

# SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION? YOU'RE A TERRORIST SUSPECT!

From those same lovable folks who brought you the crimes and abuses of [COINTELPRO](#) comes the following brochure, printed at taxpayer expense by the FBI and intended to be issued to law enforcement, requesting that the Joint Terrorism Task Force be called in the event suspicious behavior is witnessed.

And what is "suspicious behavior"? Defending the Constitution!

Read it yourself on the inside page of the brochure. Defending the Constitution is cause to label you a terrorist suspect. Even referring to it is grounds for suspicion that you are a terrorist, with all the harassment that the suspicion implies!



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# COINTELPRO

## The Sabotage Of Legitimate Dissent

Last update Sat Jun 5 16:00:09 PDT 1998

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- [The Brian Glick article on COINTELPRO.](#)

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- [The Jean Seberg Smear.](#)

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- [The Brian Glick history of COINTELPRO.](#)

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- [US Domestic Covert Operations](#)

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- [The Framing Of Qubilah Shabazz.](#)

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- [The Black Panther Coloring Book.](#)

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- [Actual FBI COINTELPRO documents.](#)

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- [Newsline: In Defense Of Paranoia.](#)

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- [The Bari/Cherney Bombing.](#)

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- ["A Rough, Tough, Dirty Business".](#)

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- [Federal Bureau of Intimidation.](#)

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- ["IF AN AGENT KNOCKS".](#)

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- [Mumia's COINTELPRO File.](#)

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- [The FBI and Hollywood.](#)

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- [Paul Wolf's COINTELPRO Page](#)

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## **GREAT MOMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE FBI.**

"[Your information is] too precise, too complete to be believed. The questionnaire plus the other information you brought spell out in detail exactly where, when, how, and by whom we are to be attacked. If anything, it sounds like a trap."

FBI response to the top British spy, Dusko Popov (code named "Tricycle") on August 10, 1941, dismissing Popov's report of the complete Japanese plan for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Pearl Harbor: The Verdict Of History by Gordon Prange, appendix 7 published in 1986. Based on records from the JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Nov 15, 1945 to May 31, 1946.

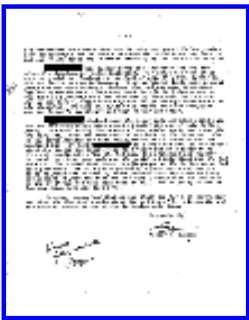
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## **FBI Tries to keep the lid on about J. Edgar Hoover's "lifestyle".**

From 1943, a letter instructing a field agent how to respond to emerging rumors regarding Hoover's sexuality.



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## The FBI announces a suspect in the Atlanta Bombing



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Remember how the network anchors tried to pin this on the militias?

From Reuter's

Guard Suspect in Olympic Bomb

The Atlanta Journal reports in a special edition that a security guard who alerted police to the bomb at Atlanta's

Olympic Centennial Park is a prime suspect in the case. Two people died and 110 were injured in the explosion. The paper reported that the guard, Richard Jewell, is a suspect. Jewell was on hand to help evacuate a crowd of concert goers packed around the stage where the bomb exploded early Saturday morning. Jewell had been recognized as a hero following the bombing. This morning he appeared on with Katie Couric on NBC's ``Today Show.'' An FBI spokesman in Atlanta says nobody has yet been charged in the bombing and declines comment on the newspaper article.



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Mail to: [Michael Rivero](#)

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**Call a member of the  
Phoenix FBI Joint Terrorism  
Task Force:**

**Investigator Al Shearer  
Maricopa County Attorney's Office  
602-650-3131**



**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
602-650-3163**



**Analyst Terry Chapman  
Maricopa County Sheriff's Office  
602-256-1795**

The FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force is attempting to identify criminal activities with domestic terrorists.

In this regard, the purpose of this information sheet is to assist uniformed patrol officers in identifying potential domestic terrorism.

Domestic terrorism is defined as: **Groups or individuals operating entirely inside the US, attempting to influence the US government or population to effect political or social change by engaging in criminal activity.**

In the event questionable activity is encountered, contact the individuals named in this brochure for clarification.

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# If you encounter

*any of the following, Call the  
Joint Terrorism Task Force*



▼  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
201 East Indianola Avenue  
Phoenix, Arizona 85012



**Right-Wing Extremists**

- "defenders" of US Constitution against federal government and the UN (Super Patriots)
- Groups of individuals engaged in para-military training



**Hate Groups**

- Skinheads, Nazis, Neo-Nazis (usually recognized by tattoos)
- Black Separatists
- KKK
- Christian Identity
- White Nationalists



**Common Law Movement Proponents**

- Fictitious license plates
- No license plates
- Fictitious drivers license
- No drivers license
- Refuse to identify themselves
- Request authority for stop
- Make numerous references to US Constitution
- Claim driving is a right, not a privilege
- Attempt to "police the police"

**Left-Wing Terrorists**

- Political motivation is usually Marxist/Leninist philosophy

Machetes



**Single Issue Terrorists**

- Targeting of law enforcement and emergency personnel
- Animal Rights
- Eco-terrorism
- Violent anti-abortion extremism
- Urban riot agitators
- Cyber penetration
- Non-Aligned Terrorists
- Doomsday/Cult-Type Group
- Insurgents/Rebels
- Lone Individuals

**Weapons of Mass Destruction**

- Nuclear
- Chemical
- Biological





# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Spying & Disruption

**By Brian Glick**

(author of War at Home, South End Press)

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#### INTRODUCTION

Activists across the country report increasing government harassment and disruption of their work:

-In the Southwest, paid informers infiltrate the church services, Bible classes and support networks of clergy and lay workers giving sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

-In Alabama, elderly Black people attempting for the first time to exercise their right to vote are interrogated by FBI agents and hauled before federal grand juries hundreds of miles from their homes.

-In New England, a former CIA case officer cites examples from his own past work to warn college students of efforts by undercover operatives to misdirect and discredit protests against South African and US racism.

-In the San Francisco Bay Area, activists planning anti-nuclear civil disobedience learn that their meetings have been infiltrated by the US Navy.

-In Detroit, Seattle, and Philadelphia, in Cambridge, MA, Berkeley, CA., Phoenix, AR., and Washington, DC., churches and organizations opposing US policies in Central America report obviously political break-ins in which important papers are stolen or damaged, while money and valuables are left untouched. License plates on a car spotted fleeing one such office have been traced to the US National Security Agency.

-In Puerto Rico, Texas and Massachusetts, labor leaders, community organizers, writers and editors who advocate Puerto Rican independence are branded by the FBI as "terrorists," brutally rounded-up

in the middle of the night, held incommunicado for days and then jailed under new preventive detention laws.

-The FBI puts the same "terrorist" label on opponents of US intervention in El Salvador, but refuses to investigate the possibility of a political conspiracy behind nation-wide bombings of abortion clinics.

-Throughout the country, people attempting to see Nicaragua for themselves find their trips disrupted, their private papers confiscated, and their homes and offices plagued by FBI agents who demand detailed personal and political information.

These kinds of government tactics violate our fundamental constitutional rights. They make it enormously difficult to sustain grass-roots organizing. They create an atmosphere of fear and distrust which undermines any effort to challenge official policy.

Similar measures were used in the 1960s as part of a secret FBI program known as "COINTELPRO." COINTELPRO was later exposed and officially ended. But the evidence shows that it actually persisted and that clandestine operations to discredit and disrupt opposition movements have become an institutional feature of national and local government in the US. This pamphlet is designed to help current and future activists learn from the history of COINTELPRO, so that our movements can better withstand such attack.

The first section gives a brief overview of what we know the FBI did in the 60s. It explains why we can expect similar government intervention in the 80s and beyond, and offers general guidelines for effective response.

The main body of the pamphlet describes the specific methods which have previously been used to undermine domestic dissent and suggests steps we can take to limit or deflect their impact.

A final chapter explores ways to mobilize broad public protest against this kind of repression.

Further readings and groups that can help are listed in back. The pamphlet's historical analysis is based on confidential internal documents prepared by the FBI and police during the 60s.

It also draws on the post-60s confessions of disaffected government agents, and on the testimony of public officials before Congress and the courts. Though the information from these sources is incomplete, and much of what was done remains secret, we now know enough to draw useful lessons for future organizing.

The suggestions included in the pamphlet are based on the author's 20 years experience as an activist and lawyer, and on talks with long-time organizers in a broad range of movements. They are meant to provide starting points for discussion, so we can get ready before the pressure intensifies. Most are a matter of common sense once the methodology of covert action is understood. Please take these issues

seriously. Discuss the recommendations with other activists. Adapt them to the conditions you face. Point out problems and suggest other approaches.

It is important that we begin now to protect our movements and ourselves.

# A HISTORY TO LEARN FROM

## WHAT WAS COINTELPRO?

"COINTELPRO" was the FBI's secret program to undermine the popular upsurge which swept the country during the 1960s. Though the name stands for "Counterintelligence Program," the targets were not enemy spies. The FBI set out to eliminate "radical" political opposition inside the US. When traditional modes of repression (exposure, blatant harassment, and prosecution for political crimes) failed to counter the growing insurgency, and even helped to fuel it, the Bureau took the law into its own hands and secretly used fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally-protected political activity. Its methods ranged far beyond surveillance, and amounted to a domestic version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

## HOW DO WE KNOW ABOUT IT?

COINTELPRO was discovered in March, 1971, when secret files were removed from an FBI office and released to news media. Freedom of Information requests, lawsuits, and former agents' public confessions deepened the exposure until a major scandal loomed. To control the damage and re-establish government legitimacy in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate, Congress and the courts compelled the FBI to reveal part of what it had done and to promise it would not do it again. Much of what has been learned, and copies of some of the actual documents, can be found in the readings listed at the back of this pamphlet.

## HOW DID IT WORK?

The FBI secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "misdirect, discredit, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was encouraged. Final authority rested with top FBI officials in Washington, who demanded assurance that "there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau." More than 2000 individual actions were officially approved. The documents reveal three types of methods:

- 1. Infiltration: Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main function was to discredit and disrupt. Various means to this end are analyzed below.
- 2. Other forms of deception: The FBI and police also waged psychological warfare from the outside--through bogus publications, forged correspondence, anonymous letters and telephone calls, and similar forms of deceit.

- 3. Harassment, intimidation and violence: Eviction, job loss, break-ins, vandalism, grand jury subpoenas, false arrests, frame-ups, and physical violence were threatened, instigated or directly employed, in an effort to frighten activists and disrupt their movements. Government agents either concealed their involvement or fabricated a legal pretext. In the case of the Black and Native American movements, these assaults--including outright political assassinations--were so extensive and vicious that they amounted to terrorism on the part of the government.

## **WHO WERE THE MAIN TARGETS?**

The most intense operations were directed against the Black movement, particularly the Black Panther Party. This resulted from FBI and police racism, the Black community's lack of material resources for fighting back, and the tendency of the media--and whites in general--to ignore or tolerate attacks on Black groups. It also reflected government and corporate fear of the Black movement because of its militance, its broad domestic base and international support, and its historic role in galvanizing the entire Sixties' upsurge. Many other activists who organized against US intervention abroad or for racial, gender or class justice at home also came under covert attack. The targets were in no way limited to those who used physical force or took up arms. Martin Luther King, David Dellinger, Phillip Berrigan and other leading pacifists were high on the list, as were projects directly protected by the Bill of Rights, such as alternative newspapers.

The Black Panthers came under attack at a time when their work featured free food and health care and community control of schools and police, and when they carried guns only for deterrent and symbolic purposes. It was the terrorism of the FBI and police that eventually provoked the Panthers to retaliate with the armed actions that later were cited to justify their repression.

Ultimately the FBI disclosed six official counterintelligence programs: Communist Party-USA (1956-71); "Groups Seeking Independence for Puerto Rico" (1960-71); Socialist Workers Party (1961-71); "White Hate Groups" (1964-71); "Black Nationalist Hate Groups" (1967-71); and "New Left" (1968-71). The latter operations hit anti-war, student, and feminist groups. The "Black Nationalist" caption actually encompassed Martin Luther King and most of the civil rights and Black Power movements. The "white hate" program functioned mainly as a cover for covert aid to the KKK and similar right-wing vigilantes, who were given funds and information, so long as they confined their attacks to COINTELPRO targets. FBI documents also reveal covert action against Native American, Chicano, Philippine, Arab- American, and other activists, apparently without formal Counterintelligence programs.

## **WHAT EFFECT DID IT HAVE?**

COINTELPRO's impact is difficult to fully assess since we do not know the entire scope of what was done (especially against such pivotal targets as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, SNCC and SDS), and we have no generally accepted analysis of the Sixties. It is clear, however, that:

-COINTELPRO distorted the public's view of radical groups in a way that helped to isolate them and to legitimize open political repression.

-It reinforced and exacerbated the weaknesses of these groups, making it very difficult for the inexperienced activists of the Sixties to learn from their mistakes and build solid, durable organizations.

-Its violent assaults and covert manipulation eventually helped to push some of the most committed and experienced groups to withdraw from grass-roots organizing and to substitute armed actions which isolated them and deprived the movement of much of its leadership.

-COINTELPRO often convinced its victims to blame themselves and each other for the problems it created, leaving a legacy of cynicism and despair that persists today.

-By operating covertly, the FBI and police were able to severely weaken domestic political opposition without shaking the conviction of most US people that they live in a democracy, with free speech and the rule of law.

## **THE DANGER WE FACE**

### **DID COINTELPRO EVER REALLY END?**

Public exposure of COINTELPRO in the early 1970s elicited a flurry of reform. Congress, the courts and the mass media condemned government "intelligence abuses." Municipal police forces officially disbanded their red squads. A new Attorney General notified past victims of COINTELPRO and issued Guidelines to limit future operations. Top FBI officials were indicted (albeit for relatively minor offenses), two were convicted, and several others retired or resigned. J. Edgar Hoover--the egomaniacal, crudely racist and sexist founder of the FBI--died, and a well-known federal judge, William Webster, eventually was appointed to clean house and build a "new FBI."

Behind this public hoopla, however, was little real improvement in government treatment of radical activists. Domestic covert operations were briefly scaled down a bit, after the 60s' upsurge had largely subsided, due in part to the success of COINTELPRO. But they did not stop. In April, 1971, soon after files had been taken from one of its offices, the FBI instructed its agents that "future COINTELPRO actions will be considered on a highly selective, individual basis with tight procedures to insure absolute security." The results are apparent in the record of the subsequent years:

-A virtual war on the American Indian Movement, ranging from forgery of documents, infiltration of legal defense committees, diversion of funds, intimidation of witnesses and falsification of evidence, to the para-military invasion of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and the murder of Anna Mae Aquash, Joe Stuntz and countless others;

- Sabotage of efforts to organize protest demonstrations at the 1972 Republican and Democratic Party conventions. The attempted assassination of San Diego Univ. Prof. Peter Bohmer, by a "Secret Army Organization" of ex-Minutemen formed, subsidized, armed, and protected by the FBI, was a part of these operations;
- Concealment of the fact that the witness whose testimony led to the 1972 robbery-murder conviction of Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was a paid informer who had worked in the BPP under the direction of the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department;
- Infiltration and disruption of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and prosecution of its national leaders on false charges (Florida, 1971-74);
- Formation and operation of sham political groups such as "Red Star Cadre," in Tampa, Fla., and the New Orleans "Red Collective" (1972-76);
- Mass interrogation of lesbian and feminist activists, threats of subpoenas, jailing of those who refused to cooperate, and disruption of women's health collectives and other projects (Lexington, KY., Hartford and New Haven, Conn., 1975);
- Harassment of the Hispanic Commission of the Episcopal Church and numerous other Puerto Rican and Chicano religious activists and community organizers (Chicago, New York City, Puerto Rico, Colorado and New Mexico, 1977);
- Entrapment and frame-up of militant union leaders (NASCO shipyards, San Diego, 1979); and
- Complicity in the murder of socialist labor and community organizers (Greensboro, N.C., 1980).

## **IS IT A THREAT TODAY?**

All this, and maybe more, occurred in an era of reform. The use of similar measures in today's very different times cannot be itemized in such detail, since most are still secret. The gravity of the current danger is evident, however, from the major steps recently taken to legitimize and strengthen political repression, and from the many incidents which are coming to light despite stepped-up security.

The ground-work for public acceptance of repression has been laid by President Reagan's speeches reviving the old red-scare tale of worldwide "communist take-overs" and adding a new bogeyman in the form of domestic and international "terrorism." The President has taken advantage of the resulting political climate to denounce the Bill of Rights and to red-bait critics of US intervention in Central America. He has pardoned the FBI officials convicted of COINTELPRO crimes, praised their work, and spoken favorably of the political witch hunts he took part in during the 1950s.

For the first time in US history, government infiltration to "influence" domestic political activity has

received official sanction. On the pretext of meeting the supposed terrorist threat, Presidential Executive Order 12333 (Dec. 4, 1981) extends such authority not only to the FBI, but also to the military and, in some cases, the CIA. History shows that these agencies treat legal restriction as a kind of speed limit which they feel free to exceed, but only by a certain margin. Thus, Reagan's Executive Order not only encourages reliance on methods once deemed abhorrent, it also implicitly licenses even greater, more damaging intrusion. Government capacity to make effective use of such measures has also been substantially enhanced in recent years:

-Judge Webster's highly-touted reforms have served mainly to modernize the FBI and make it more dangerous. Instead of the back-biting competition which impeded coordination of domestic counter-insurgency in the 60s, the Bureau now promotes inter-agency cooperation. As an equal opportunity employer, it can use Third World and female agents to penetrate political targets more thoroughly than before. By cultivating a low-visibility corporate image and discreetly avoiding public attack on prominent liberals, the FBI has regained respectability and won over a number of former critics.

-Municipal police forces have similarly revamped their image while upgrading their repressive capabilities. The police "red squads" that infiltrated and harassed the 60s' movements have been revived under other names and augmented by para-military SWAT teams and tactical squads as well as highly-politicized community relations and "beat rep" programs, in which Black, Hispanic and female officers are often conspicuous. Local operations are linked by FBI-led regional anti-terrorist task forces and the national Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU).

-Increased military and CIA involvement has added political sophistication and advanced technology. Army Special Forces and other elite military units are now trained and equipped for counter-insurgency (known as "low-intensity warfare"). Their manuals teach the essential methodology of COINTELPRO, stressing earlier intervention to neutralize potential opposition before it can take hold.

The CIA's expanded role is especially ominous. In the 60s, while legally banned from "internal security functions," the CIA managed to infiltrate the Black, student and antiwar movements. It also made secret use of university professors, journalists, labor leaders, publishing houses, cultural organizations and philanthropic fronts to mold US public opinion. But it apparently felt compelled to hold back--within the country--from the kinds of systematic political destabilization, torture, and murder which have become the hallmark of its operations abroad. Now, the full force of the CIA has been unleashed at home.

-All of the agencies involved in covert operations have had time to learn from the 60s and to institute the "tight procedures to insure absolute security" that FBI officials demanded after COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971. Restoration of secrecy has been made easier by the Administration's steps to shield covert operations from public scrutiny. Under Reagan, key FBI and CIA files have been re-classified "top secret." The Freedom of Information Act has been quietly narrowed through administrative reinterpretation. Funds for covert operations are allocated behind closed doors and hidden in CIA and defense appropriations.

Government employees now face censorship even after they retire, and new laws make it a federal crime to publicize information which might tend to reveal an agent's identity. Despite this stepped-up security, incidents frighteningly reminiscent of 60s' COINTELPRO have begun to emerge.

The extent of the infiltration, burglary and other clandestine government intervention that has already come to light is alarming. Since the vast majority of such operations stay hidden until after the damage has been done, those we are now aware of undoubtedly represent only the tip of the iceberg. Far more is sure to lie beneath the surface.

Considering the current political climate, the legalization of COINTELPRO, the rehabilitation of the FBI and police, and the expanded role of the CIA and military, the recent revelations leave us only one safe assumption: that extensive government covert operations are already underway to neutralize today's opposition movements before they can reach the massive level of the 60s.

## **WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?**

Domestic covert action has now persisted in some form through at least the last seven presidencies. It grew from one program to six under Kennedy and Johnson. It flourished when an outspoken liberal, Ramsey Clark, was Attorney General (1966-68). It is an integral part of the established mode of operation of powerful, entrenched agencies on every level of government. It enables policy-makers to maintain social control without detracting from their own public image or the perceived legitimacy of their method of government. It has become as institutional in the US as the race, gender, class and imperial domination it serves to uphold.

Under these circumstances, there is no reason to think we can eliminate COINTELPRO simply by electing better public officials. Only through sustained public education and mobilization, by a broad coalition of political, religious and civil libertarian activists, can we expect to limit it effectively.

In most parts of the country, however, and certainly on a national level, we lack the political power to end covert government intervention, or even to curb it substantially. We therefore need to learn how to cope more effectively with this form of repression.

The next part of this pamphlet examines the methods that were used to discredit and disrupt the movements of the 60s and suggests steps we can take to deflect or reduce their impact in the 80s.

## **A CHECK-LIST OF ESSENTIAL PRECAUTIONS:**

- Check out the authenticity of any disturbing letter, rumor, phone call or other communication before acting on it.

- Document incidents which appear to reflect covert intervention, and report them to the Movement Support Network Hotline: 212/477- 5562.



-Deal openly and honestly with the differences within our movements (race, gender, class, age, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, personality, experience, physical and intellectual capacities, etc.) before the FBI and police exploit them to tear us apart.

-Don't rush to expose a suspected agent. Instead, directly criticize what the suspect says and does. Intra-movement witch hunts only help the government create distrust and paranoia.

-Support whoever comes under government attack. Don't be put off by political slander, such as recent attempts to smear radical activists as "terrorists." Organize public opposition to FBI investigations, grand juries, show trials and other forms of political harassment.

-Above all, do not let them divert us from our main work. Our most powerful weapon against political repression is effective organizing around the needs and issues which directly affect people's lives.

## **WHAT THEY DO & HOW WE CAN PROTECT OURSELVES**

### **INFILTRATION BY AGENTS OR INFORMERS**

Agents are law enforcement officers disguised as activists.

Informers are non-agents who provide information to a law enforcement or intelligence agency. They may be recruited from within a group or sent in by an agency, or they may be disaffected former members or supporters.

Infiltrators are agents or informers who work in a group or community under the direction of a law enforcement or intelligence agency. During the 60s the FBI had to rely on informers (who are less well trained and harder to control) because it had very few black, Hispanic or female agents, and its strict dress and grooming code left white male agents unable to look like activists. As a modern equal opportunity employer, today's FBI has fewer such limitations.

**What They Do:** Some informers and infiltrators quietly provide information while keeping a low profile and doing whatever is expected of group members. Others attempt to discredit a target and disrupt its work. They may spread false rumors and make unfounded accusations to provoke or exacerbate tensions and splits. They may urge divisive proposals, sabotage important activities and resources, or operate as "provocateurs" who lead zealous activists into unnecessary danger. In a demonstration or other confrontation with police, such an agent may break discipline and call for actions which would undermine unity and detract from tactical focus.

**Infiltration As a Source of Distrust and Paranoia:** While individual agents and informers aid the

government in a variety of specific ways, the general use of infiltrators serves a very special and powerful strategic function. The fear that a group may be infiltrated often intimidates people from getting more involved. It can give rise to a paranoia which makes it difficult to build the mutual trust which political groups depend on. This use of infiltrators, enhanced by covertly-initiated rumors that exaggerate the extent to which a particular movement or group has been penetrated, is recommended by the manuals used to teach counter-insurgency in the U.S. and Western Europe.

**Covert Manipulation to Make A Legitimate Activist Appear to be an Agent:** An actual agent will often point the finger at a genuine, non-collaborating and highly-valued group member, claiming that he or she is the infiltrator. The same effect, known as a "snitch jacket," has been achieved by planting forged documents which appear to be communications between an activist and the FBI, or by releasing for no other apparent reason one of a group of activists who were arrested together. Another method used under COINTELPRO was to arrange for some activists, arrested under one pretext or another, to hear over the police radio a phony broadcast which appeared to set up a secret meeting between the police and someone from their group.

## **GUIDELINES FOR COPING WITH INFILTRATION:**

- 1. Establish a process through which anyone who suspects an informer (or other form of covert intervention) can express his or her fears without scaring others. Experienced people assigned this responsibility can do a great deal to help a group maintain its morale and focus while, at the same time, centrally consolidating information and deciding how to use it. This plan works best when accompanied by group discussion of the danger of paranoia, so that everyone understands and follows the established procedure.
- 2. To reduce vulnerability to paranoia and "snitch jackets", and to minimize diversion from your main work, it generally is best if you do not attempt to expose a suspected agent or informer unless you are certain of their role. (For instance, they surface to make an arrest, testify as a government witness or in some other way admit their identity). Under most circumstances, an attempted exposure will do more harm than the infiltrator's continued presence. This is especially true if you can discreetly limit the suspect's access to funds, financial records, mailing lists, discussions of possible law violations, meetings that plan criminal defense strategy, and similar opportunities.
- 3. Deal openly and directly with the form and content of what anyone says and does, whether the person is a suspected agent, has emotional problems, or is simply a sincere, but naive or confused person new to the work.
- 4. Once an agent or informer has been definitely identified, alert other groups and communities by means of photographs, a description of their methods of operation, etc. In the 60s, some agents managed even after their exposure in one community to move on and repeat their performance in a number of others.
- 5. Be careful to avoid pushing a new or hesitant member to take risks beyond what that person is ready to handle, particularly in situations which could result in arrest and prosecution. People in this position have proved vulnerable to recruitment as informers.

## **OTHER FORMS OF DECEPTION**

Bogus leaflets, pamphlets, etc.: COINTELPRO documents show that the FBI routinely put out phony leaflets, posters, pamphlets, etc. to discredit its targets. In one instance, **agents revised a children's coloring book which the Black Panther Party had rejected as anti-white and gratuitously violent, and then distributed a cruder version to backers of the Party's program of free breakfasts for children, telling them the book was being used in the program.**

False media stories: The FBI's documents expose collusion by reporters and news media that knowingly published false and distorted material prepared by Bureau agents. One such story had Jean Seberg, a noticeably pregnant white film star active in anti-racist causes, carrying the child of a prominent Black leader. Seberg's white husband, the actual father, has sued the FBI as responsible for her resulting still-birth, breakdown, and suicide.

Forged correspondence: Former employees have confirmed that the FBI and CIA have the capacity to produce "state of the art" forgery. The U.S. Senate's investigation of COINTELPRO uncovered a series of letters forged in the name of an intermediary between the Black Panther Party's national office and Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, in exile in Algeria. The letters proved instrumental in inflaming intra-party rivalries that erupted into the bitter public split that shattered the Party in the winter of 1971.

Anonymous letters and telephone calls: During the 60s, activists received a steady flow of anonymous letters and phone calls which turn out to have been from government agents. Some threatened violence. Others promoted racial divisions and fears. Still others charged various leaders with collaboration, corruption, sexual affairs with other activists' mates, etc. As in the Seberg incident, interracial sex was a persistent theme. The husband of one white woman involved in a bi-racial civil rights group received the following anonymous letter authored by the FBI:

--Look, man, I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bedroom and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her man--or get her the hell off [name]. A Soul Sister

False rumors: Using infiltrators, journalists and other contacts, the Bureau circulated slanderous, disruptive rumors through political movements and the communities in which they worked.

Other misinformation: A favorite FBI tactic uncovered by Senate investigators was to misinform people that a political meeting or event had been cancelled. Another was to offer non-existent housing at phony addresses, stranding out-of-town conference attendees who naturally blamed those who had organized the event. FBI agents also arranged to transport demonstrators in the name of a bogus bus company which pulled out at the last minute. Such "dirty tricks" interfered with political events and turned activists against each other.

## SEPARATE BOX:

Fronts for the FBI: COINTELPRO documents reveal that a number of Sixties' political groups and projects were actually set up and operated by the FBI.

One, "Grupo pro-Usa Voto," was used to disrupt the fragile unity developing in 1967 among groups seeking Puerto Rico's independence from the US. The genuine proponents of independence had joined together to boycott a US-administered referendum on the island's status. They argued that voting under conditions of colonial domination could serve only to legitimize US rule, and that no vote could be fair while the US controlled the island's economy, media, schools, and police. The bogus group, pretending to support independence, broke ranks and urged independistas to take advantage of the opportunity to register their opinion at the polls.

Since FBI front groups are basically a means for penetrating and disrupting political movements, it is best to deal with them on the basis of the Guidelines for Coping with Infiltration (below).

Confront what a suspect group says and does, but avoid public accusations unless you have definite proof. If you do have such proof, share it with everyone affected.

## **GUIDELINES FOR COPING WITH OTHER FORMS OF DECEPTION:**

- 1. Don't add unnecessarily to the pool of information that government agents use to divide political groups and turn activists against each other. They thrive on gossip about personal tensions, rivalries and disagreements. The more these are aired in public, or via a telephone which can be tapped or mail which can be opened, the easier it is to exploit a groups' problems and subvert its work. (Note that the CIA has the technology to read mail without opening it, and that the telephone network can now be programmed to record any conversation in which specified political terms are used.)
- 2. The best way to reduce tensions and hostilities, and the urge to gossip about them, is to make time for open, honest discussion and resolution of "personal" as well as "political" issues.
- 3. Don't accept everything you hear or read. Check with the supposed source of the information before you act on it. Personal communication among estranged activists, however difficult or painful, could have countered many FBI operations which proved effective in the Sixties.
- 4. When you hear a negative, confusing or potentially harmful rumor, don't pass it on. Instead, discuss it with a trusted friend or with the people in your group who are responsible for dealing with covert intervention.
- 5. Verify and double-check all arrangements for housing, transportation, meeting rooms, and so forth.
- 6. When you discover bogus materials, false media stories, etc., publicly disavow them and expose the true source, insofar as you can.

## **HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION & VIOLENCE:**

Pressure through employers, landlords, etc.: COINTELPRO documents reveal frequent overt contacts and covert manipulation (false rumors, anonymous letters and telephone calls) to generate pressure on

activists from their parents, landlords, employers, college administrators, church superiors, welfare agencies, credit bureaus, licensing authorities, and the like.

Agents' reports indicate that such intervention denied Sixties' activists any number of foundation grants and public speaking engagements. It also cost underground newspapers most of their advertising revenues, when major record companies were persuaded to take their business elsewhere. It may underlie recent steps by insurance companies to cancel policies held by churches giving sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

**Burglary:** Former operatives have confessed to thousands of "black bag jobs" in which FBI agents broke into movement offices to steal, copy or destroy valuable papers, wreck equipment, or plant drugs.

**Vandalism:** FBI infiltrators have admitted countless other acts of vandalism, including the fire which destroyed the Watts Writers Workshop's multi-million dollar ghetto cultural center in 1973. Late 60s' FBI and police raids laid waste to movement offices across the country, destroying precious printing presses, typewriters, layout equipment, research files, financial records, and mailing lists.

**Other direct interference:** To further disrupt opposition movements, frighten activists, and get people upset with each other, the FBI tampered with organizational mail, so it came late or not at all. It also resorted to bomb threats and similar "dirty tricks".

**Conspicuous surveillance:** The FBI and police blatantly watch activists' homes, follow their cars, tap phones, open mail and attend political events. The object is not to collect information (which is done surreptitiously), but to harass and intimidate.

**Attempted interviews:** Agents have extracted damaging information from activists who don't know they have a legal right to refuse to talk, or who think they can outsmart the FBI. COINTELPRO directives recommend attempts at interviews throughout political movements to "enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles" and "get the point across that there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox."

**Grand juries:** Unlike the FBI, the Grand Jury has legal power to make you answer its questions. Those who refuse, and are required to accept immunity from use of their testimony against them, can be jailed for contempt of court. (Such "use immunity" enables prosecutors to get around the constitutional protection against self-incrimination.)

The FBI and the US Dept. of Justice have manipulated this process to turn the grand jury into an instrument of political repression. Frustrated by jurors' consistent refusal to convict activists of overtly political crimes, they convened over 100 grand juries between 1970 and 1973 and subpoenaed more than 1000 activists from the Black, Puerto Rican, student, women's and anti-war movements. Supposed pursuit of fugitives and "terrorists" was the usual pretext. Many targets were so terrified that they dropped out of political activity. Others were jailed without any criminal charge or trial, in what amounts to a U.S. version of the political internment procedures employed in South Africa and

Northern Ireland.

**False arrest and prosecution:** COINTELPRO directives cite the Philadelphia FBI's success in having local militants "arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail" and "spent most of the summer in jail." Though the bulk of the activists arrested in this manner were eventually released, some were convicted of serious charges on the basis of perjured testimony by FBI agents, or by co-workers who the Bureau had threatened or bribed.

The object was not only to remove experienced organizers from their communities and to divert scarce resources into legal defense, but even more to discredit entire movements by portraying their leaders as vicious criminals. Two victims of such frame-ups, Native American activist Leonard Peltier and 1960s' Black Panther official Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, have finally gained court hearings on new trial motions.

Others currently struggling to re-open COINTELPRO convictions include Richard Marshall of the American Indian Movement and jailed Black Panthers Herman Bell, Anthony Bottom, Albert Washington (the "NY3"), and Richard "Dhoruba" Moore.

**Intimidation:** One COINTELPRO communique urged that "The Negro youths and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Others reported use of threats (anonymous and overt) to terrorize activists, driving some to abandon promising projects and others to leave the country. During raids on movement offices, the FBI and police routinely roughed up activists and threatened further violence. In August, 1970, they forced the entire staff of the Black Panther office in Philadelphia to march through the streets naked.

**Instigation of violence:** The FBI's infiltrators and anonymous notes and phone calls incited violent rivals to attack Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and other targets. Bureau records also reveal maneuvers to get the Mafia to move against such activists as black comedian Dick Gregory.

A COINTELPRO memo reported that "shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continue to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego...it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program."

**Covert aid to right-wing vigilantes:** In the guise of a COINTELPRO against "white hate groups," the FBI subsidized, armed, directed and protected the Klu Klux Klan and other right-wing groups, including a "Secret Army Organization" of California ex-Minutemen who beat up Chicano activists, tore apart the offices of the San Diego Street Journal and the Movement for a Democratic Military, and tried to kill a prominent anti-war organizer. Puerto Rican activists suffered similar terrorist assaults from anti-Castro Cuban groups organized and funded by the CIA.

Defectors from a band of Chicago-based vigilantes known as the "Legion of Justice" disclosed that the funds and arms they used to destroy book stores, film studios and other centers of opposition had

secretly been supplied by members of the Army's 113th Military Intelligence Group.

**Assassination:** The FBI and police were implicated directly in murders of Black and Native American leaders. In Chicago, police assassinated Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, using a floor plan supplied by an FBI informer who apparently also had drugged Hampton's food to make him unconscious during the raid.

FBI records show that this accomplice received a substantial bonus for his services. Despite an elaborate cover-up, a blue-ribbon commission and a U.S Court of Appeals found the deaths to be the result not of a shoot out, as claimed by police, but of a carefully orchestrated, Vietnam-style "search and destroy mission".

## **GUIDELINES FOR COPING WITH HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION & VIOLENCE:**

- 1. Establish security procedures appropriate to your group's level of activity and discuss them thoroughly with everyone involved. Control access to keys, files, letterhead, funds, financial records, mailing lists, etc. Keep duplicates of valuable documents. Safeguard address books, and do not carry them when arrest is likely.
- 2. Careful records of break-ins, thefts, bomb threats, raids, arrests, strange phone noises (not always taps or bugs), harassment, etc. will help you to discern patterns and to prepare reports and testimony.
- 3. Don't talk to the FBI. Don't let them in without a warrant. Tell others that they came. Have a lawyer demand an explanation and instruct them to leave you alone.
- 4. If an activist does talk, or makes some other honest error, explain the harm that could result. But do not attempt to ostracize a sincere person who slips up. Isolation only weakens a person's ability to resist. It can drive someone out of the movement and even into the arms of the police.
- 5. If the FBI starts to harass people in your area, alert everyone to refuse to cooperate (see box). Call the Movement Support Network's Hotline:(212) 614-6422. Set up community meetings with speakers who have resisted similar harassment elsewhere. Get literature, films, etc. through the organizations listed in the back of this pamphlet. Consider "Wanted" posters with photos of the agents, or guerilla theater which follows them through the city streets.
- 6. Make a major public issue of crude harassment, such as tampering with your mail. Contact your congressperson. Call the media. Demonstrate at your local FBI office. Turn the attack into an opportunity for explaining how covert intervention threatens fundamental human rights.
- 7. Many people find it easier to tell an FBI agent to contact their lawyer than to refuse to talk. Once a lawyer is involved, the Bureau generally pulls back, since it has lost its power to intimidate. If possible, make arrangements with a local lawyer and let everyone know that agents who visit them can be referred to that lawyer. If your group engages in civil disobedience or finds itself under intense police pressure, start a bail fund, train some members to deal with the legal system, and develop an ongoing relationship with a sympathetic local lawyer.
- 8. Organizations listed in the back of this pamphlet can also help resist grand jury harassment. Community education is important, along with legal, financial, child care, and other support for those who protect a movement by refusing to divulge information about it. If a respected activist is

subpoenaed for obviously political reasons, consider trying to arrange for sanctuary in a local church or synagogue.

- 9. While the FBI and police are entirely capable of fabricating criminal charges, any law violations make it easier for them to set you up. The point is not to get so up-tight and paranoid that you can't function, but to make a realistic assessment based on your visibility and other pertinent circumstances.
- 10. Upon hearing of Fred Hampton's murder, the Black Panthers in Los Angeles fortified their offices and organized a communications network to alert the community and news media in the event of a raid. When the police did attempt an armed assault four days later, the Panthers were able to hold off the attack until a large community and media presence enabled them to leave the office without casualties. Similar preparation can help other groups that have reason to expect right-wing or police assaults.
- 11. Make sure your group designates and prepares other members to step in if leaders are jailed or otherwise incapacitated. The more each participant is able to think for herself or himself and take responsibility, the better will be the group's capacity to cope with crises.

## **ORGANIZING PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO COVERT INTERVENTION**

**A BROAD-BASED STRATEGY:** No one existing political organization or movement is strong enough, by itself, to mobilize the public pressure required to significantly limit the ability of the FBI, CIA and police to subvert our work. Some activists oppose covert intervention because it violates fundamental constitutional rights. Others stress how it weakens and interferes with the work of a particular group or movement. Still others see covert action as part of a political and economic system which is fundamentally flawed. Our only hope is to bring these diverse forces together in a single, powerful alliance.

Such a broad coalition cannot hold together unless it operates with clearly-defined principles. The coalition as a whole will have to oppose covert intervention on certain basic grounds--such as the threat to democracy, civil liberties and social justice, leaving its members free to put forward other objections and analyses in their own names. Participants will need to refrain from insisting that only their views are "politically correct" and that everyone else has "sold out."

Above all, we will have to resist the government's maneuvers to divide us by moving against certain groups, while subtly suggesting that it will go easy on the others, if only they dissociate themselves from those under attack. This strategy is evident in the recent Executive Order and Guidelines, which single out for infiltration and disruption people who support liberation movements and governments that defy U.S. hegemony or who entertain the view that it may at times be necessary to break the law in order to effectuate social change.

**DIVERSE TACTICS:** For maximum impact, local and national coalitions will need a multi-faceted approach which effectively combines a diversity of tactics, including:

- 1. Investigative research to stay on top of, and document, just what the FBI, CIA and police are up to.
- 2. Public education through forums, rallies, radio and TV, literature, film, high school and college



curricula, wall posters, guerilla theater, and whatever else proves interesting and effective.

- 3. Legislative lobbying against administration proposals to strengthen covert work, cut back public access to information, punish government "whistle-blowers", etc. Coalitions in some cities and states have won legislative restrictions on surveillance and covert action. The value of such victories will depend our ability to mobilize continuing, vigilant public pressure for effective enforcement.
- 4. Support for the victims of covert intervention can reduce somewhat the harm done by the FBI, CIA and police. Organizing on behalf of grand jury resisters, political prisoners, and defendants in political trials offers a natural forum for public education about domestic covert action.
- 5. Lawsuits may win financial compensation for some of the people harmed by covert intervention. Class action suits, which seek a court order (injunction) limiting surveillance and covert action in a particular city or judicial district, have proved a valuable source of information and publicity. They are enormously expensive, however, in terms of time and energy as well as money. Out-of-court settlements in some of these cases have given rise to bitter disputes which split coalitions apart, and any agreement is subject to reinterpretation or modification by increasingly conservative, administration-oriented federal judges.

The US Court of Appeals in Chicago has ruled that the consent decree against the FBI there affects only operations based "solely on the political views of a group or an individual," for which the Bureau can conjure no pretext of a "genuine concern for law enforcement."

- 6. Direct action, in the form of citizens' arrests, mock trials, picket lines, and civil disobedience, has recently greeted CIA recruiters on a number of college campuses. Although the main focus has been on the Agency's international crimes, its domestic activities have also received attention. Similar actions might be organized to protest recruitment by the FBI and police, in conjunction with teach-ins and other education about domestic covert action. Demonstrations against Reagan's attempts to bolster covert intervention, or against particular FBI, CIA or police operations, could also raise public consciousness and focus activists' outrage.

**PROSPECTS:** Previous attempts to mobilize public opposition, especially on a local level, indicate that a broad coalition, employing a multi-faceted approach, may be able to impose some limits on the government's ability to discredit and disrupt our work. It is clear, however, that we currently lack the power to eliminate such intervention. While fighting hard to end domestic covert action, we need also to study the forms it takes and prepare ourselves to cope with it as effectively as we can.

Above all, it is essential that we resist the temptation to so preoccupy ourselves with repression that we neglect our main work. Our ability to resist the government's attacks depends ultimately on the strength of our movements. So long as we continue to advocate and organize effectively, no manner of intervention can stop us.

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## **BUGS, TAPS AND INFILTRATORS: WHAT TO DO ABOUT POLITICAL SPYING**

by Linda Lotz, American Friends Service Committee

Organizations involved in controversial issues -- particularly those who encourage or assist members to commit civil disobedience -- should be alert to the possibility of surveillance and disruption by police or federal agencies.

During the last three decades, many individuals and organizations were spied upon, wiretapped, their personal lives disrupted in an effort to draw them away from their political work, and their organizations infiltrated. Hundreds of thousands of pages of evidence from agencies such as the FBI and CIA were obtained by Congressional inquiries headed by Senator Frank Church and Representative Otis Pike, others were obtained through use of the Freedom of Information Act and as a result of lawsuits seeking damages for First Amendment violations.

Despite the public outcry to these revelations, the apparatus remains in place, and federal agencies have been given increased powers by the Reagan Administration.

Good organizers should be acquainted with this sordid part of American history, and with the signs that may indicate their group is the target of an investigation.

**HOWEVER, DO NOT LET PARANOIA immobilize you.** The results of paranoia and overreaction to evidence of surveillance can be just as disruptive to an organization as an actual infiltrator or disruption campaign.

This document is a brief outline of what to look for -- and what to do if you think your group is the subject of an investigation. This is meant to suggest possible actions, and is not intended to provide legal advice.

## **Possible evidence of government spying**

### **Obvious surveillance**

Look for:

- Visits by police or federal agents to politically involved individuals, landlords, employers, family members or business associates. These visits may be to ask for information, to encourage or create possibility of eviction or termination of employment, or to create pressure for the person to stop his or her political involvement.
- Uniformed or plainclothes officers taking pictures of people entering your office or participating in your activities. Just before and during demonstrations and other public events, check the area including windows and rooftops for photographers. (Credentialling press can help to separate the media from the spies.)
- People who seem out of place. If they come to your office or attend your events, greet them as

potential members. Try to determine if they are really interested in your issues -- or just your members!

- People writing down license plate numbers of cars and other vehicles in the vicinity of your meetings and rallies.

Despite local legislation and several court orders limiting policy spying activities, these investigatory practices have been generally found to be legal unless significant "chilling" of constitutional rights can be proved.

## Telephone problems

Electronic surveillance equipment is now so sophisticated that you should not be able to tell if your telephone conversations are being monitored. Clicks, whirrs, and other noises probably indicate a problem in the telephone line or other equipment.

For example, the National Security Agency has the technology to monitor microwave communications traffic, and to isolate all calls to or from a particular line, or to listen for key words that activate a recording device. Laser beams and "spike" microphones can detect sound waves hitting walls and window panes, and then transmit those waves for recording. In these cases, there is little chance that the subject would be able to find out about the surveillance.

Among the possible signs you may find are:

- Hearing a tape recording of a conversation you, or someone else in your home or office, have recently held.
- Hearing people talking about your activities when you try to use the telephone.
- Losing service several days before major events.

Government use of electronic surveillance is governed by two laws, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Warrants for such surveillance can be obtained if there is evidence of a federal crime, such as murder, drug trafficking, or crimes characteristic of organized crime, or for the purpose of gathering foreign intelligence information available within the U.S. In the latter case, an "agent of a foreign power" can be defined as a representative of a foreign government, from a faction or opposition group, or foreign based political groups.

## Mail problems

Because of traditional difficulties with the U.S. Postal Service, some problems with mail delivery will occur, such as a machine catching an end of an envelope and tearing it, or a bag getting lost and delaying delivery.

However, a pattern of problems may occur because of political intelligence gathering:

- Envelopes may have been opened prior to reaching their destination; contents were removed and/or switched with other mail. Remember that the glue on envelopes doesn't work as well when volume or bulk mailings are involved.
- Mail may arrive late, on a regular basis different from others in your neighborhood.
- Mail may never arrive.

There are currently two kinds of surveillance permitted with regards to mail: the mail cover, and opening of mail. The simplest, and lest intrusive form is the "mail cover" in which Postal employees simply list any information that can be obtained from the envelope, or opening second, third or fourth class mail. Opening of first class mail requires a warrant unless it is believed to hold drugs or "ticks." More leeway is given for opening first class international mail.

## Burglaries

A common practice during the FBI's Counter- Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) was the use of surreptitious entries or "black bag jobs." Bureau agents were given special training in burglary, key reproduction, etc. for use in entering homes and offices. In some cases, the key could be obtained from "loyal American" landlords or building owners.

Typical indicators are:

- Files, including membership and financial reports are rifled, copied or stolen.
- Items of obvious financial value are left untouched.
- Equipment vital to the organization may be broken or stolen, such as typewriters, printing machinery, and computers.
- Signs of a political motive are left, such as putting a membership list or a poster from an important event in an obvious place.

Although warrantless domestic security searches are in violation of the Fourth Amendment, and any evidence obtained this way cannot be used in criminal proceedings, the Reagan Administration and most recent Presidents (excepting Carter) have asserted the inherent authority to conduct searches against those viewed as agents of a foreign power.

## Informers and Infiltrators

Information about an organization or individual can also be obtained by placing an informer or infiltrator. This person may be a police officer, employee of a federal agency, someone who has been charged or convicted of criminal activity and has agreed to "help" instead of serve time, or anyone from the public.

Once someone joins an organization for the purposes of gathering information, the line between data gathering and participation blurs. Two types of infiltrators result -- someone who is under "deep cover" and adapts to the lifestyle of the people they are infiltrating. These people may maintain their cover for

many years, and an organization may never know whom these people are. Agents "provocateur" are more visible, because they will deliberately attempt to disrupt or lead the group into illegal activities. They often become involved just as an event or crisis is occurring, and leave town or drop out after the organizing slows down.

An agent may:

- Volunteer for tasks which provide access to important meetings and papers such as financial records, membership lists, minutes and confidential files.
- Not follow through or complete tasks, or else does them poorly despite an obvious ability to do good work.
- Cause problems for a group such as committing it to activities or expenses without following proper channels; urge a group to plan activities that divide group unity.
- Seem to create or be in the middle of personal or political difference that slow the work of the group.
- Seek the public spotlight, in the name of your group, and then make comments or present an image different from the rest of the group.
- Urge the use of violence or breaking the law, and provide information and resources to enable such ventures.
- Have no obvious source of income over a period of time, or have more money available than his or her job should pay.
- Charge other people with being agents, (a process called snitch-jackets), thereby diverting attention from him or herself, and draining the group's energy from other work.

**THESE ARE NOT THE ONLY SIGNS, NOR IS A PERSON WHO FITS SEVERAL OF THESE CATEGORIES NECESSARILY AN AGENT. BE EXTREMELY CAUTIONS AND DO NOT CALL ANOTHER PERSON AN AGENT WITHOUT HAVEING SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.**

Courts have consistently found that an individual who provides information, even if it is incriminating, to an informer has not had his or her Constitutional rights violated. This includes the use of tape recorders or electronic transmitters as well.

Lawsuits in Los Angeles, Chicago and elsewhere, alleging infiltration of lawful political groups have resulted in court orders limiting the use of police informers and infiltrators. However, this does not affect activities of federal agencies.

If you find evidence of surveillance: Hold a meeting to discuss spying and harassment

- Determine if any of your members have experienced any harassment or noticed any surveillance activities that appear to be directed at the organization's activities. Carefully record all the details of these and see if any patterns develop.
- Review past suspicious activities or difficulties in your group. Has one or several people been involved in many of these events? List other possible "evidence" of infiltration.
- Develop internal policy on how the group should respond to any possible surveillance or suspicious actions. Decide who should be the contact person(s), what information should be recorded, what

process to follow during any event or demonstration if disruption tactics are used.

- Consider holding a public meeting to discuss spying in your community and around the country. Schedule a speaker or film discussing political surveillance.
- Make sure to protect important documents or computer disks, by keeping a second copy in a separate, secret location. Use fireproof, locked cabinets if possible.
- Implement a sign-in policy for your office and/or meetings. This is helpful for your organizing, developing a mailing list, and can provide evidence that an infiltrator or informer was at your meeting.

Appoint a contact for spying concerns

This contact person or committee should implement the policy developed above and should be given to authority to act, to get others to respond should any problems occur.

The contact should:

- Seek someone familiar with surveillance history and law, such as the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Black Lawyers or the American Friends Service Committee. Brief them about your evidence and suspicions. They will be able to make suggestions about actions to take, as well as organizing and legal contacts.
- Maintain a file of all suspected or confirmed experiences of surveillance and disruption. Include: date, place, time, who was present, a complete descriptions of everything that happened, and any comments explaining the context of the event or showing what impact the event had on the individual or organization. If this is put in deposition form and signed, it can be used as evidence in court.
- Under the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy act, request any files on the organization from federal agencies such as the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, etc. File similar requests with local and state law enforcement agencies, if your state freedom of information act applies.

Prepare for major demonstrations and events

- Plan ahead; brief your legal workers on appropriate state and federal statutes on police and federal official spying. Discuss whether photographing with still or video cameras is anticipated and decide if you want to challenge it.
- If you anticipate surveillance, brief reporters who are expected to cover the event, and provide them with materials about past surveillance by your city's police in the past, and/or against other activists throughout the country.
- Tell the participants when surveillance is anticipated and discuss what the group's response will be. Also, decide how to handle provocateurs, police violence, etc. and incorporate this into any affinity group, marshall or other training.

During the event:

- Carefully monitor the crowd, looking for surveillance or possible disruption tactics. Photograph any suspicious or questionable activities.
- Approach police officer(s) seen engaging in questionable activities. Consider having a legal worker and/or press person monitor their actions. If you suspect someone is an infiltrator:

- Try to obtain information about his or her background: where s/he attended high school and college; place of employment, and other pieces of history. Attempt to verify this information.
- Check public records which include employment; this can include voter registration, mortgages or other debt filings, etc.
- Check listings of police academy graduates, if available.

Once you obtain evidence that someone is an infiltrator:

- Confront him or her in a protected setting, such as a small meeting with several other key members of your group (and an attorney if available). Present the evidence and ask for the person's response.
- You should plan how to inform your members about the infiltration, gathering information about what the person did while a part of the group and determining any additional impact s/he may have had.
- You should consider contacting the press with evidence of the infiltration.

If you can only gather circumstantial evidence, but are concerned that the person is disrupting the group:

- Hold a strategy session with key leadership as to how to handle the troublesome person.
- Confront the troublemaker, and lay out why the person is disrupting the organization. Set guidelines for further involvement and carefully monitor the person's activities. If the problems continue, consider asking the person to leave the organization.
- If sufficient evidence is then gathered which indicates s/he is an infiltrator, confront the person with the information in front of witnesses and carefully watch reactions.

Request an investigation or make a formal complaint

- Report telephone difficulties to your local and long distance carriers. Ask for a check on the lines to assure that the equipment is working properly. Ask them to do a sweep/check to see if any wiretap equipment is attached (Sometimes repair staff can be very helpful in this way.) If you can afford it, request a sweep of your phone and office or home from a private security firm. Remember this will only be good at the time that the sweep is done.
- File a formal complaint with the U.S. Postal Service, specifying the problems you have been experiencing, specific dates, and other details. If mail has failed to arrive, ask the Post Office to trace the envelope or package.
- Request a formal inquiry by the police, if you have been the subject of surveillance or infiltration. Describe any offending actions by police officers and ask a variety of questions. If an activity was photographed, ask what will be done with the pictures. Set a time when you expect a reply from the police chief. Inform members of the City Council and the press of your request.
- If you are not pleased with the results of the police chief's reply, file a complaint with the Police Board or other administrative body. Demand a full investigation. Work with investigators to insure that all witnesses are contacted. Monitor the investigation and respond publicly to the conclusions. Initiate a lawsuit if applicable federal or local statutes have been violated.

Before embarking on a lawsuit, remember that most suits take many years to complete and require tremendous amounts of organizers' and legal workers' energy and money.

Always notify the press when you have a good story

Keep interested reporters updated on any new developments. They may be aware of other police abuses, or be able to obtain further evidence of police practices.

Press coverage of spying activities is very important, because publicity conscious politicians and police chiefs will be held accountable for questionable practices.

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# TIP SHEET for Staff Organizers

## Common Sense Security

by Sheila O'Donnell

As the movements for social change become more sophisticated, the techniques of the state, corporations and the right wing have also become more sophisticated. Historically this has always been the case; caution in the face of the concerted effort to stop us, however, is both prudent and necessary.

Here are some useful suggestions:

- If you wish to have a private conversation, leave your home and your office and go outside and take a walk or go somewhere public and notice who is near you. Never say anything you don't want to hear repeated when there is any possibility of being recorded.
- Never leave one copy of a document or list behind; take a minute to duplicate an irreplaceable document and keep the duplicate in a safe place. Back up and store important computer disks off-site. Sensitive data and membership list should be kept under lock and key.
- Keep your mailing lists, donor lists and personal phone books away from light-fingered people. Always maintain a duplicate.
- Know your printer if you are about to publish.
- Know your mailing house.
- Know anyone you are trusting to work on any part of a project that is sensitive.
- Don't hire a stranger as a messenger.
- Sweeps for electronic surveillance are only effective for the time they are being done, and are only effective as they are being done if you are sure of the person(s) doing the sweep.
- Don't use code on the phone. If you are being tapped and the transcript is used against you in court, the coded conversation can be alleged to be anything. Don't say anything on the phone you don't want to hear in open court.



- Don't gossip on the phone. Smut is valuable to anyone listening; it makes everyone vulnerable.
- If you are being followed, get the tag number and description of the car and people in the car. Photograph the person(s) following you or have a friend do so.
- If you are followed or feel vulnerable, call a friend; don't "tough it out" alone. They are trying to frighten you. It is frightening to have someone threatening your freedom.
- Debrief yourself after each incident. Write details down: time, date, occasion, incident, characteristics of the person(s), impressions, anything odd about the situation. Keep a "weirdo" file and keep notes from unsettling situations and see if a pattern emerges.
- Write for your file under the FOIA and pursue the agencies until they give you all the documents filed under your name.
- Brief your membership on known or suspected surveillance.
- Report thefts of materials from your office or home to the police as a criminal act.
- Assess your undertaking from a security point of view; understand your vulnerabilities; assess your allies and your adversaries as objectively as possible; do not underestimate the opposition. Do not take chances.
- Recognize your organizational and personal strengths and weaknesses.
- Discuss incidents with cohorts, family and membership. Call the press if you have hard information about surveillance or harassment. Discussion makes the dirty work of the intelligence agencies and private spies overt.

## VISITS FROM THE FBI

- Don't talk to the FBI ( or any government investigator) without your attorney present. Information gleaned during the visit can be used against you and your co-workers. Get the names and addresses of the agents and tell them you will have your attorney get in touch with them. They rarely set up an interview under those circumstances.
- Don't invite them into your home. Speak with the agents outside. Once inside they glean information about your perspective and life style.
- Don't let them threaten you into talking. If the FBI intends to empanel a grand jury, a private talk with you will not change the strategy of the FBI.
- Lying to the FBI is a criminal act. Any information you give the FBI can and will be used against you.
- Don't let them intimidate you. So what if they know where you live or work and what you do? This is still a democracy and we still have Constitutional rights. They intend to frighten you; don't let them. They can only "neutralize" you if you let them.
- Remember. The United States prides itself in being a democracy; we have Constitutional rights. Dissatisfaction with the status quo and attempting to mobilize for change is protected; surveillance and harassment are violations. Speak out.

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Mail to: [Michael Rivero](#)

# COINTELPRO



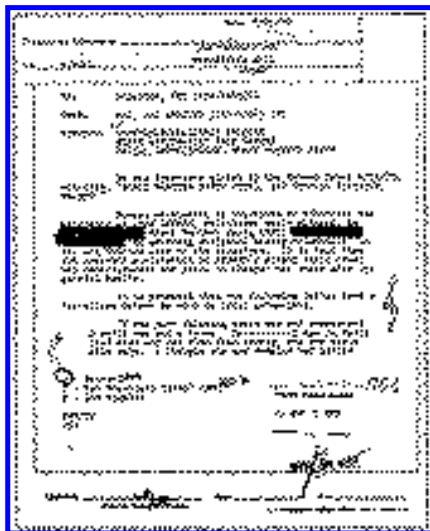
## The Smearing of Jean Seberg

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This is another example of the tactics used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to stifle legitimate dissent in Hollywood. Following my going public about the inconsistencies I found in the Vincent Foster affair, I was subjected to similar treatment.

Jean Seberg, a [well known actress](#) in the 60s, became pregnant and the FBI sent out letters to the gossip columnists identifying the baby's father as a Black Panther, in order to cheapen Seberg's image.

The scans below are of the official FBI letter from Los Angeles to Washington D.C. asking permission for the scam.



[Click for full size picture of page one of the letter requesting permission for](#)

[the smearing of Jean Seberg.](#)



[Click for full size picture of page two of the letter requesting permission for the](#)

[smearing of Jean Seberg.](#)

## The text of the letter.

"Bureau permission is requested to publicize the pregnancy of Jean Seberg, well-known movie actress by (name deleted) Black Panther (BPP) (deleted) by advising Hollywood "Gossip-Columnists" in the Los Angeles area of the situation. It is felt that the possible publication of Seberg's plight could cause her embarrassment and serve to cheapen her image with the general public.

" 'It is proposed that the following letter from a fictitious person be sent to local columinists:

"I was just thinking about you and remembered I still owe you a favor. So ---- I was in Paris last week and ran into Jean Seberg, who was heavy with baby. I thought she and Romaine [sic] had gotten together again, but she confided the child belonged to (deleted) of the Black Panthers, one (deleted). The dear girl is getting around!

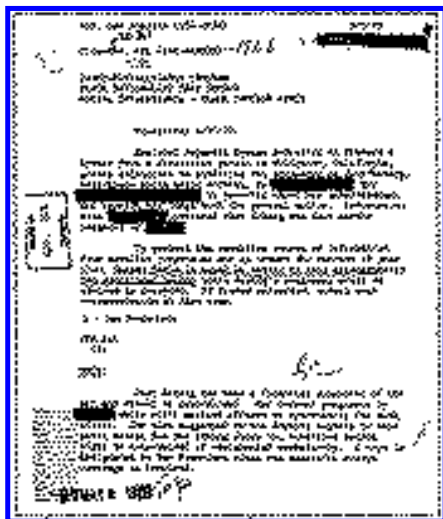
" 'Anyway, I thought you might get a scoop on the others. Be good and I'll see you soon.

'Love,  
" 'Sol.,

"Usual precautions would be taken by the Los Angeles Division to preclude identification of the Bureau as the source of the letter if approval is granted."

## The results of the letter.

Permission was granted, but with the suggestion that the smear be delayed until Jean Seberg's pregnancy was in a very obvious condition.



[Click for full size picture of the letter granting permission for the smearing of](#)

[Jean Seberg.](#)

The story was then run by Los Angeles Times propagandist Joyce Haber.



[Click for full size picture of the Haber Article that launched the smear.](#)

The story was picked up by Newsweek and the international press. The shock of the story was so severe that Jean Seberg suffered a miscarriage. The funeral for the child was held with an open casket, so that the lie stood revealed in it's most tragic form. Jean Seberg, her baby dead and her career shattered by this outright lie, attempted suicide several times, finally succeeding in a French Hotel.



[Click for full size picture of memo that accompanied copy of the Haber story](#)

[sent to FBI files..](#)

(The name which was redacted from the memo during the FOIA process is thought by many to have been Raymond Hewit, a Black Panther leader. His "outright lie" was far more direct. The FBI typed up a letter on official FBI stationery identifying Hewit as an informant and planted it where other Black Panthers would find it in the hopes that Hewit would then be killed.)

Following Seberg's death, the Los Angeles Times, the key instrument of her torment, issued a statement by the FBI.

"The days when the FBI used derogatory information to combat advocates of unpopular causes have long since passed. We are out of that business forever."

The Senate committee that looked into COINTELPRO disagreed, however.

"Cointelpro activities may continue today under the rubric of 'investigation.'

(From my own experiences in Hollywood following my interest in the Vincent Foster murder, I can attest that the Senate committee has a far more accurate grasp of reality.)

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Spying & Disruption

Refuse and Resist!

Cointelpro Revisited -  
Spying & Disruption

By Brian Glick  
author of War at Home, South End Press

A History To Learn From-  
What Was Cointelpro?

"COINTELPRO" was the FBI's secret program to undermine the popular upsurge which swept the country during the 1960s. Though the name stands for "Counterintelligence Program," the targets were not enemy spies. The FBI set out to eliminate "radical" political opposition inside the US. When traditional modes of repression (exposure, blatant harassment, and prosecution for political crimes) failed to counter the growing insurgency, and even helped to fuel it, the Bureau took the law into its own hands and secretly used fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally-protected political activity. Its methods ranged far beyond surveillance, and amounted to a domestic version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

How Do We Know About It?

COINTELPRO was discovered in March, 1971, when secret files were removed from an FBI office and released to news media. Freedom of Information requests, lawsuits, and former agents' public confessions deepened the exposure until a major scandal loomed. To control the damage and re-establish government legitimacy in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate, Congress and the courts compelled the FBI to reveal part of what it had done and to promise it would not do it again . . .

How Did It Work?

The FBI secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "misdirect, discredit, disrupt and otherwise neutralize "specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was encouraged. Final authority rested with top FBI officials in Washington, who demanded assurance that "there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau." More than 2000 individual actions were officially approved. The documents reveal three types of methods:

1. Infiltration: Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main function was to discredit and disrupt. Various means to this end are analyzed below.
2. Other forms of deception: The FBI and police also waged psychological warfare from the outside -- through bogus publications, forged correspondence, anonymous letters and telephone calls, and similar forms of deceit.
3. Harassment, intimidation and violence: Eviction, job loss, break-ins, vandalism, grand jury subpoenas, false arrests, frame-ups, and physical violence were threatened, instigated or directly employed, in an effort to frighten activists and disrupt their movements. Government agents either concealed their involvement or fabricated a legal pretext. In the case of the Black and Native American movements, these assaults -- including outright political assassinations -- were so extensive and vicious that they amounted to terrorism on the part of the government.

#### Who Were The Main Targets?

The most intense operations were directed against the Black movement, particularly the Black Panther Party. This resulted from FBI and police racism, the Black community's lack of material resources for fighting back, and the tendency of the media -- and whites in general -- to ignore or tolerate attacks on Black groups. It also reflected government and corporate fear of the Black movement because of its militance, its broad domestic base and international support, and its historic role in galvanizing the entire Sixties' upsurge. Many other activists who organized against US intervention abroad or for racial, gender or class justice at home also came under covert attack. The targets were in no way limited to those who used physical force or took up arms. Martin Luther King, David Dellinger, Phillip Berrigan and other leading pacifists were high on the list, as were projects directly protected by the Bill of Rights, such as alternative newspapers.

The Black Panthers came under attack at a time when their work



featured free food and health care and community control of schools and police, and when they carried guns only for deterrent and symbolic purposes. It was the terrorism of the FBI and police that eventually provoked the Panthers to retaliate with the armed actions that later were cited to justify their repression.

Ultimately the FBI disclosed six official counterintelligence programs:

Communist Party-USA (1956-71); "Groups Seeking Independence for Puerto Rico" (1960-71); Socialist Workers Party (1961-71); "White Hate Groups" (1964-71); "Black Nationalist Hate Groups" (1967-71); and "New Left" (1968- 71). The latter operations hit anti-war, student, and feminist groups. The "Black Nationalist" caption actually encompassed Martin Luther King and most of the civil rights and Black Power movements. The "white hate" program functioned mainly as a cover for covert aid to the KKK and similar right-wing vigilantes, who were given funds and information, so long as they confined their attacks to COINTELPRO targets. FBI documents also reveal covert action against Native American, Chicano, Phillipine, Arab-American, and other activists, apparently without formal Counterintelligence programs.

#### What Effect Did It Have?

COINTELPRO's impact is difficult to fully assess since we do not know the entire scope of what was done (especially against such pivotal targets as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, SNCC and SDS), and we have no generally accepted analysis of the Sixties. It is clear, however, that:

- COINTELPRO distorted the public's view of radical groups in a way that helped to isolate them and to legitimize open political repression.
- It reinforced and exacerbated the weaknesses of these groups, making it very difficult for the inexperienced activists of the Sixties to learn from their mistakes and build solid, durable organizations.
- Its violent assaults and covert manipulation eventually helped to push some of the most committed and experienced groups to withdraw from grass-roots organizing and to substitute armed actions which isolated them and deprived the movement of much of its leadership.
- COINTELPRO often convinced its victims to blame themselves and each other for the problems it created, leaving a legacy of cynicism and despair that persists today.
- By operating covertly, the FBI and police were able to severely

weaken domestic political opposition without shaking the conviction of most US people that they live in a democracy, with free speech and the rule of law.

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For more information on FBI COINTELPRO operations, see:

Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, 1990, South End Press, Boston

Eds. Jim Fletcher, Tanaquil Jones, & Sylvere Lotringer, *Still Black, Still Strong: Survivors of the War Against Black Revolutionaries*, 1993, Semiotext(e), New York

Brian Glick, *War At Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*, 1989, South End Press, Boston

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Mail to: [Michael Rivero](#)

# COINTELPRO

## US Domestic Covert Operations

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US Domestic Covert Operations

From the Archive: WAR AT HOME

### Harassment Through Psychological Warfare

While boring from within, the FBI and police also attack dissident movements from the outside. They openly mount propaganda campaigns through public addresses, news releases, books, pamphlets, magazine articles, radio, and television. They also use covert deception and manipulation. Documented tactics of this kind include:

**False Media Stories:** COINTELPRO documents expose frequent collusion between news media personnel and the FBI to publish false and distorted material at the Bureau's behest. The FBI routinely leaked derogatory information to its collaborators in the news media. It also created newspaper and magazine articles and television "documentaries" which the media knowingly or unknowingly carried as their own. Copies were sent anonymously or under bogus letterhead to activists' financial backers, employers, business associates, families, neighbors, church officials, school administrators, landlords, and whomever else might cause them trouble.

One FBI media fabrication claimed that Jean Seberg, a white film star active in anti-racist causes, was pregnant by a prominent Black leader. The Bureau leaked the story anonymously to columnist Joyce Haber and also had it passed to her by a "friendly" source in the Los Angeles Times editorial staff. The item appeared without attribution in Haber's nationally syndicated column of May 19, 1970. Seberg's husband has sued the FBI as responsible for her resulting stillbirth, nervous breakdown, and suicide.

**Bogus Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Other Publications:** COINTELPRO documents show that the FBI routinely put out phony leaflets, posters, pamphlets, newspapers, and other publications in the name of movement groups. The purpose was to discredit the groups and turn them against one another.

FBI cartoon leaflets were used to divide and disrupt the main national anti-war coalition of the late 1960s. Similar fliers were circulated in 1968 and 1969 in the name of the Black Panthers and the United Slaves (US), a rival Black nationalist group based in Southern California. The phony Panther/US leaflets, together with other covert operations, were credited with subverting a fragile truce between the two groups and igniting an explosion of internecine violence that left four Panthers dead, many more wounded, and a once-flourishing regional Black movement decimated.

Another major COINTELPRO operation involved a children's coloring book which the Black Panther Party had rejected as anti-white and gratuitously violent. The FBI revised the coloring book to make it even more offensive. Its field offices then distributed thousands of copies anonymously or under phony organizational letterheads. Many backers of the Party's program of free breakfasts for children withdrew their support after the FBI conned them into believing that the bogus coloring book was being used in the program.

Forged Correspondence: Former employees have confirmed that the FBI has the capacity to produce state-of-the-art forgery. This capacity was used under COINTELPRO to create snitch jackets and bogus communications that exacerbated differences among activists and disrupted their work.

One such forgery intimidated civil rights worker Muhammed Kenyatta (Donald Jackson), causing him to abandon promising projects in Jackson, Mississippi. Kenyatta had foundation grants to form Black economic cooperatives and open a "Black and Proud School" for dropouts. He was also a student organizer at nearby Tougaloo College. In the winter of 1969, after an extended campaign of FBI and police harassment, Kenyatta received a letter, purportedly from the Tougaloo College Defense Committee, which "directed" that he cease his political activities immediately. If he did not "heed our diplomatic and well-thought-out warning," the committee would consider taking measures "which would have a more direct effect and which would not be as cordial as this note." Kenyatta and his wife left. Only years later did they learn it was not Tougaloo students, but FBI covert operators who had driven them out.

Later in 1969, FBI agents fabricated a letter to the mainly white organizers of a proposed Washington, D.C. anti-war rally demanding that they pay the local Black community a \$20,000 "security bond." This attempted extortion was composed in the name of the local Black United Front (BUF) and signed with the forged signature of its leader. FBI informers inside the BUF then tried to get the group to back such a demand, and Bureau contacts in the media made sure the story received wide publicity.

The Senate Intelligence Committee uncovered a series of FBI letters sent to top Panther leaders throughout 1970 in the name of Connie Mathews, an intermediary between the Black Panther Party's national office and Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, in exile in Algeria. These exquisite forgeries were prepared on pilfered stationery in Panther vernacular expertly simulated by

the FBI's Washington, D.C. laboratory. Each was forwarded to an FBI Legal Attache at a U.S. Embassy in a foreign country that Mathews was due to travel through and then posted at just the right time "in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau." The FBI enhanced the eerie authenticity of these fabrications by lacing them with esoteric personal tidbits culled from electronic surveillance of Panther homes and offices. Combined with other forgeries, anonymous letters and phone calls, and the covert intervention of FBI and police infiltrators, the Mathews correspondence succeeded in inflaming intra-party mistrust and rivalry until it erupted into the bitter public split that shattered the organization in the winter of 1971.

**Anonymous Letters and Telephone Calls:** During the 1960s, activists received a steady flow of anonymous letters and phone calls which turn out to have been from the FBI. Some were unsigned, while others bore bogus names or purported to come from unidentified activists in phony or actual organizations.

Many of these bogus communications promoted racial divisions and fears, often by exploiting and exacerbating tensions between Jewish and Black activists. One such FBI-concocted letter went to SDS members who had joined Black students protesting New York University's discharge of a Black teacher in 1969. The supposed author, an unnamed "SDS member," urged whites to break ranks and abandon the Black students because of alleged anti-Semitic slurs by the fired teacher and his supporters.

Other anonymous letters and phone calls falsely accused movement leaders of collaboration with the authorities, corruption, or sexual affairs with other activists' mates. The letter on the next page was used to provoke "a lasting distrust" between a Black civil rights leader and his wife. Its FBI authors hoped that his "concern over what to do about it" would "detract from his time spent in the plots and plans of his organization." As in the Seberg incident, inter-racial sex was a persistent theme. The husband of one white woman active in civil rights and anti-war work filed for divorce soon after receiving the FBI-authored letter reproduced on page 50.

Still other anonymous FBI communications were designed to intimidate dissidents, disrupt coalitions, and provoke violence. Calls to Stokely Carmichael's mother warning of a fictitious Black Panther murder plot drove him to leave the country in September 1968. Similar anonymous FBI telephone threats to SNCC leader James Forman were instrumental in thwarting efforts to bring the two groups together.

The Chicago FBI made effective use of anonymous letters to sabotage the Panthers efforts to build alliances with previously apolitical Black street gangs. The most extensive of these operations involved the Black P. Stone Nation, or "Blackstone Rangers," a powerful confederation of several thousand local Black youth. Early in 1969, as FBI and police infiltrators in the Rangers spread rumors of an impending Panther attack, the Bureau sent

Ranger chief Jeff Fort an incendiary note signed "a black brother you don't know." Fort's supposed friend warned that "The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you." Another FBI-concocted anonymous "black man" then informed Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton of a Ranger plot "to get you out of the way." These fabrications squelched promising talks between the two groups and enabled Chicago Panther security chief William O'Neal, an FBI-paid provocateur, to instigate a series of armed confrontations from which the Panthers barely managed to escape without serious casualties.

**Pressure Through Employers, Landlords, and Others:** FBI records reveal repeated maneuvers to generate pressure on dissidents from their parents, children, spouses, landlords, employers, college administrators, church superiors, welfare agencies, credit bureaus, and the like. Anonymous letters and telephone calls were often used to this end. Confidential official communications were effective in bringing to bear the Bureau's immense power and authority.

Agents' reports indicate that such FBI intervention denied Martin Luther King, Jr., and other 1960s activists any number of foundation grants and public speaking engagements. It also deprived alternative newspapers of their printers, suppliers, and distributors and cost them crucial advertising revenues when major record companies were persuaded to take their business elsewhere. Similar government manipulation may underlie steps recently taken by some insurance companies to cancel policies held by churches giving sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

**Tampering With Mail and Telephone Service:** The FBI and CIA routinely used mail covers (the recording of names and addresses) and electronic surveillance in order to spy on 1960s movements. The CIA alone admitted to photographing the outside of 2.7 million pieces of first-class mail during the 1960s and to opening almost 215,000. Government agencies also tampered with mail, altering, delaying, or "disappearing" it. Activists were quick to blame one another, and infiltrators easily exploited the situation to exacerbate their tensions.

Dissidents' telephone communications often were similarly obstructed. The SDS Regional Office in Washington, D.C., for instance, mysteriously lost its phone service the week preceding virtually every national anti-war demonstration in the late 1960s.

**Disinformation to Prevent or Disrupt Movement Meetings and Activities:** A favorite COINTELPRO tactic uncovered by Senate investigators was to advertise a non-existent political event, or to misinform people of the time and place of an actual one. They reported a variety of disruptive FBI "dirty tricks" designed to cast blame on the organizers of movement events.

In one "disinformation" case, the [FBI's] Chicago Field Office duplicated blank forms prepared by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War

in Vietnam ("NMC") soliciting housing for demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention. Chicago filled out 217 of these forms with fictitious names and addresses and sent them to the NMC, which provided them to demonstrators who made "long and useless journeys to locate these addresses." The NMC then decided to discard all replies received on the housing forms rather than have out-of-town demonstrators try to locate nonexistent addresses. (The same program was carried out when the Washington Mobilization Committee distributed housing forms for demonstrators coming to Washington for the 1969 Presidential inaugural ceremonies.)

In another case, during the demonstrations accompanying inauguration ceremonies, the Washington Field Office discovered that NMC marshals were using walkie-talkies to coordinate their movements and activities. WFO used the same citizen band to supply the marshals with misinformation and, pretending to be an NMC unit, countermanded NMC orders.

In a third case, a [Bureau] Midwest field office disrupted arrangements for state university students to attend the 1969 inaugural demonstrations by making a series of anonymous telephone calls to the transportation company. The calls were designed to confuse both the transportation company and the SDS leaders as to the cost of transportation and the time and place for leaving and returning. This office also placed confusing leaflets around the campus to show different times and places for demonstration-planning meetings, as well as conflicting times and dates for traveling to Washington.

\*\* End of text from cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

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PROPAGANDA IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

How Does It Work?  
 -----

"If you give a man the correct information for seven years, he may believe the incorrect information on the first day of the eighth year when it is necessary, from your point of view, that he should do so.

Your first job is to build the credibility and authenticity of your propaganda,  
 and persuade the enemy to trust you although you are his enemy."

(A Psychological Warfare Casebook,  
 Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958, at page 38.)



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Most people associate propaganda with advertising, with partisan opinion heard on talk shows, or with a zealous Sunday morning radio preacher. Indeed, all of these are forms of propaganda, but for the most part they are the least harmful kind because the audience recognizes them as such.

The advertiser, for example, clearly wants to sell something, and is trying to keep a particular product or service on the minds of the audience or to make it more appealing to potential consumers. Political commentary is nearly always recognized as such, and while it is intended to persuade its audience, it is far more useful as a means to inform or inspire those already in agreement with the speaker. And audiences likewise recognize that religious programming is intended as much to motivate followers to take a particular course of action (such as donating money) as it is to change the spiritual orientation of non-believers. Thus, they are convinced to embrace the ideas of the speakers or to follow their instructions only if they are already inclined to do so.

But there are other types of communication that are far more intrusive -- precisely because audiences tend not to recognize them as propaganda.

One example might be false or incomplete news reporting, presented as truth or objective fact. Reports that war has broken out nearby or that a highly-contagious and deadly disease is spreading among the local population would certainly produce a more immediate reaction among large numbers of people than would a commercial for a "new and better" laundry soap or a preacher's plea for money to keep himself on the air.

Another way in which propaganda can turn around an unwilling audience is through the process of repetition. At the end of World War II, for example, the people of the United States were not inclined to worry very much about an invasion by the Soviet Union. After all, the Russians had been America's allies during the war. But as the country launched the most massive arms build-up in the history of the world, the Soviet "threat" was stressed again and again -- by government operatives and military leaders, who were soon joined by vast numbers of private organizations, political commentators, intellectuals, entertainers, and, of course, the news media.

Though the messages may have differed from one another -- and probably even more so because they did -- the sheer volume of these warnings and the diversity of the sources involved served to confirm in people's minds the reality of the threat. Slogans like "the iron curtain" helped audiences to visualize the "danger." And by the 1950s, bomb shelters and air raid drills were added to the psychological arsenal -- orchestrated not so much to protect the country as to bring about active participation and thus to raise the level of hysteria.

The resulting climate of fear justified rapid expansion of military research and arms stockpiling, as well as active combat in far-away places like

Korea. Indeed, it was not until people actually saw the brutality of battle on their television screens during the Vietnam conflict that the notion of a "defensive" war on the far side of the globe began to be questioned. So profound, in fact, was the impact of propaganda in the anti-communist era that even after the collapse of the USSR, a large part of the population still wants to believe that America "survived" a great crisis.

Indeed, as can be seen from the cold war generally -- and from such incidents as the Cuban missile crisis -- intensive, long-term propaganda tends to be self-fulfilling. Like the arms race that accompanied it, the anti-Soviet mania helped hostilities to flourish and multiply.

And while the propaganda of the anti-communist era was designed to facilitate the development of a global US military presence, other types of propaganda are directed more toward social behavior or group loyalties. This was the case in later years of the cold war, when the ideological battleground shifted from Europe to the developing or "non-aligned" world.

### Covert Operations

Harry Rositzke, a retired chief at the Central Intelligence Agency, described the situation in a 1977 book called *The CIA's Secret Operations: Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action*: "During the fifties these covertly sponsored activities sounded many of the themes that permeated American official and unofficial propaganda. Politics was reduced to a simple black-and-white formula of East or West, slavery or freedom... [para.] In the late fifties, and during the sixties, as the American propaganda effort shifted to the third world, this simple general line had to be tempered for the new noncapitalist audiences.... [para.] Covert propaganda operations in the third world were, in effect, a fight for the media... Foreign editors and columnists were recruited, newspapers and magazines subsidized, press services supported. Propagandists ranged from paid agents to friendly collaborators, from liberal and socialist anti-Communists to simple right-wingers. Facts, themes, editorial outlines, model essays were sent out to third world stations to be reworked for local consumption. Hot stories were published in friendly outlets and replayed around the globe..." (*The CIA's Secret Operations: Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action* by Harry Rositzke, 1988 edition, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, at page 162.)

The enormous cost of a large-scale foreign propaganda offensive -- establishing contacts, recruiting agents, underwriting news operations, establishing front groups, laundering funds, developing messages and themes, concealing the reality of foreign involvement, and at the same time making certain that the "proper ideas" were aired conspicuously in a style appropriate to the local peoples -- can only be justified on the grounds that certain attitudes could be planted which otherwise would never have been favored by the targets. In other words, the audience is lulled into believing something -- or doing something or supporting something -- that

otherwise would have been rejected as being against group self-interest.

The fact that the audience is carefully and systematically led to a particular set of beliefs is especially dangerous because the source of the ideology -- and the motives of the sponsor -- are not known to the recipients of the messages. In fact, use of local collaborators, clandestine financing of indigenous news operations, and the like, only confirms that the propaganda has to be falsely-attributed in order to be credible. The message, in other words, is made believable by the fact that it appears to come from within the target population itself. This is what is known as "covert" or "subversive" propaganda and "black operations." And it is generally acknowledged that much of what is conveyed through such campaigns consists of false information.

As Rositzke notes in his memoir, " Black operations ... are designed to be attributed to the other side and must be carried out by a secret agency in order to hide the actual source of the propaganda. A black radio purportedly broadcasting from Central Asia or a forged document purportedly coming out of the classified files of a Soviet embassy requires expertise, secret funds, and anonymous participants." (Rositzke, op. cit., at page 163.)

Propaganda of this nature, especially if carried out over a long period of time and with the intent to achieve specific social or political changes, is usually part of a larger conquest called "political warfare" -- and is almost sure to be accompanied by diplomatic pressures against national leaders, economic actions (e.g., foreign economic or military aid), cultural intervention, and surveillance. As such, it can have a profound or even devastating impact on the target peoples.

Skillful propaganda is capable also of manipulating its audience at the emotional level. Psychological studies done in the United States two decades ago proved the disastrous impact of widespread racism on children of African descent. Black children in one test all believed a doll with light skin to be more desirable than one with darker skin -- a measure of the "self-hatred" instilled by social attitudes so prevalent as to be taken for granted. In much the same way, protestant missionaries from the U.S. have long promoted various forms of "biblical capitalism" which instill in followers the belief that the "good" are rewarded by God with material "blessings," and that poverty confirms the moral inadequacy of an individual, a group, or a class of people.

In fact, some years ago the practice of "church trading" in Liberia became the topic of media coverage. At that time, numerous minor protestant sects and "biblical" institutes were actively trying to attract "affiliates" in Liberia because they knew that a mission overseas would increase financial contributions at home. So Liberian congregations were offered such incentives as a new roof for a church building, for example, or a bus as an incentive to adopt the name and doctrine of the competing American religious

organizations (nearly always white). And when promises went unfulfilled, as was often the case, the Liberian sects would be forced to turn to other sponsors who would, once the new relationship was cemented, dispatch instructors to indoctrinate them in their new-found "theology."

This not only created confusion and obscured the religious identity of the subjects, but, more importantly, led the Liberians to accept without reservation their absolute dependence on the sponsoring churches and to affirm their own collective inferiority. It is hardly surprising, given this history of "spiritual abuse," that charges have been repeatedly made of CIA backing for proselytizing among Catholic, Islamic, and traditional societies.

As the case of the American "missions" in Liberia makes clear, money is usually a critical factor in an effective propaganda drive. The vast difference in wealth between the northern and southern hemispheres means, for instance, that western powers can not only gain access to agents and collaborators for propaganda efforts, but can also penetrate indigenous institutions and even establish new ones with minimal risk of detection by the public at large.

They can disseminate literature, textbooks, pamphlets, cultural messages, and other ideological materials in quantities that far exceed what local markets could ever support. Money, funnelled through channels, can buy off radio and television programmers, supply packaged propaganda programs or special consultants, present "educational" seminars and conferences, offer such financial inducements as prizes and awards, and upgrade studios and broadcast facilities for reliable friends. The sheer volume of the operation guarantees that indigenous opinion cannot compete.

Rich nations can also pressure governments -- under the threat of withholding aid or credit, for example -- to formally "invite" them to participate in the development of public "information" or "education" campaigns. Moreover, when conditions are favorable, wealthy donors of "technical assistance" projects can conduct highly sophisticated research activities that enable them to thoroughly evaluate the sociological climate of target countries, to pretest propaganda message on small groups, to measure changes in attitudes over the course of time, and to intimidate opponents, suppress dissent, and censor the dissemination of competing ideas.

#### Deception as Science

Social psychology textbooks list several ways in which audiences can be deceived by propaganda.

First of all, audiences are more likely to accept an idea if they believe it was heard inadvertently; in other words, there is a natural tendency to resist a message that is presented in an assertive way, while there will be

far less negative reaction if the audience hears the same theme in a context that is relatively "matter-of-fact."

Audiences are also more likely to actually change their opinions if they receive a message from a variety of sources that mutually reinforce one another. Similarly, people tend to approve of a statement made by someone who is in some way similar to them, an expert on the topic under discussion, or one who begins by expressing an opinion with which the listener (or viewer or reader) strongly agrees.

Under some circumstances, propaganda messages can be made more potent by incorporating opposing arguments in a way that tends to discredit them, while at the same time giving the audience the impression that it is hearing both side of the debate.

In large operations, propagandists often stimulate changes in attitudes by generating a "band-wagon effect" -- creating the false impression that a particular set of beliefs is more widely accepted than it really is. And where a specific behavioral change is the intended goal of a communications campaign, it is extremely useful to get members of the target group either to express the idea publicly (thereby committing themselves to it) or to engage in the desired conduct in some way short of compulsion (so that they assume "ownership" of the idea). In either case, the tendency is to continue to defend the opinion or action and in so doing to internalize the propaganda.

There is no question that propaganda which discreetly and consistently applies these principles can produce profound and far reaching changes in the societies against whom it is directed. The reasons are relatively simple. Individuals are part of groups. They share customs and common values with other members of the groups to whom they belong.

If a person strongly identifies with the Islamic faith, for example, that person's reaction to certain things -- the consumption of alcohol or pork, perhaps -- will be shaped by religious tenets, even though it may express itself as contempt for "drunkenness" or revulsion toward an "unclean food." However, a concerted campaign to "revise" or subvert Islamic influences could, over time, start in motion a slow process of subduing this emotional response.

Simply arguing that drink should be tolerated by Muslims is likely to do nothing more than arouse resistance and provoke countering arguments from those who know better. But it might also be a way to "open up the issue" for further debate. A drawn out, well-publicized controversy about the "benefits" of alcohol consumption, even if it changed very few minds over a few years, would nonetheless create an atmosphere of ambivalence; the certainty with which drink was condemned in previous times will have been undermined, and much of the negative response inspired by the debate at the beginning is gone.

The next step in this case might be for the propagandist to actually induce certain members of the community (or agent- agitators posing as audience peers) to openly consume alcohol as affirmation of the "new" ideas embraced by a more "modern" or more "realistic" Islam. The endorsements of a few paid collaborators would likewise be useful. All of this would be made known to the public by means of aggressively-distributed news releases, video clips, and pre-fabricated features to friends and hirelings in the local news media.

This phase of the operation gives the propagandist s suggestions what psychologists call "false authority." In other words, the impression is made that persons highly qualified to endorse such ideas are the source of the information. These same activities further offer the propagandist a chance to eliminate some negative stereotypes and to lower inhibitions against the desired behavior. After being exposed on a regular basis to real examples of such conduct, members of the target group would be far less likely to issue strong condemnations because doing so would be perceived as a personal attack on one s peers (or even leaders).

Finally, the instigator of the communications campaign might attempt to undermine the most stubborn resistance to change through a mass media offensive -- television spots, news articles, cartoons, billboards, rigged debates, T-shirts, the cinema, and so forth -- that dishonors opponents by linking them to unpopular causes, or by holding them up as objects of ridicule. Even if most adults still cling to their original beliefs, the younger generations would not have the benefit of the uncorrupted culture their elders knew. Thus a chain of authority is weakened and a tradition vanishes.

While it seems improbable that westerners would benefit by promoting the consumption of alcohol or pork among Muslims, something of this sort might be a very effective way to de- legitimize Islamic traditions in general -- and thus to lead followers away from religious orthodoxy so they could be more easily integrated into a westernized world culture.

### Group Consciousness

Regardless of whether propaganda is used to change human attitudes and behavior or to simply get people to act on false information, group identity is the key that propaganda seeks to exploit.

By definition, group membership imposes certain standards of behavior on the individual. To put it another way, the individual cannot help but act in a manner that takes into account the expectations of the group as a whole. It is the shared values held in common within the group that shapes the conduct of its members. And, at the same time, these customs are reinforced by the members continued adherence to them.

For this reason, propaganda has to exploit group identity. It must attempt to challenge the collective ambitions and prohibitions that direct group conduct -- or to create the illusion that meaningful change is taking place even when it is not. Either way, those who are part of the group are inexorably led to change their own behavior in response to what they see as an evolving group ethic.

But cultural manipulation is more than just advocacy. The modern propagandist must understand the audience and learn how different events, situations, and images influence the day-to-day actions of the target group.

If a change in behavior is contemplated, the sponsor has to discover what practical obstacles might prevent the adoption of new forms of behavior once the old taboos have been broken down. Those groups conducting the intervention must then attempt to minimize any negative consequences that might be experienced by group members who follow the suggestions introduced through the propaganda. And it is likewise necessary that suitable measures be found for reinforcing the new behavior and that a system of continuing "psychic rewards" be developed for those who repeat it.

Moreover, propaganda professionals are also aware that change takes time -- that any attempt to establish or reverse social trends must necessarily be a long-term operation, lest the intervention be exposed for what it is and backfire. Colonel Michael Dewar, a British military intelligence specialist, explains the philosophy of change this way: "[The] tendency is for the mind to be lulled by regularity and routine. It tends to pay less attention to events which occur again and again and is not good at spotting marginal or gradual changes." (The Art of Deception in Warfare by Col. Michael Dewar, A David & Charles military Book, Devon, 1989, at page 10.)

#### Meet Willie Horton

Propaganda can also be used to undermine the beliefs or loyalties of a group. In most cases, this kind of mass media assault is negative -- meaning that it is not so much designed to popularize a specific ideology as it is to discredit a movement that already exists. This can be done in a variety of ways -- by distracting potential adherents so that their attention is diverted to other matters, by using "divide and conquer" tactics to create splinter groups that confront one another instead of pursuing a common goal, or by discrediting leaders so that the strength of the movement is compromised or obscured.

The example of race in America again provides an illustration. In the mid-1960s, there emerged a strong movement for black consciousness in the U.S. Slogans like "black is beautiful" became a way of repairing the psychic damage done by generations of contempt and organized discrimination. The popularity of such themes and the enthusiasm with which they were adopted by the masses gave them a momentum that carried into virtually every aspect of social communications. Advertisers began to exploit minority "race pride" by

incorporating it into commercials. The cinema, too, reflected the recognition that people of color deserved equity and respect, as did news reporting and political discourse, at least within dominant liberal circles.

Even though this change in the portrayal of minorities was embraced by the larger society for self-serving reasons, it nonetheless complemented and reinforced the drive of minorities for a positive self-image.

But by the early part of the 1980s, it was all gone -- and the bigotry of days gone by returned in a new and even more insidious form. "Black" was no longer "beautiful." It was a threat.

What happened? Most people would agree that the curious reversal of a trend was a result of "rewards" and "punishments" that were far less systematic and harder to define than those of the past -- but no less effective.

During the late 1960s, for example, students at one California university were able to document a distinct pattern of differential treatment toward motorists. Automobiles having bumper stickers with "black power" messages were several times more likely to be stopped by police for minor traffic infractions or ticketed for parking violations than were those without such visible identification -- regardless of the race of the driver. As a consequence, black pride remained an acceptable group ideology, but became a liability for the individual. Needless to say, it faded quickly.

Over the next two decades, minority persons were integrated into the middle class -- visible proof of the "fairness" of the system. But these were relatively few. The vast majority gained nothing from this extension of the "American dream." People flocked into the cities in pursuit of the illusory opportunity, only to find themselves trapped in cold, impersonal ghettos where survival was a constant and depressing struggle.

By that time, of course, expressions of sympathy for the plight of the urban poor was scarce. The example of the "good negro" who had climbed up the ladder toward success furnished proof that the others were negligent -- or worse. And then the media discovered "black rage." As group expectations started to falter and oppression grew worse, conflict inevitably followed, and the local television news crew was at hand to relate again and again what happened and where it happened, but never why. And so "black power" as a slogan of freedom was gradually replaced by the "black underclass" as an excuse to build bigger, better jails.

In fact, the image of black males as criminals became such a national obsession that George Bush, in his successful 1988 bid for the presidency, used the issue of the parole of a black man convicted of raping a white woman as evidence that his opponent, the former governor of the state of Massachusetts, could not deal with crime. "Willie Horton" became symbolic of black males in general, an image that thrived in a climate of growing white fear and resentment.



Much of what occurred can be explained quite simply as the result of habitual, deeply-rooted racism in America. Still, it is not likely that the change could have been as dramatic or as fast as it was without an organized effort at subversion. And an old FBI memorandum from 1968 provides evidence of what transpired invisibly at the highest levels of the United States government.

The memo, FBI communique number 157-601, was the product of a "counter-intelligence program" run by Special Agent Raymond N. Byers of the San Francisco office. The subject was "racial intelligence."

After providing detailed evaluations of all "black nationalist" movements represented in northern California, their leaders and members, the April 2, 1968 dispatch recommended ways in which the government might diffuse the situation. Among other things, it recommended censorship, saying that efforts should be undertaken toward "inhibiting the importation and transportation of seditious and revolutionary literature." But that was just a beginning. Propaganda -- or, more specifically, threats and intimidation tactics aimed at all African in the U.S. -- would supplement the censorship program.

Thus, said the memo, the so-called "seditious and revolutionary literature" of black intellectuals would be "counteracted" with different ideas, which would be distributed through "a medium which reaches the entire Negro population." To this end, it added, "There are papers and magazines which should be used if they will accept this material. If they don't, radio and especially TV should be utilized."

The theme to be conveyed by all this psychological warfare was also made clear by the experts on "racial intelligence" at San Francisco FBI headquarters. "One way to reach the Negro youth and moderate (sic.) might be through searching examination and revelation of the true goals of black nationalist organizations presented in a way that Negroes will realize the dangers ahead for them," the FBI cable noted. "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be dead revolutionaries. Is it not better to be a sports hero, a well paid professional athlete or entertainer, a regularly paid white or blue collar worker... than a Negro who may have got even with the establishment ... and gained for him and all his people the hatred and distrust of the whites for years to come?"

Those responsible for domestic psy-war operations know that this kind of "threat conditioning" can be duplicated very effectively in foreign situations. Language and cultural differences may make it difficult at the beginning. But once in operation, and after the first recruits have been identified and trained, the program can rapidly gather speed. Moreover, the risk of detection is likely to be less with foreign audiences, particularly if the propaganda is well-prepared and elaborately researched. Indeed, as

ruthless as the campaign against America's black leadership may have been (and it still continues), propaganda programs in developing countries are even more sadistic, and they can often be incredibly crude.

### Pornography for Indonesia

An excellent overview of CIA propaganda operations can be found in a 1986 book, *The CIA: A Forgotten History* by William Blum (Zed Books, London). One conspicuous target for U.S. psychological warfare personnel during the mid- and late-1950s was Indonesian leader Achmed Sukarno, a charismatic figure whose mere presence seem to inspire "third world" nationalism. After repeated attempts to overthrow and assassinate the former anti-colonial leader failed -- and were subsequently blamed on "communists" by American propagandists -- it was decided that the best way of dealing with Sukarno was to make him appear contemptible to the public. According to Blum, the CIA then began circulating fabricated reports of an affair with a blonde Russian agent who had blackmailed Sukarno into becoming a Soviet pawn.

After having some success in circulating the rumor, the CIA decided to come up with "proof." According to Blum: "A substantial effort was made to come up with a pornographic film or at least some still photographs that could pass for Sukarno and his Russian girl friend engaged in his favorite activity. When scrutiny of available porno films (supplied by the Chief of Police of Los Angeles) failed to turn up a couple who could pass for Sukarno (dark and bald) and a beautiful blonde Russian woman, the CIA undertook to produce its own films... The outcome of this effort was a film produced for the Agency by Robert Maheu, former FBI agent and intimate of Howard Hughes. Maheu's film starred an actor who resembled Sukarno... The CIA also developed a full-face mask of the Indonesian leader which was sent to Los Angeles where the police were to pay some porno-film actor to wear it during his big scene. This project resulted in some photographs, although they apparently were never used. In other parts of the world, at other times, the CIA has done better in this line of work, having produced sex films of target subjects caught in flagrante delicto who had been lured to Agency safe-houses by female agents" (Blum, at pages 110-111).

### Oil on the Moon

Disinformation is often an important part of a sustained propaganda effort. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that even the most ridiculous concept can be made believable if enough time and effort is put into the task. In difficult cases, it may also be necessary to take extra steps to entice large numbers of key targets to participate in a way that almost forces them to accept the concept conveyed by the propagandist.

Imagine that the industrialized bloc, for whatever reason, decided to spread a truly outrageous theory among certain audiences in the developing world -- that immense oil reserves can be obtained from the moon, for example. Now it is widely known that oil is of organic origin and that the moon consists of

dry rocks which have never supported vegetation. Thus, no reputable scientist would ever even imagine such a theory. But the wizards of deception might begin with a "pre-propaganda" publicity drive in which statements of "experts" are presented which merely question what is known about the moon and stress the importance of doing more research.

Later on, news articles and broadcast features might emphasize the enormous significance of a new "theory" that could eventually make Arab oil obsolete. Debates might be staged in which those disputing the idea look bad by comparison. New "discoveries" of oil-like substances on the lunar surface could also be brought to the public's attention at regular intervals -- and, of course, with great fanfare.

Foreign propaganda sponsors and aid donors might also insist that school textbooks make reference to the "vast supplies of petroleum" that are now believed to exist on the moon; donated library books would be widely circulated to support the same myth; and doctored photographs or video clips might be passed around to the news media which purport to "prove" what the bogus "scientists" are saying.

Finally, contests might be organized in which college students or news reporters are offered generous prizes for the best essay on how to bring about world peace and global prosperity by exploiting moon oil. Contestants would be free to research the issue for themselves, of course, but would find that texts supporting the existence of petroleum on the moon far outnumber those that suggest otherwise. More importantly, they become eager to propagandize themselves because they want to please contest judges and claim the prize money. In essence, they fall into one of the most pernicious of all propaganda traps -- one in which targets are duped into equating their own self-worth with the success of the disinformation campaign.

Again, it is hard to imagine in what situation false information about extra-terrestrial oil supplies would be useful to a propaganda sponsor, except perhaps to undermine the confidence of OPEC countries in future economic conditions or to discourage potential oil producing nations (e.g. Senegal) from attempting to gain from their own reserves. But disinformation is a major element of foreign propaganda, especially military "psy-war" projects intended to facilitate the surrender of opposition troops or to induce the defection of their members. Indeed, disinformation -- often combined with opinion or ideological messages -- is a part of most peacetime psychological operations.

As bizarre as these tactics may seem, all are being used on a regular basis to mold public opinion in developing countries on issues ranging from "free" trade and western economic principles to birth control and population planning. In fact, the psychological pressures of mass propaganda are an essential element in building a constituency for U.S. military actions under the mask of "international consensus." And communication campaigns have become a routine way of discrediting anti-imperialist sentiments,

undermining claims for worldwide economic justice, and countering "threats" to western interests posed by such diverse groups as religious movements, so-called third world nationalists, and anti-corporate environmentalists.

But in a more general sense, control over communications in far-away lands is as much an end in itself as it is a means to an end. To be able to acquire and maintain the dominant influence over the spread of ideas and information within a society is to exercise control over its people. As an American military advisor reportedly said at the end of World War II, "Whoever controls the radio controls Berlin."

### Spies and Saboteurs

Propaganda and psychological warfare techniques are a fundamental part of the western presence in the developing world. If a foreign power has an established network of friends to convey its ideas to host country audiences, it is well-situated to intervene in other ways, should the need arise. Indeed, basic political influence and communications campaigns can be a way to build a system for recruiting the local collaborators and front groups necessary to wage proxy wars, subvert political movements, and install puppet governments. Without such penetration, on the other hand, these actions would be almost impossible.

At an October 30, 1991 conference on "Worldwide Threats" organized by the U.S. General Accounting Office, numerous papers on foreign relations in the post-cold war era were presented. One, "Intelligence for Low Intensity Conflicts" by Robert C. Kingston, dealt with psychological operations and covert activities. "Psychological operations wield words as nonviolent weapon systems, set stages, exploit successes, and minimize failures when properly employed," the paper noted, adding that specialists must "gather intelligence that enables them to determine the predispositions, vulnerabilities, and susceptibilities of targeted audiences..."

The Kingston report also pointed out that personal knowledge about a country's leaders forms "the basis of successful operations to unseat or sidetrack key personnel who plan and implement insurgencies, coups, transnational terrorism [and other actions] that adversely affect U.S. interests." Moreover, he continued, "U.S. leaders cannot knowledgeably support or oppose any foreign coup that affects U.S. interests unless they are well informed about potential successors, especially their attitudes toward the United States and expected programs compared with those of incumbents. Otherwise, short-term benefits may become long-term liabilities with local, regional, and even global implications."

>From these words, it is apparent that western leaders will escalate campaigns of propaganda and psychological warfare against their remaining "enemy" in the aftermath of the cold war -- the emerging nations of the southern hemisphere. And the goals will be many: curbing population growth, maintaining cheap access to supplies of minerals, and neutralizing

ideological movements that run counter to U.S. interests, to name just a few.

In fact, Admiral James A. Baldwin, president of the National Defense University in Washington, wrote in 1989: "Warfare is often defined as the employment of military means to advance political ends.... Another, more subtle, means -- political warfare -- uses images, ideas, speeches, slogans, propaganda, economic pressures, even advertising techniques to influence the political will of an adversary.... Now that the Soviets 40-year campaign of aggression, intimidation, and hegemony is in apparent retreat and the world is increasingly beset by low-intensity conflict and struggles for economic domination, political warfare will be at the forefront of our national security agenda." (James A. Baldwin, *On Political War* by Paul A. Smith, Jr., National Defense University Press, Washington, 1989, at Forward, page xi.)

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - COINTELPRO and Qubilah Shabazz

by Rebecca Hill and Nikolas Kautz

The New York Three. The New York Twenty-One. The Chicago Seven/Eight. COINTELPRO, the government's campaign to thwart potentially revolutionary social movements with tactics both "legal" and illegal, has long been associated with larger US cities. Even the recent case of the Minnesota Eight, in which eight African-American men uniformly described in the mainstream press as Vice Lordsgot snatched up after the shooting of a white police officer, barely put these cities of less than 2 million on the political-repression map. Then came Qubilah Shabazz. Observers around the world, and many people here, are scratching their heads about how the dubious indictment of Malcolm X's second daughter happened to go down in this overgrown cow town.

But don't let "Minnesota Nice" fool you. As the life-long shenanigans of infiltrator Michael Fitzpatrick became known, casting doubt on the government's contention that Qubilah Shabazz hired Fitzpatrick to kill Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Justice Department in Washington, DC tried to play the "local yokel" card. For about a day, the national press quoted unnamed government lawyers vaguely insinuating that Minnesota's US attorney, a fresh-scrubbed fellow with the excellent name Lillehaug, was a naive Midwestern clodhopper, hoodwinked by a con-man informer. Then Attorney General Janet Reno stepped in dispel all the nonsense and stamp her approval on the frame-up. Reno knows. The COINTELPRO credentials of the authorities here are perfectly in order.

#### The War on AIM

The FBI office here is named for the two agents killed on the Pine Ridge Lakota Sioux reservation in 1975; Leonard Peltier was framed for their shootings and still sits in prison. Much of the government's war against the American Indian Movement has been planned here. The

government waged that war in large part with infiltrators a tad better at their jobs than Fitzpatrick. The Native casualty count far outnumbered the government's.

Among the murdered was Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, an AIM organizer gunned down in 1976. Now, the government claims to be re-opening her unsolved case. Instead of investigating themselves (duh), or the pro-government Indian "GOON squads" that ran the reservation, they say AIM members suspected that Aquash was an informer, and killed her. As the FBI's own documents show, and as several excellent books recount, the Feds tried to feed disinformation to AIM that Aquash was working for them. This tactic is known as "badjacketing," or putting a "snitch jacket" on someone. In both the Shabazz and the Aquash cases, the government wants to manipulate emotions around a powerful unifying force in popular movements: martyrs. They want to sow division. They want to blame the movements themselves for murders by the "agents of repression." Will we let them?

### The War on Young, Black Men

A more recent case, the Minnesota 8, should boost the local authorities even higher in Reno's esteem. Eight African-American men were accused in 1992 of being Vice Lords, and of killing a white police officer and a suspected Vice Lord police informer. At trial, it came out that the dead man, Ed Harris, was being set up to look like a snitch. Officers including a well-known Black detective repeatedly stopped him on the street, talked to him, and let him go. He was among eight young, Black, male execution-slaying victims in a period of weeks. Two and a half years later, suspicion persists in the community that some or all of the men, possibly including Harris, were murdered by the police as payback for the policeman's death. Court documents show the quiet, background involvement of the FBI, who may have planted one of the star witnesses. Loverine Harris, Ed Harris's wife, had previously testified against a man in Illinois who went to prison for murder. She was the FBI's "confidential, reliable informant" in that case. Four convictions, two guilty pleas, one acquittal, and one legal limbo later, the police have made short work of what was left of the old Vice Lord leadership. Two men prominent in bringing the Vice Lords into the gang coalition United for Peace are in custody, one for supposedly holding a bunch of people at gunpoint in a garage because his car repairs weren't to his satisfaction, the other for allegedly ringing in the New Year with a few pistol shots from his balcony. With that grim background report, let's welcome Qubilah Shabazz to the Twin Cities.

Start of a New War?

Nobody with a lick of sense believes Qubilah Shabazz hired Michael Fitzpatrick to kill Min. Farrakhan. The only question worth posing is what the government is up to. Speculation includes the following, starting with the most obvious point:

No matter how astutely the Nation of Islam handles this, Min. Farrakhan can only lose popularity from a big, public reminder of his rivalry with Malcolm.

Either Min. Farrakhan or Ms. Shabazz could be targets of violence now, because of a plan cooked up by the government. Observers at her St. Paul arraignment noted that anyone in the standing-room-only court room could have had a weapon.

On one of the surveillance tapes, Ms. Shabazz is said to object to Fitzpatrick's plan, worrying that Jews might be revenge targets after Min. Farrakhan's assassination. Remember that Fitzpatrick infiltrated the JDL, the group Rabbi Meir Kahane founded in direct opposition to the Black Panthers. The government would like nothing better than a shoot-out between JDL and NOI sympathizers.

The Nation has shown how it's going to play this. Min. Farrakhan's first comments emphasized FBI hostility, downplayed his role in Malcolm's murder, and sent sympathy to Ms. Shabazz. The Final Call, the NOI paper, took a different tack: "Government, Jewish militant linked to the plot to kill Farrakhan," its headline screamed the first week in February. Let's not screw around. Michael Fitzpatrick is not a "Jewish militant." I'm a Jewish militant. Michael Fitzpatrick is a snitch. Anyway, whatever the government's plan, they're a lot less able to carry it out if everyone is loudly doubting their story. Demonstrations in support of Qubilah Shabazz should go down in a bunch of cities before her next court appearance, postponed till sometime in March.

UNITE FOR QUBILAH!

The Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 didn't need to be told twice about deadly government trickery. No sooner had news of Ms. Shabazz's indictment broken than busy Committee members were strategizing about a campaign in her support. After her daughter entered a not-guilty plea on January 18, Dr. Betty Shabazz greeted and thanked half a dozen Committee members who had loitered outside the St. Paul Federal Courthouse in sub-zero wind-chill. "United we stand! The US government is the real hit man!" Committee members shouted, trying to warm up the chilly national press corps. They held a banner with the pictures of Malcolm, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Fred Hampton, all COINTELPRO martyrs. The Committee's February 18 forum,



"Snitches, Frame-ups, and Provocateurs: Qubilah Shabazz, Malcolm X, and the Making of Crime," helped build for a demonstration on the 30th anniversary of Malcolm's murder, February 22. Events will continue building up through Ms. Shabazz's trial. The group understands that heavy local support will be critical in defeating the railroad.

### The Government's Tool

As for Fitzpatrick, he is an informer of the commonest, lowliest kind. This is not a free-lance spy who directs his own operations. This is a lifelong hot-dog and loser whose thrill is selling people bullshit. Cops at every level, from celebrity US attorneys to the local gang-unit officers, know how to control the con-man crook. In 1993, Fitzpatrick was looking at five years for coke he'd been caught holding. Qubilah Shabazz had for years been his fantasy "get out of jail free" card. He remembered her from high school and thought she just might kind of remember him. We don't know what Fitzpatrick may get in return, but his drug charge seems to be in limbo, and he's hanging out somewhere under government protection. The local straight press has admitted that Fitzpatrick does most of the talking on the video and audio tapes that will buttress his testimony against Ms. Shabazz. The only thing about Fitzpatrick that isn't clear yet is just when he became an informer.

At 18, he tried to blow up a Russian-language bookstore in New York, for motives that remain obscure. His taste for the crazy side of life may have hooked him up with cops or right-wingers who put him up to it, or he may have cooked up that one on his own. But after that, with FBI agents controlling him, he joined the crypto-fascist, racist Jewish Defense League in New York, got some folks to agree to blow up the Egyptian tourism office, and testified against the two JDLeers who went to prison. He went into witness protection, and from there into chemical-dependency treatment. He wound up here.

### Fitzpatrick's Minneapolis Adventure

Only dedicated media snoozers can have missed how Love and Rage's own Christopher Day Gunderson helped bust Fitzpatrick out. Not long after the first descriptions of Fitzpatrick hit the press, Christopher went, "Hmm." A few phone calls to anarchists who'd been active in Minneapolis in the mid-80s confirmed it. This was the same Michael, the big, ugly "free-beers-for-everyone!" Michael, who'd started hanging around Backroom Anarchist Books late in 1986.

Christopher's statement to William Kunstler, one of Ms. Shabazz's lawyers, is excellent reading. It describes the arrival of a tough-talking, tale-telling guy in his 20s who tried to sway a

nascent, mostly-teenage group to stop having candy-ass demos and start blowing shit up. When no one took his bait, he urged the Backroomers at least to start throwing shit around. "After a few hours we were all intoxicated and all convinced by Michael of the merits of a plan to attack a polling station with bags of human feces," Christopher states. Sober in the morning, they instead went ahead with a mild guerrilla theater protesting the 1986 election. Fitzpatrick planted a can of mace in the bookstore moments before suburban cops burst in looking for a runaway. They instantly found the mace behind the books where the infiltrator had stashed it. He talked a man who was crashing in the bookstore's loft, but was not formally in the collective, into keeping a shotgun in the store, since things were getting so "heavy." The collective talked the man into giving the gun back to Fitzpatrick. If you're a convicted felon caught with a gun, you either go to prison or you don't. It all depends on if you're a Vice Lord or a white informer like Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick boasted to the anarchists of having been in the Communist Workers Party, the group that an Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms undercover agent set up to get shot up by the Klan in Greensboro, NC, in 1979. To a woman he wanted to impress, he boasted he'd infiltrated the JDL. She passed word back to the Backroomers, who threw him out forever in December 1986 or January 1987.

'Til the chickens Come Home to Roost

The authorities here are used to getting away with infiltration, frames, and murder. Qubilah Shabazz's trial this spring will be an opportunity to teach them a lesson. An international show of unity for Ms. Shabazz will be necessary. Rest assured the movements here will be inside the court room and out.

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# COINTELPRO

## The Sabotage Of Legitimate Dissent

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### The Black Panther Coloring Book

This is but one horrific example of the tactics used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to stifle legitimate dissent and violate the civil rights of political groups that the administration dislikes. Along with the anti-war movement, the Nixon White House targeted the civil rights movement for disruption, using on-campus informants to infiltrate and in many cases to disrupt legal protests and activism.

This coloring book, which was purported to be from the Black Panthers, had actually been rejected by them when it was brought to them by a man later revealed to have intelligence connections. Not to be troubled by the fact that the Panthers found the coloring book revolting, the FBI added even more offensive illustrations, and mass mailed it across America. It so infuriated the white population that they stopped listening to the legitimate grievances of the black people.

While it can be argued that such an action did not technically violate the right of the Black Panthers to free speech (even as it sabotaged the willingness of the people to listen), it is apparent that such a divisive act violated the right of the people, black **and** white, to peacefully assemble.

At the time, I asked my parents if it didn't seem odd to have a book purported to be by blacks for black children mailed to a white household, but I was outvoted in what was a functionally democratic household (except for the dictator from MIT). But heck, most of us still thought Oswald acted alone then as well.

I had thought the actual coloring book lost forever, relegated to a mere footnote in the Congressional inquiry into COINTELPRO, when the wonder that is the internet brought it into the light again.

### THE COLORING BOOK



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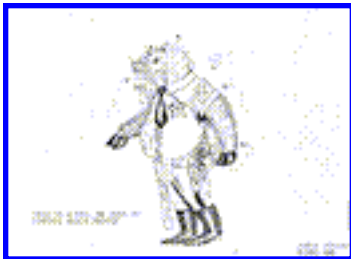
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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Spying & Disruption

IN BLACK AND WHITE: THE F.B.I. PAPERS

Following are transcripts of official FBI COINTELPRO documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. The March 4, 1968 communique was sent out by J. Edgar Hoover himself just one month before the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. It specifically identified Elijah Muhammed and the Nation of Islam as primary targets of COINTELPRO, as well as Rev. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Other released FBI documents show the Bureau had infiltrators within Macolm X's Muslim Mosque, Inc. Still others prove the FBI had undercover in the very room when he was assassinated; one such agent actually administered mouth-to-mouth to the dying man.

Note: in the originally released documents, most of the names of COINTELPRO targets are censored. However, the names which are included here exactly fit the spaces marked out by the FBI. It is also now known that all of these individuals were in fact targetted for "neutralization" by the FBI.

[Some emphases added by the editor.]

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SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES  
 ~~~~~

[From] Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY

[...] The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or OTHERWISE NEUTRALIZE [emphasis

added] the activities of black nationalist hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to the Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. NO OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE MISSED TO EXPLOIT THROUGH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE TECHNIQUES THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND PERSONAL CONFLICTS OF THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE GROUPS AND WHERE POSSIBLE AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO CAPITALIZE UPON EXISTING CONFLICTS BETWEEN COMPETING BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS. [emphasis added] When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or NEUTRALIZE [emphasis added] black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government [Hoover's office]\*, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized...

You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE EXISTENCE OF THE PROGRAM BE MADE KNOWN OUTSIDE THE BUREAU [emphasis added] and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated  
 ~~~~~  
 by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization. [Emphasis in orig.]  
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\* [EDITOR'S NOTE: "Seat of Government" (SOG) is an official designation created by J. Edgar Hoover to refer to his own office. Hoover was director of the FBI for some 40 years, even receiving a special exemption from compulsory retirement by President Ford. The "SOG" appellation is indicative of his egotistical view of his power, which saw presidents come and go.]

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COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

3/4/68

[...]

## GOALS

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For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the COALITION of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" [Black revolutionary army] in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the RISE OF A "MESSIAH" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent VIOLENCE on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining RESPECTABILITY, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit those groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community, both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist [sic] simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range GROWTH of militant black organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed. [...]

TARGETS

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Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)  
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)  
NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) [emphasis added]

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions. [...]

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[SOURCE: Brian Glick, The War At Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists And What We Can Do About It (Boston: South End Press, 1989) ISBN: 0-89608-349-7.]

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - In Defense of Paranoia

From NameBase NewsLine, No. 10, July-September 1995:

#### The 1960s and COINTELPRO: In Defense of Paranoia

It was just six months ago that Bill Clinton began casting about for an enemy to rally Americans behind his dim leadership. Ronald had his Evil Empire and George his Adolf Saddam, but poor Bill has yet to find a hook on world events. Either Clinton becomes presidential within the next year, or his second term is sunk.

The fishing in post-Cold War waters has not been good; six months ago it seemed that only international terrorists and narcotics smugglers might be netted from the 1990s political stew. And the drug issue is sometimes inconvenient: Mexico, soiling her new suit of Spun-in-USA hype, now looks like a basket case, or even like a Cali shark in NAFTA-pinup clothing. Organized crime gets messy too, as it can involve powerful people with banking connections, who might backfire at politicians on occasion. That leaves only international terrorism, the sole example of which in the U.S. in recent memory -- if one ignores the CIA ties of the perpetrators -- is the World Trade Center bombing.

The fishing is lousy, but fish he must. Clinton's string-pullers are not happy. With 52 percent of Americans believing that "the federal government has become so large and powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens," Clinton needs a threat that's too big for mere state and local governments. Out trots Warren Christopher on January 20, 1995, to unveil a broad plan for expanded wiretapping, denial of visas, working with other governments on money laundering and seizing assets, and expanding the use of current laws prohibiting fund-raising for terrorist organizations. "International terrorists, criminals and drug traffickers pose direct threats to our people and to our nation's interests," Christopher explained to anyone who hadn't heard it before.[1]

The bombing in Oklahoma City happened three months later. It was accompanied by 100 times more footage about dead children than the same media mustered for Waco two years earlier -- or for that matter, bombed children in Vietnam during the 1960s. They deftly dropped the word "international" from all references to "terrorism," and "anti-terrorism" moved to the fast track. The president's popularity went up as Bill and Hillary staged a session with some children in front of the cameras, promising the toddlers that they'd do their best against the bad guys. They didn't take questions. A few days later Clinton sent a \$1.5 billion anti-terrorism bill to Congress. Here we go again, for those old enough to remember the sixties.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) had bigger fish to fry. Even though the connection between the bombing and militia groups was more imaginary than real, the copy-starved media grabbed whatever crumbs they were offered by these two axe-grinding groups. The militias hit the front pages everywhere. On June 7, with the support of the ADL, the Senate passed a sweeping \$2 billion anti-terrorism measure by a vote of 91-to-8. It took a pair of gloves at the O.J. trial to slap our media back to their usual fare. And by then the House was already reporting a similar bill out of committee.

Clinton's rush to capitalize on an isolated incident seems misguided to the American Civil Liberties Union. Unlike the ADL, with their agenda of short-term gain against their perceived enemies, the ACLU believes that reasonable people should defer to the long-range interests of democracy as expressed in the Bill of Rights. But Clinton is neither a power-grabber nor a libertarian; he's a gofer. His handlers are dismayed over what they see as the failure of the New World Order in Bosnia. These globalists want an end to nationalism when it doesn't serve their interests. Bosnia is one example, and the isolationism of the populists and patriots in America is another.

The masters of the global plantation need serfs who are willing to donate their first-born to assorted foreign military adventures. Otherwise, nationalism -- which is often a response to oppression, both perceived and real -- cannot be suppressed. And that means markets cannot be exploited. Since the war in Vietnam, all is not well back at the Republic. Real folks are watching real earnings decline, at the same time that Wall Street gushes over the corporate downsizing that has stock prices soaring. "Losing your job is good for us," they're basically saying.

Even militia members now salute the anti-war protesters of the sixties, and regret that they weren't listening at the time. "Look at that McNamara coming forward now with his brand-new book, telling us that the patriot movement of thirty years ago was absolutely right, and that the war was a lying, fraudulent, disgusting thing," says Bob Fletcher, a spokesman for the Militia of Montana.[2]

The establishment response to populists and patriots is two-fold. On the one hand, they demonize the movement as neo-fascist, racist, and anti-Semitic. This is the line of ADL and SPLC, whose spokesmen grossly exaggerate the connections between today's patriots, and an earlier generation of white survivalists. In this view, ADL and SPLC are anti-racist and liberal, while the patriots are nothing more than extreme-right hate groups posing as populists. This analysis is definitely declining. ADL's police-state methods, and SPLC's questionable fund-raising practices, have both taken their toll. But the primary reason for the decline is that the left vs. right scenario held dear by ADL and SPLC has lost its power to explain what's happening in America.

Plan B becomes important once it's apparent that the old paradigm can't do the job. This new interpretation is best articulated in an article by Michael Kelly in the June 19, 1995 issue of The New Yorker, titled "The Road to Paranoia." Kelly describes "views that have long been shared by both the far right and the far left, and that in recent years have come together, in a weird meeting of the minds, to become one, and to permeate the mainstream of American politics and popular culture. You could call it fusion paranoia." [3]

Kelly uses psychologism to avoid examining the evidence. Recent events in American history, from the October Surprise to Iran-contra to Mena, Arkansas, are all examples of "conspiracist appeal." They should be appreciated not for what they might tell us about American society and politics, but only for what they tell us about those who find them compelling. Kelly is doing nothing new here. In 1969, a conservative scholar by the name of Lewis S. Feuer produced a fat book titled "The Conflict of Generations," which explained the student movement in terms of an Oedipal impulse that student activists have toward their fathers. No messy Vietnam war, with forced conscription and napalmed babies, had much of anything to do with it. Similarly, Kelly and The New Yorker are spared the trouble of dealing with the issues that have awakened so many in America's heartland. Freud is out of favor by now, but the ridicule of paranoia works just as well.

The term "fusion paranoia" could only have been coined by someone who did not experience the surveillance and repression of the 1960s. At the time, anti-war activists didn't realize the extent to which the authorities were destroying their movement from within by using agents provocateurs and informants, and from the outside by using trumped-up charges, anonymous denunciations and snitch jackets, and stories planted in the media. Almost thirty years later, the deja vu is getting stronger with each new headline.

It wasn't until the decade following the sixties that the bulk of the documentation surfaced. Mostly this was the result of a Freedom of

Information Act that was given new teeth in December, 1974, over President Ford's veto. The Church Committee in the Senate, and the Pike Committee in the House, were looking into CIA misdeeds. J. Edgar Hoover came to a timely end in 1972, allowing congressional and Government Accounting Office investigators to put at least one foot into the FBI's cabinets. And our national media, in the wake of Watergate, were in a rare mood to report what the files showed.

The revelations were almost more than the system could bear. President Reagan's Executive Order 12356, issued in 1982, slowed down the declassification process. In 1986 a revision of the Freedom of Information Act gave agencies the authority to refuse to confirm or deny that certain records existed at all. The effect of these changes, along with the decline in investigative journalism and the rise of infotainment, meant that the window of opportunity for the public's right to know was slammed shut.

In 1978, for example, with a few intimations that the University of Southern California had something to hide (former CIA director John McCone was a trustee), I successfully urged the campus library to file a request for the CIA's files on USC. Almost three years later the library received 50 documents, portions of which were blacked out, and were denied another 34 documents. All search fees were waived in the public interest, and the library made the files available for photocopying.

If I tried the same thing today, first the library would want to know why I'm making trouble. Then the CIA would tell the library to take a hike. If I took the CIA's letter to the campus newspaper editor, she'd want to know why I think mere citizens should be privy to the CIA's secrets -- the real story, she'd explain, is the problem of discrimination against women in the Directorate of Operations.

One yearns for the good old days, when issues were big, women didn't want to be imperial spies, and idealism and ethical indignation were accepted from nonvictims. In 1977 the CIA notified eighty academic institutions that they had unwittingly been involved in -- surprise! -- mind-control research. But this and similar tidbits are consigned to pre-digital oblivion these days. Anything that isn't available through campus terminals or journalists' modems is never discussed anymore. That means anything predating the early 1980s.

"The Women's Liberation Movement may be considered as subversive to the New Left and revolutionary movements as they have proven to be a divisive and factionalizing factor.... It could be well recommended as a counterintelligence movement to weaken the revolutionary movement." This was from an August, 1969 report by the head of the San Francisco FBI office.[4] Within several years, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations were pumping millions into women's studies programs on campus.

At the same time, the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division had 62,000



subversives under investigation. Much of this effort was organized under COINTELPRO, or counterintelligence program. In 1956 COINTELPRO began against the Communist Party USA, in 1964 "white hate groups" were added, in 1967 "black nationalist-hate groups," and in 1968 the "New Left."

The existence of COINTELPRO was first revealed when every document in the Media, Pennsylvania office of the FBI was stolen by unknown persons on March 8, 1971. Some sixty documents were then mailed to selected publications, and others were sent directly to the people and groups named. These documents broke down as follows: 30 percent were manuals, routine forms, and similar procedural materials. Of the remainder, 40 percent were political surveillance and other investigation of political activity (2 were right-wing, 10 concerned immigrants, and over 200 were on left or liberal groups), 25 percent concerned bank robberies, 20 percent were murder, rape, and interstate theft, 7 percent were draft resistance, another 7 percent were military desertion, and 1 percent organized crime, mostly gambling.[5]

Further evidence concerning COINTELPRO came after reporter Carl Stern from NBC, noticing a reference in the Media documents, filed an FOIA request and received additional files more than two years later. Additionally, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a Trotskyite group that was active in the anti-war movement, filed a suit in 1973 that was still in discovery three years later. The documents received by the SWP showed that specially-trained teams of agents burglarized their offices at least 92 times from 1960-1966, yielding a total of about 10,000 photographs of documents such as correspondence, records, minutes, letters, and other materials. The burglaries were still going on as late as 1975.[6]

When Lori Paton, 15, wrote a letter to the Socialist Labor Party in 1973 and inadvertently addressed it to the SWP, she was looking for information for a high school project. Our fearless G-men nabbed this letter through a mail cover and swung into high gear, opening a "subversive activities" investigation on her. The FBI checked a credit bureau and the local police for information on Paton and her parents, and an agent interviewed her high school principal. "More interviews ... are in order for plenty of reasons," instructed one memo dated 16 September 1970, "chief of which are it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across that there is an FBI Agent behind every mailbox. In addition, some will be overcome by the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agent and volunteer to tell all -- perhaps on a continuing basis."

The Black Panther Party wasn't treated so kindly. A 1970 FBI memo outlined a series of rather nasty steps that should be taken:

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

attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient the impression the documents were stolen from police files by a disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers.... Alleged police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ... outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse of Panther funds.... Effective implementation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities.[7]

Such FBI tactics created the feud between the Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton factions of the Black Panther Party, according to a high bureau official. In Los Angeles, the FBI worked with the police department to support Ron Karenga, the leader of a black nationalist organization that was feuding with the Panthers. Two Panther activists were killed in a shootout at UCLA in 1969, for which five Karenga supporters were subsequently indicted, and three convicted. Louis Tackwood, an LAPD agent-provocateur who went public in 1971, says that the LAPD gave Karenga money, guns, narcotics, and encouragement.[8]

In Seattle, FBI agent Louis Harris recruited David Sannes in 1970, a patriotic veteran who was willing to help them catch some bombers. Sannes worked with explosives expert Jeffrey Paul Desmond and FBI agent Bert Carter. Their instructions were to find people interested in bombing. "For a few of the members it was a matter of many weeks of persuasion to actually have them carry through with the bombing projects," said Sannes. When Carter made it clear that he planned to have one bomber die in a booby-trapped explosion, Sannes dropped his FBI work and went public. "My own knowledge is that the FBI along with other Federal law enforcement agencies has been involved in a campaign of bombing, arson and terrorism in order to create in the mass public mind a connection between political dissidence of whatever stripe and revolutionaries of whatever violent tendencies," Sannes reported in an interview on WBAI radio.[9]

The situation in Seattle is merely one of many examples of the FBI's campaign against the New Left. Two agents, W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller, admitted to a grand jury that they had authorized illegal break-ins and burglaries against friends and relatives of Weather Underground fugitives. A 25-year FBI veteran, M. Wesley Swearingen, claimed that the FBI routinely lied to Congress about the number of break-ins and wiretaps: "I myself actually participated in more than 238 while assigned to the Chicago office, [which] conducted thousands of bag jobs." Swearingen charged that agents had lied to a Washington grand jury about the number, locations, and duration of illegal practices in pursuit of the Weather Underground.[10] FBI director William Webster disciplined only six of the 68 agents referred to him by the Justice Department. Felt and Miller were convicted in 1980, and a few months later were pardoned by President Reagan. Today the FBI can still use these same techniques, simply by mislabeling their targets as foreign agents or terrorists.

In 1971 Congress finally repealed the Internal Security Act of 1950, which provided for custodial detention of citizens whose names were on lists of "subversives" maintained by the FBI. Over the years these lists were expanded from Communist Party members, to all members of SDS and other "pro-Communist New Left-type groups," and by 1970 even included members of every "commune" where individuals reside in one location and "share income and adhere to the philosophy of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented violent revolution." Despite the repeal, the FBI simply changed the names of the Security Index and Reserve Index to the "Administrative Index," with the excuse that they were preparing for possible future legislation. The FBI's continuation of these lists was authorized by attorney general John Mitchell.[11]

The FBI also waged a war against the underground press. As early as 1968 they assigned three informants to penetrate the Liberation News Service (LNS), while nine others reported on it from the outside. These reports were shared with the U.S. Army's Counterintelligence Branch, the Secret Service, the Internal Revenue Service, the Navy, the Air Force, and the CIA. The FBI set up Pacific International News Service in San Francisco and New York Press Service on the east coast. When NYPS director Louis Salzberg blew his cover by appearing as a government witness at the Chicago Seven trial, the FBI's New York office tried to swing this in their favor by preparing an anonymous letter denouncing LNS as a government front as well. Other underground newspapers were handled more gently by the FBI, by getting record companies to pull ads from their pages.[12]

Other federal agencies were also active in the war against dissent. In response to pressure from the Nixon White House, in 1969 the Internal Revenue Service began investigating radicals. Former FBI agent Robert N. Wall blew the whistle on this unit in 1972. He wrote about his visit to the IRS to investigate a radical:

When I went to the IRS I found it had secretly set up a special squad of men to investigate the tax records of "known militants and activists." I was sent to a locked, sound-proofed room in the basement of the IRS headquarters in Washington, where I found a file on my subject, among hundreds of others piled on a long table.[13]

The CIA was able to obtain IRS information under the table, through IRS liaison personnel that handled the taxes for CIA proprietary companies. When the CIA found out that Ramparts magazine planned to expose their funding of the National Student Association, Richard Ober met with top IRS officials Thomas Terry, Leon Green, and John Barber on February 1, 1967. Ober recommended that Ramparts' corporate returns be examined, along with the personal returns of any financial supporters of Ramparts. The CIA also obtained the personal returns of Ramparts publisher Edward Keating.[14]

The CIA's domestic operations were first exposed by Seymour Hersh in the New York Times on December 22, 1974. Within two weeks President Ford created the Rockefeller Commission to look into the matter, and their report was issued the following June. It detailed the CIA's mail intercept program for mail to and from the Soviet Union, described Operation CHAOS (the CIA's domestic spying program that was headed by Richard Ober), also described a separate domestic spying program run by the CIA's Office of Security called Project Resistance, and mentioned an Office of Security program that gave seminars and training on lock-picking and surveillance to a number of local police departments.[15]

The Rockefeller report stated that "during six years [1967-1972], the Operation [CHAOS] compiled some 13,000 different files, including files on 7,200 American citizens. The documents in these files and related materials included the names of more than 300,000 persons and organizations, which were entered into a computerized index." This compares to the CIA's index of some 7 million names of all nationalities maintained by the Directorate of Operations, an estimated 115,000 of which are believed to be American citizens.[16] But the numbers may be on the low side; CHAOS was tightly compartmented within the CIA and free from periodic internal review. For example, later reports of the number of state, local, and county police departments assisted by the CIA were put at 44, far more than the handful mentioned in the Rockefeller report.[17]

The Center for National Security Studies, a late-1970s liberal watchdog group headed by Morton Halperin, obtained 450 documents that describe the CIA's Project Resistance. These documents show that the purpose of this Security Office program was much more than an effort to protect CIA recruiters on campus by collecting newspaper clippings, as described in the Rockefeller report. The Security Office was authorized for the first time to assist the recruiting division "in any way possible," and restrictions on contacting the FBI at local levels were dropped. Contacts were also developed with campus security officials, informants within the campus community, military intelligence, and state and local police. Special attention was paid to the underground press.[18]

In 1976 the Church Committee received summaries from the CIA of the files of 400 American journalists who had being tasked by the CIA to collect intelligence abroad over the past 25 years. These included correspondents for the New York Times, CBS News, Time magazine, and many others.[19] As sensitive as this issue was, it didn't involve domestic operations (which are a violation of the CIA's charter), except to the extent that planted stories would sometimes "blow back" as bona fide news for domestic consumption.

One case in particular, however, suggests that the CIA was busy sabotaging the underground press as well. Sal Ferrera was recruited by the CIA sometime around 1970. He worked with the Quicksilver Times in Washington DC, and covered numerous demonstrations for the College Press

Service. (Seed money from the CIA helped establish CPS in the early 1960s, although most staffers did not know this.) Ferrera even worked with a debugging outfit in Washington, checking telephones of movement groups for taps.

When CPS sent Ferrera to Paris to report on the Vietnamese peace negotiations, he ended up befriending ex-CIA officer Philip Agee, who was writing his memoirs. Ferrera was exposed as a CIA agent in 1975 with the publication of Agee's "Inside the Company: CIA Diary." This bestseller featured the typewriter Ferrera gave Agee: in the cover photograph, the padding in the top of the typewriter case is peeled back to reveal a homing transmitter. That same year, Ferrera returned to the U.S. and legally changed his name.[20]

Not to be outdone, U.S. military intelligence frequently used media cover to collect information during demonstrations. The U.S. Army's "Midwest Audiovisual News" scooped up the only TV interview with Abbie Hoffman during the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago. Their Counter-intelligence Analysis Branch (CIAB) compiled organizational files, personality files, mug books, and "black lists," resulting in more than 117,000 documents. These were computer-indexed under a series of descriptive categories, which allowed access to a microfilm reel and frame at the push of a button.[21]

There were other filing systems in other locations, maintained by other elements of the military intelligence bureaucracy. These were fed partly by overlapping data, as well as by other collection systems. The U.S. Intelligence Command (USAINTC), for example, had a network of 1500 agents stationed in over 300 posts scattered throughout the country. Some of these posts were stocked with communications equipment, tape recorders, cameras, lock-picking kits, lie detectors, and interview rooms with two-way mirrors. Agents were even given kits to forge identification for cover purposes. Former army intelligence captain Christopher Pyle blew the whistle on military surveillance in 1970, in the January and July issues of Washington Monthly. This led to hearings in 1971 by Senator Sam Ervin's Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, at which Pyle, CIAB analyst Ralph Stein, and operative Richard Stahl testified.[22]

Some of the military's effort reflected their fondness for the "operations center" seen in movies, with direct lines to local police departments, teletype machines to field intelligence units, situation maps, closed-circuit television, and secure radio links. One 180-man command center was created in 1968 after the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King; by 1969 it was housed in a \$2.7 million basement war room in the Pentagon. Nothing was too insignificant for this war room's computer: one printout announced an "anti-war demo" at West Point, where Vassar "girl students will offer sex to cadets who sign an anti-war petition." Apart from the coverage of demonstrations

and similar events, the primary target of military intelligence was the nation's university and college campuses.[23]

The 117-year-old Posse Comitatus Act, which the current anti-terrorism legislation will amend, sharply curtails the rights of the military to get involved in domestic law enforcement. Nevertheless, in the late sixties the military was working closely with local and state police, as well as National Guard units, to coordinate scenarios for the implementation of martial law. The Ervin subcommittee came across a master plan called "Garden Plot," which was too unspecific to raise Ervin's eyebrows. Several years later a freelance journalist uncovered documents describing a sub-plan of Garden Plot. It went by the name of "Cable Splicer," and involved California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona, under the command of the Sixth Army.

Cable Splicer was developed in a series of California meetings from 1968 to 1972, involving Sixth Army, Pentagon, and National Guard generals, police chiefs and sheriffs, military intelligence officers, defense contractors, and executives from the telephone company and utility companies. One meeting was kicked off by Governor Ronald Reagan:

You know, there are people in the state who, if they could see this gathering right now and my presence here, would decide that their worst fears and convictions had been realized -- I was planning a military takeover.

The participants played war games using scenarios that began with racial, student, or labor unrest, and ended with the Army being called in to bail out the National Guard, usually by sweeping the area to confiscate private weapons and round up likely troublemakers. These games were conducted in secrecy, with military personnel dressed in civvies, and using non-military transportation. Although the documents on Cable Splicer covered only four Western states, Brig. Gen. J. L. Jelinek, senior Army officer in the Pentagon's National Guard Bureau, knew of "no state that didn't have some form of this [civil disturbance control] exercise within the last year" under different code names.[24]

Games are one thing, while actual offensive operations are another. The Ervin subcommittee reported that military intelligence groups conducted offensive operations against anti-war and student groups, but the Pentagon refused to declassify the relevant records. Presumably they never reached the intensity of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations.[25] The situation with respect to police departments was a different matter. Particularly in Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, as well as in some other cities, the police "Red Squads" exceeded the zeal of the FBI.

In Los Angeles from 1977-1981, I worked with a citizens' group to

document the LAPD's intelligence activities, which were still going strong even then. Our group uncovered at least eight LAPD agents in local organizations, some of whom had attended our own meetings. One was even reporting on city council meetings. After a series of similar revelations, the LAPD intelligence division was finally dissolved by the police commission in January, 1983.

The final straw for the police commission occurred two months earlier, when it was discovered that files previously ordered destroyed had been squirreled away by an intelligence officer, Jay Paul, with the approval of his superiors. Investigators with search warrants seized ninety cartons of files from his mobile home and other locations. Paul was in the process of feeding this data into the computers of Western Goals, a private organization headed by Congressman Larry McDonald, and was also involved with Research West, an operation founded by ex-FBI agents which sold information to corporations. Typical of the files in these cartons was a four-decade dossier on a state supreme court judge, compiled to assess his possible bias against police intelligence practices.[26]

It's the Chicago Police Department that holds the national record for dirty tricks, however. At times the intelligence unit swelled to 500, and in 1974, fearing a lawsuit, they destroyed files on 105,000 individuals and 1,300 organizations. Prominent citizens and civic groups were targeted as often as black nationalists. In 1967 a right-winger organized the Legion of Justice, which claimed five chapters in Chicago, each with forty to sixty members. These were essentially gangs, and they worked with the Chicago police to target left-wing groups. Many of their tactics were illegal, including burglaries to obtain files, bugging, harassment, and threats. Sometimes police staked out the scene to make sure the gang members weren't interrupted.[27]

Today officials in Chicago are involved in negotiations to ease the restrictions on police spying. These restrictions were imposed by a consent decree in 1982, after more than 60 organizations and individuals sued the city in 1974. Recently police superintendent Matt Rodriguez said that the limits on police spying are "keeping information from us that we should have with respect to potential criminal activity, potential terrorist activity that we could probably be investigating a lot more effectively." His position is supported by Mayor Richard M. Daley, whose father was mayor in the 1960s and 1970s.[28]

Despite the high incidence of civil unrest between 1963 and 1968, violence claimed no more than 220 lives and the victims were not the objects of protest but the protesters themselves: 20 civil rights workers and most of the rest ghetto-dwellers. During this period the civil strife death rate was 1.1 per million in this country, compared to a European rate of 2.4 per million.[29] Nevertheless, many federal, state, and local agencies were willing to violate our civil rights, while others collected

surveillance information with the expectation that it would be useful later, perhaps under martial law conditions. This suggests that our Constitution is much more fragile than most people assume.

The sixties were economic boom years, when a college degree, even in the humanities, seemed to promise a house and garden on Easy Street. There was a war in Vietnam that we could afford to lose: despite all the death and destruction, there were no essential American interests involved. And we had a war on poverty at home that raised consciousness and expectations, which a wealthy America could afford to win. But those who were not involved in either of the above, whether through support or opposition, must have comprised at least 80 percent of the population. The string-pullers know that this 80 percent tends to go along, in order to get along.

At the level of manipulation contemplated by the elites, there is no genuine left vs. right, no Democrat vs. Republican, no "women and people of color" vs. "angry white males." These are imposed artificially. In normal times there's a hodgepodge minority consisting of the elites, the suspicious, the desperate, the dispossessed, and those who think for themselves. Alongside this there's a hackneyed majority that continues to pursue their own narrow interests. Without the time or inclination to seek out information for themselves, they subsist on what they are fed by a centralized mass media.

Increasingly, however, these are not normal times. Oklahoma and the pending anti-terrorism legislation are a test run of sorts, whether they started out that way or not. As the economy goes south, and the 80 percent begin to suspect that there's something they aren't being told, all bets for stability are off. This has important people worried.

Without the "communists" to kick around anymore, some of those who once underwrote Wall Street's global interests by donating their first-born, are now describing themselves as patriots and populists. Many of them have taken a fresh look at the international ruling class, and resurrected a long but gnarly tradition of anti-establishment, isolationist nationalism.

Much of the political thinking among these new patriots is immature, and is short on both research and scholarship. Even so, it still describes the world better than what's left of the Left, with its self-interested insistence on multiculturalism and political correctness. The conspiracy theories peddled by patriots make more objective sense today, than the reasons they were given for our involvement in Vietnam did in the sixties. That's progress of sorts.

These patriots and populists have shed most of the racism and anti-Semitism that characterized the earlier survivalists. Now they're expressing their opinions by fax, radio, and Internet, they have an ear to the ground, and -- it must be said -- they spread lots of rumors.



But two out of three isn't bad.

The ruling class, to be sure, would prefer that they watch the O.J. trial.

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Bari/Cherney

**NOTE: Judi Bari just recently passed away after fighting the after affects of her car-bombing for 7 years.**

[ INLINE ]

Progress in Bari/Cherney Suit Against the F.B.I.: The NewCOINTELPRO of the '90s

[ INLINE ]

by Judi Bari

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On May 24, 1990, Darryl Cherney and I were driving through Oakland on an organizing tour for Earth First!/Redwood Summer when a bomb exploded under the driver's seat of my car. Within minutes of the blast, the FBI and the Oakland Police Department moved in and arrested us on suspicion of carrying explosives. They lied outrageously, claiming that the bomb had been in the back seat, when their own photos showed clearly its location directly under me. [See \_Partisan\_ No. 1 for photo. -- editors.]

We survived the blast, but I have been crippled for life. Neither the FBI nor the Oakland Police made any attempt to find our would-be assassins, but instead used the bombing as a pretext to begin an investigation of the environmental movement.

For the past few years Darryl and I have been battling the FBI over their outrageous treatment of us in the 1990 car-bombing. We have filed a civil rights lawsuit against them, and we have been seeking a Congressional investigation. Now, finally, both of these efforts seem to be bearing fruit.

Courtroom Victory

The civil rights lawsuit has passed its final legal hurdle, and is now headed for trial. In a strongly worded, 3-0 decision, the U.S. Court

of Appeals turned down the FBI's third and last attempt to get the case thrown out of court. Our lawsuit charges the FBI and Oakland Police with false arrest and civil rights violations. We claim that they knew perfectly well that Darryl and I were innocent, and that we were in fact victims of a brutal assassination attempt. Yet the FBI and police arrested us for the bombing, and conducted a slanderous campaign against us in the press, as part of a plan to defame and discredit Earth First!

The appeals court has upheld our right to make all these changes, including those about the FBI's underlying motive to discredit Earth First!, based on the strength of the evidence we have collected so far. This evidence includes the police photos of the bombing scene that show beyond a doubt that the FBI and police deliberately lied when they arrested Darryl and me for knowingly carrying the bomb. We have also gotten access to over 5,000 pages of FBI files on the bombing case. These files have revealed a whole new layer of FBI misdeeds, going even beyond what we expected.

### Sweeping Surveillance

The FBI files show that no legitimate search for the bomber was ever conducted. Instead, the FBI used this case as an excuse to investigate environmentalists and their associates, both locally and nationally, in a sweeping campaign reminiscent of the 1950's red scare.

Locally, under the guise of investigating the bombing, the FBI looked through the letters to the editor files of nine small hometown newspapers, and confiscated letters from environmentalists. The FBI also interviewed local police, management personnel from the timber companies, and Wise Use Movement anti-environmental activists, asking them to submit names of and information about any and all environmentalists. Using these methods, they collected data on approximately 150 Earth First!ers and other environmental activists in the redwood region.

Nationally, the FBI obtained the telephone records of fourteen Earth First!ers and compiled a list of 634 out-of-state phone calls we had made. The FBI then investigated each of these 634 phone numbers, gathering information including names, addresses, physical descriptions, places of employment, criminal records, and political associates.

Another example of scandalous FBI behavior revealed in the bombing file involves freedom of the press. In one memo to headquarters, San Francisco FBI director Richard Held complained about an article written by Santa Rosa Press Democrat reporter Mike Geniella. In that article, Geniella documented the FBI's targeting of Earth First! in Arizona, Montana, and California. Richard Held states in his memo that

he intends to complain to the \_Press Democrat\_'s editors about Mike Geniella's reporting, and suggests that FBI chief William Sessions complain to the \_Press Democrat\_'s parent newspaper, the \_New York Times\_. A few weeks later, Geniella was disciplined by the \_Press Democrat\_, and removed from his position as timber reporter.

### Congressional Hearings

The FBI's investigations of people whose only crime was writing a letter to the editor or receiving a phone call from an activist violates our most basic rights of privacy, freedom of speech, and freedom of association. The use of false charges to frame and discredit activists recalls J. Edgar Hoover's illegal COINTELPRO campaign of political repression, used to disrupt and destroy activist groups in the 1960's and '70's.

Most extraordinary of all, we found out during the "discovery" phase of our lawsuit that law enforcement officers who quickly appeared on the scene after the attempted murder of Darryl Cherney and myself had just come from an FBI "bomb school" held on Louisiana-Pacific Lumber Company land near Eureka. At the school, FBI and other officers practiced blowing up cars with bombs so they could "investigate the results."

### Help Needed

We have gotten support for this case from various social justice organizations, including the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York. Our awesome legal team, headed by Dennis Cunningham of San Francisco, has also donated many hours of free legal work. But with the current heightened level of activity in this case, this is no longer enough, and we must turn to our supporters for help.

There is a virtual press blackout on the case outside northern California. If you can spread the word in any way, please contact us. If you would like to receive updates on the bombing case, please write to Redwood Summer Justice Project, and we will put you on our mailing list.

And of course, if you can contribute toward our costs, any amount large or small will be appreciated. Checks to fund our FBI work should be made out to Redwood Summer Justice Project and mailed to the address below. If you would like your contribution to be tax deductible, please indicate this on your check.

Redwood Summer Justice Project, P.O. Box 14720, Santa Rosa, California 95402

[Judi Bari is a Mendocino County labor and environmental activist.]

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - "A Rough, Tough, Dirty Business"

Omar V. Garrison  
Playing Dirty  
The Secret War against Beliefs  
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#### Chapter 3.

##### "A Rough, Tough, Dirty Business"

SOMETIME during the night of March 8, 1971, a person or persons unknown broke into the FBI resident agency in Media, Pennsylvania. The loot taken by the burglars consisted of confidential files on individuals and organizations that apparently had been targeted by the Bureau for surveillance and harassment.

The purloined dossiers were delivered anonymously to the sensation-hungry media, where they were given wide circulation. Among the documents were some which carried the designation Cointelpro, a term which, until that time, was unknown outside the FBI. The acronym, which, it turned out, was an abbreviation for Counterintelligence Program, aroused the interest of an alert newsman (Carl Stern of NBC), who filed a Freedom of Information lawsuit to compel the FBI to release other documents compiled in the course of the Bureau's Cointelpro operations.

Caught in the glare of publicity, the FBI announced that for "security reasons" it was terminating the Program as of April 27, 1971. The action came a decade and a half too late. Documents pried loose from the Bureau in freedom-of-information suits disclosed what the



Washington Post accurately described as "an incredible pattern of abuse," extending back over a period of 15 years.

The FBI's covert action - i.e., "dirty tricks" - programmes against American citizens were, in fact, vigilante operations using techniques adopted outright from wartime counterintelligence capers directed against enemy agents and saboteurs. Hence the misnomer given the project.

Describing the kind of operations which had been used against foreign intelligence agents, and later transferred to domestic targets, former assistant FBI Director William C. Sullivan told the Senate Select Committee:

"This is a rough, tough, dirty business, and dangerous ... No holds were barred."

The "dirty business" included unauthorized bugging and wiretapping; mail opening; warrantless break-ins ("black bag jobs"); anonymously mailing reprints of newspaper and magazine articles (some of them planted in the press by the Bureau itself); disseminating defamatory information regarding individuals, much of it false; encouraging street warfare between violence-prone groups; contacting an employee with derogatory information about a person to get the target fired; using the IRS to harass individuals and organizations by audit; and so on.

As one newspaper writer put it, "almost nothing - beyond lack of imagination - appears to have limited the range of dirty tricks' used by the FBI . . ."

The explanation offered by the Bureau for its illegal acts was that the agency found them to be necessary to protect national security (a catch-all pleading invoked by all federal agencies to justify their lawless conduct); and to prevent violence.

That too facile a rationale runs aground, however, on two facts: the FBI targeted groups and individuals which did not remotely pose a threat to national security; and many of the Cointelpro victims were non-violent in both word and deed.

In the programme's later phases, it became clear that it was being used against persons and organizations whose beliefs were repugnant to the Bureau. In short, Cointelpro was J. Edgar Hoover's secret war against what he considered "dangerous" ideas, or sometimes against individuals who were unpopular with his friends and supporters.

What conceivable threat to national security or potential for violence, for instance, was involved in the Cointelpro operation in

which the Bureau wrote an anonymous letter to the parents of a Michigan State University co-ed, telling them that their daughter er had "a serious infection," implying that she had contracted a venereal disease?

Or, the instance in which FBI agents in Madison, Wisconsin "fingered" for Dane County police a co-ed who danced nude in a production of Peter Pan, because they didn't like her political views? (The memorandum covering the op notes with satisfaction: "Local charges were brought against her.")

Of the 2,370 approved COINTELPRO programmes that have been disclosed so far, perhaps the saddest and most disgraceful of all was the operation against the film actress Jean Seberg.

Documents obtained from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that in 1970, agents in the Bureau's Los Angeles Division, with the approval of Washington headquarters, concocted a scheme to ruin her reputation by spreading a rumor that she was pregnant by a Black Panther leader.

At the time, Seberg was married to French Diplomat Romain Gary.

The plot was initiated by the Special Agent in charge of the FBI Los Angeles office with a request, dated April 27, 1970 and submitted to the Director in Washington. It read:

"Bureau permission is requested to publicize the pregnancy of Jean Seberg, well-known movie actress by (name deleted) Black Panther (BPP) (deleted) by advising Hollywood "Gossip-Columnists" in the Los Angeles area of the situation. It is felt that the possible publication of Seberg's plight could cause her embarrassment and serve to cheapen her image with the general public.

" 'It is proposed that the following letter from a fictitious person be sent to local columnists:

"I was just thinking about you and remembered I still owe you a favor. So ---- I was in Paris last week and ran into Jean Seberg, who was heavy with baby. I thought she and Romaine [sic] had gotten together again, but she confided the child belonged to (de letted) of the Black Panthers, one (deleted). The dear girl is getting around!

" 'Anyway, I thought you might get a scoop on the others. Be good and I'll see you soon.

'Love,

" 'Sol.,

"Usual precautions would be taken by the Los Angeles Division to preclude identification of the Bureau as the source of the letter if approval is granted."

The agent making this proposal signed the document with his initials, RWH. It was approved by Ms superiors, WGG and RMB. While the FBI has refused to identify these agents, according to a source close to the activity, the originator of the memorandum was R Richard Wallace Held, later promoted to the job of Inspector with the Bureau in Washington. The same informant identified the special agent in charge as Wesley G. Grapp, now retired; and RMB as Richard M. Bloesser, also retired, but then a supervisor over S quad #2 in the Los Angeles office.

On information and belief (as the lawyers say) the Black Panther leader named in the proposition was Raymond (Masia) Hewit. In a separate op, the FBI falsely identified him as an undercover informant for the agency. The official letter was planted in his car with the expectation that one of his fellow Panthers would find it and assault him.

Days later, approval for the project came from the FBI headquarters in Washington. The memorandum contained a note of caution.

"To protect the sensitive source of information from possible compromise and to insure the success of your plan, Bureau feels it would be better to wait approximately two additional months until Seberg's pregnancy would be obvious to everyone."

The headquarters memorandum also added this note:

"Jean Seberg has been a financial supporter of the BBP and should be neutralized. Her current pregnancy by (name deleted) while still married affords an opportunity for such effort. "

In terms of circulation, the FBI's black propaganda effort met with notable success. On May 19, 1970, Los Angeles Times keyhole columnist Joyce Haber included the defamatory tidbit in her day's reportage. Haber's effusion was thereafter picked up and reprinted by Newsweek magazine, the American Weekly, and a French publication called Minute.

The actress' French husband said that soon after reading the false stories, his wife, who was then in the seventh month of her pregnancy; had to be hospitalized. Three days later, she went into labor and gave birth to a stillborn child, a white female.

The infant was placed in an open casket so that those who may have believed the cruel canard could view the truth in its most tragic setting.

Romain Gary affirmed that he was the child's father, and said that the shock of losing the child made the actress become psychotic. Every year, on the anniversary of the incident, she attempted suicide.

Finally, on September 10, 1979, the denouement of the harrowing events set in motion by the FBI, occurred. Jean Seberg died in the back seat of her car in Paris, of an overdose of barbituates.

Gary tersely delivered the last summary of the case:

"Jean Seberg was destroyed by the FBI."

In a face-saving editorial, the Los Angeles Times deeply regretted that that newspaper had carried the calumny, but took consolation in a statement issued by FBI Director William H. Webster, to wit:

"The days when the FBI used derogatory information to combat advocates of unpopular causes have long since passed. We are out of that business forever."

No such consolation is to be found, however, in the final report of the Senate Select Committee which investigated the Cointel operations. The committee concluded:

"Cointelpro activities may continue today under the rubric of 'investigation.'

"The word 'counterintelligence' had no fixed meaning even before the programs were terminated. The Bureau witnesses agreed that there is a large gray area between 'counterintelligence' and 'aggressive investigation,' and that headquarters supervisors sometimes had difficulty in deciding which should go on certain proposals.

"Aggressive investigation continues, and may be more disruptive than covert action. An anonymous letter (Cointelpro) can be ignored as the work of a crank; an overt approach by the Bureau ('investigation') is not so easily dismissed. The line between information collection and harrassment can be extremely thin." (Emphasis added.)

The Committee also notes that the memorandum officially terminating the Cointel programmes contained a slippery proviso, which read:

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

What this meant, quite simply, was that in future, Cointelpro-type

operations would be buried in the Bureau's 500,000 case files, each one of which would have to be searched to turn up all the Cointelpro actions.

When the Committee asked the FBI to provide it with a list of any Cointelpro activities undertaken since the programmes were officially abolished on April 28, 1971, the Bureau at first said that a review had "failed to develop any information indicating post-termination Cointelpro activity."

Afterward, however, the Bureau located and furnished to the Committee two instances of such operations. Committee investigators discovered a third instance on their own. How many others have taken and are taking place, is a matter of conjecture.

The fact is that, whatever public posture the Bureau may have adopted officially, the agents involved in Cointelpro, almost to a man have defended their despicable acts as proper and necessary. One Cointelpro unit chief declared: "The Bureau people did not think that they were doing anything wrong and most of us to this day do not think we were doing anything wrong."

That was the feeling of Section Chief Goerge C. Moore as well: "I thought I did something very important during those days. I have no apologies to make for anything we did, really."

In 1974, then-FBI Director Clarence Kelley commented on the Cointel programmes thus:

"For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people."

When three top FBI officials were arraigned on April 21, 1978 for conspiring to violate the rights of citizens by authorizing break-ins, a crowd of 750 FBI agents held a demonstration outside the Washington court, indicating their support of a solidarity with the accused. Special Agent Patrick Conner from the New York field office, which had carried out the alleged break-ins into residences of innocent friends and relatives of the fugitives they sought, told media representatives:

"Let this event today clearly reflect our personal commitment and show the American people that our fight against those terrorists was nothing more than our just and sworn duty."

It was, of course, much more than their "sworn duty." It was a serious violation of the law.

But, as this and other post-Cointelpro events clearly show, inside the

Federal Bureau of Investigation, there has really been no change of heart; merely a change of record-keeping.

Whether the Church of Scientology was formally a part of the Cointelpro or not, many of the same techniques used by the FBI during the 15 years that those programmes were in operation, were also employed against Scientologists.

During more than 20 years, the Bureau conducted a deliberate smear campaign against the church, one which has had lasting effects. The agency became an avid collector of unfavourable news stories and magazine articles concerning Scientology and its founder. Enquiries from individuals, other agencies and foreign governments were all provided with these materials and referred to other sources of derogatory allegations.

To conceal the fact that the FBI was the source of the slander, Hoover would introduce the libel with the statement that "No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning Hubbard [or "Scientology"]. However, our files reveal that There would then follow a deadly selection of venomous gossip, rumour and false published reports from the copious FBI files, but attributed to other founts.

Sometimes, the Director would close his letter with the words: "I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to have."

The "material" referred to would be a packet of black propaganda in the form of raw data accumulated by the Bureau.

Over the years, the defamatory reports thus generated by the FBI began to percolate among other governmental agencies and departments which, in turn, built their own files and became new centers for further diffusion of the falsehoods. The exchange was a contagion that eventually spread to the remotest corner of the world. (See chart on adjoining page.)

Internal memoranda clearly show that Hoover was aware that the Church of Scientology was neither violence-prone nor subversive. His letters to his own field offices contain such statements as the following (sent to the Special Agent in Charge in San Francisco):

"Bufiles contain no information of a subversive nature regarding captioned organization or its president, Lafayette Ron Hubbard."

To outside terminals, however, the Bureau sent "confidential" information quoting informants as having asserted that the church was involved in drugs, brainwashing, Communism, atheism and materialism.

Reports of this kind were sent to, among others, the CIA, the Alaskan State Police, the British Government, the White House, and to the legal attache at the U.S. Embassy in Paris.

The Director's oft-repeated statement (in correspondence to outsiders) that the Bureau had conducted no investigation of Hubbard or the Scientologists was untrue.

As early as 1951, the FBI began an internal security investigation of Hubbard and his organization. Documents reveal that "contacts" inside the Chicago branch of the Hubbard Dianetics Foundation (a precursor of the Church of Scientology) conducted a detailed investigation and supplied the Bureau with details as to the business affairs, office personnel, and procedures of various branches across the country. Later the FBI planted undercover agents in the church to spy upon its members and ministerial staff and to make regular reports to the agency.

(Click here for Picture) The web of intrigue and black propaganda. Lines, all emanating from Washington, D.C. each illustrate a false report regarding the Church of Scientology.

One of these secret agents was named Chico Henderson, who came to Los Angeles from Flint, Michigan, where he had worked as an undercover sleuth for the Flint Police Department. In a sworn statement, made after he discontinued his work for the FBI, Henderson said he had been recruited for the job by FBI Special Agent Jim Oppy. Agent Oppy was later to play an important role in the Government's persecuting of the church.

Another "confidential informant" for the FBI was Jack Graham, who was a member of the church. Beginning in 1973, Graham worked for the Los Angeles office of the Bureau during the ensuing five years. His FBI contact was Special Agent Robert Kilbane.

It is not known what inducement Agent Kilbane used to enlist Graham's service as a spy in his church; but in an affidavit sworn to by Graham in October 1977, he states:

"In Chicago in late 1974 or early months of 1975 I called FBI Agent Robert Kilbane in Los Angeles, seeking to make a deal to obtain his assistance in a criminal case then pending against my father. Mr. Kilbane referred me to the FBI agent in Chicago who, Kilbane said, may be able to help me."

Graham said that later, "in the early months of 1976, I put my father ... in touch with Agent Tucci [of the Drug Enforcement Agency] and the DEA, through Agent Tucci, sent my father to Mexico City pursuant to their agreement."

While carrying out assignments for the FBI in Chicago, Graham said that, upon the instructions of FBI Special Agent Robin Tomlin, he made an illegal purchase of a semiautomatic pistol. He was then given \$50 by Agent Tomlin to illegally purchase a .38 caliber revolver. (The implication here is that the FBI were having the illegal purchases made to entrap a suspect.)

Upon returning to Los Angeles on April 15, 1977, Graham resumed contact with Agent Robert Kilbane. The G-man asked the informant to help him find out if any members of the Church of Scientology were engaged in unlawful activities.

Graham offered to induce a friend who had access to the Church's Guardian Office to obtain documents for the FBI. Agent Kilbane told him the Bureau was not interested in documents from the church because "we have a whole storeroom full of them."

Instead, he told Graham that he did want the name of any church member responsible for break-ins at U. S. Government installations to steal official documents.

"I have no knowledge or information that in any way supports Agent Kilbane's allegation of illegal activities on the part of members of the Church of Scientology," Graham declared in a sworn statement made March 3, 1978.

John Cole, another FBI snooper who was assigned to get a line on the Scientologists, apparently jumbled his mission somewhere along the way, and got his comeuppance at the scene. In 1971, he sued church members Terry Milner and Henning Heldt who, he alleged, assaulted him in the church offices. He had been there in search of confidential information, for which he assured the two church executives, he was willing to pay.

When it came to pressing his suit in court, however, Cole had a problem. On January 27, 1971, Moton B. Holt, Jr., his legal counsel, wrote to the United States Attorney in Los Angeles:

"Confirming our conversation, I am attaching interrogatories in subject action by which defendants seek to discover information of Mr. Cole's prior activities which included undercover work, special assignment and informant duties in various Governmental agencies, including the justice Department, Senator Eastland's Committee, the FBI, the CIA, the C-11, and others. The FBI recommended that I contact your office with respect to any suggestions you may have to avoid answering any of the propounded questions in this area.

"Mr. Cole advises that the information is highly confidential from the



Government's viewpoint and disclosure of the same is not in the interest of national security and, further, would endanger the lives of at least four Government agents.

"I have various citations which could be used including the Internal Security Act, the Espionage and Censorship Act and various Departmental Orders."

Attorney Holt said that the Judge hearing the case had granted the defendants' motion to compel him to answer questions on the grounds that such questions were material to show loss of earnings while Cole was hospitalized. He added:

"Cole does not want to appeal due to the publicity involved. The original story when the suit was filed was squelched by the FBI." (Emphasis added.)

An intelligence report dated January 29, 1969 filed in the Drug Enforcement Agency archives throws additional light on Cole's activities. The document lists articles taken from church offices in Los Angeles. It is captioned, "From: Cole -To: Slagel."

In 1974, Tom Johnson, FBI Special Agent in San Francisco, tried over a period of several months to recruit a young Scientology student named James Robert Welder to become an undercover operative in the church.

"He made it clear to me that if I was caught, they would handle it. I asked, why me? They said we'll pay you money. All you have to do is give us something that will hold up legally in court against Scientology."

Welder said he would think over the proposition. He was contacted by Agent Johnson again three days later.

"I got a phone call and he said, this is Mr. Johnson. He told me to go to Marchetti's, a bar across the street from work. He told me someone would meet me there after work."

Johnson and another FBI agent met Welder in the parking lot and drove him to a residential section about five miles from the bar. There they parked on the side of the road.

"They asked me what I had decided, and I told them I was willing to look at the deal they had."

The Agents offered Welder \$800 a month, and pay for his study courses in Scientology, as well as reimbursement for the money he had already invested in his classes.

"I told him I'd like to think about it some more. He said, 'We'll

contact you in about a week.' "

Later, a man came to Welder's apartment, saying he had been sent by Agent Johnson to teach the youth karate. "He said if I was involved with them I could have no weapon, so I ought to be able to defend myself and that they'd be in the background. I had made no agreement to cooperate; but he came over three days a week."

In the end, Welder decided against becoming a spy. "I decided not to get involved. I wanted Scientology. I saw him [Johnson] on October 3, 1974 at Sambo's and told him I wanted out, what did I have to do?"

"He said, 'Nothing; just drop out.' He said if I tried to prove anything against them, it wouldn't do any good. He asked me why I had changed my mind. I said it was just a personal feeling."

Documents reveal that the FBI (as well as other federal agencies) had secret operatives at work in virtually every branch of the Church of Scientology. Material obtained under the Freedom of Information Act also makes it clear that in some instances, church members were coerced into supplying the agency with confidential information, by the threat of, or offer of immunity from criminal prosecution on some charge unrelated to Scientology.

In addition to paid spies, spiteful rumour mongers, and coerced informants, intelligence agencies of the Government made use of illegal wiretapping and bugging in their warfevered assault on the Church of Scientology.

The nature and extent of this global, electronic eavesdropping will never be known. Many of the guilty weasels have been too adroit at covering their tracks.

Judging from the documentary evidence available, however, the coordinated efforts of the following agencies have been massive and widespread: the National Security Agency, the U.S. Justice Department, FBI, FDA, CIA, IRS, Bureau of Customs, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA, formerly the BNDD), the Department of Defense, the Defense Intelligence Service, Interpol, U.S. State Department, U.S. Post Office, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), Department of Labor; Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the Secret Service, and the police departments of 26 American cities, from New York to Honolulu; from Montpelier, Vermont to Dallas, Texas.

In addition to these federal, state and local agencies, Scientologists' legal representatives have called for a review of the investigative files of law-enforcement and intelligence services in 41 foreign countries.

The immense difficulty of recovering records of intrusions, the majority of them illegal, on such a vast scale, augurs little success in the undertaking.

Here at home, the case of the FBI is typical. Testimony before the Senate Select Committee revealed that prior to 1960, the agency maintained only rudimentary indices in each of its field offices. There was no central index; and the often-ambiguous files kept in the field offices "were believed to be inadequate by Justice Department officials."

FBI spokesmen admitted to the Senate committee that even after the Bureau had established a central index, ELSUR (electronics surveillance), at their headquarters in Washington, overhears may not have been recorded, logs have been destroyed, and voices not immediately identifiable, have not been indexed, even though they were singled out later.

During the course of legal proceedings, ELSUR supervisor John Smythe testified that the FBI central index includes only full names of persons eavesdropped on, dates of the overhear, and the field office source of the report. In other words, the integrity of the index depends upon the Bureau's field offices sending to the central files the full names, or the first and suspected surnames of the individuals being monitored. Agent Smythe conceded that field offices do not always do that. (Almost certainly an understatement of the situation.)

Smythe said that there is no topical listing in the centralized ELSUR index, although such a listing is conveniently tucked away by code name in the agency general index of investigations. Moreover, the index does not list surveillance by telephone number, address, or case; nor does it record surveillances conducted on telephones unless the full name of the user is known.

He further testified that he would have no way of knowing whether other agencies - state, local or otherwise - had provided the FBI with information derived from their own electronic traps. At the same time, he said, when FBI field offices request permission to make a "tap search," the headquarters approval always includes the following advice:

"It is suggested that you contact any other federal agencies to determine if they have conducted any electronic surveillance" [of the same subject]. When other agencies do provide a field office with data from their own wiretap files, only the field office keeps case files indicating the source of the information. The FBI, like other federal intelligence agencies, is careful to conceal its exchange of covertly

obtained data with other law-enforcement bodies including local police departments.

In an affidavit submitted to a U. S. District Court by a lawyer representing an executive of the Church of Scientology, the attorney notes that "The FBI Manual of Instruction provides that information may be transmitted to a local law enforcement agency on blind memoranda, 'which is plain stationery with no identification of the FBI as the source ... Moreover, the FBI transmitted these 'blind memoranda' only if the local police agreed that the Bureau's 'identity as source of the information must be kept strictly confidential.'"

It is a common practice for information to be passed between the various agencies by an informal "buddy" system, that is, in an oral exchange between the agents concerned.

The Scientology attorney just quoted also observes: "Because of the above described inadequacies of the records, and the proven reluctance of the agencies to make thorough searches [of their files] and honest disclosures, the case annuals are replete with instances of belated disclosures after denials were accepted by the courts as complete and credible."

Illegal surveillance is often disguised in agency reports by attributing the information to code names or to "confidential informant."

Another stratagem employed by federal agencies for disposing of evidence of illegal eavesdropping is for agents to listen to tapes of the intercepted conversations, from which they obtain investigative leads, and then erase them.

Warrantless wiretapping is not an uncommon practice among local police departments in the U.S., sometimes with the knowledge, and the financial and technical help of the FBI.

Documents released under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that police departments throughout the United States participated in the federal conspiracy against the Church of Scientology. There is documented evidence that police in New York, Washington, D.C., Detroit, Los Angeles and Eureka, California engaged in surveillance of the church. At the same time, they received from, and disseminated to, the federal agencies information obtained from various sources.

It is, of course, difficult for a private citizen or group to prove a wiretap or electronic intrusion conducted by law enforcement personnel. It has been shown in testimony before Congressional investigative committees that telephone companies cooperate with federal agencies such as the FBI and the IRS in their unauthorized

eavesdropping. A significant number of telephone company security officers are former FBI special agents, still fiercely loyal to the Bureau and, it may be fairly assumed, in complete accord with the practices of their former colleagues.

Not long ago, the Ruff Times, a widely circulated newsletter published by conservative economist Howard Ruff, reported that they had been provided with a telephone number which, when dialed, would indicate whether the subscriber's phone was tapped. The number was (213) 348-0003. A busy signal would indicate that the caller's telephone was "tuned in." On the other hand, a wavering, whistling sound signified that the phone from which the call was being made was untapped.

Immediately after publication of this intelligence, the telephone company installed an answering device at the number, on which a recorded voice declared:

"The number you have reached is for Pacific Telephone internal use, and in no way will it determine if a telephone is being wiretapped."

The busy signals, or the wavering, whistling sounds previously encountered when the number was dialed, were now absent. The telephone company did not disclose what "internal use" the number had.

During recent years, the telephone has become an instrument of frustration and annoyance to many Scientologists. The nature, extent and frequency of the difficulties they have experienced reflect adversely on the qualifications of the instructors who teach Government-run seminars in the use of surveillance equipment. Curious noises on the line, disrupted service, verbal encounters with unidentified individuals on the line, overhears of federal agents talking to each other or "reporting in," - all these and other contretemps make it plain that undercover operatives in the lower echelons are in urgent need of additional training in intrusion techniques.

On occasion, the tapee has learned of his ghostly listeners from official sources. For instance, Mrs. William Franks, a Scientologist, affirmed under oath: "That on or about the 7th of August, 1975, DC Metropolitan Policeman Bobby Condon called me on the telephone at the address of the Founding Church of Scientology, 2125 S St., NW, Washington, D.C. The number at which Condon called was 797-1204. During this communication, Condon asked me to go to another phone, because the phone at which we were speaking was wiretapped; however, he refused to elaborate further or name the source of the tap or the source of his information of the tap. "

In another sworn statement, John Taussig, a member of the church's Guardian staff, reported that since May, 1974, he has on numerous

occasions noticed curious acoustic phenomena while using the telephone lines of the legal office. He states that the most frequent and noticeable noises have been mysterious clicking sounds. He has also on several occasions experienced interruptions which clearly did not originate in his telephone or that of the party with whom he was conversing. He avers that other staff members have complained to him or to other members of the legal department of similar experiences.

At least two attorneys representing Scientology defendants in a criminal case have been the subject of Government eavesdropping. One of the lawyers, Philip Hirschkop, was overheard by the FBI on numerous occasions. The FBI has admitted to the overhears in 1971, but the contents of these taps have not been divulged, nor has an examination of the agents involved been conducted.

Another prominent attorney, who was representing Mary Sue Hubbard, wife of Scientology's founder, was also "overheard." Benjamin Civiletti, now U.S. Attorney General, admitted in a letter to attorney Leonard B. Boudin that "various conversations to which you were a party were overheard by the Bureau as a result of electronic surveillance of other subjects. "

The Government claimed that all except one of the monitored conversations were classified, "but will be reviewed for possible classification."

To date, neither the unclassified intercept, nor those to be reviewed, have been revealed.

Sometimes, when the tin ear on the Scientology lines overheard something unfavorable to the Bureau, he hit the interference button. That's what happened when Jon Christian Volz was dictating a news release to Radio Station WTSB in North Carolina.

"An announcer from the station, Don Babson, had previously said that he wanted to have my story. I made the call from a telephone in the church's offices.

"Whilst I was dictating, the phone went dead. I called back and the same thing happened. I called again, and this time Don Babson asked if the phone I was calling from was tapped. I told him that this was a distinct possibility and he said that in his experience he had had news items constantly cut off whilst being relayed over the phone if those tapping the phone did not want the message to be relayed."

After six unsuccessful attempts at unbroken communication, Volz tried another telephone in the church office. After the second try on this

phone, he was able to read the full dispatch.

"On each attempt, my call was cut off at precisely the same point in my dictating of the release. This happened whether I read the release slowly or quickly, so was not after a uniform time period from the start of the call.

"The call was cut off each time after I had read the first six lines, which read as follows:

" 'The FBI was forced last week in a Freedom of Information suit to admit that they were involved in dirty tricks and disinformation techniques against citizens and groups.

" 'What wasn't released was that the Defense Department is also fully involved in this type of harrassment.' "

At that point, the hidden censor pulled the plug.

Appelate courts have recognized the near-impossibility of proving illegal wiretaps by Government agents. For that reason, they have generally held that a showing need not be more elaborate or even more specific than a mere assertion of illegal surveillance . To require more, they have correctly reasoned, would impose a minimal burden on the Government while requiring a defendant to run a hopeless obstacle course in their struggle against official concealment.

Furthermore, said the courts, the mere say-say of the prosecutor that there has been no unlawful intrusion is not an adequate response. A search of agency records is required.

In one case, involving two grand jury witnesses (who were not even criminal defendants), the court observed:

"If we were to hold that a witness could make a 'claim' only when he has found an electronic bug in his home, heard mysterious bleeps in his telephone or rifled the files of the Justice Department, we would merely succeed in encouraging the Government to improve its security as well as its technology."

Even if Government prosecutors must show that a search of files in ten agencies (which seems to be the present minimum acceptable to higher courts), the inadequate record-keeping and deliberate concealment by federal agencies will always give the Government the edge in the matter of illegal electronic surveillance.

Then, too, there remains the question of covertly obtained information in the files of "friendly" foreign intelligence agencies. Such files - and there are a great number of them will always remain beyond the

reach of U.S. courts.

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Federal Bureau of Intimidation

Federal Bureau of Intimidation

by  
Howard Zinn

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I thought it would be good to talk about the FBI because they talk about us. They don't like to be talked about. They don't even like the fact that you're listening to them being talked about. They are very sensitive people. If you look into the history of the FBI and Martin Luther King-which now has become notorious in that totally notorious history of the FBI- the FBI attempted to neutralize, perhaps kill him, perhaps get him to commit suicide, certainly to destroy him as a leader of black people in the United States. And if you follow the progression of that treatment of King, it starts, not even with the Montgomery Bus Boycott; it starts when King begins to criticize the FBI. You see, then suddenly Hoover's ears, all four of them, perk up. And he says, okay, we have to start working on King.

I was interested in this especially because I was reading the Church Committee report. In 1975, the Senate Select Committee investigated the CIA and the FBI and issued voluminous reports and pointed out at what point the FBI became interested in King. In 1961-62 after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, after the sit-ins, after the Freedom Rides of '61, there was an outbreak of mass demonstrations in a very little, very Southern, almost slave town of southern Georgia called Albany. There had been nothing like this in that town. A quiet, apparently passive town, everybody happy, of course. And then suddenly the black people rose up and a good part of the black population of Albany ended up in jail. There were not enough jails for all who demonstrated.

A report was made for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta on the events in Albany. The report, which was very critical of the FBI, came

out in the New York Times. And King was asked what he thought of the role of the FBI. He said he agreed with the report that the FBI was not doing its job, that the FBI was racist, etcetera, etcetera.

At that point, the FBI also inquired who the author of that report was, and asked that an investigation begin on the author. Since I had written it, I was interested in the FBI's interest in the author. In fact, I sent away for whatever information the FBI had on me, through the Freedom of Information Act. I became curious, I guess. I wanted to test myself because if I found that the FBI did not have any dossier on me, it would have been tremendously embarrassing and I wouldn't have been able to face my friends. But, fortunately, there were several hundred pages of absolutely inconsequential material. Very consequential for the FBI, I suppose, but inconsequential for any intelligent person.

I'm talking about the FBI and U.S. democracy because here we have this peculiar situation that we live in a democratic country-everybody knows that, everybody says it, it's repeated, it's dinned into our ears a thousand times, you grow up, you pledge allegiance, you salute the flag, you hail democracy, you look at the totalitarian states, you read the history of tyrannies, and here is the beacon light of democracy. And, of course, there's some truth to that. There are things you can do in the United States that you can't do many other places without being put in jail.

But the United States is a very complex system. It's very hard to describe because, yes, there are elements of democracy; there are things that you're grateful for, that you're not in front of the death squads in El Salvador. On the other hand, it's not quite a democracy. And one of the things that makes it not quite a democracy is the existence of outfits like the FBI and the CIA. Democracy is based on openness, and the existence of a secret policy, secret lists of dissident citizens, violates the spirit of democracy. There are a lot of other things that make the U.S. less than a democracy. For instance, what happens in police stations, and in the encounters between police and citizens on the street. Or what happens in the military, which is a kind of fascist enclave inside this democracy. Or what happens in courtrooms which are supposedly little repositories of democracy, yet the courtroom is presided over by an emperor who decides everything that happens in a courtroom -what evidence is given, what evidence is withheld, what instructions are given to the jury, what sentences are ultimately meted out to the guilty and so on.

So it's a peculiar kind of democracy. Yes, you vote. You have a choice. Clinton, Bush and Perot! It's fantastic. Time and Newsweek. CBS and NBC. It's called a pluralist society. But in so many of the little places of everyday life in which life is lived out, somehow

democracy doesn't exist. And one of the creeping hands of totalitarianism running through the democracy is the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I think it was seeing the film Mississippi Burning that led me to want to talk about the FBI. I had sort of reached a point where I said, "Who wants to hear anymore about the FBI?" But then I saw Mississippi Burning. It relates a very, very important incident in the history of the civil rights movement in the U.S. In the summer of 1964, these three young men in the movement, two white, one black, had traveled to investigate the burning of a church in a place called Philadelphia, Mississippi-city of brotherly love. They were arrested, held in jail, released in the night, followed by cars, stalked, taken off and beaten very, very badly with chains and clubs and shot to death-executed-June 21, 1964. The bodies were found in August. It's a great theme for an important film. Mississippi Burning, I suppose, does something useful in capturing the terror of Mississippi, the violence, the ugliness.

But after it does that, it does something which I think is very harmful: In the apprehension of the murderers, it portrays two FBI operatives and a whole flotilla-if FBI men float-of FBI people as the heroes of this episode. Anybody who knows anything about the history of the civil rights movement, or certainly people who were in the movement at that time in the South, would have to be horrified by that portrayal. I was just one of many people who was involved in the movement. I was teaching in Atlanta, Georgia, in a black college for about seven years from 1956 to 1963, and I became involved in the movement, in Albany, Georgia, and Selma, Alabama, and Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and Greenwood and Greenville and Jackson, Mississippi in the summer of '64. I was involved with SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Anybody who was involved in the Southern movement at that time knew with absolute certainty: The FBI could not be counted on and it was not the friend of the civil rights movement. The FBI stood by with their suits and ties-I'm sorry I'm dressed this way today, but I was just trying to throw them off the track-and took notes while people were being beaten in front of them. This happened again, and again, and again. The Justice Department, to which the FBI is presumably accountable, was called again and again, in times of stress by people of the civil rights movement saying, hey, somebody's in danger here. Somebody's about to be beaten, somebody's about to be arrested, somebody's about to be killed. We need help from the federal government. We do have a Constitution, don't we? We do have rights. We do have the constitutional right to just live, or to walk, or to speak, or to pray, or to demonstrate. We have a Bill of Rights. It's America. It's a democracy. You're the Justice Department, your job is to enforce the Constitution of the United States. That's what you took

an oath to do, so where are you? The Justice Department wasn't responding. They wouldn't return phone calls, they wouldn't show up, or when they did show up, they did nothing.

The civil rights movement was very, very clear about the role of the FBI. And it wasn't just the FBI; it goes back to the Justice Department; back to Washington; back to politics; back to Kennedy appointing racist judges in Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia to do favors for his Southern Democratic political cronies, only becoming concerned about black people when things appeared on television that embarrassed the administration and the nation before the world.

Only then did things happen. Oh, we'll send troops to Little Rock, we'll send troops to Oxford, Mississippi, and so on. Do something big and dramatic and so on. But in all the days and all the hours in between, before and after, if there's no international attention, forget it. Leave these black folk at the mercy of the law enforcement officers down there. Just as after the Civil War, blacks were left at the mercy of Southern power and Southern plantation owners by Northern politicians who made their deal with the white South in 1877.

If you want to read the hour-by-hour description of this, you could read a wonderful book by Mary King, Freedom Song. She was a SNCC staff person in the Atlanta office whose job was to get on the phone and call the newspapers, the government, the Justice Department and say: Hey, three young men have not come back from Philadelphia, Mississippi. She called and called and called and it took several days before she got a response. Deaf ears. They were dead. Probably none of those calls would have saved them.

It was too late, but there was something that could have saved them. And it's something I haven't seen reported in the press. If there had been federal agents accompanying the three on their trip, if there had been federal agents in the police station in Philadelphia, Mississippi, that might not have happened. If there had been somebody determined to enforce law, enforce constitutional rights, to protect the rights of people who were just going around, driving, talking, working, then those three murders might have been averted.

In fact, 12 days before the three disappeared, there was a gathering in Washington, D.C., on June 9, 1964. A busload of black Mississippians came all the way up-it was a long bus ride to Washington-to the National Theater.

There was a jury of fairly well known Americans- college presidents, writers, other people-assembled to hear the testimony. The black people's testimony before the press and an audience was recorded and transcribed. They testified that what was going to happen in

Mississippi that summer with all these volunteers coming down was very, very dangerous. They testified about their experiences, about their history of being beaten, about the bodies of black people found floating in the rivers of Mississippi and they said, people are going to get killed; we need the protection of the federal government.

Also appearing at this hearing were specialists in constitutional law who made the proper legal points that the federal government had absolute power to protect people going down into Mississippi. Section 333, Title 10 of the U.S. Code (some numbers burn themselves into you because you have to use them again and again) gives the federal government the power to do anything to enforce constitutional rights when local authorities either refused or failed to protect those rights.

So they take all this testimony at the National Theater and put it into a transcript and deliver it to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, hand deliver it to the White House, and ask the federal government to send marshals down to Mississippi. Not an army, a few hundred marshals, that's all. Plainclothes people for protection. This is 1964; by now you've sent 40,000 soldiers to Vietnam, so you can send 200 plainclothes people to Mississippi. No response from the Attorney General, none from the President. Twelve days later those three men disappear.

Well, why didn't they put that in the film? Why didn't anybody say anything about that? So the FBI are the heroes of this film.

Well, that's only part, as you know, of the history of the FBI. Going back, the FBI was formed first as the Bureau of Investigation under Theodore Roosevelt-don't worry, I'm not going to take you year by year through this history. It's a very depressing history.

But, it just interested me. In 1908, under Theodore Roosevelt, his Attorney General, a man named Bonaparte, a grand nephew of Napoleon-set up the Bureau of Investigation which later became the FBI. One of its first acts was to enforce a new federal law- the Mann Act. This law made it illegal to transport women across state lines for immoral purposes. Yes, one of their first acts was to prosecute the black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, because he was living with a white woman and they actually crossed a state line. One of the first heroic acts of the FBI. They go way back. Racism goes way back in the FBI and comes way forward, comes right up to now. By the way-in the film they show a black FBI man. But there was no black person in the FBI in 1964. A chauffeur, maybe. A maid, maybe. No black FBI agents in 1964. But there was this black FBI agent in the film.

Yes, the racism comes right up to yesterday when a black FBI man-in

Detroit, I think-is harassed by his fellow white FBI agents who do all sorts of funny things to him to make life miserable for him. You think, where is the solidarity among FBI people? FBI people, black and white together, we shall overcome. Well, apparently the FBI doesn't believe in that.

There's too much to say about the FBI and racism. It's not just J. Edgar Hoover. Everybody says, oh, J. Edgar Hoover, he really hated black people. He hated the civil rights movement, but it's not just him, of course. It's too easy to pin all this on J. Edgar Hoover, to pin it just on the FBI as if they're wild cards. The president says, oh sorry, we didn't know what they were doing. Well, it's just like Oliver North. A wild card North was doing these crazy things and his defense was absolutely right: I did it for them. He did. He did it for them and now they have turned on him. He doesn't have to worry, they'll take good care of him. They take care of their own.

When people in the CIA and FBI commit crimes, how do they get handled? They don't. They're forgotten about. Do you know how many crimes have been committed by the FBI and the CIA? How many black bag jobs? Breaking and entering? Try breaking and entering. Really. Try breaking and entering in the daytime, or nighttime, and see what happens to you. Different punishments depending on what hour of the day. The FBI broke and entered again and again and again and again, hundreds and hundreds of times.

There were hundreds of FBI men involved in these breaks. Two men were actually prosecuted. This happens every once in a while. When huge public attention finally gets focused, they pick out two from the pack and prosecute them and they find them guilty and they sentence them. To what? To nothing. Fine, \$5,000 for one person. That's FBI petty cash. \$3,500 for the other. And then they say that justice has been done and the system works.

Remember when Richard Helms of the CIA was found guilty of perjury in 1976? Hiss went to jail for four years for perjury, Helms didn't go to jail for two hours. And Helms's perjury, if you examine it, was far, far more serious than Alger Hiss's, if Hiss was indeed guilty. But if you're CIA, if you're FBI, you get off.

But North is right; he did it for them. He did what they expected him, wanted him, to do. They use this phrase, plausible denial, a very neat device. You have to be able to do things that the President wants you to do but that he can deny he wanted you to do, or deny he ordered you to do if push comes to shove.

It's not just the FBI. It's the government. It's part of the system, not just a few people here and there. The FBI has names of millions of

people. The FBI has a security index of tens of thousands of people- they won't tell us the exact numbers. Security index. That's people who in the event of national emergency will be picked up without trial and held. Just like that. The FBI's been preparing for a long time, waiting for an emergency. You get horrified at South Africa, or Israel, or Haiti where they detain people without trial, just pick them up and hold them incommunicado. You never hear from them, don't know where they are. The FBI's been preparing to do this for a long time. Just waiting for an emergency. These are all countries in emergency; South Africa's in an emergency, Chile was in an emergency, all emergencies.

James Madison made the point way back. One of the founding fathers. They were not dumb. They may have been rich and white and reactionary and slave holders but they weren't dumb. Madison said the best way to infringe on liberty is to create an external menace.

What can a citizen do in a situation like this? Well, one thing is simply to expose the FBI. They hate to be exposed, they're a secret outfit. Everything they do is secret. Their threat rests on secrecy. Don't know where they are. Not everybody in a trench coat is an FBI agent. We don't know where they are, who they are, or what they're doing. Are they tapping? Right. And what are you going to do about it?

The one thing you shouldn't think will do anything is to pass a law against the FBI. There are always people who come up with that. That's the biggest laugh in the world. These are people who pay absolutely no attention to the law, again and again. They've violated the law thousands of times. Pass another law; that's funny.

No, the only thing you can do with the FBI is expose them to public understanding-education, ridicule. They deserve it. They have "garbologists" ransacking garbage pails. A lot of interesting stuff in garbage pails. They have to be exposed, brought down from that hallowed point where they once were. And, by the way, they have been brought down. That's one of the comforting things about what has happened in the United States in the last 30 years. The FBI at one point was absolutely untouchable. Everybody had great respect for the FBI. In 1965 when they took a poll of Americans; do you have a strong admiration for the FBI? Eight-five percent of people said, "Yes." When they asked again in '75, 35 percent said, "Yes." That's a big comedown. That's education -education by events, education by exposure. They know they've come down in the public mind and so now they're trying to look kinder and gentler. But they're not likely to merge with the American Civil Liberties Union. They're more likely, whatever their soothing words, to keep doing what they're in the habit of doing, assaulting the rights of citizens.

The most important thing you can do is simply to continue exposing

them. Because why does the FBI do all this? To scare the hell out of people. Were they doing this because of a Soviet invasion threat or because they thought the Socialist Workers Party was about to take over the country? Are they going after whoever their current target is because the country is in imminent danger, internal or external? No. They are doing it because they don't like these organizations. They don't like the civil rights organizations, they don't like the women's organizations, they don't like the anti-war organizations, they don't like the Central American organizations. They don't like social movements. They work for the establishment and the corporations and the politicians to keep things as they are. And they want to frighten and chill the people who are trying to change things. So the best defense against them and resistance against them is simply to keep on fighting back, to keep on exposing them. That's all I have to say.

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - "IF AN AGENT KNOCKS"

"IF AN AGENT KNOCKS":

FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS AND YOUR RIGHTS

by: The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR)  
666 Broadway  
New York, NY 10012  
Phone: 212-614-6464

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People who openly oppose United State government policies should be prepared to receive visits from FBI agents or other federal investigators. Those you oppose U.S. policy in Central America, visit Nicaraguan, Cuban or Soviet embassies here, or travel to those countries, and those who give sanctuary to refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador, or who struggle for Black liberation, for independence for Puerto Rico, or against nuclear weapons, are likely to receive visits from the FBI. Increasingly, agents are visiting the families, friends and employees of these persons.

For example, in a nationwide sweep in 1987, FBI agents visited 12 people in five cities during a three-day period. Most had visited Nicaragua to share their skills under the auspices of TecNica, a Berkeley-based group that recruits and places volunteers in development projects in Nicaragua. The majority of these FBI visits were to workplaces where agents sometimes made their presence known to employees and also spoke with co-workers. The agents incorrectly implied that the volunteers were violating the trade embargo against Nicaragua. While several of those targeted found the visits threatening, and did not want to appear 'uncooperative' in the presence of employers, most were aware of their right not to talk to the FBI and to refer the agents to their lawyers. They understood that the purpose of these visits was to discourage people from travelling to Nicaragua and helping the people there overcome some of the economic hardships caused by U.S. support for the Contras and the U.S. trade embargo. This pamphlet is designed to answer the frequent

questions asked by people experiencing government scrutiny. It can also help them develop practical responses.

### What is Political Intelligence?

Political intelligence is information collected by the government about individuals and groups. Files secured under the Freedom of Information Act disclosed that government officials have long been interested in all forms of data. Information gathered by government agents ranges from the most personal data about sexual liaisons and preferences to estimate of the strength of groups opposing U.S. policies. Over the years, groups and individuals have developed various ways of limiting the collection of information and preventing such intelligence gathering from harming their work.

### Do I Have To Talk To The FBI?

No. The FBI does not have the authority to make anyone answer questions, or otherwise force anyone to cooperate with an investigation. Thus, if an FBI agent knocks at your door, you do not have to identify yourself to him, you can simply say "I don't want to talk to you." or "You'll have to speak to my lawyer," then close the door.

Agents are usually lawyers, and they are always trained as investigators; they have learned the power of persuasion, the ability to make a person feel scared, guilty, or impolite for refusing their requests for information. So remember, they have no legal authority to force people to say anything--unless they have obtained an arrest or search warrant. Even when agents do have warrants, you still don't have to answer their questions.

### Under What Laws Do The Agents Operate?

In the wake of congressional reports exposing the FBI's counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), under which the agency infiltrated groups, compiled dossiers on, and directly interfered with individuals engaged in activities protected by the First Amendment right to freedom of expression and association, guidelines regulating the investigation of political activities were issued by the Justice Department.

The FBI COINTEL program was initiated in 1956. Its purpose, as described later by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize activities" of those individuals and organizations whose ideas or goals he opposed. Tactics included; falsely labelling individuals as informants; infiltrating groups with persons instructed to disrupt the group; sending anonymous or forged letters designed to promote strife;

initiating politically motivated IRS investigations; carrying out wiretaps; and disseminating to other government agencies and the media unlawfully obtained derogatory information on individuals and groups.

Subsequent and superseding guidelines, authorizing "domestic security/terrorism" investigations against political organizations whenever the FBI had a reasonable belief that these groups might violate a law, were issued in 1983. These guidelines permitted the same intrusive techniques the FBI used against organized crime to be used in such investigations. The guidelines provide no safeguards on the use of informants to protect against infringements to First Amendment rights.

The guidelines ignore the history of COINTELPRO abuses and abolish the distinction between regular criminal investigations and investigations of groups and individuals seeking political change. They fail to limit the investigative techniques used to obtain data on political groups, so that the FBI may use any technique against political organizations including electronic surveillance and informers.

Thus, the FBI may begin a full investigation whenever there is a reasonable indication that "two or more persons are engaged in an enterprise for the purpose of furthering political or social goals wholly or in part through activities that involve force or violence and a violation of the criminal laws of the United States." The FBI has interpreted "force or violence" to include the destruction of property as a symbolic act, and the mere advocacy of such property destruction would trigger an investigation. Even without any reasonable indication, under a separate guideline on "Civil Disorders and Demonstrations involving a Federal Interest", the FBI may investigate an organization that plans only legal and peaceful demonstrations.

Another and perhaps even more important document governing federal intelligence gathering is Executive Order 12333 on U.S. Intelligence Activities. In force since 1981, it authorizes the FBI and CIA to infiltrate, manipulate and destroy U.S. political organizations--under the pretext of a "foreign" intelligence investigation. Investigative guidelines under this order are in large part classified secret and not publicly available. Government spying, infiltration and disruption of domestic advocacy groups can be carried out, practically without restraint, by merely alleging that political groups have some connection to foreign nations or liberation movements, or that they support positions similar to those of such movements. Such movements might include the African National Congress (ANC) or the FMLN-FDR in El Salvador. This executive order has been used to avoid the minor restrictions imposed on intelligence gathering on domestic groups. The FBI merely alleges that a domestic group has a foreign connection, and even though no crime is suspected the group or individual can be

investigated under the executive order.

The FBI's massive investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) was carried out under E.O. 12333. The CISPES investigation was used as a window to spy on other Central America groups including the Network in Solidarity with Guatemala, the Nicaraguan Network, the Thomas Merton Center, and the Central America Mobilization Coalition. While the FBI produced not a shred of evidence of wrongdoing on the part of CISPES during its five-year investigation, it managed to amass 17 volumes of files on CISPES, most of which are being withheld under a national security exemption. Over 170 investigations were begun as spin-offs of the CISPES investigation.

Heavily deleted portions of these files, released under the Freedom of Information Act, show that the FBI, under the aegis of Executive Order 12333, regularly attended and photographed demonstrations and meetings, recorded the license plate numbers of participants, in addition to conducting surreptitious interviews and placing informants.

Names of people investigated were culled from this surveillance and from radio broadcasts and flyers. Agents also cavalierly invaded college campuses and visited employers and family members explaining that they were investigating terrorist threats. The files indicate that complaints to elected officials, and recourse to media and the public, were successful in curtailing the FBI.

Which Federal Agencies Are Likely To Be Interested In A Citizen's Political Activities and Affiliations?

The FBI is still the major national intelligence-gathering agency. There are also many other federal, state, local and private investigative agencies. At least 26 federal agencies may gather intelligence, including the Immigration & Naturalization Service, Internal Revenue Service, and the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Local police agencies sometimes contain 'special service' units and narcotics or other 'strike forces' in which federal, state and local agencies cooperate. The Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency are particularly active when a political organization has, or is suspected to have, international contacts. Military security agencies, and increasingly significant 'private' research institutes and security agencies also gather intelligence. Much of the information gathered by these agencies winds up in various government computer data banks including the FBI's Terrorist Information System (TIS).

In 1987 it was revealed that the New York City Police Department had activated its 'Black Desk', sending undercover agents to meetings

concerning the planning of demonstrations against racism, and monitoring a local Black radio station. Information was gathered about local Black leaders and disseminated at special police riot training sessions.

Surveillance carried out by private groups and individuals appears to be growing industry. Years ago, the Western Goals Foundation was given secret computer files stolen from the intelligence division of the Los Angeles police department. Western Goals used the material to create files on as many as 6,000 people. Executive Order 12333, moreover, specifically allows the FBI to engage secret contracts with private intelligence groups. The secret investigation guidelines under that executive order not that no questions need be asked about how "any information, property or materials furnished by individuals' action on their own initiative" were obtained. After the offices of the Center for Development Policy were broken into in November 1986, and documents relating to Southern Air Transport contra supply flights were stolen, its director, ex- U.S. ambassador Robert White speculated that the break-in at his office might have been the work of anti-communist vigilantes. He noted: "There's a whole network that's been building up...to reinforce what Oliver North has been doing."

#### How Does The FBI Learn About Individuals and Organizations?

Political intelligence is gathered from public sources, such as newspapers, radio and leaflets. It is also collected by informers who may be government employees or people who are recruited by them. Political intelligence is also collected through FBI visits to your home or workplace. In this booklet, we are most concerned with this aspect of intelligence gathering.

Agents may be sent to interview people after FBI officials decide there is a 'reasonable indication' that an organization meets the guidelines for a 'domestic security' investigation, or because a person has attended a meeting or a rally sponsored by a group allegedly suspected of foreign connections under Executive Order 12333. People who visit embassies of countries that the U.S. considers unfriendly are also likely to be visited by the FBI. Such interviews are a primary source of information because most people are not aware of their right not to talk to federal agents.

Many people visited by agents are afraid of being rude or uncooperative. Agents may be friendly and courteous, as if they are attempting to protect you or your organization, or express admiration for your organization and its goals. Occasionally, the FBI may persuade a disaffected member of an organization to give them information about other members, including their personal lives, character, and vulnerabilities.

A major goal of FBI agents is to convince people to give up their rights to silence and privacy. Recently when FBI agents visited TecNica volunteers at their homes and workplaces, they said such intimidating things as: "You're being a dupe of the Russians and we're giving you a chance to stop doing something you may regret later." The agents told another person that she was not the target of the investigation, but might be able to help them.

In San Antonio during a series of visits to affiliates of a Central America information group, the FBI gave a 20 minute presentation including a slide show on the 'evils of communism', to one of the persons they questioned.

In 1984, the FBI visited over 100 persons who had traveled to Nicaragua. The main purpose of the visits was to develop 'assets', people who would agree to supply the FBI with information.

### What If I Suspect Surveillance?

Prudence is the best course, no matter what you suspect, or what the basis is for your suspicion. When possible, confront the suspected person in public, with at least one other person present. If the suspect declines to answer, he or she at least now knows that you are aware of the surveillance. A few years ago, religious supporters of a nation-wide call to resist possible U.S. intervention in Central America noticed unfamiliar people lurking around their offices at 6 a.m., but failed to ask what they wanted and who they were. If you suspect surveillance, you should not hesitate to ask the suspected agents' names and inquire about their business.

The events giving rise to suspicions of surveillance vary widely, but a general principle remains constant: confront the suspected agents politely and in public (never alone) and inquire about their business. If the answer does not dispel your suspicion, share it with other who may be affected and discuss a collective response. Do not let fears generated by 'conspicuous' surveillance create unspoken tensions that undermine your work and organization. Creating fear is often the purpose of obvious surveillance. When in doubt, call a trusted lawyer familiar with political surveillance, or call the Movement Support Network hotline: (212) 614-6422.

### How Should I Respond to Threatening Letters or Calls?

If your home is broken into, or threats have been made against you, your organization, or someone you work with, share this information with everyone affected. Take immediate steps to increase personal and office security. You should discuss with your organization's officials and with a lawyer whether and how to report such incidents to the police. If you decide to make a report, do not do so without the

presence of counsel.

What Should I Do If My Office Or Home Is Broken Into And I Suspect That The Motive Behind It Was Intelligence Gathering Or Harassment?

Obvious break-ins, in which nothing, or very little of value is taken, are a growing form of intimidation and intelligence gathering. If you discover a break-in, do not disturb the crime scene and touch as little as possible until you can calmly analyze the situation and until you decide what approach you are going to take. Try to figure out what, if anything, is missing. If little of monetary value is taken, and important files have been obviously read, decide with your co-workers and a lawyer whether and how to report the break-in to the police. Take photographs of the crime scene. Photograph any damage that may have been done and any notes that may have been left by the intruders. Over 100 break-ins have been reported to the Movement Support Network. Call us. We can help you determine if the break-in was politically motivated and, if it was, get you in touch with other groups and individuals who have had similar experience.

What Should I do If Police, FBI, Or Other Agents Appear With An Arrest Or Search Warrant?

Agents who have an arrest or search warrant are the only ones you are legally required to get into your home or office. If agents say they have a warrant you should ask to see the warrant before permitting access. And you should immediately ask to call a lawyer. For your own physical safety you should not resist arrest, even if they do not show you the warrant, or if they refuse to let you call a lawyer. To the extent permitted by the agents conducting a search, you should observe the search carefully, follow them and make mental or written notes of what the agents are doing. As soon as possible, write down what happened and discuss it with your lawyer.

What Should I Do If Agents Appear With An Arrest or Search Warrant?

Even when agents come with a warrant, you are under no legal obligation to tell them anything. If agents try to question you, it is important not to answer or make any statements, at least not until after you have consulted a lawyer.

Announce your desire to consult a lawyer, and make every reasonable effort to contact one as quickly as possible. Your statement that you wish to speak to the FBI only in the presence of a lawyer, even if it accomplished nothing else, should put an end to the agents' questions. Department of Justice policy requires agents to cease questioning, or refrain from questioning, anyone who informs them that he or she is represented by a lawyer.

To reiterate: upon first being contacted by any government investigation, the safest thing to say is: "Excuse me, but I'd like to talk to my lawyer before I say anything to you." Or, "I have nothing to say to you. I will talk to my lawyer and have her {or him} contact you." If agents ask for your lawyer's name, ask for their business card, and say you will have your lawyer contact them. Remember to get the name, agency, and telephone number of any federal, state, or local investigator who visits you. If you do not have a lawyer, call the Movement Support Hotline (212) 614-6422, or call the local office of the National Lawyers Guild (212) 966-5000.

As soon as possible after your first contact with an investigator, write a short memo about the visit, including the date, time, location, people present, any name mentioned by the investigators, and the reason they gave for their investigation. Also include descriptions of the agents and their car, if any. This may be useful to your lawyer and to others who may be contacted by the same agents.

After discussing the situation with your lawyer, you may want to alert your co-workers, friends, neighbors, or political associates about the visit. The purpose is not to alarm them, but to insure that they understand their rights. It might be a good idea to do this at a meeting at which the history of investigative abuse is presented.

If I Don't Cooperate, Doesn't It Look Like I Have Something To Hide?

This is one of the most frequently asked questions. The answer involves the nature of political 'intelligence' investigations and the job of the FBI. Agents will try to make you feel that it will 'look bad' if you don't cooperate with them. Many people not familiar with how the FBI operates worry about being uncooperative. Though agents may say they are only interested in 'terrorists' of protecting the President, they are intend on learning about the habits, opinions and affiliations of people not suspected of wrongdoing. Such investigations, and the kind of controls they make possible, are completely incompatible with political freedom, and with the political and legal system envisaged by the Constitution.

While honesty may be the best policy in delaying with other people, FBI agents and other investigators are employed to ferret out information you would not freely share with strangers. Trying to answer agents' questions, or trying to "educate them" about your cause can be very dangerous--as dangerous as trying to outsmart them, or trying to find out their real purpose. By talking to federal investigators you may, unwittingly, lay the basis for your won prosecution--in giving false or inconsistent information to the FBI. IT IS A FEDERAL CRIME TO MAKE A FALSE STATEMENT TO AN FBI AGENT OR OTHER FEDERAL INVESTIGATOR A violation could even be charged on the basis of two inconsistent statements spoken out of fear or



forgetfulness.

Are There Any Circumstances Under Which It Is Advisable to Cooperate With An FBI Investigation?

Never without a lawyer. There are situations, however, in which an investigation appears to be legitimate, narrowly focused, and not designed to gather political information. Such an investigation might occur if you have been the victim of a crime, or a witness to civil rights violations being prosecuted by the federal government. Under those circumstances, you should work closely with a lawyer to see that your rights are protected while you provide only necessary information relevant to a specific incident. Lawyers may be able to avoid a witness's appearance before a grand jury, or control the circumstances of the appearance so that no one's rights are jeopardized.

How Can Grand Juries Make People Go To Jail?

After being granted immunity and ordered to testify by a judge, grand jury witnesses who persist in refusing to testify can be held in 'civil contempt.' Such contempt is not a crime, but it results in the witness being jailed for up to 18 months. or the duration of the grand jury, whichever is less. The purpose of the incarceration is to coerce the recalcitrant witness to testify. In most political cases, testifying before a grand jury means giving up basic political principles, and so the intended coercion has no effect--witnesses continue to refuse to testify.

Witnesses who, upon the request of a grand jury, refuse to provide "physical exemplars", (samples of handwriting, hair, appearance in a line-up, or documents) may also be jailed for civil contempt.

The charge of 'criminal contempt' is also available to the government as a weapon against uncooperative grand jury witnesses. For 'criminal contempt' there is no maximum penalty--the sentence depends entirely upon the judge's discretion. Charges of criminal contempt are still rare. They have been used, however, against Puerto Rican independistas, especially those who have already served periods of incarceration for civil contempt.

Is There Any Way To Prevent Grand Jury Witnesses From Going To Jail?

There is no sure-fire way to keep a grand jury witness from going to jail. Combined legal and community support often make a difference, however, in whether a witness goes to jail and, if so, for how long. Early awareness of people's rights to refuse to talk to the FBI man, in fact, prevent you from receiving a grand jury subpoena. If the FBI is only interested in getting information from you, but not in jailing you, you may not receive a grand jury subpoena.

## What Can Lawyer Do?

A lawyer can help to ensure that government investigators only do what they are authorized to do and can see to it that you do not give up any of your rights.

If you are subpoenaed to a grand jury your lawyer can challenge the subpoena in court, to help raise the political issues that underlie the investigation and negotiate for time. Your lawyer can also explain to you the grand jury's procedures and the legal consequences of your acts, so that you can rationally decide on your response.

## What Rights Do I Have?

1. The right to work for change.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the rights of groups and individuals who advocate, petition and assemble to accomplish changes in laws, government practices and even the form of government. Political intelligence gathering is not supposed to interfere with these rights.

2. The right to remain silent.

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution provides that every person has the right to remain silent in the face of questions posed by any police officer or government agent.

Federal prosecutors, however, may request judges to order a subpoenaed witness to testify, after a grant of immunity, at a grand jury hearing or at a criminal trial. This grant of immunity means that your Fifth Amendment right to refuse to testify is taken away. What is given in return is only the promise not to use your testimony against you is a subsequent criminal prosecution. If you testify under subpoena you can still be charged with a crime. Failure to testify after a grant of immunity is discussed below.

3. The right to be free from 'unreasonable searches and seizures'

Without a warrant, no government agent is allowed to search your home or office (or any other place that is yours and private). You may refuse to let FBI agents come into your house or into your workplace, unless they have a search warrant. Politeness aside, the wisest policy is never to let agents into your home or office. They are trained investigators and will make it difficult for you to refuse to talk. Once inside your home or office, just by looking around, they can easily gather information on such things as your lifestyle, organization and reading habits.

The right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures is based on the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution. This Amendment is supposed to protect against government access to your mail and other written communications, telephone and other conversations. Unfortunately, it is difficult to detect government interference with writings and conversations. Modern technology makes it difficult to detect electronic surveillance on a telephone line, other listening devices, or cameras that records whatever occurs in a room. Also common are forms of physical surveillance such as agents following in car or on foot, mail covers, and informers carrying tape recorders

## What Are The Rights Of Non-Citizens?

All non-citizens have the same rights as citizens with respect to the FBI: the right not to speak to the FBI and the right to have an attorney present at interviews with FBI agents. JUST WITH CITIZENS, NON-CITIZENS SHOULD BE AWARE THAT LYING TO FEDERAL AGENTS IS A FEDERAL CRIME

Foreigners should be aware that Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents are federal agents--lying to them constitutes a federal crime. Commission of such a crime may be sufficient reason for deportation or denial of immigrant status.

This section includes a general discussion of the political rights of non-citizens. However, this is a changing area of law and politics and we caution readers to call the Movement Support Network hotline or the National Lawyer Guild for updated information.

### 1. Non-citizens

All aliens living in the United State are in theory protected by all provisions of the Bill of Rights that are not expressly limited to citizens. Thus, while aliens do not have the right to vote, they do have rights of free speech and association, a right to a fair trial for criminal charges, the right to be free of unreasonable searches and seizures, the right to due process of law. However, in the immigration context the federal government has broad powers, and the courts have not fully developed the contours of aliens' constitutional rights where the Immigration and Naturalization Service is concerned. In December 1988, a federal district judge in Los Angeles held that the government cannot deport immigrant aliens for their political speech or associations, because to do so would violate their First Amendment rights. Congress has said much the same thing for non-immigrant aliens. However, this area of law is still developing.

### 2. Undocumented individuals

Undocumented individuals who engage in political activity should be

aware that they risk FBI surveillance and resulting exposure of illegal status. IT IS COMMON PRACTICE FOR THE FBI AND INS TO SHARE INFORMATION.

A document received from the FBI CISPES files shows that a local FBI field office asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service to provide them a list of Salvadorean citizens, U.S. permanent residents included, who had visited the area. Other CISPES documents indicate the FBI agents visited the administration offices for foreign students on college campuses and utilized foreign student directories for initial leads on investigations. In defending the actions of the FBI in the CISPES investigation, the U.S. government argued that the mere presence of Latin American nationals in solidarity groups justified surveillance by the FBI.

The bottom line is that foreigners, including permanent residents, can expect at least as much surveillance agencies by domestic agencies as U.S. citizens, and should, in addition, be aware of possible surveillance by foreign intelligence agencies operating in this country.

### 3. Sharing of information with foreign intelligence agencies.

There are many indicators that the U.S. shares information with intelligence agencies of governments it supports. We have received evidence of information sharing with MI5 (Britain); KCIA (Korea); Mossad (Israel); National Guard (El Salvador). Non-citizens should probably assume that U.S. intelligence will share information with 'friendly' governments.

### 4. Change in immigration status

Applicants for permanent residencies and for naturalization are asked to list the organizations they have worked with. Politically active foreigners are advised to consult an immigration lawyer before applying for a change in status.

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - US Domestic Covert Operations

US Domestic Covert Operations

From the Archive: WAR AT HOME (2/5)

From: yibgle@cts.com (Gary Lee)  
Date: Fri, 17 Mar 1995 14:20:26 GMT  
Organization: The Gloons of Tharf  
Newsgroups: alt.society.anarchy

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Anyone who doubts that the government is capable of using agents provocateurs to plant phony requests for bomb-making information in this newsgroup as a pretext for censoring the entire net (or that it is capable of much worse if that fails) should take a glance at the following articles. These posts also contain much that should be of interest to anyone thinking about joining or starting any kind of anarchist direct-action campaign or organization. Gary

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/\*\* pn.publiceye: 23.5 \*\*/ \*\* Written 6:49 pm Jan 24, 1991 by nlgclc  
in cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

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How COINTELPRO Helped Destroy  
the Movements of the 1960s

Since COINTELPRO was used mainly against the progressive movements of the 1960s, its impact can be grasped only in the context of the momentous social upheaval which shook the country during those years.

All across the United States, Black communities came alive with renewed political struggle. Most major cities experienced sustained, disciplined Black protest and massive ghetto uprisings. Black activists galvanized multi-racial rebellion among GIs, welfare

mothers, students, and prisoners.

College campuses and high schools erupted in militant protest against the Vietnam War. A predominantly white New Left, inspired by the Black movement, fought for an end to U.S. intervention abroad and a more humane and cooperative way of life at home. By the late 1960s, deep-rooted resistance had revived among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. A second wave of broad-based struggle for women's liberation had also emerged, along with significant efforts by lesbians, gay men, and disabled people.

Millions of people in the United States began to reject the dominant ideology and culture. Thousands challenged basic U.S. political and economic institutions. For a brief moment, "the crucial mixture of people's confidence in the government and lack of confidence in themselves which allows the government to govern, the ruling class to rule...threatened to break down."

By the mid-1970s, this upheaval had largely subsided. Important progressive activity persisted, mainly on a local level, and much continued to be learned and won, but the massive, militant Black and New Left movements were gone. The sense of infinite possibility and of our collective power to shape the future had been lost. Progressive momentum dissipated. Radicals found themselves on the defensive as right-wing extremists gained major government positions and defined the contours of accepted political debate.

Many factors besides COINTELPRO contributed to this change. Important progress was made toward achieving movement goals such as Black civil rights, an end to the Vietnam War, and university reform. The mass media, owned by big business and cowed by government and right-wing attack, helped to bury radical activism by ceasing to cover it. Television, popular magazines, and daily papers stereotyped Blacks as hardened criminals and welfare chiselers or as the supposedly affluent beneficiaries of reverse "discrimination." White youth were portrayed first as hedonistic hippies and mindless terrorists, later as an apolitical, self-indulgent "me generation." Both were scapegoated as threats to "decent, hard-working Middle America."

During the severe economic recession of the early- to mid- 1970s, former student activists began entering the job market, some taking on responsibility for children. Many were scared by brutal government and right-wing attacks culminating in the murder of rank-and-file activists as well as prominent leaders. Some were strung out on the hard drugs that had become increasingly available in Black and Latin communities and among white youth. Others were disillusioned by mistreatment in movements ravaged by the very social sicknesses they

sought to eradicate, including racism, sexism, homophobia, class bias and competition.

Limited by their upbringing, social position, and isolation from older radical traditions, 1960s activists were unable to make the connections and changes required to build movements strong enough to survive and eventually win structural change in the United States. Middle-class students did not sufficiently ally with working and poor people. Too few white activists accepted third world leadership of multi-racial alliances. Too many men refused to practice genuine gender equality.

Originally motivated by goals of quick reforms, 1960s activists were ill-prepared for the long-term struggles in which they found themselves. Overly dependent on media-oriented superstars and one-shot dramatic actions, they failed to develop stable organizations, accountable leadership, and strategic perspective. Creatures of the culture they so despised, they often lacked the patience to sustain tedious grassroots work and painstaking analysis of actual social conditions. They found it hard to accept the slow, uneven pace of personal and political change.

This combination of circumstances, however, did not by itself guarantee political collapse. The achievements of the 1960s movements could have inspired optimism and provided a sense of the power to win other important struggles. The rightward shift of the major media could have enabled alternative newspapers, magazines, theater, film, and video to attract a broader audience and stable funding. The economic downturn of the early 1970s could have united Black militants, New Leftists, and workers in common struggle. Police brutality and government collusion in drug trafficking could have been exposed in ways that undermined support for the authorities and broadened the movements' backing.

By the close of the decade, many of the movements' internal weaknesses were starting to be addressed. Black-led multi-racial alliances, such as Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Poor People's Campaign and the Black Panthers' Rainbow Coalition, were forming. The movements' class base was broadening through Black "revolutionary unions" in auto and other industries, King's increasing focus on economic issues, the New Left's spread to community colleges, and the return of working-class GIs radicalized by their experience in Vietnam. At the same time, the women's movement was confronting the deep sexism which permeated 1960s activism, along with its corollaries: homophobia, sexual violence, militarism, competitiveness, and top-down decision-making.

While the problems of the 1960s movements were enormous, their

strengths might have enabled them to overcome their weaknesses had the upsurge not been stifled before activists could learn from their mistakes. Much of the movements' inability to transcend their initial limitations and overcome adversity can be traced to COINTELPRO.

It was through COINTELPRO that the public image of Blacks and New Leftists was distorted to legitimize their arrest and imprisonment and scapegoat them as the cause of working people's problems. The FBI and police instigated violence and fabricated movement horrors. Dissidents were deliberately "criminalized" through false charges, frame-ups, and offensive, bogus leaflets and other materials published in their name. (Specific examples of these and other COINTELPRO operations are presented on pages 41-65.)

COINTELPRO enabled the FBI and police to exacerbate the movements' internal stresses until beleaguered activists turned on one another. Whites were pitted against Blacks, Blacks against Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, students against workers, workers against people on welfare, men against women, religious activists against atheists, Christians against Jews, Jews against Muslims. "Anonymous" accusations of infidelity ripped couples apart. Backers of women's and gay liberation were attacked as "dykes" or "faggots." Money was repeatedly stolen and precious equipment sabotaged to intensify pressure and sow suspicion and mistrust.

Otherwise manageable disagreements were inflamed by COINTELPRO until they erupted into hostile splits that shattered alliances, tore groups apart, and drove dedicated activists out of the movement. Government documents implicate the FBI and police in the bitter break-up of such pivotal groups as the Black Panther Party, SDS, and the Liberation News Service, and in the collapse of repeated efforts to form long-term coalitions across racial, class, and regional lines. While genuine political issues were often involved in these disputes, the outcome could have been different if government agencies had not covertly intervened to subvert compromise and fuel hostility and competition.

Finally, it was COINTELPRO that enabled the FBI and police to eliminate the leaders of mass movements without undermining the image of the United States as a democracy, complete with free speech and the rule of law. Charismatic orators and dynamic organizers were covertly attacked and "neutralized" before their skills could be transferred to others and stable structures established to carry on their work. Malcolm X was killed in a "factional dispute" which the FBI took credit for having "developed" in the Nation of Islam. Martin Luther King, Jr. was the target of an elaborate FBI plot to drive him to suicide and replace him "in his role of the leadership of the Negro



people" with conservative Black lawyer Samuel Pierce (later named to Reagan's cabinet). Many have come to view King's eventual assassination (and Malcolm's as well) as itself a domestic covert operation.

Other prominent radicals faced similar attack when they began to develop broad followings and express anti-capitalist ideas. Some were portrayed as crooks, thugs, philanderers, or government agents, while others were physically threatened or assaulted until they abandoned their work. Still others were murdered under phony pretexts, such as "shootouts" in which the only shots were fired by the police.

To help bring down a major target, the FBI often combined these approaches in strategic sequence. Take the case of the "underground press," a network of some 400 radical weeklies and several national news services, which once boasted a combined readership of close to 30 million. In the late 1960s, government agents raided the offices of alternative newspapers across the country in purported pursuit of drugs and fugitives. In the process, they destroyed typewriters, cameras, printing presses, layout equipment, business records, and research files, and roughed up and jailed staffers on bogus charges. Meanwhile, the FBI was persuading record companies to withdraw lucrative advertising and arranging for printers, suppliers, and distributors to drop underground press accounts. With their already shaky operations in disarray, the papers and news services were easy targets for a final phase of COINTELPRO disruption. Forged correspondence, anonymous accusations, and infiltrators' manipulation provoked a flurry of wild charges and counter-charges that played a major role in bringing many of these promising endeavors to a premature end.

A similar pattern can be discerned from the history of the Black Panther Party. Brutal government attacks initially elicited broad support for this new, militant, highly visible national organization and its popular ten-point socialist program for Black self-determination. But the FBI's repressive onslaught severely weakened the Party, making it vulnerable to sophisticated FBI psychological warfare which so discredited and shattered it that few people today have any notion of the power and potential that the Panthers once represented.

What proved most devastating in all of this was the effective manipulation of the victims of COINTELPRO into blaming themselves. Since the FBI and police operated covertly, the horrors they engineered appeared to emanate from within the movements. Activists' trust in one another and in their collective power was subverted, and the hopes of a generation died, leaving a legacy of cynicism and

despair which continues to haunt us today.

\*\* End of text from cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

/\*\* pn.publiceye: 23.6 \*\*/

\*\* Written 6:50 pm Jan 24, 1991 by nlgclc in cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

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Black Panther Party Program:

What We Want

-adopted 1966

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALISTS of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

\*\* End of text from cdp:pn.publiceye \*\* /\*\* pn.publiceye: 23.7 \*\*/ \*\*

Written 6:51 pm Jan 24, 1991 by nlgclc in cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

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THE DANGER WE FACE

Domestic Covert Action  
Remains a Serious Threat Today

The public exposure of COINTELPRO and other government abuses elicited a flurry of apparent reform in the 1970s. President Nixon resigned in the face of impeachment. His Attorney General, other top aides, and many of the "plumbers" were prosecuted and imprisoned for brief periods. The CIA's director and counter-intelligence chief were ousted, and the CIA and the Army were again directed to cease covert operations against domestic targets.

The FBI had formally shut down COINTELPRO a few weeks after it was uncovered. As part of the general face-lift, the Bureau publicly apologized for COINTELPRO, and municipal governments began to disband the local police "red squads" that had served as the FBI's main accomplices. A new Attorney General notified several hundred activists that they had been victims of COINTELPRO and issued guidelines limiting future operations. Top FBI officials were indicted for ordering the burglary of activists' offices and homes; two were convicted, and several others retired or resigned. The Bureau's egomaniacal, crudely racist and sexist founder, J. Edgar Hoover, died in 1972. After two interim directors failed to stem the tide of criticism, a prestigious federal judge, William Webster, was appointed by President Carter to clean house and build a "new FBI."

Behind this public hoopla, however, the Bureau's war at home continued unabated. Domestic covert action did not end when it was exposed in the 1970s. It has persisted throughout the 1980s and become a permanent feature of U.S. government.

\*\* End of text from cdp:pn.publiceye \*\* /\*\* pn.publiceye: 23.8 \*\*/  
Written 6:52 pm Jan 24, 1991 by nlgclc in cdp:pn.publiceye \*\*

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Domestic Covert Action  
Did Not End in the 1970s

Director Webster's highly touted reforms did not create a "new FBI." They served mainly to modernize the existing Bureau and to make it even more dangerous. In place of the backbiting competition with other law enforcement and intelligence agencies which had previously impeded coordination of domestic counter-insurgency, Webster promoted inter-agency cooperation. Adopting the mantle of an "equal opportunity employer," his FBI hired women and people of color to more effectively penetrate a broader range of political targets. By cultivating a low-visibility image and discreetly avoiding public attack on prominent liberals, Webster gradually restored the Bureau's

respectability and won over a number of its former critics.

State and local police similarly upgraded their repressive capabilities in the 1970s while learning to present a more friendly public face. The "red squads" that had harassed 1960s activists were quietly resurrected under other names. Paramilitary SWAT teams and tactical squads were formed, along with highly politicized "community relations" and "beat rep" programs featuring conspicuous Black, Latin, and female officers. Generous federal funding and sophisticated technology became available through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, while FBI-led "joint anti-terrorist task forces" introduced a new level of inter-agency coordination.

Meanwhile, the CIA continued to use university professors, journalists, labor leaders, publishing houses, cultural organizations, and philanthropic fronts to mold U.S. public opinion.[f-41] At the same time, Army Special Forces and other elite military units began to train local police for counter-insurgency and to intensify their own preparations, following the guidelines of the secret Pentagon contingency plans, "Garden Plot" and "Cable Splicer." They drew increasingly on manuals based on the British colonial experience in Kenya and Northern Ireland, which teach the essential methodology of COINTELPRO under the rubric of "low-intensity warfare," and stress early intervention to neutralize potential opposition before it can take hold.

While domestic covert operations were scaled down once the 1960s upsurge had subsided (thanks in part to the success of COINTELPRO), they did not stop. In its April 27, 1971 directives disbanding COINTELPRO, the FBI provided for future covert action to continue "with tight procedures to ensure absolute security." The results are apparent in the record of 1970s covert operations which have so far come to light:

**The Native American Movement:** 1970s FBI attacks on resurgent Native American resistance have been well documented by Ward Churchill and others.[f-44] In 1973, the Bureau led a paramilitary invasion of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota as American Indian Movement (AIM) activists gathered there for symbolic protests at Wounded Knee, the site of an earlier U.S. massacre of Native Americans. The FBI directed the entire 71-day siege, deploying federal marshals, U.S. Army personnel, Bureau of Indian Affairs police, local GOONS (Guardians of the Oglala Nation, an armed tribal vigilante force), and a vast array of heavy weaponry.

In the following years, the FBI and its allies waged all-out war on AIM and the Native people. From 1973-76, they killed 69 residents of

the tiny Pine Ridge reservation, a rate of political murder comparable to the first years of the Pinochet regime in Chile.[f-45> To justify such a reign of terror and undercut public protest against it, the Bureau launched a complementary program of psychological warfare.

Central to this effort was a carefully orchestrated campaign to reinforce the already deeply ingrained myth of the "Indian savage." In one operation, the FBI fabricated reports that AIM "Dog Soldiers" planned widespread "sniping at tourists" and "burning of farmers" in South Dakota. The son of liberal U.S. Senator (and Arab-American activist) James Abourezk, was named as a "gunrunner," and the Bureau issued a nationwide alert picked up by media across the country.

To the same end, FBI undercover operatives framed AIM members Paul "Skyhorse" Durant and Richard "Mohawk" Billings for the brutal murder of a Los Angeles taxi driver. A bogus AIM note taking credit for the killing was found pinned to a signpost near the murder site, along with a bundle of hair said to be the victim's "scalp." Newspaper headlines screamed of "ritual murder" by "radical Indians." By the time the defendants were finally cleared of the spurious charges, many of AIM's main financial backers had been scared away and its work among a major urban concentration of Native people was in ruin.

In March 1975, a central perpetrator of this hoax, AIM's national security chief Doug Durham, was unmasked as an undercover operative for the FBI. As AIM's liaison with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee during the trials of Dennis Banks and other Native American leaders, Durham had routinely participated in confidential strategy sessions. He confessed to stealing organizational funds during his two years with AIM, and to setting up the arrest of AIM militants for actions he had organized. It was Durham who authored the AIM documents that the FBI consistently cited to demonstrate the group's supposed violent tendencies.

Prompted by Durham's revelations, the Senate Intelligence Committee announced on June 23, 1975 that it would hold public hearings on FBI operations against AIM. Three days later, armed FBI agents assaulted an AIM house on the Pine Ridge reservation. When the smoke cleared, AIM activist Joe Stuntz Killisnoak and two FBI agents lay dead. The media, barred from the scene "to preserve the evidence," broadcast the Bureau's false accounts of a bloody "Indian ambush," and the congressional hearings were quietly cancelled.

The FBI was then free to crush AIM and clear out the last pockets of resistance at Pine Ridge. It launched what the Chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission described as "a full-scale military-type invasion of the reservation"[f-46> complete with M-16s, Huey

helicopters, tracking dogs, and armored personnel carriers. Eventually AIM leader Leonard Peltier was tried for the agents' deaths before a right-wing judge who met secretly with the FBI. AIM member Anna Mae Aquash was found murdered after FBI agents threatened to kill her unless she helped them to frame Peltier. Peltier's conviction, based on perjured testimony and falsified FBI ballistics evidence, was upheld on appeal. (The panel of federal judges included William Webster until the very day of his official appointment as Director of the FBI.) Despite mounting evidence of impropriety in Peltier's trial, and Amnesty International's call for a review of his case, the Native American leader remains in maximum security prison.

The Black Movement: Government covert action against Black activists also continued in the 1970s. Targets ranged from community-based groups to the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and the surviving remnants of the Black Panther Party.

In Mississippi, federal and state agents attempted to discredit and disrupt the United League of Marshall County, a broad-based grassroots civil rights group struggling to stop Klan violence. In California, a notorious paid operative for the FBI, Darthard Perry, code-named "Othello," infiltrated and disrupted local Black groups and took personal credit for the fire that razed the Watts Writers Workshop's multi-million dollar cultural center in Los Angeles in 1973. The Los Angeles Police Department later admitted infiltrating at least seven 1970s community groups, including the Black-led Coalition Against Police Abuse.

In the mid-1970s, the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) conspired with the Wilmington, North Carolina police to frame nine local civil rights workers and the Rev. Ben Chavis, field organizer for the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. Chavis had been sent to North Carolina to help Black communities respond to escalating racist violence against school desegregation. Instead of arresting Klansmen, the ATF and police coerced three young Black prisoners into falsely accusing Chavis and the others of burning white-owned property. Although all three prisoners later admitted they had lied in response to official threats and bribes, the FBI found no impropriety. The courts repeatedly refused to reopen the case and the Wilmington Ten served many years in prison before pressure from international religious and human rights groups won their release.

As the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) began to build autonomous Black economic and political institutions in the deep South, the Bureau repeatedly disrupted its meetings and blocked its attempts to buy land. On August 18, 1971, four months after the supposed end of

COINTELPRO, the FBI and police launched an armed pre-dawn assault on national RNA offices in Jackson, Mississippi. Carrying a warrant for a fugitive who had been brought to RNA Headquarters by FBI informer Thomas Spells, the attackers concentrated their fire where the informer's floor plan indicated that RNA President Imari Obadele slept. Though Obadele was away at the time of the raid, the Bureau had him arrested and imprisoned on charges of conspiracy to assault a government agent.

The COINTELPRO-triggered collapse of the Black Panthers' organization and support in the winter of 1971 left them defenseless as the government moved to prevent them from regrouping. On August 21, 1971, national Party officer George Jackson, world-renowned author of the political autobiography [Soledad Brother,] was murdered by San Quentin prison authorities on the pretext of an attempted jailbreak. In July 1972, Southern California Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was successfully framed for a senseless \$70 robbery-murder committed while he was hundreds of miles away in Oakland, California, attending Black Panther meetings for which the FBI managed to "lose" all of its surveillance records. Documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act later revealed that at least two FBI agents had infiltrated Pratt's defense committee. They also indicated that the state's main witness, Julio Butler, was a paid informer who had worked in the Party under the direction of the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department. For many years, FBI Director Webster publicly denied that Pratt had ever been a COINTELPRO target, despite the documentary proof in his own agency's records.

Also targeted well into the 1970s were former Panthers assigned to form an underground to defend against armed government attack on the Party. It was they who had regrouped as the Black Liberation Army (BLA) when the Party was destroyed. FBI files show that, within a month of the close of COINTELPRO, further Bureau operations against the BLA were mapped out in secret meetings convened by presidential aide John Ehrlichman and attended by President Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell. In the following years, many former Panther leaders were murdered by the police in supposed "shoot-outs" with the BLA. Others, such as Sundiata Acoli, Assata Shakur, Dhoruba Al-Mujahid Bin Wahad (formerly Richard Moore), and the New York 3 (Herman Bell, Anthony "Jalil" Bottom, and Albert "Nuh" Washington) were sentenced to long prison terms after rigged trials.

In the case of the New York 3, FBI ballistics reports withheld during their mid-1970s trials show that bullets from an alleged murder weapon did not match those found at the site of the killings for which they are still serving life terms. The star witness against them has publicly recanted his testimony, swearing that he lied after being

tortured by police (who repeatedly jammed an electric cattleprod into his testicles) and secretly threatened by the prosecutor and judge. The same judge later dismissed petitions to reopen the case, refusing to hold any hearing or to disqualify himself, even though his misconduct is a major issue. As the NY3 continued to press for a new trial, their evidence was ignored by the news media while their former prosecutor's one-sided, racist "docudrama" on the case, (Badge of the Assassin,) aired on national television.

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Domestic Intelligence Activities

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### COINTELPRO Revisited - Mumia's COINTELPRO File

#### Mumia's COINTELPRO File

These are excerpts from documents that surfaced during Mumia Abu-Jamals's trial.

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"Concerning the first proposal submitted by Detroit, counterintelligence action by San Francisco to capitalize on Huey P. Newton's favorable stand toward homosexuals has already been authorized by the Bureau. The second Detroit proposal to consider directing an anonymous communication to Newton accusing David Hilliard of stealing BPP funds and depositing them in foreign banks does have merit and the Bureau does not concur with San Francisco's observation that this would have little effect since there is no record that Hilliard is skimming large amounts of money. Purpose of counterintelligence action is to disrupt BPP and it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge. If facts are present it aids in the success of the proposal but the Bureau feels that the skimming of money of money is such a sensitive issue that disruption can be accomplished without facts to back it up."

-from Sept. 16, 1970 Airtel from Hoover informing his COINTELPRO operatives that outright lies were appropriate content for anonymous letters.

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"Lead continued. 4/24/54. Will follow and report subject's [Mumia's] activities with the BPP in Philadelphia. This report is being classified [deleted] to protect [deleted] and [deleted] the information from whom if disclosed could reasonably result in identification of sources of continuing value and affect their future effectiveness.

In spite of the subjects age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his

past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index."

---

"United States Government Memorandum

Subject: Black Panther Party

On 5/1/69, 12 Negro males, attired in black and carrying flags with a Black Panther on them and the words 'free Huey', held the above rally. Photos of participants in the rally were taken by SA[deleted] and SA[deleted]. Since 5/1/69 efforts have been made to identify these individuals. Investigation has included contact with the Board of Education [deleted] Philadelphia PD, Civil Disobedience Unit, and interview of [deleted] aka [deleted]. This investigation has identified all 12 participants in the rally...The only person as yet unidertified is an individual who associated with the participants and took photographs of them as well as pictures of police officers on the scene. [deleted] two of the individuals participating in the rally [deleted] The other two participants include [deleted].

photo attached"

---

"TO: Director, FBI (Attention: Domestic Intelligence Division)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA

SUBJECT: Hiroshima Day Rally 8/8/69

Information concerning

3-Bureau

2-Newark

34-Philadelphia

1-100-48783 (SMC)

1-100-47881 (Videm)

1-100-43508 (SANE)

1-100- (CPEPD)

1-100-50730 (ULTIMATE WEAPON)

1-157-2004 (BPP)

1-100-50294 (FORT DIX FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT)

[DELETED]

1-100-46112 (YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM)

1-100-2036 (SWP)

1-100-43269 (YSA)

1-100 (WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE)

1-100-48677 (A QUACKER ACTION GROUP)  
[DELETED]  
[DELETED]  
[DELETED]  
1-157-3937 (WESLEY COOK) [AKA MUMIA ABU-JAMAL]  
[DELETED]"

---

"PH 157-2004  
Permant [deleted] is [deleted]  
Permant [deleted] is [deleted]  
Permant [deleted] is [deleted]  
Permant [deleted] is [deleted]  
For the information of the Bureau [deleted] With this in mind, simultaneous hits were made at the Web Bar and the BPP Office at about 11 pm led by the SAC and ASAC. SCHELL was found at the Web Bar [deleted ]. The hits were made by SCHELL for the FBI although [deleted] fo the Philidelphia Police Department, Civil Disobidence Unit, were present, [deleted] subsequently arrested HEARN, CRAIG WILLIAMS, PETERSON, RENE JOHNSON, and WESLEY COOK [aka Mumia Abu-Jamal], thus clearing the area of all BPP officers and undoubtedly greatly decreasing the chance of the BPP creating a disturbance in the area."

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"United States Government Memorandum  
SUBJECT: Wesley Cook [Mumia Abu-Jamal] aka RM-BPP  
Report of SA [deleted] 10/24/69 at Philadelphia  
Name: Wesley Cook Alliances: Wes;West;Mumia X  
Priority II  
BNT Misc. : BPP  
Name of employer and Union affiliation if any: Student, Benjamin Franklin High School , Broad and Green Streets, Philadelphia PA  
Residence address: 718 Wallace Street, Philadelphia PA"

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"PAGE TWO DE PH ( 163E-PA-7723) UNCLAS

AROSE AS A RESULT OF [DELETED] ON MACHINE GUN ATTACK OF AMERICAN EMBASSEY BONN ON FEB. 13, 1991. PHILADELPHIA HAS DETERMINED THAT THE INDIVIDUAL IN QUESTION IS MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, WHOSE TRUE NAME IS WESLEY COOK, DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 24, 1954, WHO WAS CONVICTED IN 1983 OF THE MURDER OF POLICE OFFICER FAULKNER IN PHILADELPHIA ON DEC 9, 1981. AS A RESULT OF THAT CONVICTION, JAMAL IS PRESENTLY IN THE HUNTINGDON STATE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTE. THE STATE COLLEGE RESIDENCE AGENCY, PHILDELPHIA DIVISION, OBTAINED THE VISITING LIST FROM PRISON AUTHORITIES AND HAS FORWARDED SAME TO LEGAT BONN. FOR FURTHER

INFORMATION IT IS PHILADELPHIA'S UNDERSTANDING THAT AT LEAST ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN A TRIBUNAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH WAS HELD IN NEW YORK RECENTLY AND WHICH CHARGED THE US WITH A VARIETY OF VIOLATIONS AGAINST WHAT WAS TERMED PRISONERS OF WAR IN US JAILS, VISITED JAMAL AT THE PRISON. AT THIS SAME TRIBUNAL, AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY A NUMBER OF GERMAN NATIONALS ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORIST GROUPS TO ENTER THE US TO ATTEND THIS TRIBUNAL."

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# COINTELPRO

## FBI Activities in Hollywood

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### The FBI and Hollywood.

Shortly after WW1, and before he became the head of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover spent some time in Hollywood, urging film makers to curtail certain kinds of film making which he felt did not serve the best interests of the country. In particular, Hoover did not like the films of Charles Spencer Chaplin which tended to show people in authority abusing their power, maltreating common people, and eventually being made to look ridiculous. It was a Chaplin trademark, one which Hoover felt fostered a disrespect for authority in the general population.

Chaplin not only ignored Hoover's entreaties, but made fun of him, and when Hoover ascended to the head of the FBI, he made Chaplin pay for his earlier insults, and was instrumental in having Charlie kicked out of the United States.

Hoover was also quite eager to use his new authority to bring Hollywood into line with what Hoover thought was their proper role in society (propaganda organ for the government) and while Senator McArthy grabbed the headlines, Hoover was busy behind the scenes recruiting various people to inform on each other and factionalizing the Hollywood community so that it could not resist him.

One interesting story from those days relates to famed animator Walt Disney who had earlier on asked for Hoover's help in locating his real birth parents, little realizing the price Hoover would make him pay later. During the McArthy hysteria, Hoover asked Walt Disney to report on anyone that might be a communist. Walt actually did on so at just one occasion, yielding to what must have been an overwhelming temptation.

Years ealier, Walt Disney had been teamed up with another animator named Walter Lantz, and together they produced a cartoon named "Oswald The Rabbit", created by Disney. But when their partnership dissolved, somehow Walter Lantz retained ownership of Oswald. On the long train ride home, Walt Disney sketched himself a small rodent with big ears and rubber hose arms and legs and named him "Mortimer Mouse". Following a slight name change by Walt Disney's wife, the new Disney star was born, and Disney became a household name. Walter Lantz went on to create his own star, "Woody Woodpecker".

When Hoover approached Disney to be an informant, Walt was hardly sympathetic. His studio had been stiffed on the payment for several training films produced for the Army during WW2. But the

opportunity to "get" the man who stole Oswald from him was too great, and Walt Disney named Walter Lantz to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. That was Walt Disney's fatal mistake.

From that day on, using the threat to expose what Walt Disney had done, Hoover was able to blackmail Walt Disney and then later the Disney company itself into cooperation with several FBI operations, including a phony riot at the Anaheim park staged to discredit the anti-Vietnam movement, carried out on orders from the Nixon White House and revealed during Congressional hearings into COINTELPRO in the 70s. Following that riot, Disney management, worried that word of their involvement might leak out and lead to attempts at retaliation, instituted a short hair hiring policy designed to keep "hippies" from seeking employment at the park. That short hair policy remained in effect until a lawsuit in the 1980s brought it to an end.

Hoover's interest (indeed obsession) with Hollywood remained in full force, and countless operations were undertaken to spy on, and in some cases to [destroy](#), various Hollywood celebrities.

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## The FBI's Public Image

Hoover took great interest in just how the FBI was portrayed in the movies, and later in television. During the making of "The FBI Story" starring Jimmy Stewart, Hoover was on the set every day directing the director as to how to make the film. Despite such ham-handed interference, Jimmy Stewart turned in a marvelous performance in the small amount of room the character was allowed.

Even when not personally supervising films about the FBI, a close watch, and sometimes direct intervention was taken in any film that referenced the FBI, no matter how slight.

Returning to the Disney lot, the following two pages, courtesy of [The Smoking Gun](#) reveal FBI concern over the movie, "That Darned Cat" and it's portrayal of the FBI.



[Click for full sized page.](#)



[Click for full sized page.](#)

When Paramount Pictures produced, "Skidoo", starring Jackie Gleason, it featured a single scene in which Gleason's character is seen fleeing a building marked, "FBI" carrying a file cabinet on his back. That one single scene prompted the following four page memo.



[Click for full sized page.](#)



[Click for full sized page.](#)



[Click for full sized page.](#)



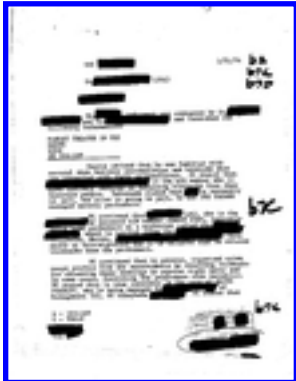
[Click for full sized page.](#)

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## The FBI's "Celebrity Watch".

When not actually interfering with movies, the FBI spied on celebrities.

Shortly before his untimely death, Elvis was still being spied upon by the FBI, who noted in the following memo that Elvis was using dangerous amounts of drugs. The FBI might have intervened to prevent Elvis's death, but chose not to do so.

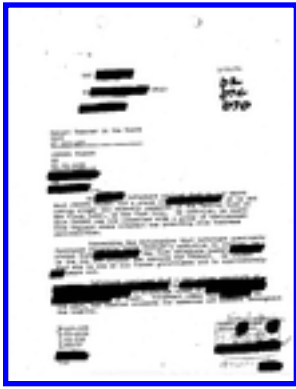


[Click for full sized page.](#)



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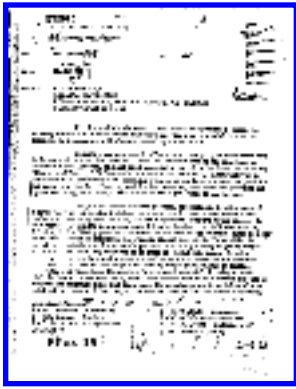
It was a surprise that Elvis was spied on. Elvis was a big fan of the FBI and said so during his famous meeting with Richard Nixon.



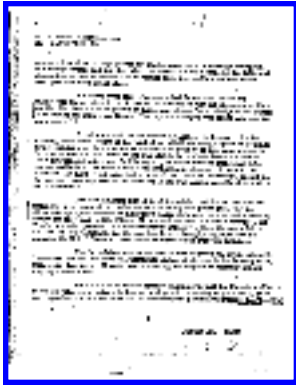
Elvis asked for an FBI badge for his badge collection.

Ten days after his meeting with Nixon, Elvis was given a tour of FBI headquarters.

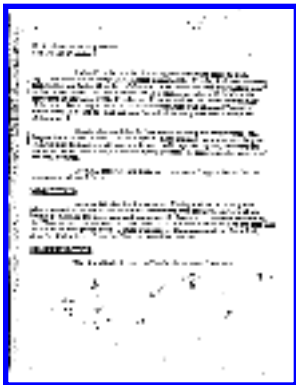
As usual, there followed a report.



[Click for full sized page.](#)



[Click for full sized page.](#)



[Click for full sized page.](#)

Finally, no single celebrity filled the government with more fear than did ex-Beatle John Lennon. Lennon's popularity, and hence his ability to influence popular opinion, coupled with his strong anti-war stance, made him a real threat in the event the United States decided it had to go to war. For this reason, Lennon was one of the most watched celebrities, and according to Lennon's youngest son, the victim of a government assassination plot.



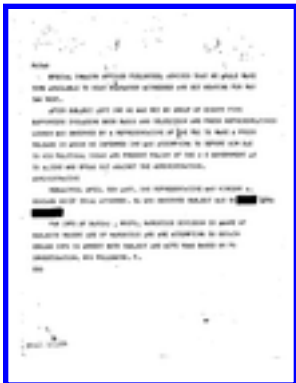
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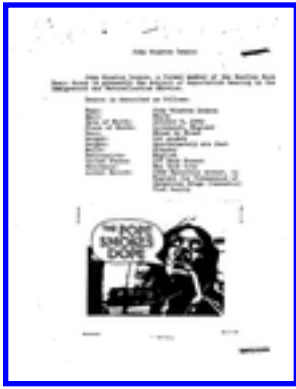
[Click for full sized page.](#)



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[Click for full sized page.](#)

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[Back To COINTELPRO.](#)

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[Back To The Den: Politics.](#)

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[Back To The Top.](#)

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Mail to: [Michael Rivero](#)

*colombiawar.org*

*Investigación Jorge Eliécer Gaitán*

COINTELPRO

 24676

FastCounter by LinkExchange

webpage by Paul Wolf

*Last updated on July 3, 2002*

X Homosexual act  
X Disrupt of Civ. Liberties  
X Communist Activities

DO-11

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Piper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Beahn \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

RGH:DW

Date June 30, 1943

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

As a matter of record, SAC Guerin telephoned from New Orleans on June 26. He advised that [redacted] Cleveland, Ohio, is an aunt of Special Agent [redacted] assigned to the New Orleans Office whom she is visiting at the present time. [redacted] advised Agent [redacted] for the benefit of the Bureau and Agent [redacted] immediately advised SAC Guerin that on June 11, 1943, a bridge party was held at her home in Cleveland. In attendance at this party were the following:

b)(6)

- [redacted] Cleveland
- [redacted] Lakewood, Ohio
- [redacted] Lakewood, Ohio
- [redacted] Lakewood, Ohio
- [redacted] Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania
- [redacted] New Brighton, Pennsylvania

[redacted] stated that [redacted] had formerly been connected with the Emerson High School in Cleveland. [redacted] stated that during the course of the bridge party the Director's name was mentioned at which time [redacted] made the statement that the Director was a homosexual and kept a large group of young boys around him. [redacted] said that one person in the party immediately took [redacted] to task for this statement pointing out that it just did not line up with the responsibilities and reputation of the Director.

b)(6)

After advising the Director of this matter telephonically, I contacted SAC Boardman at Cleveland and instructed him to vigorously take [redacted] to task for her gossip. SAC Boardman advised me telephonically yesterday that [redacted], whose maiden name was [redacted] had been an old maid school teacher at Emerson High School until her marriage five years ago to [redacted]. Her husband is a motion picture operator [redacted]. Their reputation and background are satisfactory.

Boardman called [redacted] into his office and severely chastised her, pointing out that he personally resented such a malicious and unfounded statement as she had made and that he could

(INFORMATIVE MEMORANDUM - NOT TO BE SENT TO FILES SECTION)

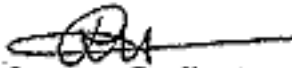
not understand what would lead her to make any such libelous statement concerning a man in such a responsible position as the Director who had in his hands the internal security of the country in wartime.


(b) [redacted] was deeply sorry and indicated she did not blame Mr. Boardman for being indignant. She explained that while on a trip with her husband in the fall of 1941 they were eating in Millers Restaurant in Baltimore. At an adjoining table were several young men who were having a riotous time and who were discussing various personalities. They mentioned that Herbert Hoover was at the time on a fishing trip and then one of them said that on that day he had seen J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI go through Baltimore with his chauffeur. To this one of the men stated that the chauffeur was Mr. Hoover's sweetheart and that Hoover was queer.

[redacted] claimed that she never said anything about this nor had she thought anything about it until the day of this bridge party. She said during the course of the bridge party there was the ordinary small talk and some mention was made of the Director. One of the girls pointed out that the Director was a bachelor and she wondered why. To this [redacted] said that she replied she understood Mr. Hoover was queer. She said there was no discussion of this and immediately after she had made the statement she thought it should not have been made and she could not understand why she had made it. She stated that those in attendance at the bridge party had been gathering like this for a period of eleven years and she was going to point out to each of those present that her statement was not founded on fact and that she was deeply sorry that she had made it and it should not have been made at all. She is going to advise Boardman when this has been done.

Boardman emphasized that he had chastised her most vigorously and that she thoroughly understood the untruth of her statements and the serious nature of her action in having made them.

Respectfully,

  
Robert C. Hendon

Director  
fully advised.  








Jewell

(CNN)

# Welcome to Rancho Runnamukka

What is mainstream news today was here four years ago!

---



LAST UPDATE Mon Oct 4 16:30:38 PDT 1999

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## IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

This web site, Rancho Runnamukka, will be shutting down during the first quarter of 2000. Most of the information here will still be available at our new web site, [What Really Happened](#), which will open on January 1, 2000.

---

## THE QUICK INDEX

Direct hops to pages holding key items of interest.

(Under Construction - feel free to make suggestions).

---

[IMPEACH! A GUIDE TO CONTACTING THE CONGRESS AND MAKING YOUR WISHES KNOWN!.](#)

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[Click here to jump to http://www.impeachclinton.com's page that let's you send email to all the US Senators at once.](http://www.impeachclinton.com)

---

 **THE HOT ITEMS!** 



[WACO - Who Fired First?](#)

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[CLICK HERE FOR JACK CHRISTY ON KIEV RADIO'S GEORGE PUTNAM KIEV SHOW ON COCAINE USE IN THE WHITE HOUSE!](#)



**The sound clip above is in RealAudio format.  
If you don't have the RealAudio Player,  
you can download it for free. Just click on the icon above.**

---

Up again with a new host!

**PM/CS NBC I believe JU Anita!**  
**AIR THE LISA MYERS INTERVIEW - N.O.W. JANE DOE # 5**

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[THE STARR REPORT AND THE WHITE HOUSE REBUTTAL.](#)

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**TWA 800: The NTSB's lab tests did NOT prove that the red residue came from seat glue!**

| ELEMENT   | TEST ONE | TEST TWO | TEST THREE |
|-----------|----------|----------|------------|
| Magnesium | 18%      | 2.5%     | .007%      |
| Silicon   | 15%      | .0005%   | .0004%     |
| Calcium   | 12%      | .0020%   | .0011%     |
| Zinc      | 3.6%     | .045%    | .0002%     |
| Iron      | 3.1%     | .0041%   | .001%      |
| Aluminum  | 2.8%     | .0065%   | .0018%     |
| Lead      | 2.4%     | NONE     | NONE       |
| Titanium  | 1.7%     | .00012%  | .0002%     |
| Antimony  | .53%     | NONE     | NONE       |
| Nickel    | .38%     | NONE     | NONE       |
| Manganese | .21%     | NONE     | NONE       |
| Boron     | .081%    | .0016%   | .001%      |
| Copper    | .053%    | NONE     | NONE       |
| Silver    | .032%    | NONE     | NONE       |
| Chromium  | .032%    | NONE     | NONE       |

**TWA 800: LAB TESTS PROVE THAT THE RED RESIDUE IS NOT GLUE!**



**Did Bill Clinton "Wag The Dog" in Sudan?**

[THE BULLET HOLE IN RON BROWN'S HEAD.](#)

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[Patrick Knowlton files an amended complaint, naming names in the FBI's tampering with evidence in the Vincent Foster affair.](#)

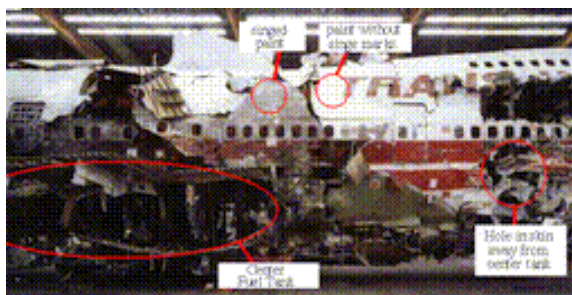
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## MAIN SECTION INDEX



[POLITICS JFK, OKLAHOMA, VINCENT FOSTER, COINTELPRO.](#)

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[TWA 800, and Ron Brown.](#)

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[The Press room: Media lies and distortions. NEW!](#)

---



[The Living Room: HOT LINKS](#)

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[Internet's Most Wanted](#)

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[NEW! Paul Dennis's Voice Stress Analyzer!](#)

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Some key places to visit when you get done here.

[NEW! Visit Patrick Knowlton and John Clarke's new Vince Foster web site, featuring the court documents which expose the cover-up.](#)

CLICK HERE TO  
GO THERE NOW

**WorldNetDaily**

[World Net Daily](#)



[Clinton Impeachment Web](#)

[www.FreeRepublic.com](#)

[Free Republic](#)

[Alert America](#)

The Clinton Scandals Page  
More than you wanted to know about the First Felons!



[Beach Bum's Clinton scandals](#)

Arkansas Corruption  
Drugs - Murder

**The  
"train deaths"**

The Mena Airport  
CIA - FBI

[The Train Deaths](#)



**We Abhorre President Clinton**

[Ultraseek](#)

Search for any word or phrase.

[Search Tips](#)

Search **only** this Web site

Search the **entire** World Wide Web

**SUGGESTION:** The result of this search will be a list of the pages containing the word or phrase. Use your browser's "Search" or "Find" function to locate the word or phrase within each page.

[The Trophy Room: Awards this site has won.](#)

[CLICK FOR PGP PUBLIC KEY, DOWN-LOADABLE BANNER AND INFO ON THIS SITE.](#)

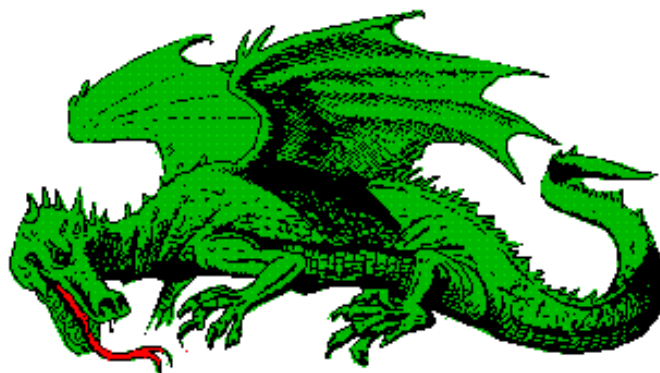
**EMAIL:**

[What Really Happened](#)





# Ye Olde Green Dragon: Politics



## Items of a Political Nature

Last Update Wed Aug 25 10:32:07 PDT 1999

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"Mine will be the most ethical administration in the history of the republic!"  
President-Elect Bill Clinton, November 1992.

---

[the United States] can't be so fixed on our desire to preserve the  
rights of ordinary Americans...

President Clinton, March 1, 1993: Boston Globe, 3/2/93, page 3

---

"I think it's plain that the president should resign and spare the country the agony of this impeachment and removal proceeding," Clinton said. "I think the country could be spared a lot of agony and the government could worry about inflation and a lot of other problems if he'd go on and resign."

Clinton, a law professor at the University of Arkansas, said there was "no question that an admission of making false statements to government officials and interfering with the FBI and the CIA is an impeachable offense."

This is the area which generated most of the requests for me to set up a non-career web page. The items referenced from here are derived from official records. The beauty of the Internet lies in its placing in the hands of **We The People** the raw data and the tools to become our own authorities. Check everything for yourself.

As to the Green Dragon used to decorate this page, allow me to explain.



There is a well known pub in Boston, which goes all the way back to Colonial times. As most colonists did not read, the pub was marked by a copper sculpture of a dragon above the door. It did not take very long for the Boston climate to corrode the dragon a bright shade of green, so quickly that the pub's owners did not waste the effort to keep the dragon sculpture polished. The pub came to be popularly known as the "[Green Dragon](#)".

During the birth of our country, many of the founding fathers would gather at the Green Dragon to hoist a tankard of ale and invent a new nation, along with deciding if this was the week they got to dump some tea into yon harbor.

Along with Ben Franklin, John Hancock, Paul Revere and the rest of the patriots was one physician, a Dr. Josiah Bartlett (my ancestor), down from New Hampshire to represent the interests of the Granite State. A distinguished medical practitioner, family tradition portrays Dr. Bartlett as a curmudgeon who suggested that the Declaration of Independence be written on hemp paper such that if the British succeeded in putting down the rebellion, the signers could smoke the evidence of treason!

Being the senior delegate from New Hampshire, then the northernmost of the colonies, Dr. Bartlett was the first man to cast a vote for the Declaration of Independence. Along with the other delegates, he signed the Declaration of Independence on August 2, 1776, and his signature is seen in the upper right corner of the block of signatures on that document.

Dr. Bartlett's career in public life included the delegation to ratify the Constitution, a brief stint in Congress and the governorship, retiring only when his health began to fail.

Were Dr. Bartlett still alive, I would hope he would look on this web page with a proud eye and approve of what his descendent hath wrought.

There's no alcohol here, alas. There's a state license required for such things, and the Founding fathers neglected to include a pint of ale among the inalienable rights of man. A glaring omission to be sure, but on the whole, a minor one.

Not surprisingly, there is another website called the Green Dragon Tavern which has included me as a member.

[\*\*A "Green Dragon Tavern" Site.\*\*](#)



The Green Dragon Tavern  
-A planning site for the Boston Tea Party

[What Really Happened](#)

Many years ago, men of strong mind, strong will and strong character used to meet in [The Green Dragon Tavern](#). Coming together secretly, and often late at night, they met upstairs in the Long Room. Here . . . they planned the destiny of our country, and plotted the course of freedom which we now sail.

This meeting site is owned by

[Skip Prev](#) [Prev](#) [Next](#) [Skip Next](#) [Random](#) [Next 5](#) [List Sites](#)



## Sons (and Daughters) of the Republic. Look and learn!



A Sound And Picture Gallery, including the famous photos of Hillary and Al Gore with cocaine smuggler Jorge Cabrera.

## COCAINE IN THE WHITE HOUSE?



## Monica Lewinsky and Linda Tripp

---



## Did Bill Clinton "Wag The Dog" in Sudan?

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## The Death Of Vincent Foster

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## The Death Of John Kennedy

---



[The Death Of Martin Luther King](#)

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[THE FAMOUS "DEAD BODIES" LIST.](#)

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[THE TARGETS OF THE INDEPENDENT COUNCILS.](#)

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**THIS  
PHOTO  
REMOVED**

[The Oklahoma Bombing](#)

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[COINTELPRO: THE CRIMINAL ACTIONS OF THE FBI.](#)

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[OPERATION MOCKINGBIRD: THE SUBVERSION OF THE PRESS BY CIA.](#)

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[ECHELON:](#)

YES VIRGINIA, THERE REALLY IS A GOVERNMENT SYSTEM THAT READS ALL YOUR EMAIL!

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[THE DOJ I/G REPORT ON FBI LAB ERRORS.](#)

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[ACTIVITIES AT MENA: THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL!](#)

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[THE PARTIAL LIST OF CLINTON LIES.](#)

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[BILL'S FRIENDS WHO ARE STILL ALIVE BUT IN JAIL.](#)

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[SCANDALS SORTED BY DATE.](#)

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[The House Banking Report on WHITEWATER](#)

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[THE CLINTON CALENDAR.](#)

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[THE LIST OF STOLEN FBI FILES.](#)

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## Larry Case's tapes.

[Is this Clinton's written apology to a woman he assaulted?](#)

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# THE GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL

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## THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

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## THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS.

---

# SOMEPLACE YOU MUST VISIT!



This is Larry Klayman's group, founded three years to seek reform through the court system. Larry Klayman and Judicial Watch are doing the job Kenneth Starr claims to do but doesn't. Klayman is on Carville's "top ten" enemies list. Klayman was offered a two million dollar out of court settlement by the White House, in effect a bribe, to cease his activity. He turned it down.

Larry walks what Kenneth talks. Keep your eye on this man!

---

## ANOTHER PLACE YOU MUST VISIT!

[The Waco Holocaust Museum](#)

The very best site on the worst mass murder of our century, in which the government of the United States gassed a church full of women and children to death with a gas that's illegal to use in war!

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## A Poster I made.



[Click for large poster.\(25.4K\)](#)

[Click for smaller version.\(18.4K\)](#)

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[The National Debt Clock.](#)

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## HOT LINKS TO OTHER SITES

[The National Debt Clock.](#)

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[The Clinton On Trial Web-site.](#)

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[Citizens for Honest Government.](#)

[Accuracy In Media.](#)

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[Free Republic.](#)

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[Capitol Hill Blue](#)

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[Quinn IN The Morning.](#)

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[The "Train Deaths".](#)

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[Military "Suicides".](#)

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[The Sweeney Repossession.](#)

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[Center for Responsive Politics.](#)

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[Seven Tips For Reading in the Home. \(Read ALL the way through\).](#)

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[Albionic.](#)

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[Nation of Hawaii Sovereignty Movement](#)

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[Phil Anderson.](#)

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[Clinton scandals.](#)

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[Hillary Scandals.](#)

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[Patriarchy.](#)

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[Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council](#)

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[BEACHBUM'S CLINTON SCANDAL PAGE! .](#)

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[Arkansas Horrors web site.](#)

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[World Government Listserver.](#)

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[Email Addresses for American Politicians and PACS.](#)

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[Patriots for a Constitutional America.](#)

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[Oregon Police State.](#)

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[Federation of Earth.](#)

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[Federation of American Scientists' library of U.S. intelligence documents.](#)

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[Carolyn's Conservative Corner](#)

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[Jeff's Home Page \(Conspiracy and religeon\).](#)

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[Generation X website.](#)

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[Psycho War Against The Internet And The American People.](#)

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[Pink Noise Studios.](#)

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[Portland Free Press.](#)

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[Talk show host & activist Michael Reagan.](#)

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[PROSNOOP! .](#)

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[Jim Harrell's Website.](#)

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[RESTORING AMERICA PAGE! .](#)

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[London Telegraph Conspiracy Page.](#)

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[Contacting the Congress.](#)

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[Lisa Pease's Real History Archives.](#)

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[Reinhardt World Government Page](#)

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[Politics of Computer Privacy.](#)

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[Alliance to Expose Government Corruption.](#)

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[Covert Action Quarterly home page.](#)

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[David Sussman's Web Empire!](#)

*The extremist's Extremist is BACK!!!!*



[Lion's Den Site Of The Week.](#)

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[Back To The Farm House.](#)

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Mail to: [What Really Happened](#)