectualism. As neo-primitivists, they detest civilization, and feel that civilization must be abrogated in so far as it requires any renunciation; therefore, they dislike the organized working class and look to those groups which are in their estimation closest to the primitive. As neo-primitivist, the student movements partake of a fascism of the left.

The Berkeley student movement which was so outraged when I said these things in 1964 at that time was singing songs of non-violence, and occupying buildings to the accompaniment of Joan Baez and her guitar, a primitivist Pied Piper singing of the new love. Today in Berkeley the non-violence is a forgotten stage prop; the student movement boasts of its bombings. Marvin Garson, the chief pamphleteer of the now antique 'Free Speech' Movement, and the vigorous promoter of *MacBird*, writes about:

the series of successful and highly popular bombings which have occurred here recently: the steady bombing of the electric power system from mid-March when the lines leading to the Lawrence Radiation Lab were knocked down, to 4 June, when on the morning of the California primary 300,000 homes in Oakland were cut off; the dynamiting of a bulldozer engaged in urban renewal destruction of Berkeley's funkier block; three separate bombings of the Berkeley draft board; and finally, last Tuesday night, the dynamiting of the checkpoint kiosk at the western entrance to the University campus, a symbol of the Board of Regents' property rights in the community of scholars.<sup>4</sup>

If the United States were to fail to meet its problems of racial relations in a liberal, rational spirit, that failure would be largely the outcome of the actions of its student movement. If the United States were to fail as the world's centre of liberal democracy, and thereby make possible a resurgence of neo-Stalinism among both the European communist and democratic countries, and among the Asian nations as well, then the responsibility for that failure would lie in much part with the tactics of the student movement. The essence of wisdom and science is that it is not only cross-cultural and cross-class but above all, cross-generational. Such wisdom and science are now needed for the study of student movements rather than the popular, facile flight to the cult of youth.

<sup>4</sup> Marvin Garson, 'Berkeley Curfew: "Don't Box Us In"', *The Village Voice*, 11 July 1968, p. 10.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/19/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: NEWSPAPERS -- COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany, 5/29/69.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at Stanford University during the past several weeks have become concerned over the disruptive tactics of the Young Republicans and a conservative group who have adopted the name Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). It is believed that similar activities throughout the nation could greatly discredit and frustrate the SDS, which is becoming concerned over its loss of image on campus at Stanford University.

On January 29, 1969, the Young Republicans and YAF outnumbered the SDS participants in an on-campus rally and the emergence of this element challenging the SDS as the spokesman for the student body has resulted in many letters to the editor criticizing the SDS and its tactics. Two copies of the "Stanford Daily" for January 30, 1969 and one copy of "The Stanford Observed" for February, 1969, are enclosed for the information of the Bureau because they indicate the impact of the counter-demonstrators.

Perhaps the most effective counterintelligence program of the two groups is the publication of a small paper entitled "The Arena". Two copies of the January 31, 1969 issue of this paper are enclosed for the information of the Bureau. Although this paper in the past has been published through the support of students contributing small amounts for its publication, the recent highlighting of the inconsistencies of the SDS has resulted in a flood of support from alumni members, and last week a check for \$500 from one alumnus has greatly encouraged the anti-SDS group.

A logical question would seem to be: How can we encourage more of this type of counter-demonstration on those campuses throughout the country that are currently

2 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)

1 - San Francisco

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(3)

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staggering under the impact of SDS and other New Left groups? Surely there must be other campus chapters of the Young Republicans and the Young Americans for Freedom throughout the country. The Bureau might consider:

1. Advising other offices of the success achieved at Stanford, as well as;
2. Suggesting that contacts be made on a discreet and limited basis with conservative campus elements and alumni members, pointing out to them that with the expenditure of a little effort, time and money on their part that they, too, could have a countering effect to the mobs currently at large and determined to close down our schools.

*derived  
as/Granville  
WFO.*

FBI

Date: 2/19/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
BUfile 100-449698  
SF 100-60968

**[REDACTED]**  
SM - C; ANA; NEW LEFT -  
FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEST GERMANY  
BUfile 105-185245  
SF 100-62491

Reference is made to Bureau teletype to Cincinnati dated 2/18/69 which states a **[REDACTED]** of the Socialist German Students Federation (German SDS) would arrive at Washington, D.C. on 3/13/69 to solicit funds to help pay for legal counsel for students who will be arrested in demonstrations during the President's trip to West Germany. Further that **[REDACTED]** was at York University, Toronto, Canada, 2/3/69 at which time he described new disruptive tactic of German SDS designed to avoid containment by police during demonstrations. **[REDACTED]** is scheduled to travel to the United States with his first stop being Berkeley, California, and he plans on making other appearances in the United States. Referenced teletype points out **[REDACTED]** was National Chairman of German SDS and would like to remain in the United States for 1 1/2 to 2 years to raise money for an organization in West Germany concerned with providing legal assistance to individuals arrested during demonstrations.

- 5 - Bureau (RM)
- 4 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 4 - Chicago (RM)
- 4 - New York (RM)
- 4 - Los Angeles (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-62491
- 1 - 100-52152 (SDS)

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(25)

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

67 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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

*W.C. Sullivan*  
*Rafael*  
*Grady*  
*C. Sullivan*  
*Chapman*  
*[Signature]*

*Info re [REDACTED] furnished to State [REDACTED]*

*REC-19*

*Subject not in US as of 2/24/69 INS 95 tube case*

FEB 22 1969

A copy of this letter, a copy of referenced teletype, and a copy of Cincinnati airtel to the Bureau dated 2/5/69 captioned "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS; SEDITION" (which reports that [redacted] had in fact appeared at York University and was the main speaker and spoke and suggested SDS in the United States use tactics to avoid confinement by police authorities) are being furnished to Los Angeles for their information as it would be very possible that [redacted] would visit the Los Angeles area when he comes to Berkeley.

The Bureau has advised under the Counterintelligence Program - New Left that efforts should be made to disrupt and neutralize the activities of the New Left and that this is an important area in which the Bureau should operate. The information contained in referenced teletype is another example wherein it appears the United States Government does not seem able to keep out foreign troublemakers. As the Bureau is aware, we have enough troublemakers of our own within the United States and certainly do not need those of the foreign variety.

In the case of [redacted] the Government in advance has information regarding his reason for coming to the United States. He, [redacted] himself gave evidence of what he planned to do by describing disruptive tactics of the German SDS while at York University on 2/3/69 and has indicated he would like to spend 1 1/2 years in the United States making similar efforts. His primary announced purpose is to raise funds for individuals who will be causing trouble for the President of the United States in his trip abroad. It is not known how much trouble these people may wish to cause President NIXON when he travels abroad but it seems incongruous to permit an alien into the United States to collect funds that will be used to provide legal assistance for individuals who are attempting to embarrass and cause trouble for the President of the United States.

It would seem that a visa to enter the United States should be a privilege and not a right. It would seem there should be some source or some mechanics in Washington that could be utilized to get the State Department to refuse the issuance of a visa when the known intentions of such an undesirable alien are known ahead of time. San Francisco has previously suggested and recommended that such channels be developed to stop the arrival in this country of such undesirables. This was set forth specifically in San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 1/27/69 on pages 2 and 3 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT".

It is realized that sometimes it may be considered necessary to show some favoritism to a resident of another country in order to protect and make easier the operations of American citizens in those countries. However, from what is known concerning the background of [redacted] and also concerning the background of other such individuals with apparent revolutionary backgrounds in their own countries, the refusal of visas to such individuals would not appear to result in a detriment to our operations abroad.

In this situation concerning [redacted] notification regarding his presence in this country and subsequent reporting by report or LHM that he made revolutionary talks, et cetera, although it fulfills the Bureau's responsibility in disseminating information to other Government agencies it does not really go to the heart of this problem. In the case of an American citizen it is probably about all that can be done but in the case of an alien it would seem the United States Government should take steps to protect itself. Perhaps a high level call or communication from the Director to the Attorney General or the Attorney General to the President in a situation like this regarding the State Department letting in people of this ilk might have some influence on the State Department. The State Department could assist the Bureau in the Counterintelligence Program.

Perhaps there are some political considerations that are not understood by the San Francisco Office but such a simple matter as refusing these people entrance should not be too hard to accomplish. The British Government for years has refused to permit people they thought undesirable to enter or stay in Great Britain and certainly the United States should be able to do as much for ourselves.

Arrival of a person of this nature in the United States places a tremendous burden on the Bureau. The Field Offices are now sorely pressed by an extremely high case load. An additional assignment of this type is not only another burden but is costly in the use of manpower and communications, including teletypes and LHMs, which could all be done away with by getting the State Department to refuse the issuance of visas to people of this background.

In the past, previous administrations did not seem inclined to take the firm stand suggested above. Now that we have

SF 100-60968  
GAH/sea

a new administration which appears to have a different outlook, they might be much more receptive to take a positive act along the lines suggested above.

In line with the instructions contained in referenced Bureau teletype of 2/18/69, San Francisco will report the activities of [redacted] who was scheduled to be in Berkeley in the near future, and be alert to notify other field offices of possible travel.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
 FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 2/14/69

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

2/7-13/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

2/11/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*R. M. ...*  
*Re ...*  
*H. P. ... DIR (last)*

- 2 - Bureau (Encis. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
  - 1 - 100-60968
  - 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
  - 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

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(5)

*Referral Form 924 (40)* 100-449698-47

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ENCLOSURE

59 MAR 3 - 1969

*Wills*  
INT SEC.

SAC, San Francisco (100-60968)

2/18/69

[REC-47]

Director, FBI (100-449698) *787*

*100-449698-47-16*

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 2/14/69.

The Bureau appreciates the suggestions by your office set forth in referenced letter concerning possible counter-intelligence tactics against [redacted] in view of an article prepared by him in the [redacted] issue of "Life" magazine concerning a recent trip by him to Cuba.

In respect to your question whether it is possible for the Department of State or any other Government agency to take action against [redacted] for his unauthorized trip to Cuba between 12/26/68 and 1/15/69, it is noted that the Department of State is cognizant of this trip. Therefore, any action taken in respect to this trip would be under the primary jurisdiction of the Department of State.

Regarding your other suggestion that a stockholder in the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) might direct a letter to CBS concerning the support by Columbia records, a subsidiary of CBS, for underground media newspapers and New Left propaganda programs, the Bureau does not feel that this proposed endeavor would be beneficial at this time. "Life" magazine has and is currently carrying articles and photographs by individuals who appeared to support certain phases of the New Left. This magazine in its efforts to maintain a high volume of sales is willing to present any controversial matter, sometimes in a favorable light, and therefore would not probably react in a convincing manner to any letter along the lines proposed by your office.

Any further suggestions by your office under this program will receive close attention at the Bureau and you should continue to submit same no matter how unusual or difficult the proposal may be.

1 - 105-142056 [redacted]

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

REC-20  
FEB 19 1969  
COMM-FBI

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

8 APR 7 1969  
MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

[REDACTED] is a Key Activist in the New Left movement and is on the Security Index. He is a former national leader in the Students for a Democratic Society and is extremely active on behalf of the New Left movement at this time making speeches throughout this country as well as writing articles in support of this movement.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/14/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten initials/signature]*

Re San Francisco letters dated 1/27/69 and 2/7/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of Life magazine, Life. This magazine is submitted because it contains, beginning on Life an article by Life. This article being prepared by Life for "Life" has been discussed in referenced letters. The entire magazine is being sent in accordance with Bureau instructions requiring the complete publication if outside use is made of any article.

As a specific suggestion along the lines of attack discussed in referenced letters, it is believed that the actions of Columbia Records might be brought to the attention of officials of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) through having a stockholder in CBS direct a letter to CBS asking that an explanation be made at the annual meeting of stockholders concerning the reasons for its subsidiary, Columbia Records, actively supporting underground media newspapers and New Left propaganda programs. Such a letter might be sent either by an Agent who is a stockholder or by a stockholder who could be approached to do this for the Bureau. Some companies accept questions concerning company operations in person at stockholder's meetings but generally the companies desire that questions be submitted in advance. Questions and answers are frequently printed and distributed to stockholders and are often commented on again in financial and other publications if news worthy or unusual.

*Put in 300, 50  
W.P. 2-18-69*

- 4 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - 105-14205
- 1 - Chicago (Info)
- 1 - New York (Info) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-55497

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(8)

100-449698-47-46  
REC-47

FEB 20 1969

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53 MAR 11 1969



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 2/5/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

1/31/69 - 2/7/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

2/4/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*1) [unclear]*  
*2) [unclear]*  
*3) [unclear]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*100-449698-47*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

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**SF-105**  
**REC-4**

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12 FEB 8 1969

*[Handwritten initials]*

61 FEB 28 1969

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

DATE: 1/31/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

1/24-30/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

1/28/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*[Large handwritten mark]*

*100-449698-47*

*Wals  
924  
100-111111-1750*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

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(5)

~~REC-18~~  
NOT RECORDED  
3 FEB 3 1969

RESEARCH-SATELLITE

ENCLOSURE

FEB 1 1969  
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*[Handwritten signature]*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/7/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re San Francisco letter dated 1/27/68, copies of which were not furnished to WFO. For the information of WFO, referenced letter supplied information concerning the financing of the New Left by news media and capitalistic organizations and made suggestions concerning actions to be considered.

Since the preparation of referenced letter, further pertinent information along the same line has been developed.

[redacted] has advised that on 1/24/69 [redacted] a Boston subject now residing in San Francisco, was conversing with [redacted]. [redacted] is believed probably identical with [redacted] a WFO subject. [redacted] wanted to obtain a copy of the last issue of "May Day" which contains a story by [redacted] on [redacted]. [redacted] had such a copy and would leave it for [redacted] who had read the story and was intrigued by [redacted] assertion that the Underground Press is almost exclusively supported by rock (music) stations and rock (music) company advertisements. [redacted] thought these observations were true and said the evidence is available to one's eyes. [redacted] had seen no major advertisers in the Underground Press except The Record Player and Index of Records and record related stuff. [redacted] had heard it takes only two pages of advertisements to support an underground newspaper.

[redacted] commented that a lot of ex-Movement (New Left) people have gone a sort of hippie style and are now working for record companies. These two individuals agreed this was an approved avenue out of the Movement. [redacted] mentioned [redacted] (ph) who was first in the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)
- 2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
  - 1 - 100-34639

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(11)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

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12 FEB 10 1969

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then in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and then became a New York Digger. After that [redacted] was a Yippie and he now works in a "tremendous office in the CBS building for Columbia Records". [redacted] said [redacted] also writes articles for "Eye" and plays the hippie in daytime television serials. [redacted] speculated that [redacted] probably makes \$30,000 per year.

Further information developed by [redacted] reveals that [redacted] and associates are putting on a radio program on KPFA, 2207 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California, from 11:45 p.m. on through the balance of the night if required and this program is devoted to appearances by people from the Black Students Union, Third World Liberation Front and other New Left groups who discuss New Left student demands, et cetera. This show is called "Surplus Prophets".

(KPFA, Berkeley, California, is owned by Pacifica Foundation which also has FM radio stations in Los Angeles and New York. A regular commentator on KPFA is [redacted], a writer for the "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper.)

San Francisco Office has no copies of "May Day" which is a left wing magazine published in Washington, D. C. (This "May Day" magazine is not to be confused with a maritime magazine of the same name.)

San Francisco has determined that [redacted] of Washington, D. C. is staying in San Francisco with [redacted] and the [redacted] who was in contact with [redacted] as set out above was also residing with [redacted].

WFO is requested to furnish the Bureau with the copy of "May Day" containing [redacted] article, if such issue is available and has not been furnished the Bureau previously.

Further comment concerning the participation and support of the New Left by the Columbia Broadcasting System and its subsidiary, Columbia Records, is contained on pages 21, 22 and 23 of Issue 122 of news releases of Liberation News Service, New York, dated 11/27/68. Two sets of these three pages containing an article by [redacted] entitled [redacted] are being sent recipients as enclosures with this letter. This material was furnished by [redacted].

SF 100-60968  
CLJ/sea

Referenced letter furnished information that [redacted] Key Activist, San Francisco OO; had an arrangement with "Life" magazine to write an article on his trip to Cuba, 1/1-15/69, to observe the Tenth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. New York has determined that [redacted] did meet with "Life" representatives in New York on his way back from Cuba. [redacted] was reported that following [redacted] return to San Francisco, [redacted] stated to others that he was receiving \$3800 from "Life". On 1/29/69 it was determined that on 1/28/69 [redacted]

The foregoing information is furnished the Bureau and New York and Chicago for information in connection with observations set forth in referenced San Francisco letter. u

as the fact that the schools in the Ocean Hill district were the only schools in New York City to hand out leaflets to students explaining Rosh Hashana and why it was a school holiday. Yet the charge of anti-Semitism was vigorously enunciated and if Shanker and the UFT teachers are not hated by blacks it is not because they are Jewish, but simply because they declared themselves to be enemies of black people.

When black parents want to actively involve themselves in the education of their children, it should be an occasion for exultation. The UFT teachers claim that they are for parent involvement in the schools but their actions do not reflect what they say. It is impossible for blacks and many whites in New York City to feel anything except that the majority of teachers are opposed to any parent involvement in the schools. And all possibility of dialogue between parents and striking teachers is impossible as long as the

enemies.

-30-

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS NOT FOR RELEASE IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA.

#### OUTSIDE AGITATOR

By Ralph J. Gleason  
LIBERATION News Service

Columbia Records is owned by CBS. It owns the Yankees and God knows what else. Its offices are at 51 West 52 Street in New York in a new skyscraper whose walls are already peeling and cracking.

Right now it is the home of the revolution.

Or almost. It is certainly spending more money promoting the Youth Revolution than one would think possible for a standard American corporate enterprise.

was more a reflection of the hysterical than of black reality in Ocean Hill.

Just as whites are often afraid to oppose something blacks favor for fear of being called racists, blacks find themselves in the position of being called anti-Semitic if they oppose something in which a large number of Jews are involved. Political opposition to the state of Israel is invariably translated as anti-Semitism. Thus, practically anyone, black or white, who supported the governing board of Ocean Hill, was accused of anti-Semitism.

If the New York City school strike proved anything, it proved that racism within the ranks of the UFT is the problem, not black anti-Semitism. UFT president Albert Shanker was fond of speaking of "mob rule," "extremists," "militants." All of these were epithets for blacks and cannot be excused or explained away. Few Jewish leaders came forward to condemn Shanker's remarks and those who did, such as Jewish Teachers in Support of Ocean Hill, Brownsville -- were subjected to harassment and vilification by striking teachers.

The charge of black anti-Semitism was spurious, particularly in light of such evidence as the fact that the schools in the Ocean Hill district were the only schools in New York City

teachers interpret opposition to their position as anti-Semitism.

The UFT charge of anti-Semitism was merely a cloak for the unbridling of a racism of which George Wallace would have been proud. The UFT played upon the fears of a "black holocaust" and the resultant response by most whites and Jews revealed one more layer of racism for all who cared to see.

The lesson to be drawn should be clear to all blacks. Depend upon no one except your own. Assume that everyone else is the enemy until they prove differently. But don't be afraid to offer the hand of solidarity to those who have proved themselves. Those who did not go out on strike should be supported. They recognize that the schools belong to the community and have shown themselves to be willing to make that a reality.

Those who were duped by the lies of anti-Semitism should recognize that they have been duped. They will continue to be duped as long as they allow themselves to be stampeded into hysteria by demagogues like Shanker. And as long as they are dupes, they remain victims of the system. Their state of victimization, however, does not exclude them from being categorized as enemies.

Street, from the record company which withdrew Bob Dylan's John Birch lines. But the times they are a-changin' and this may be part of the change.

On the other hand, I am inclined to think only that there's money in revolution and Columbia is smart. "The only legal trip you can take," it says under the picture of a Terry Riley cover. They gotta be kidding. But no, maybe they aren't kidding, only smart.

Is there that much to be made from revolution? Marx sells in paperback like the Daily Worker never did. Marcuse sells in paperback in quantities sufficient to frighten those fearful of the power of the young.

No, the more I think of it the more I am convinced that it is only that Columbia is smart and smells money. And it only proves what we know already about America, even if we sometimes find it hard to spell out in words.

In this society if you can make enough mon-

endless sense of waiting. Didn't Dylan sing of the Chimes of Freedom tolling for the lonesome-hearted lovers with too personal a tale an' for each unharmed gentle soul misplaced inside a jail...."

I like that, it makes me think that Columbia, out there on the tube and in the big tall building is worried about us all and on our side. It's nice to have a big corporation on your side with its ad agency and its budget. Gives you a sense of power.

But I really wonder. If the revolution means what it says it means, it is aimed at the protection of the artist from the exploitation of the machine and the corporation; it is aimed at the personalization of life and against the machine; it is aimed at making human values more important than property values and human rights more important than property rights. And I think

Columbia ads divide the world into "we" and "they" with the "we" including the longhairs, the youth and Columbia and the "they" including anyone you want to include because you happen to be against him or he against you.

The most recent of the Columbia ads, running in full page spread in college papers and underground papers all over the country, is the one which shows seven guys in a bare room with bars at one end. They are sitting on a bench. Standing around. One is crouched on the floor rolling what I, in a charitable moment, not wishing to infer that Columbia Records Inc. is advocating an illegal act, assume to be a standard cowboy cigaret with Bull Durham and white Zig Zag papers. You think it's something else? Smile, when you say that Padnuh.

Some of the guys are listening to a phonograph via earphones, and the caption on the layout is BUT THE MAN CAN'T BUST OUR MUSIC.

Well, padnuh, I don't know. I just don't know. The name of the game, seen from one point of view, is steal the rhetoric of the revolution like the poverty program stole the organizers. It is hard to think of revolution being advocated from the architectural prize of 51 West 52

ey out of it you can go a long way towards making it legal. If American Tobacco had decided to market pot in the mid-thirties and saw how it would sell from a sampling, it would never have been made illegal. And the day they do decide to market it, the day they do decide the possibilities of profit make it worth while enough, the wheels will start turning to make it legal again. Remember J. Edgar Hoover said that the primary thing was laworder; justice was incidental.

Laworder means good business and justice sometimes does not. When it becomes good business, it will become legal. Lenny Bruce's bit about the lawyers who smoke grass becoming judges will help and so will a number of senators' sons busted. But basically it will be economic.

Back to Columbia and its rock revolution rhetoric. I am mistrustful. I doubt. This is CBS. This is the Yankees and long hair and sideburns are OUT for professional baseballers, the sports pages say. But then again it was Columbia who let Bob Dylan define in song the implications of that advertisement, the bars, the music, the long hair, the rolling of the joint in the joint and the

It is also aimed at Walter Cronkite and the CBS news.

I have trouble when I think of this, thinking further that the Columbia accounting department grasps that the advertisement they are putting through that voucher for, is designed to help put them out of business.

For that's where it all goes eventually. The long hair, the grass, the music, the new attitudes. It goes towards completely taking apart the system that now exists and which is founded on the money and profit mythology and replacing it with something else which is not clearly defined as yet but which is evolving, slowly perhaps but evolving none the less, from those very things the Columbia advertising budget is advocating. I suspect they are calling him Whirling Karl about now.

not bad for a starter. Make music that is a real revolution. That's a good one too. And Columbia is right as far as it goes. The man CAN'T bust our music.

-30-

17 BUSTED IN ANTI-CORPORATE DEMONSTRATION  
STORRS, Conn. (LNS)--University of Connecticut students aren't into confrontations, but they slipped up recently in their usually successful "disrupt-and-run" tactic.

Twelve people, including a chaplain, were busted Nov. 26 when a crowd of 200 to 300 people tried to disrupt on-campus interviews held by Olin-Mathieson Chemical Co. (Olin-Mathieson, which developed the M-1 rifle, also produces guns, bombs and bullets.)

The day before students had forced the

He returned the next

night in a discussion of where this all is headed, it struck me that the Movement in the intellectual centers, where the civil rights and New Politics thing evolved into the Yippee and Digger and Commune ethic has a great deal of Lenny Bruce and Bob Dylan both in it, for all of Martin Luther King.

"The man can't bust our music." O.K. That's great and I'll go along with it and even hail it. Thank whoever you thank these days that there's money in revolution and that there continues to be. Hopefully there will continue to be and if there is enough it can be used to bring down the very system which produced it in the first place.

Trojan horse? Man, Trojan horses went out with the rest of the Trojan products and horse is habit forming. What is going on is the inevitable cannibalism practiced by civilizations in the early but accelerating stages of decay. We are screeching down hill baby, like a runaway truck on a downhill grade. Out of control. I could be that something can be done about it. I wouldn't know what. Abolish the school system the education conference at U.C. Berkeley said, in essence, late last month. Well, that's

...ceded by local cops and warning posters

When the kids tried to prevent interviewees from entering the little building, the cops got pissed and cleared the area around the entrance with clubs. The kids got pissed and started throwing rocks at the building. The cops warned that the State Police were coming.

Sure enough, within an hour some 150 State cops arrived on the scene. "The kids were cool," a demonstrator told LNS shortly after the event. "They spread out throughout the area. No one wanted to get arrested. Why give them the satisfaction of arresting you?"

But the crowd didn't split from the area entirely, although such departure was the scheduled tactic. Consequently, the cops did a quick bust, picking out most of the tactical leaders.

There were rumors of injuries but no substantial information on the subject. Violence, it seems, was fairly inconsequential.

Earlier this month, U. of Conn. students held a demonstration in which they marched out of an occupied building before the cops had a chance to arrive. In the latest demonstration

# Memorandum

~~Confidential~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

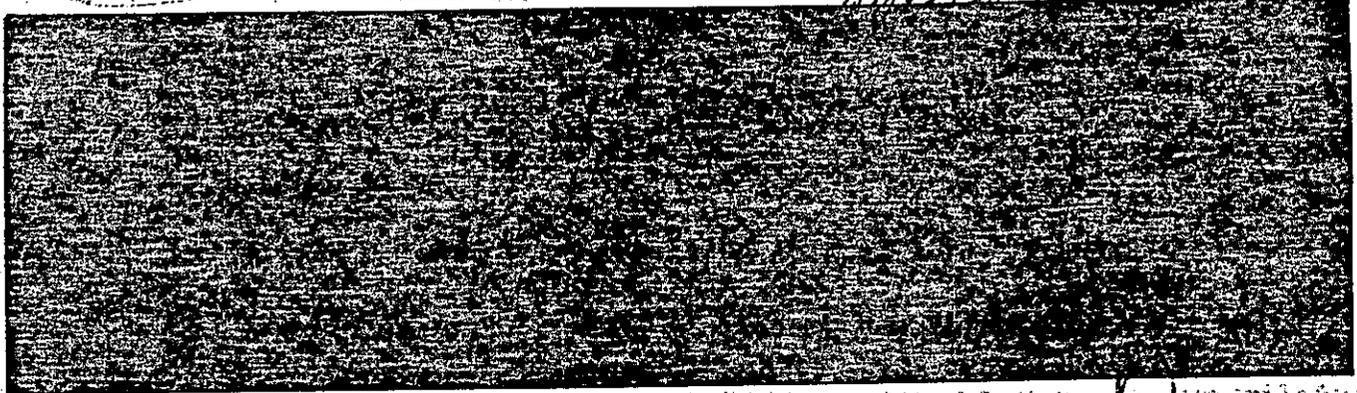
DATE: 1/27/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

Classified by 2040 R.M. 6/16/77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*to protect security  
in CHM*



These enclosures are furnished the Bureau, New York and Chicago for convenience in considering the following suggestions under the above caption. *u*

The Bureau is now engaged in combating the revolutionary activities of the New Left, anarchists and the like who are constantly attacking the status quo, the Establishment, or whatever name is given to the organized, lawful society which the Bureau represents. As of now, the Bureau and the law enforcement agencies of this country have been bearing the brunt of this New Left attack. *u*

The welfare and stability of the United States demands that the Government, law enforcement, and society as a whole be more widely supported by other units of "The Establishment". As of now "The Establishment" has not begun to use the weapons at its disposal to fight the threat of the revolutionaries. The courts continue to mete out apologetic sentences instead of punishment which would remove New Left violators from their activities for material lengths of time. *u*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM) DEC 11
  - 2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - 2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM) DEC 11
  - 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM) DEC 11
- CLJ/sea  
(8)

ENCLOSURE  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

100-449698-47-14

4 JAN 31 1969

57 FEB 13 1969

~~Confidential~~

The news media continues to publicize the militant, distorted and inaccurate mouthings and lies of blacks and of the New Left. These news media continue to freely advertise the plans for demonstrations and disruptions so that a maximum number of dissidents and revolutionaries are informed and can travel long distances to participate. This was demonstrated at Washington and at Chicago. It is currently being demonstrated in San Francisco where the student strike at San Francisco State College (SFSC) is being supported by militants from other California and out-of-state schools.

Numerous other examples exist to show the naivete which characterizes the viewpoint of many elements of our capitalistic society toward this real and current danger.

Our principal problem is in developing activities and disseminating information which will turn around the thinking and the non-thinking of influential elements of society so these elements will be aware that revolution can happen here and, indeed, is ready to happen.

It is suggested and recommended that channels be developed to widely distribute to news media, state and city officials, members of the Congress, and others many items of convincing import which have previously been disseminated only to other government agencies as classified material. Many items appear in the Bureau's "Current Intelligence Analysis" which would be most convincing and influential to the people outside the government who could help.

As an example of this type of information which would be particularly appropriate in convincing influential people who are in a position to enter this fight against the New Left, attention is called to the statements of [redacted] and [redacted] which are contained in the "Current Intelligence Analysis" dated 11/15/68. Apparently the [redacted] can be characterized easily to establish their stature in the Left. The statements of [redacted] at Rutgers University lay on the line the strategy of using "socialist scholars" and student revolt to overthrow capitalism by putting forth, through mass strikes and movements, demands which are unacceptable to the capitalistic system and which cannot be granted by that system. It is exactly this type of attack which is being made at SFSC and which has been made at other educational institutions. u

These statements of strategy by [redacted] are the type of information which should be convincing to persons who are not Marxist oriented but, nevertheless, continue to regard current demands of the blacks and the New Left as sincere, rather than as demands which are purposely made because they cannot be met.

Mention might be made here of the fact that the [redacted] who are described by the Bureau in the "Current Intelligence Analysis" as professional revolutionists, are permitted to enter the United States and spread their venom throughout this country on a two-month tour. It would seem that pressure could be brought upon the State Department to keep these people out of the country. We have enough trouble-makers of our own without importing any. The United States Government should have the power and inclination to prohibit people such as the [redacted] from entering the United States. A Congressional or Senate committee could or should make inquiries of the State Department and ascertain just what their reasoning was in permitting such people as the [redacted] to enter the United States. Another example in this connection would be [redacted]. Keeping out undesirable aliens should not be a complicated matter and it would be a highly-regarded accomplishment for the Bureau under this program to somehow stop or at least limit the importation of these undesirable aliens who are against everything the good people of the United States stand for.

To further complicate the problem confronting us, there are frequent incidents in which businesses that are now freely flourishing under capitalism actually are funding groups that are seeking to overthrow the capitalistic society.

One such incident is indicated on page one of the enclosed LHM which discloses that the National Underground Media Conference voted to allow [redacted] of "Life" magazine, to attend the Conference in order to encourage him to become a radical and a revolutionary, noting that he had written a recent article on SDS for "Life". (See "Confrontation and Disruption" by [redacted] "Life" [redacted]) It is noted that [redacted] of the Denver office [redacted] have each reported that [redacted] Key-Activist and former [redacted] of SDS who was prominently featured in [redacted] article in "Life", is currently in Cuba and working under an arrangement to write for "Life" and receive \$1500. [redacted] expects to use this sum to defray his expenses and those of other SDS members also traveling to Cuba to attend the Tenth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. u

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Another similar incident is indicated on page five of enclosed LHM wherein Columbia Records is identified as contemplating advertisements in underground newspapers and contemplating support to subsidize a "New Left" propaganda program.

Such financial assistance from "Life" and from Columbia Records appears to be giving active aid and comfort to enemies of the United States. The Bureau is undoubtedly cognizant of other comparable incidents.

Along with the above observations, the activity of [redacted] accents another common situation currently existing in news media, a situation which contributes materially to the misuse of the free press. Although San Francisco is not aware of [redacted] background, there are frequent instances of a responsible newspaper or broadcasting station employing a young reporter who has no basis or experience for adequate judgement to cover matters including the New Left and other dissident and revolutionary activity. What he writes is then published without reference to the truth, without verification of statements reported, and without effort to obtain and publish both sides of the question. All this is done under guise of freedom of the press.

San Francisco suggests that avenues should be developed which could be used to approach news editors, radio and TV station directors and other responsible news media personnel concerning the ways their facilities are being used to the detriment of the United States and to encourage them to devote more supervisory attention to news dispatches on the New Left.

San Francisco does not know what contacts or relationships exist with either of the following. Therefore, any instructions regarding contact with the following for the purpose of altering the policies of these companies is being left to the Bureau:

1. Time, Inc., publisher of "Life" magazine, 540 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Principal Office: Rockefeller Center, New York, New York.
2. Columbia Records, main office, 51 W. 52nd Street, New York, New York.

It is believed that counterintelligence, along the lines suggested above, would do much to dry up the New Left sources of thousands of dollars worth of free publicity and other assistance which it is now receiving.

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CONFIDENTIAL  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

January 7, 1969

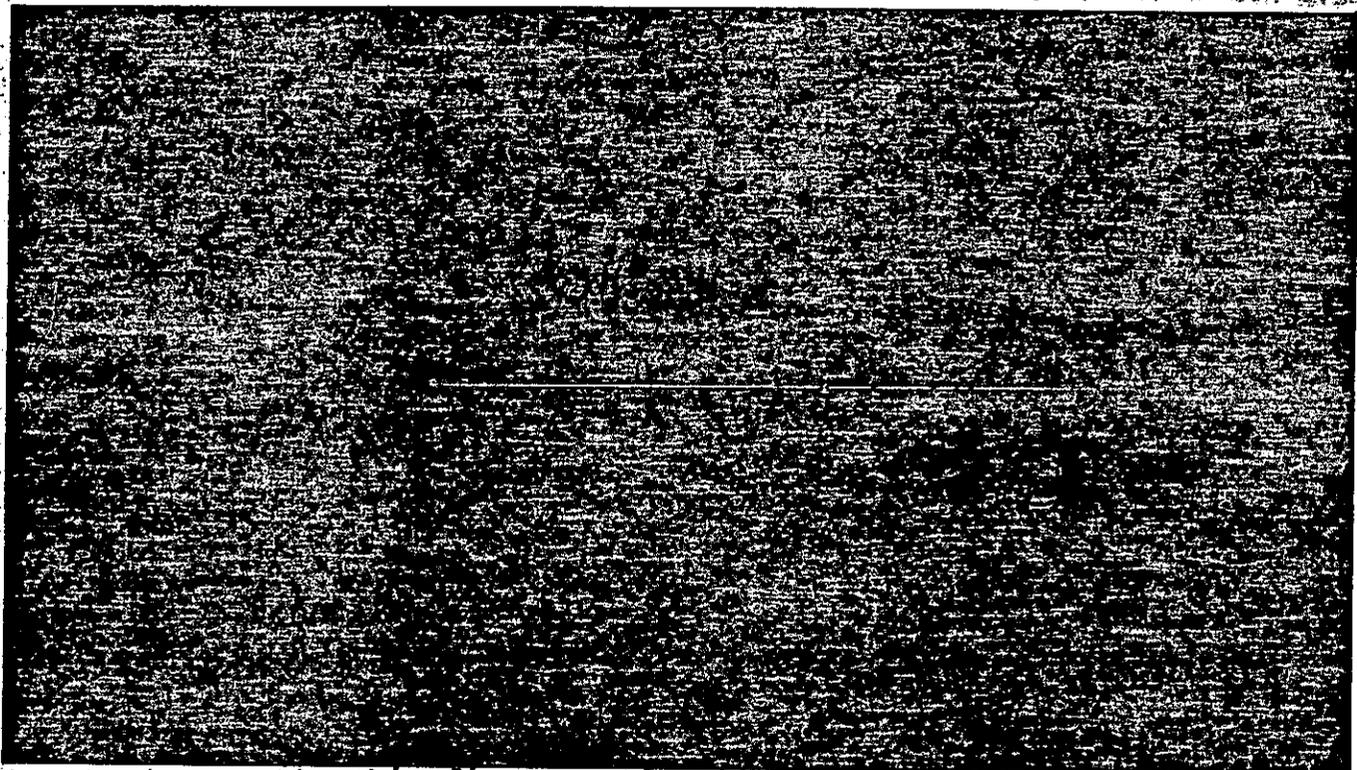
*Classification  
Reviewed  
2040 6/15/77  
Ruh*

Classified by

Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

NATIONAL UNDERGROUND MEDIA CONFERENCE,  
MADISON, WISCONSIN  
NOVEMBER 28 - DECEMBER 1, 1968

Reference is made to the memorandum captioned as  
above at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, dated December 31, 1968. u



At this first meeting, it was noted that the group  
voted to allow [redacted], a Life magazine [redacted]  
to attend the conference after several people stated that  
[redacted] was on the verge of becoming a radical and a revolutionary  
and he was responsible for writing the recent article on SDS  
for Life magazine. u

160-449698-47-44  
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agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
November 28 - December 1, 1968

A characterization of SDS is set forth in the Appendix pages, as well as a characterization of Connections.

The group also voted not to allow the showing of the Paramount motion picture "Up Tight" about a black revolutionary and then voted to demonstrate at any commercial preview showing of this film since they felt it was merely an attempt by Paramount to seek money from the supporters of the revolution.

Following this meeting, most of the group moved to the Green Lantern, 604 University Avenue for a party at which a number of individuals were noted to be using drugs.

The first official meeting of the conference was held in the auditorium of the commerce building at the University of Wisconsin. During this meeting, a number of the representatives of the Underground Media attending the conference explained a bit about their individual publications.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ of the Underground Press Syndicate stated he was also a member of the Underground Broadcast Syndicate, and stated that their office and headquarters is in Phoenix, Arizona, but his group is not there a great deal of the time as they have a school bus and travel throughout the country on their project. He stated Underground Press Syndicate started about two years ago with five members now has close to one hundred members.

There is also a European UPS, a South American UPS and an Asian UPS is planned. He reported that the ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ of UPS, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ (phonetic) had just gone to India and is their travel writer. He described Lokoff as having been a columnist for the Village Press for ten years. He stated UPS supported the idea of an underground paper exchange where

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everyone would have free reprint rights with one another and anyone who wishes to join this to do so so that people in different cities will not be isolated. [redacted] stated that acting as a clearing house was only one of his functions and they have been acquiring ads for all papers. He stated that the typical example of one of their popular ads was the Barbarella ad and another was for a light which was called Translite.

[redacted] identified herself with the Great Speckled Bird of Atlanta, Georgia, describing this as a small paper of Atlanta, Georgia, with approximately a circulation of six to eight thousand issues per week. She stated that the paper is presently fighting obscenity charges in Atlanta.

[redacted], who stated he was with the Vocations for Social Change, 2108 Street, Hayward, California, stated that they had two objectives, one of which was to determine how are we going to achieve the significant revolutionary social change that all of us are interested in. He pointed out that they exist by contributions on a monthly budget of between \$1500 and \$2,000 and that they furnish material to the High School Press and the Liberation News Service.

[redacted] identified with the Mama Newspaper, a one page paper published at the Bronx High School of Science which is published the day after "Some Event." [redacted] stated that they are hoping to release the paper one or two times a week in the future.

[redacted] of the Walrus stated that that paper had a circulation of two to three thousand at the University of Illinois and they tried to inform what is going on on campus and what the new left is trying to do on the campus. u

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[redacted] of "The Mega Middle Myth" of Beloit, Wisconsin, stated his paper is so far non political and is primarily a drug paper.

[redacted] stated he was with Caw Magazine and Caw is the SDS cultural literary magazine published in New York.

[redacted] stated he was with the "Big Us" and the "Cleveland Newsreel." He pointed out that after the Chicago riots they had thousands of kids wanting to find out more about the radical revolutionary prospective and that they had great success showing the Newsreel films to kids. He stated that they are also going to join the Radio Free People group. He pointed out that at a regional SDS meeting in Ohio last week the kids voted to go to Washington for some type of confrontation action out of Ohio for the inauguration. He stated that [redacted] and [redacted] who are working in Cleveland would like to talk with media organizers as there are one hundred thousand college students in the State of Ohio and they could rip that state apart if they had organizers.

[redacted] stated he was with the Radical American which he described as a radical history paper along with comics and was actually connected with the SDS.

An individual by the name of [redacted] identified himself as representing the Boston Newsreel.

[redacted] identified himself with the New York Newsreel and stated his purpose at the conference was to solidify all the Newsreel groups and then have them work with other revolutionary media. [redacted] described the Newsreel as:

"We in the Newsreel see ourselves as the propaganda element of the most militant factions of the movement in the country today. We are producing tools (films) for organizers which will tend to increase or accelerate motion in this country."

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

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An individual connected with the Chicago Newsreel also stated that their particular group was also connected with the SDS people.

An individual who stated he represented the Communication Company of New York reported that they deal primarily with getting propaganda in the establishment media. He stated that they were working to get a subsidiary for a program on all the radio stations that play rock and roll music and there is a major record company that might be willing to put up the money. He identified this company as Columbia Records. He also reported that they were also talking with national educational television to do an hourly weekly show. He pointed out that while these are establishment media, our position was that at any time we can get in on all the media, it is good. He stated he was personally working at the present time with Columbia Records to get advertising for underground papers.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ identified himself with the Helix, stating that that paper had a circulation of ten thousand a week.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ stated he was with The Paper in Lansing, Michigan, weekly circulation, 4,000.

An individual who stated he was affiliated with Simitar stated that circulation was two thousand a month and the paper was really directed at Liberals rather than at radicals. He described the paper as an SDS affiliated paper.

Another individual stated that he was with Kaleidoscope of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which had a circulation of fifteen thousand. <sup>u</sup>

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[REDACTED] stated he was associated with the  
New York Rat. u

[REDACTED] stated that he was associated with  
the Movement newspaper in San Francisco which was a  
radical political paper which reprinted organizing  
activities from all over the country. u

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A group of still photographers connected with the  
New Left Notes in Chicago were reported to have organized  
the Chicago Newsreel and that there soon would be a Boston,  
Los Angeles and Madison Newsreel, and in these three cities  
they would probably work closely with SDS. u

[REDACTED] announced that he is helping to  
organize a college mass confrontation in the state of Ohio  
scheduled for the spring of 1969 and that more details would  
appear in the paper "The Big Us." u

The Newsreel announced that they would start  
publishing regular articles on Newsreel activity in three  
underground publications. The New York Newsreel will  
associate with and use the Liberal News Service. The Chicago  
Newsreel will use the New Left Notes and San Francisco Newsreel  
will use the Movement. It was reported that these Newsreel  
groups are presently the largest Newsreel groups and as a u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
November 23 - December 1, 1968

temporary measure they would divide the country into three segments for film distribution and the three main offices will be in those three cities. u

[REDACTED] stated that the New York Newsreel plans to send people to Washington, D. C., for the inauguration and he is expecting a major demonstration. In the discussion which took place it was the general consensus that the Newsreels are the most militant and radical of the underground media or at least the group most open about their radical ideals. The Newsreel groups announced that they had decided to remain united and to proceed with revolutionary activities on several fronts. Their primary aim will be the production of pro revolutionary films to be shown to activist groups in order to promote demonstrations, aggressive actions and illegal actions against the "establishment." They will continue to update films on university disruption and distribute them to other universities in order to promote disruption. u

The Newsreels will try to send speakers with the films in order to influence students to join radical groups and demonstrations and the Newsreels will help organize and promote new radical organizations. u

The Newsreel group plans to send each other monthly reports on all Newsreel activity. u

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
November 28 - December 1, 1968

On Saturday, November 30, 1968, the group again met at the Commerce building of the University of Wisconsin and the discussion centered around the underground medias relationship to the mass media. The group of about 200 were almost equally divided between working with the mass media or working exclusively with the underground media. Several underground papers or groups like the Radio Free People stated that they rely on the mass media for financial support.

In the afternoon of November 30, 1968, the groups broke into small workshops which were mostly technical.

A New York group called "The Up Against the Wall Mother F" who described themselves as extremely militant group, sent members to the various workshops to encourage the further promotion of violence through the underground media.

At 2:00 P.M. a one and one half hour film was shown entitled "Last Summer Won't Happen" filmed and produced by New York Newsreel member [REDACTED] which was a vague appeal for more militant action in confrontations and starred Abby Hoffman.

The Students for a Democratic Society had attempted to take over this conference by a plan to have their members who are also members of several underground papers control the conference by appointing themselves as panel members. This attempt was apparent to all and failed especially after their original plan to set up the agenda was rejected. u

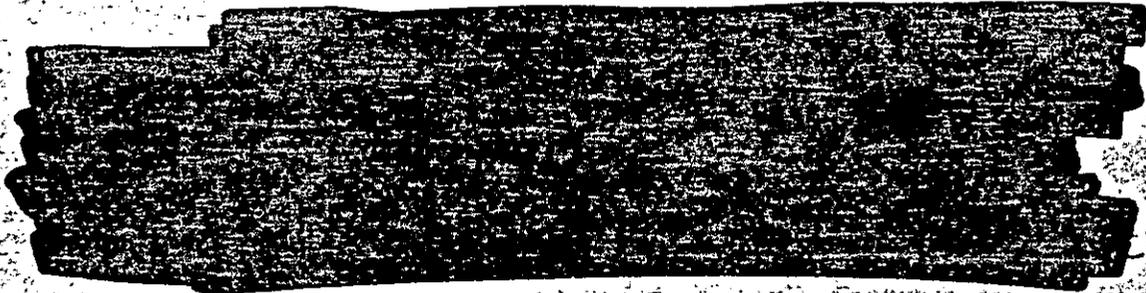


~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
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During the showing of the Newsreel film, Newsreel members began to exchange ideas so that the entire conference could hear them but no one outside the Newsreel was allowed to comment. This plan was poorly organized. It merely showed that the Newsreel members were extremely militant and advocated more active organizing among college and high school students but provided no means of the Newsreel group taking over the conference. u

Members of the San Francisco Newsreel and New York Up Against the Wall Mother - group were the most destructive to property at the University of Wisconsin on Sunday, December 1, 1968. u



Almost all of those at the conference seemed to feel that the conference was not a complete success as they were leaving Madison with only a vague encouragement to become more militant and to "help promote the revolution," and the only group who ever defined the revolution was members of the Up Against the Wall Mother - group who said that "our revolution will be the complete destruction of this country." u

It was decided that during the next several months there will be attempts to unite the underground newspapers into some type of network but some of the delegates commented that this would be extremely difficult since most of the people represented at the conference have great problems with faction fights and do not have u

C O N F I D E N T I A L

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
November 28 - December 1, 1968

concrete political philosophies agreeable to all, agreeing only in general that the group will have to simply continue to "promote confrontations and the revolution" and that any plan that will unite them will have to be a very simple organizational setup. u

During this underground news media conference a large number of publications pamphlets and leaflets were distributed. They included such publications as the Urban Underground, care of A Movement for a Democratic Society, 225 Lafayette Street, New York City. u

Copies of New Left Notes publication of SDS, Chicago, Illinois, copies of the Rag, 2200 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas, copies of the Walrus published in Champlain, Urbana, Illinois, the Caravan publication "What is Guerrilla Theater Anyway?", published by the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, 217 South Hamilton Street, Madison, Wisconsin, and Left Out publication of the Free Press Peoria, Box 3510 Glen Station, Peoria, Illinois, were also distributed. u

There were other publications on the conference which also told about Madison which stated in part "police if you have a distinct aversion for cops, watch out for unmarked cars with license plates beginning Y-11-4. u

Also furnished were order forms to obtain material from Radio Free People. u

According to MIT-1, the following leaflets were distributed and are descriptive of the organizations they represent although they represent only a part of the material distributed at the conference. u

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

C O N F I D E N T I A L

National Underground Media Conference,  
Madison, Wisconsin  
November 28 - December 1, 1968

MIT-1 advised that [REDACTED] was reported to have been the original organizer of this conference following his conference with SDS leaders in Chicago during the summer of 1968.

Included in this group is a leaflet captioned [REDACTED] which is reported to be authored by [REDACTED], San Francisco Express Times.

Another paper distributed was [REDACTED] by [REDACTED] describing the work of The Rag in Austin, Texas. Since it contained the views of a large number of those present it is being set forth. Included in the material attached is a catalog of the "Radio Free People" showing the descriptive data on the material available through that organization and also included in the material is a list of those organizations represented at the conference or who indicated that they wished to exchange newspapers for publications with other groups.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

The October issue of Black & Red is three weeks late.

Black & Red is put together by donated labor. The only operation not performed by the donated labor of New Left people is the photographing of the negatives from the copy. This task is performed by a commercial photographer who refused to photograph the pictures of cops beating people in Chicago. This refusal delayed the publication of the second issue and caused a substantial increase in expense.

Communication is one of the most urgent tasks of the New Left. The above incident illustrates that the channels of communication are still controlled at crucial points by people whom the New Left has not yet reached, i.e., people who still side with the cops. In other words, we are still dependent on the very system we are struggling against.

To meet this problem head on, the New Left needs to create its own communication centers. Namely, a movement press in every community. A work group composed of New Left militants in Kalamazoo has initiated action to create a movement press in this area. This press would serve the needs of the two universities, the high schools, radical community groups and radical groups in the larger region. It is hoped that the press will be self-supporting once it is set up. The problem now is to get it set up. To this end, we are appealing for your financial aid.

Black & Red is as yet a small operation, and small contributions will keep it alive. However, the Kalamazoo movement press will need significant initial contributions to get off the ground. If you contribute to both Black & Red and to the movement press, earmark the purpose of your contribution; if the press is not started, your money will be returned.

BLACK & RED  
P.O. Box 973  
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49005

Contribution to BLACK & RED	\$ _____ .00
Contribution to movement press	\$ _____ .00
Subscription to BLACK & RED (in U.S., \$3.00 per year overseas, \$4.50 per year)	\$ _____

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

\* A new movement magazine.



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HANGING LOOSE  
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HANGING LOOSE was established in 1966. It appears four times a year. We have presented the work of poets from all parts of the United States and elsewhere. Although our chief interest is poetry, we also publish stories (usually one each issue), drawings and contemporary songs.

Each issue of HANGING LOOSE -- 40-50 unbound, offset pages -- comes in an envelope printed with an original drawing.

A partial list of contributors is enclosed. If you are interested in seeing the work of these writers and others, some of whom will be new to you, please join our list of subscribers.

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- 1 -

# THE PRISM OF GRASS ROOTS

I. The PRISM OF GRASS ROOTS is a new underground newspaper to let students know what's happening in high schools around the city.

- A. It will have information about where it's at!
- B. Student Power!
- C. The Peace Movement!
- D. We will be dealing with problems such as schools where some teachers do not allow black students into their classrooms.
- E. There are also schools where students are suspended for passing out pamphlets.

What do you think of these ideas? Do you have any ideas? Send them in and tell us if you want your name and school printed.

II. The PRISM OF GRASS ROOTS will come out bi-monthly.

We can make up emergency bulletins when you need them. Let us know when something happens that you want others to know about.

III. Has your literary and/or art material been turned down by the school literary magazine? Well, send it to us.

IV. The PRISM OF GRASS ROOTS has a small staff and very few reporters. If you would like to help out by sending in an article about something happening in your school or community, send your article to:

M. Colin 263 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.; or, call 2:30-6:30 on Monday-Thursday--David. BU 4-8045

V. There will be articles in the PRISM OF GRASS ROOTS by kids about where it's at in their school, stories, poems, articles about concerts, and interviews.

That's all we have to say, but we would love to have you join us!

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## NATIONAL PROJECTS TO HELP YOU--

1. Most important of all, UPS members have free automatic reprint rights among all members. We are currently urging all members to exchange papers (a few don't), and are encouraging all underground papers to join, including Black, Chicano, and non-U.S.
2. UPS, thru NY advertising representative Michael Forman, now sells national advertising for all members. UPS continues to send brochures to record companies and other national advertisers seeking national ads.
3. UPS distributes to everyone relevant, copies of the UPS Directory, which contains complete info & ad rates on all UPS members.
4. UPS publishes a helpful monthly newsletter, with news of what the various papers are doing, what UPS is doing and other useful information.
5. UPS has researched information such that they can answer inquiries from members on printing, financial, postal, legal, technical, distributing, advertising, and most other problems of the underground publication.
6. UPS gets members listed in reference works of the publishing trade, like Bowker's, Ayres, Ulrich's, Standard Rate & Data, etc.
7. UPS gets members listed with Faxon's, a national subscription selling service, dealing extensively with libraries.

## OTHER RELEVANT PROJECTS, HANDLED BY ORPHEUS

1. The Underground Press Distributing Agency handles out-of-city distribution for any paper which wants it. UPDA has over 1,000 outlets in the U.S. & Canada, and other foreign outlets.
2. The Underground Press Library maintains a permanent collection of underground newspapers, books, films and other memorabilia. It now has microfilming equipment.
3. Orpheus Magazine supplies the name of the nearest sympathetic printer to any underground newspaper having trouble getting a printer, or will print it themselves if necessary.
4. Orpheus publishes UNDERGROUND PUBLISHING Magazine, which is intended to help underground publishers by putting out information on all subjects relevant to underground publishing.
5. The Underground Press Clipping Service sells their clipping service with the object of increasing awareness of the underground press and of financing some of the above activities.
6. Tom Forcade of Orpheus Magazine is writing an Amicus Curiae brief to be used in defending any underground newspaper which gets busted.

6

Also, UPS is now attempting to arrange a series of rock concert benefits around the country to benefit UPS members. UPS is also mailing out numerous pamphlets to movement leaders, those in music, filmmaking, art, etc. who should know about the underground press, so that we can all more effectively work together.

## Guidelines for together radical journalism

1. We have to integrate the two dimensions of a radical apprehension of truth: (a) insist on treating ourselves, writers, not as impersonal registers of fact but as reporting persons with consciousness, passions, idiosyncrasies, senses, pasts and (b) expose the world of the structures that form and limit the story.

Much underground writing is person without politics, that is, a personal account in form but the standard assumption about what is relevant, what is really going on, in content. This is more fun than commercial journalism but fundamentally it is no more than a gloss on it, a new entertainment like topless dancing. For a big portion of the hip community the new monologue is a first baby-step toward reclaiming our consciousness. Don't take a trip on the big ego-ship. Take a giant step.

Much radical reportage is "power-structure analysis" that is not persuasive because the analysis is not anchored to the event. The event (what is immediate to the sense) is down here; the analysis hangs out there in dogmatic limbo. Reinforces the media-fed idea that radicalism is esoteric. (Whereas we want/need to show that radical analysis explains things. (Or don't we believe it ourselves?))

Another bulk of "radical" reportage is just that: bulk. The writing is plain bad: a string of cliches; repetition, insulting the intelligence of anyone who is mentally alive; facts are hedged and scanted, as in the commercial media, only this time from our side, but just as transparently; jargon takes on a life (death) of its own, no longer asks to be defined.

Within ourselves we must break the habit of one-dimensionality, which locks us into a belief-pattern that runs something like this: Ordinary language is tainted by bourgeois ideology; radical ideology is self-evident if it can present itself insistently; it presents itself insistently by repetition (the easiest way); it establishes its integrity by using its own language (contradiction, bourgeois, etc.). Ideas are confused with the language of those ideas. To talk about imperialism without using the word is "liberal."

Ideology recommends itself to people when it explains daily life. The first function of radical journalism is to define the event: by reporting "what really happened," we can build up--by degrees--the credibility of a different overarching truth (way of looking at the world). The second function is to trace the event to root causes. Those two must be interwoven, just as personal commitment and verbal "politics" blend together in what we call the movement.

Put another way, there is not reportage and politics, but the two must inseparably

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The best method is inductive. The report works to start with if it X illuminates the reality and makes it definite and singular; this is where the art of description and personalization breaks through the conditioned responses of the dulled reader. Then the thirst is whetted. The report generates the question, Why is all this happening? The analysis should not mechanically follow the report. The metaphor I'm looking for is not that of a symphony with a fixed sequence of movements, // A then B then B then D, but of a fugue with theme, countertheme, in fast and tangled alternation.

2. We accept too easily the Kulture's definition of news. They begin with the extraordinary event: speech, demonstration, meeting, battle, crisis, hiring, firing... We have our extraordinary events: speech, demonstration, meeting, bust, riot... Now a sharp eye and clear politics and a move inside the event can begin anywhere, with any particular, and move behind and underneath it to the conditions and processes at work. But we're not imaginative enough--though that's supposed to be our strong point--and we tend to limit our news to an inside-cut re-casting of their news. and thereby we build a circle that closes in on ourselves, and nothing is new.

Useful truism: the news is whatever we define as news. Doesn't have to be an extraordinary event. Anything is news if we use it as a spotlight: the contents of garbage cans in different alleys; ordinary day in the ordinary life of a person; the merger of United Fruit and Textron; sales pitch of a campus recruiter; interview with an airline stewardess; autobiography of a wino; autobiography of a ten-year-old; transcription of police radio; staff turnover in an ad outfit; you name it.

3. Easier said than done; very vague. The point is that our journalism don't come natural. It's work--like our politics, music, choices, bread, and loving.

-- Todd Gitlin

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(The following ideas and arguments largely result from more than a year's work on The Rag. They do not represent the views of all rag staffers, nor does The Rag by any means fulfill all the criteria.)

Based on the belief that the "underground" press has not yet realized or utilized its potential, the purpose of this paper is to discuss - and place within perspective - the role our newspapers should play within the broader movement for social, fundamental social change now occurring in America. More specifically, it will deal with the politics of papers, i.e. their political nature and the political role which they should assure. Problems of censorship, distribution, money, staff development, etc. will not be dealt with; they are crucial areas but not within the general theme mentioned. Thus, the points below represent a sketchy attempt to understand - within political terms - what we should be all about.

Highly industrialized, technological and capitalist America is obviously a unique presence in the history or (as Marx would say) the prehistory of man; perhaps less obvious is the apparent uniqueness of the American left. America has always mouthed the traditional bilge about freedom, equality, etc., but, more importantly, ever since about 1932 and the ascendancy of corporate liberalism she has tried to implement that liberal facade through her institutions and through the development of the welfare state. The reasons for this facade are not moral - they are political/economic and must be understood in terms of the historical growth of American capitalism. What is relevant in this relation to this paper is that that facade has permitted the fantastic growth of the underground media. More so than any other people struggling for fundamental change, the American movement has been able to quickly and extensively reach out through radio, films, etc. to parts of its potential constituency. In some ways this is a critical "contradiction" within contemporary capitalism; we should make the most of it.

Thus, we are a potential threat to the David Rockefeller's who run this country. By posing a media with alternative views, interpretations and values than those presented in the highly centralized "establishment" media, we are capable of creating a revolutionary consciousness within a significant number of people. Our papers, therefore, are very much political weapons, and we must view them as such. Consequently, we should make no bones about our biases; we are not a "journal of free voices" and we are not providing an "open forum". Seeing ourselves as political individuals, we must see our papers as extensions of those politics.

Basically, the papers on which we work should be manifestations of those politics, i.e. they should flow from these politics. Although this often happens "unconsciously," we should direct it as much as possible. It is one of those decisions affecting our lives that we scream about so much. But by politics is meant not so much the details of our understanding of American capitalism, but, more broadly, our sense of what the "revolution" and human freedom is all about. Those details will come out in individual articles, but the general tone of the paper should reflect the general tone of our politics (and, hopefully, of our lives).

More specifically, papers should run articles on dope, music, education, etc., etc., as well as the workings of capitalism and the evils of the local fuzzi. Unlike the mass media - which also carry these sorts of articles, though in a stultified form - our papers should attempt to be as relevant to people's lives as possible. And that relevance is a radical act, for capitalism - or any basically authoritarian system - cuts off certain areas (ideas, emotions, etc.) which are relevant to people's lives. In terms of contemporary America, those ideas are abstracted until they become mere intellectual games in the form of "expert" critics and so on. Thus, if we are trying to reach human beings and to radicalize them in the most human sense of the word, we must also deal with those aspects of their lives which do not entail the Pentagon or racism. They are not monomaniacs, and we've seen what they've accomplished.

Thus, the term "newspaper" is perhaps a misnomer, i.e. it is too delimited. For our papers should contain not only news, but analyses, satires, personalized articles, etc. More importantly, unlike establishment papers, we do not pretend to be "objective." In fact, this objectivity question is perhaps one of the most important structural differences between our media and "theirs."

Specifically, this distinction lies in the false dichotomy which establishment papers create between news and opinion. That is, characteristically, one, two or three pages are set aside for the views of individual men (e.g. James Reston); the rest of the paper's contents are articles by individuals simply reporting "just the facts, ma'am, just the facts." However, the very decision to include or not to include an article, never mind what the article says or in what part of the paper its printed, is subjective and therefore biased. Yet, probably to most people, the editorial/news dichotomy creates a false consciousness of objectivity.

Thus, underground papers should not carry editorials per se. Everything within the paper is admittedly biased; consequently, everything within the paper functions as an editorial. That does not mean that we distort facts --

...actively because we live in an oppressive society and therefore cannot be an open forum, we must make editorial decisions along political lines. This does not mean that every article - particularly those dealing with the functions or outgrowths of capitalism - must necessarily conform to the specific political beliefs of the editors; an article from a leftist which differs from our views is not the same as an article supporting "Tripple" for president. Statements supporting the "Kump" should be relegated to the "Letters" section, where they clearly do not represent the views of the paper.

But content per se does not radicalize; first you've got to get people to read it. Particularly in a society like America in which entertainment replaces religion as the opiate of the masses, how we present that content is crucial. Unfortunately, McLuhan's "medium defines message" hypothesis is at least partly true, for the uncritical acceptance of entertaining content is a powerful tool for the manipulation of masses of people. However, it works both ways, and we should take advantage of it. Thus, papers should be, literally, attractive. Use of graphics and photos should be maximized to initially attract people to the content articles; the combination of good-looking layout and leftist, relevant content can be a powerful radicalizing weapon.

Getting people to read the paper, however, is not by any means the only motive for making papers as attractive as possible. That is, papers are not only an extension of our politics but also a manifestation of those politics. They are an area in which we do have control and in which we are free to experiment with our own creativity. Thus, although papers are a political weapon rather than a "do your own thing" project, within that political context and with those political objectives in mind, papers afford us an opportunity to do our own thing. They're our own creations, and that in itself is radical.

Beyond the radical aspect of what we do with papers, how we do it can also be quite radical. That is, most papers depend largely on volunteer labor; few papers have more than a couple of paid staff. Thus, papers are communal activities for which rewards are social, not monetary. People are working together for a common, social, politically radical goal; there are few other areas of society where people can actually practice their radical ideas.

Moreover, papers are basically simple to operate once the mechanics are understood. Executing these mechanics may not be so easy, but individuals can easily grasp them in a short time. Thus, working on papers can break down some of those fears about expertise and complexity which society fosters to maintain the regimentation of people along lines of capability; in America, knowledge is power, and we must break down

the myth of ignorance about the "complex" problems which people face. Simply working on - and understanding - a paper begins to breakdown those myths.

Thus, to develop those social rewards and to help breakdown those complexity myths papers should allow participation in decision-making. Specific editorial decisions may be left to a few editors, but overall policy or controversy between editors should be resolved by the staff as a whole. If the paper is run democratically, it becomes a community and involves people in ways few other areas of society would allow. Thus, they become radical in action if not yet in specific theoretical content. However, through contact with more seasoned radicals, new people will pick up the theoretical specifics.

Papers often function as a focal point around which people identify, i.e. our readership anticipates the next breathtaking edition for the radical perspective, but papers by themselves are not enough; making new left radicals necessitates work programs and particularly face to face contact with people.

Thus, papers must work hand in hand with personal organizing; whenever possible, papers should cover the work and programs which organizers are engaged in. This does not, however, mean that papers should be under the auspices of the local activist group (e.g. sds), in fact, although there will often be an overlap between sds and staff, papers should maintain their autonomy and not be subject to the political machinations of activist groups; the relationship should be mutual and supportive, not master-servant.

More generally, papers should become conscious of who their constituency is and what issues are relevant to that constituency. However, the political aims or content of the paper should not be sacrificed because of a basically a political readership; papers should be used to politicize that readership.

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Papers are sort of readable joints - they are aids for greater self-consciousness. But greater self-consciousness, if not politicized, can be, at best, a left-liberalish phenomenon. Getting people to understand the workings of corporate liberalism or making "fuck" a household word are well within the cooptive bounds of the amazingly flexible American capitalism. Somehow we've got to radicalize people, not titillate them. For example, Playboy has not produced sexual freedom within a repressive society; it has merely made our unconscious fantasies socially acceptable. Thus, unlike Playboy, we've got to deal with issues crucial to human freedom in ways that make clear both the repressive nature of American society and also the potential for human freedom. We must point out, for instance, that sexuality - in the broad sense of the word - is unconsciously repressed or sadistically sublimated into the objectification of the human body and human emotions.

Thus, to further KKKK actualize our potential in the struggle for human freedom, the following suggestions:

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are made for consideration:

1. The Underground Press Syndicate should change its name. We are not underground nor have we evdr been; more importantly, we should identify ourselves as being political. The term "underground" says nothing; the word is much more ~~XXXXXX~~ underground than we are. In addition, the term implies something secretive or mysterious. But our purpose, again, is not to titillate ourselves or our readers. Thus, I propose we call ourselves the Radical Press Service, New Left Press Service, Socialist Press Service or something akin.
2. Significant articles or collections of articles which appear in our papers and which deal with political issues in the broad sense should be reprinted in pamphlet form for use by organizers. This could be done by local papers, regionally or even nationally thru a clearing house. Tie-ups with the Radical Education Project or its local counterparts should be considered. Basically, the more information ~~is~~ disseminated, the better the chances of producing a mass movement; to date, the movement as a whole has failed to produce the quantities of politically relevant material necessary.
3. Papers should hold occasional sessions with local activists to determine how the paper can fit into organizing projects. This does not mean control, only cooperation.
4. Papers should continue - or begin - to communicate with one another. Ways of relating to local activities, for instance, could be useful to other papers. The page which LPS has offered for announcements, etc. could be used for this purpose.
5. Papers should seek evaluations of itself. Often, people working on papers get isolated, or as people's political conceptions change, their papers reflect that change. Thus, outside evaluations could be valuable in terms of our effectiveness and relevance. These could be both from local people and also from other papers. For instance, a paper could send out an evaluation sheet asking other papers for suggestions, criticisms, comments, etc. on the basis of the issues they've seen.

7.5. Please let's hurry and make the revolution so we can automate typewriters (by talking or something). My own fears of the complexity of typewriters leads to mistakes and crossing out - that's what happens when you grow up in a repressive society!)

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# Radio Free People

160 Prospect Place Brooklyn NY 11238

FIRST CATALOG  
November 1968

First Class      Educational Rate

## 68-1 AN INTERVIEW WITH MARK LANE

Mark Lane, author of Rush to Judgment, was one of the earliest and most persistent critics of the Warren Commission's report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. In this interview he discusses his recent book, A Citizen's Dissent, which describes the pressure exerted to keep the facts and questions raised by Lane's research from being published or broadcast to the American public. Lane feels that censoring of the mass media may be even more important than evidence of CIA sponsorship of the assassination. Fortunately, assassination of Presidents is not an everyday occurrence, as censorship is.

The interview is conducted by the Rev. Finley Schaefer of the Washington Square Methodist Church and was recorded in the spring of 1968.

Produced by John Ankele.  
Running time: 26 minutes.

7 1/2 ips    \$3.90    \$3.40  
3 3/4 ips    2.80    2.50

## 68-2 BLACK CHILD'S GOT A RIGHT TO LIVE

A moving appeal to the conscience of America by an anonymous New York woman. Drawing upon recent personal experience she creates a subjective, poetic narrative.

Although presently employed as an office worker, Miss X is trained in opera and privately pursues her musical activity, which she describes as her one true happiness. In this program she performs her own work, a lullaby to all black children, written shortly after a recent operation deprived her of the promise of bearing her own.

Produced by Sheila Kendall.  
Technical assistance by Daniel Drasin.  
Running time: 20 minutes.

7 1/2 ips    \$3.90    \$3.40  
3 3/4 ips    2.80    2.50

First Class	Educa- tional Rate
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### 68-3 THE CRYSTAL NIGHT IN GERMANY

A disturbing documentary of police and civilian harassment and reactionary invective, leveled at participants in Stop the Draft Week demonstrations in New York City early in December 1957. An earlier version of this program was broadcast five times on New York station WBAI-FM and generated considerable audience reaction.

Produced by Daniel Drasin.  
Running time: 29 minutes.

7½ ips	\$4.70	\$4.10
3¾ ips	3.40	2.90

### 68-4 COUNTERINSTITUTIONS FOR COMPUTER PROFESSIONALS (One in a planned series on counterinstitutions)

The first part of this tape is from a September 27, 1968 meeting of Computer Professionals for Peace--a New York-based group that seeks to promote social awareness and responsibility within the computer professions. In a presentation, "Social Implications of Computing," Robert Shapiro presents some of the results of his research and experience and establishes some guidelines for future research into the misuse of computers.

An appalling amount of computer research is initiated by the military and by civilian police agencies and is directed toward surveillance, manipulation and control of people here and abroad. Among the most ominous possibilities is the national data bank--a centralized dossier on the American people, recording personal records, credit information, tax status, arrest record if any...and potentially a vast fund of other information hitherto either private or scattered haphazardly among various government agencies.

A specific counterinstitution, Meta-Information Applications, is discussed later in the program by Marge Piercy, Emmett Jarrett, and Robert Shapiro. MIA was established to provide a creative alternative for computer specialists who want to use their knowledge and skills to benefit, rather than control, people.

Produced by Carol Ann Jones, Daniel Drasin and Peter Sutheim.  
Running time: 58 minutes.

7½ ips	\$9.40	\$8.20
3¾ ips	5.00	4.30

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Educational  
First Class Rate

68-5 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Eldridge Cleaver is the author of Soul on Ice, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, Managing Editor of Ramparts magazine, and 1968 Presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party.

If, as Cleaver says, Huey P. Newton is the "baddest motherfucker ever to set foot inside of history", then Cleaver himself must be the baddest one ever to speak at NYU. When Cleaver was invited to give a series of lectures at the University of California at Berkeley, Governor Reagan and the California Board of Regents moved in to say that Eldridge Cleaver could deliver one lecture, but if he delivered more than one the students would not get credit for the course. But Cleaver has been speaking on campuses throughout the country. When he spoke at NYU on October 11, 1968, the audience was particularly responsive, being then in the midst of a revolt on their own campus sparked by the firing of a black administrator.

"All power to the people," says Cleaver, "whether the pigs of the power structure like it or not."

WARNING: THIS TAPE IS NOT BROADCASTABLE WITHOUT CONSIDERABLE EDITING. The Language of the People would burn the dainty ears of MotherFCC.

Produced by Carol Ann Jones and Daniel Drasin.  
Running time: 58 minutes.

7 1/2 ips \$9.40 \$8.20  
3 3/4 ips 5.00 4.30

68-6 WHAT EVERY WOMAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT ABORTION

What IS abortion? How is it done? When and where is it legal? What are many of the myths surrounding this minor operation, simpler than a tonsillectomy and safer than bearing a child, yet dangerous in the wrong hands?

In this program, Dr. Robert E. Hall discusses the status of abortion in America and describes a number of organizations devoted to disseminating information and working towards reform and repeal of current abortion laws. Dr. Hall is a practicing obstetrician and Associate Professor of Gynecology at the Columbia Medical Center in New York City.

Running time: 20 minutes

7 1/2 ips \$7.70 \$6.10  
3 3/4 ips 2.90

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## 68-7 LONDON, AUGUST 30, 1968

A montage documentary of caustic comment by natives, tourists, and American expatriates on the political and social trends of America and the West in general during a week of fateful events on both sides of the Atlantic.

Produced by Daniel Drasin.  
Running time: 15 minutes.

7½ ips	\$3.10	\$2.60
3¾ ips	2.00	1.80

## 68-8 ALTERNATIVES TO COOPERATING WITH THE MILITARY

Excerpts from a symposium held in the autumn of 1968 at Brooklyn College. Speakers include representatives from the following organizations: Students for a Democratic Society; Tactical Assistance to Personnel in the Services (TAPS); the American Deserter's Committee, which represents the American forces deserter's colony in Stockholm; and the American Servicemen's Union, which is presently unionizing the U.S. Armed Forces.

Produced by David Katzenellenbogen, Peter Sutheim and Daniel Drasin.  
Running time: 30 minutes.

7½ ips	\$4.70	\$4.10
3¾ ips	3.40	2.90

## 68-9 THE GUARANTEED INCOME GAME

Brian Glick (former acting director of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law at Columbia University, lecturer at the Columbia University School of Social Work, and member of Students for a Democratic Society) reviews a few currently proposed schemes for guaranteed annual incomes and exposes the fallacies inherent in them. One essential point brought out in the interview is that all of the formulas fail to define poverty realistically--they are based on bare subsistence levels, and outmoded ones at that. If everyone in the country were to be guaranteed a realistic income (roughly \$8,000 a year for a family of four), the total to be paid out would exceed our gross national product. Possible solution: to make a wider range of necessary goods and services free.

Produced by Peter Sutheim.  
Running time: 15 minutes.

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7½ ips	\$3.10	\$2.60
3¾ ips	2.00	1.80

First      Educa-  
Class      tional  
                 Rate

68-10 THE NOVELIST AS REVOLUTIONARY

Novelist Sol Yurick (The Warriors, Fertig, The Bag) speaks about his most recent book, The Bag (Trident), a novel about poverty, welfare, race, the New Left, insurgency and counterinsurgency in New York's Lower East Side. ("It attempts to encompass, in microcosm, the whole of the ferment that's going on in America today. It ends with a riot that escalates into a revolution...contained in the end, but the seeds of revolution have gotten out.") The problems and responsibilities of working revolutionary themes into fiction--explaining current revolutionary fervor so people fool it. Exploiting the entertainment industry's frantic search for "new scenos" to put across revolutionary ideas and turning the income back into the movement for social change.

Produced by Peter Sutheim.  
Running time: 15 minutes.

7½ ips    \$3.10    \$2.60  
3¾ ips    2.00    1.80

68-11 MARGE PIERCY: POEMS

Six poems by Marge Piercy. A collection of her work (Breaking Camp) was published early in 1968 by Wesleyan University Press. Among the themes running through these poems are the irrationality and inhumanity of American institutions, and the urgent need to destroy and rebuild--to create a society based on human needs and human values, "where people work/To make and do things necessary and good/Where work is real as bread and babies and trees and parks/And you would blossom slowly/And ripen into sound fruit." Strong, vigorous, salty imagery characterizes all her poems. The poems are: The Peaceable Kingdom, Half Past Home, Community, The Death of the Small Commune, The Morning Half-Life Blues, and The Curse of the Earth Magician on a Tribal Land.

Produced by Peter Sutheim.  
Running time: 17 minutes.

7½ ips    \$3.10    \$2.60  
3¾ ips    2.00    1.80 u

## 68-12 NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT UNION

In September 1968, in the midst of a long teacher's strike, about 250 high school students from New York City and the surrounding area met to form a student union to insure themselves a voice in handling problems from draft counseling to dress codes, curriculum reform to censorship. On this program, which contains only a portion of the day-long meeting, we hear first Paul Goodman, author of Growing Up Absurd, Compulsory Mis-Education and other books, discuss how schools can be improved and whether they are necessary at all. In the second part students themselves speak about their aims, ideas and ideals.

Originally broadcast on the program "Radioactivity" on WBAI-FM in New York.

Produced by Ellen Jaffe and Gene Endres.

7½ ips	\$8.60	\$7.40
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Running time: 55 minutes.

3¾ ips	4.50	4.00
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68-13 THE GUARDIAN: AN INDEPENDENT RADICAL NEWSWEEKLY

Three Guardian staffers (Susan Sutheim, Bill Rose, Ray Reece) discuss their paper, which evolved from the National Guardian, founded in 1948. Over the past two years, the paper has moved from a somewhat dusty "progressive" weekly strongly tied to the Old Left, to a lively, easy-to-read "radical" weekly functioning in close harmony with today's campus and off-campus movements for social change. With expanded size and coverage and handsome new typography, the Guardian is read internationally by blacks and whites, radicals and nonradicals. The paper is run as a cooperative, with a non-authoritarian approach to decisionmaking.

Produced by Peter Sutheim.

7½ ips	\$3.10	\$2.60
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Running time: 18 minutes.

3¾ ips	2.00	1.80
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## SUBJECTS WE'LL DIG INTO SOON:

Chemical and biological warfare  
 What makes a military deserter?  
 The Bill of Rights  
 The ecological crisis

Students in action  
 Science and conscience  
 Media  
 ...and more.

The Underground Press Syndicate, Box 1693, Phoenix, AZ 85001  
The Underground Press Distributing Agency, Box 1832, Phoenix, AZ  
Orpheus Magazine, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001  
Underground Publishing Magazine, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001  
Underground Press Library, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001  
Liberation News Service, 160 Claremont Ave., NYC 10027  
The Walrus, 1312 W. Main, Urbana, Ill. 61801  
NY Herald Tribune 100 Riverside Dr. NYC 10024  
The Kudzu, Box 22502, Jackson, Miss 39205  
The Word, 918 Kerlerec, N.O. La. 70116  
High School Independent Press Svc. 160 Claremont Ave. NYC 10027  
NY Newsreel 127 E. 15th St. NYC 10003  
Radio Free People, 160 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, NY 11238  
The Woods, St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, S.W., Ind. 47876  
MWA c/o NIPS 160 Claremont Ave. NYC 10027  
NY U.S. Free Press, 200 W. 72nd St., NYC 10023 (25?)  
San Francisco Newsreel, 450 Alabama St., S.F. Cal.  
Nefed Harerem, Rm 709, 150 5th Ave. NYC 10011  
The Old Hole, 6 Caldwell St., Somerville, Mass. 02143  
The Crindinr Stone, Box 785, Terre Haute, Ind. 47808  
News From Nowhere, 127 John St. DeKalb, Illinois 60115  
Communications Company/NY 16 Bond St. New York City 10012  
The Tet Offensive, #4d, 13 E. 3rd St., NYC 10003  
East Village Other, 105 Second Ave., NYC 10003  
The Rag 2200 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas 78705  
Chicago Film Co-op and Newsreel, 152 N. Clinton, Chicago 60606  
New Left Notes, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago 60612  
C.A. 1 97 Wooster St. NYC  
Center Cinema Coop 237 E. Ontario, Chicago 60611  
Anarchos, Box 466, Stuyvesant St. NYC 10009 (1855 Dayton, Chi.)  
Kaleidoscope, Box 5457, Milwaukee, Wisc.  
The Big US, c/o The Outpost, 13037 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio  
The Movement, 55 Colton, San Francisco, Cal. 94103  
Quixote, 315 N. Brooks, Madison, Wisc. 58713  
The Great Speckled Bird, Box 7946, Sta. C. Atlanta, Georgia, 30309  
Wisconsin Newsreel, 217 S. Hamilton, Madison, Wisc. 53703  
Mega Middle Myth, Box 168, Beloit, Wisc. 53511  
Scimitar, 308 Stewart Ave., Ithaca, NYC 14850  
First Issue- same address  
Nova Vanguard, Lon Solomon, 1374 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, NYC. 11236  
Free News, c/o Isham, 1515 N. Ogden, Chicago, Ill 60610  
Spectator, 423 S. Fess #3, Bloomington, Ind. 47401  
Zippies, 1602 Hinman, Apt O-1, Evanston, Ill. 60201  
Student Comm. Network, 418 S. Division, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108  
Helix 3128 Harvard E. Seattle, Washington 98102  
Seed 837 N. LaSalle Chicago Ill. 60610  
Western Activist Box 147 Stu. Center W M U Kalamazoo, Mich 49001  
Mega Middle Myth, P.O. Box 168, Beloit, Wisconsin 53511  
Chicago Sun Times 407 N. Dearborn Chicago Ill.  
Gamoit, Box 3085, Tempe, Arizona, 85251  
Counterpoint, Box 396, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, 54481

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. u

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APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"CONNECTIONS"

"The Milwaukee Journal," a newspaper published daily in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the issue dated March 6, 1967, stated a new newspaper called "Connections" will be formed on the University of Wisconsin (UW) campus, Madison, Wisconsin. This newspaper will deal with art, essays on political beliefs, poetry and new layout and photographic concepts. It is being formed out of disagreement with the official UW student newspaper, "The Daily Cardinal."

"The Capital Times," a newspaper published daily in Madison, Wisconsin, in its issue dated March 8, 1967, said the first issue of "Connections" was distributed March 7, 1967.

"The Wisconsin State Journal," a newspaper published daily in Madison, Wisconsin, in its issue dated March 9, 1967, said "Connections" in its first issue was self-described as an "underground newspaper" on the UW campus.

A source advised on August 9, 1968 that "Connections" is published on a bi-monthly basis, with editorial offices at 217 South Hamilton Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

January 7, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title NATIONAL UNDERGROUND MEDIA CONFERENCE,  
MADISON, WISCONSIN  
NOVEMBER 28 - DECEMBER 1, 1968

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned as  
above at Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

DATE: 1/24/69

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following three newspapers:

1/17-23/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

1/21/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times" D

2/69 issue of "The Movement"

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")
- 1 - 100-55184 ("THE MOVEMENT")

JEB/sea  
(6)

~~REC-20~~ 100-449698-47

1/24/69 - 1/30

Returned  
from 922

NOT RECORDED  
25 JAN 30 1969

101-15

1) [Signature]  
2) Promise

56 FEB 11 1969

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

DATE: 1/22/69

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

1/16 - 16/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

1/14/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*BJ*

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM) ~~REC-11~~
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 100-60968
- 1 - 100-61019 ("EXPRESS TIMES")
- 1 - 100-55850 ("BERKELEY BARB")

JEB/sea  
(5)

*100-449698-726*  
*100-1149698-47*

NOT RECORDED  
25 JAN 21 1969

ENCLOSURE

*Retained 2/22*

*BA/...*  
*INT. SEC. 1/23*

*2) [unclear]*

59 JAN 22 1969

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
(ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

DATE: 1/9/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*B. Williams*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*14*

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following two newspapers:

1/3-9/69 issue of the "Berkeley Barb"

*META*

1/7/69 issue of the "San Francisco Express Times"

*C. H. C.*

*AM*

*Enclosure*  
*922 93D*  
*2 ENCLOSURE*

*4-102*

*100-449698-47*

*100-97101*

*645*

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
  - (1 - 100-60968) ~~REC-54~~
  - (1 - 100-61019) ("EXPRESS TIMES")
  - (1 - 100-55850) ("BERKELEY BARB")

NOT RECORDED  
4 JAN 10 1969

JEB:hc  
(5)

*[Handwritten initials]*



JAN 17 1969

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