

File #:

62-42-116395

Serial Scope:

672 part 1 & 2.

Released under the John F. Kennedy  
Assassination Records Collection Act of  
1992 (44 USC 2107 Note). Case#:NW  
88262 Date: 09-22-2022

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The copies contained herein do not necessarily show the most up-to-date classification.

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The following materials were removed from this file and are maintained in the JFK Collection at NARA:

File & Serial Number

JFK Subject Identifier  
(for NARA purposes)

62-116395-672

Church Committee

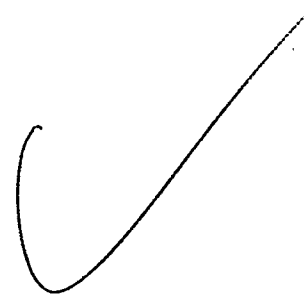
cover sheet

12/11/68 Baumgardner memo to Sullivan

## For Informational Purposes Only



SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 3



3,5,6

186-10078

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Bishop     | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Felt       | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan <sup>11.15</sup>

DATE: 10/23/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan <sup>OK</sup>

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

*Handwritten notes:*  
 11.15  
 5/11/68  
 [Signature]

This is to recommend that our field offices prepare over-all quarterly reports on the New Left movement in order that we can bring together all pertinent information concerning this activity and be in a better position to assess the movement's militancy and potential for violence.

The New Left movement is made up of numerous organizations, temporary conferences and unaffiliated individuals each promoting in varying degrees a strong, anti-United States, violent, revolutionary position. Although the field has conducted or is conducting investigations of these individuals and organizations, there is need to compile in a single investigative report a clear-cut picture of the entire New Left movement which will identify its leaders, sources of funds and propaganda outlets, and will show the extent to which the New Left movement has been influenced by domestic and foreign subversive elements.

Our plan is to have each office submit an initial report by 12/1/68 and to thereafter submit reports on a quarterly basis.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel with enclosures consisting of report outline, subfile breakdown and reporting schedule be sent to all offices ordering the preparation of these reports.

Enclosures ~~sent~~ 10-24-68  
 100-446997  
 WGS:jav (5) <sup>gob</sup>  
 1 - Mr. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
 1 - Mr. Shaw

**REC-40**  
**100-446997-334**  
**NOV 31 1968**  
*Handwritten initials and signatures:*  
 WGS  
 [Signature]  
 [Signature]

*Handwritten initials:*  
 [Signature]

186-10878

10/24/68

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Jackson
- 1 - Mr. Floyd
- 1 - Mr. Menzel
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. Preusse

Airtel

To: SACs, Albany Indianapolis Omaha  
 Baltimore Kansas City Philadelphia  
 Boston Los Angeles Pittsburgh  
 Buffalo Memphis Portland  
 Chicago Miami Sacramento  
 Cincinnati Milwaukee St. Louis  
 Cleveland Minneapolis San Antonio  
 Dallas Newark San Diego  
 Denver New Haven San Francisco  
 Detroit New Orleans Seattle  
 Honolulu New York Springfield  
 Houston Oklahoma City WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-446997)

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
(KEY ACTIVISTS)

*Illustrated of NEW LEFT groups*

In January, 1968, the Bureau designated certain individuals as Key Activists in the New Left movement. At that time, appropriate offices were instructed to conduct continued and intensive investigations of these individuals with the objective of developing detailed and complete information regarding their day-to-day activities and future plans for staging demonstrations and disruptive acts directed against the Government. These individuals were extremely active and most vocal in their statements denouncing the U. S. and calling for civil disobedience and other forms of unlawful and disruptive acts.

MAILED 4  
 OCT 24 1968  
 COMM-FBI

100-446-117-355  
 REC-51

Due to the success of the Key Activists Program, consideration is being given to expansion of this Program. Recipient offices are to review pertinent files to determine those individuals who are leaders or prominent in the New Left movement in their divisions for possible inclusion in an expanded Key Activists Program. In making this determination, you should consider if the individual was rendered ineffective would it curtail such activity in his area of influence.

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

WNP:jav  
(79) j

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albany et al  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
100-446997

Within 30 days of receipt of this communication, recipient offices are to advise under this caption the identities and file numbers of individuals to be included under the expanded Key Activists Program on a UACB basis. Included should be a brief statement relating the basis for designating each individual as a Key Activist. At that time, under individual case caption, a communication is to be forwarded to the Bureau outlining what specific steps are being taken to obtain adequate informant coverage of the individual.

It is expected the Key Activists Program will be given intensive investigative attention and close supervision by participating offices. You should be continuously alert to recommend additions or deletions where warranted and not wait for the Bureau to call to your attention the need to include an active, obvious leader of New Left activities in your division. Such communications should set out Key Activist in parentheses after the character and contain adequate justification for recommended action. Key Activist should not, however, be used in the caption of any communication prepared for dissemination. These individuals will be included in the Security Index in Priority I.

To insure that the Bureau is kept abreast of the day-to-day activities of the individuals designated as Key Activists, each office must maintain high level informant coverage on them as well as the organizations they are affiliated with to develop information regarding their sources of funds, foreign contacts and future plans. Live informant coverage of these individuals and groups is absolutely essential and is expected to receive priority attention. You should explore all avenues of investigative coverage and submit any recommendations under appropriate case caption for consideration by the Bureau.

All investigative matters pertaining to the New Left movement are being closely followed by the Bureau. Key Activists are considered to be of primary investigative importance and cursory handling of these cases will not be tolerated. The overall objective of this Program is to render Key Activists ineffective and thereby radically restrict their influence and the effectiveness of the New Left movement. In order to obtain the desired results, it is expected intensive, aggressive investigation will be afforded these cases.

Airtel to SAC, Albany et al  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
100-446997

It is imperative to note the shift to violence in the New Left movement. Sabotage, arson, bombing and a variety of obstructive tactics have been openly advocated during the past year. In September, 1968, within a five-day period three ROTC establishments were sabotaged and a fourth threatened. In addition, a Central Intelligence Agency office at Ann Arbor, Michigan, was bombed during that month. These instances of openly made plans for violence and the brazen follow-through of action are examples of the problems facing the Bureau in this field and the absolute need for intensive investigative efforts in these matters. Successful prosecution is the best deterrent to such unlawful activity. Intensive investigations of Key Activists under this Program are logically expected to result in prosecutions under substantive violations within the Bureau's investigative jurisdiction.

NOTE:

The Key Activists Program was initiated to afford critical cases close supervision to insure intensive investigation by the field. Success with this Program warrants broadening its scope. The above instructions are to bring about an expanded Key Activists Program to afford closer supervision of critical cases working toward making these persons ineffective and impairing the New Left movement.

10/28/68

36

Airtel

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

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-446997)

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

The Bureau has noted increasing evidence of a continuing upsurge on the part of militant individuals and organizations to separate themselves from legitimate protest activities and to adopt a strong, anti-United States, violent, revolutionary position. These activities are commonly referred to as the New Left movement. The term "New Left" does not refer to a definite organization, but to a movement which is providing ideologies or platforms alternate to those of existing communist and other basic revolutionary organizations, the so-called "Old Left." The New Left movement is a loosely-bound, free-wheeling, college-oriented movement spearheaded by the Students for a Democratic Society and includes the more extreme and militant anti-Vietnam war and antidraft protest organizations. The militant leadership of these organizations appears determined to continue to stage militant demonstration activities designed primarily to effect confrontation with authority, particularly with the Federal Government.

MAILED 2  
OCT 25 1968  
COMM-FBI

Although the field has conducted, or is conducting, investigations of these individuals and organizations, there is a need to compile in a single investigative report a clear-cut picture of the entire New Left movement which will identify its leaders, sources of funds and propaganda outlets, and will show the extent to which the New Left movement has been influenced by domestic and foreign subversive elements.

The ready availability of such information in brief, topical form will enable the field and the Bureau as well to make a self-analysis of all facets of our investigation of the

EX 110 REC 26 - 4/1-477-352

Enclosures - 3  
2 - All Offices (Enclosures - 3)

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

CS:jav  
(121)

ENCLOSURE

19 OCT 28 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT



Airtel to SAC, Albany et al  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
100-446997

New Left movement so that we may expand and intensify our investigation of those phases indicating a need thereof. It will also serve to alert Government officials concerning the nature and extent of this aspect of subversive activities and will provide a comprehensive study of the whole movement from which its dangerousness to the national security can be assessed.

In order to obtain this picture, a program is being instituted immediately to prepare quarterly reports on the over-all New Left movement throughout the United States. Chicago is being designated office of origin and seven copies of all reports should be submitted by each field office. The initial report, which should be submitted to reach the Bureau by 12/1/68, will cover approximately the past two years of the New Left movement. It will include information heretofore reported under various titles and, of course, there will continue to be a reporting of this type of information under various other titles. After submission of the initial report, future reports will be submitted on a quarterly basis according to the enclosed schedule.

The initial report in this matter and succeeding reports will be designed to precisely spell out the full extent of the New Left movement. It will separate words and intentions from actions, mere participation from direct influence and the bona fide activist from the mere "do-gooder." Offices which have absolutely no information to report, either in the initial report or the quarterly reports thereafter, will be permitted to so advise the Bureau by letter in lieu of a report.

The enclosed report outline should be followed as to the numbered and lettered items. Where further breakdowns by numbers and letters are practical, it will be permissible to do so. The synopsis should be prepared for the purpose of providing a complete summary from which the strength of the movement in each field office territory can be quickly determined and a conclusion drawn by the reader as to the movement's over-all militancy and potential for violence. Make certain the synopsis is factual and supported by data in the details.

Subfiles have been opened for each office and for each topic. All communications and sections of the report should refer to the appropriate subfiles which are shown in the enclosed subfile breakdown.

Airtel to SAC, Albany et al  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
100-446997

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan  
dated 10/23/68 captioned as above as prepared by WGS:jav.

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - REPORT OUTLINE

To accurately and clearly show the true nature of the New Left movement, data concerning the following topics must be fully developed and reported. When material contains information which would be logically reported under more than one topic heading but to do so would make the separate accounts unintelligible, report all the material under the main heading and only refer to the information under the other breakdown. Do not repeat the same data under separate headings. All offices are to utilize the following breakdown in preparing quarterly reports on the New Left movement. Each subfile caption must start on a separate page.

I. NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

A. Organizations (Bureau file 100-446997-68)

- (1) Organizations to be covered are those which are anti-United States and whose leaders have either expressed or implied the use of civil disobedience, anarchy, unlawful activity and/or violence in bringing about the overthrow of our political and economic system, abandoning our moral institutions and who have disclaimed loyalty to the United States. This would include Students for a Democratic Society and the more militant anti-Vietnam war and antidraft protest organizations.
- (2) Under each organization include a paragraph covering the following points: when organized, objectives, locality in which active, whether part of a national organization. Include under each organization information as to officers and others in position of influence who have present or past subversive connections.

B. Membership (Bureau file 100-446997-69)

- (1) Estimated number of members and sympathizers. In preparing estimates, best available informants and sources should be used. Explain in cover pages reason for any substantial increase or decrease in membership figures previously submitted. The number of members nationally and locally should be indicated.

ENCLOSURE

- (2) Recruiting activities. Results of membership drives.
  - (3) Membership requirements.
- C. Finances (Bureau file 100-446997-70)
- (1) Income and expenditures.
  - (2) Plans and results of fund drives.
  - (3) Large contributions from known subversive groups.
  - (4) Identity of "angels."
  - (5) Receipt of funds from foreign sources.
- D. Communist Influence (Bureau file 100-446997-71)
- (1) Domestic (ties with Communist Party, USA, and other basic revolutionary groups). Policy concerning communist participation in organization's activities and use and distribution of communist propaganda.
  - (2) Foreign (include ties with foreign revolutionary centers as indicated by travel abroad, contacts with foreign embassies or other evidence).
- E. Publications (Bureau file 100-446997-72)
- (1) Offices covering place of publication should describe publication, show circulation and principal members of editorial staff. Auxiliary offices need only to refer to the fact that the publication is circulated in its territory and describe method of circulation.
  - (2) Description of New Left publications published abroad and circulated in the United States.
- F. Violence (Bureau file 100-446997-73)
- (1) Acts of violence or plans to commit same, identities of leaders and participants.
  - (2) Possession of weapons and instruments of destruction.
  - (3) Statements advocating use of violence.

G. Religion (Bureau file 100-446997-74)

- (1) Policy relating to approach to religion.
- (2) Vehement statements made against religious bodies by leaders.
- (3) Support of movement by religious groups or individuals.

H. Race Relations (Bureau file 100-446997-75)

- (1) Show if organization was involved in racial disturbances and any prosecutive action taken as a result.
- (2) Show extent of cooperation with militant racial groups.

I. Political Activities (Bureau file 100-446997-76)

- (1) Political activities in which New Left leaders are involved.
- (2) Details relating to position taken on political matters including efforts to influence public opinion, the electorate and Government bodies.

J. Ideology (Bureau file 100-446997-77)

- (1) Statement of leaders attacking United States policies, including civil disturbances, affinity for the aims and purposes of revolutionary groups and show support for Marxism-Leninism.

K. Education (Bureau file 100-446997-78)

- (1) Information relating to material furnished membership which advocates use of violence in obtaining objectives.
- (2) Information relating to education of both new and experienced members.
- (3) Courses given together with any educational outlines and assigned or suggested reading.

L. Social Reform (Bureau file 100-446997-79)

- (1) Activities in connection with demonstrations aimed at social reform. Include organization's over-all policy.

M. Labor (Bureau file 100-446997-80)

- (1) Information including all activity in the labor field.

N. Public Appearances of Leaders (Bureau file 100-446997-81)

- (1) Identity of leader who makes public appearance on radio and television and who appears before groups, such as labor, church and minority groups.
- (2) Date and place of such appearance, identity of group sponsoring speaker and succinct summary of subject matter discussed.

O. Factionalism (Bureau file 100-446997-82)

- (1) Any unusual disputes or arguments between leaders.

P. Security Measures (100-446997-83)

- (1) Unusual security measures taken by organization to protect identity of leaders and members.

Q. International Relations (Bureau file 100-446997-84)

- (1) Information relating to communication or contact between New Left organizations in the United States and New Left organizations in foreign countries.
- (2) Identities of New Left leaders who plan to travel in foreign countries, including the reason for their travel.
- (3) Identities of New Left leaders from foreign countries who travel in the United States, including the purpose of their travel.
- (4) New Left movement strategy and tactics directed to attacks on United States foreign policy and support of Soviet and satellite foreign policy.

R. Mass Media (Bureau file 100-446997-85)

- (1) Influence of New Left on mass media.
- (2) Indications of support of New Left by mass media.

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - SCHEDULE FOR REPORTS

With the exception of the initial report, which should be submitted by each office to reach the Bureau by 12/1/68, reports in this matter covering the quarters ending March 31st, June 30th, September 30th and December 31st, are to be submitted by the following deadline dates (date noted is for month following end of the quarter):

|              |      |                |      |
|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| Albany       | 10th | Memphis        | 15th |
| Albuquerque  | 5th  | Miami          | 10th |
| Anchorage    | 5th  | Milwaukee      | 15th |
| Atlanta      | 10th | Minneapolis    | 15th |
| Baltimore    | 10th | Mobile         | 5th  |
| Birmingham   | 5th  | Newark         | 20th |
| Boston       | 15th | New Haven      | 15th |
| Buffalo      | 10th | New Orleans    | 15th |
| Butte        | 5th  | New York       | 20th |
| Charlotte    | 10th | Norfolk        | 5th  |
| Chicago      | 25th | Oklahoma City  | 5th  |
| Cincinnati   | 10th | Omaha          | 10th |
| Cleveland    | 15th | Philadelphia   | 20th |
| Columbia     | 5th  | Phoenix        | 10th |
| Dallas       | 10th | Pittsburgh     | 15th |
| Denver       | 10th | Portland       | 15th |
| Detroit      | 20th | Richmond       | 10th |
| El Paso      | 5th  | Sacramento     | 10th |
| Honolulu     | 10th | St. Louis      | 15th |
| Houston      | 10th | Salt Lake City | 10th |
| Indianapolis | 15th | San Antonio    | 10th |
| Jackson      | 5th  | San Diego      | 10th |
| Jacksonville | 10th | San Francisco  | 20th |
| Kansas City  | 10th | San Juan       | 5th  |
| Knoxville    | 5th  | Savannah       | 5th  |
| Las Vegas    | 5th  | Seattle        | 20th |
| Little Rock  | 5th  | Springfield    | 5th  |
| Los Angeles  | 20th | Tampa          | 10th |
| Louisville   | 10th | WFO            | 15th |

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NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - SUBFILE BREAKDOWN

| <u>Office</u> | <u>Bureau File</u> | <u>Office</u>  | <u>Bureau File</u> |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Albany        | 100-446997-Sub 1   | Memphis        | 100-446997-Sub 28  |
| Albuquerque   | 62                 | Miami          | 29                 |
| Anchorage     | 22                 | Milwaukee      | 30                 |
| Atlanta       | 2                  | Minneapolis    | 43                 |
| Baltimore     | 3                  | Mobile         | 61                 |
| Birmingham    | 4                  | Newark         | 31                 |
| Boston        | 5                  | New Haven      | 32                 |
| Buffalo       | 6                  | New Orleans    | 33                 |
| Butte         | 7                  | New York       | 34                 |
| Charlotte     | 8                  | Norfolk        | 56                 |
| Chicago       | 9                  | Oklahoma City  | 35                 |
| Cincinnati    | 10                 | Omaha          | 36                 |
| Cleveland     | 11                 | Philadelphia   | 37                 |
| Columbia      | 66                 | Phoenix        | 38                 |
| Dallas        | 12                 | Pittsburgh     | 39                 |
| Denver        | 13                 | Portland       | 40                 |
| Detroit       | 15                 | Richmond       | 41                 |
| El Paso       | 16                 | Sacramento     | 67                 |
| Honolulu      | 18                 | St. Louis      | 42                 |
| Houston       | 19                 | Salt Lake City | 44                 |
| Indianapolis  | 21                 | San Antonio    | 45                 |
| Jackson       | 54                 | San Diego      | 46                 |
| Jacksonville  | 63                 | San Francisco  | 47                 |
| Kansas City   | 23                 | San Juan       | 48                 |
| Knoxville     | 24                 | Savannah       | 49                 |
| Las Vegas     | 65                 | Seattle        | 50                 |
| Little Rock   | 25                 | Springfield    | 52                 |
| Los Angeles   | 26                 | Tampa          | 64                 |
| Louisville    | 27                 | WFO            | 53                 |

100-446997-352

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tolson     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
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| Bishop     | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/1/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT PUBLICATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

*for Sec 17...*

PURPOSE:

This is to recommend that our field offices conduct a survey concerning publications of the New Left movement in order to (1) provide for a centralized reporting of New Left propaganda efforts, (2) to enable us to keep abreast of current New Left activity in order that we may take advantage of situations which could embarrass the New Left and (3) to facilitate the necessary evaluation and analysis of New Left propaganda at the Seat of Government.

BACKGROUND:

The New Left movement uses propoganda for various reasons ranging from morale boosting to the generation of public resentment of Government policy and action. There is an urgent need to afford New Left propoganda efforts close attention and a survey of this nature will be of great value not only to the Seat of Government but to the individual field offices in providing an over-all picture of New Left propoganda.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter to all offices be approved.

Enclosure *sent 11-5-68*  
100-446997-72  
WGS:jav  
(5)

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

*WGS*  
*11/5/68*  
*OK*  
*REC-3*  
*100-446997-72-5*  
*11-1-68*

25 NOV 7

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INT. SEC.

SAC, Albany

11/5/68

Director, FBI (100-446997-72)

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

**NEW LEFT MOVEMENT —  
PUBLICATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS**

One of the most important aspects in our current investigation of the New Left movement involves the movement's propaganda activities. We must afford this phase of New Left efforts close attention so that we can keep abreast of current New Left activities, take advantage of situations which could embarrass the New Left movement and counter New Left propaganda. In this connection, the prompt, accurate submission of newspaper clippings is also essential to the Bureau's keeping promptly informed on these matters.

With the foregoing as a background to underscore the importance of this matter, the Bureau desires that all offices immediately initiate a detailed survey concerning New Left-type publications being printed and circulated in your territories on a regular basis. This will include both the official publications of New Left movement organizations as well as the anarchist-type underground newspapers which are being printed on a regular basis. Your survey should set forth information relating to the following points:

MAILED 2  
NOV 7 1968  
COMM-FBI

- (1) Name of Publication
- (2) Location of Offices *MCT gnd*
- (3) Identity and Location of Publisher *✓*
- (4) General Description of Publication
- (5) Name and Location of Printer
- (6) Circulation *REC 100-446997-72*
- (7) Sources of Funds
- (8) Identity of Editorial Staff
- (9) Subversive Connections of Members of Editorial Staff *Jem/ame*
- (10) Foreign Ramifications (any foreign inspiration behind the publication or any rapport between the publication and individuals and/or organizations in foreign countries.) *20 NOV 7 1968*
- (11) Any Prosecutive Action Taken or Pending Against Publication
- (12) Whether Member of Any News Service
- (13) Licensing Information

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

55 NOV 4 1968  
All offices  
WGS:jav (121)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
PUBLICATIONS  
100-446997-72

Data developed should be set forth in a comprehensive and effective manner so that the picture of New Left movement publications in your territory may be quickly grasped.

It will be your responsibility to secure and carefully review issues of New Left-type publications in your territory and to take appropriate action on each article of pertinence. It will, of course, be your decision as to whether the pertinence of the information is such that the Bureau should be immediately advised or whether it should be merely included in the publications section of the next report on the New Left movement.

Following this survey, which should reach the Bureau by 11/26/68, each office should critically appraise its knowledge of New Left-type publications within its division and should comment specifically on the desirability and necessity of instituting an investigation of any of these publications under the provisions of Section 87E, Manual of Instructions.

You should also submit your recommendation concerning publications which should be furnished the Bureau on a regular basis in view of their ideological content, ~~content~~ <sup>forecast of forth-</sup> coming New Left functions ~~or other~~ content of continuing interest to the Bureau.

When a separate case is opened on a specific New Left-type publication, a copy of the appropriate communication should be designated for Bureau file 100-446997-72 in order that a ready reference will be available concerning New Left-type publications under investigation.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated 11/1/68 captioned as above as prepared by WGS:jav.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)  
(WEATHERMAN)  
IS - SDS

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 18, 1970

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - W. N. Preusse
- 1 - R. L. Shackelford

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

*S/S*  
*Shackelford*

PURPOSE: To obtain approval for the attached airtel to all offices.

BACKGROUND: By C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan memorandum dated 3/13/70, you were advised of facts surrounding the explosion at 18 West 11th Street, New York City, involving the Weatherman faction of SDS. You were also advised correlative investigations involving our interests in Weatherman individuals involved in the explosion, and possibly bombings in New York and elsewhere, were being vigorously pursued and pertinent information furnished local police. The Director noted, "Pursue vigorously."

By C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan memorandum dated 11/20/69, the Director approved investigation of all individuals connected with the extremist and violence-prone Weatherman faction of SDS. As you are aware, the Department has under consideration indictment of approximately 25 national and regional Weatherman leaders for their violent acts in Chicago during October, 1969. In early February, 1970, Weatherman leaders implemented plans to go underground and form commando-type units to engage in bombings, arson, and assassinations as political weapons to bring about the revolution. We are conducting extensive investigations in the field to locate the Weatherman leaders, and most of them are included among those who may be indicted.

Cathy Wilkerson, for example, a Weatherman leader whose whereabouts have been unknown since early February, is believed to be under consideration for indictment by the Federal Grand Jury in Chicago and was observed leaving the scene of the tremendous explosion which demolished her father's home at 18 West 11th Street, New York City.

Enclosure *sent* 3-19-70

100-439048

*100-439048-3312*  
*Sullivan*

REC-110

MAR 27 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

RLS:LM  
(7)

58 APR 2 1970

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)  
(WEATHERMAN)

*2/11/70*  
Further evidence of the violent nature of the Weatherman leaders is shown by the attempted bombing of Detroit Police facilities on 3/6/70 by Weatherman personnel led by Bill Ayers. Another example of New Left violence is the three bombings in New York City on 3/12/70 by a group calling itself "Revolutionary Force 9," the members of which obviously are sympathetic to Weatherman objectives.

OBSERVATIONS: It is imperative the field be made fully cognizant of the importance of our investigations of all aspects of suspected Weatherman activity, including bombings, arson, and locating Weatherman individuals and leaders. The identification of Weatherman communes and locating activists in them make readily available a suspect list for our use or the use of local authorities, where we have no jurisdiction, in instances of bombings and arson; and in the event the Federal indictments are returned in Chicago, such a list would facilitate locating them as fugitives.

Because of the known violent nature of the Weatherman faction, including extensive use of bombings and reported purchases of firearms and ammunition, it is considered imperative, for the safety of Agent personnel, that the field utilize a caution statement on all Weatherman organization correspondence and on all correspondence under individual captions concerning Weatherman personnel. A suitable caution statement would be, "All Weatherman personnel should be considered dangerous because of their known advocacy and use of explosives, reported acquisition of firearms, and known propensity for violence."

RECOMMENDATION: The attached airtel to the field be approved, setting forth the following:

1. Apprising the field of current information concerning Weatherman violence.
2. Requiring the field to advise the Bureau on a weekly basis of the location of or attempts to locate selected Weatherman leaders.
3. Requiring use of above-described caution statement on Weatherman correspondence.

*MS*

*OK V  
d Hager*

- 2 -

*WCS*

*P*

1 - Mr. DeLoach

3/19/70

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Preusse
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - General  
 (WEATHERMAN)  
 IS - SDS

During early February, 1970, Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leaders and activists implemented their plans to go underground and form commando-type units to engage in bombing, arson and assassination as political weapons to bring about the revolution.

On March 6, 1970, two large undetonated bombs were located in Detroit, Michigan, police facilities. Weatherman activists were known to have planned to bomb these facilities. On March 6, 1970, a tremendous explosion destroyed the residence of the father of Weatherman activist Cathy Wilkerson in New York City. She was observed, with another female, leaving the wreckage. Theodore Gold, a known Weatherman activist was found dead in the wreckage and two other unidentified bodies have also been found. On March 12, 1970, three bombs caused extensive damage to three commercial buildings in New York City. A group identifying itself as "Revolutionary Force 9" claimed credit for these bombings. Large quantities of explosives and quantities of firearms have reportedly been purchased by Weatherman activists. Evidence has also been developed that Weatherman recruiting is taking place among Venceremos Brigade travelers to Cuba.

It is imperative that every effort be made to locate and identify all Weatherman communes and their activists. Many key leaders of the Weatherman faction are free on bond from local charges or under consideration for prosecution on

2 - All Offices

EX - 106

REG-121

3305

RLS:mst  
(125)

MAR 24 1970  
 SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

50 APR 2 1970  
 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
(WEATHERMAN)  
100-439048

local or Federal charges. Identifying the whereabouts of known Weatherman activists would enable offices to have a ready suspect list for New Left extremist-oriented bombings and arsons for Bureau use or use of local authorities where no Bureau jurisdiction exists. In addition, should Federal warrants be issued against various Weatherman leaders, their arrests would be greatly facilitated.

In order for the Bureau to coordinate these investigations and have current information readily available concerning certain Weatherman activists, the following listed individuals are to receive intensive investigation to establish their whereabouts on a current basis. Offices shown as origin are to submit on a weekly basis, to reach the Bureau by close of business each Friday, the whereabouts of the individual or efforts being made to locate them.

| <u>NAME</u>              | <u>OFFICE OF ORIGIN</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| William Ayers            | Chicago                 |
| Edward J. Benedict       | Cleveland               |
| Kathy Boudin             | Chicago                 |
| John Buttny              | Denver                  |
| Peter Wales Clapp        | New York                |
| Judith Alice Clark       | Chicago                 |
| Karen Myra Daenner       | Seattle                 |
| Bernardine Rae Dohrn     | Chicago                 |
| Howard Joel Ermer        | Cleveland               |
| Linda Sue Evans          | Detroit                 |
| Matthew John Flanagan    | Cleveland               |
| Lynn Rae Garvin          | WFO                     |
| Phoebe E. Hirsch         | Chicago                 |
| John G. Jacobs           | Chicago                 |
| Jeffrey Carl Jones       | Chicago                 |
| Lenore Kalom             | Detroit                 |
| Joseph Kelly             | Chicago                 |
| Karen Lee Latimer        | Detroit                 |
| Jonathan Lerner          | Chicago                 |
| Mark Elliott Leventer    | Detroit                 |
| Howard Norton Machtinger | Chicago                 |
| Brian K. McQuerry        | Denver                  |
| James Mellen             | Detroit                 |
| David Hiram Millstone    | Denver                  |
| Shinya Ono               | New York                |

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
(WEATHERMAN)  
100-439048

| <u>NAME</u>             | <u>OFFICE OF ORIGIN</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Terry Franklin Robbins  | Chicago                 |
| Mark William Rudd       | Chicago                 |
| Roberta "Bobbi" Smith   | Cleveland               |
| Michael Louis Spiegel   | Chicago                 |
| Susan Stern             | Seattle                 |
| Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson | Chicago                 |
| Andrew Mitchell Willis  | Cleveland               |
| Jean Yonckura           | Chicago                 |

These instructions in no way alleviate responsibilities levied on selected offices in Bureau airtel dated March 12, 1970, concerning their investigations of Weatherman activists.

These matters must receive intensive investigation and any indication of subversive groups, such as Weatherman, being involved in terroristic acts must be vigorously pursued from an intelligence interest in absence of a specific criminal violation over which the Bureau has jurisdiction. In the latter instance the matter is to be handled under appropriate substantive caption.

Because of the known violent nature of the Weatherman faction, including extensive use of explosives and reported purchases of firearms and ammunition, all offices are to utilize the following caution statement on all Weatherman organization and individual correspondence. "All Weatherman personnel should be considered dangerous because of their known advocacy and use of explosives, reported acquisition of firearms, and known propensity for violence." Any correspondence concerning a Weatherman known to carry firearms should have an appropriate caution statement in accordance with existing Bureau rules.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 3/18/70, prepared by RLS:lm.





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Bishop     | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Felt       | _____ |
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| Sullivan   | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: March 7, 1969

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CD*

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. F. B. Griffith
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - *new*  
STUDENT AGITATION - KEY ACTIVISTS

PURPOSE:

To secure approval for an airtel to all offices containing instructions to the field to develop certain information in respect to the securing of testimony and evidence concerning violations of statutes within the Bureau's jurisdiction in connection with leaders involved in campus disorders.

By letter 3/3/69 the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, advised that the Internal Security and Criminal Divisions are jointly considering possibility of conducting a grand jury investigation of some future serious campus disorder with view towards securing testimony and evidence concerning violations of the seditious conspiracy, Smith Act, registration of certain organizations, antiriot and civil disorder statutes and any possible conspiracies in connection therewith.

In this regard, it was pointed out that the identities of those individuals planning activity which might fall within the above noted statutes be secured as well as names of those who appear at more than one campus either before, during or after any active disorder or campus riot.

OBSERVATIONS:

Department, by letter 2/18/69, previously suggested areas of interest in gathering intelligence-type information concerning campus disorders. The Director noted we should intensify our coverage of student disorders and the field was so advised. In line with the Department's expressed concern over these matters and their current prosecutive interest of those in a leadership role, we are instructing the field to submit reports every 90 days on Key Activists in the New Left movement. The Bureau must be kept advised on a current basis of all pertinent activities of these individuals for dissemination to the Department in line with their request.

ACTION:

That the enclosed airtel to all offices be approved.

Enclosure *13-10-69*  
 100-446997  
 1 - 62-112228 (STAG)  
 WMP:lvh (14)  
 1 - 157-8415

18 MAR 12 1969

*100-446917-441*  
*gem*  
*5-700*  
*WCS*  
*R*  
*gem*

3/10/69

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-446997)-448

REC- 51

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
BLACK EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES  
STUDENT AGITATION - KEY ACTIVISTS

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. F. B. Griffith
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

There is enclosed for each office a copy of a letter from the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, wherein he requests certain information be developed concerning individuals involved in a leadership role in campus disorders.

In this regard, generally speaking, those individuals who have been previously designated as Key Activists in the New Left movement have been involved in campus disorders in this country or have appeared on campuses either before, during or after such disorders which would indicate possible involvement on their part along lines of interest to the Department.

Accordingly, bearing in mind the enclosed request of the Department, you are to submit an investigative summary report on those individuals designated as Key Activists within 45 days from the date of this communication. Thereafter, an investigative report concerning Key Activists should be submitted every 90 days. Furthermore, an appropriate communication suitable for dissemination should be promptly submitted on these individuals whenever they make a speaking engagement on any college campus or adjacent to such campuses or whenever they make a statement indicating the propensity for violence or indicating potential student agitation on a campus.

You should also bear in mind that even if an individual is not a Key Activist at this time but would fit into a category as noted in enclosed letter, intensified investigation

MAILED 3  
MAR 11 1969

Enclosure

2 - All Offices (Enclosure)

1 - 62-112228 (STAG)  
1 - 157-8415

WNP:lvh/djb

MAR 18 1969

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
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Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
100-446997

must be conducted regarding this individual to secure the testimony and evidence needed. Insure that the Bureau is promptly advised in form suitable for dissemination of any pertinent information developed in these cases.

Particular effort should be made in connection with these investigations to obtain recordings of or reliable witnesses to inflammatory speeches or statements made which may subsequently become subject to criminal proceedings. All such information should be properly recorded in interview report form suitable for production in legal proceedings.

In all cases whenever there appears to be a possible violation of a statute within the investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau, the substantive violation character should also be included in your communication. In reports submitted concerning Key Activists and other individuals fitting into the category noted in this airtel, eight copies of any report prepared should be submitted to the Bureau. In the case of letterhead memoranda submitted to the Bureau, ten copies should be furnished.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 3/7/69, captioned "New Left Movement, Student Agitation - Key Activists," prepared by WNP:lvh.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Bishop     | _____ |
| Brennan    | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Walters    | _____ |
| Soyars     | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- (Route through for review)

DATE: 10/8/70

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : R. L. Shackelford *RLS*

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
POLICE TRAINING MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse
- 1 - Mr. D. P. White
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Stilling

### PURPOSE:

To secure approval for an SAC letter which authorizes Special Agents in Charge or, in their absence, Assistant Special Agents in Charge, to discuss matters relating to New Left extremism in presently scheduled and future closed meetings and conferences with local police officers.

### BACKGROUND:

The following is set forth in response to suggestions from several Special Agents in Charge and participants in the recent New Left Movement Conference held on 9/10-11/70 that the topic of New Left extremism be included in scheduled and future law enforcement conferences and meetings, where attendance is restricted to police, prosecutors and the judiciary.

Current Bureau policy concerning speeches by Special Agents in Charge or Assistant Special Agents in Charge on New Left matters is set forth in SAC Letter 70-8 dated 2/10/70 captioned "Speech Matters - New Left." This directive states that Special Agents in Charge or Assistant Special Agents in Charge cannot accept speeches on the subject of communism, and this policy was to be followed in reference to speeches on the subject of the New Left. The SAC Letter continues that in the event questions are asked concerning the New Left following the talk by a Bureau representative, replies should deal only with the questions of FBI jurisdiction. Persons asking questions should be tactfully referred to appropriate Bureau reprint material.

SAC Letter dated 1/21/69 captioned "New Left Movement - Police Training Matters" stated qualified speakers from Seat of Government would handle New Left movement discussions before closed meetings of local law enforcement personnel. The field was instructed that it should not solicit invitations for wide-

Enclosure *sent 10-12-70*

2 OCT 13 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

*INT. SEC.*

RJS: jlm  
 OCT 21 1970  
 XEROX  
 OCT 11 1970  
 13

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*White*  
*Boyer*  
*S*

Memorandum for Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: New Left Movement  
Police Training Matters

spread participation in briefings for local law enforcement people and that requests for Seat of Government speakers should be held to a minimum and submitted only in connection with appearances before command-level law enforcement administrators.

An exception to this policy was made, however, in September, 1969, at which time Special Agents in Charge were permitted to include material relating to the activities of New Left extremists in their presentations at the 1969 Annual Law Enforcement Conferences, which concerned extremist groups and violence. These presentations were exceptionally well received and served to alert law enforcement officials throughout the country to the threat posed by New Left extremists.

OBSERVATIONS:

Many New Left extremists and extremist groups have now assumed a posture of criminality which dictates that all levels of law enforcement consider them for what they are-- criminals. They have directed their attacks, which includes arson and bombing, against police and police installations from coast to coast and have participated in bank robbery. There is little doubt that local law enforcement is as concerned with these elements and the threat they present to our society as with any other police hazard. Our field personnel have reported that local police are looking to us for briefings regarding New Left individuals and groups who are dedicated to violence, terrorism and disruption. Our 1970 Annual Law Enforcement Conferences deal with bombings and bomb threats, and some Special Agents in Charge have requested permission to include at these conferences a discussion or briefing regarding New Left terrorists, including those who are Bureau fugitives.

It is believed we should permit the Special Agent in Charge, or the Assistant Special Agent in Charge, to brief selected groups of local law enforcement command and supervisory personnel regarding New Left extremists, extremist groups and violence, such as Students for a Democratic Society and

Memorandum for Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: New Left Movement  
Police Training Matters

Weatherman, at law enforcement meetings and conferences,  
where attendance is restricted to those in the profession.  
Adequate data is available in each office.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached SAC Letter be approved and transmitted  
to the field. No handbook or manual changes are necessary.

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
NW  
[Signature]  
[Signature] ✓  
WBS  
[Signature]  
[Signature]  
OK  
[Signature]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

September 15, 1970

(A) TRAINING - LEGAL INSTRUCTORS --

The following significant decisions reported in August, 1970, should be read by all Legal Instructors: U.S. v. Pryba, 312 F. Supp. 466 (1970) (D.C.) (Civil Aeronautics Board regulation permitting airline personnel to open suspicious package is constitutional; an airline official's position makes him a credible and reliable informant); U.S. v. Dunnings, 425 F2d 836 (1969) (2d Cir.) (example of strong affidavit for search warrant, based principally on information from confidential informant; permissible to delay execution of search warrant (within ten-day limit) until suspect is in premises); U.S. v. Mitchell, 425 F2d 1353 (1970) (8th Cir.) (example of finding probable cause for arrest from combination of Spinelli and Draper circumstances); U.S. v. Robertson, 425 F2d 1386 (1970) (5th Cir.) (no Miranda warnings required for street interrogation of suspect concerning automobile tag and title registration with defect indicating car possibly stolen); U.S. v. Goad, 462 F2d 86 (1970) (10th Cir.) (arrest of suspect standing in doorway to home, by officers standing outside will not support incidental search of home); U.S. v. Main, 312 F. Supp. 736 (1970) (D.C., Del.) (affidavit for search warrant stated probable cause but contained much of what court labeled "excess verbiage"); U.S. v. Ayers, 426 F2d 524 (1970) (2d Cir.) (lineup requires warning of right to counsel separate and distinct from Miranda warnings given for interrogation); U.S. v. Campbell, 426 F2d 547 (1970) (2d Cir.) (recording of telephone conversation made by consent of one party thereto is admissible in evidence); U.S. v. Bednarski, 312 F. Supp. 913 (1970) (D.C., Mass.) (no Miranda warnings required for use in evidence of books and records voluntarily given to officer by suspect during noncustodial interview); Dess v. Montana, 312 F. Supp. 1325 (1970) (D.C., Mont.) (illustrative discussion of standing to protest unreasonable search and seizure); U.S. v. McKinnon, 426 F2d 845 (1970) (5th Cir.) (search of vehicle at tow-in garage 30 minutes after arrest of accused on highway could not be justified as incident to arrest); Canitoli v. Wainwright, 426 F2d 868 (1970) (5th Cir.) (seizure of package thrown from vehicle lawfully pursued by police was proper as taking of thing abandoned); Woodbury v. Beto, 426 F2d 923 (1970) (5th Cir.) (officers searching suspect's home under search warrant for narcotics taken in armed robbery properly seized gun, not mentioned in warrant, as instru-



mentality of robbery); U.S. v. Kroslack, 426 F2d 1129 (1970) (7th Cir.) (defendant's right against self-incrimination is violated when officer testifies that defendant, on interview, refused to talk); Bosley v. U.S., 426 F2d 1257 (1970) (D.C.) (Miranda requires officers to warn an arrested suspect of his rights as soon as practicable after arrest); U.S. v. Gonzalez-Perez, 426 F2d 1283 (1970) (5th Cir.) (search of arrestee is incident to arrest when made shortly after at jail or place of detention rather than at actual time and place of arrest; search of woman's pocketbook sitting on coffee table in room in which she was arrested on narcotics charges was proper).

(Security Letters on attached pages)

9/15/70  
SAC LETTER 70-48

- 2 -

(B) NEW LEFT AND BLACK EXTREMIST TERRORISM - INFORMANT COVERAGE -- You have been advised in the past of the growing incidents of terroristic acts by the New Left and black extremists and the need for intensification of our investigations and development of new sources to combat these escalating problems.

However, a review of the New Left Movement - Violence airtels submitted monthly by each field office indicates generally that your informant coverage of terrorist organizations and individuals is grossly inadequate.

You are, therefore, instructed to immediately institute an aggressive policy of developing new productive informants who can infiltrate the ranks of terrorist organizations, their collectives, communes and staffs of their underground newspapers. The Bureau fully recognizes that the development of sources to penetrate these groups is made extremely difficult because of their immoral conduct and use of drugs. It calls for initiative and new approaches to develop the needed intelligence information.

Concerning black extremists, it is essential that quality informants are developed at a regular rate. These informants should be the type who can obtain advance information concerning planned acts of violence or who are in a position to furnish information concerning contemplated acts of violence.

You should include in Item 4 of your monthly airtel on "New Left - Violence; Internal Security - Miscellaneous (Weatherman)," as outlined in Bureau airtel to all offices May 13, 1970, constructive plans to implement the program outlined above concerning New Left terrorist organizations through informant development. Recommendations relating to the development of a specific source or plan of action should be submitted to the Bureau by separate communication.

9/15/70  
SAC LETTER 70-48

- 3 -

(C) SECURITY AND RACIAL INFORMANTS -- Never in our history have we been confronted with as critical a need for informant coverage. Terroristic violence surrounds us and more has been threatened. Bombings, assassination of police officers, kidnapping and murder are all part of the picture. Fanatics are at large who are at war with the Government and the American people. Particularly critical is the need for reliable information about the activities of violence-oriented youthful groups on campus.

As you are aware, you have been previously instructed not to use campus student informants under the age of 21. In view of current circumstances, you are authorized to develop student security and racial informants who are 18 years of age or older. This presents you with a tremendous opportunity to expand your coverage, which is expected. However, in no way are your obligations to exercise selectivity and tight control lessened in this most sensitive area.

Appropriate manual and handbook changes are forthcoming.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

9/15/70  
SAC LETTER 70-48

- 4 -

VIA TELETYPE  
APR 17 1970  
10:58 PM  
ENCIPHERED

CODE

TELETYPE

~~COMMUNICATIONS SECTION~~  
~~COMMUNICATIONS SECTION~~

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr 4/17/70

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

URGENT

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen

PERSONAL ATTENTION

TO ALL SAC'S

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446997-73)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE, IS - MISCELLANEOUS,

BUDED APRIL TWENTY NEXT.

RECENT BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS HAVE SET FORTH SPECIFIC AND DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF OUR INVESTIGATIONS AGAINST TERRORIST GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS. THE BUREAU IS CONSIDERING FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL INTENSIFICATION OF THESE INVESTIGATIONS. VERY BRIEFLY, THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC AREAS OF INVESTIGATION OF THESE MATTERS WILL BE CONSIDERED FOR INTENSIFICATION AND FOR ADEQUATE MANPOWER TO BE ASSIGNED TO FULLY IMPLEMENT THESE PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, PRIOR TO THIS THE BUREAU WISHES TO OBTAIN ESTIMATES AS TO ADDED AGENT MANPOWER AND INCIDENTAL COSTS INVOLVED.

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REC-7 100-446997-73

1. ALL WEATHERMAN INDIVIDUALS, AS WELL AS THOSE WHO ADHERE TO THE WEATHERMAN IDEOLOGY OF UTILIZING TERRORIST TACTICS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE REVOLUTION, MUST BE IDENTIFIED AND SUBJECTED TO INTENSIVE INVESTIGATION TO FULLY ESTABLISH THEIR ACTIVITIES AND PLANS.

1 - 100-439048

RLS:mst  
(70)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEE NOTE PAGE FIVE

APR 29 1970

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO ALL SAC'S  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

2. ALL WEATHERMAN AND OTHER VIOLENCE-ORIENTED COMMUNES MUST BE IDENTIFIED SO THE INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS CAN BE BROUGHT UNDER THE ABOVE DESCRIBED INVESTIGATIVE ATTENTION. LOCAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE APPRISED OF THEIR EXISTENCE AND THE THREAT THEY POSE TO THE COMMUNITY SO THAT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE IS BROUGHT TO BEAR TO BREAK THEM UP AS EFFECTIVE UNDERGROUND UNITS.

3. EVERY EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO DETERMINE THE ADVISABILITY OF UTILIZING SOPHISTICATED COVERAGE OF KNOWN VIOLENCE-ORIENTED COMMUNES AND APPROPRIATE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE TO THE BUREAU AS TO WHETHER SUCH COVERAGE IS WARRANTED TO DEVELOP ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF PLANNED TERRORIST ACTIVITY AND TO IDENTIFY OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS.

4. CAREFUL THOUGHT AND CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS TO CAUSE CONFUSION AMONG TERRORISTS AND BLUNT THEIR EFFECTIVENESS. SUGGESTIONS MUST BE FORWARDED TO THE BUREAU FOR APPROVAL PRIOR TO IMPLEMENTATION.

5. THE IMPORTANCE OF IN-DEPTH INFORMANT PENETRATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS CANNOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED. THIS MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THESE INVESTIGATIONS MUST BE GIVEN PRIORITY ATTENTION. IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THIS COVERAGE BE OBTAINED TO DEVELOP ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF PLANNED VIOLENCE AND ILLEGAL

TELETYPE TO ALL SAC'S  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

ACTIVITY SO THAT PREVENTATIVE MEASURES CAN BE TAKEN AND  
PROSECUTION SOUGHT WHERE POSSIBLE.

6. INFORMATION HAS BEEN DEVELOPED THAT WEATHERMAN  
EXTREMISTS ARE RECRUITING AMONG VENCEREMOS BRIGADE PERSONNEL.  
THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE IS A CHOICE RECRUITING GROUND FOR  
POTENTIAL TERRORISTS. WHERE INDICATIONS EXIST THAT INDIVIDUALS  
MAY HAVE BEEN RECRUITED INTO A TERRORIST GROUP, THEY SHOULD BE  
MADE THE SUBJECT OF INTENSIVE INVESTIGATION AS SET FORTH ABOVE.

IT IS RECOGNIZED THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE  
INTENSIFIED INVESTIGATIONS WILL REQUIRE MANPOWER AND OTHER  
COST EXPENDITURES ABOVE CURRENT LEVELS. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO  
PREPARE A COST ESTIMATE SURVEY OF KNOWN AND ANTICIPATED COSTS  
WHICH WOULD BE INCURRED IF THE ABOVE STEPS ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED.  
YOUR ANALYSIS SHOULD COVER THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC ITEMS, AND  
FIGURES SHOULD BE BASED ON PER MONTH ESTIMATES.

1. NUMBER OF MAN HOURS EXPECTED TO BE SPENT BROKEN  
DOWN AS TO REGULAR HOURS, OVERTIME HOURS, AND TOTAL MAN HOURS  
OF THE FOLLOWING EMPLOYEES (SEPARATE FIGURES FOR EACH CLASS  
OF EMPLOYEES SHOWN): SPECIAL AGENTS, CLERICAL EMPLOYEES.

2. EXPECTED TOTAL MILEAGE TO BE TRAVELED BY BUREAU  
CARS USED IN THESE INVESTIGATIONS. INCLUDE ANY ANTICIPATED USE  
OF PERSONALLY OWNED CARS.

3. ANY UNUSUAL OR OUT-OF-THE ORDINARY COSTS ANTICI-  
PATED, SUCH AS CHARTERING AIRPLANES, RENTAL OF SPECIAL OFFICE

TELETYPE TO ALL SAC'S  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

SPACE, LEASED TELEPHONE LINES, ETC. THESE SHOULD BE ITEMIZED.

4. PEAK NUMBER OF SPECIAL AGENTS EXPECTED TO BE ASSIGNED TO THESE INVESTIGATIONS AND THE NUMBER EXPECTED TO BE REGULARLY ASSIGNED TO IMPLEMENT THESE PROGRAMS.

YOU SHOULD INSURE YOUR ANALYSIS IS COMPREHENSIVE AND INCLUDES CORRELATIVE ASPECTS OF THESE INVESTIGATIONS.

FOR THE PURPOSES OF BUREAU INVESTIGATIONS, A COMMUNE IS DEFINED AS A GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS RESIDING IN ONE LOCATION WHO PRACTICE COMMUNAL LIVING, I.E., THEY SHARE INCOME AND EXPENSES AND ADHERE TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF A MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST-ORIENTED VIOLENT REVOLUTION.

A REBUTTABLE PRESUMPTION EXISTS THAT PERSONS HAVING A PAST HISTORY OF PARTICIPATION IN VIOLENT LEFTIST RADICAL ACTIVITY, OR LEFTIST TERRORIST ACTIVITY, LIVING IN A COMMUNAL RELATIONSHIP CONSTITUTES A COMMUNE WITHIN THE ABOVE DEFINITION.

WHEN INFORMATION IS RECEIVED BY AN OFFICE THAT INDICATES A COMMUNE EXISTS, FALLING WITHIN THE ABOVE DEFINITION, IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THAT OFFICE TO CONDUCT SUFFICIENT INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE THE IDENTITY OF ALL MEMBERS. EACH MEMBER MUST BE INVESTIGATED AS A SUSPECTED EXTREMIST WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER THEY SHOULD BE INCLUDED ON THE SECURITY INDEX. EVERY EFFORT MUST BE MADE BY THE OFFICE TO OBTAIN INFORMANT AND/OR SOPHISTICATED COVERAGE

TELETYPE TO ALL SAC'S  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

OF THE COMMUNE AND ITS PARTICIPANTS TO DEVELOP ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE  
-OF ANY PLANNED VIOLENCE SO THAT PREVENTATIVE ACTION CAN BE  
INITIATED AND PROSECUTIVE ACTION BROUGHT TO BEAR WHERE POSSIBLE.  
SUTEL RESULTS TO REACH THE BUREAU BY APRIL TWENTY NEXT.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan,  
dated 4/16/70, captioned as above, prepared by RLS:mst.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *B. C. Brennan*

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS (WEATHERMAN)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- DATE: May 11, 1970
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. Preusse

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

**PURPOSE:** To obtain approval for the attached airtel to all offices implementing intensification of our investigation of New Left terrorism within limits of available manpower.

**BACKGROUND:** Director previously approved implementation of intensified investigations of New Left terrorism with available manpower recognizing no additional manpower will be available until after July, 1971.

Attached C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan memorandum, 4/30/70, recommended implementation and Mr. Soyars' Addendum thereto opposed it until a determination was made at Seat of Government as to what programs the manpower would come from. The Director concurred with Mr. Soyars.

A previous field-wide survey disclosed 451 Agents regularly assigned and 741 for peak periods were necessary for full implementation. The recommendation (attached memorandum, 4/30/70) to implement intensification now with available manpower was made to cope with an immediate and accelerating problem. Implementation cannot be instantaneous, as to manpower needs, and it is anticipated manpower can be shifted to this work based on the judgment of individual Special Agents in Charge as to the essential work to be done in that office and priority need there for Agents to begin implementation of intensive investigations of New Left terrorism. It is also recognized considerable work reductions are to be made in other areas of work within the next 60 days to free additional Agents for this work.

Specifically, reductions or elimination of specific security programs should free 31 men. Letters to all Special Agents in Charge are being prepared along this line. Bureau teletype 4/29/70 stressed need for shift of personnel from "Old Left" to New Left where feasible, and this is being closely

Enclosures *sent 5-13-70*  
100-446997-73

WNP;RLS:mst

25 JUN 2 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

66 JUN 17 1970

JUN 3 1970

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

followed. Changes approved by the Executive Conference concerning handling of Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles (ITSMV) cases and Deserter matters should be in effect about 7/1/70, and should release about 216 Agents.

In addition, continuing scrutiny is being given all our operations to insure maximum utilization of manpower on essential work, and the Inspection Division, now in New York and later in Washington Field and other offices, will pursue this objective.

**OBSERVATIONS:** It is not believed we should delay implementation of these intensified investigations pending availability of 451 men. Implementation should begin, within limitations as described above, bearing in mind certain manpower shifts are available now with more forthcoming. The need for manpower adjustments between offices will be closely followed. As the rate of implementation increases, the field will in about 60 days be able to shift a considerable number of men to New Left terrorism investigations. An assessment of the manpower situation by office to reach the Bureau by 6/15/70 should give us a realistic view of the manpower situation at that time.

The tragic, violent aftermath of violence and destruction on our campuses following the President's speech on Cambodia is a clear warning of the impact of New Left terrorist philosophy and advocacy of street action. The ability of radical activists to seize a controversial issue and whip up violent reaction among large crowds is again demonstrated. The threat to the Nation's ability to function in a crisis situation posed by New Left extremists has never been more clearly drawn. This grave threat requires immediate and positive steps be taken to fulfill our responsibilities for protection of the internal security of the Nation. Implementation of our intensified investigations of New Left terrorism along the above lines within the limitations of available manpower is imperative.

**RECOMMENDATION:** The attached airtel to the field be approved to begin rapid implementation of intensified investigations of New Left terrorism, briefly indicating steps the Bureau is taking along the above lines to permit reassignment of manpower. It also instructs the field to submit by 6/15/70 an assessment of their manpower situation at that time.

MP

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*  
OK: *[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

WBS  
1/12

✓

Retyped page(s) 1, 2, 3, 4 of memo Airtel to SAC, ALB  
dated 5/7/70 re: NL M Violence

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

5/13/70

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. Preusse

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-446997-73)

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS (WEATHERMAN)  
BUDED 6/15/70

ReButel 4/17/70 sets forth six specific areas of investigation of New Left terrorism considered for intensification. Begin implementation of investigations of New Left terrorism promptly with available manpower and scale of implementation should be as rapid as possible.

For purpose of investigations of these individuals, New Left terrorist is described as one who adheres to Weatherman ideology of advocating a Marxist-Leninist revolution now and uses terroristic tactics in furtherance of revolution. Activist may or may not belong to an organization which adheres to this ideology. Using this definition, an arrest during course of a violent Weatherman action, such as "National Action" held in Chicago in October, 1969, gives reason for rebuttable presumption that arrested person is adherent to Weatherman ideology of violence and revolution described above. Mere denial of adherence to Weatherman ideology during interview would not be adequate rebuttal. Because of serious consequences to public safety involved, extensive and exhaustive investigation to positively disprove such adherence to Weatherman ideology must exist prior to closing any investigation.

MAILED 2  
MAY 14 1970  
COMM-FBI

REC-58

It will be especially important during this investigation to not only establish the potential dangerousness of all those following Weatherman ideology, but also their place of residence. Communal living follows Weatherman lifestyle and is good guide to individual's adherence to Weatherman ideology.

2 - All Offices

WNP:mst  
(129)

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

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

66 MAY 22 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

If individual resides in communal existence follow instructions concerning these investigations set forth in retel. Determine the source of income of these individuals. Valuable information may come from establishing close liaison with local police sources who have interest in these individuals because of their propensity for violence and increased use of narcotics.

Consider all individuals falling in categories noted for inclusion in Priority I of Security Index unless investigation dictates otherwise. Advise Bureau of your reasoning if not included. If individuals are already on Security Index, you must have established sources who can closely follow their current whereabouts. Advise Bureau by letter every 45 days of individuals in Priority I of Security Index, in these categories, of their current residence and any other pertinent information developed.

Consider all individuals defined previously for interview during investigation. Adhere to Bureau instructions concerning interviews of security subjects. Purpose of interviews is three-fold; to determine their cooperativeness with FBI, to possibly develop them as informants and to ascertain if they have any knowledge of Weatherman members currently wanted under the Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution warrants.

To facilitate handling at Bureau, all reports and other communications on individuals falling within defined categories will include the name Weatherman in the character whether or not he is a Weatherman member, e.g.: SM - SDS (Weatherman), SM - ANA (Weatherman) and SM - C (Weatherman). Bureau expects close cooperation among all offices, and while one office may be considered office of origin, any office with leads must handle same promptly and efficiently.

Bureau will not tolerate a lackadaisical approach to this matter. Potential propensity for violence by individuals adhering to violent tactics of Weatherman group makes it our responsibility to keep on top of situation. Agent personnel must be aware of possible criminal violations on part of these individuals and submit communications to Bureau under appropriate caption if warranted. If local warrants are issued on these individuals and facts are present, consider contacting local law enforcement agencies to determine if there is justification for FBI entering case under Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution statute.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - VIOLENCE  
100-446997-73

Due to escalating nature of New Left terrorism, submit original and two copies of monthly airtel beginning 6/1/70, setting forth: (1) identities and location of communes or organizations under investigation that adhere to Weatherman ideology (2) number of cases opened during month on individuals under categories previously mentioned (3) total number of cases on these individuals presently under investigation (4) informant coverage used against specific communes and organizations that fall within defined categories, and (5) brief summary of New Left oriented violence occurring in area during preceding month and action taken. Above instructions supersede those in Buairtel to selected offices, 3/12/70, under caption "Students for a Democratic Society (Weatherman), IS - SDS."

Problem of New Left violence and terrorism is serious one and is growing. We must handle it at this time with existing personnel complement of Bureau. As rapidly as possible begin shifting personnel to this work from other work areas, except for personnel specifically designated for organized crime work, with emphasis on accomplishing necessary objectives rather than desirable ones. Closely scrutinize work load fluctuations and changes in your office. To secure manpower a continuing study is being made at Bureau and by Inspection Staff to curtail work requirements and streamline. Refer to SAC Letter 70-25(B), 5/5/70. Major changes are contemplated around 7/1/70 in handling of ITSMV and Deserter matters to enable more significant diversion of manpower. Instructions will be forthcoming on this.

Bureau recognizes Agent personnel estimate sent in reply to Butel 4/17/70 is not binding and you are not required to build up to any specific estimated figure. Bureau is concerned primarily with getting vital aspects of intensification of these investigation accomplished.

Suairtel 6/15/70, under this caption advising degree of implementation achieved and number of Agents you have added to these matters.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 5/11/70, prepared by WNP:RLS:mst.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: STUDENT AGITATION  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

PURPOSE:

To obtain approval of attached airtel to all offices emphasizing the need to develop specific information about campus violence concerning movement of known agitators, funding, non-student status of agitators, communication links between campuses and identity of those arrested.

BACKGROUND:

In accordance with your instructions in line with specific directions of the Director, the field is being instructed to intensify efforts to develop more specific information along the above lines.

The need for developing this type of information, which could be used for possible prosecutive purposes, was the subject of a letter from the Internal Security Division of the Department dated 2/18/69, and forwarded to the field with appropriate instructions by letter to all Special Agents in Charge number 69-15, dated 3/4/69.

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the recent nation-wide, violent, campus-oriented disturbances involving numerous instances of arson and other terrorism, there is a clear need to remind the field of these existing instructions. It is essential, also, to alert the field to possible links between off-campus terrorists, such as Weatherman groups, and the extremely violent activity taking place on campuses in the recent past. Every effort must be made by the field to pinpoint causes of campus violence as to subversive individuals and groups being involved.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached airtel to all offices along the above lines be approved.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- DATE: May 14, 1970
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

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

*CB*  
*Shackelford*

*W.C. Sullivan*  
*Shackelford*

REC-18  
62-112228-816

REC 18

MAY 20 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

66 MAY 1970  
62-112228  
RLS:mst (6)

*JAS/OS*  
*W.C. Sullivan*  
*Shackelford*

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 5/15/70
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (62-112228)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

STUDENT AGITATION  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReSAClet 69-15, dated 3/4/69, captioned as above.

Enclosed Departmental letter to reSAClet detailed specific areas of interest to the Department in campus disorders, looking toward possible prosecutive action.

Because of extreme New Left oriented violence on campus at this time, it is imperative these instructions be reviewed by Agents handling these matters. Of particular importance is emergence of philosophy of violent Marxist-Leninist revolution now, typified by Weatherman group. It is imperative New Left extremist involvement in campus violence be pinpointed to bring prosecutive action to bear where possible. Also, agitational activities prior to and during violent campus disorders by subversive groups on campus must be fully determined and reported.

MAILED 15  
MAY 18 1970  
COMM-FBI

62-112228-1-201

Indications of coordinated agitational activity between campuses must be fully explored for evidence of planned conspiracy to commit violence and terrorism. Determining communication links between subversive campus groups, along conspiratory lines, is an essential part of these investigations and must be pursued. Use of campus radio transmitters for this purpose is known to have occurred. Indications of such should be promptly furnished Bureau so that Federal Communications Commission monitoring can be instituted concerning license of that transmitter. Offices should be alert to monitoring such transmitters during disturbances for intelligence information.

2 - All Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

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

RLS:mst  
(124)

54 MAY 25 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: STUDENT AGITATION  
62-112228

The Bureau has noted an increasing tendency toward loose reporting of campus disturbances along lines of news media accounts. You are to comply with existing instructions to identify organizing groups or individuals, include subversive background where available in reporting communications, and include organization primarily responsible in descriptive title. Mere reporting of numbers involved and action engaged in will not be tolerated. These matters must receive expeditious attention, and close supervision.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, dated 5/14/70, captioned as above, prepared by RLS:mst.



1 - Mr. D. P. White

8/20/70

1 - Mr. F. B. Griffith

1 - Miss Muir

1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse

Airtel

|                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| To: SACs, Albany | Milwaukee      |
| Atlanta          | Newark         |
| Baltimore        | New Orleans    |
| Boston           | New York       |
| Chicago          | Philadelphia   |
| Cleveland        | San Diego      |
| Detroit          | Seattle        |
| Houston          | San Francisco  |
| Jacksonville     | Salt Lake City |
| Los Angeles      | WFO            |

From: Director, FBI

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT  
KEY ACTIVISTS

In view of propensity for violence of those individuals designated as Key Activists and the fact that a number of them are currently Bureau fugitives, it is desired that recipient offices which are origin in all Key Activist cases at this time promptly submit to the Bureau under individual caption sufficient handwriting specimens of each Key Activist which will be placed in the National Security File maintained by the laboratory. If you do not have sufficient handwriting specimens to submit, appropriate investigation must be conducted to obtain such a specimen.

WNP:djr

MAILED 6 (45)  
AUG 20 1970  
COMM-FBI

EX-110

REC 83

19 AUG 21 1970

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

55 AUG 28 1970

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MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

# Memorandum

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

- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt

DATE: 9/3/70

- 1 - Training Division
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
(Route through for review)
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. R. Strain

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT AND BLACK EXTREMIST TERRORISM  
INFORMANT COVERAGE

PURPOSE:

To recommend that each office be instructed to develop new initiatives and programs in the development of sources to penetrate extremist groups including communes and their underground newspapers.

BACKGROUND:

By airtel 3/12/70 to all offices captioned "SDS (Weatherman), IS - SDS," the field was informed of the growing terroristic acts of extremist groups and the need to develop new informants to report on these organizations. On 5/13/70 an airtel was sent to all offices captioned "New Left Movement - Violence, IS - Miscellaneous (Weatherman)" which established a procedure whereby each office was to submit an airtel to the Bureau by the first of each month outlining five categories including the following information: (1) identities and location of communes or organizations under investigation that adhere to Weatherman ideology, (2) number of cases opened during month on individuals under categories previously mentioned, (3) total number of cases on these individuals presently under investigation (4) informant coverage used against specific communes and organizations that fall within defined categories, and (5) brief summary of New Left-oriented violence occurring in area during preceding month and action taken.

The recent terroristic acts by these groups indicate a need for new and imaginative steps in the development of its sources to be included in Item 4 of the monthly airtel outlined above.

Accordingly, each field office is being advised to initiate a program to develop these needed sources and to incorporate this information in their monthly airtel to enable the Bureau to carefully evaluate the field's progress and advise offices of the successful programs implemented by some of the field offices.

Enclosure sent 9-9-70  
60 SEP 11 1970  
RS:dir (9)

15 SEP 11 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

SEP 14 1970

OCT 2 1970

SEP 14 1970

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
RE: NEW LEFT AND BLACK EXTREMIST TERRORISM  
100-446997

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached SAC Letter be approved and sent.  
No Handbook or Manual changes necessary.

*MD*  
*cut/2/29*  
*AS*  
*John*  
*JAC*  
*He*  
*John*  
*Wied*  
*TR*  
*&*  
*OK*  
*2*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- DATE: March 12, 1970
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

PURPOSE:

To obtain authority for the attached airtel to the field requesting financial information concerning New Left groups.

BACKGROUND:

By memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, dated 11/7/69, the Director approved a letter to all offices pointing out the recurring allegations that various tax exempt charitable foundations have contributed large sums of money, directly or indirectly, to the Movement. It was also pointed out similar allegations recur concerning financial "angels." The field was instructed to be particularly alert to such allegations and any information developed along such lines should be promptly reported to the Bureau with recommendations as to whether additional investigation is warranted.

By letter dated 2/26/70, in response to a specific request, we furnished the White House with material concerning income sources of revolutionary groups. Such an inquiry is indicative of the high-level interest in the financial aspects of revolutionary activity.

Because of the sensitive nature of any direct intensive financial investigation of large foundations or funds, prominent wealthy individuals who limit their activities to financial support, or politically oriented groups such as the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, embarrassment to the Bureau would likely result. It must also be noted such financial support is so diverse as to frequently be in the form of furnishing bail money to persons jailed during disturbances, purchase of equipment,

Enclosure  
100-446997-70

RLS:mst  
(8)

EX-117

10 MAR 17 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

ENCLOSURE

58 MAR 1970

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES

and underwriting costs of large rallies or meetings. Such aid rarely would be picked up in our review of bank records of the organizations involved.

OBSERVATIONS:

In order to put these recurring allegations into perspective and be in position to be responsive to future high-level inquiries along this line, it would be desirable to obtain from the field a comprehensive survey of known instances of financial aid by foundations or funds, prominent or wealthy individuals, or politically oriented groups, at the same time it would be a propitious instance to reiterate the Bureau's interest in these matters on a continuing basis.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached airtel to the field be forwarded containing instructions along the above lines.

MS

CWT  
-102

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

V.

A

WBS

CS

*[Handwritten mark]*

1 - Mr. DeLoach

3/16/70

- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-446997-70)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES  
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
 BUDED 4/1/70

ReBulet dated 11/10/69.

The above referenced letter directed your attention to the need to develop information indicative of support of the New Left Movement by tax-exempt charitable foundations or financial "angels." Allegations of this type of support, as well as support by politically oriented groups such as the Vietnam Moratorium Committee to End the War in Vietnam continue to circulate.

MAILED 3  
 MAR 16 1970  
 COMM-FBI

Because of interest in the sources of funds of subversive and revolutionary groups exhibited by high officials of the Government it is essential to get the above allegations into proper perspective.

You are instructed to survey your files to determine any instances where financial support, including gifts of equipment or facilities, has been furnished to New Left groups or individuals by 1) tax-exempt charitable foundations or funds; 2) prominent or wealthy individuals, or other individuals who have contributed over \$1,000 in a single contribution; 3) politically oriented groups including unions. Such support would include and not be limited to, furnishing bail money to arrested demonstrators, furnishing printing equipment or office space, and underwriting the cost of conventions or rallies. Individuals and organizations listed should be documented where possible.

2 - All Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

EX-117

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

RLS:mst f283  
 (126)  
 MAR 20 1970

REC-89

100-446997-70-17

MAR 17 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - FINANCES  
100-446997-70

This survey is expected to be exhaustive and thorough. The results should be prepared in a letterhead memorandum under the caption of this communication. The deadline of 4/1/70 must be complied with.

The Bureau's continuing interest in the financial aspects of New Left Movement investigations, both organizations and individuals, is being reiterated. You should remain continually alert for information of this type and insure it is promptly reported to the Bureau under the above caption.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, dated 3/12/70, captioned as above, prepared by RLS:mst.

General

(C) NEW LEFT MOVEMENT - POLICE TRAINING MATTERS -- Recent developments involving violence caused by New Left terrorists have increased requests from the field for qualified speakers to appear before selected local law enforcement officials to discuss New Left extremism and violence. This subject matter was included in the 1969 Annual Law Enforcement Conferences and the presentations were highly successful. The Bureau, therefore, will consider requests from the field for Special Agents in Charge or, in their absence, Assistant Special Agents in Charge to brief local law enforcement command and supervisory personnel regarding New Left extremism and violence at law enforcement meetings and conferences where attendance is restricted to full-time, duly constituted law enforcement officers.

In such appearances, you should restrict your comments to information appearing in the document, "Youth in Rebellion," previously provided to each office, to information available to each office in its New Left quarterly reports, and to data provided by the Bureau.

Any briefings or speeches scheduled for local law enforcement officials regarding New Left extremism and violence should be reported in advance to the Bureau, utilizing Form FD-132, and your letter should clearly justify the desirability of the presentation and should stipulate that all in attendance will be full-time, duly constituted law enforcement personnel. Each such appearance will be examined closely to determine if it is justified and will be worthwhile.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

Enclosure for (A)

100-446717-  
NOT RECORDED  
OCT 22 1970

10-13-70  
SAC LETTER 70-57

- 2 -

WASH. FIELD

100-446717-5761  
NOT FILED IN



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 11/3/70

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse
- 1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd
- 1 - Mr. D. P. White
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Stilling

SUBJECT: SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND MILITANT NEW LEFT CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS

PURPOSE:

To obtain approval of attached airtel to all offices which instructs the field to initiate investigation of all members of the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) and procommunist New Left-type campus organizations.

BACKGROUND:

Memorandum dated 10/29/70 from the Executives Conference to Mr. Tolson recommended that investigation be initiated of individual members of the SDS and members of procommunist New Left campus organizations who follow SDS ideology. The recommendation was approved by the Director.

At the end of the 1969-70 academic year the factionalized SDS, with the exclusion of the Weatherman faction, had a membership of about 2,500 individuals. The procommunist New Left-type campus organizations have a membership of about 4,000. The purpose of the investigations of these individuals is to determine the propensity for violence by members of the above organizations. Attached is an airtel to all offices advising of investigation of all members of the SDS and militant New Left campus organizations.

In order that the Bureau remain aware of the number of such cases handled by the field, the field is being instructed to include figures as to cases opened and cases closed on the administrative pages of the quarterly New Left reports. No handbook or manual changes are necessary.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be approved and sent.

EX-106

REC-76

100-437047-3463

Enclosure

61 NOV 00 489048

RJS:jlm

(11) 50 NOV 11 1970

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - ~~Mr.~~ 4/70 M. Felt

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse
- 1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd
- 1 - Mr. D. P. White
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Stilling

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

**SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS  
WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND MILITANT NEW  
LEFT CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS**

Effective immediately, the field is instructed to initiate investigation of all members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and members of procommunist, militant New Left-type campus organizations who follow SDS advocacy of revolution and violence.

EX-103 REC-47 100-439048-348

Members of the SDS to be investigated should include all members of the various factions of the organization. The Bureau is aware that many SDS chapters are unstructured, and formal membership is not a requisite for participating in SDS activity. As you are aware, SDS and other similar subversive campus-oriented groups are clearly symbolic of violence and Marxist-Leninist revolution on the Nation's campuses. As their intent has crystallized, the adherence to this philosophy of revolution and violence is, of necessity, more inherent among members and followers. These groups undoubtedly are the breeding ground for revolutionaries, extremists and terrorists. Logic and good judgment should be used in these investigations, bearing in mind the objective is to identify potential and actual extremists, revolutionaries and terrorists and to assess their threat to the internal security of the Government.

9 NOV 10 1970

Each office should include on the administrative pages of future quarterly New Left Movement reports information as to the number of individual cases opened and the number of individual cases closed in this category during the pertinent period of the New Left Movement reports.

2 - All Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RJS:jlm  
NOV 12 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Albany

Re: Security Investigations of Individuals  
Who are Members of the Students for a  
Democratic Society and Militant New  
Left Campus Organizations

100-439048

Each individual investigated should be considered for inclusion on the Security Index. In the event your investigation establishes that the subject meets the criteria, his name should be recommended for inclusion on the Security Index.

NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. R. L. Shackelford to Mr. C. D. Brennan, dated 11/3/70, captioned as above, prepared by RJS:jlm.

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 4

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins

SAC, Albany

7/31/75

Director, FBI (157-23582)

1 - Each Assistant Director

EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM (EPA)

EXTREMIST MATTERS

1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall

A recent survey has been conducted to evaluate captioned Album. The field's response, while not unanimous, heavily favored the continuance of the EPA. The feeling was expressed that the Album, although being used less frequently now than in the past, still warrants continuance.

Manual of Instructions, Section 122a, page 4, sets out the purpose of the EPA as an "aid in identifying individuals in extremist field who travel or are likely to travel extensively." Accordingly, the Album should be limited to those who have a proclivity to travel as well as available funds to make such travel possible. All offices should review all subjects that each is responsible for including in the EPA to insure valid reasons continue to exist for such inclusion. At the same time, also insure current photographs and descriptive data are included.

Notify the Bureau of subjects warranting deletion from the EPA and submit FD-432a after Bureau approval of each deletion.

2 - All Offices  
2 - Brasilia  
2 - Mexico City  
2 - Paris

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route Through for Review)

GTF:eks (144)

NOTE: See memorandum J. G. Deegan to Mr. W. R. Wannall dated 7/29/75, captioned "Extremist Photograph Album (EPA); Extremist Matters," prepared by GTF:eks.

- 1 - Mr. W. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins

Mr. W. R. Wannall

7/29/75

J. G. Deegan

- 1 - Each Assistant Director
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 --Mr. G. T. Tunstall

EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM (EPA)  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

This is to advise of results of field-wide survey regarding captioned Album and to receive approval for submission of attached letter to all offices and three Legal Attaches (Legats). Attached letter instructs that captioned Album is being continued but that all offices should carefully review all subjects included in the EPA to insure that each qualifies for inclusion thereon.

EPA was implemented in 1971 to aid field offices and Legats in identifying Indian, black and white-hate extremists and extremist informants who travel on behalf of their organizations. EPA has been utilized successfully in the past in identifying and apprehending Bureau fugitives and has assisted in the expeditious handling of leads where photographs and background data were immediately necessary.

Each office has recently been asked to evaluate current utilization of the EPA and to furnish results of its evaluation along with recommendations for continuance of the EPA. The field's response, while not unanimous, heavily favored continuance and indicates that the Album, although being used less frequently now than in the past, still warrants utilization. Several offices indicated that individuals included on EPA should be limited to those who have a proclivity to travel as well as available funds to make such travel possible. While this was originally a requirement for inclusion on EPA, the status of many individuals

Enclosure

- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route Through for Review)

GIT:eks  
(20)

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Extremist Photograph Album (EPA)

has changed. Accordingly, all offices are being instructed to review and update subjects included on the EPA, excluding those who no longer fit the above qualifications.

Distribution of the EPA is currently limited to field offices, [U. S. Secret Service, [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] and Legats. Brasilia, Mexico City and Paris.

ACTION:

That the attached letter, if approved, be sent to the field offices and Legats.

- 1 - Mr. N. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Each Assistant Director

SAC, Albany

5/6/75

Director, FBI (157-23582)

- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall

**EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM (EPA)**  
**EXTREMIST MATTERS**  
**(BUDED 6/2/75)**

Captioned program was implemented to aid field offices and Legats in identifying Indian, black and white-hate extremists, extremists who were fugitives in Bureau criminal cases, and extremist informants who traveled on behalf of their organizations. The EPA has been utilized successfully in the past in identifying and apprehending Bureau fugitives and has assisted in the expeditious handling of leads where photograph and background information were necessary.

FBIHQ desires that a study of current field usage of the EPA be made at this time. Each field office is requested to evaluate the current utilization of the EPA and to furnish results of its evaluation and recommendations for continuance by airtel to reach FBIHQ by BUDED.

- 2 - All Offices
- 2 - Brasilia
- 2 - Mexico City
- 2 - Paris
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route Through for Review)

MAY 13 1975

MAILED 4  
MAY 8 1975  
FBI

- Assoc. Dir. GTT:eks
- Dep. AD Adm. (144)
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. NOTE:
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Photographs and biographical data of extremists, fugitives and informants who travel extensively are contained in the EPA. The EPA was instituted in 10/71 and maintained

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2



Letter to Albany  
Re: Extremist Photograph Album (EPA)  
157-23582

NOTE CONTINUED:

in all field offices and Legats, [the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), United States Secret Service (USSS), and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)]. Currently, other than field offices, only three Legats, [USSS and RCMP] currently possess the EPA. It has been used in conjunction with several other programs, such as the Key Extremist Program, Extremist Bureau Fugitive List and Computerized Telephone Number File. These Programs were discontinued after all field offices were surveyed and evaluations made that further continuance was not warranted. The EPA is kept pending and accurate by a yearly review of the subjects maintained in it, while additions, deletions or changes are transmitted regularly by FD-432. In order to determine if the EPA is of value to the field, a canvass is being made to evaluate and furnish recommendations in this regard.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*WAC*

Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inspection ✓ *2/21*  
 Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Training \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cong. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Corr. & Crm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Research \_\_\_\_\_  
 Press Off. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *ml*

DATE: 7/19/73

FROM : G. C. Moore *CCM/SEP*

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*per Moore*

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that a copy of the Extremist Photograph Album (EPA) be furnished to [U. S. Secret Service.]

*pl*

Through liaison with the Intelligence Division the [Secret Service] verbally requested a copy of the EPA.

To date the EPA has been furnished to all field divisions, 13 of the 20 Legal Attaches, [Central Intelligence Agency, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.]

If approved, a copy of the EPA will be reproduced and forwarded to [U. S. Secret Service] through liaison and appropriate Manual changes will be made.

RECOMMENDATION: ST-102

REC-8 157-23582-521

A copy of the EPA be furnished to [Secret Service] AUG 2 1973

*gmc*

*Em/uew*

*RWH  
RE*

157-23582-  
RWH:aso (3)

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. W. Held

*509*

59 AUG 9 1973

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *ESM*

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore *GCM/USA*

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
ANNUAL REVIEW  
EXTREMIST MATTERS  
#686-112

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

DATE: 3/30/72

- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. W. H. Atkinson
- 1 - Mr. W. E. Burrows
- 1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Waikart \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Campbell

Purpose of this memorandum is to: 1) Secure approval of a letter to all offices and certain Legal Attaches instructing them to make appropriate review of Extremist Photograph Album (EPA) to insure contents current and accurate; and 2) To secure approval for a similar review on an annual basis hereafter.

EPA contains photograph and biographical data for over 550 black and white-hate extremists, black extremists who are fugitives in Bureau criminal cases and extremist informants who travel on behalf of extremist organizations with which they are affiliated.

EPA has proved to be an extremely effective investigative aid in covering travels of extremists within the U.S. and abroad. Each field office and 12 of our Legal Attaches maintain EPA.

There are constant additions to and deletions from the EPA; therefore, it is deemed advisable at this time, and annually hereafter, to review the EPA to insure its contents are current and accurate.

Attached letter lists alphabetically the names of individuals included in EPA, office of origin, and office of origin file number. Letter instructs: 1) Each office to verify that list contains all names of individuals from their office who are currently included in EPA and that individual's name, office of origin and file number are correctly set forth. 2) Additions, deletions, and changes in office of origin or file number should be brought to the attention of the Bureau within 45 days. 3) Information included on FD-432 (form containing individual's photograph and biographical data) for all individuals included in EPA from office to be verified as current and complete.

REC-2/57-23582-86

Enclosure *sent 3-31-72*

157-23582

HEH:at *at*  
(11)

7 APR 10 1972

*51 Helgeson*

CONTINUED - OVER

*Dist'd you  
Every 2 weeks  
for black  
copy*

51 APR 12 1972

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Photograph Album  
Annual Review  
157-23582

After receipt of any required changes, the changes will be furnished to all offices by Bureau and at that time the final list can be compared with each office's EPA to insure it is complete.

ACTION:

1. That attached letter to all offices in line with above be approved.

2. That a similar review be done in March, 1973, and annually thereafter.

HEH  
GC/M/NA  
DEM

OK  
EM  
AM you & Ros

DJD  
AM

~~PSO~~  
~~JJA~~

airtel

- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 10/14/71

To: SAC, Albany

- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Patterson

REC-60  
EX-104  
From: Director, FBI

157 - 23582

EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

The name of the Black Nationalist Photograph Album is being changed to the Extremist Photograph Album as it is being expanded to include extremists in Klan and similar white extremist groups who come within the criteria as set forth in Section 122C, Manual of Instructions.

Revised form FD-432 will be forwarded and, on receipt, the original and five copies of the completed form is to be submitted on individuals in Klan and similar white extremist groups meeting the criteria for inclusion.

Appropriate Manual changes being made.

- 2 - All Offices
- 2 - Paris
- 2 - Ottawa
- 2 - Mexico City
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Desk (Route through for review)
- 1 - 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement, Black Nationalist Photograph Album)

WCP:cal  
(137)

~~OCT 21 1971~~

Unlabeled COPIES FILED IN

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 10/13/71, captioned as above, prepared by WCP:cal.

MJM  
MST  
RecB

MAILED 12  
OCT 15 1971  
FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_

REC'D - 30224  
OCT 15 1971  
EM  
DEM  
R  
5-wcp

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

FROM : ~~C. C. Moore~~ *CCM*

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS  
#293-42

- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

DATE: 10/13/71

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. G. A. Day
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore *3*
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Patterson

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop *EM*
- Miller *EM*
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that the Black Nationalist Photograph Album (BNPA) be renamed the Extremist Photograph Album and that it be expanded to include extremist individuals in Klan and similar white extremist groups meeting criteria for inclusion. It is also recommended the attached airtel be sent all offices and Legal Attaches (Legats), Paris, Ottawa, and Mexico City, advising them of changes.

The BNPA is available to all offices, Legats, Paris, Ottawa, and Mexico City, Central Intelligence Agency, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Currently it includes a photograph, biographical data and, where appropriate, confirmed felony convictions of individuals who are militant black nationalists, leaders but not necessarily limited to black extremist groups, black extremists who are fugitives in Bureau criminal cases and extremist informants who travel in behalf of their respective extremist organizations. Approximately 484 names are included in the BNPA.

The BNPA has been a valuable investigative aid in our investigations of black extremists who travel by making available photographs and background data. Inclusion of extremist individual in the Klan and similar white extremist groups who come within the above criteria for inclusion in the BNPA would prove equally valuable. It is estimated that approximately 25 to 30 individuals connected with Klan and similar white extremist groups will be added as result of the above.

If approved, appropriate Manual changes will be made and form-FD-432 will be revised for submission of data in connection with the BNPA.

Enclosure *sent 10-14-71*

1 - 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement, Black Nationalist Photograph Album)

2 OCT 27 1971

WCP:cal  
(13) *cal*

CONTINUED - OVER

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

*EM* *W.C. Moore*

*DeHaven*

EX-104  
REC-60  
157-23582-1

*1/30/72 copy 11/7/72*

*W.C. Patterson*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Photograph Album

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached airtel will be sent to all offices and to Legats, Paris, Ottawa, and Mexico City, informing them in line with above.

WCP

DEM  
EM GCM  
R DS JS JAM  
WBS JJE  
GK  
J  
RES

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
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- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten initials]*

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/8/70

FROM : G. C. Moore *[Handwritten initials]*

*General*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach *[Handwritten mark]*
- 1 - Mr. Mohr *[Handwritten mark]*
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan *[Handwritten mark]*
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Fulton

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
RACIAL MATTERS

*GC Moore*

*[Handwritten initials]*

To recommend the approval of the attached SAC Letter consolidating existing instructions to the field concerning the Black Nationalist Photograph Album (BNPA) and to add this data to the Manual of Instructions.

The BNPA was approved and established in March, 1968, and consists of a photograph and biographical data of individuals in the racial field who travel or are likely to travel extensively. It has repeatedly proven to be an extremely valuable aid to any office in which a black extremist from another area travels. Experience indicates that these extremists travel extensively and with the BNPA an office covering the travel has a photograph and background of the individual immediately available.

EX-115 REC-6 157-2415-318

Included in the album are militant black nationalists, leaders of black extremist organizations, black extremists who are Bureau fugitives, and our racial informants who travel on behalf of their respective extremist organization. A separate form is prepared on such individuals by each office and furnished to the Bureau and all offices, where a complete album is maintained. To cover foreign travel, the album is also furnished to the Legal Attaches, Ottawa and Mexico City, and to the [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] and the [Central Intelligence Agency]

JUN 17 1970

Various requirements regarding the BNPA have been approved and sent out on several separate occasions and it is believed all requirements should now be consolidated in a single communication which is done in the attached SAC Letter. Also attached are inserts for inclusion of BNPA information in the Manual of Instructions.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosures *6-11-70*

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
CONTINUED - OVER

157-8415

*[Handwritten signature]*  
XEROX  
JUN 18 1970

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 65-1154-



Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
157-8415

ACTION:

That the attached SAC Letter consolidating the requirements for the BNPA be sent and that the data concerning the BNPA be included in the Manual of Instructions.

*W*  
*JAS/gar*

*F*  
*WEL*

*S*

*WBS*

*W*

*WSTH*

*[Large signature]*  
*[Signature]*

*OK*  
*[Signature]*

June 8, 1970

PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE  
MANUAL OF INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Fulton

Part IV, Section 122, Racial Matters

Insert as a new item number 5 under Section 122C, Black Nationalist Investigations, on page 17:

5. Black Nationalist Photograph Album (BNPA)

a. Purpose

Album maintained at each field office as an aid for identification purposes of individuals in the racial field who travel or are likely to travel extensively.

b. Individuals to be included

Militant black nationalists, leaders of black extremist groups, black extremists who are fugitives in Bureau criminal cases, and our racial informants who travel on behalf of their respective extremist organizations.

c. Information to be included in BNPA

Photograph and biographical sketch, five copies to the Bureau and one copy to each office by letter under the caption "Black Nationalist Movement, Black Nationalist Photograph Album, Racial Matters." Biographical sketch to include descriptive data, brief resume of extremist activity or position, fingerprint classification, and statement, if appropriate, that individual is a convicted felon.

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ABF:bjr  
(10)

JAS/gc Geo/AC F

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

157-8415-314  
JPM

WBS  
4.7

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE  
MANUAL OF INSTRUCTIONS

d. Fugitives

Biographical sketch of a black extremist who is a Bureau fugitive should not be marked "fugitive" since album is for identification purposes only and is not to be used as a basis for fugitive arrests.

NOTE:

The above addition was approved by memorandum from G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 6/8/70, captioned "Black Nationalist Movement, Black Nationalist Photograph Album, Racial Matters," prepared by ABF:bjr. 314

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: June 11, 1969

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
RACIAL MATTERS

This is to recommend furnishing copies of photographs and background information concerning black extremists in the United States to **[MI-5]**.

The Black Nationalist Photograph Album contains photographs and background data concerning leading black extremists in the United States. Each of our field offices and the Legats at Ottawa, Canada, and Mexico City, have copies of the album.

A black power conference is scheduled at **[Bermuda]** in July, 1969, and **[MI-5]** has requested photographs of black extremists who might be expected to attend. Photographs and descriptive data will assist **[MI-5]** in identifying extremist individuals who appear for the conference, thus enabling them to furnish us information concerning the travel of these extremists to **[Bermuda]**.

ACTION:

If you agree, a copy of the Black Nationalist Photograph Album will be furnished through the Liaison Section to **[MI-5]**.

CAP:mst  
(7) *mst*

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton
- 1 - Mr. C. A. Parkis

REC 83

15 JUN 23 1969

*Black Nationalist Photograph Album*

*WCS*  
*GC*  
*J. Edgar Hoover*  
*Trotter*  
*Felt*

*5-5787*

*OK*  
*WEL*  
*AK*  
*nm*  
*LD*

*done*  
*6/16/69*

*JUN 27 1969*

SAC, Albany

1-17-69

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. S.J. Papich
- 1 - Mr. J.G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

MOVEMENT

BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
RACIAL MATTERS

Bureau letter 3-11-68 instructed that a Black Nationalist Photograph Album be maintained in each Bureau office. Although the original instructions were to include the photographs of subjects known to travel, it now appears logical to include the photographs of the principal leaders of any black extremist organization, as experience has shown that they can be expected to travel also.

The inclusion of photographs of racial informants, particularly those in the Black Panther Party, should be considered as the availability of such photographs could simplify investigations when the informants travel outside their own divisions. Those informants who have traveled for their respective black extremist organizations, or who are likely to do so, should be included. These photographs and their descriptions should be handled just as those of any other subject and they should not be distinguished in any way.

The availability of these photographs has proved to be an excellent investigative aid and greatly simplifies the handling of leads by auxiliary offices. Each office should review the matter at this time to determine if other subjects or informants should be included.

For your information, a set of the photographs in the Album has been furnished to the [Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)] to the [Central Intelligence Agency] and to the Legal Attaches at Ottawa and Mexico City. The [RCMP] has begun furnishing photographs of its racial matters subjects for inclusion in the Album.

- 2 - All Offices
- 1 - Legat, Ottawa
- 1 - Legat, Mexico City

RMH:sfw  
(11)

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, same caption, dated 1-15-69, prepared by RMH:sfw.

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 2  
JAN 23 1969  
COMM-FBI

REC-125  
157-8415-181  
19 JAN 24 1969

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: January 15, 1969

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore *GC*

- 1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. S.J. Papich
- 1 - Mr. J.G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

SUBJECT: *0*  
BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
RACIAL MATTERS

The attached letter to all offices requests each office to consider including additional subjects in the Black Nationalist Photograph Album and to consider inclusion of the photographs of informants who travel or may be expected to travel between field divisions in behalf of their black extremist groups.

Bureau letter 3-11-68 instructed each office to prepare a Black Nationalist Photograph Album and to include photographs of subjects who are known to travel. Each field division is furnished a copy of every photograph and the entire Album is thus available to each office. Instructions to set up the Album were made on the recommendations of Agents handling racial matters in the field.

The existence of this Album has proved to be extremely helpful. For example, photographs of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Bureau fugitive and Black Panther Party official, were already in the possession of every field office when efforts were first made to locate him. A set of the photographs has been furnished to the [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] to the [Central Intelligence Agency] and to the Legal Attaches in Ottawa and Mexico City, to facilitate the handling of leads outside the United States.

Inclusion in the Album of principal leaders of each black extremist group, as well as those who are known to travel, and the inclusion of selected racial informants would extend the usefulness of the Album.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached letter should be sent to all offices in line with the above.

Enclosure *sent 1/19-69*

RMH:sfw  
(7)

54 JAN 31 1969

REC-50

EX-103

57-8415-182

JAN 24 1969

SAC, Albany

8/26/68

Director, FBI (157-8415)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
 RACIAL MATTERS

*FD-205-MRM - 8/20/68  
 rept-wla - 8/9/68  
 @65*

*Jas*

ReBulet to Albany dated 3/11/68 concerning the preparation of a photograph album to include photographs of black extremists who are known to travel extensively.

*U*

In the future five copies of each photograph should be submitted to the Bureau to provide for additional dissemination to the Legal Attaches, Mexico City and Ottawa, and to the [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] and the [Central Intelligence Agency].

2 - All Offices

REC 46

*157-8415-139*

RMH:lmr/  
 (123) *ml*

*FD-205-Ny - 8/22/68  
 rept-wla - 8/17/68  
 @65*

19 AUG 27 1968

NOTE:

See Memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan dated 8/22/68, captioned as above, prepared by RMH:lmr.

MAILED 2  
 AUG 26 1968  
 COMM-FBI

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

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

*WEL* ✓  
*Jas*  
*RMH*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: 8/22/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *gc*

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - *CENTRAL*  
PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM  
RACIAL MATTERS

*BB*

The field is being requested to submit additional copies of the photographs of black extremists for inclusion in the Black Nationalist Photograph Album which was approved by memorandum dated 3/8/68 from Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. Sullivan.

In view of the close connection between the black extremist movement in Canada and that of the United States, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has been told that it will be furnished pertinent reports and photographs for use in investigations of mutual interest. The Central Intelligence Agency has also requested photographs of principal black extremists for use by its representatives in Mexico City. It is felt that the Legats at Mexico City and Ottawa should also have these photographs for use in the event they are called upon to take action regarding black extremists who travel to Mexico or Canada.

At the present time one copy of each photograph is submitted to the Bureau.

ACTION:

*EX-102*  
REC 6 157-5415-138

If approved, the attached letter will be sent to all offices requesting the submission of four additional copies of the photograph of each black extremist being included in the Black Nationalist Movement Photograph Album.

- Enclosure *sent*
- RMH:lmr *(5) 8-29-68*
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

*✓*

22 AUG 26 1968

*W.C.*

*PK*

*INTELL. SECT.*





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Sullivan *WCS/1000*

DATE: March 8, 1968 *WCS*

FROM : G. C. Moore *WCS*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. Rushing

SUBJECT: SPECIAL BLACK NATIONALIST CONFERENCES  
FEBRUARY 29, MARCH 1, AND MARCH 4-5, 1968

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
PREPARATION OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - BLACK NATIONALIST

*G. C. Moore*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-561-71

The recently completed special black nationalist conferences which ended 3/5/68 took cognizance of the fact that many militant black nationalists travel extensively throughout the country and appear publicly at various events, conferences, and other meetings.

The conference felt that the distribution field-wide of a photographic album of those militant black nationalists would be most helpful for identification purposes should one of these individuals show up in a particular field office territory. It is estimated that this album would not exceed 50 individuals, all prominent in various black nationalist movements.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the field be instructed to prepare such an album. If you agree, there is attached a letter to all offices containing appropriate instructions.

Enclosure

EX-114 *WCS*

~~1-43~~ 1-6617-

1 - 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement)

TDR:fhd (9) *fhd*

REC-30

*WCS*  
1-6617-561

MAR 21 1968

~~68 APR 1 1968~~

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 5

SSC requests 8/20/75, Part III, Item 5.

The policy of dissemination of the Racial Calendar to the field was discontinued by FBIHQ without notification to the field of discontinuance. Memorandum or other materials approving this discontinuance cannot be located in the file.

For Retention

B

Mr. Sullivan

3/13/68

G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Moore, G. C.
- 1 - Mr. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. Rushing

SPECIAL BLACK NATIONALIST CONFERENCES  
FEBRUARY 29, MARCH 1, AND MARCH 4-5, 1968

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
IN THE UNITED STATES

The recently-held racial intelligence conference noted the fact that various black nationalist organizations frequently call conferences or conventions of various types, some on a regional and some on a national basis. Some conferences are called for the purpose of forming new organizations such as is the case in Detroit at the present time where black nationalist leaders in that city have called for a national conference in late March of this year for the purpose of forming a Malcolm X society in honor of the late Malcolm X Little, the militant black nationalist leader who was killed in 1965.

The conference recommended that, based on submissions from the field, the Bureau prepare and furnish all offices on a monthly basis a calendar of scheduled racial events throughout the country which are more than local in nature. The conference felt that this would be beneficial in field coverage of these events, noting the widespread travel on the part of some black nationalists in attendance at various conferences.

It is believed that this suggestion is entirely feasible, that in the Racial Intelligence Section we can correlate this matter on the basis of information contained in regular correspondence from the field, and that it can be furnished all offices on an economical and timely basis.

①- 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement)

TDR:fhd (9)

CONTINUED - OVER

157-8415-

NOT RECORDED

176 MAR 28 1968

70 APR 3 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 1-6617-566

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

RE: SPECIAL BLACK NATIONALIST CONFERENCES  
FEBRUARY 29, MARCH 1, AND MARCH 4-5, 1968

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
IN THE UNITED STATES

1-43

It should result in a savings, in that undoubtedly, intraoffice communications could be considerably reduced, thus resulting in a savings in Agent and stenographic time in the field.

ACTION:

If you agree, we will begin the preparation of a racial calendar of coming events and furnish it to all offices on a monthly basis. No communication to the field is necessary at this time and the field will be advised of the implementation of this practice when the first calendar is issued. Thereafter, the matter can be handled by routing slip rather than formal communication.

JK  
H

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 3/27/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *Gen*

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN  
THE UNITED STATES

*enclosure*

*0*

*1-Gen. 69*

My memorandum of March 13, 1968, recommended that based on submissions from the field the Bureau prepare and furnish all offices on a monthly basis a calendar of scheduled racial events throughout the country which are more than local in nature. It was felt that this would be beneficial in field coverage noting the widespread travel on the part of some black nationalists in attendance at various conferences. This recommendation was approved by the Director.

The attached letter advises the field of this procedure and encloses a copy of a racial calendar covering the period March 30 through April, 1968, and including the National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality scheduled for July 4, 1968. It is proposed that future calendars be forwarded by routing slip.

ACTION:

If you agree, there is attached a proposed letter to Albany, copies to all continental offices, with attached racial calendar.

Enclosures *sent*  
*3-27-68*

157-8415

TDR:fhd (6)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Rushing

REC 29

157-8415-579

EX-116

14 APR 8 1968

*5, Rushing*  
*F. Trotter*





SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 6

- 1 - Mr. J. J. McDermott
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

November 13, 1974

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. T. FitzPatrick

NATION OF ISLAM - GENERAL  
EXTREMIST MATTER

Reference is made to your memoranda dated May 16, 1974, and July 11, 1974, which requested continued investigation of the Nation of Islam (NOI) on the basis that its reported activities appear to come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450; may involve potential violations of Title 18, United States Code, Sections 2101 and 2102 (Riots); and represent a potential threat to the public safety due to the violence proclivity of certain NOI members.

In line with the above basis for investigation, this Bureau has carefully evaluated its investigative criteria for conducting any active investigation on individual NOI members. In this regard, an analysis of our investigative experience with the NOI reveals the significant leaders in this organization consist of the male national leaders operating primarily out of NOI headquarters at Chicago, Illinois, and the Minister, Secretary, and Captain of the militant, all-male Fruit of Islam (FOI) segment of each NOI mosque throughout the United States. An analysis of 37 acts of violence over the past two years, in which 59 individuals with some present or recent NOI affiliation or association have been identified as suspects, subjects or participants, reveals all were males, and almost 95 percent were ages 18 to 36. These violent incidents consisted of actions against rival Muslim groups or other suspected adversaries; NOI internal disputes and/or difficulties with former or dissident members; and encounters with police officials.

MAILED 3  
NOV 14 1974  
A-FBI

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

25-330971  
NOV 13 11 02 AM '74  
REC-48  
25-330971  
FEB 19 1975  
NOV 15 1974  
SEE NOTE PAGE THREE  
MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

Considering the above, as well as related criminal and violent aspects of NOI membership, this Bureau has established the following individual investigative criteria regarding NOI members:

- (1) Full investigation is conducted on all male national officers; and the Minister, Secretary, and Captain of the FOI, in each NOI mosque. (These investigations are closed if subject of same ceases extremist activity and/or is determined not to possess a propensity for violence and is not involved in violation of any Federal law within FBI jurisdiction.)
- (2) Limited preliminary inquiries, for the primary purpose of determining propensity for violence, are conducted on all current male members, ages 18 to 36.

Limited preliminary inquiries consist only of ascertaining the member's true name, identifying data, residence, employment and propensity for violence. This information is to be obtained through established sources.

If a limited preliminary inquiry reveals a member has a propensity for violence, full investigation is subsequently conducted.

We will continue to advise you if investigation of the NOI reveals a reassessment is necessary as to the basis for same, or if any substantial policy change is instituted by this Bureau as pertains to investigating individual NOI members.

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

NOTE:

J. G. Deegan to W. R. Wannall memorandum 10/29/74, captioned as above, obtained approval for new investigative policy for NOI members. The field was advised of this policy by airtel to all offices 11/8/74, appended as an enclosure to 10/29/74 memorandum. Prior to approval of new policy in above-mentioned memorandum of 10/29/74, preliminary inquiries were conducted on all male members. Our new policy will result in an overall reduction of individual cases opened for investigation in the field.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

TO: Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: July 11, 1974

FROM: Henry E. Petersen  
Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Nation of Islam  
Extremist Matter

*General*

*T. J. [unclear]  
g. [unclear]  
Shelly [unclear]  
A. [unclear]*

Reference is made to my memorandum of May 16, 1974 providing you with our opinion that investigation by the FBI of the Nation of Islam (NOI) should continue. In the interim we have had an opportunity to further consider whether the NOI's activities appear to violate certain statutes such as Title 18, United States Code, Sections 231, 233 (Civil Disorders); 241, 245 (Conspiracy to Deprive and Deprivation of Civil Rights); and 2101 and 2102 (Riots).

In my May 16 memorandum, I informed you that I considered it inadvisable to base continued investigation of the NOI on Executive Order 10450 until the question of the continuation of the Attorney General's list was resolved. On June 4, 1974, the President signed Executive Order 11785, which abolished the list and prohibited its use by any agency of the Government. However, Section 8(a)(5) of Executive Order 10450, as revised by Executive Order 11785, requires that investigations conducted pursuant to Executive Order 10450 shall relate to, inter alia, knowing membership in any organization which unlawfully advocates or practices the commission of acts of force or violence to prevent others from exercising their rights under the Constitution or laws of the United States. Therefore, despite the abolition of the list because FBI reports indicate that NOI may have engaged in activities which deprive citizens of constitutional rights, it would still come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450.

The Civil Rights Division has advised that it has received no information on which to conclude that the NOI has violated any of the statutes within its jurisdiction (18 U.S.C. §§ 241 and 245), and is unable to express any view as

*Home to Mr. [unclear] with letter to [unclear] 7/18/74*

**REC'D - DEPT. OF JUSTICE**

*ALL 1974*  
*7-11-74*

to whether the continued investigation of the NOI is appropriate. However, the General Crimes Section of this Division has recommended continued investigation for the reasons set forth in my May 16 memorandum and on the basis of potential violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 2101 and 2102 (Riots).

Accordingly, continued investigation of this group is warranted because its reported activities appear to come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450, may involve potential violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 2101 and 2102 (Riots) and, finally, represent a potential threat to the public safety as described in my May 16, 1974 memorandum.

As I have previously indicated, you should consult further with the Department to reassess the basis for continuing the investigation if information is developed that the NOI has changed its tactics and objectives and has assumed an attitude of non-violence.

## Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/20/74

By memorandum 7/28/66, the Internal Security Division of the Department requested investigation of Nation of Islam, a black separatist group, continue and the Department be furnished investigative results for examination regarding possible violation of Federal statutes and/or designation under provisions of Executive Order 10450. By letter 6/8/73, to the Criminal Division of the Department, we requested FBI be informed if Department desired continued investigation along lines of Department's prior letter.

Attached reveals Criminal Division reply indicating investigation of NOI should continue, for purpose of collecting intelligence information the Executive Branch needs to properly and adequately protect the nation's security and to enforce numerous statutes pertaining thereto. Continued investigation, however, should not be based on Executive Order 10450 since Department is currently reviewing the Attorney General's list to determine if continued existence is warranted.

1 - Office of Legal Counsel

WHA:afm

*H. J. Gumbert*

The field will be informed of data in attached which will become current basis for investigation of NOI. We have also sought Departmental guidance concerning investigations of Klan organizations and FBI enroll in Civil Unrest matters. Attached letter is only reply we have received to date.

*CCM/SCP*

*Bill*

*WRW/TJS*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: ~~May~~ May 16, 1974

FROM: *[Signature]*  
Henry E. Petersen  
Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: NOI - Extremist Matter

Reference is made to your letters of June 8, 1973, August 6, 1973, and October 4, 1973, to me in which you requested an opinion as to whether activities of the Nation of Islam (NOI) come under the criteria of Executive Order 10450, whether any federal statutes had been violated and whether the investigation of the NOI should be continued along current lines. A review has been made of pertinent FBI reports of the activities of the organization, its members and activities, and consultations have been held with members of your staff. As a result, it is our opinion that, for the time being, investigation of the NOI should continue.

With respect to your specific questions, although our review of FBI reports indicates that NOI may have engaged in activities which deprive citizens of constitutional rights, and, therefore, it would come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450, the Department is currently reviewing the Attorney General's list for the purpose of determining whether its continued existence is warranted. Therefore, I do not think it advisable to base continued investigation of the NOI on Executive Order 10450, until this question is resolved.

Insofar as any statutory violations may be concerned, we are seeking the views of the Civil Rights Division and we are considering further the applicability of statutes

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-MAY 17 1974  
EXP. PROC.

*[Handwritten notes in a circle]*  
ST-118  
File-5-TR  
25-330971

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9050  
3-1  
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5 MAY 17 1974  
A. Fulton  
Info

80 JUN 13 1974

administered by this Division as to whether NOI's activities should be investigated in light of statutes over which they, and we, have jurisdiction.

A basis for continued investigation was described by Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kevin T. Maroney when he testified before the Committee on Internal Security of the House of Representatives on February 20, 1974. He pointed out, inter alia, that without a broad range of intelligence information, the President and the departments and agencies of the Executive Branch could not properly and adequately protect our nation's security and enforce the numerous statutes pertaining thereto. There is, in our view, sufficient evidence to indicate that certain NOI members have been involved in disturbances and attacks on police throughout the country as noted in reports disseminated to the Department of Justice, other executive agencies and to the Secret Service in connection with its responsibility for the protection of the President. Under these circumstances, I feel the Department, and in particular the Attorney General, must continue to be informed of those organizations that engage in violence which represent a potential threat to the public safety. Therefore, continued investigation of this group is warranted.

If, during the course of your investigation, information is developed that the NOI has changed its tactics and objectives, and has assumed an attitude of non-violence, you should again consult with the Department to reassess the basis for continuing the investigation. In the interim, I will apprise you of our decision as to whether NOI's activities appear to violate certain statutes, e.g., Title 18, United States Code, Sections 231, 233 (Civil Disorders), 241, 245 (Conspiring to Deprive and Deprivation of Civil Rights), and 2101 and 2102 (Riots).

1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
1 - Mr. T. L. Patrick

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division  
Director, FBI

October 4, 1973

*med*  
NATION OF ISLAM - *General*  
EXTREMIST MATTER

Reference is made to previous memoranda from this Bureau to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, dated June 8, 1973, and August 6, 1973, under the above caption.

In the June 8, 1973, memorandum, an opinion was requested as to whether the activities of the Nation of Islam (NOI) come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or are in violation of any Federal statute. Additionally, the Criminal Division was asked if it desires that investigation of the NOI be continued along lines we are currently following.

In the August 6, 1973, memorandum, the Criminal Division was requested to advise of the status of the aforementioned requests.

As a reply to these requests has not yet been received by this Bureau, the Criminal Division is again requested to advise of the status of them.

MAILED 3  
OCT 4 - 1973  
A-FBI

OCT 5 1973

25-330971

TF:lmk  
(5)

**NOTE:**

We have been conducting a continuous security-type investigation of the black separatist NOI since 1953. Our most recent authority for this investigation is a Departmental memorandum, 7/28/66, directing that the NOI continue to be the subject of active FBI investigation and requesting that the Department be furnished results of this investigation for examination for possible violation of Federal statutes and possible designation of the NOI under provisions of Executive Order 10450. In view of the extensive information developed regarding the NOI during our investigation since 7/28/66, by memorandum dated 6/8/73 we requested a new opinion from the Department regarding the NOI

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

*STP*  
*EXTRA REQUEST*  
*AT MRS. WAGNER*  
*STANCE R. WAGNER*  
*it. Sec. Clerk Justice Dept.*  
*2/23/74 P. R. T.F.*  
*(Inmate admin. change)*

*TF*

*WHA/RME*

*wrw/ps*

*OCT 5 3 54 PM '73*  
*CM*

*ppa*  
c. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
in. \_\_\_\_\_  
np. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
es & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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oun. \_\_\_\_\_  
no Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
loc'y \_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

NOTE CONTINUED:

and our continuing investigation concerning this organization. The Department has not yet responded to this memorandum nor to a follow-up memorandum submitted 8/6/73.

1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
1 - Mr. T. FitzPatrick

8/6/73

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

Director, FBI

NATION OF ISLAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

GENERAL

*C*

Reference is made to a previous memorandum from this Bureau to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, dated June 8, 1973, under the above caption. In this previous communication, an opinion was requested as to whether the activities of the Nation of Islam (NOI) come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or are in violation of any Federal statute. Additionally, the Criminal Division was asked if it desires that investigation of the NOI be continued along lines we are currently following.

Note:  
1 EXTRA Xerox  
CC sent to  
MRS. Constantine  
R. Weyhoff, Asst  
Sec. Unit, Justice  
Dept 2/13/74 per  
T.F.

The Criminal Division is respectfully requested to advise of the status of the aforementioned requests.

25-330971

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AUG 6 - 1973  
FBI EX-117

25-330971-8954

3. AUG 7 1973

TF:d1r/lmk  
(5)

*dm*  
*md*

NOTE:

We have been conducting a continuous security-type investigation of the black separatist NOI since 1953. Our most recent authority for this investigation is a Departmental memorandum, 7/28/66, directing that the NOI continue to be the subject of active FBI investigation and requesting that the Department be furnished results of this investigation for examination for possible violation of Federal statutes and possible designation of the NOI under provisions of Executive Order 10450. In view of the extensive information developed regarding the NOI during our investigation since 7/28/66, by memorandum dated 6/8/73 we requested a new opinion from the Department regarding the NOI and our continuing investigation concerning this organization. The Department has not yet responded to our memorandum.

*(M)*

- cc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Insp. \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Lab. \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Rec. Mgmt. \_\_\_\_\_
- Tech. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Off. of Cong. & Public Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director's Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

58 AUG 14 1973

GCM TF

WKA WKA JAM/jw

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

- 1 - Mr. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. FitzPatrick

June 8, 1973

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

Acting Director, FBI

**NATION OF ISLAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS**

GENERAL

*Notes:*  
1 genl CC, memo  
admin. memos sent to  
Mr. [unclear] R. Wasieleski  
Int. Sec. Unit Justice Dept.  
2/13/74 Rev. [unclear]  
T.F.

Reference is made to previous correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) and whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or are in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction.

*(also cc of serial 8954 and 8969)*

Reference is also made to memorandum of the then Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, dated July 28, 1966, advising insufficient evidence was available at that time to warrant undertaking action against the NOI in regard to the above-cited considerations. This Departmental memorandum requested that the NOI continue to be the subject of active investigation by this Bureau and that the results be furnished to the Department for examination.

The results of our continuing investigation of the NOI have been furnished to the Department via numerous reports and memoranda. In the past two years, these communications have included details concerning numerous acts of violence resulting from NOI internal dissension and NOI difficulties with rival Muslim groups and other adversaries. Also included has been specific data regarding the NOI seeking and receiving considerable financial assistance from various countries in, and near, the Middle East. In recent years, the NOI's influence among U. S. blacks has been significantly increased as evidenced by distribution of over 500,000 copies weekly of the NOI newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and transmission of the NOI program via radio to over 100 U. S. cities each week. The NOI continues to preach a distorted version of the Islamic religion, teaches all whites are "devils" who will be destroyed by the forces of nature, disavows any allegiance to the United States Government and seeks to establish a separate black nation. Membership is estimated at over 7,000.

*ack*

MAILED  
JUN 8 1973

- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Baker
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Gebhardt
- Mr. Jenkins
- Mr. Marshall
- Mr. Miller, E.S.
- Mr. Soyars
- Mr. Thompson
- Mr. Walters
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Baiso
- Mr. Barnes
- Mr. Bowers
- Mr. Herington
- Mr. Conny
- Mr. Mintz
- Mr. Eardley
- Ms. Hogan

25-330971-8932

FBI JUSTICE  
WITTEK

GCM

JUN 8 1973

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

*TF Rev.*

Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

We have been able to keep abreast of pertinent NOI activities primarily through penetration of the various NOI mosques throughout the U.S. with live member informants. Results of this coverage have been forwarded to the Department on a continuous basis.

It is requested an opinion be furnished at this time, in view of the considerable additional information furnished the Department since July 28, 1966, as to whether the activities of the NOI come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute. Also advise whether you desire the investigation of this organization be continued along lines we are currently following.

NOTE: See memorandum of G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, captioned as above, dated 6/7/73, prepared by TF:crh.

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: 6/7/73

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. FitzPatrick

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baise \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Barnes \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conny \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM - GENERAL  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*John*

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval is a memorandum to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, requesting an opinion be furnished at this time as to whether the activities of the Nation of Islam (NOI) come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450, or its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute. The Department is also being requested to advise whether the investigation of the NOI should be continued.

BACKGROUND:

The NOI, founded in Detroit, Michigan, in 1930, is an independent, semi-religious black organization with over 7000 members in 120 units, or Mosques, throughout the United States. Foreign units exist in Bermuda, Jamaica and British Honduras. Elijah Muhammad, 75-year-old Supreme Ruler of the NOI, operates from NOI national headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. This group seeks to establish a separate black nation, disavows any allegiance to the United States Government, preaches a distorted version of the Islamic religion, and teaches all whites are "devils" who will be destroyed by the forces of nature. NOI beliefs are propagated weekly via distribution of over 500,000 copies of the NOI newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and by transmission of NOI teachings over the radio in over 100 United States cities at least once a week.

REC-34 25-330971-893

Since mid-1971, NOI internal dissension and difficulties with rival Muslim sects, and other adversaries, are believed to have been factors in at least 20 murders, three bombings, two abductions and numerous shootings, beatings and assaults. In the past 18 months, the NOI has sought and received assistance from North African and Middle East countries. Libya has granted the

Enclosure *sent 6/11/73 Euc*

4 JUN 12 1973

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*S. FitzPatrick*

70 JUN 15 1973  
KJE (5)

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Nation of Islam  
25-330971

NOI a \$3 million noninterest loan and promised an additional \$6 million of assistance. Qatar and Abu Dahbi have donated \$100,000 and \$125,000, respectively, and Kuwait has indicated it is considering a \$2 million gift.

We have conducted a continuous security-type investigation of the NOI since 1953. Periodically, and most recently on July 12, 1966, we have requested the Department's opinion concerning possible prosecution of the NOI under appropriate statutes or its designation under Executive Order 10450. The Department has repeatedly declined to take action against the NOI citing lack of adequate evidence of specific acts by its leaders resulting in force being utilized or violence occurring, as well as referring to the quasi-religious nature of the NOI as a further deterrent to successful prosecution. In view of the character and activities of the NOI, the Department requested by memorandum July 28, 1966, that the NOI continue to be the subject of active investigation and that the Department be furnished the results for examination for possible violation of Federal statutes and for possible designation under the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

During the period April 2, 1973 - May 25, 1973, five one week in-service sessions of specialized training in black extremist matters were conducted at the FBI Academy for selected representatives from each FBI field office except Anchorage and Honolulu. It was the consensus of those attending these sessions that the NOI certainly warrants our continued investigative attention in view of its substantially increased potential for violence in the past two years.

As a considerable period of time has transpired since the Department's last request for investigation regarding the NOI, and in view of the increased propensity for violence of this group, it appears in the Bureau's best interests to seek a decision from the Department as to whether a prosecutable violation exists concerning the NOI and as to the desirability of continuing this investigation.

ACTION:

If approved, the attached memorandum be forwarded to Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division.

*REN*

*TF*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*wren*



Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

The Nation of Islam (NOI) is a black extremist, separatist organization headquartered in Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad Ali is an internationally known boxing figure under suspension from membership in the NOI due to his resuming a boxing career in opposition to desires of NOI national leadership. His suit for refund of taxes has been instituted in U. S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois and seeks recovery of about \$97,000 in paid taxes based upon a claimed deduction for contributions made to the NOI.

The Department has indicated it plans to acknowledge that the FBI does have prior investigative reports on the NOI as former Director Hoover during previous Congressional testimony publicly stated the Bureau's investigative interest in the NOI.

This reply to the Department has been coordinated with the Office of Legal Counsel Division.

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Mr. Callahan                              | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland                             | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad                                | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey                                | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt                              | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins                               | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall                              | _____ |
| Mr. <del>Walters</del> <sup>Walters</sup> | _____ |
| Mr. 1972                                  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars                                | _____ |
| Mr. Walters                               | _____ |
| Tele. Room                                | _____ |
| Mr. Baum: mlm                             | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong                             | _____ |
| Mr. Harwig                                | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan                               | _____ |

*TREAT AS ORIGINAL*

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DEC

Scott P. Crampton  
Assistant Attorney General  
Tax Division

SPC: 10  
5-23

*o'ed on yellow*

SPC

Muhammed Ali, a/k/a Cassius M. Clay, Jr.  
and Belinda Ali, a/k/a Belinda Clay  
v. United States  
Civil No. 72 C 1156 - N.D. Illinois

Recently a suit for refund of income taxes for the years 1966 and 1967, was instituted in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, by Muhammed Ali. The suit seeks recovery of \$97,048.68 for the years in question based upon a claimed deduction for contributions made to the Holy Temple of Islam or the Nation of Islam. In the earlier of the two years Muhammed Ali allegedly made a substantial contribution to the organization and then borrowed the money from it on the same day. As to that transaction we, of course, are maintaining that there was no true contribution and that the two transactions effectively eliminate any claim of deduction. As an alternative defense for the first year, and as a defense in the second year as well, we are also contending that the recipient organization was not one to which deductibility contributions could be made since, under the statute, part of its earnings inured to the benefit of certain individuals, namely its leader Elijah Muhammed and members of his family. Evidence available to us indicates that organization funds were used to purchase homes, cars, and other things for such individuals.

*[Handwritten signature]*

REC-64 100-43635-166

Plaintiffs' attorneys have recently served upon us interrogatories which seek to ascertain, among other things, whether the Bureau has investigatory reports on the organization and, if so, requesting that we describe their contents. We are preparing to make a vigorous objection to any measures designed to attempt to ascertain the contents of the investigatory reports of the Bureau and we expect that a

JAN 8 1973

*orig sent to Acting Director, 12-26-72,*

EXT. INT. SEC.

TF

court hearing on the matter will be held in the near future. We have been advised, however, through Mr. Maroney of the Internal Security Division, that the former Director of the Bureau has advised Congressional Committees in the past, in testimony which has been made public, that the organization was investigated by the Bureau. Accordingly, we see no point in objecting to disclosure of the fact of the existence of the reports and we propose to advise counsel that such reports do exist but that their contents are privileged.

Should you have any differing views as to the procedure to be followed, we would appreciate receiving your suggestions. Our reply to the interrogatories is due to be served on December 28, 1972.

# Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: JUL 28 1966

FROM : *JWY* J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to your memorandum of July 18, 1966 and to our correspondence in this matter dated March 3, 1964 wherein we discussed the operations of the NOI and particularly the type of evidence which would be needed to initiate action against the organization for designation under Section 8(a)(5) of Executive Order No. 10450.

The results of the investigations conducted in this matter have been closely followed and it is noteworthy that since our last communication there has been no significant change as to the character and tactics of the organization. The Fruit of Islam and Military Girls' Training groups continue to function and the role of the white man as a devil and snake continues to be the central theme of all preachings of the minister in the various temples. It is also to be observed that the leadership continues to denigrate the American flag and advocate disobedience of any law contrary to the beliefs of the Muslims.

While it is clear that the leadership preacher's distrust of all other groups and that the membership owes allegiance only to the Muslim Cult, the tenor of the preachings are in the nature of religious prophecies subject to be fulfilled at some unknown future time by the Supreme power, Allah.

REC-24

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EX-103

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15 JUL 29 1966

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cc 902 940

CONFIDENTIAL

Based upon our study of the available material, it is our opinion that there is insufficient evidence at this time to warrant undertaking action against the organization for violation of Federal statutes within this Division's jurisdictional responsibility or to warrant proceeding against the organization for designation under the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

In view of the character of the organization and its activities, it is requested that the NOI continue to be the subject of active investigation and that we be furnished the results for examination for possible violation of Federal statutes and for possible designation under the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

July 18, 1966

Director, FBI

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Bland
- 1 - Shackelford

*GENERAL*  
 NATION OF ISLAM - *GENERAL*  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

Reference is made to previous correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning the Nation of Islam and whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction.

Reference is also made to your letter dated March 3, 1964, advising insufficient evidence was available in your opinion to warrant legal action being taken against the Nation of Islam, due to the absence of specific acts by individual leaders advocating or approving acts of force and violence. We have continued to furnish the Department the results of our investigations in this matter by reports and memoranda.

It is requested an opinion be furnished at this time as to whether the activities of the Nation of Islam come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute.

*M*

JUL 18 9 42 AM '66  
 REC'D-READING ROOM  
 FBI

25-330971

RLS:deh *deh*  
 (8)

MAILED 11  
 JUL 18 1966  
 COMM-FBI

NOTE:

See Baumgardner to Sullivan memorandum dated 7/15/66, same caption, prepared by RLS:deh.

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JUL 18 1966



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 7/15/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *fb*

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Bland
- 1 - Shackelford

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM - *General*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

*Baumgardner*  
*Shackelford*

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval is a memorandum to J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, requesting an opinion be furnished at this time as to whether the activities of the Nation of Islam come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute.

OBSERVATIONS:

The Nation of Islam is an all-Negro semireligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race. The organization is headed by Elijah Muhammad with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. We have conducted a continuous security-type investigation of this organization since 1953. Periodically, we have requested the Department's opinion as to possible prosecution of the Nation of Islam under appropriate statutes or designation under Executive Order 10450, most recently on January 31, 1964.

The Department has repeatedly declined to take action against the Nation of Islam, citing lack of specific acts of force or violence by its leaders or members. The Department makes repeated reference to the quasi-religious nature of the Nation of Islam as a further deterrent to successful prosecution. Recognizing the threat to the internal security of the Nation posed by the Nation of Islam, the Department has requested our investigation be continued and the names of appropriate Nation of Islam officials be included in our Security Index and that they be considered for apprehension during a period of national emergency.

Enclosure *sent 7-18-66*

25-330971

RLS:deh

(6)

CONTINUED

REC-59  
- OVER  
EX-113

*25-330971-7765*

JUL 19 1966

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F-240  
87 JUL 25 1966

Baumgardner to Sullivan  
Re: NATION OF ISLAM  
25-330971

While no new information has been developed concerning specific acts by its leaders to cause acts of force or violence to be committed, voluminous additional information has been furnished the Department since the last request for a prosecutive opinion was made on January 31, 1964.

The Department apparently has no intention of authorizing prosecution of the Nation of Islam, in absence of the Nation of Islam causing large-scale riots, or virtual insurrection. However, it appears to be in the Bureau's best interests to put the Department on record once again as to whether a prosecutable violation exists concerning the Nation of Islam.

ACTION:

If approved, the attached memorandum be forwarded to Assistant Attorney General Yeagley.

ms  
WGS

~~R~~

Yeagley

OK  
J

# Memorandum

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 3, 1964

FROM : *JWY*  
J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney  
General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

GENL  
CONFIDENTIAL

*Revised*

*EP*

34 MAR 4 1964

EXP-PROC 3/1

This will refer to your memorandum of January 31, 1964 wherein you request an opinion whether in the light of the additional information furnished by the Bureau since May 16, 1963 with reference to the above-entitled organization, the activities of the NOI come within the criteria of Executive Order No. 10450, or whether its activities are in violation of any Federal statute within the jurisdiction of this Division.

There is insufficient evidence to warrant proceedings for violation of any Federal statute within the jurisdiction of the Internal Security Division's responsibility.

Section 8(a) (5) of Executive Order No. 10450 provides for the designation of "any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons which is totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows, a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the U.S., or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means".

The NOI cannot be designated as subversive under Executive Order No. 10450 unless the evidence available proves its activities to be in the category of "subversive, or which has adopted or shows, a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the U.S., . . . ."

The investigative reports indicate that most of the NOI temples have Fruit of Islam and Military Girls' Training (FOI - MGT) groups which drill in secret military tactics. These drills include

*Let all offices handling NOI investigations refer to this file. mar 10*

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*REC 523-330971-1*

*EX-108*

MAR 4 1964  
*INT. SEC. DIV.*

training in judo and karate, and in some instances with guns. At every meeting the white man is characterized as a devil, a snake who has tortured the Negro and always will; that this white devil must be exterminated along with his black sympathizers; that the white man was allotted by Allah, their Supreme power, a certain period on this earth and this period is now up; that all NOI members must await the signal from Elijah Muhammad to indicate the beginning of the extermination of the white devils to make room for a Negro takeover of the country; that such a signal would be forthcoming momentarily. Moreover, the NOI leaders, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X and others, preach that they must have a part of the territory of the United States as their own exclusive territory together with sufficient financial means to set them up economically independent. At their meetings, the NOI members denigrate the American flag and advocate disobedience of any law contrary to the beliefs of the Muslims.

This reported information, however, is insufficient to prove a policy of advocacy or approval of the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States.

The activities reported must be shown to be more than mere prophecies or utterances made with the hope of ultimate attainment of their desired aims. For example, while teaching that the white man must be exterminated they do not say by whom or how. There should be available evidence to show that the advocacy or approval of the commission of acts of violence to deny others their Constitutional rights is calculated to incite the members to action now or in the foreseeable future. Evidence is needed to show the specific acts taken by particular individual leaders in advocating or approving acts of force and violence; not that "heads will roll in the streets", which could be merely a prediction, but rather what specific plan of action, direction or urging has been made to bring about such event; not the abstract teaching that Allah will cause the desired event, but the concrete steps taken by specific individual leaders to effectuate their goals. It is fully realized that such evidence is not easily obtained even if it exists; and finally there seems to be some indication that the leaders are becoming more cautious in their utterances.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

January 31, 1964

Director, FBI

- Mr.
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Rosack

*O*  
NATION OF ISLAM — *General*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to previous correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) and whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction. Reference is also made to your letter dated May 16, 1963, advising that there was insufficient evidence at that time to warrant proceedings for violation of any Federal statute within the jurisdiction of the Internal Security Division's responsibility.

This Bureau has continued the investigation of this organization and its leaders because of the radical, semisecret and violent nature of the organization. The results of this continuing investigation have been furnished to the Department by reports and memoranda.

It is requested an opinion be furnished at this time in view of the additional information furnished the Department since May 16, 1963, as to whether the activities of the NOI come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute.

25-330971

EX-103

REC-17

25-330971-675 *Q*

NOTE:

The NOI is an all-Negro, fanatically antiwhite organization which has headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. It has been under investigation on a continuing basis with the Department being requested at various times to furnish its views as to whether the information contained in the various reports and memoranda would support prosecutive action against the NOI. The Department has previously replied much the same as is indicated above. The Department has, in the past, requested the Bureau to continue its security-type investigation concerning the leaders of the organization and/or its active participating members for consideration for apprehension during the period of a national emergency or for inclusion in the Security Index. In view of the additional information furnished the Department since its letter of 5/16/63, it is deemed advisable to obtain an opinion at this time with respect to possible prosecution of the NOI.

FEB 3 1964

JAN 31 1964  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*w/c*

*OK*

# Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: May 16 1963

FROM: *JW* J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM

*John S. ...  
Be ...  
Le ...*

This will refer to your memorandum dated February 25, 1963 with respect to the Nation of Islam, wherein you request "to advise whether the activities of the NOI constitute a violation of any Federal statute."

On the basis of the information furnished by your Bureau to date, it is the view of this Division that there is at this time insufficient evidence to warrant proceedings for a violation of any Federal statute within the jurisdiction of this Division's responsibility.

REC-35  
MAY 17 1963  
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*J*

MAY 20 3 30 PM '63  
FBI - INTERNAL SECURITY

REC-35

25-330971-6537

EX-117

MAY 17 1963

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*dyg*

REC-58 25 - 330771-6 53

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

February 25, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Smith

NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to your letter dated February 15, 1963, requesting that a prosecutive summary report be prepared for the Department concerning captioned organization.

In response to a previous request from the Department, this Bureau has continued to furnish the Department on a continuing basis all pertinent information concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) and the teachings of its officials for study by the Department.

In view of the fact the Department is in possession of all the information we have relating to the activities of this organization, no prosecutive summary report will be prepared in the absence of advice that prosecution is desired.

On the basis of the information we have submitted to the Department, you are requested to advise whether the activities of the NOI constitute a violation of any Federal statute.

25-330971

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated February 21, 1963, WLS:JHK:erc:mar

*Rep*

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FEB 25 1963  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 21, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Smith

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

For the past several years, we have been periodically requesting an opinion from the Department relative to possible prosecutive action against the Nation of Islam (NOI). Our latest request was dated 2/5/63. In response, the Department has requested it be supplied with a prosecutive summary report setting forth evidence the NOI within the past three years has advocated or approved commission of acts of force and violence to deny individuals their constitutional rights or in seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

In previous opinions, the Department advised a review of the activities of the NOI did not constitute violations of any Federal statutes. In fact, the Department in the past has contended the language used by NOI officials does not advocate overthrow of the Government by unconstitutional means but seeks to arouse hatred against the white race as a whole. The Department requested we continue to furnish data concerning NOI for future study. We have done this on a continuing basis. Also, a review of material we have furnished the Department does not indicate any change in the teachings of the NOI toward the overthrow of our Government.

OBSERVATIONS:

Inasmuch as the Department is in possession of all pertinent information regarding the NOI and its teachings, it appears the Department is trying to get the Bureau to do the Department's work. Furthermore, the Department has not advised or given any indication it is contemplating prosecutive action against the NOI. Therefore, the preparation of a prosecutive summary report does not appear to be warranted in this instance.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to ~~Assistant~~ Attorney General Yeagley advising that a prosecutive summary report does not appear to be warranted and requesting the Bureau be advised whether the activities of NOI are in violation of any Federal statute.

Enclosure sent 2-25-63  
25-330971

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REC-71

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EX-102

25-330971-6457

5-Mr. Smith

*(Handwritten signatures and initials)*



# Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: February 15 1963

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to your memorandum dated February 5, 1963, requesting an opinion relative to a possible violation of Federal Law by the captioned organization or whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order No. 10450.

Before rendering an opinion, it is requested that you furnish this Division with a current prosecutive summary setting forth evidence as to whether this organization has been within the past three years "advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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25-330971-6453

REC-58

FEB 15 1963

EX-101

REC.D

INT. SEC. *W. L. ...*

Memorandum to Sullivan  
2-21-63 (Enc.)  
WLS: JHK:erc: maw  
Let to A-10 Yeagley  
2-25-63  
WLS: JHK:erc: maw

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

February 5, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1- Mr. Sullivan
- 1- Mr. Baumgardner
- 1- Mr. Bland
- 1- Mr. Smith

NATION OF ISLAM - Gen'l  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to previous correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) and whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction. Reference is also made to your letter dated January 25, 1962, advising that an examination of the reports and memoranda pertaining to subject organization failed to disclose sufficient evidence to warrant prosecutive action or designation proceedings.

This Bureau was requested to continue the investigation of this organization and its leaders because of the radical, semisecret and violent nature of this organization, and the continuing tendency on the part of some of its leaders to use language of implied threats against the Government. This has been done and reports and memoranda have been furnished to the Department on a continuing basis. (100-330971-5562, 5591)

It is requested an opinion be furnished at this time in light of the additional information furnished the Department since January 25, 1962, as to whether the activities of the NOI come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of other Federal statute.

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FEB 5-1963  
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100-330971

REC-38  
EX-102

25-330971-69  
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NOTE ON YELLOW:

For several years the NOI, an all-Negro, fanatically antiwhite organization headquartered in Chicago, has been under investigation and copies of reports and memoranda reflecting this investigation have been furnished the Department on a continuing basis. The Department has been requested at various times to furnish an opinion as to whether the information

WLS:pag (7)

NOTE ON YELLOW-CONTINUED PAGE 2

- Olson
- Belmont
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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED:

furnished would support prosecutive action against the NOI. The Department in the past has advised there is insufficient evidence to establish a violation of any statute of which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction; the organization appears to have no program of action which reasonably would be calculated to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government; the language of the leadership is more calculated and designed to arouse hatred and antipathy against the white race as a race, rather than against the Government; there is insufficient basis upon which to proceed against the NOI pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Department has advised, however, it desires security-type investigation be conducted concerning the leaders of the organization and/or its active participating members for consideration for apprehension during the period of a national emergency and for inclusion in the SI.

In view of the continuing reports and memoranda which have been furnished the Department since the date of the last Departmental opinion expressed in this matter (I-25-62), it is deemed advisable to obtain an opinion at this time with respect to possible prosecution of the NOI or designation under Executive Order 10450.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: January 25 1962

FROM : *JW* J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This is in response to your memorandum of January 10, 1962, inquiring about the possibility of designation of the captioned organization pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order No. 10450, and asking whether its activities are in violation of any federal statute.

An examination of the reports and memoranda pertaining to the subject organization fails to disclose sufficient evidence to warrant prosecutive action against the leaders under the Smith Act and other related statutes, or to justify the institution of designation proceedings. The reasons set forth in our memorandum of September 21, 1960, are relevant to the present situation.

Because of the radical, semi-secret, and violent nature of this organization, and the continuing tendency on the part of some of its leaders to use language of implied threats against the Government, we are asking the Bureau to continue its investigation of the organization and its leaders.

*1cc Am 817 RB  
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*63* JAN 31 1962

*B. B. B.*  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

January 10, 1962

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Rampton

NATION OF ISLAM -  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to previous correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) and whether its activities come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction. Reference is also made to Department letter dated September 23, 1960, wherein the opinion is expressed that available evidence in this case falls short of evidentiary requirements to justify prosecutive action. This letter indicates, however, the Department would continue to review and evaluate the information supplied by this Bureau with a view toward prosecution or designation of the NOI under Executive Order 10450.

This Bureau has continued to furnish the Department reports and memoranda concerning the NOI since September 23, 1960. It is requested an opinion be furnished at this time in light of the additional information furnished the Department since September 23, 1960, as to whether the activities of the NOI come within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities are in violation of any other Federal statute.

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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE ON YELLOW:

For several years the NOI, an all-Negro, fanatically antiwhite organization headquartered in Chicago, has been under investigation and copies of reports and memoranda reflecting this investigation have been furnished the Department on a continuing basis. The Department has been requested at various times to furnish an opinion as to whether the information furnished would support prosecutive action against the NOI. The Department in the past has advised there is insufficient evidence to establish a violation of any statute of which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction; the organizations appears to have no program of action which reasonably would be calculated to bring about the overthrow of the U. S. Government; the language of the leadership is more calculated and designed to arouse hatred and antipathy against the white race as a race, rather than against the Government; there is insufficient basis upon which to proceed against the NOI pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Department has advised, however, it desires security-type investigation be conducted concerning the leaders of the organization and/or its active participating members for consideration for apprehension during the period of a national emergency and for inclusion in the Security Index.

In view of the continuing reports and memoranda which have been furnished the Department since the date of the last Departmental opinion expressed in this matter (9-23-60) it is deemed advisable to obtain an opinion at this time with respect to possible prosecution of the NOI or designation under Executive Order 10450.



Review and evaluation of the information furnished by the Bureau is being continued with a view toward prosecution or designation. Moreover, because of the semi-secret and violent nature of this organization, and the continuing tendency on the part of some of its leaders to use language of implied threats against the Government, it is requested that the Bureau continue its investigation of the Nation of Islam and its leaders.

*just stalling!*

*K*

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



- 1 - Mr. Pa...
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Kleinkauf

September 9, 1960

REC-39

The Attorney General  
 35-330971-4175  
 Director, FBI

EX-105

NATION OF ISLAM  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

03-14-60

For the past several years this Bureau has been conducting an investigation of the Nation of Islam (NOI); also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam. At one time the organization was referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam. Our investigation was designed to determine whether the activities of the NOI came within the criteria of Executive Order 10450 or whether its activities were in violation of any Federal statute over which this Bureau has primary investigative jurisdiction.

The NOI is an all-Negro, antiwhite organization with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. It was originally organized in Detroit, Michigan, in 1930 and at the present time has approximately 45 temples throughout the United States. Its national leader is Elijah Muhammad. The NOI is a fanatical organization motivated by an intense hatred of the white race. NOI members claim to follow the teachings of Allah, as interpreted by Elijah Muhammad, and they claim to owe allegiance only to Islam. NOI members believe there is no Negro race; the so-called Negro race is of Asiatic origin and is the original nation on earth; the "white devils" have exploited the Negro and suppressed Negro history and culture; and the Negro will be delivered from white domination in an approaching "War of Armageddon," which will result in control of the world by Asiatics.

The history of the NOI, since its origin, has been characterized by statements and acts of violence. NOI members claim they do not owe any allegiance to the United States and they are taught that any law which conflicts with NOI teachings should be disobeyed. There are set forth below examples of statements disclosing the fanatical nature of this organization, its disrespect for the Government of the United States, and its attitude toward the laws of the United States, which statements were furnished by confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past.

REC'D

25-330971

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE 5

JHK:mar  
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SEP 26 1960

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The Attorney General

On April 7, 1958, George Paden, Minister of Muhammad's Temple 12, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was interviewed by Special Agents of this Bureau. At a meeting of Temple 12 on April 9, 1958, Paden gave an account of his interview by the Agents. During his talk Paden advised those present that they did not have to submit to an interview by Bureau Agents and stated that soon the "messenger," referring to Elijah Muhammad, would give the word "for us to let loose on them and they will come to my house and I will throw them down my steps and then kill them. . . ." (25-330971-2893)

Lemuel Hassan, Minister of Temple 5, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised his followers on January 18, 1959, that "the FBI devil" cannot come to the temple himself so he sends some of "our own in the black form" to hear what is going on in the temple. Hassan then threatened that "we will pull their tongues out if we catch them or find out who they are." (25-330971-page 7)

Malcolm Little, Minister of Temple 7, New York, New York, stated in March, 1959, "We are not aggressive but peaceful people. The next time any policeman puts his hands on a Muslim he will not go to court but will go to the cemetery." (25-330971-3992-page 65)

Elijah Muhammad spoke at a meeting held by Temple 1, Detroit, Michigan, on April 5, 1959, at which time he said "The United States flag represents freedom, justice and equality for only the white people; the red stripe in the U.S. flag is for freedom just as it is in the Muslim flag, the crescent, but there is a white stripe followed by another red stripe which means there is only freedom for the white race." (25-330971-4296-page 45)

Theodore Bost, Minister of Temple 18, Cleveland, Ohio, stated on July 15, 1959, "There is no justice under the American flag and no freedom or equality. Under the American flag you get death and all kinds of evils - under the Muslim flag you will receive freedom, justice and equality. The American flag is for the white man only." (25-330971-4128-page 18)

Raymond Sharrieff, Captain of the Fruit of Islam, which is the military branch of the NOI, stated at a meeting of Temple 2,

The Attorney General

Chicago, Illinois, on August 31, 1959, that "If you know of anyone circulating information that Muhammad is teaching hate or is an enemy of the Muslim religion you should knock his teeth out and shove your fist down his throat." (25-330971-4296-page 55)

On September 6, 1959, Philbert Little, Minister of the NOI Temple at Grand Rapids, Michigan, spoke at a meeting of Temple 1, Detroit, Michigan, and stated "If anyone gives information on the organization to the white man take that person out and cut his head off. There is nothing wrong in killing someone."

(25-330971-4275-page 12)

During a meeting of Temple 25, Newark, New Jersey, on September 16, 1959, a filmed interview with Elijah Muhammad was shown. Muhammad stated during the interview that "Muslims do not register for the draft because they owe no allegiance to the United States," and asked "why Muslims should protect a country which does not honor them or their women and in which the Muslims do not receive freedom, equality and justice?" (25-330971-4296-page 54)

On November 11, 1959, Theodore Young, Minister of the Temple at Jacksonville, Florida, advised his followers that "The black man has nothing to protect in the white man's Government. Stop being a fool, you have no part in the United States Government."

(25-330971-4217-page 12)

Clarence Brown, Captain of Temple 8, St. Louis, Missouri, stated on July 26, 1960, that while in Chicago on July 24, 1960, about 400 male NOI members met privately with Elijah Muhammad who told them that 1960 is the last year his followers will spend under "the slave masters." Another St. Louis NOI member who attended this meeting stated on August 1, 1960, that Muhammad told the members to be prepared for a showdown with the whites because it would soon be forthcoming. (25-330971-4551)

Clyde Jones, Minister of the St. Louis, Missouri, Temple, stated at a meeting on August 1, 1960, that members should not give out any information if questioned by the FBI and that if a "spy" is caught he would be killed. (25-330971-4551)

On August 21, 1960, approximately 50 members of the Fruit of Islam from Temple 25, Newark, New Jersey, went to a

The Attorney General

meeting of Temple 21, Jersey City, New Jersey, to take care of any "situation that might have arisen." The members did not actually attend the meeting of Temple 21 but circulated in an area around the Temple during the meeting and some members stated "We're just waiting for those devil cops to start something tonight. There aren't many trees around here but we can sure use these lamp posts." This was meant to infer they might hang some policemen if trouble started. (25-330971-4572)

During the past years there has been an exchange of correspondence between this Bureau and the Department concerning what legal action, if any, can be taken against this organization and/or its members. The Department by various memoranda has advised that a review of this matter has disclosed there is insufficient evidence to establish a violation of the Smith Act of 1940 or any other statute of which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction; has disclosed the organization appears to have no program of action which reasonably would be calculated to bring about or attempt to bring about the violent overthrow of the United States Government; and has disclosed there is insufficient basis upon which to proceed against this organization pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Department from time to time has advised that it desires that security-type investigations be conducted concerning the leaders of the organization and/or its active participating members for consideration for apprehension during the period of a national emergency and for inclusion in the Security Index.

In view of the extreme radical and violent nature of this organization and its leaders I thought this matter should be called to your attention in order that you may consider whether there is any legal action that can be taken or whether the organization can be designated pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

- 1 - Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh  
Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Assistant Attorney General  
J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Belmont to Parsons, same date, captioned as above. JHK:kmo

This memorandum is classified "Top Secret" because it refers to the emergency detention program and the Security Index which have been classified "Top Secret" by the Attorney General.

- 5 -

# Memorandum

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TO : Mr. D. J. Parsons

DATE: September 1, 1960

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Rampton

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to the Current Intelligence Analysis dated August 31, 1960, on Nation of Islam (NOI). The Director inquired, "Has the Dept ruled on the NOI or are they still 'considering' it? H."

The NOI is an all-Negro, violently antiwhite fanatical group. It has been under investigation for the past several years to determine if its activities bring it within the purview of Executive Order 10450 or in violation of any other Federal statutes. Copies of our investigative reports are furnished the Department on a continuing basis. We have closely followed the Department to obtain an opinion whether the NOI should be designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or the activities of the NOI are in violation of any Federal statutes.

To date the Department has not ruled that the activities of the organization warrant designation or are in violation of any Federal statute. The Department in memorandum dated May 17, 1960, however, advised it has been the Department's policy not to designate religious or quasi-religious organizations; further, the fact that the NOI is a quasi-religious organization does not immunize it from being designated under Executive Order 10450 but complicates the case by adding the issue of religious freedom to other Constitutional problems involved. The Department advised they will continue to examine information furnished by the Bureau relative to designating the NOI pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

However, in connection with individual members of the NOI the Department by memorandum August 23, 1958, advised: (1) that the Bureau should continue to conduct security investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the NOI; (2) that an individual review and evaluation of the derogatory information on each of the leaders and active participating members should be conducted to determine whether as individuals they should be included in the Security Index based on each individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs as members of the NOI. As of August 15, 1960,

Enclosure  
25-330971  
JTH:fk  
(5)

26 1 2 SEC 20 25-330971-4613

EX-105

SEP 22 1960

~~INT. SEC.~~

Memorandum Belmont to Parsons  
RE: NATION OF ISLAM  
25-330971

there were 438 such individuals included in the Security Index.

Since May 17, 1960, we have sent the Department additional reports on the NOI. These reports disclose that the NOI is continuing to enlarge its activities by a concentrated membership drive and appeals for money to carry out its programs aimed at the eventual emancipation of Negroes in America from their white "oppressors". It is believed we should again follow the Department for a ruling.

ACTION:

Attached is a letter to the Department.

*gth* *off/see* *V. 1/11*  
nothing will be gained  
by writing *Yes*.  
I suggest an overall  
memo on N of I be  
sent A. G. stressing  
vicious character  
of statements of this  
outfit.  
*K*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: May 17 1960

*JMY*

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Nation of Islam  
Your File No. 25-330971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This is with further reference to your memorandum dated June 19, 1959, wherein you request to be advised whether any action against the Nation of Islam (NOI) is contemplated under provisions of Executive Order No. 10450.

As you know, it has been the Department's policy not to designate religious or quasi-religious organizations. On the other hand, the NOI's basic tenets make this a potentially dangerous organization in any emergency. For this reason, extensive study and consideration was given the Bureau reports with a view of determining whether the NOI falls within the purview of Executive Order No. 10450.

As you have been previously advised, the designation of NOI poses a number of legal problems. For example, the inclusion of NOI under the category that it is an organization " . . . seeking to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means", has been determined to be inapplicable inasmuch as the language used by Elijah Muhammed and his ministers seeks to arouse hatred and antipathy against the white race as a whole, rather than seeking to alter the form of government, and any language concerning the destruction of the government usually has been couched in terms of prophecy or prediction rather than in terms of incitement to action in the foreseeable future.

It has also been determined that there is insufficient basis upon which to proceed against the NOI under any other criterion of the Order.

While the fact that the NOI is a quasi-religious organization does not immunize it from the operation of the

EX-105  
MAY 18 1960

*5/20/60, JWA: jfk*

MAY 19 11 00 AM '60

EX-105 25-330971-4370

REC-80

MAY 18 1960

MAY 23 1960

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



designations program, nevertheless, it complicates the case and adds the issue of religious freedom to the other Constitutional problems involved in these cases.

This Division will continue, however, to carefully examine the additional information furnished by the Bureau relative to the criteria of the Order.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: July 5, 1959

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley, Acting Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Nation of Islam  
Your File No. 25-330971

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Mr. Tolson        |  |
| Mr. Belmont       |  |
| Mr. DeLoach       |  |
| Mr. McGuire       |  |
| Mr. Mohr          |  |
| Mr. Parsons       |  |
| Mr. Rosen         |  |
| Mr. Tamm          |  |
| Mr. Trotter       |  |
| Mr. W.C. Sullivan |  |
| Tele. Room        |  |
| Mr. Holloman      |  |
| Miss Gandy        |  |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This is in reply to your memorandum to me dated June 19, 1959, wherein you request to be advised whether any legal action against the Nation of Islam is presently contemplated.

In regard to any possible prosecution under the Smith Act, a continuing review and evaluation of reports and memoranda concerning the leaders and members of this organization has failed to disclose the type of evidence required under the decision in Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298. It is noted that while the organization, as such, ostensibly eschews any acts of violence, some of the individual leaders and members use language which could incite to acts of violence. To date, however, this language has been more calculated to arouse hatred and antipathy against the white race as a whole rather than against the Government, qua government. Any language concerning the destruction of the Government usually has been couched in terms of prophecy or prediction rather than in terms of incitement to action. However, we have noted an increasing tendency on the part of some of the leaders of this organization to use language pregnant with overtones of implied threats against the Government, and we will continue to carefully examine all material received from you bearing in mind this tendency.

As you know, the courts have always considered Smith Act cases to be within the sphere of the First

EXP. PROC.

JUL 16 1959

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JUL 16 1959

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INT. SEC.

55 JUL 24 1959

Amendment insofar as freedom of speech is concerned. Any prosecution involving members of this organization will undoubtedly be reviewed by the courts not only from this aspect, but also from the "freedom of religion" clause of the First Amendment. It can, therefore, be anticipated that the courts will require that the proof against any member of this organization be strong and unequivocal, mainly because of the claimed religious nature of the organization.

~~FRAUD~~ ~~PERJURY~~  
With regard to possible prosecutions under sections 1001 and 1621 of Title 18, United States Code, we have reviewed all individual cases coming within the purview of these statutes and, to date, have been unable to recommend prosecution in any of them for the various reasons of which you have been apprised in our previous correspondence in this matter.

Because of the repeated acts of disrespect toward our flag shown by leaders of this organization, we are considering the desirability of proposed legislation, similar to Title 4, Section 3 of the United States Code, which is applicable only to the District of Columbia, to make criminal acts of desecration or other disrespectful acts directed toward our country's flag.

With regard to possible designation proceedings, certain legal problems created by an action under the applicable criteria are under consideration and an analysis is being made of the more recent reports submitted by the Bureau. You will be advised concerning this matter as soon as a decision has been reached.

*They always can come up  
with more reasons for no  
positive action & more  
for constructive approach.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - W. Sullivan
- 1 - A. Donahoe
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. O'Connor

Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

June 19, 1959

Director, FBI

NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Reference is made to previous correspondence between the Department and the Bureau relative to possible action against captioned organization under existing statutes.

On February 7, 1956, the Department stated that available proof did not warrant either designation of the Nation of Islam (NOI) under Executive Order 10450 or the institution of proceedings pursuant to the provisions of the Smith Act of 1940. The Department has been furnished with reports and various memoranda concerning this organization on a continuing basis setting forth the activities of this group. It is requested that the Department advise whether any type of legal action against the NOI is feasible in the light of this additional information.

REC-23

25-330971-3747

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 FBI

EX

NOTE ON YELLOW: ✓

Data concerning considerations by the Department concerning the NOI under EO 10450 and other statutes has been previously captioned "Program for Apprehension and Detention of Persons Considered Potentially Dangerous to the National Defense and Public Safety of the United States," Bufile 100-356062, and bears Top Secret classification. No mention of this caption is being made here as the substance of the request of the Department in this instance need not bear any classification whatsoever.

*R.B.* FBI See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, 6/19/59, captioned "as above" JOC:fk.

- Olson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Loach \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JOC:fk:dlh  
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JUN 19 1959  
COMM-FBI

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JUN 29 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: June 19, 1959

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Donahoe
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. O'Connor

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Nease
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- W. C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

Memorandum Donahoe to Belmont, 6/17/59 captioned "Current Intelligence Analysis" (attached) observed an article on the Nation of Islam (NOI) which appeared in "Significant Intelligence Briefs" prepared by the Air Force indicated strongly that our Current Intelligence Analysis relative to the NOI which appeared on 5/27/59 had alerted the Air Force to the problems concerning this radical organization. The Director noted: "Is there no action Dept can take against the NOI?"

The NOI is an all-Negro violently antiwhite organization which teaches that the so-called Negro in the United States will some day own and occupy a separate black nation in North America. NOI members are preparing for a "war" against the white race and in the past have inflicted physical violence against law enforcement officers. The Bureau has been investigating the NOI for the past several years, and the matter has been referred to the Department, in order to determine whether its activities come within the purview of Executive Order 10450 (E.O. 10450).

The Department by memorandum from Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins dated 2/7/56, (Bufile 100-356062-1627) advised that the NOI constituted an organization which should be considered a potentially dangerous instrumentality in the event of a national emergency; however, upon review of available evidence for use in administrative and judicial proceedings, it appears that the proof does not warrant either designation of the organization under E.O. 10450 or institution of proceedings pursuant to the provisions of the Smith Act of 1940. It was the Department's decision that designations pursuant to E.O. 10450, particularly in the case of religious or quasi-religious organizations, should not be made except upon the basis of evidence which can be disclosed publicly in proceedings whenever the organization demands a hearing under the existing rules promulgated by the Attorney General. The Department requested that the Bureau continue to conduct security type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the organization pursuant to the Security Index Program as well as investigation of the organization itself. We have continued to investigate the organization and its members and have furnished the Department

Enclosure sent 6-19-59  
25-330971  
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(6)

REC-23

25-330971-211  
JUN 25 1959  
INT. SEC.

67 JUN 29 1959

Memo to Mr. Belmont  
Re: Nation of Islam  
25-330971

on a continuing basis with copies of reports concerning all investigations.

As of 6/15/59 there were 400 NOI members on the Security Index. The Department has recognized that this organization has dangerous potentiality as it accepts the fact that members of NOI should be on Security Index. In an emergency through the Emergency Detention Program the effectiveness and operations of this organization would be destroyed through the apprehension of its key members. On 1/11/56 we presented the facts of this case to the Department to see if legal action could be taken, including placing the NOI on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations (pursuant to E.O.10450). The Department replied by memorandum 2/7/56 that the organization does not warrant designation under E.O. 10450 or consideration under the Smith Act of 1940. It is noted that we could expect considerable difficulty in producing witnesses to clearly depict the violent nature of this organization at any administrative hearing because we have gained most of our information from live Negro informants who would be extremely loathe to testify publicly because of the inherent physical danger from other members of the organization and ostracism by other members of their race.

ACTION:

Despite the above, there is attached for your approval a letter which raises again with the Department the question of possible legal action against the NOI.

W.W.K./K

JK

Q

OK

✓



Baumgardner  
Bland  
Kelly

GIR 11

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

April 18, 1957

Director, FBI

RECORDED 1725-330971-1747  
NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

EX-121

Reference is made to my memorandum dated March 26, 1957, enclosing a copy of the report of Special Agent Richard W. Dow at Buffalo, New York, dated March 11, 1957, both captioned "Nation of Islam, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam, Internal Security - NOI." Reference is also made to your memorandum dated April 12, 1957.

Your attention is directed to material previously furnished to the Department in connection with the investigation of this organization. As set forth in my referenced memorandum and the report of Special Agent Dow, investigation in this matter reflected that the name Muslim Cult of Islam had fallen into disuse, and that the name by which the organization is most commonly known today is the Nation of Islam.

As indicated in previous organizational reports in this matter this organization has never adopted a formal name by which it has been known nationally. Neither the Nation of Islam nor the Muslim Cult of Islam is the official name of this organization, and as indicated in the report of Special Agent Dow, the change in title in this case was merely an administrative change for the purpose of identifying the organization by a name by which it was more commonly designated by its members. There has been no change in the organization itself.

Your attention is directed to the introduction to the booklet "The Supreme Wisdom" by Elijah Muhammad, national Nation of Islam leader, a copy of which has been furnished to you previously. This introduction, written by Abdul Basit Naeem, editor-publisher of the "Moslem World and the U.S.A.," states that Elijah Muhammad's Moslem movement has no special name. This booklet dated February 26, 1957, and published by the University of Islam, sets forth a summary of the principles of the Nation of Islam.

COMM - FBI  
APR 18 1957  
MAILED 18

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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67 APR 30 1957



Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins

With regard to the current use of the name Nation of Islam as the title of this organization, Elijah Muhammad, in January, 1957, referred to his organization as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam" and approved the afore-mentioned names as being descriptive of his organization on a national basis. Since the Nation of Islam and the Muslim Cult of Islam are one and the same organization, in all instances where informants have in the past furnished information relative to the Muslim Cult of Islam and membership therein, such information in the future will be attributed to the Nation of Islam and membership therein. Likewise, the Fruit of Islam and membership therein have the same relationship to the Nation of Islam as they had to the Muslim Cult of Islam.

SECRET

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Boardman | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont  | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Parsons  | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm     | _____ |
| Mr. Trotter  | _____ |
| Mr. Nease    | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: April 12 1957

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Nation of Islam, Formerly Referred to as Muslim Cult of Islam

As you know, this Division has had under review FBI reports on the Muslim Cult of Islam since receipt of your memorandum to me of September 7, 1955, Subject: Program for Apprehension and Detention of Persons Considered Potentially Dangerous to the National Defense and Public Safety of the United States.

The review was being conducted with a view toward making a determination as to whether or not the Muslim Cult of Islam should be designated by the Attorney General, and also the effect the reported membership in this organization would have on the consideration of whether an individual should be listed on the Security Index.

The memorandum to me of March 25, 1957, captioned "Emergency Detention Program" enclosed a copy of an FBI report dated March 12, 1957, at Atlanta captioned "James Alfred Martin, Jr., was" and bore the character "Security Matter--NOI." The first paragraph of the details of this report reflects the following: "On January 21 and January 22, 1957, Confidential Informant Atlanta T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the organization formerly referred to as the 'Muslim Cult of Islam' has been described by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the national leader, as the 'Nation of Islam' and/or 'Muhammad's Temples of Islam'. The character of this case is therefore being changed from 'SECURITY MATTER - MCI' to 'SECURITY MATTER - NOI'."

It is not clear if your Bureau intends to substitute the "Nation of Islam" for the "Muslim Cult of Islam" on the sole basis of the description furnished to Atlanta Informant T-1, nor is it clear whether the "Muslim Cult of Islam" is no longer in existence.

If it is intended that the Nation of Islam be a substitute for the Muslim Cult of Islam, it would be appreciated if you would furnish answers to the following:

- (1) What was the original basis for the use of the name "Muslim Cult of Islam"?
- (2) Was this the original name given to the organization by Elijah Muhammad?
- (3) In all instances where informants have furnished information relative to the Muslim Cult of Islam and membership therein, should the reported information be now attributed to the Nation of Islam and membership therein?

let to Tompkins 4/18/57 JWB: dly

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- (4) Does the Fruit of Islam and membership therein have the same relationship to the Nation of Islam as they had to the Muslim Cult of Islam?

Answers to the above will be of assistance to this Division, not only in the designation and detention programs, but also in determining whether a review of opinions previously rendered, in which the Muslim Cult of Islam and membership therein was a factor, is necessary.

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

May 11, 1956

Director, FBI

MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
EX. ORDER 10450

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, dated May 5, 1952, entitled "Elijah Mohammed, with alias; Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Allah Temple of Islam, Loyalty of Government Employees, stating that membership in or close association with the captioned organization constituted sufficient basis for a full field investigation on applicants and employees of the Federal Government under the Loyalty Program. Pursuant to information in this memorandum this Bureau has followed the policy of initiating full field investigations under the Federal Employees Security Program in instances where information is available indicating an applicant or employee of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government is a member of or closely associated with the Muslim Cult of Islam.

In this connection, a full field investigation was conducted in the Spring of 1955 on Andrew Johnson, a crane operator at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, under the provisions of Executive Order 10450 based on his reported membership and activity in the captioned organization. Reports were furnished the Civil Service Commission and the Department on May 26, 1955, and a supplemental report was furnished on January 6, 1956, under the caption "Andrew Johnson, also known as Brother Andrew 2X, Bridge Crane Operator, Heavy, Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, Department of the Navy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Security of Government Employees." The Civil Service Commission advised by letter dated February 24, 1956, that Johnson "resigned before determination was completed: (1/10/56)." A copy of this letter was also furnished to the Department.

Downgraded to SECRET on 5/31/16  
by C87WYBY3

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MAY 11 1956  
COMM - FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED  
25-330971

cc: (1) 140-8664  
(1) 66-6200-140

CWS:bat  
(6)

NOTE: Classified Top Secret since Department's letter 2/7/56, referred to herein was so classified in investigation disclosed Johnson was active in MCI and supported the organization financially.

55 MAY 25 1956

MAY 9 1956

Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

In connection with a recent review of the files of the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard relating to Andrew Johnson, the following was noted:

Prior to Johnson's resignation consideration was given by the employing agency to affording Johnson a hearing on the basis of his membership in the Muslim Cult of Islam. In this connection, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy in charge of personnel by letter advised the Personnel Relations Office at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard that membership in the Muslim Cult of Islam alone was not basis enough to hold a security hearing as it was the opinion of the Legal Department of the Secretary of the Navy that the Muslim Cult of Islam was a religious organization, was founded as a religious organization, and not an organization to overthrow the Government. It was also stated that the organization had not been included on the Attorney General's list and there was no indication that it was connected with the Communist Party. For these reasons the Personnel Section at the Navy Yard was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to discontinue the investigation of Johnson.

With further reference to the Muslim Cult of Islam it is noted in your memorandum to this Bureau dated February 7, 1956, entitled "Program for Apprehension and Detention of Persons Considered Potentially Dangerous to the National Defense and Public Safety of the United States," you advised that it appeared that the teachings of the Cult would constitute that organization a potentially dangerous instrumentality in the event of a national emergency. It was pointed out that from a review of available evidence for use in administrative or judicial proceedings, however, it appeared that the proof did not warrant either designation of the organization under Executive Order 10450 or the

4700

Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

institution of proceedings under the provisions of the Smith Act. It was requested that this Bureau continue to conduct security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the Muslim Cult of Islam as well as investigations of the Cult itself.

The above is for your information and consideration and this Bureau will, unless advised to the contrary by the Department, continue to initiate full field investigations under Executive Order 10450 on applicants and employees of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government in instances where available information indicates membership in or close association with the Muslim Cult of Islam by such individuals.

47297

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Mr. Boardman   |  |
| Mr. Nichols    |  |
| Mr. Mohr       |  |
| Mr. Parsons    |  |
| Mr. Rosen      |  |
| Mr. Tamm       |  |
| Mr. Nease      |  |
| Mr. Winterrowd |  |
| Tele. Room     |  |
| Mr. Holloman   |  |
| Miss Gandy     |  |

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 16 1955

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY MCI  
SMITH ACT OF 1940 - CONSPIRACY  
FBI FILE 25-330971

CONFIDENTIAL

9/17

Reference is made to your memorandum dated January 11, 1955 which transmitted a summary report of the activities of the subject organization, wherein you requested to be advised whether these activities constitute a violation of any statute within the jurisdiction of the Bureau.

The Muslim Cult of Islam is ostensibly a religious organization composed exclusively of Negroes. The principles of Islam are (1) belief in Allah; (2) belief in the prophets; (3) belief in the scriptures that the prophets bring; (4) prayer; (5) charity. The express purpose of the Cult is to clean up the dark people physically and spiritually so they will be respected by the other civilized people of the earth. It desires to eliminate prostitution, gambling and drinking among the dark people so that they can be respected. It teaches that its members should not take any part in fighting or anything pertaining to fighting. Despite this teaching the leaders have repeatedly advised that any member who kills four white men will be assured of salvation. According to Elijah Mohammed, the national leader of the Cult, Allah, taught that all dark people are Asiatics and belong to the Nation of Islam and that the "wicked" (white devils) were to be destroyed by fire and that the dark people would then have peace when this source of their trouble was eliminated.

EXP. PROC. MAR 16 1955

A fundamental tenet of the organization is hatred of the white man. Faithful members are promised that under the leadership of Allah they will be delivered from the domination of the white man in the War of Armageddon. This war is to result in the destruction of the white man and the overthrow of his Government.

The organization teaches that its members owe allegiance only to Allah and Islam and that any civil law which conflicts with Muslim law should be disobeyed by the members. It teaches that dark-skinned people cannot be considered citizens of the

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Baumgardner

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United States since they are in slavery in this country. These are among the reasons given by the leaders why Cult members should not register for Selective Service or serve in the armed forces.

Each Temple of the organization has a branch known as the Fruit of Islam, composed of the able-bodied male members. The members of these groups are instructed in close order drill, self-defense, eating habits, wearing apparel and the study of regulations and doctrines of the Cult. In some of the Temples, additional courses of instruction in Mathematics, English and Arabic are also given.

The report cites four specific acts of violence in which Cult members have been involved. These acts may be summarized as follows:

Silver Spring, Maryland, Incident. A group of approximately 30 Cult members was traveling in a day coach en route from Jersey City, to Chicago. Shortly before arrival in Washington, D. C., some members of the party became involved in a dispute with a railroad porter over the issuance of a soiled pillow to one of the group. Several members of the group assaulted the porter, who then broke contact with the group and reported the incident to the Station Master at Washington. The train had departed Washington before any action could be taken, but police in Silver Spring, Maryland, were requested to investigate the incident. Upon boarding the train in Silver Spring, four police officers were assaulted by Cult members and the guns and blackjacks of two were taken by Cult members. After police reinforcements arrived, nine Cult members were arrested and charged with assault and battery, inciting a riot, and interfering with an officer in the performance of his duties. Six defendants were tried, convicted, and sentenced to terms ranging from six months to twenty-one months.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Incident. After engaging in a street fight, nine persons were arrested. Seven identified themselves as Cult members and the other two claimed that they were former members, but were still firm believers. Two were charged with assault with intent to kill, by one of the victims, and with assault and battery, by a policeman who had been struck during the fight.

Detroit, Michigan, Incident. Two police officers who attempted to have a double-parked auto moved from in front of the Detroit Temple had their nightsticks taken from them, and were

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



severely beaten. The officers shot and wounded two of their attackers, who were identified as Cult members. Three MCI members were tried and convicted of attempting to incite a riot.

San Diego, California Incident. A dinner was held at Fort Rosecrans for the 1402d Combat Engineers Battalion, a Negro National Guard organization which had been called into Federal Service. A civilian who attended the dinner, identified as Harrison Cole, a Cult member, engaged several of the recruits in conversation. When it was determined that he was making seditious statements to the recruits, he was removed from the Post by armed escort.

The report also contains numerous statements by Elijah Mohammed and the various ministers of the organization. These statements appear to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government and the slaughter of the White race. The dominant theme of the utterances is that all persons who are not members of the Cult will be destroyed in the War of Armageddon, at which time the Government will be overthrown and the Muslims will come to power. There are also statements which approve the acts of violence committed by the Mau-Mau in Africa and the Puerto Rican Nationalists, and which exhort Cult members to kill the white devils in order to bring about the day of their deliverance. It should also be noted that the report contains other statements by leaders of the organization to the effect that the deliverance of the Muslims is to be brought about through a divine act of Allah, who will destroy the "wicked" and overthrow their government without any assistance from Cult members. According to this teaching, the role of the membership of the Cult in the War of Armageddon will be entirely a passive one.

Although the report is replete with violent statements by the leadership of the organization and there have been acts of violence by the individual members, it is believed that the evidence is insufficient to constitute a violation of the Smith Act. This opinion is based on the absence of evidence of any plan or program of the organization which could reasonably be calculated to attempt the violent overthrow of the Government. The statements of the leaders of the organization, while they do express the desirability of overthrowing the Government, are more in the realm of prophecy than of an actual plan for a violent revolution. By the same token, the acts of violence in which Cult members have engaged, fail to evidence any plan of the organization or its leadership. All these acts are of the spontaneous type, and except for the fact that the persons involved are members of the organization, have no connection at all. It is also believed that the

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- 4 -

activities of the organization fail to constitute the "clear and present danger" which the Supreme Court has held is required to make application of the Smith Act constitutional.

The report also cited the attempt of District 1 of the Communist Party to infiltrate the Boston Temple of the Cult. Although the report contained no further information on this subject, it is noted that the file contains your memorandum dated November 8, 1955, to the effect that the infiltration efforts had been discontinued due to the extreme anti-White attitude of the Cult.

The files of the leaders of the organization are being referred to the Criminal Division for a determination as to possible violation of 50 U.S.C. App. 462, i.e., knowingly counseling persons to refuse or evade registration or service under the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

Subsequent to the review of this report there was received in this Division your memorandum dated January 23, relating to information furnished by Richard Huff concerning possession of weapons and hand grenades by the Cult in Georgia. According to the memorandum, the reliability of the informant has not been established. If it subsequently is determined that the informant is reliable, the file will be reviewed to determine the advisability of instituting a prosecution under 18 U.S.C. 2384, the Seditious Conspiracy Statute.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Henry

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

February 10, 1956

Director, FBI

PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND  
DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED  
POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE  
NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC  
SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FBI File 100-356062

O  
D. ETROM - GENL.

Reference is made to your memorandum dated  
February 7, 1956.

In the discussion had with you by Mr. Belmont  
on September 8, 1955, when he delivered my memorandum  
of September 7, 1955, it was agreed that there was a  
need for a careful review by the Department of the  
file on the Muslim Cult of Islam to determine whether  
this organization constitutes a dangerous instrumentality  
in the event of a national emergency. In the meantime,  
while the Department was conducting this review, there  
would not be furnished to the Department a list of Cult  
members included on the Security Index. You were also  
advised that, if the Department concluded from its  
review that the Muslim Cult of Islam did not constitute  
a potential threat to the internal security of this  
country, we would take steps to remove from the  
Security Index the names of those individual members  
presently included therein.

Your memorandum of February 7, 1956, states  
it appears that the antiwhite and anti-U. S. Government  
teachings of the Cult constitute that organization a  
potentially dangerous instrumentality in the event of  
a national emergency. Consequently, we are not  
removing the names of Cult members from the Security  
Index at this time. Should your opinion be changed  
by further review of the summary report sent to the  
Department with my memorandum of January 11, 1956,  
please advise in order that we may take appropriate  
steps.

Enclosure

YELLOW: Enclosure to memo to Mr. Boardman from Mr. Belmont  
dated 2/9/56, re "Emergency Detention Program,"  
TDR:pjm.

JFB:JJH:pjm  
(6)

TOP SECRET

Downgraded to SECRET on 5/31/16  
BY C87W74BY3

Personally  
Delivered  
2-10-56  
JHR

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

FEB 20 1956

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RECEIVED - FBI

RECEIVED  
FEB 13 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-356062-125-330971-1  
Typed

*Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins*

*In accordance with your request in your memorandum of February 7, 1956, there is attached one copy of a list of individuals whose names are included in the Security Index based on evidence of affiliation with the Muslim Cult of Islam.*

*- 2 -*

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: February 9, 1956

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Boardman   | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Parsons    | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Tamm       | _____ |
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| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM  
Bufile 100-356062

DETCON - GENL.

The attached memorandum from Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins dated 2/7/56 reiterates a request contained in Department memorandum of 8/23/55 that the names and FBI file numbers of members of the Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI) included in the Security Index be forwarded to the Department for review for the purpose of determining whether their names should be retained in the Security Index. The Director asked "What about this? Haven't we complied with request of August 23? H."

The Department's request of 8/23/55 was discussed in my memorandum of 9/2/55. I recommended that this list not be furnished the Department pending a decision by the Department as to whether membership in, active participation in the affairs thereof, and adherence to the basic tenets of the MCI constitute sufficient basis to include an individual's name in the Security Index. We have been pressing the Department for a decision in this matter since 8/8/55 and, with the Director's approval, I personally delivered a memorandum to Mr. Tompkins on 9/8/55 requesting the Department to thoroughly review the organizational reports on the MCI. I informed Mr. Tompkins at that time that, if the Department arrived at the conclusion that the Cult did not constitute a potentially dangerous instrumentality in the event of a national emergency and that active participation in the affairs thereof and adherence to its basic tenets were insufficient to consider an individual potentially dangerous, this Bureau would immediately review the cases of the Security Index subjects for appropriate action and that, in the meantime, the individual list of Security Index subjects was not being referred to the Department for review.

While I still feel that the basic problem involved has not been resolved, it is noted that the Department indicates that the reappraisal is being made of the case on the basis of a comprehensive summary report concerning the Cult prepared by the

Enclosures sent 2-10-56

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Rushing

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FEB 14 1956

57 FEB 21 1956  
FDR:pjm  
(4)

5-7APR

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1 authorized  
PERS. FILES



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson     | _____ |
| Mr. Boardman   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont    | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr       | _____ |
| Mr. Parsons    | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen      | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm       | _____ |
| Mr. Nease      | _____ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room     | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy     | _____ |

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: February 7, 1956

FROM: *WST* William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reference is made to your memorandum to the Attorney General dated January 6, 1956, relative to the Muslim Cult of Islam. Reference is also made to my memorandum to you dated September 7, 1955, in which you were advised that this Division would undertake a complete review of this organization and, upon completion thereof, you would be informed.

It appears that the anti-white and anti-U.S. Government teachings of the Cult would constitute that organization a potentially dangerous instrumentality in the event of a national emergency. Upon review of the available evidence for use in administrative or judicial proceedings, however, it appears that the proof does not warrant either designation of the organization under Executive Order No. 10450 or the institution of proceedings pursuant to the provisions of the Smith Act. It is the view of this Division that designations pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, particularly in the case of religious or quasi-religious organizations, should not be made at this time except upon the basis of evidence which can be disclosed publicly in adversary proceedings if the organization demands a hearing under the existing rules promulgated by the Attorney General.

As set out in my memorandum to you of August 23, 1955, this Department still feels that statements and activities on the part of individual members of the Cult indicating anarchist and revolutionary beliefs should be considered in making a judgment as to whether or not such individual members come within the revised Security Index criteria. In view of this, I would like to reiterate the request contained in my memorandum to you of August 23, 1955, that the names and FBI file numbers of the 142 Cult members included in the Security Index be forwarded to the Department as soon as possible so that they may be reviewed for the purpose of determining whether or not any of the Muslim Cult members should be retained on the Security Index. It is further requested that you continue to conduct security-

RECORDED-38 FEB 14 1956

FEB 7 1956

*GENA*  
*DETCON*  
*SECRET on 5/8/16*  
*Downgraded to SECRET by 087LW74843*

*Memo to [unclear]*  
*2-9-56*  
*TDR*

*What about this? Should we comply with request of Aug 23?*

TOP SECRET CONTROL OFFICE  
INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION  
CONTROL NO. 7-1245-1

FEB 2 1956

~~TOP SECRET~~

type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the Muslim Cult of Islam, as well as investigation of the Cult itself.

Subsequent to our complete review of the Muslim Cult organization, we received your memorandum dated January 11, 1956, together with a comprehensive Summary Report and several exhibits. A reappraisal of the case will be made in light of the newly submitted information as to possible designation or Smith Act prosecution and with respect to the Security Index. You will be advised promptly on the completion thereof.

~~TOP SECRET~~



cc Mr. Belmont  
cc Mr. Boardman  
cc Mr. Nichols

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

January 11, 1956

Director, FBI

MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI  
FBI File 25-330971

In a memorandum dated February 9, 1953, the Department advised that the evidence then available in this case was insufficient to establish a violation of the Smith Act of 1940 or a conspiracy to violate said Act. (25-330971-174X)

In a memorandum dated January 26, 1955, the Department advised that the information furnished by confidential informants of this Bureau who are available to testify has been reviewed and in the opinion of the Internal Security Division of the Department the evidence available was insufficient for prosecution against leaders of the Cult for violation of Title 18, U.S. Code 2384-(Seditious Conspiracy).

There is enclosed herewith for your information one copy of the summary report of Special Agent William J. Gilchrist dated December 30, 1955, at Chicago concerning the activities of the captioned organization. There is also enclosed one Photostat each of Exhibits 1 through 27 together with a copy of the "Holy Qur-'an," which is Exhibit 28 in Special Agent Gilchrist's report. It is requested that this exhibit be returned to the Bureau when it has served the Department's needs.

JAN 11 1956  
COMM-FBI

Inasmuch as the enclosed report represents a current comprehensive summary of the data available to the Bureau concerning the Muslim Cult of Islam, the Department is requested to consider a review of this report and the enclosures thereto and advise the Bureau whether the activities of the Cult are in violation of any Federal statutes within the Bureau's jurisdiction.

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

Enclosure  
MJM:dlj  
(6)

RECORDED - 44

JAN 12 1956

Reference memo Belmont to Boardman dated January 10, 1956, captioned as above. MJM:dlj

JAN 16 1956

FEB 10 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

In regard to the attached report your attention is directed particularly to Sections IV A and B concerning the revolutionary teaching of the Cult and Section V concerning specific actions of violence by the Cult.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman *1-12-56*

DATE: January 10, 1956

FROM : A. H. Belmont *ABBS*

|            |       |
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| Tolson     | _____ |
| Boardman   | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Parsons    | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
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| Sizoo      | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

SUBJECT: MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - "MCI"  
BUFILE 25-330971

The Chicago Office has submitted a comprehensive summary report of 326 pages concerning the activities of the Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI).

The MCI was reportedly organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. The national leader since 1933 is Elijah Mohammed who claims to have been sent by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the Negroes out of slavery in the United States. Members of the Cult fanatically follow the alleged teachings of Allah as interpreted by Elijah Mohammed and disavow allegiance to the United States. Members pledge allegiance only to Allah and Islam and believe that any civil law which conflicts with Muslim law should be disobeyed. The Cult teaches that members of the colored race cannot be considered citizens of the United States since they are in slavery in this country and must free themselves by destroying non-Muslims and Christianity in the coming "War of Armageddon." For this purpose the Cult has a military branch called the "Fruit of Islam" composed of all able-bodied members who participate in military drill and judo training.

The Department has advised the Bureau by letters dated 2/9/53 and 1/26/55 that evidence presently available in this case is insufficient to establish a violation of the Smith Act, a conspiracy to violate the Smith Act or Title 18, U.S. Code 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy).

In view of the fanatical beliefs of the MCI and the tense racial situation that exists today, it is believed we should send the Department this summary report and the exhibits thereto with the request that this material be reviewed to determine if the activities of the MCI are in violation of any Federal statutes within the Bureau's jurisdiction.

Enclosure *sent*  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc Mr. Boardman  
cc Mr. Miniter

RECORDED - 30

*21 - 330971 - 726*

INDEXED-32

JAN 13 1956

MJM:d1j

*341*  
52 JAN 10 1956  
(4)

F-467

*5-1-1956*

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached letter to the Department be approved and forwarded.

walk  
m/m/k  
BB  
pl  
M

V. ~~---~~

SM  
i/s  
④

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

October 26, 1955

Director, FBI

PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND  
DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED  
POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE  
NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC  
SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FBI File 100-356062

*Datcom*  
*Final*

Reference is made to my memorandum dated  
September 7, 1955, concerning the Muslim Cult of  
Islam and the status of individual members of this  
Cult whose names are included in the Security  
Index, and to your memorandum dated September 9,  
1955, in which you indicated that a complete review  
of available data concerning the above-mentioned  
organization was being undertaken.

I would appreciate being advised as to  
your final decision in this matter.

cc - Bufile 25-330971 (MCI)

TDR:pjm  
(6)

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on 5/31/14 by 681614943

Personally  
Delivered  
10-27-55  
pjm

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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100-356062-1537

16 OCT 31 1955

OCT 28 11 33 AM '55

EX-121

*Handwritten initials and signatures*

NOV 2 1955

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *lv*

DATE: September 9, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

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|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Boardman   | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
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| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FBI File 100-356062

*D. [unclear] - Genl.*

*R. [unclear]*

The original of the attached memorandum dated September 7, 1955, to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins, was delivered personally by me on September 8 to Mr. Tompkins. I advised him that in our correspondence with the Department on the Muslim Cult of Islam, we had the distinct impression that the Department has not thoroughly reviewed the file and all investigative reports on this organization. I pointed out that there are approximately 150 persons on the Security Index who are connected with this Cult and that the question involved is whether the Department has sufficiently reviewed the file to arrive at a conclusion as to whether membership in a leadership capacity, or active capacity in the "Fruit of Islam" (the military section of the Cult), should be considered dangerous in the event of an emergency. I told Mr. Tompkins that if the Department comes to the conclusion such persons will not be dangerous in an emergency, this Bureau would immediately review the cases of the Security Index subjects for appropriate action and that in the meantime the individual list of Security Index subjects is not being referred to the Department for review.

I advised Mr. Tompkins that the memorandum of September 7 sets forth several incidents, together with the background of this organization, which reflect the need for a careful review by the Department. Mr. Tompkins agreed and stated that a thorough review would be made and that he would thereafter communicate with us.

This morning (September 9), I received the attached memorandum from Mr. Tompkins, which states that a thorough review will be undertaken and he will thereafter communicate with us.

*ENCLOSURE*

*cc*  
AHB:LL  
Enclosures  
(5)

cc--Mr. Boardman  
cc--Mr. Belmont  
cc--Mr. Bland  
cc--Bufile 25-330971 (Muslim Cult of Islam)

RECORDED - 64

100-356062-

SEP 19 1955

*5- [unclear]*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: September 9 1955

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION  
OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY  
DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND  
PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES

*[Handwritten signature]*  
TOP SECRET

In reference to your memorandum of September 7, 1955, concerning the Muslim Cult of Islam, this will confirm my conversation with Mr. Belmont that in light of the additional data submitted, a complete review of this organization will be undertaken in this Division and I will communicate with you again upon completion thereof.

9/9/55 - Delivered by hand to Mr. Belmont

9/9/55  
Memo. to Boardman  
fr. Belmont  
AIB

TOP SECRET CONTROL OFFICE  
INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION  
CONTROL NO. T-1185-1

ENCLOSURE

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SEP 8 1955

This document consists of 1 pages

No. 1 of 5 Copies.

COPIES DESTROYED

10 OCT 8 1969

cc Mr. Boardman  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc Mr. Rushing

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

September 5, 1955

Director, FBI

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PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION  
OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY  
DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND  
PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FBI File 100-356062

Reference is made to your letter dated August 23, 1955, in which you state that due to the unique status of the Muslim Cult of Islam as an organization an individual review and evaluation of the derogatory information reported on each of the leaders and active participating members of the Cult must be conducted to ascertain whether as individuals they should be removed from the Security Index or should continue to be included therein, based on substantiated evidence of each respective individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs.

According to reliable informants this Cult is an organization composed entirely of Negroes which was reportedly organized around 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. The national leader and founder is Elijah Mohammed who claims to have been sent by Allah to lead the Negroes out of slavery in the United States. Members fanatically follow the alleged teachings of Allah as interpreted by Mohammed and disavow allegiance to the United States. Members pledge allegiance only to Allah and Islam and believe any civil law which conflicts with Muslim law should be disobeyed. The Cult teaches that members of the dark-skinned race cannot be considered citizens of the United States since they are in slavery in this country and, therefore, must free themselves by destroying non-Muslims and Christianity in the "Year of Armageddon." For this purpose the Cult has a military branch called the Fruit of Islam composed of all male able-bodied members who participate in military drill and study training.

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personally  
delivered to  
Mr. Tompkins  
9/5/55  
aw

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Doc - Bufile 25-330971 (Muslim Cult of Islam)

Ref: Memo Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman  
8/31/55 captioned Emergency Detention Program

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MEMO BELMONT TO BOARDMAN 9/5/55 TDR:ejp

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SEP 22 1955



Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

Cult also believe that they are directly related to all Asiatic nations and any conflict involving any Asiatic nation and the western nation is considered a part of the war of Armageddon in which the Asiatic nation will be victorious.

Instances of Violence Against Police Authority

On several occasions, the primitive hatred, with which members are so imbued, exploded into open violence. In June 1950 the Detroit Police, in attempting to solve a traffic problem, were assaulted by a number of Negroes in front of the Temple of Islam. The officers had their night sticks taken away, were forced to use firearms, and were given a severe beating by the assembled Negroes. These Negroes were identified as members of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

Another incident occurred in September 1950, in San Diego, involving two officers of the San Diego Police Department who were attempting to serve a traffic warrant. Upon arriving at the address, two individuals accosted the officers and advised them the subject of the warrant was not at home. When the officers exhibited the warrant and expressed their intention of searching the house, they were ruthlessly attacked. This perpetrated a near riot and necessitated the calling out of additional cars and approximately twenty officers. Before the subject was taken into custody and order was restored, an unknown individual fired three shots into a police car. It was later determined that the subject and the two individuals who intercepted the officers were all members of the San Diego Temple of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

In February 1951, another incident occurred which involved a disturbance between members of the Cult who were en route to the yearly convention in Chicago. Members of the Montgomery County Police in Silver Spring, Maryland, were alerted. Four policemen who met the train and entered the car were assaulted and had their guns and blackjacks taken away from them.

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Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

by members of the Cult. This necessitated a call for police reinforcements, and nine members of the Cult were removed to the station and charged with assault.

Opposition to Federal Authority

Such open defiance is not relegated merely to local authority. In view of the stand this organization has taken in connection with service in the armed forces, members have consistently, since the passage of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, adhered to the teachings of their leaders in refusing to register, because they claim to be registered in the book of Allah in the Holy City of Mecca and cannot serve two masters. In 1942 three leaders of the Cult, including Elijah Mohammed, and seventy members of the Chicago Temple were arrested by Agents of this Bureau. The charges leveled against the leaders included failure to register for selective service, sedition and counseling their followers "that members of the Temple of Islam should not go into the Army and should ignore any cards or letters from the local draft board." The indictments returned for sedition and conspiracy to commit sedition were dismissed in May 1943; however, the three leaders served prison terms for selective service violations. Of the seventy members arrested, approximately forty served prison terms for violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

During the course of the Second World War and the war in Korea, such incidents were repeated throughout the country, and a number of convictions were secured for violations of the Selective Service acts; and now with the threat of hostilities in the Far East, the Cult has again taken an open stand against service in the armed forces of the United States. They continue to include in their teachings such information as: "The black people have always been helping the devil by fighting in his wars, but the Muslims do not go to war but rather to jail. Those who register will be kicked out of the nation of Islam and will die with the white devils."

Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

Disloyalty and Disrespect for the United States Government

Intertwined with defiance of the provisions of the Selective Service acts is a vivid disloyalty to the Government and a continual disrespect for its laws. In a publication obtained from the headquarters of the Muslim Cult of Islam in Chicago, entitled "The Final Call to Islam," the following appeared: "Of all the governments of the world there never existed one so wicked as America, which has misled the Holy People of Allah, and deceived them into worshipping a God that they cannot see, nor hear, that is a God which does not exist. For this cause Allah, has stretched forth his hand against the wicked America to bring her down, even to dust and ashes, a country whose land is full of churches and in them wickedness is practiced beyond words to describe."

In 1942, Elijah Mohammed colorfully described the American flag as follows: "The flag you see here is the flag of the white devil. The white that you see, and notice that you don't see any black any where on it, represents the white race; the red represents the blood that they lose keeping it for the white devil alone, the blue background, the white stars represent justice to the whites, not the red men or the black men but only for the white devils."

He told his people not to display the flag of the white devil, because the flag meant nothing to them but a banner with stars and stripes and a piece of blue cloth, but the flag of Islam meant their very salvation.

When the United States was at war with Japan, the Cult considered the Japanese their "little brown brothers" and gleefully predicted the victory of the Land of the Rising Sun. In 1942, Elijah Mohammed reportedly made the following statement at a temple meeting: "The Japanese flag is similar to our flag of Islam and the likeness is because the Japanese are our brothers and they are the only ones who will give us justice, freedom and equality."

- 4 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

At the outbreak of war in Korea, the Cult immediately allied its sympathies with the cause of North Korea and spoke in glowing terms of the strength and power of their Korean brothers.

They have consistently referred to their Asiatic brothers in Russia, and, while there is no evidence to prove affiliation with the Communist Party, many of the leaders have lost no occasion to rise, verbally, to the defense of the Soviet Union in any matter involving difficulties between the United States and Russia.

The above examples are not intended to be all-inclusive and numerous reports concerning this organization have been made available to the Department under the caption "Elijah Mohammed, with aliases; Muslim Cult of Islam - Selective Service Act, 1948; Sedition; Conspiracy" and "Muslim Cult of Islam, Internal Security - MCI."

We have conducted and are presently conducting investigations of individual members of the Cult who are reported to be (1) functionaries or leaders of the Cult; (2) members of the military section of the Cult known as the Fruit of Islam or (3) active participants in carrying out disloyal aims and purposes of the Cult. The names of individual members have been added to the Security Index after a careful evaluation of their activities in furthering the fanatical and anarchist aims and purposes of the Cult because it was felt that they presented a potential threat against the internal security of the country in the event of an emergency. Based on information set out above it appears that such a potential threat could materialize by acts of violence as has been done by members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico or by seizing upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to commit acts of violence based upon their hatred and disloyalty to the Government of the United States.

*Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins*

*In view of the above and in the light of additional data concerning the Cult which has been made available to the Department in the form of reports under the captions previously mentioned, you may desire to further consider whether this organization would constitute a dangerous instrumentality in the event of a national emergency. If it is your decision that this organization does not constitute a potential threat to the internal security of this country we will take steps to remove from the Security Index the names of those individual members presently included therein.*

*- 6 -*

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: September 2, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

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|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Boardman   | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Tamm       | _____ |
| Sizoo      | _____ |
| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM  
Bufile 100-356062

DETENTION - Govt

Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI) teaches its members (all Negroes) civil disobedience of any law conflicting with Muslim law and that non-Muslims and Christianity will be destroyed in the "War of Armageddon." Has military branch called "Fruit of Islam" (FOI). Members sympathetic to Asiatic nations in any conflict with western nations. Members have rebelled against police authority on occasion, expressed opposition to Federal authority by refusal to serve in military, teach disrespect for U.S. Government and appear to be potential threat to internal security of U.S. We investigate (1) functionaries, (2) members of the FOI, and (3) active participants in the Cult. We have 151 included in the Security Index because of such activities.

Department considers available information insufficient to classify MCI as dangerous organization, states Security Index status should be determined by substantiated evidence of each respective individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs as members of MCI and requests we furnish list of members included in Security Index. We feel that analysis of potential dangerousness of this organization and its members has not been subject of thorough study by Department. We propose to cite specific instances of violence against police authority, opposition to Federal authority, disloyalty and disrespect for U.S. Government and request Department to further consider whether this organization should be considered as dangerous to internal security of U.S.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) If you approve, there is attached a proposed letter to the Department requesting further consideration of potential dangerousness of this organization.

(2) It is recommended that we not furnish Department list of 151 MCI members included in SI pending reconsideration by Dept.

Enclosures

- cc - Mr. Boardman
- cc - Mr. Belmont
- cc - Mr. Bland
- cc - Mr. Rushing

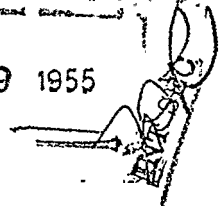
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100-356062-1537

EX. - 103

SEP 9 1955

TDR: pjm 10/19/55  
5(5)



MIC

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

(3) The Department's correspondence indicates it has not thoroughly reviewed the entire file on the Muslim Cult but it is basing its opinion on the statement of one minister. If you agree, Belmont will deliver the attached letter to Tompkins or Yeagley and point out the necessity for the Department to thoroughly review the file on this organization prior to any decision as to the individual members.

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GK  
H

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN <sup>1349.55</sup>

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM  
FBI File 100-356062

DATE: August 31, 1955

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

As result of action taken by the Department to remove three members of the Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI), all Government employees, from the Security Index, we directed a letter to the Department August 8, 1955, requesting advice as to (1) whether we should continue to conduct security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the MCI and particularly the members of the Fruit of Islam (FOI), the military arm of the Cult, to determine whether the names of such individuals should be added to the Security Index and (2) whether the names of all members of the MCI currently on the Security Index should be removed from the Security Index.

With respect to the questions posed to the Department, the Department advised (1) that the Bureau should continue to conduct security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the MCI and (2) that an individual review and evaluation of derogatory information reported on each of the leaders and active participating members of the Cult must be conducted to ascertain whether as individuals, they should be removed from the Security Index or should continue to be included, based on substantiated evidence of each respective individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs, as members of the Cult. The Department further noted that on the basis of available information the anarchist and revolutionary statements reportedly made by a single minister of the Cult are not of such scope as to indicate an aim or purpose of the Cult as enunciated by the prophet and leader, Elijah Mohammed, for uniform compliance by all MCI temple ministers.

The Department concludes that statements and activities on the part of individual members of the Cult indicating anarchist and revolutionary beliefs, will be determining factors in determining whether or not such individual members come within the revised Security Index criteria. The Department requests that a complete list of the names and FBI file numbers of the members of the MCI currently included in the Security Index be made available and that the Internal Security Division be kept informed of the individual members' activities on a continuing basis in order that their cases may be reviewed or re-reviewed in light of any new evidence or information developed.

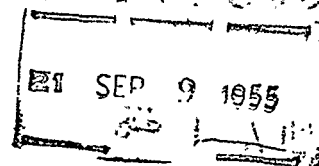
Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Bland  
Mr. Rushing

TDR:mjt:ejp  
(5)

RECORDED - 77

EX - 108



59 SEP 16 1955

RECEIVED - GOVERNMENT



Memorandum for Mr. Boardman:

Thumbnail Sketch of the MCI:

Reliable informants report that this Cult is an organization composed entirely of Negroes which was reportedly organized around 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. The national leader and founder is Elijah Mohammed who claims to have been sent by Allah to lead the Negroes out of slavery in the United States. Members fanatically follow the alleged teachings of Allah as interpreted by Mohammed and disavow allegiance to the United States. Members pledged allegiance only to Allah and Islam and believe any civil law which conflicts with Muslim law should be disobeyed. The Cult teaches that members of the dark skinned race cannot be considered citizens of the United States since they are in slavery in this country and, therefore, must free themselves by destroying non-Muslims and Christianity in the "War of Armageddon." For this purpose the Cult has a military branch called the Fruit of Islam composed of all male able-bodied members who participate in military drill and judo training. Members of the Cult also believe that they are directly related to all Asiatic nations and any conflict involving any Asiatic nation and the Western nations is considered a part of the War of Armageddon in which the Asiatic nation will be victorious.

Instances of Violence Against Police Authority:

On several occasions the primitive hatred with which members are so imbued, exploded into open violence. In June 1950 the Detroit Police, in attempting to solve a traffic problem, were assaulted by a number of Negroes in front of the Temple of Islam. The officers had their night sticks taken away, were forced to use firearms, and were given a severe beating by the assembled Negroes. These Negroes were identified as members of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

Another incident occurred in September 1950 in San Diego, involving two officers of the San Diego Police Department who were attempting to serve a traffic warrant. Upon arriving at the address, two individuals accosted the officers and advised them the subject of the warrant was not at home. When the officers exhibited the warrant and expressed their intention of searching the house, they were ruthlessly attacked. This perpetrated a near riot and necessitated the calling out of additional cars and approximately twenty officers. Before the subject was taken into custody and order was restored, an unknown individual fired three shots into a police car. It was later determined that the subject and the two individuals who intercepted the officers were all members of the San Diego Temple of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman:

In February, 1951, another incident occurred which involved a disturbance between members of the Cult who were en route to the yearly convention in Chicago. Members of the Montgomery County Police in Silver Spring, Maryland, were alerted. Four policemen who met the train and entered the car were assaulted and had their guns and blackjacks taken away from them by members of the Cult. This necessitated a call for police reinforcements, and nine members of the Cult were removed to the station and charged with assault.

Opposition to Federal Authority:

Such open defiance is not relegated merely to local authority. In view of the stand this organization has taken in connection with service in the armed forces, members have consistently, since the passage of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, adhered to the teachings of their leaders in refusing to register, because they claim to be registered in the book of Allah in the Holy City of Mecca and cannot serve two masters. In 1942, three leaders of the MCI, including Elijah Mohammed, and seventy members of the Chicago Temple were arrested by Agents of the Bureau. The charges leveled against the leaders included failure to register for selective service, sedition and counseling their followers "that members of the Temple of Islam should not go into the Army and should ignore any cards or letters from the local draft board." The indictments returned for sedition and conspiracy to commit sedition were dismissed in May, 1943; however, the three leaders served prison terms for selective service violations. Of the seventy members arrested, approximately forty served prison terms for violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

During the course of the Second World War and the war in Korea, such incidents were repeated throughout the country, and a number of convictions were secured for violations of the Selective Service acts; and now with the threat of hostilities in the Far East, the Cult has again taken an open stand against service in the armed forces of the United States. They continue to include in their teachings such information as:

The black people have always been helping the devil by fighting in his wars, but the Muslims do not go to war but rather to jail.

Those who register will be kicked out of the nation of Islam and will die with the white devils.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman:

Disloyalty and Disrespect for the United States Government:

Intertwined with defiance of the provisions of the Selective Service acts is the vivid disloyalty to the Government and the continual disrespect for its laws. Such comments as "no good Muslim registers for the draft, vote or do anything else in the Devil's government," are repeatedly made throughout the various temples. In 1942, Elijah Mohammed, the leader of this Cult, described the American flag as follows: "The flag you see, here is the flag of the white devil. The white that you see, and notice that you don't see any black anywhere on it, represents the white race; the red represents the blood that they lose keeping it for the white devil alone, the blue background, the white stars represent justice to the whites, not the red men or the black men but only for the white devils."

When the United States was at war with Japan, the Cult considered the Japanese their "little brown brothers" and gleefully predicted the victory of the Land of the Rising Sun. At the outbreak of the war in Korea, the Cult immediately allied its sympathies and spoke in glowing terms of the strength of their Korean brothers. They have consistently referred to their Asiatic brothers in Russia, and, while there is no evidence to prove affiliation with the Communist Party, many of the leaders have lost no occasion to rise, to the defense of the Soviet Union in any matter involving difficulties between the United States and Russia.

Observations:

Based upon an analysis of the rabid teachings of this group, it is definitely considered that these people present a threat to the internal security of the United States, and would, with the right number of followers and the opportunity, be more than willing to perform any acts which would subvert American principles and endanger the existence of the American nation as such. Such a potential threat could materialize by actual violence against civil authorities prior to a national emergency as has been done by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico or by seizing upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to commit acts of violence based upon their hatred and disloyalty to the Government of the United States. Our instructions to the field are that security-type investigations are to be conducted on individual members of the Cult who are reported to be (1) functionaries or leaders of the Cult; (2) members of the military section of the Cult known as the "Fruit of Islam" or (3) active participants in carrying out fanatical and disloyal aims and purposes of the Cult. Individuals affiliated with the Cult have been retained in the Security Index after careful evaluation of their activities in furthering the violence and anarchist aims and purposes of the Cult under that portion of the revised Security Index

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman:

criteria which reads "investigation has developed information that the individual though not a member or a participant in the activities of a subversive organization has anarchist or revolutionary beliefs and is likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety as shown by overt acts or statements within the last three years established through reliable sources, informants or individuals." As of the current date, we have 151 such individuals included in the Security Index. Extensive investigation has been conducted of the activities of the organization since 1942 and the numerous reports in the matter have been forwarded to the Department. It appears from the comments contained in the Department memorandum of August 23, 1955, that an analysis of the potential dangerousness of this organization and its members has not been the subject of a thorough study by the Department. The Domestic Intelligence Division feels that we should cite the information set out previously herein and specifically draw the attention of the Department to the organizational reports submitted concerning the Muslim Cult of Islam, and request the Department to reconsider its stand in this matter. If the Department has a technical legal reason for not desiring the names of these individuals included in the Security Index, it is felt that we should be so informed.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) If you approve, there is attached a proposed letter to the Department along the lines mentioned above.

(2) It is recommended that we not furnish the Department a list of the 151 individuals, MCI members, included in the Security Index pending reconsideration by the Department.

(3) The Department's correspondence indicates it has not thoroughly reviewed the entire file on the Muslim Cult but it is basing its opinion on the statement of one minister. If you agree, Belmont will deliver the attached letter to Tompkins or Yeagley and point out the necessity for the Department to thoroughly review the file on this organization prior to any decision as to the individual members.

J  
MPC

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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| Mr. Tolson     | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont    | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo      | _____ |
| Mr. Parsons    | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen      | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm       | _____ |
| Mr. Sizoo      | _____ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room     | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy     | _____ |

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 23 1955

*WFT*  
FROM : William F. Tompkins  
Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Program for Apprehension and Detention of  
Persons Considered Potentially Dangerous to  
the National Defense and Public Safety of  
the United States

~~TOP SECRET~~

*DETCOM - GENL.*

*R. J. ...*

Reference is made to your memorandum dated August 8, 1955, in which you wished to be advised whether the Bureau should continue to conduct Security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the Muslim Cult of Islam and its military adjunct, "Fruit of Islam", to determine whether the names of such individuals should be added to the Security Index because of their anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs, and further whether the names of all individuals who are currently included in the Security Index on a basis of the individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs as members of the Muslim Cult of Islam, should be removed.

For your information, the Security Index status of the three United States Government Employees, HERBERT CAESAR, JEREMIAH FUGH and JAMES GRICE-REY, referred to in your memorandum, was considered under all four provisions of the revised Criteria, and particularly under Criteria 1(c) which reads: "Investigation has developed information that an individual though not a member or a participant in the activities of a subversive organization has anarchist or revolutionary beliefs and is likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety as shown by overt acts or statements within the last three years established through reliable sources, informants or individuals." It was determined, in the instance of the three United States Government Employees, that there was insufficient substantiated evidence adduced with respect to the anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs on the part of these individual subjects, to warrant the retention of their names in the Security Index.

It now appears apparent that due to the unique status of the Muslim Cult of Islam, as an organization, an individual review and evaluation of the derogatory information reported on each of the leaders and active participating members of the Cult must be conducted to ascertain whether as individuals, they should be removed from the Security Index or should continue to be included, based on substantiated evidence of each respective individual's anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs, as members of the Cult. It is to be assumed that in the cases of a number of the Cult members, particularly among the leaders, ample evidence will be adduced to warrant the retention of their names in the Security Index under the revised Criteria.

Down graded to SECRET ON 5/31/11  
by 687 WYB/BJS

*8/31/55*  
*...*

~~TOP SECRET~~ CONTROL OFFICE  
INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION

RECORDED - 64

*100-356112-1*

Your attention is directed to our memorandum to the Bureau dated August 10, 1954, captioned "Elijah Mohammed, et al, Muslim Cult Islam, Internal Security-MCI", in which it was stated at that time that the fanaticism of Muslim Cult of Islam members appears to be of such an extreme degree as to render possible an outbreak of violence by Cult members which might be similar in nature to the recently attempted assassination of the members of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican Nationalists. It has been ascertained that the basis for this conclusion were the alleged revolutionary statements by ASBURY WILLIAMS, minister, Temple #5, MCI, Cincinnati, Ohio, as reported in Bureau Report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally, dated May 18, 1954, at Cincinnati, Ohio, and credited to Confidential Informants T-4 and T-5 of known reliability.

On this point, it is to be noted that in reply to our memorandum of August 10, 1954, in which we requested a re-evaluation of certain informants, including Confidential Informants T-4 and T-5 of the referenced SA Lally report, the Bureau advised on September 21, 1954 that Confidential Informant T-4 is available to testify but is known to have furnished false information on one occasion, and advised further that Confidential Informant T-5 is not available to testify. In addition, the Bureau advised on March 3, 1955, that Confidential Informant T-4 was being changed from "of known reliability" to "of unknown reliability".

In this connection, a Bureau report on ASBURY WILLIAMS dated September 14, 1954, reflected the records of the Federal Correctional Institute at Milan, Michigan, as follows:

"The subject was described in 1943 as exhibiting no evidence of major psychological or neuropsychiatric disorders. A diagnosis of the subject at that time indicated that he exhibited a constitutional psychopathic inferiority with psychosis. His mental deficiency is noted as 'familial, border line type'. He was described as a 'constitutional psychopathic state - paranoid personality'."

The Bureau report further described WILLIAMS as being of inferior intelligence with a mental age of between ten and eleven years of age with an I.Q. of seventy to seventy-nine.

In light of this later acquired information, the conclusions of our August 10, 1954 memorandum necessarily required re-evaluation. On the basis

of available information, the anarchist and revolutionary statements reportedly made by ASBURY WILLIAMS and referenced in our August 10th memorandum, appear to be restricted to WILLIAMS, as a single minister of the Cult, and a minister who appears to be extremely radical, and such revolutionary statements are not of a substantial scope to indicate an aim or purpose of the Cult as enunciated by the prophet and leader, ELIJAH MOHAMMED, for uniform compliance by all MCI temple ministers.

You have advised that as of July 15, 1955, the date of the last statistical review of the Security Index, the names of 142 Cult members were included in the Security Index. It is requested that this Division be furnished with a complete list of the names and FBI File numbers of the members of the Muslim Cult of Islam currently included in the Index.

Considering that statements and activities on the part of individual members of the Cult, indicating anarchist and revolutionary beliefs, will be determining factors in concluding whether or not such individual members come within the revised Security Index Criteria, it is deemed vital that this Division be kept informed of the individual members' activities on a continuing basis, in order that their cases may be reviewed or re-reviewed in light of any new evidence or information. Therefore, it is requested that you continue to conduct security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

Department of Justice  
Internal Security Division

CONTROL # 7-11112-1,2,3.

Addressee: Director, FBI

Identity of document: Letter Fr. Wm. E. Tomkins dtd. 8/23/55, copies 1,2,3, of  
5 copies, 3 pages each copy. P - An extension and intensification program

Delivered by: Archie D. Almon

Received by: William W. Gandy

Date: 8/23/55



cc Mr. Boardman  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc Mr. Cox

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

August 8, 1955

Director, FBI

PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION  
OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY  
DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND  
PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FBI File 100-356062

DETENTION - Sent

Reference is made to your memoranda dated July 29, 1955, captioned as above, referring to the Security Index status of Herbert Caesar, Jeremiah Pugh and James Grice-Bey, all employees of the United States Government. Your communication in each instance advised that the name of the Federal employee should be removed from the Security Index. This has been done.

Investigations reflect each of the individuals as a member of and an active participant in the affairs of the Muslim Cult of Islam, an organization composed of fanatical individuals who encourage racial prejudice and disavow allegiance to the United States. Each of the individuals is reported to be a member of the Fruit of Islam, the military arm of the Cult that frequently engages in close-order-drills according to informants.

In the memoranda to the Bureau dated July 29, 1955, regarding the individuals mentioned above, you stated that on the basis of the information furnished to the Department on the Muslim Cult of Islam it has been decided that insufficient evidence has been adduced to include the group as a basic revolutionary group under the terms of the Security Index criteria. You also stated that until further evidence has been developed to substantiate a determination that the Cult adheres to the concepts and principal tenets of the Communist Party and advocates the use of force and violence, it had been decided that individual members of the Cult do not come within the requirements for the retention of the names in the Security Index.

- cc - Bufile 25-330971 (Muslim Cult of Islam)
- cc - Bufile 105-31952 (Jeremiah Pugh)
- cc - Bufile 105-354152 (Caesar)
- cc - Bufile 105-282252 (Grice-Bey)

PLC:mjt

(10)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

9 AUG 19 1955

Enclosure to memo Belmont to Boardman dated 8/8/55 PLC:ojk

SAME SUBJECT

Downgraded to SECRET on 8/31/46  
by 687w74343  
100-356062-1530  
Tompkins OFFICE  
PLC

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Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

In a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III dated February 9, 1953, captioned "Liljah Mohammed, with aliases, The Muslim Cult of Islam, Selective Service Act of 1948, Conspiracy, Internal Security - C," and "Program for Apprehension and Detention of Persons Considered Potentially Dangerous to the National Defense and Public Safety of the United States," he advised that the Muslim Cult of Islam, under certain circumstances, presents a serious threat to the internal security because of the fanatical beliefs of the Cult which encourage racial prejudice and disloyalty to the United States. He stated with reference to the Bureau's question as to whether a security-type investigation should be conducted regarding the leaders and/or members of the Cult for the purpose of considering them for inclusion in the Security Index, that investigative reports regarding the leaders and all presently active participating members should be furnished to the Department. Investigations of leaders and active participating members of the Cult have been and are being conducted. In addition, investigative reports regarding the Cult have been submitted to the Department on a continuing basis.

When facts developed through investigation warrant such action, names of Cult members have been added to the Security Index. As of July 15, 1955, the date of the last statistical review of the Security Index, the names of 142 Cult members were included in the Security Index. The figure includes the three individuals mentioned above.

Individuals affiliated with the Cult have not been included in the Security Index on the premise that the Cult adheres to the concepts and principal tenets of the Communist Party. The names of individuals have been retained in the Security Index after careful evaluation of their activities in furthering the fanatical and anarchist aims and purposes of the Cult under that portion of the revised Security Index criteria which reads as follows: "Investigation has developed information that an individual though not a member or a participant in the activities of a subversive organization has anarchist or revolutionary beliefs and is likely to seize

Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety as shown by overt acts or statements within the last three years established through reliable sources, informants or individuals."

In connection with the Cult's advocacy of the use of force and violence, your attention is directed to your memorandum to the Bureau dated August 10, 1954, captioned "Elijah Mohammed, et al, Muslim Cult of Islam, Internal Security - MCI," in which you state in part that this Cult continues to foster a program of vicious racial hatred, fanned continuously by the fanatical preachings of Mohammed and his ministers, bitterly denouncing the United States Government, its flag and leaders, and proclaiming the eventual destruction of the country and the white people thereof. You further stated that the fanaticism of Muslim Cult of Islam members appears to be of such an extreme degree as to render possible an outbreak of violence by Cult members which might be similar in nature to the recently attempted assassination of the members of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican Nationalists.

In that connection, Asbury Williams, leader of Temple Number 5 of the Cult at Cincinnati, is reported to have stated that the Muslims and not the Puerto Ricans should be the persons to kill the President and the rest of the leading officials in the United States. The information is set out in detail in the report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally dated May 18, 1954, at Cincinnati, Ohio, captioned "Elijah Mohammed, et al, Muslim Cult of Islam, Internal Security - MCI."

As you pointed out in your memorandum dated August 10, 1954, the members of the Muslim Cult of Islam present a potential for violence similar to the members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. This is based on the extreme fanatical and anarchist teachings and beliefs of the members. Such a potential threat could materialize by acts of violence against civil authority prior to a national emergency as has been done by members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico or

Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

by seizing upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to commit acts of violence based upon their hatred and disloyalty to the Government of the United States.

You are requested to advise whether this Bureau should continue to conduct security-type investigations of the leaders and active participating members of the Muslim Cult of Islam and particularly the members of the Fruit of Islam, the military arm of the Cult, to determine whether the names of such individuals should be added to the Security Index because of their anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs. In view of your decision to remove the names of the three Federal employees mentioned above from the Security Index you are requested to advise whether the names of all other individuals should be removed from the Security Index which were included therein based on the individuals' anarchist and revolutionary activities and beliefs as members of the Muslim Cult of Islam.

- 4 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: August 8, 1955

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| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

*DETCOM - Genl.*

SUBJECT: PROGRAM FOR APPREHENSION AND DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES  
Bufile 100-356062

*T. Boardman*

105-38925  
105-31952  
105-35482  
105-35091

Memoranda from Assistant Attorney General Tompkins dated July 29, 1955, advised Security Index cards for United States Government employees Herbert Caesar, Jeremiah Pugh and James Grice-Bey should be cancelled as cases do not come within revised Security Index criteria. Each individual is a member of and an active participant in the affairs of the Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI), an organization composed of fanatical Negroes who encourage racial prejudice and disavow allegiance to the United States. Each is a member of the Fruit of Islam, the military arm of the Cult that frequently engages in close-order-drills.

Assistant Attorney General Tompkins' memoranda stated there was insufficient evidence to consider MCI a basic revolutionary group under revised Security Index criteria. He stated there was no evidence that the Cult adheres to the concepts and principal tenets of the Communist Party (CP) and advocates the use of force and violence.

As of July 15, 1955, there were 142 Cult members on the Security Index including the three persons mentioned above. These individuals are not included on Security Index based on CP activity since there is no evidence of a tie-up between MCI and CP. Names included and retained in Security Index based on Security Index criteria that investigation has developed information the individual, though not a member or a participant in the activities of a subversive organization, has anarchist or revolutionary beliefs and is likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety.

Enclosure *see 8-9-55*

100-356062-15

- PLC:ojk (8) *8/10/55*
- cc - Bufile 25-330971 (Muslim Cult of Islam) 1955
- Bufile 105-31952 (Jeremiah Pugh)
- Bufile 105-35482 (Herbert Caesar)
- Bufile 105-38925 (Grice-Bey)

cc - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Cox

*5-PC*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Tompkins dated August 10, 1954, captioned "Elijah Mohammed, et al, Muslim Cult of Islam, Internal Security - MCI," stated in part that the MCI continues to foster a program of vicious racial hatred, fanned continually by the fanatical preaching of Mohammed and his ministers, bitterly denouncing the United States Government, its flag and leaders, and proclaiming the eventual destruction of the country and the white people thereof. He further stated that the fanaticism of the MCI members appears to be of such an extreme degree as to render possible an outbreak of violence by Cult members which might be similar in nature to the attempted assassination of the members of the House of Representatives by the Puerto Rican Nationalists.

OBSERVATIONS:

The conclusion reached by Mr. Tompkins in regard to the three Federal Government employees in regard to the dangerousness of the individuals or the anarchist and violent aims and purposes of the MCI appears contrary to the observations in his memorandum of August 10, 1954.

Individuals deemed dangerous because of anarchist or revolutionary acts or statements have been placed in the Security Index both under the old Security Index criteria and the revised criteria, even though there is no affiliation with the CP or other Marxist revolutionary groups. The criteria clearly spelled out this situation.

The radical group of Negroes who are members of the MCI are lead by Elijah Mohammed. They believe he is the "True Prophet of Allah" and believe that any civil law which conflicts with Muslim Law should be disobeyed. The members disavow allegiance to the United States and pledge allegiance only to Islam. They do not consider it their duty to register for Selective Service. The members consider themselves merely slaves of this country who will continue to be slaves until they free themselves. This Cult presents a threat to the internal security

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

similar to that presented by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Their training, teachings and statements clearly depict them as potential security threats. Only the leaders, members of the Fruit of Islam and very active participating members have been included in the Security Index. The three Federal employees fall within these categories.

ACTION:

If you approve, there is attached a memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins requesting (1) advice as to whether the investigations of individual members of the Cult should be continued and (2) whether the names of the other Security Index subjects who have been placed in the Security Index because of their anarchist and revolutionary beliefs in affiliation with the MCI should be continued in the Security Index.

*W*

*Jones*

*Mad*

*PhC*

cc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Minitter

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

March 21, 1955

RECORDED - 8

Director, FBI

25-330971-478

ELIJAH MOHAMMED  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI  
FBI File 25-330971

Reference is made to your memorandum dated March 7, 1955, your reference 25-12-1202, WO:MAR:dlh, concerning consideration of members of the Muslim Cult of Islam for possible denaturalization.

Your memorandum states that, it is assumed that, in accordance with established procedures, the Bureau has sent or will send to the Immigration and Naturalization Service copies of FBI reports concerning individual members of the Muslim Cult of Islam who are naturalized citizens.

For your information, the Bureau has and will continue to send to the Immigration and Naturalization Service such reports.

MJM:sfd:gmf  
(5)

o.k. received 4/8/55  
Report in dictation 4/8/55  
SS:

0-16WFO  
4-5-55  
MAM-ell

from  
Wray  
Act  
7  
70

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- dy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
MAR 21 1955  
MAILED 26



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

Mar

- Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WO: M

25-12

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

*WO (Selma)*

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

*EXP*

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI

The Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, has referred to me your memorandum dated September 21, 1954, the last paragraph of which suggests the consideration of members of the MCI for possible denaturalization.

It is assumed that, in accordance with established procedures, you have sent or will send to the Immigration and Naturalization Service copies of your reports concerning individual members of the MCI who are naturalized citizens. That agency, in turn, conducts the requisite investigation to determine whether good cause exists for denaturalization and, where appropriate, transmits to this Division the resulting evidence together with the affidavit set forth in Section 340(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1451(a). Upon receipt thereof, this Division will give further consideration to the possible denaturalization of the individuals involved.

*Let to Olney  
3-21-55  
WJG*

EN-122

RECORDED - 8

MAR 8 1955

BAUMGARDNER

6 MAR 8 1955

478

*sub 3-16-55  
MJM*

*Handwritten signature*

*Handwritten signature*

*Handwritten signature*

2-D

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

September 21, 1954

Director, FBI  
RECORDED-10

25-330971-386

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI

Reference is made to your memorandum dated August 10, 1954, your file reference 25-12-1202, WFT:OJM:pcw, wherein you requested information relative to the availability of certain Bureau informants to testify before a Federal Grand Jury and at a possible subsequent trial.

Reference is also made to my memorandum dated August 12, 1954, advising that you would be informed of the availability of these informants upon the completion of a re-evaluation of each informant.

There is set forth below information regarding the availability of informants, which you requested in the referenced memorandum of August 10, 1954.

Report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally dated May 18, 1954, at Cincinnati

Lois Evans is available to testify.

John Henry Simble is available to testify. It is to be noted that Simble is currently active in Temple number 5, Muslim Cult of Islam (MCI), Cincinnati, Ohio. He formerly held the rank of Captain in this Temple. However, his current position is not known. It is believed he will be a reluctant witness if utilized.

T-2 is available to testify.  
(Former CI 194-C)

T-4 is available to testify. It is to be noted, however, that this informant is known to have furnished false information on one occasion.  
(Former CI 245-S)

T-5 is not available to testify.  
(CI 266-S)

2cc - New York (105-7809) (Information)

2cc - Chicago (25-20607) (Information)

NOTE ON YELLOW: The reports listed in this communication are in the same order as they appeared in the memo from the Department dated August 10, 1954.

RET:pjm

COMM - FBI  
SEP 21 1954  
MAILED 25

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

OCT 1 1954

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

WAP

T-6 is not available to testify.  
(CI 178-S)

T-8 is Rudolph Smith, who is available to testify.

Report of Special Agent Nathaniel H. Gillis dated February 13, 1954, at Detroit

T-3 is James Martin, Sr., who is available to testify.

T-4 is Mrs. Bessie Usery, who is available to testify.

Report of Special Agent Ralph G. Hardy dated February 11, 1954, at Baltimore

T-2 is available to testify. This informant advised, however, that he is not willing to testify because he fears reprisal by the WCI.  
(BA 1023-S)

Report of Special Agent L. Russell Wharry dated December 11, 1953, at Washington, D. C.

T-7 is not available to testify.  
(WFO 812-S)

T-5 is not available to testify.  
(CG 5781-C)

Report of Special Agent William F. Seane dated October 23, 1953, at New York

William Arthur Weston is a member of the Armed Services. We are attempting to locate Weston for the purpose of determining his availability.

Report of Special Agent Joseph V. Kover dated September 18, 1953, at Chicago

T-1 is not available to testify.  
(CG 5781-C)

T-3 is a former Bureau informant who is presently incarcerated at the Lonion Prison Farm, Ohio State Penal System. He will be eligible for parole in June, 1956. The Bureau is not aware of any conditions which would make this individual unavailable to testify. It is to be noted, however, that in the past this informant has indicated his life would be in jeopardy if the WCI became aware of his status as an informant for the FBI.

(CI 176-C)

82703

Report of Special Agent Paul F. Nugent dated April 8, 1953, at Chicago

T-1 is not available to testify.

(CG 5781-C)

T-4 is not available to testify.

(BA 992-C)

T-14 is not available to testify.

(CG 5814-C)

T-15 is Laura Etta Robinson, Route 1, Box 49, Beggs, Oklahoma, who is believed to be available to testify. It is to be noted no contact has been made with this witness since June, 1953, when she left the Chicago, Illinois, area.

Report of Special Agent James P. Kennedy dated April 31, 1953, at Baltimore

T-1 is available to testify. This witness advised that he is not willing to testify because he fears reprisal by the MCI. This witness is identical with T-3 referred to in the report of Special Agent Ralph J. Murdy dated February 11, 1954, at Baltimore.

(BA 1023-S)

Report of Special Agent Andrew T. Finan dated November 12, 1952, at Chicago

T-2 is not available to testify.

(CG 5781-C)

T-9 is not available to testify.

(CG 5814-C)

The informant who furnished the information referred to in my memoranda dated March 31, 1954, and May 20, 1954, is now available to testify. This informant is identical with T-4 who is referred to in the aforementioned report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally dated May 18, 1954, at Cincinnati.

(CI 245-C)

Our New York Office recently interviewed 15 members of the MCI. These MCI members refused to furnish any information of value regarding the teachings of the MCI or its officers. Most of the MCI members interviewed to date have exhibited a hostile attitude and have questioned the authority of the FBI to conduct such interviews. They claimed the FBI is persecuting them because of their religious beliefs.

These MCI members have stated that they owe allegiance primarily to the Nation of Islam and to its prophet, Elijah Mohammed. They have stated that they are denied freedom, justice, and equality under the United States form of Government and they are still being held as "slaves" under the flag of the United States. These MCI members advised that they will only know freedom, justice, and equality under the flag of Islam. They claimed they are not citizens of the United States but are citizens of the Universe and of the Nation of Islam, and, as such, do not owe allegiance to the United States Government and would not defend the United States in case it is attacked.

Inasmuch as members of the MCI disavow allegiance to the United States and claim allegiance only to the Nation of Islam and to its prophet, Elijah Mohammed, you may wish to consider members of the MCI for possible denaturalization.

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

September 21, 1954

Director, FBI  
RECORDED-101

25-330971-386

84800

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
MEMBER COLT OF ISLAM, also known as  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI

This is a four page communication, the only parts of which that are applicable to the SSC inquiry are the two paragraphs on page four. Accordingly the remaining irrelevant material is deleted. (Page one and all of pages 2 and 3.)

8/27/55

These NCI members have stated that they owe allegiance primarily to the Nation of Islam and to its prophet, Elijah Mohammed. They have stated that they are denied freedom, justice, and equality under the United States form of government and they are still being held as "slaves" under the flag of the United States. These NCI members advised that they will only know freedom, justice, and equality under the flag of Islam. They claimed they are not citizens of the United States but are citizens of the Universe and of the Nation of Islam, and, as such, do not owe allegiance to the United States Government and would not defend the United States in case it is attacked.

Inasmuch as members of the NCI disavow allegiance to the United States and claim allegiance only to the Nation of Islam and to its prophet, Elijah Mohammed, you may wish to consider members of the NCI for possible denaturalization.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 10

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security Division

WFT:OJM:pcw

25-12-1202

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, et al.  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI

CONFIDENTIAL

|                |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Mr. Boardman   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Nichols    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Belmont    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Harbo      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Mohr       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Parsons    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Rosen      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Tamm       | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Sizoo      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Winterrowd | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tele. Room     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Holloman   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Miss Gandy     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

*2h/102*

Reference is made to your memoranda of March 31 and May 20, 1954, in which you advised this Division that informants, who furnished information concerning (1) the possession of rifles and knives by the Muslim Cult of Islam in Chicago and (2) the use of rifles in military drills at the Cincinnati temple, respectively, were not available to testify in any criminal proceeding at that time.

Under the direction of its "Prophet," Elijah Mohammed, the Muslim Cult of Islam has established temples in approximately sixteen leading cities in the United States with national headquarters in Chicago. This Cult continues to foster a program of vicious racial hatred, fanned continuously by the fanatical preachings of Mohammed and his ministers, bitterly denouncing the United States Government, its flag and leaders, and proclaiming the eventual destruction of this country and the white people thereof. Apparently, the Muslim Cult of Islam also continues to counsel young Cult members to evade registration under the Selective Service Act or service in the United States Armed Forces as required under the Act.

The fanaticism of MCI members appears to be of such an extreme degree as to render possible an outbreak of violence by Cult members, which might be similar in nature to the recently attempted assassination of members of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican Nationalists.

Inasmuch as this matter is again being reviewed by this Division, it is requested that you re-evaluate the informants who have been heretofore designated as unavailable to determine whether or not they can be made available at this time for the purpose of testifying in connection with any contemplated prosecution directed against the Cult or its members. It is requested that you advise this Division of the results of your re-evaluation.

In addition, it is also requested that you advise this Division as to whether the following witnesses and confidential informants are available to testify before a Federal Grand Jury and at a possible subsequent trial:

RECORDED - 150

EX-130

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AUG 11 1954

BANKARDNER

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

EXP. PROC. AUG 11 1954

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

*Let to Dept 8-12-54 WFT*

*Let Chicago 8-17-54*



- ✓ (1) Lois Evans, John H. Kimble, T-2, T-4, T-5, T-6 and T-8, all as reflected in the report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally, prepared at Cincinnati, Ohio and dated May 18, 1954.
- ✓ (2) T-3 and T-4, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent Nathaniel Gillom, prepared at Detroit, Michigan and dated February 15, 1954.
- ✓ (3) T-2, as reflected in the report of Special Agent Ralph G. Murdy, prepared at Baltimore, Maryland and dated February 11, 1954.
- ✓ (4) T-1 and T-5, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent L. Russell Wharry, prepared at Washington, D. C., and dated December 11, 1953.
- ✓ (5) William Arthur Newton, as reflected in the report of Special Agent William F. Beane, prepared at New York City and dated October 26, 1953. *Royce*
- ✓ (6) T-1 and T-3, both as reflected in the Summary Report of Special Agent Joseph V. Rogers, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated September 18, 1953. *105-24822-1*
- ✓ (7) T-1, T-4, T-14, and T-15, all as reflected in the Summary Report of Special Agent Paul E. Nugent, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated April 8, 1953.
- ✓ (8) T-1 as reflected in the report of Special Agent James F. Kennedy, prepared at Baltimore, Maryland and dated April 30, 1953.
- ✓ (9) T-2 and T-9, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent Andrew G. Finan, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated November 12, 1952.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Boardman   | ✓     |
| Mr. Nichols    | ✓     |
| Mr. Belmont    | ✓     |
| Mr. Mohr       | ✓     |
| Mr. Parsons    | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen      | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm       | _____ |
| Mr. Sizoo      | _____ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room     | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy     | _____ |

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 10 1954

*W.F.T.*

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

WFT:OJM:pcw

25-12-1202

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, et al.  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MCI

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference is made to your memoranda of March 31 and May 20, 1954, in which you advised this Division that informants, who furnished information concerning (1) the possession of rifles and knives by the Muslim Cult of Islam in Chicago and (2) the use of rifles in military drills at the Cincinnati temple, respectively, were not available to testify in any criminal proceeding at that time.

*7913*

Under the direction of its "Prophet," Elijah Mohammed, the Muslim Cult of Islam has established temples in approximately sixteen leading cities in the United States with national headquarters in Chicago. This Cult continues to foster a program of vicious racial hatred, fanned continuously by the fanatical preachings of Mohammed and his ministers, bitterly denouncing the United States Government, its flag and leaders, and proclaiming the eventual destruction of this country and the white people thereof. Apparently, the Muslim Cult of Islam also continues to counsel young Cult members to evade registration under the Selective Service Act or service in the United States Armed Forces as required under the Act.

EX-130  
AUG 11 1954

*Let to Dept  
8-12-54  
WFT*

The fanaticism of MCI members appears to be of such an extreme degree as to render possible an outbreak of violence by Cult members, which might be similar in nature to the recently attempted assassination of members of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican Nationalists.

Inasmuch as this matter is again being reviewed by this Division, it is requested that you re-evaluate the informants who have been heretofore designated as unavailable to determine whether or not they can be made available at this time for the purpose of testifying in connection with any contemplated prosecution directed against the Cult or its members. It is requested that you advise this Division of the results of your re-evaluation.

In addition, it is also requested that you advise this Division as to whether the following witnesses and confidential informants are available to testify before a Federal Grand Jury and at a possible subsequent trial:

*Let Chicago  
8-17-54*

RECORDED - 150

44-386

EX-130

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AUG 11 1954

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

- ✓ (1) Lois Evans, John H. Kimble, T-2, T-4, T-5, T-6 and T-8, all as reflected in the report of Special Agent Richard F. Lally, prepared at Cincinnati, Ohio and dated May 18, 1954.
- ✓ (2) T-3 and T-4, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent Nathaniel Gillom, prepared at Detroit, Michigan and dated February 15, 1954.
- ✓ (3) T-2, as reflected in the report of Special Agent Ralph G. Murdy, prepared at Baltimore, Maryland and dated February 11, 1954.
- ✓ (4) T-1 and T-5, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent L. Russell Wharry, prepared at Washington, D. C., and dated December 11, 1953.
- ✓ (5) William Arthur Newton, as reflected in the report of Special Agent William F. Beane, prepared at New York City and dated October 26, 1953.
- ✓ (6) T-1 and T-3, both as reflected in the Summary Report of Special Agent Joseph V. Rogers, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated September 18, 1953. *Royce Royce 105-24822-1*
- ✓ (7) T-1, T-4, T-14, and T-15, all as reflected in the Summary Report of Special Agent Paul E. Nugent, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated April 8, 1953.
- ✓ (8) T-1 as reflected in the report of Special Agent James F. Kennedy, prepared at Baltimore, Maryland and dated April 30, 1953.
- ✓ (9) T-2 and T-9, both as reflected in the report of Special Agent Andrew G. Finan, prepared at Chicago, Illinois and dated November 12, 1952.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

January 6, 1954

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

WO:JJCn:dmb

25-12-1202

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, was.  
MOSLEM CULT OF ISLAM  
SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948  
CONSPIRACY; INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CONFIDENTIAL

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Mr. Tolson     | ✓ |
| Mr. Ladd       | ✓ |
| Mr. Clegg      |   |
| Mr. Glavin     |   |
| Mr. Nichols    |   |
| Mr. Rosen      |   |
| Mr. Tracy      |   |
| Mr. Harbo      |   |
| Mr. Mohr       |   |
| Mr. Winterrowd |   |
| Mr. Holloman   |   |
| Miss Gandy     |   |

This refers to my memorandum of September 8, 1953 wherein you were advised that pursuant to your request a review of the material submitted on the above subject would be made for the purpose of determining whether prosecution will be authorized and whether further investigation is desired with regard to the Selective Service conspiracy phase of this case.

The investigative reports reflect that the Moslem Cult of Islam is described by informants as a vicious and fanatical organization composed of Negroes whose members disavow allegiance to the United States and declare allegiance only to Islam and Allah's Prophet, Elijah Mohammed. The organization's rules imply civil disobedience to the laws of the United States while awaiting the annihilation of the White Race in the Biblical reference to the "War of Armageddon."

In connection with its policy of civil disobedience to the laws of the United States, several instances have been reported where leaders of this Cult have, during the course of meetings, made statements to the effect that its members should not comply with the Selective Service Laws and to disregard orders received from their respective local boards.

This attitude is apparently in line with its general policy of opposition to civil authority and there is no specific information developed which would establish that a conspiracy was formed for the purpose of evading or counseling evasion of service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

While there have been instances where individuals have counseled such evasion, it could not be established that they were acting as part of a conspiracy and, consequently, prosecution based on this phase of the case is not warranted. In the circumstances, therefore, no specific investigation as to this possible violation on the part of the organization is desired at this time. However, it is requested that individual instances of counseling evasion or refusal to comply with Selective Service laws be reported to the Criminal Division.

COPIES DESTROYED

NOV 23 1962

RECORDED-88

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1954

# Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gearty \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: SEP 8 1953

FROM: <sup>WOT</sup> Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

WO:JJCn:dmb

25-12-1202

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
 W. F. Mohammed, "Allah," "The  
 Prophet," Elijah Muk-Muhd;  
 "THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM," also known as  
 Allah Temple of Islam  
 SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948;  
CONSPIRACY; INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
 ✓ on [unclear]  
 [unclear]

This will acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of August 10, 1953 in which you requested advice as to whether prosecution will be authorized in the above-captioned matter and whether further investigation is desired with regard to the Selective Service Conspiracy phase of this case.

The entire file in this matter is now being reviewed and upon completion of the same you will be advised as to the desires of the Criminal Division with regard to this case.

*Administrative stamps and handwritten marks:*  
 G. I. R. - 2  
 RECORDED  
 EX-10  
 53 SEP 21 1953  
 211  
 [unclear]

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III  
Criminal Division

August 10, 1953

Director, FBI

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
W. F. Mohammed, "Allah," "The  
Prophet," Elijah-Muk-Muhd;  
"THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM," also known as  
Allah Temple of Islam  
SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948;  
CONSPIRACY; INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Please advise if you desire to authorize prosecution of the leaders of captioned organization for violation of the Selective Service Act. If you do not, do you desire further investigative effort in regard to the Selective Service; Conspiracy phase of this case?

It is contemplated that further investigation will be conducted in this case from the Internal Security viewpoint even if the Selective Service; Conspiracy investigation is not continued.

RECORDED-33

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

25-330971

HAO:pm

MAILED 9  
AUG 11 1953  
COMM - FBI

EX-110

AUG 19 11 53 AM '53  
102

Baw...

4 01 PM '53

Handwritten initials and numbers, including "203" and "103".

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: February 9 1953

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General,  
Criminal Division

WO:KTM:rir

SUBJECT: ELIJAH MOHAMMED, was.  
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, aka  
SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948  
CONSPIRACY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

25-12-1202

~~SECRET~~

PROGRAMS FOR APPREHENSION AND  
DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED  
POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL  
DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE  
UNITED STATES

Reference is made to your memorandum of December 30, 1952, wherein you requested to be advised if the activities of the captioned organization and its leaders constitute a violation of the Smith Act of 1940. Your memorandum also requests advice as to whether security-type investigations should be conducted regarding the leaders and/or members of the Cult for consideration in connection with the Security Index.

The file in this case has been reviewed and it is my opinion that the evidence presently available is insufficient to establish a violation of the Smith Act or a conspiracy to violate said Act. This conclusion has been reached in spite of the fact that the leaders of the Cult, in some measure at least, advocate the desirability of the violent overthrow of the existing Government. However, such advocacy is expressed more in the nature of a prophecy that such overthrow will inevitably come about under the leadership of "Allah" in the "War of Armageddon." The organization appears to have no program of action which reasonably would be calculated to bring about or attempt to bring about the violent overthrow of the Government. In addition, it is pointed out that the conclusion hereinabove expressed is to a large extent influenced by my opinion that the evidence available at this time is insufficient to establish such a "clear and present danger" as is required to make application of the Smith Act constitutional. Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494.

I am, of course, keenly aware that an organization which subscribes to and breeds on the fanatical beliefs of the Muslim Cult, and which encourages bitter race prejudice and disloyalty to the United States would, under certain circumstances, represent a serious threat to our internal security.

~~SECRET~~

56 APR 10 1953

SECURITY INFORMATION

RECORDED - 93

33-171-174X

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-33-171-174X

Accordingly, it is requested that you continue to furnish this Division with investigative reports concerning the captioned organization and its leaders with a view to possible future prosecution under the Smith Act.

With reference to your question as to whether a security-type investigation should be conducted regarding the leaders and/or members of this Cult for the purpose of considering them for inclusion on the Security Index, it is requested that you furnish this Division with investigative reports regarding the leaders and all presently active participating members of this Cult.

~~SECRET~~  
SECRET  
SECURITY INFORMATION



SECURITY INFORMATION - SECR.

Assistant Attorney General Charles B. Murray  
Criminal Division

December 30, 1952

Director, FBI

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, was.  
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, aka.  
SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948  
CONSPIRACY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

PROGRAMS FOR APPREHENSION AND  
DETENTION OF PERSONS CONSIDERED  
POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE NATIONAL  
DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE  
UNITED STATES

Reference is made to the investigative summary  
report of Special Agent Andrew G. Finan dated November 12,  
1952, at Chicago, Illinois, captioned "Elijah Mohammed,  
was., The Muslim Cult of Islam, aka., Selective Service  
Act of 1948, Conspiracy, Internal Security - C" and other  
reports in this matter which have been furnished to the  
Records Administration Branch. It is noted the above-  
mentioned investigative summary report pertains to the  
Internal Security phase of this investigation.

You are requested to advise this Bureau whether  
or not the activities of the above-mentioned organization  
and its leaders, outlined in the reports referred to  
above, violate the Smith Act of 1940.

The purpose of this request is to establish  
the type of proof desired by the Department so that  
future investigation in this matter may be directed  
accordingly.

In addition, your advice is requested as to  
whether a security-type investigation should be conducted  
regarding the leaders and/or members of this Cult for  
the purpose of considering for the Security Index those  
individuals who have anarchist or revolutionary beliefs  
and are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented  
by a national emergency to endanger the public safety and  
welfare.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RET: bh

RECORDED - 71

EX-112

SECURITY INFORMATION - SECR

Bufile 100-356062

COMM - FBI  
DEC 31 1952

JAN 2 1953

137

cc: 158

842002

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

May 5, 1952

James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

JMM:WEP:RMR:et

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, w/a  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, aka  
ALLAH TEMPLE OF ISLAM  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

25-12-1202

Reference is made to your memoranda of February 20 and April 21, 1952, addressed to the Deputy Attorney General, requesting advice as to whether membership in or close association with captioned organization is sufficient basis to conduct a full field investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

While it is not contemplated that additional designations under Executive Order 9835 will be made until there is a clarification of the method of designations as a result of pending litigation, nonetheless, it is my opinion that the information available concerning captioned organization is such as to indicate that it may be a fit subject for designation under the Executive Order and, accordingly, I believe that there is sufficient basis to conduct a full field investigation upon any applicant or government employee in connection with the loyalty program.

25-12-1202-971 ✓  
NOT RECORDED  
148 JUN 30 1952

~~INITIALS ON ORIGINAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-147-100

*Handwritten initials*

15 JUL 8 1952

SECRET



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

|                     |
|---------------------|
| Mr. Tolson.....     |
| Mr. Ladd.....       |
| Mr. Belmont.....    |
| Mr. Clegg.....      |
| Mr. Glavin.....     |
| Mr. Harbo.....      |
| Mr. Rosen.....      |
| Mr. Tracy.....      |
| Mr. Mohr.....       |
| Mr. Nease.....      |
| Mr. Pennington..... |
| Mr. Quinn Tamm..... |
| Mr. Nease.....      |
| Miss Gandy.....     |

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General,  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Elijah Mohammed, with aliases  
Muslim Cult of Islam - aka Allah Temple of Islam  
Selective Service Act, of 1948, -as-amended  
Sedition, Conspiracy.

DATE: February 27, 1952

JMM:HAS:DFG:am  
Mr. Tracy

25-1241202  
Mr. Mohr

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

This is in response to your memorandum of December 28, 1951, with its attachment, in which you requested my views as to whether the facts developed in the above matter warrant prosecution and also to be informed specifically of the extent of any further investigation that is desirable.

The facts developed in the investigation to date are insufficient at this time to prove that men within the draft age have been actually counseled, aided and abetted by members of the organization to evade registration and/or service in the Armed Forces. However, since the investigative report of November 28, 1951, reveals that men within the critical age group may have been told by members of the organization not to comply with the provisions of the Selective Service Act and to disregard orders received from their respective local draft boards, I believe that the investigation should be continued. In connection therewith I suggest, upon investigation of subsequent Selective Service violations by members of this cult, that the delinquent be interviewed, as in the past, with a view to ascertaining whether his delinquency was the result of being counseled by a member or members of the organization. If this fact is established, it is requested that you endeavor to secure the names of those present at that time, the date of the conversation and its substance in detail.

The information available does not reflect a violation of the Sedition Statute, 18 U.S.C. 2387, since it does not appear that the subject group or the members thereof have advised, counseled, urged, or in any manner caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States.

EXCLUDED FROM PROCESSING  
March 1952

*Let Chicago  
w/ service - 129  
4-4-52  
RUC*

MAR 4 1952

12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. A. Devitt Vanech,  
Deputy Attorney General

February 20, 1962

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, was,  
Muslim Cult of Islam, aka  
Allah Temple of Islam  
Selective Service Act of 1948  
Sedition, Conspiracy  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

577  
7-11

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Andrew G. Finan dated 11/28/51 at Chicago, Illinois, entitled "Elijah Mohammed, was, Muslim Cult of Islam, aka Allah Temple of Islam, Selective Service Act of 1948, Sedition, Conspiracy," a copy of which was furnished to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney on December 28, 1951.

This Bureau would appreciate receiving your advice as to whether membership in captioned organization or close association with this organization is sufficient basis to conduct a full field investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

(25-330971-76)

WDC:bab

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25-330971-77

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COMM - FBI

FEB 23 1962 246

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Assistant Attorney General  
James M. McInerney

December 23, 1951

Director, FBI

**SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL**

ELIJAH MOHAMMED, with aliases  
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as  
Allah Temple of Islam  
SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, 1948  
SEDITION, CONSPIRACY

*S.I.R.-6*

Enclosed is a copy of the report of Special Agent Andrew G. Finan dated November 20, 1951, at Chicago, Illinois, which is being furnished for your information and consideration.

It is requested that you advise this Bureau at this time as to your opinion concerning prosecutive action of Elijah Mohammed and the Muslim Cult of Islam. It is also requested that you advise specifically the extent of the investigation necessary in the above matter.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Selmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure

CHS:mrh

RECORDED-37  
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COMM - FBI

125-338971-81  
JAN 9 1952

**SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL**

63 JAN 25 1952

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62-116395-672

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\*encl.

61

JPT:lhb 8/29/75

The Attorney General - U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENC ACTVTS (SSC)

Re 8/20/75 req of SSC for FBI materials. Enclsd  
is memo for ur aprovl & forwrng to Committee in  
respns to Part III of ref'd req on which deadline  
for delivery was set for 8/29/75. Also enclsd  
for ur records is cc of memo preparad for Committe.

18610078





Reference SSC letter dated 8/20/75, page 10.

Item 3 a.

Attached is one set of serials. No excisions made.

100-111

186-10078

FILE (174-135)

11/22/67

SAC ROY K. MOORE

UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
RABBI PERRY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CANTON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MISS., 11/21/67  
BM - CR  
(OO:JN)

On the morning of 11/22/67 I received a call from A. I. BOTNICK, Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 535 Gravier St., Suite 806, New Orleans, La., who advised he is currently staying at the Sun & Sand and was in town to be of whatever assistance he could be in the current bombing. He stated he was going to take those steps necessary to bring pressure on local authorities through people in the Jewish business community to insure that every effort was made to solve this matter. He offered his and his organization's assistance.

ADDENDUM:

BOTNICK called the afternoon of 11/22/67 to report that Rabbi NUSSBAUM would have a news conference at his bombed house 4:00 p.m., this date when he would give to the news media a copy of a paper he had written on Thanksgiving and bombing. BOTNICK stated also that they had called their Jewish constituents in Alabama, Miss., Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina to call STENNIS and EASTLAND and demand that they insist that the local authorities in Mississippi do those things necessary to solve these bombings.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

170-502-3

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NOV 23 1967  
FBI - JACKSON

1 - 174-135

1 - 170-

(Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

RKM:elw

(2)

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE  
Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 21, 1967  
(he is on Sun + Sat) 11/22  
9:00am.

Mr. Roy Moore  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
First Federal Building, Suite 800  
Jackson, Mississippi

He called 11/22/67 -  
& indicated he was  
going to bring  
pressure on locals  
through Jewish  
business community!

Dear Roy:

This is a short note to express my deep appreciation for your taking time out of what I know to be a busy schedule to see me. I very much enjoyed our conversation on mutual interests and concerns. I do hope that on my next visit to Jackson we can have more time together.

I met with some power structure, sympathetic individuals the evening of the day I saw you in order to implement your suggestion in connection with Elmore Greaves. Naturally, there was no indication of my source, and certainly no attribution.

I am sending you under separate cover, with my compliments, a recent publication of the ADL, that deals with the radical right. It isn't the kind of book that one "curls up with," but it is a ready reference for any number of groups and organizations contained in the radical right. Some of them you will see after examining the index extend deep into Mississippi.

With all best wishes and kindest regards,

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick  
Director

170-502-24

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## ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*of B'nai B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET • SUITE 806 • NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130 • (504) 522-9534

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

July 21, 1969

Dear Friend:

Recently I was privileged to read an advance copy of a new and exciting book entitled REPORT FROM ISRAEL, by Arnold Forster, General Counsel to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Director of ADL's Civil Rights Division.

I had heard so much exciting shop talk about Arnold Forster's new book that I wanted to read it as soon as possible to know the book and to be able to share with you this advance look.

In the summer of 1968 and again in early 1969, Arnold Forster was in Israel with his tape recorder, and there he produced many first-hand interviews with prominent Arabs and Jews as well as Christians and Moslems. The book is a narrative version of these on-the-spot interviews and contains thorough coverage of such major topics as the aftermath of the Six-Day War, terrorism on the borders, a united Jerusalem, the occupied areas, and Christians in Israel.

As I read the book I was caught up by the excitement of the interviews - the insights into the Israeli-Arab political picture; the explanation of the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East by Netanel Lorch, Director of Information of Israel's Foreign Ministry; interviews with Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister; General Shlomo Gazit, Liaison Officer to General Moshe Dayan; with Mordecai Gazit, Advisor to the Prime Minister; Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem; Avraham Harmon, President of Hebrew University; with Aziz Shihadeh, Bethlehem-born Arab lawyer; with Father John Roger, head of the Convent of Notre Dame in Jerusalem; Archbishop Bassilius, Chief Secretary to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch; with Dr. G. Douglas Young, leader of the Protestant community in the Old City.

You too will feel the terrorism on the borders when you read Arnold Forster's interview with General Aaron Yaariv, Intelligence Chief of Israel's Armed Forces, who was Staff Chief in the Sinai campaign in 1956, as he describes the Arab terrorist machinery.

You will read at first hand what life is like in a settlement where terrorist activity is a fact of life - at Nahal Golan, a paramilitary settlement located on a plateau of the Golan mountain range, within a mile of the cease-fire line between Israel and Syria.

It was here at Nahal Golan that Arnold Forster made a point to talk with nineteen year-old Anna Fuchs and David Simone. The spirit of these two young people will capture you, as you read how they reacted to the terrorist attacks. In the words of David Simone, "Here (Nahal Golan) morale is very high. We have a wonderful life here, and I think we have the situation under control."

*Consolidated* This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

In presenting a clearer understanding of the new mood among young Blacks, the discussion includes an explanation of their aims and objectives, lauding the emergence of pride in self, race and history. However, those militants who seek to establish a separate society outside the framework of the existing system are labeled "racists in reverse" who pose as a serious threat to our society as white racists.

16 mm/ 29 minutes/ black and white/ cleared for TV  
Film Rental: \$5.00

Sincerely,



A. I. Botnick

AIB:sh

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE  
**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

June, 1968

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A. I. EOTNICK

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President, B'nai B'rith  
ABBI JAY KAUFMAN  
Executive Vice-President,  
B'nai B'rith  
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Program  
ALEXANDER F. MILLER  
Community Service  
HAROLD SAKS  
Administration  
ESTER J. WALDMAN  
Organization and Planning

Dear Friend:

In view of the urgency of sustaining interest and stimulating community action based on the findings of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, we are pleased to advise of the availability of two new and important films. The films merit the widest possible audiences and serious discussion.

REMEDY FOR RIOT

This CBS REPORTS film, based on the Report, examines the 1967 riots in the framework established by President Johnson when he authorized the commission to find out "...what happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?"

The film explores problems within the ghetto, the role of law enforcement agencies, and the mood of white America. REMEDY FOR RIOT explores what several communities across the country are doing to relieve conditions which sparked violence.

This unique film, featuring Harry Reasoner, speaks to all sectors of American society. It should be seen by people in private industry to show what Detroit automotive companies are doing to recruit employees from the ghetto. Law enforcement personnel can gain from the experiences of Atlanta's Police Chief, Herbert Jenkins, a member of the National Advisory Commission, who has worked for years at improving relations between the police and ghetto residents.

It is an excellent film which accomplishes a dual purpose: it not only shows causes of violence, it also speaks to the cures.

16 mm/ 37 minutes/ black and white/ not cleared for TV  
Film Rental: \$5.00

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Dore Schary and Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, discuss the findings contained in the Report and call for drastic changes on the part of White Americans to eliminate prejudice and racism in our society.

The conversations stress one of the vital aspects of the report: that white attitudes have created ghettos, forced blacks into segregated schools, and kept them out of the job market on any but the most menial and low paying levels.

120-302-5  
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JUN 27 1968  
FBI - JACKSON





Before you put the book down you must read the postscript. "Two Men For All Mankind." One was an Israeli Jew who owns a restaurant in Tel Aviv - you may know of Abie Nathan through his dangerous flying exploits and most recently for his single-handed aid in supplying food and medical supplies to Biafra, a planeload of which was donated by B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. The other man, a Christian doctor, is Frederick Jean Krop, who lives today in Rotterdam with his wife and two teen-age children. It was Dr. Krop who, when the Nazis took over Holland in 1941, tried to save as many Jews as he could from being rounded up and killed.

How best to sum up this book? Let me quote from the introduction by Dr. A. Roy Eckardt, Chairman of the Department of Religion at Lehigh University, who writes perceptively: "When we think of the centuries of human suffering and strife in today's world - the Middle East, Biafra, Vietnam - it is all too easy to become downcast. But to read Arnold Forster's up-to-date account of his experiences in Israel is to be given fresh hope - hope for humanity and hope for peace..."

"The good thing is that in the very process of introducing us helpfully to major facets of the life and problems of contemporary Israel, Mr. Forster is also enabling us to take heart for the future."

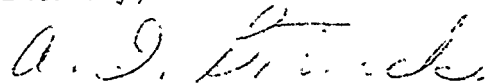
That for me sums up the book. Brief and easy to read, it is a book of extraordinary interest. In perhaps no other book have such salient statements by leading Israeli personalities, Jewish and Christian, been published.

I know you will want to read this book - and to share copies with your friends in the Jewish and Christian communities. REPORT FROM ISRAEL can be helpful in countering anti-Semitic Arab propaganda in the United States, to set the record straight and to tell it like it is - truthfully.

Single copies of this paperback book are available from our ADL regional office at \$1.25. An order blank is enclosed for your convenience.

Please order a copy for yourself - and as many copies as you can to distribute in your community. We will be glad to mail your gift copies postpaid. Just list your recipients on the enclosed order form.

Sincerely,



A. I. Botnick  
Director

AIB:sh  
Encl.

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*Of/B'nai B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 11, 1969

Mr. Roy Moore, Agent-in-Charge  
FBI  
First Federal Building  
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Dear Roy:

Just a short note to say that my travel schedule will bring me to Jackson on Wednesday, November 19.

Hopefully, your calendar is such that we can spend some time together. I will call you on arrival.

Best regards.

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick

AIB: sh

*11-20-69  
He appeared & was  
interested in. How  
& Brian's Militant  
firm - are Anti  
He is a good contact!*

170-50-7

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| FBI-JACKSON |         |

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, JACKSON (174-135)

FROM : SUPERVISOR JAMES O. INGRAM

SUBJECT: UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE  
OF RABBI PERRY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CANTON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MISS., 11/21/67  
BM - CR

DATE: 11/28/67

*2204*

A. I. BOTNIK, Anti-Defamation League, New Orleans, advised on 11/28/67, that he was making inquiries into the bombing of Rabbi NUSSBAUM's home on 11/21/67. He stated he met with a group of men of the Beth Israel Congregation Synagogue the evening of 11/27/67, and \$25,000 was raised as reward for the arrest and conviction of the men responsible for the bombing 11/21/67. He said they could raise \$50,000 or other amounts if desired at later dates.

*This was dictated as insert for Report.*

BOTNIK also stated that one J. S. HARRIS, 3022 West Northside Drive, a member of the congregation, appeared to be "militant and hothead-type." HARRIS indicated he was the type that wanted to take immediate retaliatory action against Klan members if they continued to commit acts of violence. BOTNIK said HARRIS made these remarks during a moment of extreme anger and no doubt he did not mean to take retaliatory action. BOTNIK felt that we should be in possession of this information.

*Index*

*(Sam. Belue: HARRIS Contractor & will rebuild Residence of Nussbaum)*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

174-135-66

2 - 174-135  
JOI/bgi  
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| 1967                |                  |
| FBI - JACKSON       |                  |

*DeLong*



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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : FILE (174-161)

DATE: 2/25/70

FROM : SAC ROY K. MOORE

SUBJECT: KATHLEEN MADLYN AINSWORTH (DECEASED);  
THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III;  
ATTEMPTED BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
MEYER DAVIDSON, 2904 36TH STREET,  
MERIDIAN, MISS., 6/30/68  
BM

Mr. A. I. BOTNIK, Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, South Central Region, New Orleans, La., (phone - JA 2-9534), called this afternoon to report that THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, JR., father of THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III, called him the morning of 2/24/70 for an appointment. BOTNIK made out as though he were someone else and indicated he did not know TARRANTS. TARRANTS stated he was coming to New Orleans to see BOTNIK either at work or at his home.

Shortly thereafter BOTNIK notified the New Orleans police of the call and they said that they, in turn, had just received a call from TARRANTS, JR., wherein he explained he probably had upset one of their citizens with a prior call that date. The New Orleans police, who in the meantime had contacted the Mobile Police, learned that TARRANTS was coming to New Orleans and a description of his automobile. They met him at the city limits, shook down his car and removed a .30 caliber rifle he said he was bringing with him. TARRANTS, accompanied by his 15-year-old son, was taken to New Orleans Police Department where Mr. BOTNIK contacted him and, to the amazement of all, all TARRANTS said was, "You are the man who set up my son," to which BOTNIK replied he did not know what TARRANTS was talking about.

BOTNIK stated that TARRANTS was inebriated and that no conversation of any import took place thereafter, however, TARRANTS did leave a note pad on the Captain of

2 - Jackson  
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174-161-649

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WATTS

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



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JN 174-161

Police's desk (he is sending us a copy of the notes) but generally the following notations were discernable:

"Mrs. HAWKINS - <sup>TARRANTS</sup> TOMMY - 372-4610 <sup>JOHNNY MAE HAWKINS</sup>  
2624 TERESA DR., JACKSON  
Mrs. JULIA KENDICK - 601-354-6014" - Clerk, Miss. Supreme COURT JACKSON, MISS.

The name "FIELDS" (could be EDWARD R. FIELDS of the NSRP) - OK  
<sup>THIS IS ONLY FIELDS KNOWN. HE WAS AT JACKSON 2/1-4/70.</sup>  
"BRADFORD HUEY" (This would be the author from Alabama) - OK.

"HARPER LEE" - MON ROUVILLE, ALA. <sup>1/2 MAURICE CRAIN INC.</sup>

"FRANK WATTS - 601-483-7116" - SA. FBI - MERIDIAN RA  
TEL. #

"DANNY JOE" - JOE DANIEL HAWKINS (157-3307)  
1131 BARBARA ANN DR., JACKSON, MISS

"JOHN CRAIG STEWART - 661-4095 ✓  
? - 344-3400, Extension 261  
? - 433-0484"  
Professor at Univ. of So. Alabama, Mobile, Ala., in Evelyn family.

LEAD

SA JENNINGS should determine where possible the identities of the individuals and their phone numbers for whatever purpose it might serve. Sect.

(See 1A for original copy of notes)

*File Report - [unclear]  
New Orleans*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*174-161-656*

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A-26 reports of being instructed by the Supt. to contact one B. Botnick of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith Office at 8:00am this date.

A-26 contacted Botnick at 866-4079 (Home Phone). Botnick related the following; At about 7:00am this date, he received a long distance phone call from a subject who identified himself as one Tommy A. Tarrants Jr. father of Tommy Tarrants III. (Tarrants III is presently in Parchman Prison Miss. for his involvement in attempt bombing of a Rabbi's home in Meridan, Miss. A recent news article states that Botnick and the ADL office was responsible for the entrapment of Tarrants in the bombing incident.) Tarrants Jr. told Botnick he was coming to New Orleans today to talk to him in this regard. Tarrants did not elaborate on ~~his~~ his plans. ~~He~~ Botnick did not take this as a threat but was concerned about Tarrants possible actions if and when he located him, Botnick in New Orleans.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Botnick further stated he would not be in his office nor at his home for the rest of the day, but would contact A-26 later in the day.

A-26 then contacted the Mobile, Ala. I.D. a Cap t Lami, requesting his office furnish MOPE with a description of Tarrants and his vehicle. At 8:45am, Lami called A-26 and informed him that he had talked to Tarrants by phone this date and requested him to talk to A-26 before leaving for New Orleans.

A-26 called Tarrants at Area Code 205, 479-5273 at 8:50am. Tarrants told A-26 that he was coming to N.O. to see Botnick and that he would see him even if he had to camp-out on his doorstep. A-26 got a description of his car from Tarrants and also learned that he would be coming to N.O. this afternoon and that he would be accompanied by his 15 year old son and that he would be armed with a 30 ca. Carbine. A-26 advised him that the MSPD would ~~meet~~ meet him at the Parish line and secure the weapon and would escort him to the ID office in Police HQ where if it could be arranged he could meet with Botnick. Tarrants agreed to call A-26 when he reached the White Kitchen on Hwy. 90. At 1:40 pm, Tarrants called A-26 from the White Kitchen. A-26 made arrangements for Tarrants to meet with A-2 and A-33 at the junction of 40 and 11 where they would secure his weapon and escort him to this office. A-26 then contacted Botnick and arranged for him to come to this office and meet with Tarrants.

Botnick along with another ADL member, Bernard Mintz arrived at the ID office at about 3:05pm with A-2 and A-33 along with Tarrant and his son arriving at 3:15pm.

A-26 advised the groups that this meeting would be conducted with out incident. ~~and that~~

Tarrant began by saying, to Botnick, "You're the man that had my boy killed." Tarrant on saying this, moved toward Botnick but was stopped by A-26 before anything occurred. Tarrant then sat down and began to talk to Botnick ~~again~~ again saying, "You and Raymond and Wayne set this whole thing up." Botnick ~~asked~~ asked "Who are Raymond and Wayne?" At this time, Tarrant got up saying, "That's it, there's nothing for me to say here." and began to walk out. A-26 stopped him and asked if he had driven all the way from Mobile just to be turned off this fast without having gotten any information from Botnick. Tarrant stated that he had gotten what he had come for and he and his son accompanied by A-2 and A-33 left the ID office at 3:30pm. A-2 and A-33 questioned Tarrant on the way out of town as to his reasons for coming to see Botnick today but could not learn any thing from him other than him saying that he could not talk to Botnick because he lies.

A-2 and A-33 returned Tarrant's rifle, a 30 cal. Carbine with about 150 rounds when they reached the junction of 90 and 11.

~~It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrant did get what he came for; a good look at Botnick.~~

It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrant did get what he came for; a good look at Botnick.

Capt. Lami of the Mobile ID as well as Agent Rudrow of the FBI both notified of the above.

endmemo

Reference SSC letter dated 8/20/75, page 10.

Item 3 a.

Attached is one set of serials. No excisions made.

RE-MAIN



186-10078

FILE (174-135)

11/22/67

SAC ROY K. MOORE

UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
RABBI PERRY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CANTON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MISS., 11/21/67  
BM - CR  
(OO:JN)

On the morning of 11/22/67 I received a call from A. I. BOTNICK, Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 535 Gravier St., Suite 806, New Orleans, La., who advised he is currently staying at the Sun & Sand and was in town to be of whatever assistance he could be in the current bombing. He stated he was going to take those steps necessary to bring pressure on local authorities through people in the Jewish business community to insure that every effort was made to solve this matter. He offered his and his organization's assistance.

ADDENDUM:

BOTNICK called the afternoon of 11/22/67 to report that Rabbi NUSSBAUM would have a news conference at his bombed house 4:00 p.m., this date when he would give to the news media a copy of a paper he had written on Thanksgiving and bombing. BOTNICK stated also that they had called their Jewish constituents in Alabama, Miss., Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina to call STENNIS and EASTLAND and demand that they insist that the local authorities in Mississippi do those things necessary to solve these bombings.

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(Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE  
Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 21, 1967

*(he is a Sun & Sand) 11/22  
9:00am.*

Mr. Roy Moore  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
First Federal Building, Suite 800  
Jackson, Mississippi

*He called 11/22/67 -  
& indicated he was  
going to bring  
pressure on locals  
through Jewish  
business community!*

Dear Roy:

This is a short note to express my deep appreciation for your taking time out of what I know to be a busy schedule to see me. I very much enjoyed our conversation on mutual interests and concerns. I do hope that on my next visit to Jackson we can have more time together.

I met with some power structure, sympathetic individuals the evening of the day I saw you in order to implement your suggestion in connection with Elmore Greaves. Naturally, there was no indication of my source, and certainly no attribution.

I am sending you under separate cover, with my compliments, a recent publication of the ADL, that deals with the radical right. It isn't the kind of book that one "curls up with," but it is a ready reference for any number of groups and organizations contained in the radical right. Some of them you will see after examining the index extend deep into Mississippi.

With all best wishes and kindest regards

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick  
Director

170-502-27

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# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*of B'nai B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET • SUITE 806 • NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130 • (504) 522-9534

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
JUL 30 1969  
FBI - JACKSON

July 21, 1969

Dear Friend:

Recently I was privileged to read an advance copy of a new and exciting book entitled REPORT FROM ISRAEL, by Arnold Forster, General Counsel to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Director of ADL's Civil Rights Division.

I had heard so much exciting shop talk about Arnold Forster's new book that I wanted to read it as soon as possible to know the book and to be able to share with you this advance look.

In the summer of 1968 and again in early 1969, Arnold Forster was in Israel with his tape recorder, and there he produced many first-hand interviews with prominent Arabs and Jews as well as Christians and Moslems. The book is a narrative version of these on-the-spot interviews and contains thorough coverage of such major topics as the aftermath of the Six-Day War, terrorism on the borders, a united Jerusalem, the occupied areas, and Christians in Israel.

As I read the book I was caught up by the excitement of the interviews - the insights into the Israeli-Arab political picture; the explanation of the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East by Netanel Lorch, Director of Information of Israel's Foreign Ministry; interviews with Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister; General Shilo Gazit, Liaison Officer to General Moshe Dayan; with Mordecai Gazit, Advisor to the Prime Minister; Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem; Avraham Harmon, President of Hebrew University; with Aziz Shihadeh, Bethlehem-born Arab lawyer; with Father John Rogar, head of the Convent of Notre Dame in Jerusalem; Archbishop Bassilius, Chief Secretary to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch; with Dr. G. Douglas Young, leader of the Protestant community in the Old City.

You too will feel the terrorism on the borders when you read Arnold Forster's interview with General Aaron Yaariv, Intelligence Chief of Israel's Armed Forces, who was Staff Chief in the Sinai campaign in 1956, as he describes the Arab terrorist machinery.

You will read at first hand what life is like in a settlement where terrorist activity is a fact of life - at Nahal Golan, a paramilitary settlement located on a plateau of the Golan mountain range, within a mile of the cease-fire line between Israel and Syria.

It was here at Nahal Golan that Arnold Forster made a point to talk with nineteen year-old Anna Fuchs and David Simone. The spirit of these two young people will capture you, as you read how they reacted to the terrorist attacks. In the words of David Simone, "Here (Nahal Golan) morale is very high. We have a wonderful life here, and I think we have the situation under control."

*Consolidated* This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons *502-6* without the express approval of the FBI.

In presenting a clearer understanding of the new mood among young Blacks, the discussion includes an explanation of their aims and objectives, lauding the emergence of pride in self, race and history. However, those militants who seek to establish a separate society outside the framework of the existing system are labeled "racists in reverse" who pose as a serious threat to our society as white racists.

16 mm/ 29 minutes/ black and white/ cleared for TV  
Film Rental: \$5.00

Sincerely,

*A. I. Botnick*

A. I. Botnick

ATB:sh

# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

June, 1968

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Executive Vice-President,  
B'nai B'rith  
MRS. ARTHUR G. ROSENBLUTH  
President  
B'nai B'rith Women

WALDO FORSTER  
General Counsel  
CHARLES I. SCHER  
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Education and Planning

Dear Friend:

In view of the urgency of sustaining interest and stimulating community action based on the findings of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, we are pleased to advise of the availability of two new and important films. The films merit the widest possible audiences and serious discussion.

### REMEDY FOR RIOT

This CBS REPORTS film, based on the Report, examines the 1967 riots in the framework established by President Johnson when he authorized the commission to find out "...what happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?"

The film explores problems within the ghetto, the role of law enforcement agencies, and the mood of white America. REMEDY FOR RIOT explores what several communities across the country are doing to relieve conditions which sparked violence.

This unique film, featuring Harry Reasoner, speaks to all sectors of American society. It should be seen by people in private industry to show what Detroit automotive companies are doing to recruit employees from the ghetto. Law enforcement personnel can gain from the experiences of Atlanta's Police Chief, Herbert Jenkins, a member of the National Advisory Commission, who has worked for years at improving relations between the police and ghetto residents.

It is an excellent film which accomplishes a dual purpose: it not only shows causes of violence, it also speaks to the cures.

16 mm/ 37 minutes/ black and white/ not cleared for TV

Film Rental: \$5.00

### THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Dora Schary and Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, discuss the findings contained in the Report and call for drastic changes on the part of White Americans to eliminate prejudice and racism in our society.

The conversations stress one of the vital aspects of the report: that the attitudes have created ghettos, forced blacks into segregated schools and kept them out of the job market on any but the most menial and unskilled levels.

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
JUN 27 1968  
FBI - JACKSON

BOOK ORDER FORM

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the REPORT FROM ISRAEL, by Arnold Forster, at \$1.25 each. to \_\_\_\_\_ address below.

Also, send to each individual listed here a copy of REPORT FROM ISRAEL, with my compliments:

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>ADDRESS</u> | <u>ZIP</u> |
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I am also including an additional contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for distribution of additional books (please supply name and address of recipients).

My check in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for the total order is enclosed.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY: \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Before you put the book down you must read the pre-script. "Two Men For All Mankind." One was an Israeli Jew who owns a restaurant in Tel Aviv - you may know of Abie Nathan through his dangerous flying exploits and most recently for his single-handed aid in supplying food and medical supplies to Biafra, a plane-load of which was donated by B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. The other man, a Christian doctor, is Frederick Jean Krop, who lives today in Rotterdam with his wife and two teen-age children. It was Dr. Krop who, when the Nazis took over Holland in 1941, tried to save as many Jews as he could from being rounded up and killed.

How best to sum up this book? Let me quote from the introduction by Dr. A. Roy Eckardt, Chairman of the Department of Religion at Lehigh University, who writes perceptively: "When we think of the centuries of human suffering and strife in today's world - the Middle East, Biafra, Vietnam - it is all too easy to become downcast. But to read Arnold Forster's up-to-date account of his experiences in Israel is to be given fresh hope - hope for humanity and hope for peace..."

"The good thing is that in the very process of introducing us helpfully to major facets of the life and problems of contemporary Israel, Mr. Forster is also enabling us to take heart for the future."

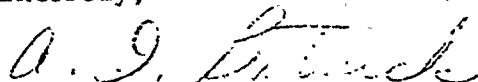
That for me sums up the book. Brief and easy to read, it is a book of extraordinary interest. In perhaps no other book have such salient statements by leading Israeli personalities, Jewish and Christian, been published.

I know you will want to read this book - and to share copies with your friends in the Jewish and Christian communities. REPORT FROM ISRAEL can be helpful in countering anti-Semitic Arab propaganda in the United States, to set the record straight and to tell it like it is - truthfully.

Single copies of this paperback book are available from our ADL regional office at \$1.25. An order blank is enclosed for your convenience.

Please order a copy for yourself - and as many copies as you can to distribute in your community. We will be glad to mail your gift copies postpaid. Just list your recipients on the enclosed order form.

Sincerely,



A. I. Botnick  
Director

AIB:sh  
Encl.



SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*Of/B'nai B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 11, 1969

Mr. Roy Moore, Agent-in-Charge  
FBI  
First Federal Building  
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Dear Roy:

Just a short note to say that my travel schedule will bring me to Jackson on Wednesday, November 19.

Hopefully, your calendar is such that we can spend some time together. I will call you on arrival.

Best regards.

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick

AIB:sh

*11-20-69*  
*He appeared in House*  
*interested in. to have*  
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# Memorandum

TO : SAC, JACKSON (174-135)

FROM : SUPERVISOR JAMES O. INGRAM

SUBJECT: UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE  
OF RABBI PERFY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CAN ON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MI 3., 11/21/67  
BM - CR

DATE: 11/28/67

*2007*

*This was dictated as a report for [unclear]*

A. I. BOTNIK, Anti-Defamation League, New Orleans, advised on 11/28/67, that he was making inquiries into the bombing of Rabbi NUSSBAUM's home on 11/21/67. He stated he met with a group of men of the Beth Israel Congregation Synagogue the evening of 11/27/67, and \$25,000 was raised as reward for the arrest and conviction of the men responsible for the bombing 11/21/67. He said they could raise \$50,000 or other amounts if desired at later dates.

BOTNIK also stated that one J. S. HARRIS, 3022 West Northside Drive, a member of the congregation, appeared to be "militant and hothead-type." HARRIS indicated he was the type that wanted to take immediate retaliatory action against Klan members if they continued to commit acts of violence. BOTNIK said HARRIS made these remarks during a moment of extreme anger and no doubt he did not mean to take retaliatory action. BOTNIK felt that we should be in possession of this information.

*(Sam. Belue: Harris's Contractor & I will rebuild Residence of Nussbaum)*

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*[Handwritten signature]*



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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : FILE (174-161)

DATE: 2/25/70

FROM : SAC ROY K. MOORE

SUBJECT: KATHLEEN MADLYN AINSWORTH (DECEASED);  
THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III;  
ATTEMPTED BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
MEYER DAVIDSON, 2904 36TH STREET,  
MERIDIAN, MISS., 6/30/68  
BM

Mr. A. I. BOTNIK, Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, South Central Region, New Orleans, La., (phone - JA 2-9534), called this afternoon to report that THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, JR., father of THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III, called him the morning of 2/24/70 for an appointment. BOTNIK made out as though he were someone else and indicated he did not know TARRANTS. TARRANTS stated he was coming to New Orleans to see BOTNIK either at work or at his home.

Shortly thereafter BOTNIK notified the New Orleans police of the call and they said that they, in turn, had just received a call from TARRANTS, JR., wherein he explained he probably had upset one of their citizens with a prior call that date. The New Orleans police, who in the meantime had contacted the Mobile Police, learned that TARRANTS was coming to New Orleans and a description of his automobile. They met him at the city limits, shook down his car and removed a .30 caliber rifle he said he was bringing with him. TARRANTS, accompanied by his 15-year-old son, was taken to New Orleans Police Department where Mr. BOTNIK contacted him and, to the amazement of all, all TARRANTS said was, "You are the man who set up my son," to which BOTNIK replied he did not know what TARRANTS was talking about.

BOTNIK stated that TARRANTS was inebriated and that no conversation of any import took place thereafter, however, TARRANTS did leave a note pad on the Captain of

174-161-649

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WEBB W  
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JN 174-161

Police's desk (he is sending us a copy of the notes) but generally the following notations were discernable:

"Mrs. HAWKINS - <sup>TAKIVANTS</sup> TOMMY - 372-4610 *Johnnie Mae Hawkins  
2624 Tekosa Dr., Jackson*

Mrs. JULIA KENDICK - 601-354-6014" - *Clerk, Miss. Supreme Court  
Jackson, Miss.*

The name "FIELDS" (could be EDWARD R. FIELDS of the NSRP) - *OK*

"BRADFORD HUEY" (This would be the author from Alabama) *This is only FIELDS known. He was  
at Jackson 2/1-4/70.*  
*OK.*

"HARPER LEE" *Mon Roeville, ALA. Co Maurice Crain Inc.*

"FRANK WATTS - 601-483-7116" - *SA. FBI - Meridian RA  
Tel. #*

"DANNY JOE" - *Joe Daniel Hawkins (157-3507)  
1131 Barbara Ann Dr., Jackson, Miss*

"JOHN CRAIG STEWART - 661-4095 ✓  
? - 344-3400, Extension 261 *Professor at  
Univ. of So. Alabama  
Mobile, Ala.  
Main Evelyn Family*  
? - 433-0484"

LEAD

SA JENNINGS should determine where possible the identities of the individuals and their phone numbers for whatever purpose it might serve. *sect.*

*(See 1A for original copy of notes)*

*Handwritten:* This report from New Orleans

*Handwritten:* [Signature]

*Handwritten:* 174-161-65

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

A-26 reports of being instructed by the Supt. to contact one B. Botnick of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith Office at 8:00am this date.

A-26 contacted Botnick at 866-4079 (Home Phone). Botnick related the following; At about 7:00am this date, he received a long distance phone call from a subject who identified himself as one Tommy A. Tarrant Jr. father of Tommy Tarrant III. (Tarrant III is presently in Parchman Prison Miss. for his involvement in attempt bombing of a Rabbi's home in Meridian, Miss. A recent news article states that Botnick and the ADL office was responsible for the entrapment of Tarrant in the bombing incident.)

Tarrant Jr. told Botnick he was coming to New Orleans today to talk to him in this regard. Tarrant did not elaborate on his plans. Botnick did not take this as a threat but was concerned about Tarrant's possible actions if and when he located him, Botnick in New Orleans. Botnick further stated he would not be in his office nor at his home for the rest of the day, but would contact A-26 later in the day.

A-26 then contacted the Mobile, Ala. I.D. a Cap t Lami, requesting his office furnish MOPD with a description of Tarrant and his vehicle. At 8:45am, Lami called A-26 and informed him that he had talked to Tarrant by phone this date and requested him to talk to A-26 before leaving for New Orleans.

A-26 called Tarrant at Area Code 205, 479-5273 at 8:50am. Tarrant told A-26 that he was coming to N.O. to see Botnick and that he would see him even if he had to camp-out on his doorstep. A-26 got a description of his car from Tarrant and also learned that he would be coming to N.O. this afternoon and that he would be accompanied by his 15 year old son and that he would be armed with a 30 ca. Carbi and secure the weapon and would escort him to the Parish line HQ where if it could be arranged he could meet with Botnick. Tarrant agreed to call A-26 when he reached the White Kitchen on Hwy. 90.

At 1:40 pm, Tarrant called A-26 from the White Kitchen. A-26 made arrangements for Tarrant to meet with A-2 and A-33 at the junction of 40 and 11 where they would secure his weapon and escort him to this office. A-20 then contacted Botnick and arranged for him to meet with Tarrant at this office and meet with Tarrant.

Botnick along with another ADL member, Bernard Lantz arrived at the ID office at about 1:15pm with A-2 and A-33 along with Tarrants and his son arriving at 2:15pm.

A-26 advised the group that this meeting would be conducted without incident.

Tarrants began by saying, to Botnick, "You're the man that had my boy killed." Tarrants on saying this, moved toward Botnick but was stopped by A-26 before anything occurred. Tarrants then sat down and began to talk to Botnick again saying, "You and Raymond and Wayne set this whole thing up." Botnick asked "Who are Raymond and Wayne?" At this time, Tarrants got up saying, "That's it, there's nothing for me to say here." and began to walk out. A-26 stopped him and asked if he had driven all the way from Mobile just to be turned off this fast without having gotten any information from Botnick. Tarrants stated that he had gotten what he had come for and he and his son accompanied by A-2 and A-33 left the ID office at 3:30pm. A-2 and A-33 questioned Tarrants on the way out of town as to his reasons for coming to see Botnick today but could not learn anything from him other than him saying that he could not talk to Botnick because he lies.

A-2 and A-33 returned Tarrants rifle, a 30 cal. Carbine with about 150 rounds when they reached the junction of 90 and 11.

~~It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrants did get what he came for; a good look at Botnick.~~  
It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrants did get what he came for; a good look at Botnick.

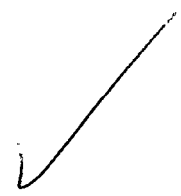
Capt. Lami of the Mobile ID as well as Agent Rudrow of the FBI both notified of the above.

endmemo

Reference SSC letter dated 8/20/75, page 10.

Item 3 a.

Attached is one set of serials. No excisions made.



186-10078



FILE (174-135)

11/22/67

SAC ROY K. MOORE

UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
RABBI PERRY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CANTON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MISS., 11/21/67  
BM - CR  
(OO:JN)

On the morning of 11/22/67 I received a call from A. T. BOTNICK, Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 535 Gravier St., Suite 806, New Orleans, La., who advised he is currently staying at the Sun & Sand and was in town to be of whatever assistance he could be in the current bombing. He stated he was going to take those steps necessary to bring pressure on local authorities through people in the Jewish business community to insure that every effort was made to solve this matter. He offered his and his organization's assistance.

ADDENDUM:

BOTNICK called the afternoon of 11/22/67 to report that Rabbi NUSSBAUM would have a news conference at his bombed house 4:00 p.m., this date when he would give to the news media a copy of a paper he had written on Thanksgiving and bombing. BOTNICK stated also that they had called their Jewish constituents in Alabama, Miss., Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina to call STENNIS and EASTLAND and demand that they insist that the local authorities in Mississippi do those things necessary to solve these bombings.

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170-502-3

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NOV 23 1967  
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1 - 174-135

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RKM:elw

(2)

(Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

186-10078

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE  
Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 21, 1967  
*(he is on Sun & Sand) 11/22  
9:00am.*

Mr. Roy Moore  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
First Federal Building, Suite 800  
Jackson, Mississippi

*He called 11/22/67 -  
& indicated he was  
going to bring  
pressure on locals  
through Jewish  
business community!*

Dear Roy:

This is a short note to express my deep appreciation for your taking timeout of what I know to be a busy schedule to see me. I very much enjoyed our conversation on mutual interests and concerns. I do hope that on my next visit to Jackson we can have more time together.

I met with some power structure, sympathetic individuals the evening of the day I saw you in order to implement your suggestion in connection with Elmore Greaves. Naturally, there was no indication of my source, and certainly no attribution.

I am sending you under separate cover, with my compliments, a recent publication of the ADL, that deals with the radical right. It isn't the kind of book that one "curls up with," but it is a ready reference for any number of groups and organizations contained in the radical right. Some of them you will see after examining the index extend deep into Mississippi.

With all best wishes and kindest regards

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick  
Director

170-502-24

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*Spec. Del.*

170-502

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SOUTHERN CENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**  
*of B'nai B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET • SUITE 80 • NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130 • (504) 522-9534

*W. J. ...*

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A. I. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

July 21, 1969

Dear Friend:

Recently I was privileged to read an advance copy of a new and exciting book entitled REPORT FROM ISRAEL, by Arnold Forster, General Counsel to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Director of ADL's Civil Rights Division.

I had heard so much exciting shop talk about Arnold Forster's new book that I wanted to read it as soon as possible to know the book and to be able to share with you this advance look.

In the summer of 1968 and again in early 1969, Arnold Forster was in Israel with his tape recorder, and there he produced many first-hand interviews with prominent Arabs and Jews as well as Christians and Moslems. The book is a narrative version of these on-the-spot interviews and contains thorough coverage of such major topics as the aftermath of the Six-Day War, terrorism on the borders, a united Jerusalem, the occupied areas, and Christians in Israel.

As I read the book I was caught up by the excitement of the interviews - the insights into the Israeli-Arab political picture; the explanation of the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East by Netanel Lorch, Director of Information of Israel's Foreign Ministry; interviews with Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister; General Shimon Gazit, Liaison Officer to General Moshe Dayan; with Mordecai Gazit, Advisor to the Prime Minister; Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem; Avraham Harmon, President of Hebrew University; with Aziz Shihadeh, Bethlehem-born Arab lawyer; with Father John Roger, head of the Convent of Notre Dame in Jerusalem; Archbishop Bassilius, Chief Secretary to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch; with Dr. G. Douglas Young, leader of the Protestant community in the Old City.

You too will feel the terrorism on the borders when you read Arnold Forster's interview with General Aaron Yaariv, Intelligence Chief of Israel's Armed Forces, who was Staff Chief in the Sinai campaign in 1956, as he describes the Arab terrorist machinery.

You will read at first hand what life is like in a settlement where terrorist activity is a fact of life - at Nahal Golan, a paramilitary settlement located on a plateau of the Golan mountain range, within a mile of the cease-fire line between Israel and Syria.

It was here at Nahal Golan that Arnold Forster made a point to talk with nineteen year-old Anna Fuchs and David Simone. The spirit of these two young people will capture you, as you read how they reacted to the terrorist attacks. In the words of David Simone, "Here (Nahal Golan) morale is very high. We have a wonderful life here, and I think we have the situation under control."

170-502-6

Consolidated document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

In presenting a clearer understanding of the new mood among young Blacks, the discussion includes an explanation of their aims and objectives, lauding the emergence of pride in self, race and history. However, those militants who seek to establish a separate society outside the framework of the existing system are labeled "racists in reverse" who pose as a serious threat to our society as white racists.

16 mm/ 29 minutes/ black and white/ cleared for TV  
Film Rental: \$5.00

Sincerely,

*A. I. Botnick*

A. I. Botnick

ATB:sh

# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

June, 1968

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL  
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JOHNICK

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DR. SCHWITZ

DR. SCHWITZ

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DR. SCHWITZ

Dear Friend:

In view of the urgency of sustaining interest and stimulating community action based on the findings of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, we are pleased to advise of the availability of two new and important films. The films merit the widest possible audiences and serious discussion.

## REMEDY FOR RIOT

This CES REPORTS film, based on the Report, examines the 1967 riots in the framework established by President Johnson when he authorized the commission to find out "...what happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?"

The film explores problems within the ghetto, the role of law enforcement agencies, and the mood of white America. REMEDY FOR RIOT explores what several communities across the country are doing to relieve conditions which sparked violence.

This unique film, featuring Harry Reasoner, speaks to all sectors of American society. It should be seen by people in private industry to show what Detroit automotive companies are doing to recruit employees from the ghetto. Law enforcement personnel can gain from the experiences of Atlanta's Police Chief, Herbert Jenkins, a member of the National Advisory Commission, who has worked for years at improving relations between the police and ghetto residents.

It is an excellent film which accomplishes a dual purpose: it not only shows causes of violence, it also speaks to the cures.

16 mm/ 37 minutes/ black and white/ not cleared for TV  
Film Rental: \$5.00

## THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Dore Schary and Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University and a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, discuss the findings contained in the Report and call for drastic changes on the part of White Americans to eliminate prejudice and racism in our society.

The conversations stress one of the vital aspects of the report - white attitudes have created ghettos, forced blacks into segregated schools, and kept them out of the job market on any but the most menial levels.

SEARCHED INDEXED  
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JUN 27 1968

FBI - JACKSON



Before you put the book down you must read the postscript. "Two Men For All Mankind." One was an Israeli Jew who owns a restaurant in Tel Aviv - you may know of Abie Nathan through his dangerous flying exploits and most recently for his single-handed aid in supplying food and medical supplies to Biafra, a plane-load of which was donated by B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. The other man, a Christian doctor, is Frederick Jean Krop, who lives today in Rotterdam with his wife and two teen-age children. It was Dr. Krop who, when the Nazis took over Holland in 1941, tried to save as many Jews as he could from being rounded up and killed.

How best to sum up this book? Let me quote from the introduction by Dr. A. Roy Eckardt, Chairman of the Department of Religion at Lehigh University, who writes perceptively: "When we think of the centuries of human suffering and strife in today's world - the Middle East, Biafra, Vietnam - it is all too easy to become downcast. But to read Arnold Forster's up-to-date account of his experiences in Israel is to be given fresh hope - hope for humanity and hope for peace..."

"The good thing is that in the very process of introducing us helpfully to major facets of the life and problems of contemporary Israel, Mr. Forster is also enabling us to take heart for the future."

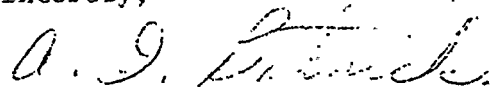
That for me sums up the book. Brief and easy to read, it is a book of extraordinary interest. In perhaps no other book have such salient statements by leading Israeli personalities, Jewish and Christian, been published.

I know you will want to read this book - and to share copies with your friends in the Jewish and Christian communities. REPORT FROM ISRAEL can be helpful in countering anti-Semitic Arab propaganda in the United States, to set the record straight and to tell it like it is - truthfully.

Single copies of this paperback book are available from our ADL regional office at \$1.25. An order blank is enclosed for your convenience.

Please order a copy for yourself - and as many copies as you can to distribute in your community. We will be glad to mail your gift copies postpaid. Just list your recipients on the enclosed order form.

Sincerely,



A. I. Botnick  
Director

AIB:sh  
Encl.



SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*Of/B'ngh B'rith*

535 GRAVIER STREET, SUITE 806, NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70130

A. L. BOTNICK  
Regional Director

November 11, 1969

Mr. Roy Moore, Agent-in-Charge  
FBI  
First Federal Building  
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Dear Sir:

Just a short note to say that my travel schedule will bring me to Jackson on Wednesday, November 19.

Hopefully, your calendar is such that we can spend some time together. I will call you on arrival.

Best regards.

Very sincerely,

A. I. Botnick

AIB: sh

*11-20-69*  
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*interested in to have*  
*& know minutants*  
*fill & do Anti*  
*He is a good contact!*  
*170-502-7*

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# Memorandum

TO : SAC, JACKSON (174-135)

DATE: 11/28/67

FROM : SUPERVISOR JAMES O. INGRAM

SUBJECT: UNSUBS; BOMBING OF RESIDENCE  
OF RABBI PERRY E. NUSSBAUM,  
3410 OLD CANTON ROAD,  
JACKSON, MISS., 11/21/67  
BM - CR

*Delet*

*This was dictated  
as dictated  
by [unclear]*

A. I. BOTNIK, Anti-Defamation League, New Orleans, advised on 11/28/67, that he was making inquiries into the bombing of Rabbi NUSSBAUM's home on 11/21/67. He stated he met with a group of men of the Beth Israel Congregation Synagogue the evening of 11/27/67, and \$25,000 was raised as reward for the arrest and conviction of the men responsible for the bombing 11/21/67. He said they could raise \$50,000 or other amounts if desired at later dates.

*Delet*

BOTNIK also stated that one J. S. HARRIS, 3022 West Northside Drive, a member of the congregation, appeared to be "militant and hothead-type." HARRIS indicated he was the type that wanted to take immediate retaliatory action against Klan members if they continued to commit acts of violence. BOTNIK said HARRIS made these remarks during a moment of extreme anger and no doubt he did not mean to take retaliatory action. BOTNIK felt that we should be in possession of this information.

*(Sam. Belue: Harris Contractor & I  
& will rebuild Residence of Nussbaum)*

174-135-60

2 - 174-135  
JOI/bgi  
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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : FILE (174-161)

DATE: 2/25/70

FROM : SAC ROY K. MOORE

SUBJECT: KATHLEEN MADEN AINSWORTH (DECEASED);  
THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III;  
ATTEMPTED BOMBING OF RESIDENCE OF  
MEYER DAVIDSON, 2904 36TH STREET,  
MERIDIAN, MISS., 6/30/68  
BM

Mr. A. I. BOTNIK, Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, South Central Region, New Orleans, La., (phone - JA 2-9534), called this afternoon to report that THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, JR., father of THOMAS ALBERT TARRANTS, III, called him the morning of 2/24/70 for an appointment. BOTNIK made out as though he were someone else and indicated he did not know TARRANTS. TARRANTS stated he was coming to New Orleans to see BOTNIK either at work or at his home.

Shortly thereafter BOTNIK notified the New Orleans police of the call and they said that they, in turn, had just received a call from TARRANTS, JR., wherein he explained he probably had upset one of their citizens with a prior call that date. The New Orleans police, who in the meantime had contacted the Mobile Police, learned that TARRANTS was coming to New Orleans and a description of his automobile. They met him at the city limits, shook down his car and removed a .30 caliber rifle he said he was bringing with him. TARRANTS, accompanied by his 15-year-old son, was taken to New Orleans Police Department where Mr. BOTNIK contacted him and, to the amazement of all, all TARRANTS said was, "You are the man who set up my son," to which BOTNIK replied he did not know what TARRANTS was talking about.

BOTNIK stated that TARRANTS was inebriated and that no conversation of any import took place thereafter, however, TARRANTS did leave a note pad on the Captain of

174-161-649

2 - Jackson  
RKM:elw  
(2)

WEBB W  
WATTS

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JN 174-161

Police's desk (he is sending us a copy of the notes) but generally the following notations were discernable:

"Mrs. HAWKINS - <sup>TARRANTS</sup> TOMMY - 372-4610 *Johnnie Mae HAWKINS  
2624 TERESA DR. JACKSON*

Mrs. JULIA KENDICK - 601-354-6014" - *Clerk, Miss. Supreme COURT  
JACKSON, MISS.*

The name "FIELDS" (could be EDWARD R. FIELDS of the NSRP) - *OK*

"BRADFORD HUEY" (This would be the author from Alabama) *This is only FIELDS KNOWN. HE WAS  
AT JACKSON 2/1-4/70.  
OK.*

"HARPER, LEE" *Mon Roenville, ALA. Co MAURICE CRAIG INC.*

"FRANK WATTS - 601-483-7116" - *SA. FBI - MEDICIAN RA  
TEL. #*

"DANNY JOE" - *JOE DANIEL HAWKINS (157-3507)  
1131 BARBARA ANN DR. JACKSON, MISS*

"JOHN CRAIG STEWART - 661-4095 ✓  
- 344-3400, Extension 261  
- 433-0484"

*Professor at  
Univ. of So. Alabama  
Mobile, Ala.  
Main Building (Faculty)*

LEAD

SA JENNINGS should determine where possible the identities of the individuals and their phone numbers for whatever purpose it might serve. *Seet.*

*(See 1A for original copy of notes)*

*File Report Form  
New Orleans*

*174-161-65  
A*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

174-161-65

A-26 reports of being instructed by the Supt. to contact one B. Botnick of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith Office at 8:00am this date.

A-26 contacted Botnick at 866-4079 (Home Phone). Botnick related the following; At about 7:00am this date, he received a long distance phone call from a subject who identified himself as one Tommy A. Tarrants Jr. father of Tommy Tarrants III. (Tarrants III is presently in Parchman Prison Miss. for his involvement in attempt bombing of a Rabbi's home in Meridian, Miss. A recent news article states that Botnick and the ADL office was responsible for the entrapment of Tarrants in the bombing incident.)

Tarrants Jr. told Botnick he was coming to New Orleans today to talk to him in this regard. Tarrants did not elaborate on his plans. ~~He~~

Botnick did not take this as a threat but was concerned about Tarrants possible actions if and when he located him, Botnick in New Orleans. ~~Botnick further stated~~ Botnick further stated he would not be in his office nor at his home for the rest of the day, but would contact A-26 later in the day.

A-26 then contacted the Mobile, Ala. I.D. a Cap t Lami. requesting his office furnish MOBP with a description of Tarrants and his vehicle. At 8:45am, Lami called A-26 and informed him that he had talked to Tarrants by phone this date and requested him to talk to A-26 before leaving for New Orleans.

A-26 called Tarrants at Area Code 205, 479-5273 at 8:50am. Tarrants told A-26 that he was coming to N.O. to see Botnick and that he would see him even if he had to camp-cut on his doorstep. A-26 got a description of his car from Tarrants and also learned that he would be coming to N.O. this afternoon and that he would be accompanied by his 15 year old son and that he would be armed with a 30 ca. Car. A-26 advised him that the MOBP would ~~meet~~ meet him at the Parish line and secure the weapon and would escort him to the ID office in Police HQ where if it could be arranged he could meet with Botnick. Tarrants agreed to call A-26 when he reached the White Kitchen on Hwy. 90. At 1:40 pm, Tarrants called A-26 from the White Kitchen. A-26 made arrangements for Tarrants to meet with A-2 and A-33 at the junction of 90 and 11 where they would secure his weapon and escort him to this office. A-26 then contacted Botnick and arranged for him to come to this office and meet with Tarrants.

Botnick along with another ADL member, Bernard Lintz arrived at the ID office at about 1:15pm with A-2 and A-33 along with Tarrant and his son arriving at 1:15pm.

A-26 advised the group that this meeting would be conducted without incident.

Tarrant began by saying, to Botnick, "You're the man that had my boy killed." Tarrant on saying this, moved toward Botnick but was stopped by A-26 before anything occurred. Tarrant then sat down and began to talk to Botnick again saying, "You and Raymond and Wayne set this whole thing up." Botnick asked "Who are Raymond and Wayne?" At this time, Tarrant got up saying, "That's it, there's nothing for me to say here." and began to walk out. A-26 stopped him and asked if he had driven all the way from Mobile just to be turned off this fast without having gotten any information from Botnick. Tarrant stated that he had gotten what he had come for and he and his son accompanied by A-2 and A-33 left the ID office at 3:30pm. A-2 and A-33 questioned Tarrant on the way out of town as to his reasons for coming to see Botnick today but could not learn anything from him other than him saying that he could not talk to Botnick because he lies.

A-2 and A-33 returned Tarrant's rifle, a 30 cal. Carbine with about 150 rounds when they reached the junction of 90 and 11.

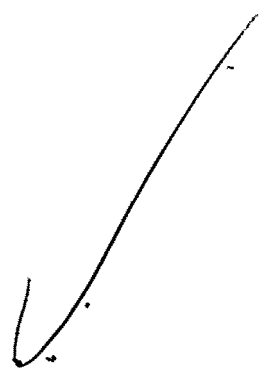
~~It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrant did get what he came for: a good look at Botnick.~~

It is the opinion of these officers that Tarrant did get what he came for: a good look at Botnick.

Capt. Lami of the Mobile ID as well as Agent Rudrow of the FBI both notified of the above.

endmemo

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 7



7  
8-11  
14, 15, 16, 17, 18

*Handwritten initials*  
172

186-10078



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: August 25, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Casper  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. Bland  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner  
 1-Mr. Phillips

*Rogge*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This memorandum recommends a letter to all offices directing the field to broaden its efforts relating to communist influences in the racial field so that the Bureau will be better able to keep pace with the stepped-up efforts of the communists to penetrate and influence the racial movement. We are also directing the opening of a new case file, both at the Seat of Government and in the field, which will serve as a repository for all intelligence relating to this matter and provide for the submission of quarterly investigative reports to the Bureau. Heretofore, this intelligence was included in the quarterly reports submitted concerning the Communist Party, USA, and in reports covering various of the allied groups and individuals active in the racial movement.

Coincident with the increased racial activities occurring throughout the country the past two years, the Communist Party, USA, has expanded its efforts to gain control of the racial movement. This has resulted in greater investigative effort on our part in the security field. We have been regularly gathering extensive data depicting in many ways the communist influence and participation in the racial movement. We must, however, increase these efforts to keep ahead of the communists' plans to infiltrate the racial picture. Our proposed instructions to the field are directed toward a broadening of our procedures which in turn will more fully and precisely provide us with the facts relating to the extent of communist influence.

RECOMMENDATION:

In line with the above, there is attached for approval a proposed letter to all offices, original on Plastiplat. After approval, return to Room 808 RB for preparation of the necessary copies to send to the field. The necessary Manual changes will be submitted separately.

Enc.

100-3-116

SFP:kmj

(7)

84 OCT 5 1964

REC-17

100-442521-113

3 SEP 28 1964

EX-114

186-100 78

SAC, Albany

August 28, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- ~~1 - Mr. Callahan~~
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
 (BUDED 11/1/64)

The Bureau has always recognized that there is communist influence in the racial movement. Our investigations of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), allied groups and individuals sympathetic to communism have borne this out. Simultaneous with the increasing tempo of activities in the racial field, we witnessed a stepping up of communist activities to influence the racial movement. These activities have taken a variety of forms ranging from mere general verbal support to actual direct-action influence. The subversives involved are also of various shades--some are bona fide current members of the CPUSA or such a basic revolutionary group as the Socialist Workers Party; some are former members of these groups; and still others encompass a wide variety and degree of subversive associations and connections, past and present.

Our investigations developing this type of information have also been under the title of a variety of matters such as CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters; communist infiltration of various organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the like; investigations of numerous subversive individuals active in the racial movement; investigations of communist fronts and other miscellaneous organizations; and a great many racial disturbances and other racial matters which we have investigated under the Racial Matter character.

There has been no letup in the activities requiring our investigative attention. Rather, there have been increasing evidences of a continuing upsurge in racial activities. The news media of recent months mirror the civil rights issue as probably the number one domestic issue in the political spectrum. There are clear and unmistakable signs that we

Enc. / ENCLOSURE

2 - All offices (Enc.)

SEE NOTE PAGE 6

(ORIGINAL ON PLASTIPLATE)

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(119)964

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 AUG 28 1964  
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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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EX 110 REC 20 100-3-116-2253

XEROX  
 SEP 4 1964

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

are in the midst of a social revolution with the racial movement as its core. The Bureau, in meeting its responsibilities in this area, is an integral part of this revolution. Making our work more difficult has been the controversial nature of the issues involved.

With the foregoing as a background to underscore the extreme importance of this matter, the Bureau desires to again emphasize the absolute necessity for affording all aspects of this matter prompt, decisive, imaginative, aggressive and intensive investigative effort, as well as insuring that the Bureau is promptly advised, on a continuing basis, of all pertinent developments. The Bureau's responsibilities as to dissemination must be evermore borne in mind and pertinent information submitted in a memorandum suitable for dissemination.

In addition, the Bureau desires the field to compile in a single investigative report pertinent information developed to date, with a subsequent updating by the submission of investigative reports on a quarterly basis. These reports should include information heretofore reported in the section entitled "Negro Question--Communist Influence in Racial Matters" of the quarterly reports pertaining to the CPUSA, as well as information being regularly reported under the many other titles referred to in paragraph two, page one, of instant communication. It will no longer be necessary to include a section concerning this matter in the Party reports; however, there should continue to be a reporting of this information under the various other titles. It is recognized that there will be some duplication in reporting. However, this is necessary in order to adequately investigate and report the substantive matters and at the same time provide for a centralized reporting, thus facilitating the necessary evaluation and analysis by the Bureau and other agencies and officials of the Government.

The Bureau is closing its subfile, 100-3-116, and opening a new file, 100-442529, which will be devoted exclusively to this matter and be entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters, Internal Security - C" (code name "CIRM"). This instruction is effective immediately and is applicable not only to the reports discussed herein but to all communications in this matter. Note that "CPUSA" has been dropped from the

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

title as we are concerned with all communist efforts, whether they be of the Communist Party or other communist groups. Each field office should likewise close its file or subfile relating to the CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, and open a new file or subfile relating to this matter. This new file shall serve as a repository for all pertinent information and thus facilitate the submission of the required quarterly reports.

The initial investigative report in this matter, as succeeding reports, will be designed to precisely spell out the full extent of the communist influence. It will separate words and intentions from actions; mere participation from direct influence; and the bona fide communist from the mere "do-gooder." It shall serve as an in-depth factual analysis of the entire problem of communist influence in racial matters. It will not include information concerning legitimate efforts in the racial movement where there is no communist taint. Material for the initial report is, for the most part, already available--it is spread throughout the CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, file and related files mentioned above. The field's task, then, is the comprehensive review of all pertinent files; the cataloging and documenting of all pertinent information in accordance with a prescribed outline and certain guidelines; and the submission of same to the Bureau.

A secondary purpose to be accomplished by the review and preparation of the initial report will be to enable the field, and the Bureau as well, to make a self-analysis of all facets of our investigation in this area so that we may expand and intensify our investigations of those phases indicating a need thereof.

#### Instructions--Guidelines

All offices are instructed to review all pertinent files, pending and closed, which will uncover the type of information desired as indicated by the outline which is an enclosure to this communication. While those files mentioned above should contain most of the information needed, they are only intended as a guide and should not be considered as all-inclusive.

Letter to Albany

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-116

(1) The initial investigative report is intended to primarily depict the current situation rather than serve as a historical-type document. We are therefore principally concerned with the racial movement during the past year and three quarters. Use the period commencing 1/1/63 as a general guideline; however, extraordinary situations arising earlier should be considered for inclusion. Likewise, if a current situation had its genesis prior to 1/1/63 sufficient information prior to that date should be used to make the current situation meaningful.

(2) Generally speaking, it will be necessary for only the office covering an activity to report it, as well as the characterizations of persons involved. For example, if a racial demonstration took place in Cleveland with Cleveland residents involved, it should be reported by the Cleveland Office. If a New York Office informant reports on the Cleveland matter to the New York Office, it should not be reported by the New York Office but be considered by Cleveland in its submission as Cleveland will already have been sent such information by the New York Office. On the other hand, for such a far-flung activity as the 8/23/63 March on Washington, it will be incumbent upon each office having subjects who attended or otherwise participated to include the information in its submission.

(3) The attached outline should be followed as to the numbered and lettered items. Where further breakdowns by numbers and letters are practical, it will be permissible to do so.

(4) When an activity by an organization is reported under II, the details should not be repeated under III concerning the organization. It will be necessary only, under III, to refer to the particular activity as appearing under II.

(5) Where specific pertinent information set out in the outline is not available through file review, immediate discreet inquiry should be made to obtain same. For example, if the officers of an organization covered under III in the outline are not known, secure their identities. Only established reliable sources may be contacted in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

(6) It may be necessary in some instances for an office reporting on an activity to secure characterizing information regarding individuals and/or organizations from offices covering

RW

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

these individuals or organizations. This should be done as soon as possible so that there will be no delay in the submission of the item by the originating (as to activity) office.

(7) An original and eight copies of all reports should be submitted by each field office. Any office which has absolutely no information to report, either in the initial report or the quarterly reports thereafter, is permitted to so advise the Bureau by letter in lieu of a report. If any positive information, however limited, is available, it must be submitted by report.

(8) The initial investigative report should be submitted to reach the Bureau by 11/1/64. Thereafter, quarterly reports should be submitted to reach the Bureau by February 1, May 1, August 1 and November 1 of each year.

(9) All main headings denoted by Roman numerals in the attached outline must be accounted for in all reports. If there is no information to report under a particular main heading, the heading should appear, followed by a statement "No information developed."

(10) As to individuals involved, we are concerned primarily with subversive characterizing information coincident with the period of activity. For example, if an individual organized, participated in or was otherwise associated with a racial activity on 1/1/64, his membership in the CPUSA and other subversive groups as of that date would be most pertinent. Of course, if a subversive connection as of the date of activity cannot be established, the next best thing would be to establish a subversive connection as soon prior to the activity as possible. Generally speaking, characterizations of individuals should be as succinct and pointed as possible. For example, if an individual's Party membership is established, a long recitation of other connections, such as with fronts, would be unnecessary. Good judgment must be exercised in characterizing individuals, as with all other phases relating to the collection of facts for the report. If a person holds a particularly key position in the racial movement and, besides being a Party member also has a long history of communist activities, it may be well to very briefly summarize his subversive background. When characterizing

Letter to Albany  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

a person as a Party member, indicate the highest position held in the Party. When referring to former Party members, include dates of membership.

(11) The term "communist" should be interpreted in its broad sense as including persons not only adhering to the principles of the CPUSA itself, but also to such splinter and offshoot groups as the Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor and the like.

(12) The characterizations of individuals and organizations should be handled in the same manner as presently prescribed for security reports.

(13) Unless otherwise indicated herein, the regular report writing rules for security reports shall be applicable.

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 8/25/64 captioned as above, SFP:kmj.



OUTLINE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- August 28, 1964
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

**I - COMMUNIST STRATEGY**

**(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**

- 1) Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national and other functionaries.
- 2) Plans, et cetera, made at District and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank-and-file members.
- 3) Plans, et cetera, as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media, such as written directives, press releases and the like.

(Information under Item 3 should be reported by the office covering the origin of the publications, such as the New York Office for "The Worker," "Political Affairs" and directives from Party headquarters; San Francisco Office for "People's World"; et cetera. Party expressions, oral or written, when directly related to a specific event covered under II, should be included under II.)

**(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS** (Such as Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor, Workers World Party and the like)

Under B report information under separate numbered subheadings for each organization. Report here information generally along the same lines as for A above.

**II - COMMUNIST TACTICS**

In this part report information on communist direction and influence of and participation in racial demonstrations, disturbances, drives, boycotts and any other similar activities with racial overtones. This part will illustrate how communist activities attempt to exploit racial situations and expand communist influence, thus furthering communist objectives. List activities in chronological order with lettered subheadings, such as:

- (A) DEMONSTRATION, CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1/10/63
- (B) STORE BOYCOTT, YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, 3/6/63

Under each subheading include such information as nature of event; sponsoring and participating groups; total participants; number and identities of subversives involved; specific

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO  
SFP:kmj (64)

(ORIGINAL ON PLASTIPLATE)

ENCLOSURE

- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. Belmont.....
- Mr. Mohr.....
- Mr. Casper.....
- Mr. Callahan.....
- Mr. Conrad.....
- Mr. DeLoach.....
- Mr. Evans.....
- Mr. Gale.....
- Mr. Rosen.....
- Mr. Sullivan.....
- Mr. Tavel.....
- Mr. Trotter.....
- Tele. Room.....
- Miss Holmes.....
- Miss Gandy.....

as to whether subversives directed, controlled, instigated or merely participated; whether violence resulted and, if so, whether subversives involved; arrests of subversives and court disposition; and any other information believed pertinent to the over-all picture of communist influence. Efforts by supporting groups to avoid communist involvement should also be reported. If a particular event had no communist involvement, it should, of course, not be included in the document.

### III - COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Field offices should set out information concerning only the local branches of the organizations which are in its territory. The office covering the national headquarters of an organization should set out pertinent data as to the national headquarters, as well as any local affiliates in its territory, separating the national from the locals. The number of members, nationally and by locals, should be indicated. Include under each organization information as to officers and others in positions of influence who have present or past subversive connections; information as to other subversives who are merely members; specific evidence of influence wielded by subversives; policy concerning communist participation in the organization's activities, such as prohibition of communists holding office or membership; (if no such stated policy, so indicate); and use and distribution of communist propaganda.

### IV - MISCELLANEOUS

If at all possible, information to be included should be set out under the basic main headings I, II or III. However, should there be some pertinent information to report which does not lend itself to the first three parts, it will be permissible to include it in Part IV - MISCELLANEOUS.

#### NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 8/25/64 captioned "CIRM," SFP:kmj.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Baker
- DATE: 6/19/73
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. I. W. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. R. E. Gebhardt
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. J. W. Marshall
- 1 - Mr. W. G. Campbell
- 1 - Mr. F. D. Thompson
- 1 - Mr. O. T. Jacobson
- 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

- Hick*
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Gebhardt
- Mr. Jenkins
- Mr. Marshall
- Mr. Miller, E.S.
- Mr. Soyars
- Mr. Thompson
- Mr. Walters
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Baise
- Mr. Barnes
- Mr. Bowers
- Mr. Herington
- Mr. Conmy
- Mr. Mintz
- Mr. Eardley
- Mrs. Hogan

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that attached letter be sent to the field discontinuing the submission of a separate report on captioned matter and instructing that the matter be reported in the reports on the subversive group exerting such influence.

Prior to 1964 this subject matter was reported in a section of the Communist Party, USA report or in the report of any other subversive group, such as the Socialist Workers Party, which was attempting to exert influence in racial matters. In 1964 a separate investigation and report were initiated because of an increase in communist attempts to influence the racial movement as the tempo of activities in the racial field increased. The field was instructed to submit separate quarterly reports containing all attempts by any communist group to influence the racial movement under the code word "CIRM."

EX-103 REC-34 100-442529-3960

This communist influence has been decreasing and in the first quarter of 1973 only 16 offices submitted reports in this matter, the other offices submitting letters as no pertinent information was developed. In line with our continuing efforts to relieve the field of unnecessary reporting requirements in order to make more time available for investigation and informant development, a change

Enclosure

100-442529

16 JUN 26 1973

CONTINUED - OVER

CEG:fb *511 256*  
*511 11 21 1973*

*5- [Signature]*



- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
  - 1 - Mr. R. J. Baker
  - 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
  - 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
  - 1 - Mr. I. W. Conrad
  - 1 - Mr. R. E. Gebhardt
- 6/21/73

SAC, Albany

*Handwritten initials*  
Acting Director, FBI (100-442529)

- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. J. W. Marshall
- 1 - Mr. W. G. Campbell
- 1 - Mr. F. D. Thompson
- 1 - Mr. O. T. Jacobson
- 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Glas

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Effective immediately, quarterly reports in captioned case are discontinued. This subject matter is to be reported in your reports on the subversive organizations attempting to exert such influence. The activities of the Communist Party, USA to influence racial matters are to be reported in a section of the Communist Party, USA reports which section will bear the caption "Influence in Racial Matters." The Bureau file for which this section is to be designated will continue to be 100-442529. Activities by other groups attempting to influence racial matters are to be submitted in the reports on these organizations, such as the Socialist Workers Party, in the same way as the other activities of the groups are reported.

EX-100

REQ 43

*Handwritten:* 100-442529-3757

This change in reporting procedures is not to be construed as decreasing the importance of information in captioned matter. All offices should continue to target sources and develop to the fullest any information that subversive organizations are attempting to exert influence in racial matters.

JUN 25 1973

2 - All Offices

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baise \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Barnes \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conny \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_

CEG:fb  
(134)

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller dated 6/19/73, captioned as above and prepared by CEG:fb.

MAILED 23  
JUN 25 1973  
FBI

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Items 8-11

Response to request for FBI materials set forth in letter from John T. Elliff, Director Domestic Intelligence Task Force, Senate Select Committee to Michael E. Shaheen Jr., Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination, Office of the Deputy Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice, dated 8/20/75.

Letter of 8/20/75, Part III, for delivery by 8/29/75:

Questions eight through eleven are interrelated and pertain to organizing and staffing a special unit to handle Communist Influence in Racial Matters. A review of logical Bureau files regarding questions eight through eleven produced the attached documents, which are believed responsive to your inquiry.

FBIHQ

INSERT FOR MEMO

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 20, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Mohr  
 1-Mr. Callahan  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
 DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
 ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
 [Signature]  
 [Signature]  
 [Signature]

I propose, in view of the heavy workload caused by our investigation of the communist influence into the racial movement and the importance of this problem to the Bureau, to assign two supervisors exclusively to the handling of our investigations into these matters. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to realign some of our other work and for a temporary period to have one additional Special Agent supervisor assigned to the Internal Security Section.

BACKGROUND:

About three months prior to the March on Washington (8-28-63), we intensified our investigation concerning the communist influence into the racial movement in order to develop as completely as possible all information concerning communist exploitation and penetration into the racial picture. The coverage we are affording this matter today concerns not only the specific activity of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), but also the collateral efforts of the Party to penetrate noncommunist racial groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNICK) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to name a few.

The concentrated effort of the field has produced a heavy volume of mail. When this mail reaches the Bureau, it is essential that it be carefully analyzed in order that the over-all picture of what the Party is doing in the racial movement can be accurately projected. This is a time-consuming task which requires the close attention of experienced and knowledgeable personnel.

Every indicator points to the fact that racial disturbances will probably reach their peak during the coming summer. The Party's activity in its efforts to gain control of the racial movement will also reach a corresponding high peak this summer. Party leaders see a golden opportunity and have emphasized that

66-1885-S  
 FJB:skw  
 (6)

*Handwritten notes and stamps:*  
 JUN 25  
 JUN 30  
 [Various initials and scribbles]



Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

Party members must take an active part in what they call this "revolutionary movement." This means more work in the field and a greater volume of information coming into the Internal Security Section. It would be a bad mistake not to have adequate manpower assigned to analyze, evaluate, correlate and disseminate this information at the Seat of Government.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CASE:

The Bureau is on record to the effect there is communist penetration into the racial movement. Martin Luther King, head of the SCLC, has challenged the Bureau on this point. Both sides in the controversy over the current Civil Rights Bill which is pending in the Senate may well ask the Bureau before the summer is over for information concerning communist penetration into the racial movement. It may become necessary for the Bureau to make some response. If this does occur, it will be absolutely essential for us not only to have all the information available but to have it in such form that a proper presentation of the facts can be readily made. This is fundamental inasmuch as the whole subject of civil rights is the primary domestic issue on the political front today.

EXCLUSIVE ASSIGNMENT OF SUPERVISORS:

If you agree, two supervisors will be assigned exclusively to the over-all problem of communist penetration into the racial movement. Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips will be detached from the CPUSA Unit and Supervisor Theodore P. Rosack will be detached from the Communist Front Unit and assigned as a team to these important investigations. Supervisor Phillips has handled almost from its inception the case entitled "CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, Internal Security - C." Supervisor Rosack has been supervising the investigations of communist penetration into racial groups, some of the more important of which are SCLC, CORE, SNICK and NAACP. Rosack will take with him a total of 91 cases involving communist penetration into the racial groups.

It is believed that these two experienced men can handle the supervision of our investigations of communist activity in racial groups. They cannot do it alone at such times as we may be called upon to prepare special studies, working papers and briefs. During such periods, I will give these two men such assistance as they may need.

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

NEED FOR ADDITIONAL SUPERVISOR:

Supervisor Phillips will leave 69 cases which he is currently supervising in the CPUSA Unit. The three remaining men in this Unit cannot absorb these 69 cases. This Unit is already heavily assigned and a number of the investigations being supervised by this Unit, such (see below)\* the communist youth groups and the appearance of communist leaders on college campuses, require exacting and time-consuming attention. Supervisor Rosack will leave 84 cases in the Communist Front Unit, and that Unit with its two remaining supervisors will not be able to assimilate these 84 cases. There will be a total of 153 cases left unassigned. Although one supervisor cannot handle all 153 cases, we will be able to assimilate these 153 cases, with some adjustments, with the addition of one supervisor to the Section.

It is not possible to absorb these cases in other Units of the Section with our current complement. In support of this statement, I would like to point out that in January, 1963, we had 22 supervisors assigned to the Section and were carrying a load of 2,928 cases. We currently have 19 supervisors assigned to the Section and are carrying a load of 3,293 cases. This is an increase of 365 cases and a decrease of three supervisors. We have had a delinquency in the Section since January, 1964. We have not been able to erase this delinquency although we have made a determined effort to do so and our voluntary overtime has been considerably in excess of two hours per man per day.

We cannot foresee at this time for how long a period of time it will be necessary for us to have two supervisors assigned exclusively to the communist penetration into the racial movement cases; therefore, I suggest we have an additional supervisor assigned to the Section on a temporary basis. It might be possible to get a man from the Washington Field Office who has had previous experience as a supervisor in security work at the Seat of Government. It is contemplated that as soon as we can safely do so Supervisors Phillips and Rosack will be sent back to their respective Units and at that time the supervisor from Washington Field Office will be sent back to his office.

\* Excised as a peculiarly sensitive foreign intelligence operation.

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

ACTION:

(1) If you approve, we will remove Supervisors Phillips and Rosack from their present Units and assign them exclusively to supervision of communist penetration into the racial movement cases.

(2) If you agree, one additional supervisor should be assigned to the Internal Security Section on a temporary basis. It is recommended this memorandum be forwarded to the Administrative Division for appropriate attention.

*J* *W.C.S.* *J*  
ADDENDUM (5/21/64) WCS:CSH -

A check has been made of this Division to determine whether the manpower necessary to accomplish what has been recommended is available here. The check revealed it is not available. During the past seven months this Division has been carrying a tremendous workload, and we are not in a position to do what is suggested here without getting a man from the outside.

*WCS*  
W. C. Sullivan  
*[Signature]*

6/4/64

The Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division (DID), has requested one additional supervisor to be assigned to that Section on a temporary basis to handle case assignments vacated by two experienced supervisors whom DID desires to devote full time to directing field efforts, correlating results, and preparing for dissemination investigative information obtained resulting from strongly implied Communist Party (CP) efforts to infiltrate and dominate noncommunist racial groups' efforts in the Summer of 1964 to whip the racial situation to a peak period of disturbances. Urgency for the FBI to "stay ahead" of the situation is tied to pending civil rights legislation and foreseeable ramifications arising out of the complex political situations in an election year where civil rights and social disturbances will play a key role in campaign efforts and possibly election results.

The assigning of full-time personnel to the proposed correlation assignments is considered to be established by recent occurrences not set out by DID in its request and which tend to validate observations that the CP is eager to capitalize on, and control if it can, the efforts of racial groups. (1) Demonstration at World's Fair opening, April 1964, resulted in a number of arrests and there was a definite indication of communist participation as well as direction of demonstrations. (2) On 5/18/64 New York State was the scene of state-wide demonstrations against school segregation. Communists participated and in other ways were involved. (3) Plans are underway for some form of small size march on Washington 6/15/64 relative to civil rights legislation presently being debated in the Senate. Communists are involved in this planned activity. (4) During the last two weeks St. Augustine, Florida, has been the scene of a number of racial demonstrations. Martin Luther King, Jr., an individual of extreme importance to the Bureau from an investigative standpoint has rented a cottage in this area for three months where it is anticipated he will become involved in long-range plans to demonstrate in that area. (5) Cambridge, Maryland, for some time the seat of numerous demonstrations, is of interest because of the influence in these demonstrations of one of the party's national committee members. (6) There is some indication of a large civil rights rally to be held in Chicago some time in June, 1964, where communist influence and participation are expected. (7) Martin Luther King and others have been recruiting college students from various parts of the country to participate in a mass voter registration project in the State of Mississippi. The usual communist elements are expected to be involved. (8) Plans are already underway for some racial activity to take place in commemoration of the 8/28/63 march on Washington and information has been received indicating a nationwide work stoppage will be made. The above are a sampling of the CP's interest in the race movement.

The above are among the considerations which the two agents assigned to the special program would have to follow, correlate and disseminate, if necessary. In addition to following and analyzing the flow of information already coming from the field, in anticipation of the need to more clearly define the extent of CP influence in the racial movement, DID recently issued instructions to the field to direct the field's attention to this area of thinking and contemplates additional follow-up instructions in the near future.

The two Agents designated to handle the special assignment have substantial case loads at this time and would continue to handle some of the same cases they are now supervising because of their pertinence to the proposed assignment; however, as of 6/2/64, 78 cases of one supervisor and 69 (total 147) of the other would have to be reassigned to other supervisors in the Internal Security Section for handling if the two Agents were assigned full time to the proposed project. Recent figures (5/20/64) indicate the Internal Security Section had 19 Special Agents assigned to supervise 3293 cases. As of January, 1964, this section had 2928 cases and 22 supervisors or an increase of 365 cases and a decrease of 3 supervisors. The overtime of the Internal Security Section has been consistent with the Division's overtime for two months and above the Division's overtime three of the last five months for which figures are available. In all instances, the overtime has been substantially above two hours. In addition, since 1/2/64, the Internal Security Section has had a total of 279 items or an average of 12.6 items per week delinquent which it estimates would take approximately 19 additional hours per week to clear, implying that the present staff is not excessive.

### CONCLUSIONS

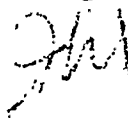
The Internal Security Section of DID in recognition of the need for concentrated attention being given to the strongly implied CP interest in the racial situation has proposed assigning on a temporary basis two of its experienced supervisors to the direction and correlation of a program designed to give closer scrutiny to developments arising out of communist interest in racial groups. To accomplish this, that Section has requested the assignment of one Agent supervisor who will handle a portion of approximately 147 cases now supervised by two Agents and would be left unassigned after the assignments of the two men to the special project. Surplus assignments over and above those which one Agent could handle would be parcelled out among other supervisors in the Section. The implied necessity for the next few months of special attention being given to CP interests in and ambitions to control the race picture is recognizable to the Inspection Division and other data obtained in surveying the DID request for one man on a temporary basis appears to be supported by case load, overtime, delinquency, and the nature of the cases supervised. The placement of a Washington Field Office Agent in this assignment as suggested by DID would, of course, involve staffing considerations not pertinent to this write-up. The Inspection Division agrees that this need cannot be filled from elsewhere in DID at the present time.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That one Special Agent be assigned to the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, on temporary basis. If approved, should be handled by Mr. Mohr's Office.



2. That this situation be re-evaluated 10/1/64 in view of the request for temporary assistance. The above date is compatible with Domestic Intelligence Division and should allow sufficient time for an accurate assessment of the validity of the program involved. If approved, Domestic Intelligence Division should submit memorandum 10/1/64 evaluating program and making appropriate recommendations regarding assignment or reassignment of temporary supervisor.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Evans      | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *[Signature]*

DATE: May 20, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *[Signature]*

1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Mohr  
 1-Mr. Callahan  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
 DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
 ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER

I propose, in view of the heavy workload caused by our investigation of the communist influence into the racial movement and the importance of this problem to the Bureau, to assign two supervisors exclusively to the handling of our investigations into these matters. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to realign some of our other work and for a temporary period to have one additional Special Agent supervisor assigned to the Internal Security Section.

BACKGROUND:

About three months prior to the March on Washington (8-28-63), we intensified our investigation concerning the communist influence into the racial movement in order to develop as completely as possible all information concerning communist exploitation and penetration into the racial picture. The coverage we are affording this matter today concerns not only the specific activity of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), but also the collateral efforts of the Party to penetrate noncommunist racial groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNICK) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to name a few.

The concentrated effort of the field has produced a heavy volume of mail. When this mail reaches the Bureau, it is essential that it be carefully analyzed in order that the over-all picture of what the Party is doing in the racial movement can be accurately projected. This is a time-consuming task which requires the close attention of experienced and knowledgeable personnel.

Every indicator points to the fact that racial disturbances will probably reach their peak during the coming summer. The Party's activity in its efforts to gain control of the racial movement will also reach a corresponding high peak this summer. Party leaders see a golden opportunity and have emphasized that

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Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

Party members must take an active part in what they call this "revolutionary movement." This means more work in the field and a greater volume of information coming into the Internal Security Section. It would be a bad mistake not to have adequate manpower assigned to analyze, evaluate, correlate and disseminate this information at the Seat of Government.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CASE:

The Bureau is on record to the effect there is communist penetration into the racial movement. Martin Luther King, head of the SCLC, has challenged the Bureau on this point. Both sides in the controversy over the current Civil Rights Bill which is pending in the Senate may well ask the Bureau before the summer is over for information concerning communist penetration into the racial movement. It may become necessary for the Bureau to make some response. If this does occur, it will be absolutely essential for us not only to have all the information available but to have it in such form that a proper presentation of the facts can be readily made. This is fundamental inasmuch as the whole subject of civil rights is the primary domestic issue on the political front today.

EXCLUSIVE ASSIGNMENT OF SUPERVISORS:

If you agree, two supervisors will be assigned exclusively to the over-all problem of communist penetration into the racial movement. Supervisor Seymour ~~F.~~ Phillips will be detached from the CPUSA Unit and Supervisor Theodore P. ~~R.~~ Rosack will be detached from the Communist Front Unit and assigned as a team to these important investigations. Supervisor Phillips has handled almost from its inception the case entitled "CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, Internal Security - C." Supervisor Rosack has been supervising the investigations of communist penetration into racial groups, some of the more important of which are SCLC, CORE, SNICK and NAACP. Rosack will take with him a total of 91 cases involving communist penetration into the racial groups.

It is believed that these two experienced men can handle the supervision of our investigations of communist activity in racial groups. They cannot do it alone at such times as we may be called upon to prepare special studies, working papers and briefs. During such periods, I will give these two men such assistance as they may need.

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

NEED FOR ADDITIONAL SUPERVISOR:

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It is not possible to absorb these cases in other Units of the Section with our current complement. In support of this statement, I would like to point out that in January, 1963, we had 22 supervisors assigned to the Section and were carrying a load of 2,928 cases. We currently have 19 supervisors assigned to the Section and are carrying a load of 3,293 cases. This is an increase of 365 cases and a decrease of three supervisors. We have had a delinquency in the Section since January, 1964. We have not been able to erase this delinquency although we have made a determined effort to do so and our voluntary overtime has been considerably in excess of two hours per man per day.

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Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
66-1885-S

ACTION:

(1) If you approve, we will remove Supervisors Phillips and Rosack from their present Units and assign them exclusively to supervision of communist penetration into the racial movement cases.

(2) If you agree, one additional supervisor should be assigned to the Internal Security Section on a temporary basis. It is recommended this memorandum be forwarded to the Administrative Division for appropriate attention.

*J* *W.C.S.* *J*

ADDENDUM (5/21/64) WCS:CSH -

A check has been made of this Division to determine whether the manpower necessary to accomplish what has been recommended is available here. The check revealed it is not available. During the past seven months this Division has been carrying a tremendous workload, and we are not in a position to do what is suggested here without getting a man from the outside.

W.C. Sullivan  
*WCS*

6/4/64

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The above are among the considerations which the two agents assigned to the special program would have to follow, correlate and disseminate, if necessary. In addition to following and analyzing the flow of information already coming from the field, in anticipation of the need to more clearly define the extent of CP influence in the racial movement, DID recently issued instructions to the field to direct the field's attention to this area of thinking and contemplates additional follow-up instructions in the near future.

The two Agents designated to handle the special assignment have substantial case loads at this time and would continue to handle some of the same cases they are now supervising because of their pertinence to the proposed assignment; however, as of 6/2/64, 78 cases of one supervisor and 69 (total 147) of the other would have to be reassigned to other supervisors in the Internal Security Section for handling if the two Agents were assigned full time to the proposed project. Recent figures (5/20/64) indicate the Internal Security Section had 19 Special Agents assigned to supervise 3293 cases. As of January, 1964, this section had 2928 cases and 22 supervisors or an increase of 365 cases and a decrease of 3 supervisors. The overtime of the Internal Security Section has been consistent with the Division's overtime for two months and above the Division's overtime three of the last five months for which figures are available. In all instances, the overtime has been substantially above two hours. In addition, since 1/2/64, the Internal Security Section has had a total of 279 items or an average of 12.6 items per week delinquent which it estimates would take approximately 19 additional hours per week to clear, implying that the present staff is not excessive.

### CONCLUSIONS

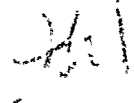
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### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That one Special Agent be assigned to the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, on temporary basis. If approved, should be handled by Mr. Mohr's Office.



2. That this situation be re-evaluated 10/1/64 in view of the request for temporary assistance. The above date is compatible with Domestic Intelligence Division and should allow sufficient time for an accurate assessment of the validity of the program involved. If approved, Domestic Intelligence Division should submit memorandum 10/1/64 evaluating program and making appropriate recommendations regarding assignment or reassignment of temporary supervisor.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*Baumgardner*

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 1, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Kleinkauf
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER

### SYNOPSIS

FIVE

In June, 1964, a new special Desk was created in the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, as a result of my memorandum to you 5/20/64, to concentrate on the investigation into the communist influence in racial matters. This investigation was to be handled by two Supervisors, one being separated from the Communist Party Unit and one from the Communist Front Unit. To assimilate the other work being left by those Supervisors, it was necessary to obtain an additional Supervisor. This matter was looked into by the Inspection Division which recommended, and it was approved, that an additional Supervisor, Special Agent James F. Martin, be assigned on a temporary basis, with the thought that as soon as we could safely do so, the two Supervisors would be sent back to their respective Units. The necessity for our intensification of the investigation of communist influence in racial matters has not abated, but has increased. There is no sign of a letup. The Communist Front Unit, where the temporary Supervisor is assigned, has also shown an increase in its case load. The "temporary" nature of the situation is now believed to be "permanent."

### OBSERVATIONS:

The necessity for the temporary Supervisor whom we obtained in early June, 1964, is more than ever present. Our work load in the communist influence in racial matters which generated the necessity for a temporary Supervisor has been steadily increasing, with no sign of a letup; the work in the Communist Front Unit where the temporary Supervisor has been assigned has also increased. The "temporary" nature of the situation is now believed to be "permanent."

### RECOMMENDATION:

That the one Special Agent, James F. Martin, who was assigned to the Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, on a temporary basis, be considered as permanently assigned.

REC 4 66-1885-S-1998  
OCT 15 1964

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*JBA*  
*WJ*  
*JES*  
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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
66-1885-S

DETAILS

Background

My memorandum to you 5/20/64 pointed out the increasing work load growing out of our investigation of the communist influence into the racial movement and the importance of this problem to the Bureau. It was recommended, and approved, that two Supervisors be separated from their current assignments, one in the Communist Party Unit and the other in the Communist Front Unit, and that they be attached to a newly created special Desk to concentrate on the investigation into the communist influence in racial matters. To assimilate the other work being left by these two Supervisors it was necessary to obtain an additional Supervisor. It was requested that the additional Supervisor be assigned on a temporary basis with the thought that as soon as we could safely do so, the two Supervisors concentrating on the communist influence in racial matters would be sent back to their respective Units. This matter was looked into by the Inspection Division, which recommended, and it was approved, that an additional Supervisor be assigned on a temporary basis. It was also recommended and approved that this situation be re-evaluated 10/1/64 and a memorandum submitted by the Domestic Intelligence Division regarding the temporary Supervisor. The temporary Supervisor who has been serving is Special Agent James F. Martin, assigned to the Communist Front Unit.

Current Situation

The necessity for our intensification of investigation of the communist influence in racial matters has not abated; rather, it has increased. We have been handling a high volume of priority work in this area dealing with such major projects as the racial disorders and demonstrations in New York City and the Mississippi Summer Project (MSP). There have also been racial disturbances in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Rochester, New York; and New Jersey, all requiring investigative effort relative to possible subversive influences. The MSP work was originally handled in the Communist Influence in Racial Matters (CIRM) Unit only as respects subversive ramifications. However, with the transfer of certain of the Civil Rights Section work from the General Investigative Division to the Domestic Intelligence Division, we now have absorbed all aspects of the MSP in the CIRM Unit. This is presently taking the full time of one Supervisor, in addition to a full-time clerical employee. In this regard, it should be noted that whereas we originally started this special Unit with two Supervisors, we now have three. When the new Unit was created, there were assigned to it approximately 120 cases. As of 10/1/64, this figure has increased to 134 cases. All indicators point to a continued heavy

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
66-1885-S

work load relative to the communist influence in racial matters. This has become a big factor relative to the forthcoming national elections and, in addition, there are definite indications that the MSP will be a continuing thing. There have also been some indications that activities such as the MSP will extend into other states. In addition, under date of 8/28/64, a letter was submitted to all offices instructing a broadening of our investigation into the communist influence in racial matters and the setting up of a new and more intensified reporting procedure. Due 11/1/64 are comprehensive investigative reports from all field offices which will provide centralized reporting on this matter.

The Communist Front Unit, which is where the temporary Supervisor is assigned, has also shown an increase in its case load. As of 10/1/64 the Communist Front Unit had 392 pending investigations as compared to 375 pending investigations as of 7/1/64. The recent Supreme Court decisions favorable to the Party under various facets of the Internal Security Act of 1950 have breathed new life into the Party. The Party is now taking bolder steps to carry on its work in mass organizations, as well as creating new front organizations. One case in point is that dealing with the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, Inc., the new national Party youth organization. The formation of this youth group was finalized at a National Convention in June, 1964, which was held in San Francisco, California, and was attended by approximately 450 youths. Since that time several affiliates of this group have come into existence. One of the plans for action decided upon by the group was to have affiliates of the group formed on college campuses throughout the United States; therefore, it can be expected that in the immediate future after these various youths have returned to their college campuses, they will form such campus groups. This will represent not only an increase in case load, but will also increase the work of the field in penetrating and following the activities of such groups. This will call for close supervision of these groups due to the nature of the make-up of the clubs and the fact that they are located on college campuses in order to avoid any embarrassment to the Bureau. It is also anticipated that with the advent of the fall and winter seasons, the Party will step up its activities in attempting to penetrate legitimate mass organizations and in establishing new front groups to carry on the Party's work on issues in which the Party will have an interest.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5525 10/27, 1964  
Telephone 333

Director

Mr. Tolson

~~Mr. Belmont~~

~~Mr. Mohr~~

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Casper

Mr. Conrad

Mr. DeLoach

~~Mr. Evans~~

~~Mr. Gale~~

Mr. Rosen

~~Mr. Sullivan~~

Mr. Tavel

Mr. Trotter

Miss Gandy

~~Miss Holmes~~

Mr. Hyde

Mr. M. A. Jones

Mr. Morrell

Mrs. Skillman

Reading Room

Mail Room

Teletype Room

Movement Unit

Miss Weber

~~Mrs. Shelton~~

~~Miss Eggers~~

*WST*

*Sullivan*

See Me

For appropriate action

Call Me

For your information

Send File

Note and Return

*Agree?*

*Yes*  
*Yes*  
*Yes*

J. P. Mohr

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12-3-65

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Administrative Division
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SUPERVISOR RICHARD F. BATES  
GS-14

EOD 1-22-51  
 INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
 DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
 (DESIGNATION AS SUPERVISOR IN CHARGE  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS UNIT  
 INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

*W.C.S.*  
*W.C.S.*  
*W.C.S.*  
*W.C.S.*

The position of Supervisor in Charge of the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit in the Internal Security Section has been made vacant by virtue of the transfer of Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips, who was Supervisor in Charge of this Unit. This is to recommend that this position be filled by Supervisor Richard F. Bates.

Special Agent Bates entered on duty with the Bureau as a Special Agent on 1-22-51 and is currently in grade GS-14. He has been assigned to the Internal Security Section since 6-1-64. He has been assigned to the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit since June, 1965. He is completely familiar with all aspects of the Bureau's investigations as they relate to security matters.

Special Agent Bates has demonstrated that he possesses the necessary administrative ability and the knowledge of Bureau policy and procedure to function properly in the position of Supervisor in Charge. His weight is well within the desirable limits, and he is available for assignment anywhere his services may be needed.

REC-143

455534-92  
 71

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of his over-all qualifications it is recommended that Special Agent Richard F. Bates be designated as

1 - 66-1855-S

FJB:dww  
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

See addendum, page 2.



Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SUPERVISOR RICHARD F. BATES

Supervisor in Charge of the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit in the Internal Security Section to replace Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips, who has been transferred to the Research-Satellite Section in the Domestic Intelligence Division.

If you approve, this memorandum should be forwarded to the Administrative Division for appropriate attention.

*[Handwritten signatures]*

ADDENDUM: (EWW:ers 12/7/65)

A review of the personnel file of SA Richard F. Bates reveals no reason why he should not be approved as Supervisor in Charge of the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit of Internal Security Section, as recommended by Domestic Intelligence Division. Bates has never been the subject of disciplinary action more severe than censure. Prior to his transfer to the Bureau he served as Supervisor of a Security Matter - C squad in the New York Office for three years. He appears to be completely knowledgeable as to all aspects of the Bureau's investigations of security matters, rated excellent on the last annual performance rating. Weight and overtime satisfactory.

Accordingly, it is recommended that Supervisor Richard F. Bates be approved as Supervisor in Charge of the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit, Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

BRIEF ATTACHED

*[Handwritten signature]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12/2/65

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith

- 1 - N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Smith

*R. W. Smith*

SUBJECT: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
ORGANIZATIONAL MATTER

Supervisor Seymour F. Phillips reported to the Research-Satellite Section this date to assume duties as Supervisor-in-Charge of the Southeast European Unit. Supervisor Phillips replaced Supervisor Daniel F. X. Callahan who assumed duties as Supervisor-in-Charge of the Satellite Unit. The latter position was recently vacated with the retirement of Joseph J. Meehan. These personnel changes do not involve any increase in the authorized complement of Research-Satellite Section inasmuch as Supervisor Robert L. Shackelford has been transferred to the Internal Security Section.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*Wes*

*no action necessary in PAV*

AWG:mah (6)

*Mah*  
*AS*

*DeLoach*

REC-143

166 356-286

DEC 3 1965

*39*

- ~~1 - Personnel file of Seymour F. Phillips~~
- 1 - Personnel file of Daniel F. X. Callahan

*3/1*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Felt       | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

*Wells*

*Wells*  
*Wells*  
*Wells*

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12-3-65

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SEYMOR F. PHILLIPS *321-09-2879*

GS-14  
EOD 10-28-40  
INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

*Wells*  
*Wells*  
*Wells*  
*Wells*  
*Wells*

On 12-2-65 Seymour F. Phillips, Supervisor in Charge of the Communist Influence in Racial Matters Unit in the Internal Security Section, reported for duty to the Research - Satellite Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division.

As a replacement for Mr. Phillips, Supervisor Robert L. Shackelford reported for duty to the Internal Security Section on 12-2-65.

- ~~1 - Belmont~~
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Administrative Division
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - 66-1855-S

FJB:dww  
(8)

*Wells*

REC-143

|               |
|---------------|
| 67-166356-285 |
| 2 DEC 8 1965  |

*3-095*

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 14

December 23, 1970

Airtel 105

REC-3 157-8415-373

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Glass

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

**KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
RACIAL MATTERS**

During your investigations of black extremist organizations and individuals, you have furnished information indicating that certain individuals are extremely active and most vocal in their anti-Government statements and their calls for terrorism and violence. Although the violence potential in all black extremists necessitates continued priority attention by all offices, there are certain individual leaders and activists who can be considered as Key Black Extremists (KBE).

At this time, the Bureau is designating those on the attached list as KBEs. The term KBE does not require that an individual actually hold an official position in an organization but is to include others of equal importance because of their influence as black extremists.

An intensified investigation of each person on the attached list must be immediately instituted with the objective of developing complete and detailed information on their day-to-day activities and future plans. Each office must continually remain alert for additions to the KBE list. Submit all recommendations to make specific subjects KBEs to the Bureau for approval. These cases must be given intensive investigative attention and close supervision by all offices. Maintain a high level of

Enclosure

2 - All Offices (Enclosure)

CEG:ekw  
(123)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

58 JAN 23 1971  
JAN 19 1971

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 21  
DEC 23 1970  
COMM-FBI

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104-447-216  
157-17751

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM

informant coverage on the subjects. All avenues of investigative attention must be explored and necessary recommendations to the Bureau must be made promptly.

The desirable coverage must include, but not be limited to, the following investigation. These investigations must be conducted with initiative and imagination in order that the desired results are achieved. Each of these cases will receive close scrutiny at the Bureau.

(1) All KBEs must be included in Priority I of the Security Index. If not already so included, promptly submit FD-122.

(2) All KBEs must be included in the Black Nationalist Photograph Album (BNPA). Promptly submit photograph and required background on each KBE not presently in the BNPA and when a subject is designated a KBE.

(3) All aspects of the finances of a KBE must be determined. Bank accounts must be monitored. Safe deposit boxes, investments, and hidden assets must be located and available information regarding them must be reported.

(4) Continued consideration must be given by each office to develop means to neutralize the effectiveness of each KBE. Any counterintelligence proposal must be approved by the Bureau prior to implementation.

(5) Obtain suitable handwriting specimens of each KBE to be placed in the National Security File in the Laboratory. When possible, obtain specimens from public records, law enforcement agencies, and similar sources. Send specimens to the Bureau under separate cover letter by registered mail for the attention of the FBI Laboratory. When they are of value as evidence, so state in the transmittal letter and request their return after copies have been made. Specimens should be sufficient to permit future comparisons by the Laboratory.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM

(6) Particular efforts should be made to obtain records of and/or reliable witnesses to, inflammatory statements made which may subsequently become subject to criminal proceedings. Promptly record all such information in interview report form.

(7) Where there appears to be a possible violation of a statute within the investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau, the substantive violation character should be included in subsequent communications and the possible violation vigorously investigated in accordance with existing instructions.

(8) Particular attention must be paid to travel by a KBE and every effort made to determine financial arrangements for such travel. If a credit card is used, determine its validity and the amount being charged to that card on a continuing basis. Travel information must be submitted to the Bureau and interested offices by appropriate communication to permit coverage of the KBE. It will be the responsibility of the office of origin to insure that the activities of the KBE are covered by auxiliary offices.

(9) The Federal income tax returns of all KBEs must be checked annually in accordance with existing instructions.

If no investigative summary report has been submitted in each case, such a report must be submitted to the Bureau by 2/15/71. Thereafter, an investigative report should be submitted at least every 90 days. Furthermore, appropriate communications suitable for dissemination should be promptly submitted in the interim to keep the Bureau fully advised of the activities of each KBE. The words (Key Black Extremist) should be included in the character of each communication submitted except those communications (including reports) which are prepared for dissemination.

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan, dated 12/22/70, captioned as above, prepared by CEG:ekw.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN *CR*

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GCMP*

SUBJECT: KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. W. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
  - 1 - Mr. Casper
- DATE: December 22, 1970
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
  - 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. Glass

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

To recommend that the attached airtel be sent to all offices setting up a Key Black Extremist (KBE) Program to intensify our coverage on certain black extremists.

Because of the violence potential of all black extremists, we have required that the field give priority attention to the investigations of all black extremists. The information submitted by the field indicates that there is a need for intensified coverage on a group of black extremists who are either key leaders or activists and are particularly extreme, agitative, anti-Government, and vocal in their calls for terrorism and violence. Leaders of the violence-prone Black Panther Party have indicated that the "revolution" is entering the beginning phases of actual armed struggle and our investigations indicate there are certain extremists more likely to resort to or to order terrorism as a tactic and therefore require particular attention.

Intensified coverage to bring to bear the total capabilities of the Bureau on investigations of these individuals is warranted. We should cover every facet of their current activities, future plans, weaknesses, strengths, and personal lives to neutralize the effectiveness of each KBE. The finances, travel, utterances, and possible violation of Federal and local law of these individuals should receive the closest investigative and supervisory attention.

Following the receipt of an investigative summary report, reports on these individuals should be submitted every 90 days, with interim letterhead memoranda, in order that our intensified coverage can be better followed and dissemination made on a timely basis. About 90 cases are involved in this intensified coverage.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be sent to each field office.

Enclosure

CEG:ekw  
(9)

REC-3

157-115-373

ST-103

DEC 30 1970

*Black Extremist Activities*

*WA*  
*0-500-6*  
*WA*

*WRJ*

*5-6-70*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

DATE: 12/23/71

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM/TDR*

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson

SUBJECT: KEY BLACK EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*OBE* *Key Black Extremist Program - general*

*[Handwritten signature]*

Purpose of this memorandum is to justify continuation of Key Black Extremist (KBE) program.

This program initiated 12/23/70 to intensify investigative coverage of selected black extremists throughout the United States who are extremely active and pose greatest potential for revolutionary activities.

Objective of program is to develop complete detailed information on day-to-day activities and future plans of these individuals. Initial investigative summary report is required followed by investigative report every 90 days.. *me*

All KBE individuals are included in Category I of the ADEX. A biographical sketch with photograph is included for every individual in the Extremist Photograph Album. All aspects of their finances are determined. Their handwriting specimens are secured and placed in National Security File in the Laboratory Division. Their fingerprints are included in Black Extremist Section of the Single Fingerprint File in the Identification Division. Particular attention is paid to their travel. Possible criminal violations are vigorously pursued. Emphasis is placed on obtaining record of their inflammatory statements. High level of informant coverage on each individual is required. *REC-104*

*157-2416-4-1*

Ninety individuals were initially designated as KBEs. During the past year, a number of individuals have been added and deleted from the list and currently 89 black extremists are designated as KBEs.

*f* HEH:aso (5)  
*aso*

DEC 29 1971  
CONTINUED - OVER

*57*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Key Black Extremist Program

Inasmuch as KBE individuals are of the type who would be subject to maximum investigative attention and close supervision, the administration and supervision of this program entails only a minimum amount of time above that which would normally be expended on these cases.

The continuing revolutionary activities of the individuals designated as KBEs warrant the close investigative and supervisory attention required by the KBE program. This program will be reevaluated in December, 1972.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the KBE program be continued.

HEH  
DEM/was

WBS  
A. J. S.  
E.H.  
S  
J.M.

airtel

ST-115

To: SAC, Albany

REC-5

1/28/73

From: Mr. W. Mark Felt  
Acting Associate Director

157-8015-44

- 1 - E. S. Miller
- 1 - G. C. Moore
- 1 - A. B. Fulton

KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Albany 12/23/70 entitled "Key Black Extremist Program, Racial Matters."

The Key Black Extremist (KBE) program is being revised into a Key Extremist (KE) program, which will encompass the activities of all extremist matters subjects, black, white-hate Klan-type, and American Indian, who warrant intensive investigative attention. Qualifications for designation as a KE and investigative requirements thereafter remain consistent with those set forth in referenced airtel with the added necessity that the fingerprints of each KE be included in the appropriate section of the Single Fingerprint File in the Identification Division.

Recommendations regarding additions to and deletions from the KE program should be submitted to the Bureau for approval.

All individuals currently identified as KBEs will be continued as KEs.

Individuals under investigation for white-hate Klan-type or extremist American Indian activity should be considered for designation as a KE during the course of current investigations or at such time as cases are next placed in a pending status.

2 - All Offices

MAILED 3  
JAN 0 - 1973

RWH:aso (122)

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 1/74/73, captioned as above, prepared by RWH:aso.

137  
58 JAN 29 1973

RWH:aso  
EM

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MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Purvis \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

DATE: 1/4/73

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

SUBJECT: KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*Key Black Extremist Activities - General*

Purpose of this memorandum is to justify revision of the Key Black Extremist (KBE) program to include nonblack extremist subjects and redesignate it as the Key Extremist (KE) program.

The KBE program was initiated 12/23/70 to intensify investigative coverage of selected black extremists throughout the United States who were extremely active and posed the greatest potential for revolutionary activity. The program's objective was to develop complete and detailed information on their day-to-day activities and future plans.

It is recommended this KBE concept be revised into a KE program, which would encompass the activities of all extremist matters subjects, black, white-hate Klan-type, and American Indian. The program will focus on individuals whose activities warrant intensive investigative attention.

Individuals designated KEs will be considered for the ADEX; a biographical sketch with photograph will be included in the Extremist Photograph Album; all aspects of their finances will be determined; handwriting specimens will be placed in the National Security File in the Laboratory Division; fingerprints will be included in the Identification Division's Single Fingerprint File; possible criminal violations will be vigorously pursued; emphasis will be placed on obtaining records of inflammatory statements; Federal income tax returns will be reviewed where warranted; particular attention will be paid to their travel; and high-level informant coverage will be required on each individual.

Ninety individuals were initially designated as KBEs, but with additions and deletions this number has been increased to 96. These individuals will be continued as KEs.

Enclosure  
RWH:aso (4)

JAN 22 1973  
CONTINUED OVER

*5-440011*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Key Extremist Program

The KBE program proved to be a successful vehicle to insure constant and uniform investigation of such individuals by the field and the KE concept should do likewise.

Appropriate Manual changes will be made. This program will be reviewed in December, 1973.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the existing KBE program be revised to include individuals involved in white-hate Klan-type and American Indian extremist activity and redesignated the KE program.

2. That the attached airtel containing instructions in line with the above be sent to all offices.

DEM/WGB

RWT  
A

WGC EM

airtel

REC-97

To: SAC, Albany

- 1 - Mr. Baker
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland

5/22/73

From: Acting Director, FBI (157-8415)

- 1 - Mr. Miller
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Mr. Thompson
- 1 - Mr. Walters
- 1 - Mr. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Fulton

KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM

EXTREMIST MATTERS

BUDED: 7/2/73

A preliminary analysis of the Key Extremist Program (KEP) by FBIHQ, including discussions with supervisory and investigative personnel who have been attending special Extremist Matters In-Service classes, indicates that constant investigative attention is not always being afforded individuals who have been designated as Key Extremists. All offices are reminded that KEP was instituted in 1970 as the Key Black Extremist Program to provide guidelines for intensive investigation of certain black extremist leaders and activists whose endorsement and/or involvement in revolutionary and terrorist activity warranted priority attention. In January, 1973, the program was redesignated KEP and revised to include key white-hate Klan-type extremists and American Indian extremists in addition to black extremists. There are approximately 90 individuals throughout the country currently designated as Key Extremists in some 27 field offices.

Specific instructions as to the nature and extent of investigation to be conducted on Key Extremists are outlined in Manual of Instructions, Section 122 A, Item 5, Pages 5 and 6, and all supervisory and investigative personnel handling extremist matters should be specifically reminded of the requirements set forth therein.

2 - All Offices

ABF:aso (132)

MAILED 25  
MAY 24 1973  
FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

XEROX

JUN 6 1973

100-358046

157-00

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- Telt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Trise \_\_\_\_\_
- James \_\_\_\_\_
- Mowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Perington \_\_\_\_\_
- Conmy \_\_\_\_\_
- Intz \_\_\_\_\_
- Harley \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

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Airtel to Albany  
Re: Key Extremist Program  
157-8415

In order to make a thorough overall analysis and reevaluation of the KEP at FBIHQ and to assist each office in analyzing the effectiveness of its own program, the following survey is to be conducted:

I. Each office is to examine pending cases on individual extremists (black, white-hate Klan-type, and American Indian) within its territory to insure all who warrant designation as a Key Extremist are so designated and those individuals currently designated as Key Extremists warrant retention as same. By airtel to reach the Bureau by 7/2/73 under the caption "Key Extremist Program, \_\_\_\_\_ Division, Extremist Matters," advise the Bureau that this survey has been completed and identify appropriate individual extremists by name, character, Bureau and field file numbers under the following self-explanatory captions:

- A. "Individuals Currently Designated Key Extremists"
- B. "Individuals Designated Key Extremists Who No Longer Warrant Retention as a Key Extremist"
- C. "Individuals Who Warrant Designation as a Key Extremist"

If the answer under any one of the three captions is "None," so state.

II. Those offices with individual extremists listed under above captions B and C, submit by the same date in airtel form under the individual's case caption your recommendation for inclusion or deletion of that individual from the KEP. Full justification should be set out and Bureau will act on your recommendation.

III. Those offices with current individual Key Extremists (caption A above) submit by the same date in airtel form under the individual case caption the answer to the following questions, by number, relative to that individual:

Airtel to Albany  
Re: Key Extremist Program  
157-8415

1. Is the subject included on the ADEX? If not, and recommendation to include or to delete from the old ADEX criteria has not yet been submitted, submit your recommendation to include or delete promptly with full justification in accordance with current instructions. If a recommendation has been submitted and the individual has not been included or has been deleted, so state.

2. Is the subject included in the Extremist Photograph Album? If not, immediately submit Form FD-432 for inclusion therein.

3. Outline the nature of the coverage you have of subject's finances, specifically indicating if bank accounts are or are not being monitored. If bank accounts are not being monitored, give reasons therefor.

4. If warranted, has the Bureau been specifically requested to obtain subject's tax returns? If not, give your reasons for not considering this investigative step.

5. Have you developed or placed an informant close to the subject? If so, identify such informant(s) by symbol number, indicate his relationship to the subject, and succinctly summarize the type of information informant is in a position to furnish.

6. Have handwriting specimens been obtained and filed in the National Security File of the FBI Laboratory?

7. Have fingerprints been filed in the Single Fingerprint File, Latent Fingerprint Section, of the Identification Division?

8. Have you been successful in obtaining a written record or a witness's statement of inflammatory and/or revolutionary-type writings or statements by the subject?



Airtel to Albany  
Re: Key Extremist Program  
157-8415

9. Has a full and thorough background investigation been completed on the subject?

If the answers to questions number 5 through 9 above are in the negative, outline in another paragraph immediately under the answer the specific steps underway or being instituted by your office to fulfill this investigative requirement.

Some confusion regarding Key Extremists has arisen over the new ADEX criteria outlined in Memorandum to All SACs 21-72 dated 9/12/72. This revised criteria make it possible to have an extremist who warrants designation as a Key Extremist and yet does not meet the new criteria for inclusion on the ADEX. Such individuals may continue to be designated as Key Extremists.

Additional confusion has also arisen over reporting requirements which were relaxed by above-mentioned Memorandum to All SACs. Hereafter, individuals designated as Key Extremists are to be considered as exceptions to the above memorandum under Item 4d, Page 8, and reports on Key Extremists are to be regularly submitted every 90 days. If no report has been submitted on a Key Extremist within the past 90 days, promptly prepare and submit an up-to-date report and submit follow-up reports thereafter on a 90-day basis.

Section 122 of the Manual of Instructions is being revised to outline more clearly the criteria for designating black, white-hate Klan-type, and American Indian extremists as Key Extremists as well as the ADEX status of and reporting procedures for Key Extremists.

All offices insure in the future that new cases on individual extremists are carefully scrutinized to see if they warrant designation as a Key Extremist, and that an appropriate recommendation is promptly submitted to the Bureau.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 5/18/73, captioned "Key Extremist Program, Extremist Matters," prepared by ABF:aso.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *COM/ISW*

SUBJECT: KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*GENERAL*

1 - Mr. R. J. Baker  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
DATE: 5/18/73

- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. I. W. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. R. E. Gebhardt
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. J. W. Marshall
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. W. B. Soyars
- 1 - Mr. F. D. Thompson
- 1 - Mr. L. M. Walters
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baise \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Barnes \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conny \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Eardley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Hogan \_\_\_\_\_

*Black Activities*

This is to recommend that the attached airtel to all offices be sent to remind the field of the requirements of the Key Extremist Program (KEP), to request data to aid in analysis and reevaluation of KEP, and to assist offices in analyzing the effectiveness of their own program.

A preliminary analysis of KEP by IS - 1 Section, including discussions with field supervisory and investigative personnel attending a series of Extremist Matters In-Service classes, has determined that continuing investigative attention is not always being afforded individual extremists who have been designated as Key Extremists.

KEP was instituted in 1970 as the Key Black Extremist Program to provide guidelines for intensive investigation of certain black extremist leaders and activists whose endorsement and/or involvement in revolutionary and terrorist activities warrant priority attention. In January, 1973, the program was redesignated KEP and revised to include key white-hate/Klan-type extremists and American Indian extremists in addition to black extremists.

In view of the preliminary analysis, it is believed the field should be reminded of the investigative and reporting requirements for KEP and to obtain from each field office an analysis of its program to include the identity of their Key

157-8415  
Enclosure  
ABF:aso (14)  
C.S.O.

XEROX  
JUN 6 1973

CONTINUED - OVER...

MAY 31 1973

*5- Fulton*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

*100-358086*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Key Extremist Program  
157-8415

Extremists under investigation, the identity of Key Extremists who no longer warrant designation as such, the identity of individual extremists who should be designated Key Extremists, and to determine if required investigative steps are being followed with respect to those individuals designated as Key Extremists.

Originally, all Key Extremists were to be included in the ADEX. Recent changes in ADEX criteria require an individual included therein to be dangerous now to national security and some confusion has resulted in the field over whether or not Key Extremists must be removed as Key Extremists if they do not qualify for ADEX. The field is being instructed that this is not necessary and an individual can be a Key Extremist and still not qualify for ADEX. Confusion also exists as to when reports are to be submitted on Key Extremists due to recent relaxation of reporting rules. Original instructions required reports on Key Extremists every 90 days and this is being reiterated.

We currently have throughout the United States a total of 90 individual extremists designated as Key Extremists in 27 separate field offices. The New York Office has 19 and the San Francisco Office has 16. The number of Key Extremists in the remaining 25 offices range from one to eight. The results of analysis by each field office will be thoroughly analyzed and evaluated by the IS - 1 Section with additional instructions issued, if warranted.

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached airtel to all offices in line with the above will be sent.

*EM*  
*GCM*

*w r w / GCM*

*WGC*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. A. Mosher

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *wrl*

DATE: 4/23/74

FROM : G. C. Moore *CCM/549*

SUBJECT: KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTER

*BLACK EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES - General*

Purpose of this memorandum is to justify continuation of the Key Extremist Program.

This program was initiated 12/23/70 to intensify investigative coverage of selective black extremists throughout the United States who were extremely active and posed the greatest potential for revolutionary activities. The program's objective was to develop complete and detailed information on their day-to-day activities and future plans. On 1/4/73, this program was expanded to include non-black extremist subjects.

Individuals designated Key Extremists (KE) are considered for the ADEX; a biographical sketch with photo is included in the Extremist Photo Album; all aspects of finances are determined; handwriting specimens are placed in the National Security File in the Laboratory Division; fingerprints are included in the Identification Division's Single Fingerprint File; all possible criminal violations are vigorously pursued; emphasis is placed on obtaining records of revolutionary statements. In addition, particular attention is paid to their travel and high level informant coverage is required on each individual.

REC-106 157 343-459

Ninety individuals were initially designated under this program but with additions and deletions, and as a result of an annual review, this number is now 68.

Inasmuch as KE individuals are of the type who would be subject to maximum investigative attention and close supervision, the administration and supervision of this program entails only a minimum amount of time above that which would be normally expended on these cases.

CAM:emg  
(4) *emg*

CONTINUED - OVER

*S. Mosher*

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Key Extremist Program

The Key Extremist Program has proved to be a successful vehicle in insuring close investigative and supervisory attention to individuals designated as KEs.

This program will be reevaluated in April, 1975.

RECOMMENDATION: That the Key Extremist Program be continued.

TIS/KLS

CAM

waw

JOE/PEW

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Adams
- 1 - Mr. Jenkins
- 1 - All Assistant Directors
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

- Assoc. Dir.
- Dep. AD Adm.
- Dep. AD Inv.
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin.
- Comp. Syst.
- Ext. Affairs
- Files & Com.
- Gen. Inv.
- Ident.
- Inspection
- Intell.
- Laboratory
- Plan. & Eval.
- Spec. Inv.
- Training
- Legal Coun.
- Telephone Rm.
- Director Sec'y

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall

DATE: 1/31/75

FROM : J. G. Deegan *JGD* GENERAL

- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall
- 1 - Mr. G. G. Ross

SUBJECT: BLACK EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES  
KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM (KEP)  
 EXTREMIST MATTER #534.75

*Form FD-128, FD-305*  
~~Form FD-128, FD-305~~

*(1) Wannall Bank*  
*(2) W. Michael*  
*(3) Form 128 JEH-FBI-132*  
*(4) Form 305 JEH-FBI-132*  
*cc (K) [unclear]*

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that the KEP be discontinued and attached airtel be sent to all offices. ~~FORM FD-128~~ ~~FORM FD-305~~

*REVISED* *REVISED*

The KEP was initiated 12/23/70 to intensify investigative coverage of selected black extremists throughout the United States who were extremely active and posed the greatest potential for revolutionary activities. The Program's objective was to develop complete and detailed information on their day-to-day activities and future plans. On 1/4/73 the Program was expanded to include nonblack extremist subjects.

*Justice*  
*Boyd*

The Program indicates a current decline in these selected extremists as evidenced in December, 1972, there were 94 individuals included in Program; 72 individuals in December of 1973; and 51 individuals at the present time.

The Program currently reflects the result of streamlining our investigative procedures. We are now able to give special attention to extremist subjects through individual supervision and it is no longer necessary to continue a special program.

*W. J. Malone*  
*p-110*

REC-30 157-8415-404

In view of our current procedures, the remaining 51 individuals who are designated Key Extremists are included, as a requirement of the KEP, on the ADEX. We are able to concentrate on these individuals through our normal ADEX investigations which require field divisions to continue investigative attention and to submit communications on their activities at least every 90 days.

FEB 11 1975

Enclosure - Sent 2-6-75  
 157-8415

*led on bug*  
*you*  
*purpose*  
*100*

CGR 18 *etc*

*Review of FD-128 & FD-305 total 5 - [unclear]*  
*in FBI Form 128/305 2/12/75*  
 CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Key Extremist Program (KEP)  
157-8415

ACTION:

If approved, the attached airtel will be directed  
to all field divisions.

Appropriate manual changes will be forthcoming.

*OK*

*Jma*

*Jed*

*wew*

*PLM*

*[Signature]*

*GGP  
GTT*

*[Signature]*

- 1 - All Assistant Directors
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- Airtel 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Adams
- 1 - Mr. Jenkins

2/4/75

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

**KEY EXTREMIST PROGRAM (KEP)**  
**EXTREMIST MATTER**

- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall
- 1 - Mr. G. G. Ross

**BLACK EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES - GENERAL**

ReBuairtel to SAC, Albany, 12/23/70, and Buairtel 1/8/73.

The KEP was initiated in December, 1970, to intensify investigative coverage of selected black extremists and expanded in January, 1973, to include nonblack extremists.

As a result of streamlining our investigative procedures, this Program is being discontinued. The Key Extremist character is to be dropped from all future communications. This in no way means a deemphasis of our investigation of individuals who were formerly carried as Key Extremists. Investigations of subjects are to be handled under the normal investigative procedures for ADEX subjects, which requires a communication to be submitted to FBIHQ on a subject's activities at least every 90 days.

Appropriate manual changes will be forthcoming.

This communication may be duplicated as necessary to send appropriate instructions to Agent personnel.

2 - All Offices

GGR:eks (139)

NOTE:

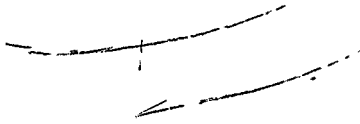
See memorandum J. G. Deegan to Mr. W. R. Wannall, dated 1/31/75, captioned "Key Extremist Program (KEP); Extremist Matter," prepared by GGR:eks.

MAILED 5  
FEB 6 1975  
FBI

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_

Director, Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_ MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT





SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 15

Mr. Tolson

10/29/70

The Executives Conference

EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

PROPOSED INTENSIFICATION OF CERTAIN INVESTIGATIONS IN THE SECURITY FIELD

Those in attendance at the Conference today included Messrs. Mohr, Sullivan, Bishop, Brennan, Callahan, Casper, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Tavel, Walters and Beaver.

The Conference examined the question of whether the current situation demands intensification of certain security-type investigations. In particular, reference was made to

*not pertinent to inquiry*

(2) the intensification and expansion of investigations of black, white and ethnic group extremists and

Portions of instant memorandum excised as not pertinent to inquiry.

REC-83

66-2554-129419  
EX-112  
NOV 24 1970  
WCS

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Beaver
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Each Assistant Director

CDB:djr  
(16)

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- Mohr
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- Brennan, C.D.
- Callahan
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- Walters
- Beaver
- Tele. Room
- Holmes

Memorandum o Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 1/29/70

In 1967, black students began forming their own groups to project their demands, many of which indicate a commitment to black nationalism. These groups are autonomous and have a strong sense of common purpose. The Black Panther Party has made open efforts to organize the Black Student Unions nationally and other black extremist groups have used these organizations to project their extremism and separatism.

Campus disorders involving black students increased 23 per cent in the 1969-70 school year over the previous year indicating that these groups represent a real potential for violence and disruption. In the past, we have opened cases on these organizations following evidence of black extremist activities; however, in view of the vast increase in violence on college campuses, it is felt that every Black Student Union and similar group, regardless of their past or present involvement in disorders, should be the subject of a discreet preliminary inquiry through established sources and informants to determine background, aims and purposes, leaders and key activists. It is estimated that this would cause the field to open approximately 4,000 cases involving organizations and the key activists and leaders connected therewith.

Pages 3 and 4 excised as not pertinent to inquiry

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

RECOMMENDATION:

If the Director approves, appropriate instructions will be issued to the field to implement the above programs designed to expand our security investigative coverage of extremist elements.

O.K.  
H.

Mr. Tolson

10/29/70

The Executives Conference

EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

PROPOSED INTENSIFICATION OF CERTAIN INVESTIGATIONS IN THE SECURITY FIELD

Those in attendance at the Conference today included Messrs. Mohr, Sullivan, Bishop, Brennan, Callahan, Casper, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Tavel, Walters and Beaver.

The Conference examined the question of whether the current situation demands intensification of certain security-type investigations. In particular, reference was made to (1) lifting of the existing moratorium on report writing and investigation in Priority II and Priority III, Security Index cases, (2) the intensification and expansion of investigations of black, white and ethnic group extremists and (3) development of selected contacts of individuals who could be targeted against Soviet intelligence personnel (DESECO Program). These items are being individually considered below.

Lifting of existing moratorium on report writing and investigation in Priority II and Priority III, Security Index cases.

There are approximately 10,690 individuals currently included in Priority II and Priority III of the Security Index. Virtually no investigation has been conducted regarding approximately 6,924 of these individuals since the imposition of the moratorium in February, 1969. Many of these individuals have changed residence and/or employment and their whereabouts are unknown. To fulfill our current responsibilities, we should know where they are.

REC-69

66-2557-12749

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Beaver
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Each Assistant Director

EX-112

NOV 24 1970

CDB:djr  
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Memorandum o Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

If the moratorium is rescinded, the field will be required to reopen approximately 2,215 Priority II cases for reports and approximately 4,709 Priority III cases to verify residence and employment. Opening of these cases would be staggered with a proportionate number opened each month to insure all are reopened by June 30, 1971.

**Black Student Unions and similar groups on college campuses.**

In 1967, black students began forming their own groups to project their demands, many of which indicate a commitment to black nationalism. These groups are autonomous and have a strong sense of common purpose. The Black Panther Party has made open efforts to organize the Black Student Unions nationally and other black extremist groups have used these organizations to project their extremism and separatism.

Campus disorders involving black students increased 23 per cent in the 1969-70 school year over the previous year indicating that these groups represent a real potential for violence and disruption. In the past, we have opened cases on these organizations following evidence of black extremist activities; however, in view of the vast increase in violence on college campuses, it is felt that every Black Student Union and similar group, regardless of their past or present involvement in disorders, should be the subject of a discreet preliminary inquiry through established sources and informants to determine background, aims and purposes, leaders and key activists. It is estimated that this would cause the field to open approximately 4,000 cases involving organizations and the key activists and leaders connected therewith.

**Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and militant New Left campus organizations.**

At the end of the 1969-70 academic year, the various factions of the SDS, excluding the Weatherman faction, which has become an organization in its own right, consisted of a membership of approximately 2,500 individuals. In addition to the SDS groups, there are about 252 totally independent groups on college campuses which are pro-communist New Left-type and are followers of the SDS ideology. It is estimated

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

that the membership of these organizations consists of about 4,000 members. At the present time, we are conducting investigations of all of these organizations but have not, in the past, initiated investigations of the individual members of such organizations, with the exception of the key activists and individuals who are known to be violence prone.

Major campuses across the nation have been completely disrupted by violent demonstrations, bombings, arsons and other terroristic acts perpetrated by these organizations. It is, therefore, proposed that cases be opened on all individuals belonging to such organizations to determine whether they have a propensity for violence. If this proposal were implemented, it is estimated that the field would be required to open approximately 6,500 new cases.

#### Puerto Rican Students Union and the En La Brecha (in the breach)

The Puerto Rican Students Union is based in New York and is active on campuses in New York City and near by New Jersey. It embraces the extremist ideology of the New Left and calls for the independence of Puerto Rico.

En La Brecha is a Cleveland-based Puerto Rican youth organization with weapons in its headquarters and members have been associated with New Left individuals. In view of the extremist nature of these two organizations, all members should be identified and investigated. This would result in the opening of approximately 200 cases.

#### Jewish Defense League (JDL)

The JDL is an anti-New Left and black nationalism organization, the violent nature of which has been illustrated by its direction of attacks against diplomatic establishments in the New York area and alleged implication in bombings of offices of foreign countries. Members have participated in an



Memorandum to Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

attempted hijacking of an international flight. This militant group of Jewish youth claims a national membership of 8,000 with chapters in approximately 20 of the major metropolitan areas of the country. We presently have under investigation those JDL members identified as being in leadership positions, participants in acts of violence or active in organizational affairs. In view of the violence-prone nature of the organization, it is felt that investigations of individuals should also include the lower level membership exclusive of those who appear as members only because of financial assistance they afford. This would result in the opening of approximately 800 additional cases.

Development of selected contacts of individuals who could be targeted against Soviet intelligence personnel (DESECO Program).

As of 10/1/70, there were 795 Soviet officials and employees assigned to Soviet establishments in the United States. Of this number, 307 are known or suspected Soviet intelligence personnel based on investigative coverage and other sources. Basic to our coverage of these individuals is the development of as many sources and informants as possible from among those persons in regular contact with the Soviets. Of these sources and informants the most important are those who are developed into Double Agents. These are individuals who receive specific intelligence assignments from the Soviets. We are currently operating 71 active Double Agents against the above Soviets. One of the most productive programs for the development of Double Agents is the DESECO Program. Since its inception, this Program has provided continuous flow of sources, informants and Double Agents. We have interviewed 1,120 individuals of which 379 have been placed in contact with Soviets resulting in the development of 84 valuable informants and Double Agents. This points out the fact that this Program is productive. Therefore, in view of these positive results and our need to increase informant coverage of Soviet activities, it is believed necessary to intensify this Program. We intend to do this by

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson  
RE: EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE - 10/29/70

requiring every Special Agent in the Washington Field Office and New York Office handling investigations of Soviet personnel to immediately open and develop two completely new DESECO subjects. This will amount to a total of 526 new cases under this valuable Program

With respect to implementation of these programs, Assistant Director C. D. Brennan stressed that there absolutely would be no lessening of existing controls in regard to the investigations of these matters.

Members of the Committee recognize that implementation of these investigations would certainly impose a burden on existing manpower but after carefully analyzing the seriousness of the current situation, it was the considered opinion of all present that we should take necessary steps to institute the above programs at this time.

RECOMMENDATION:

If the Director approves, appropriate instructions will be issued to the field to implement the above programs designed to expand our security investigative coverage of extremist elements.

O.K.  
H.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN *CPB*

DATE: November 3, 1970

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GM*

SUBJECT: BLACK STUDENT GROUPS  
ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES  
RACIAL MATTERS

To recommend that attached airtel to all offices be sent regarding discreet preliminary inquiries on all Black Student Unions (BSU) and similar groups on college campuses.

On 10/29/70 the Executive Conference approved a program to conduct discreet preliminary inquiries, limited to established sources, on BSUs and similar groups, their leaders, and key activists to determine if the activities of these groups and individuals warrant further active investigations.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, the attached airtel will be sent to all offices regarding the above cases.

CEG:ekw *ekw* *gom*  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Glass

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Airtel to SAC, Albany et al  
BLACK STUDENT GROUPS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

interest or influence in these groups. Open individual cases on officers and key activists in each group to determine background and if their activities warrant active investigation. Submit results of preliminary inquiries in form suitable for dissemination with recommendations regarding active investigations of organization, its leaders, and key activists. These investigations to be conducted in accordance with instructions in Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions regarding investigations of organizations connected with institutions of learning.

Each office submit by airtel to reach Bureau by 12/4/70, a list of BSUs and similar groups by name and school which are or will be subjects of preliminary inquiries. This program will include junior colleges and two-year colleges as well as four-year colleges. In connection with this program, there is a need for increased source coverage and we must develop network of discreet quality sources in a position to furnish required information. Bear in mind that absence of information regarding these groups in any area might be the fault of inadequate source coverage and efforts should be undertaken immediately to improve this coverage.

A prior inquiry or investigation of a group or individual is no bar to current inquiries and inquiries should not be postponed until submission of airtel due 12/4/70. Initiate inquiries immediately.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of expeditious, thorough, and discreet handling of these cases. The violence, destruction, confrontations, and disruptions on campuses make it mandatory that we utilize to its capacity our intelligence-gathering capabilities.

Above instructions supersede instructions in Bureau letter to all offices 1/31/69, same caption.

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan, dated 11/3/70, captioned "Black Student Groups on College Campuses, Racial Matters," prepared by CEG:ekw.

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 16

# Memorandum

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- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- DATE: October 11, 1967
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

In view of increasing problems with which we are faced in the overall racial field, particularly in the development of racial intelligence concerning militant black nationalist elements, we have carefully analyzed our informant program to place proper emphasis where needed. Although we are making progress in developing racial sources in the ghettos, we feel we can do much more and must do so rapidly in the coming six months to be prepared for another potential summer of violence. Proposed SAC letter attached.

To accomplish our objective of thorough penetration of the ghettos with a network of quality sources under a crash program, the following procedures will be instituted to carry out this program. The individuals we will be contacting under this crash informant program will be living in the ghettos; therefore, in the absence of any derogatory information developed, background investigation should consist of a check of field office indices, Bureau indices, FBI Identification Division records, and local credit and arrest records. Of course, prior to instituting any background investigation to qualify a ghetto informant, he must be in a position to furnish racial information and must be willing to cooperate with the Bureau. This individual will be carried as a probationary racial informant and the Agent contacting him will be constantly alert for any indications of character traits or activities which might cause embarrassment to the Bureau. In addition, the information furnished by such an informant will not be taken on face value but will be verified through other sources and investigation where possible.

In addition, we are specifically instructing that security informants active in the racial field be designated as racial informants and that their activities be supervised by the Racial Informant Desk. We are also reiterating our instructions that it is imperative and essential that the Bureau learn of any advance planning or organized conspiracy

Enclosure

JGD:dsm  
(10)

REC-44

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CONTINUED - OVER

78

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Racial Informants

on the part of individuals or organizations in connection with riots and racial disturbances. We are also reiterating the instructions that informants should be alerted and directed to obtain information concerning individuals who may be stockpiling firebombs, Molotov cocktails, and weapons, and to identify any groups of terrorists who may be planning on carrying on a type of guerrilla warfare during riotous situations.

In connection with our intensive investigation of black militant groups, we are requiring all offices engaged in the Black Nationalist Groups TOPLEV Informant Program (There are 35 field offices involved in this Program.) to assign a minimum of one Agent to work exclusively on informant matters. The results of this endeavor will be reviewed after a three-month pilot period and additional recommendations will be made accordingly. The field will be followed closely to insure that the number and quality of racial informants are developed at a regular rate.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached proposed letter to all Special Agents in Charge concerning the above be approved. If this proposed SAC letter is approved, the appropriate Manual changes will be made.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
WCL  
JPM  
WST  
WST



A VIEW

(C) RACIAL INFORMANTS - RACIAL MATTERS -- In view of the increasing problems with which we are faced in the racial field, particularly in the development of racial intelligence concerning militant black nationalist elements, a careful analysis of this matter has been made in order to insure that proper emphasis is placed where needed. Also, in order to afford better coordination over all interrelated racial security matters (individuals and organizations) including the development of racial informants, supervision is now being handled by the Racial Intelligence Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division. For your information, the Subversive Control Section is no longer in existence. The investigation of the Communist Party and related matters other than those with a racial aspect are being handled by the Internal Security Section.

Our analysis of the racial informant program has shown there is a definite need to develop additional penetrative coverage of the militant black nationalist groups and the ghetto areas immediately to be in a position to have maximum intelligence in anticipation of another outburst of racial violence next summer.

In line with our objective, particular emphasis is being placed on the development of ghetto-type racial informants. Individuals to qualify as this type of informant must live or work in an area described as a ghetto and, therefore, have access to pertinent racial information. The steps necessary to qualify such an individual are as follows:

(1) The individual must have access to racial intelligence information and must be willing to cooperate with the Bureau in furnishing such information.

(2) In the absence of any derogatory information developed, it will be necessary for you to check the following: field office indices, FBI Identification Division records, and local credit and arrest records. Of course, you must develop sufficient background data concerning each prospective informant to allow an intelligent check of the foregoing records to be made. As to the method of recommending to the Bureau that an individual be approved as a racial informant (ghetto-type), be guided by the instructions set out in Section 130, Volume IV, Manual of Instructions, concerning probationary racial informants.

10/17/67  
SAC LETTER 67-62

- 7 -

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All individuals recommended and approved as ghetto-type racial informants will be considered probationary racial informants with the word "ghetto" after the informant's name or symbol. An example of this is "John Jones, Probationary Racial Informant (Ghetto)" or "NY 1234-R (PROB - Ghetto)."

Agents handling these ghetto-type probationary racial informants must be constantly alert for any indications of character traits or activities of these informants which might cause embarrassment to the Bureau. In addition, the information furnished by these informants should not be taken at face value. A diligent attempt must be made to verify all information furnished by these informants through other sources and/or investigation.

In addition, immediately review all security informant files for the purpose of determining which security informants are solely or predominantly active in the racial field. Examples would be individuals furnishing information concerning the Minutemen, as well as the Nation of Islam, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, and other militant black nationalist-type groups. The security designation of these informants should be changed to the appropriate racial informant designation. For example, a potential security informant should be made a probationary racial informant and a security informant should be designated as a racial informant. Thereafter, they should be operated principally in the racial field and supervised by the Racial Informant Desk. When an informant is changed from a security informant to a racial informant, the field classification number should be changed to a 170 classification. Advise the Bureau promptly as to which security informants are being converted to racial informants.

In addition, each office having a Black Nationalist Groups TOPLEV Informant Program is to immediately assign at least one Agent to work exclusively on developing informants under this Program. Each office participating in this Program will submit at the end of a three-month period appropriate observations as to the success of the Program and recommendations as to its continuance.

As I have advised in the past, it is imperative and essential that the Bureau learn of any indications of advance planning or organized

10/17/67

SAC LETTER 67-62

- 8 -

conspiracy on the part of individuals or organizations in connection with riots and racial disturbances. You are again reminded that informants should be alerted and directed to obtain information concerning individuals who may be stockpiling firebombs, Molotov cocktails, weapons, and to identify any groups of terrorists who may be planning on carrying out a type of guerrilla warfare during riotous situations.

I expect each office to give this most important matter priority attention in order to achieve our goal during the next six months. Your efforts and results will be followed closely at the Bureau and during field Inspections. Appropriate Manual changes will be forthcoming.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

10/17/67  
SAC LETTER 67-62

- 9 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

DATE: April 15, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

*GC Moore*  
*for DeLoach*  
*Mr. Deegan*

PURPOSE:

To obtain approval to send a letter to all continental offices concerning the need for additional ghetto informant coverage.

BACKGROUND:

Following the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., Bureau Agents conducted numerous interviews in ghetto areas of U. S. cities as a result of racial disorders. Productive contacts made with individuals during these interviews are a valuable source of untapped informant potential. By following up these interviews by recontacting cooperative residents of the ghetto areas, the Bureau can obtain a higher quality and larger number of ghetto informants. Receiving offices are instructed to exploit this situation by developing, through contacts made during riots, additional probationary racial informants (ghetto).

OBSERVATIONS:

It is imperative that the Bureau utilize every available investigative technique to obtain advance

- Enclosure *sent 4-16-68*
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
  - 1 - Mr. W. D. Neumann

*Vickerman*  
*4/17*

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CONTINUED - OVER

APR 1968

MAY 3 1968

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Racial Informants

knowledge of possible riots, firebombings, and lootings.  
The technique recommended above will increase our informant coverage of the ghettos.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter to all continental offices be approved.

471 *[Signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*  
OK.  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

SAC, Albany

4/16/68

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION  
ALL OFFICES

RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. DeLoach 1 - Mr. Deegan  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore 1 - Mr. Neumar

In the wake of the racial upheavals following the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., numerous U. S. cities experienced racial violence in various degrees.

In keeping the Bureau and interested agencies fully advised of the rapidly developing events in these cities, Bureau Agents interviewed a great number of individuals who were in positions to report on the undercurrents prevalent in the ghetto areas of these cities.

Undoubtedly these interviews opened up a whole new avenue of informant development, on a block-to-block basis, in the crucial areas of the ghettos of American cities.

Those offices covering cities which recently experienced racial strife are expected to take immediate steps to exploit this situation and increase the quality and quantity of ghetto informant coverage.

Those individuals in the ghetto areas who furnished valuable information to the Bureau in these crises should be reinterviewed and consideration given to developing them as probationary racial informants (ghetto).

2 - All Continental Offices

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**NOTE:** See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 4/15/68 captioned as above, prepared by WDN:dsm.

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*W.C. Sullivan*  
*G.C. Moore*  
*W.D. Neumar*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: May 17, 1968

FROM : THE EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS -  
RACIAL MATTERS

*J. Edgar Hoover*

On May 16, 1968, the Executive Conference, consisting of Messrs. DeLoach, Mohr, Sullivan, Tavel, Casper, Callahan, Trotter, Conrad, Gale, Bishop, Scatterday for Rosen, Walters for Felt, and Beaver, considered a recommendation by Assistant Director Sullivan that a survey be made of the Negro ghetto areas where violence has occurred or where there is a concentration of militant, violence-prone, black power elements in order to determine the racial informant coverage in those areas. Complete details are set out in attached memorandum and proposed letter to all continental offices dealing with this matter. Basically, the purpose of this survey is to enable both the field and the Bureau to evaluate the adequacy of informant coverage in these areas and to pinpoint areas in which added coverage is needed.

This assignment could be completed in each office by one Agent in less than one day from information already available in each field division, it being noted that on every inspection the inspector requires the field to identify its ghetto areas.

Following consideration, the Executive Conference unanimously recommended that this survey be conducted.

RECOMMENDATION: *EX-110* REC 13

*66-3542-10-5119* *DeLoach*

If the Director approves, there is attached a proposed letter to all continental offices containing appropriate instructions concerning this matter.

*4-4*  
MAY 21 1968

Enclosures *sent 5/21-68*

- 1 - Mr. Beaver
- 1 - Mr. Casper

TDR:fhd (11)

MAY 12 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

DATE: May 17, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *he*

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan 1-Mr. Beaver
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend approval for the attached letter to all continental field divisions which contains instructions to furnish to the Bureau information concerning ghetto-type informant coverage in Negro ghetto areas where there has been violence or where today there is a concentration of militant violence prone black power elements and the adequacy of such coverage.

By SAC Letter 67-62 (G) dated 10/17/67 captioned "Racial Informants, Racial Matters," all offices were given instructions and guidelines for the development of ghetto-type racial informants in areas where potential racial violence exists. We have aggressively followed this matter with the field since that time but because of the widely divergent nature of cities across the Nation where possible racial problems exist, we have been unable to precisely evaluate the extent of the need of ghetto-type informants in each division. Attached letter to all continental offices requires the submission by each office of factual information concerning the numbers of all Negro ghetto areas where there has been violence or where today there is a concentration of militant violence prone black power elements, an estimate of the population of each such area, and statistics concerning the numbers of ghetto-type racial informants developed to cover such areas. It also requires that each field division advise how many ghetto informants it believes it should have in each of the above type ghetto areas in order to provide the coverage required by the Bureau.

*W*

EX-110  
REC 13 - 66 - 2542 - 10 - 113  
6-4

Enclosure

JGD:cds/rmm (9)

CONTINUED - OVER

62 JUN 12 1968



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: RACIAL INFORMANTS

Attached letter will serve two purposes. Each office will have to make a factual survey of pertinent aspects of the racial problem in all urban areas covered by it. This survey will serve to drive home to each office the size of the potential problem in each division and will force each office to formulate concrete plans for developing adequate informant coverage where such has not already been done. Secondly, the information submitted by each office will give the Bureau a comprehensive picture of the potential problem in each division which will enable the Bureau to more effectively evaluate the adequacy of the ghetto-type racial informant program in each office. Supervisory personnel will be able to more easily detect shortcomings and weaknesses in any given division with this information at hand.

To obtain the information requested by this letter should not be a burden on the field in that it should only take the time of one Agent for less than one day to compile the information concerning the ghetto areas from the information already available in the field divisions. It is to be noted that on every inspection the inspector requires the field to identify its ghetto areas and those areas having a potential for violence.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached proposed letter to all continental field offices in accordance with the above, be approved.

*JK*  
*JK*  
*See of Conf*  
*5/17/68*

SAC, Albany

May 20, 1968

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(BUDED 6/10/68)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Beaver
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Deegan

ReSAC Letter 67-62 (G) dated 10/17/67, captioned "Racial Informants, Racial Matters," which set out instructions concerning the development of ghetto-type racial informants and Bureau letter to all offices dated 4/16/68 captioned "Racial Informants, Racial Matters," which set forth additional steps to be taken in the development of ghetto-type racial informants.

In order to assist the Bureau in its evaluation of the effectiveness with which each office is carrying out its obligations in connection with the development of ghetto-type racial informants, each recipient must submit a letter setting forth the following information to reach the Bureau by 6/10/68.

1) The names of cities covered by your Division which contain Negro ghetto areas where there has been violence or where there is a concentration of militant, violence-prone, black power elements; the number of such areas in each city; the number of square blocks covered by each such area; and an estimate of the population within each such area.

2) The number of ghetto informants which have been developed to date in each city listed under Item 1; the number of ghetto informants developed in each area classified as a ghetto.

3) The number of ghetto informants you believe you need in each ghetto area to obtain the information required by the Bureau.

2 - All Continental Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

JGD:cds:fhd (126)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

59 JUN 1968

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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MAY 23 1968  
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REC-101 ✓ 66-2542-111-111

*h* 19 MAY 28 1968

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

*P*  
*WGA*  
*JP*  
*J*

Letter to Albany, et al  
RE: RACIAL INFORMANTS

For your guidance, the goal you should be setting as to how many ghetto informants are needed in a particular area is that your coverage should be such that you are completely knowledgeable concerning all pertinent racial activities in a particular area. The type of information you should be receiving from your ghetto informants is advance information as to whether anyone is planning to cause a racial disturbance, stockpiling weapons for use during a racial disturbance, full details concerning the activities of militant black nationalists and white extremists in ghetto areas, as well as any other activities which may bring about a racial disturbance.

I expect that immediate attention will be given this matter and I also expect that the Bureau will be kept advised of progress being made in this field. Progress will be followed closely and the desired results are expected to be produced.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, 5/17/68, same caption, JGD:cds/rmm.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tolson     | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 3, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. J. C. Michela

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

### PURPOSE:

To obtain authority to send the attached letter to all Special Agents in Charge changing the maximum permissible period between contacts with ghetto-type racial informants from two weeks, as presently required by the Manual of Instructions, to one month.

### BACKGROUND:

The ghetto-type racial informant program was established in October, 1967, to develop sources living or working in ghetto areas who are in a position to keep the Bureau advised of situations of potential violence. Ghetto-type racial informants are distinguished from regular racial informants in that they are not associated with or reporting regularly on black extremists. Their primary purpose is to detect and report on all violence-prone elements, activities, and situations in ghetto areas which could spark riots or assist black extremists in any way.

### REGULAR RACIAL INFORMANTS STILL CONTACTED AT LEAST EVERY TWO WEEKS:

No change in present Manual of Instructions requirements that regular racial informants be contacted at least once every two weeks is contemplated. Because of the rapport established with ghetto-type racial informants, the field is often able to direct such informants into membership in or association with black extremist groups. When such is the

Enclosure - *see letter attached*

JCM:mfs  
(8)

REC-15 / 100-113

CONTINUED OVER

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EX 113

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: RACIAL INFORMANTS

case, these individuals are converted from ghetto-type racial informants to regular racial informants. If approval is given to extend the maximum period between contacts with established ghetto-type racial informants to one month, any such informant who is converted to a regular racial informant will again be subject to the requirement that he be contacted at least once every two weeks.

**OBSERVATIONS:**

Laborers, clerks, housewives, businessmen, and numerous other types of individuals are developed as ghetto-type racial informants. Frequent initial contacts with each such individual are necessary (1) to establish adequate rapport, (2) to insure that each such individual is fully aware of the nature of and the seriousness of his assignments, and (3) to establish adequate channels of communications suitable for use at any time. Once these goals are achieved, the informant can be considered established and contacts every two weeks are no longer necessary since the primary purpose of each such informant is to remain alert to information of value and promptly relay same. Once a ghetto-type racial informant is established, contacts once each month will be adequate. To definitely fix the time at which a ghetto-type racial informant is considered established, the Special Agent handling this informant will be required to place a memorandum in informant's file stating that requirements (1), (2), and (3), mentioned above, have been met and that informant is considered established.

**SAVINGS FROM LENGTHENING PERIOD BETWEEN CONTACTS:**

As of August 1, 1968, there were 3,248 ghetto-type racial informants developed by the field. New informants of this type are developed daily. Since Special Agents handling this type informant are presently required to contact each such individual at least once every two weeks, there are a minimum of 6,496 contacts being made each month. Even if a contact lasts but a few minutes, the manpower expenditure is considerable. If the maximum permissible period between contacts is extended to one month, manpower expenditures will be cut in half.

**ACTION:**

If approved, attached letter to all Special Agents in Charge will be sent in accordance with the above and appropriate Manual changes will be prepared.

(11)

*W.C.S.* *OK -2- ✓* *W.C.S.* *W.C.S.*

9/10/68  
SAC LETTER 68-52

Sup. [unclear]

(E) RACIAL INFORMANTS - RACIAL MATTERS -- Effective immediately, the maximum permissible period between contacts with established ghetto-type racial informants is extended from two weeks to one month. Prior to the time that you consider an individual as an established ghetto-type informant, you must continue to make contacts with that individual at least once every two weeks. A ghetto-type racial informant is to be considered established only after he has been contacted a sufficient number of times (1) to insure that good rapport exists between the contacting Special Agent and the individual concerned, (2) to insure that the individual concerned is fully aware of the nature and seriousness of the matters assigned to him, and (3) to establish adequate channels of communication suitable for use at any time. To definitely fix the time at which a ghetto-type racial informant is considered established, the Special Agent handling the informant must place a memorandum in informant's file stating that requirements (1), (2), and (3), mentioned above, have been met.

3608

NOT RECORDED  
133 SEP 12 1968

SEP 17 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

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

DATE: 11/3/69

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan *JGD*

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Purpose of this memorandum is to obtain approval for attached letter to all continental field offices instructing that the Ghetto Racial Informant Program in each office be analyzed in detail to insure that each field office is obtaining the full potential from its network of ghetto informants.

We are presently operating 4,469 ghetto informants throughout the United States. These informants are producing valuable racial information on a regular basis. For example, during the past year ghetto informants were able to furnish information which was given to the local police and was helpful in containing racial disturbances. In addition, since April, 1969, our informants have been responsible for bringing about the arrest of 283 individuals (195 local and 88 Federal arrests) and have been responsible for solving 63 other cases and recoveries valued at \$82,038.40.

*5-Deegan*

Although the ghetto informant program is productive, a review has clearly shown that certain field offices are getting far more results from their ghetto informants than others. In view of this it is believed every field office should analyze their program.

REC-35 100-10161

The attached letter to all continental field offices instructs each field office to analyze their ghetto informant program and we are furnishing several guidelines for their assistance in this reevaluation. The purpose of this reevaluation is to insure that their ghetto informants are producing information on a regular basis.

RECOMMENDATION:

2 NOV 10 1969

That attached letter to all continental field offices in accordance with the above be approved.

*sent 11-6-69*

Enclosure  
JGD:rmm (7)

*JGD* *WCS* *W35*

57 NOV 19 1969

SAC, Albany

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

11/6/69

PERSONAL ATTENTION

RACIAL INFORMANTS - Ghetto  
RACIAL MATTERS

The Ghetto Racial Informant Program was instituted on 10/11/67 for the purpose of obtaining information concerning situations in the ghettos which might erupt into racial violence as well as for the purpose of obtaining information concerning extremist activity in the ghetto areas. This program has been productive to date; however, a review of the program in the various field divisions has shown that certain field divisions are getting more results from their ghetto informants than others. In view of this, each field division should analyze its particular ghetto racial informant program to insure that its informants are producing information on a regular basis. In the event an informant is not producing information on a regular basis the case should be closed and a new more productive informant should be developed.

In order to assist you in your evaluation, there is set forth below the type of information ghetto informants are expected to furnish.

1. The identities of any extremists and extremist organizations which are fomenting racial disturbances in the ghettos.
2. The identities and activities of youthful criminal gangs which operate in the ghettos.
3. The identities of unaffiliated individual extremists who may be planning or advocating racial disturbances.
4. Information which may be of assistance in locating fugitives both local and Federal as well as the recovery of stolen articles such as automobiles, weapons.

66-2542-10-177X

REC-28

NOV 7 1969

2 - ALL Continental Offices (Personal Attention)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: RACIAL INFORMANTS

bank loot, narcotics and information concerning illegal gambling activities. In this connection it is to be noted that since April, 1969, our informants have been responsible for bringing about the arrest of 283 individuals (195 local and 88 Federal arrests) as well as solving 63 cases. These informants also were responsible for bringing about recoveries valued at \$82,038.40.

5. Information concerning high school disturbances. Although ghetto informants are not connected with high schools they may well be in a position to furnish information concerning any individuals who live in the ghettos and who are planning or would take advantage of disturbances in high schools.

NOTE:

See memo G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 11/3/69 captioned as above, prepared by JGD:rmm.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: GHETTO RACIAL INFORMANT PROGRAM  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- DATE: 3/17/70

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| Tolson     | _____ |
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- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan *s/s*
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt *s/s*
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

*GC*  
*Deegan*

The attendees at the recent Specialized Training of Bureau Personnel conferences concerning informant matters recommended that instructions be furnished to the field to the effect that in addition to having ghetto informants as listening posts, a larger percentage of these informants be given direction so that they will be actively seeking racial information on a regular basis.

The Ghetto Informant Program was instituted in July, 1967, in order that the Bureau would have access to pertinent racial information in the ghetto areas in anticipation of outbursts of racial violence. This program has proven to be very successful; however, it was noted that some field divisions were operating their ghetto informants as listening posts and other divisions were actively operating the ghetto informants by giving them positive assignments. *GC*

It is noted we are presently operating 4,520 ghetto informants and it is essential that we have some operated as listening posts but we would also achieve greater efficiency if the greater number of these informants were given positive assignments in the racial field. These assignments would include attendance at public meetings held by extremists, surveys of extremist bookstores, verification of residence and employment of Agitator and Security Index subjects who may live or work in ghetto areas, identification of extremists who may be agitating in a local area, as well as furnishing information concerning the activities of youth gangs operating in the area when these activities may tend to increase racial tensions. In addition, ghetto informants because of their access to criminal information, could furnish information concerning both Federal and local crimes. *5-Deegan*

Enclosure *sent 3-19-70*

JGD:rmm (9)

*rmm*

67 APR 1 1970

REC-28

5 MAR 31 1970

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: GHETTO RACIAL INFORMANT PROGRAM

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel to all continental field offices except Anchorage, Honolulu and San Juan in accordance with the above, be approved.

*JWD*  
*JAS/AB*

*Jal*

*Wed*

*AB*

*A*

*This is most important.*

*H*

3/19/70

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

GHETTO RACIAL INFORMANTS - GENERAL  
RACIAL MATTERS

As a result of the recent conferences concerning racial informants held at the Seat of Government, it has been recommended and approved that there be greater utilization of our ghetto racial informants.

The Ghetto Racial Informant Program was instituted in July, 1967, and at that time there was a need for developing a network of listening posts in order that the Bureau would have available maximum intelligence in the event of racial outbursts. In line with the original purpose, this program has proven very successful.

The attendees at the recent conferences noted that some field divisions were operating their ghetto informants as listening posts whereas other field divisions were giving many of their ghetto informants positive assignments. In order to achieve greater efficiency in our informant operations, consideration must be given to giving many of our ghetto informants positive assignments. These assignments should include but not necessarily be limited to attendance at public meetings held by extremists, surveys of extremist bookstores, verification of residence and employment of Agitator and Security

2 - All Offices (Except Anchorage, Honolulu and San Juan) (Personal Attention)

JGD:rmm (121)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
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- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JAN - 8 - 1974

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COMM-FBI

EX-103

REC 45 / 242-10-1-59

66-2542-10-196X1

WCE  
JAC

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: GHETTO RACIAL INFORMANTS

Index subjects who may live or work in ghetto areas, identification of extremists who may be agitating in a local area, as well as furnishing information concerning the activities of youth gangs operating in the area when these activities may tend to increase racial tensions.

It is recognized that certain individuals presently being operated as ghetto informants would be more useful in their role as listening posts; therefore, they should be continued as such.

In line with the above, each ghetto racial informant file should be reviewed in connection with the regular review of ghetto informant files in order to determine whether the informant should be operated as a listening post or whether he should be given positive assignments as set out above.

In the future development of ghetto racial informants you should strive to obtain quality ghetto informants, particularly the type which can be operated so they will be actively seeking racial information in their ghetto areas. It is to be noted that when ghetto informants are furnishing information on a regular basis concerning extremist activity they should be designated as probationary racial informants and the ghetto designation deleted. An aggressive and imaginative approach to the Ghetto Informant Program will enhance the overall Racial Informant Program in every field division by producing on a regular basis, individuals who can be directed to positions where they will have access to pertinent racial information on a regular basis.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 3/17/70, captioned "Ghetto Racial Informant Program," prepared by JGD:rmm.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 20, 1970

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

# 184-46

To obtain authority to revise current policy with regard to the administrative handling of the Ghetto Informant Program.

The Ghetto Informant Program instituted in July, 1967, for the purpose of providing the Bureau with in-depth racial coverage in ghetto areas. We currently operate 4520 ghetto informants throughout the Nation. This informant program is productive with its value having been clearly established. We have been exploring methods to administratively streamline this program to reduce paperwork and correspondence; in this regard it was suggested during a recent Specialized Training of Bureau Personnel conference concerning informant matters that we discontinue the classification of probationary ghetto informants and permit Special Agents in Charge to authorize and supervise all ghetto informants within their respective territories requiring that only a number count be included in the monthly racial informant progress letter.

Current policy requires that removal of the probationary status on ghetto informants be on Bureau authority after notification that specific requirements have been met. Proposed plan eliminates necessity for the probationary status and will place all ghetto informants in one classification upon completion of necessary requirements on SAC approval. The recommended procedure will materially reduce correspondence between the field and the Bureau. Additionally above recommendation eliminates the necessity for the currently required two-week contact with probationary ghetto informants which was necessary at the beginning of the program and will place all ghetto informants under a thirty-day contact rule which we feel is more realistic at this time.

Recommended changes will in no way affect current Bureau instructions concerning informants operating in connection with educational institutions.

Enclosure

RLR:jan/dlb  
(9)

CONTINUED - OVER

59 APR 30 1970

REC-117 171

5. Deegan



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
#682-40

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
DATE: 3-20-70

1 - Mr. J. J. Casper  
1 - Mr. W. M. Felt  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway

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To obtain authority to revise current policy with regard to maintenance of subfiles concerning ghetto informants.

As a result of recent specialized training of Bureau personnel conferences concerning racial matters, it was recommended that the maintenance of field office subfiles concerning ghetto informants be left to the option of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC).

Current policy requires that reports written or oral (reduced to writing) from racial informants including ghetto informants be filed in a field office subfile. Many ghetto informants serve only as "listening posts" and often furnish only information to the effect all is quiet. This type of information is considered positive information and according to current requirements a copy of the report should be placed in the informant subfile along with a copy in the racial situation control file.

In view of the nature of "listening post" type information it is believed sufficient to place a copy of the report in the racial situation control file, thereby eliminating the necessity for its inclusion in a subfile. The above policy change is considered a streamlining device materially reducing paper work currently involved in the maintenance of the ghetto files and will increase the efficiency of our operation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached SAC Letter in accordance with above be approved and sent to all SACs. If approved, appropriate Manual changes will be prepared.

Enclosure - d. to be had  
RLR:bad (9)

56 APR 28 1970

REC-72

APR 17 1970



*RECEIVED*

(D) GHETTO INFORMANTS - RACIAL MATTERS -- As a result of recent conferences concerning racial informants held at the Seat of Government, it has been recommended and approved that ghetto informants be approved on the authority of the Special Agent in Charge and that the probationary status of these informants will no longer be necessary. Current policy requires that before a ghetto informant can be removed from a probationary status the Bureau must be advised that certain specific requirements have been satisfied; thereafter, Bureau authorization is given to remove the probationary status of the informant. You will no longer be required to advise the Bureau of the identity of the ghetto informants and your only requirement will be to give the number of ghetto informants currently being operated by your office at the time you submit your monthly racial informant status report.

Current investigation required concerning development of ghetto informants will remain in effect and it will be the responsibility of each SAC to assure the necessary requirements are fulfilled before approving these informants.

In addition to the above change it will no longer be necessary to contact any ghetto informants on a two-week basis as was required in the handling of probationary ghetto informants. You are now required to contact ghetto informants on a 30-day basis.

The above changes do not affect your requirements to obtain Bureau authority concerning ghetto informants who will be utilized in connection with educational institutions.

The above changes should materially ease the administrative handling of your Ghetto Informant Program and provide you with more time to develop additional productive ghetto informants throughout your territory.

Appropriate Manual changes are forthcoming.

3/31/70

SAC LETTER 70-17

APR 8 1970

- 5 -

110 00  
RECORDED  
APR 6 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 37-7

CONFIDENTIAL  
(E) RACIAL INFORMANTS - GHETTO INFORMANTS -- As a result of recent racial informant conferences held at the Seat of Government, a recommendation was made and approved giving the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) the option of maintaining subfiles concerning ghetto informants.

As you are aware, current policy concerning subfiles relating to ghetto informants requires that a subfile be maintained on all ghetto informants regardless of whether or not they are furnishing only "listening post" type information. Effective immediately, the maintenance of a subfile for your ghetto informants is being left to the option of the SAC. There is little reason to maintain a subfile on those ghetto informants who are used primarily as "listening posts" and furnish information concerning attitudes and tensions within a ghetto area. It will suffice to place a copy of the report (FD-209) in the racial situation control file, thereby eliminating its inclusion in a subfile.

Subfiles may be necessary in those instances when ghetto informants are reporting valuable substantive information.

Appropriate Manual change forthcoming.

170-00-  
NOT RECORDED  
103 APR 6 1970

3/31/70  
SAC LETTER 70-17  
56 APR 8 1970

- 6 -

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-37027

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
RACIAL MATTERS

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

DATE: 7-17-70

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

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| Tolson     | _____ |
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This is to justify the continuance of captioned program in view of the fact that this program is producing substantial accomplishments in the racial field on a regular basis.

The Ghetto Informant Program was instituted by memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 10-11-67, captioned "Racial Informants, Racial Matters." A ghetto informant is an individual who resides or works in an area described as a ghetto and can furnish pertinent general racial information. At the present time we are operating 5,178 ghetto informants and as of 6-1-69 we were operating 4,067 ghetto informants. This is an increase of 1,111 ghetto informants in the past year.

During the past year ghetto informants have been responsible not only for obtaining valuable racial intelligence in the ghetto areas but also for bringing about the arrest of 76 individuals, 43 on Federal charges and 33 on local charges. In addition, these informants were responsible for solving 88 other cases, nine of which were Federal and 79 local as well as bringing about recoveries valued in excess of \$67,660. The types of cases involved in this were bank robberies, mail robberies, stolen automobiles, deserters, narcotics, assaults and general fugitive matters.

As to the racial intelligence furnished by ghetto informants during the past year it has been responsible for not only preventing racial violence in certain areas but also for identifying those individuals who have perpetrated violent acts in connection with racial disturbances. These informants have also furnished information concerning acquisitions of firearms by racial extremists as well as information concerning individuals who were attempting to form Black Panther groups in certain areas.

JGD:bad (5)

REC 85  
CONTINUED - OVER

174

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

Each continental field office operates ghetto informants and the analysis of this program definitely shows that the values achieved from the program as set out above justifies the continuance of this program. Continued emphasis will be put on this program.

ACTION:

If approved, this program will be continued and rejustified in July, 1971.

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 10-27-70

FROM : G. C. Moore *JCM*

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
GHETTO INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

*5- Deegan*

*W.C. Sullivan*

*G.C. Moore*

In accordance with the Director's request the following is set forth to show the difference between a racial informant and a ghetto informant.

A racial informant is an individual who is furnishing information on a confidential basis concerning extremist groups (black or white) as well as information concerning individuals who are members of these groups.

A ghetto informant is an individual who lives or works in a ghetto area and has access to information regarding the racial situation and racial activities in his area which he furnishes to the Bureau on a confidential basis. *WZ*

The difference between the above types of informants is that the racial informant is targeted towards extremist organizations and their members whereas the ghetto informant furnishes general racial information and is not a member of an extremist group.

At the present time we are operating 953 racial informants and 6,024 ghetto informants. The combination of these two types of sources gives us a combined total of 6,977 individuals who are furnishing racial information to the Bureau.

*66-2542-10-219X*

EX-106

*66-2542-10-1563*

ACTION:

*CS* For your information.

REC-76

OCT 29 1970

JGD:bad (5)

55 NOV 2 1970

*JGD*

*W.S.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: RACIAL INFORMANTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 5-10-71

- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

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

To obtain approval for attached airtel to all field offices concerning the advising of the Bureau of symbol numbers assigned to ghetto racial informants.

SAC Letter 71-19 (C) dated 5-4-71 set out that a symbol number designation should be afforded to all individuals from the time any steps are taken to develop them as any type of Bureau source. This letter instructed that the Bureau should be advised concerning the symbol number assigned by secure teletype.

Ghetto informants are approved by the authority of the Special Agent in Charge and the identity of the ghetto informant is not normally furnished to the Bureau. In such cases as it is necessary for the Bureau to obtain the identity of a particular ghetto informant, this is done by individual communication.

Accordingly, it is not believed necessary for the field to advise the Bureau of the symbol numbers assigned to individual ghetto informants.

ACTION:

That attached airtel instructing the field not to advise Bureau of the symbol numbers assigned to ghetto informants unless an unusual situation occurs. be approved.

sent 5-11-71  
Enclosure  
JGD:bad (9)

REC-49

DJIS

54 MAY 21 1971

175-60-197 WBS

5-11-71

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

RACIAL INFORMANTS - GENERAL  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to SAC Letter 71-19 (C) dated 5-4-71 captioned "Informant Designations - Security of Resident Agencies."

The information contained in referenced SAC Letter pertains to racial informants; however, do not furnish the Bureau the symbol numbers assigned to ghetto informants unless an unusual circumstance exists.

2 - All Offices

JGD:bad (127)

NOTE: *bad*

*66-2542-10-238X*

See memorandum G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan, dated 5-10-71, captioned as above and prepared by JGD:bad.

EX-114

REC 27:66

*2542-10-1-83*

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

MAILED 2  
MAY 12 1971  
FBI

MAY 17 1971

MAY 18 1971

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

JAN - 8 1974

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

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

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 7/4/71

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
RACIAL MATTERS

Purpose of this memorandum is to advise concerning the racial Ghetto Informant Program in respect to the article which appeared in Sunday's 7/4/71 edition of "The Washington Post" highlighting this Program.

"The Washington Post" article captioned "Analysis of Stolen FBI Documents Provides Glimpse of Bureau at Work," (copy of which is attached), sets out the Bureau instituted a new program "ghetto informants" to cover the ghettos of America. The analysis in the article is based on the stolen documents from the Media, Pennsylvania, Resident Agency.

The article sets forth that some of the specific assignments were to attend and report on open meetings of known or suspected black extremists, visit black Afro-type bookstores to determine if extremist literature is available and report on changes of the attitudes of the Negro community toward the white community which may lead to racial violence.

The Ghetto Informant Program was instituted in October, 1967, by memorandum dated 10/11/67 from G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned "Racial Informant, Racial Matters." It was recommended and approved that the Bureau develop sources living or working in ghetto areas who are in a position to keep the Bureau advised of situations of potential violence. This was necessary because of our responsibility of developing racial intelligence concerning black extremists who could foment racial violence in the ghetto areas.

Enclosure

JGD:cb  
(9)

REC-41

12 JUL 15 1971  
CONTINUED - OVER

EX 101

Part III

ENCLOSURE  
55 JUL 21 1971

5- [Signature]



Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

This Program has been productive in furnishing racial intelligence information which has been responsible for not only preventing racial violence but also identifying individuals who have perpetrated act of violence during racial disturbances, identifying individuals attempting to sell explosives, individuals who participated in firebombings as well as reporting on the activities while racial disturbances were occurring.

In addition, these ghetto informants along with all our racial informants from January to May 31, 1971, were responsible for bringing about the arrest of 237 individuals, on both local and Federal charges, 64 of which were FBI fugitives, as well as being responsible for the recovery of \$63,865 in stolen merchandise.

OBSERVATIONS:

The Ghetto Informant Program is a sound program even if the liberal press such as "The Washington Post" using stolen documents attempts to imply that the Bureau through this Program is checking on every black living in a ghetto area. Such a task would be impossible. At the present time we have 6,301 ghetto informants throughout the U.S. These are mostly Negro individuals who are cooperating with the Bureau in order to help fight the extremist and criminal elements in their neighborhoods which jeopardize and disrupt the law abiding Negro citizen.

This Program is analyzed on a regular basis through field inspections, inspection of the Seat of Government and through supervision by the Domestic Intelligence Division. In view of the need for racial intelligence that is provided by the Program and its productivity, we will continue to operate it in accordance with Bureau standards.

ACTION: For information.

*Then further place  
of separate memo  
from [unclear] dated 12-27-71*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*WBS*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
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- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Analysis of Stolen FBI Documents Provides Glimpse of Bureau at Work

By William Greider  
Washington Post Staff Writer

What the United States government knows about Russell and his friends would fill a book and, somewhere deep in the files, it probably does.

One wintry day last February, for instance, the government learned that Sandra called Russell. Russell told her that there was no head in their Philadelphia office and that they had no money.

Delores called, too, and stated that her baby was due in four months.

Russell left a message with Eileen to tell Smitty to tell Montae to be at a staff meeting.

Dan called Doc to ask about a truck and Doc called Dante about it. Geraldine called William. Lorraine called Russell. Herman called an unknown female. Simba called the office.

And Russell called a female identified as Mom, sta-

tion-to-station collect, in Illinois.

He asked her to send him \$17 so he could come home to visit. She said she would. His mother tried to persuade Russell to get out of the Black Panther Party. She was unsuccessful.

These details from the private lives of Russell and his associates at the Black Panther headquarters in Philadelphia were secured, without their knowledge, by a confidential informant—coded PH 1209-R\* by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The asterisk indicates electronic surveillance, a tap on the telephone.

Presumably, the government gathered this intelligence in the interest of national security, to defend itself against the revolutionary violence that Black Panthers prophesy so casually. Nineteen copies of the four-page, single-spaced memorandum were distributed to different dossiers on individuals and organizations.

But, this date is not labeled as a security matter. In the shorthand designation of the bureau, Russell and the other Black Panthers are classified as "117" cases. Their activities constitute an "RM"—for Racial Matter.

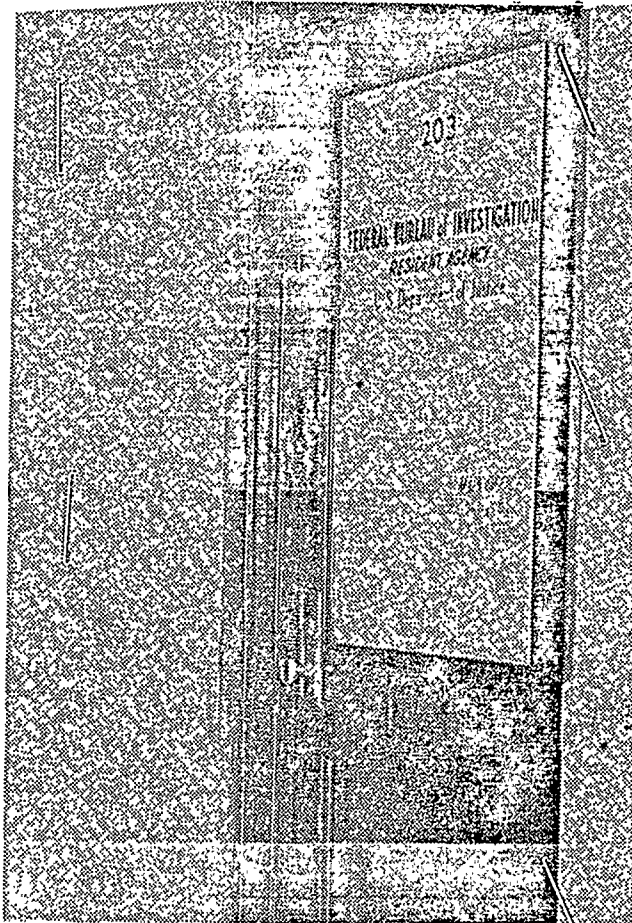
See BUREAU, A14, Col. 1

- The Washington Post Times Herald A-1
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 7-4-71

ENCLOSURE

# *Analysis of Stolen Records Gives Glimpse of FBI at Work*



Associated Press

The Media, Pa., FBI office, where records were stolen.

## BUREAU, From

They ~~are~~ watched by the Philadelphia field office's by the Philadelphia field office's "Racial Squad."

"Any dissemination of this information outside the Bureau must be adequately paraphrased," the memorandum warned, "in order to protect this highly sensitive source."

Unfortunately for the bureau, the memo was disseminated in the most unorthodox way—with its raw tone of tedious snooping unparaphrased—by burglars who broke into an FBI office at Media, Pa., March 8. They stole 800 to 1,000 documents that night; approximately 10 per cent of them have since been made public, copied and sent to various newspapers which have described them in a series of articles.

Considered as a whole, those Media documents offer the public and Congress an unprecedented glimpse of how the U.S. government watches its citizens—particularly black citizens.

For, while many may consider it natural enough for the FBI to keep an eye on the Panthers, the Media documents establish clearly that the racial surveillance is a general activity, blanketing black neighborhoods and organizations, assigning file members and intelligence folders to thousands of people and places—from the Liberation School to Wimpy's Cafe in North Philadelphia to the Church of the Advocate on 18th Street.

The Media papers also provide original insights into the bureaucracy of citizen surveillance—the mountain of paperwork, the meticulous cataloging of personal and political minutiae, the international incentives to broaden and deepen the spying rather than curtail it. All are described in the peculiar snub-nosed prose of FBI men, blunt and neutral in tone, unanalytical, the way Sgt. Friday on "Dragnet" used to say: "Just the facts, ma'am."

Attempting to draw generalizations from the stolen papers is a perilous exercise, because the press and public have been shown only a fraction of what was burglarized. The clandestine group that calls itself the "Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI" clearly has been selective in its distribution—in some cases, revealing only parts of documents.

An FBI memo, which at first reading seems to reveal investigative harassment or unjustified invasion of privacy, could well be—if other accompanying documents were available—part of legitimate surveillance in pursuit of crime and criminals.

In that sense, the Media revelations are inherently unfair to the Bureau. There is no way for the agency to refute many of the implications without opening its confidential files to public inspection.

In addition, because the papers are confidential, the overall impression is inevitably one of subterfuge—the feeling that the FBI has been caught doing something it isn't supposed to be doing. Actually, the documents do not speak to that question. The FBI contends always that its investigative activities, past and present, are in accordance with instructions from the Justice Department and the Attorney General. Nothing in the Media file refutes that claim.

But, while the Media burglars have been selective in what they showed the public, so have the federal officials. Both the FBI and the Justice Department have so far refused to make public, even to congressional inquiries, any of the official criteria, guidelines and directives which they contend govern the methods and scope of FBI surveillance. At one point during a Senate hearing, a Justice official denied that such guidelines exist, then moments later described them as extensive.

To explain surveillance in black neighborhoods and to justify it, the assistant attorney general for internal security, Robert Mardian, has revealed two paragraphs from a 1967 memorandum by then Attorney General Ramsey Clark, a Democrat who more recently has been a critic of government intrusions on civil liberties. The excerpt, by itself, sounds like a sweeping directive to spy on American Negroes:

"It is imperative that the department seek to obtain the most comprehensive intelligence possible regarding organized or other purposeful stimulation of domestic dissention, civil disorders and riots. To carry out these responsibilities, we must make full use of and constantly endeavor to increase and refine the intelligence available to us, both from internal and external sources, concerning organizations and individuals throughout the country who may play a role in either instigating or spreading disorders or in preventing or checking them."

But the Justice Department has declined to release the entire text of Clark's memorandum or the other accompanying directives as well as any of the guidelines which the incumbent Attorney General has issued on the subject.

Clark acknowledges that he gave such an order, but his memory is vague about what restrictions, if any, were placed on the scope of the surveillance. The purpose, he said, was to develop more reliable intelligence about urban riot situations so that the federal government could make a measured response—a move which was also recommended by the liberal-applauded Kerner report. Clark also wanted to settle the politically volatile question of whether a national conspiracy lay behind the urban disorders. "Of course, we never found one," he said.

"We felt, first, a high obligation to be on top of that situation," Clark recalled, "and, second, that the bureau was not doing an adequate job. On methods, we may have been a little loose. I just don't know."

Clark feels that if all of the memoranda were available they would show that he did not issue an open-ended order without limitations. In the absence of those official guidelines, however, the media documents, despite their gaps, are still the most complete statement on what the FBI is doing. Tested against the experiences of former FBI agents from other field offices, some generalizations are possible.

Bookstores, churches, saloons, storefront community organizations, campuses and student organizations—all apparently are fair game if they bear the prefix "Afro" or if they become classified through some unrevealed process as "black militant" or "militant extremist." It is almost as if the government decided to spy on all lawyers who engage in politics because, as everyone knows, some lawyers in politics turn out to be crooks.

The memoranda prescribing the racial surveillance sound like instructions for agents being sent to a foreign country and, indeed, only a handful of the FBI's agents were black when the escalation in surveillance occurred in 1968 (fewer than 2 per cent of the more than 8,000 agents are black today).

One directive from Philadelphia's special agent in charge (the SAC in bureau parlance) even told the 180 agents where to go in search of "obtaining maximum productivity from the ghetto informants developed by each individual office."

The SAC gave the addresses of 10 bars and cafes, three bookstores, a church and the headquarters of five community organizations. Among nine specific assignments for informants were these:

- "Attend and report on open meetings of known or suspected black extremist organizations . . .

- "Visit Afro-American type bookstores for the purpose of determining if militant extremist literature is available therein and, if so, to identify the owners, operators and clientele of such stores . . .

- "Identify black extremist militants who attempt to influence the Negro community and report on the effect of such efforts . . .

- "Report on changes in the attitude of the Negro community toward the white community which may lead to racial violence.

- "Report on all indications of efforts by foreign powers to take over the Negro militant movement. In those cases where you have an exceptionally intelligent and knowledgeable informant, such an informant may be given the assignment of reporting on the general mood of the Negro community concerning susceptibility to foreign influence whether this be from African nations in the form of Pan-Africanism, from the Soviet or Chinese communist bloc nations, or from other nations."

The directive closed with a reminder to plan ahead:

"The Bureau has also instructed that we immediately ascertain among all Negro informants, including ghetto informants, which informants are planning to enter college this fall and would be in a position to infiltrate black power groups on campuses. Bureau desires that we furnish them with the identities of these informants and the colleges they plan to attend."

What the FBI wanted to find out—and presumably still seeks—was not so much the solution to a crime or the identity of criminals, but the answer to a highly complicated social-political question that has baffled the most sophisticated urban investigators: when and where would the next riot occur?

An earlier memo, dated in late February, 1968, outlined the problem for Philadelphia agents:

"It is a major part of our

responsibility to learn in advance, if that is humanly possible, if a riot is planned or is expected to occur. In this way, it may be possible to actually forestall a riot or at least to be better prepared if it does happen."

This new responsibility meant, in effect, reporting on every demonstration planned, regardless of whether it produced disorder or a violation of any federal laws. The SAC warned, a bit grimly, it seems:

"Whether or not a riot does occur, the Bureau holds us responsible to keep the Bureau, the Department and the White House advised in advance of each demonstration. The Bureau expects this coverage to come through informant sources primarily. In addition, we must advise the Bureau at least every two weeks of existing tensions and conditions which may trigger a riot."

To accomplish that, a new category of informant was created, employing the newly fashionable shorthand for any black neighborhood: "Racial Informant—Ghetto." They would be anyone, white or black, who happened to have contact in the "ghetto," from taxi drivers and liquor store clerks to janitors and bill collectors. These "Ghetto Informants" would be distinct from the FBI's regular "Racial Informants" who were infiltrating "black nationalist and black revolutionary groups." Each agent was directed to bring back at least one "ghetto informant".

The Bureau suggested that some established criminal and internal-security informants could be converted to the new assignment. Philadelphia was subdivided by streets and areas to insure complete coverage.

If one assumes that this same command went out to all field agents, that means that the FBI was cataloguing for starters something like 8,000 informants, just to cover the "ghettos" of America. But these numbers cannot be trusted; the total might have involved many more racial informants or it just may have been an exercise in expanded paperwork.

Interviews with former agents who served in Washington, Detroit, New York, Miami and Kansas City confirm that similar directives were received in other major cities, but the numbers and impact varied considerably.

One veteran of the Washington, D.C., field office (not to be confused with the bureau's headquarters here, commonly referred to as SOG for Seat of Government) recalled that they were given a much more ambitious goal for the Capital's black majority. They were first told to recruit at least six "ghetto informants" apiece. That was later modified to three each, then one each, he said.

"In fact," he related, "only guys on the Racial Squad did anything about it."

Another ex-agent in a different field office remembered an order to gather three or four "ghetto" contacts for pre-riot surveillance but, again, he did not think that goal was ever genuinely fulfilled. "It just made for a tremendous amount of paperwork," he said. "Ninety per cent of the informants were worthless."

By the accounts of former agents, many "informants" were little more than names and addresses in the files. They had been submitted after routine investigations and only limited contacts. Months later, the agent might submit a follow-up memorandum, withdrawing the "potential racial informant" as unreliable or no longer available, then submit new names. That, the ex-agents said, produced a statistical picture of heavy activity in developing new informants, but not much genuine intelligence.

The irony, according to the viewpoint of several ex-agents, is that the Media documents may portray the FBI surveillance as much more penetrating than it really is.

Nevertheless, as the Media documents testify, the FBI has succeeded in infiltrating some black organizations (though the papers do not reveal whether the "ghetto" recruiting goal was ever met). A collection of the memorandums spanning the recent years mentions 14 coded racial informants in the Philadelphia area and indicates that they are established sources who have passed the test of reliability and who presumably are paid for their information, either on a regular retainer or item-by-item.

One informant — still classified as "potential" — is a former civil rights leader who was among the 14 men who were listed in the 1968 memorandum as "active in the Negro militant movement" and, thus, worthy of surveillance.

Besides the Black Panthers, the documents reveal, for example, a thorough penetration of the Black Economic Development Conference, whose Philadelphia

5

leader, Muhammad Yatta, has specialized in very public confrontations over such issues as church "reparations" to black people. Kenyatta's activities have been well covered by the local press and the Philadelphia police.

At least two racial informants — PH897-R and PH 307-R — were providing the FBI with reports on the private coming-and-going of Kenyatta as recently as February. None of the information contained in the reports distributed by the Media burglars suggests that Kenyatta is moving away from public confrontations into clandestine subversion or sabotage.

On the contrary, one informant describes Kenyatta's plans for "a new stronger organization which will bring in other black groups in the city of Philadelphia." The FBI learned, among other things, the names of the prospective chairmen for 10 subcommittees, ranging from Church Relationships to Ways and Means. The planning makes Kenyatta sound more like a PTA chairman than a revolutionary, except for two of his subcommittees — Tactical, described by the informant as reparations and confrontation, and Defense, described as self-defense or legal defense.

To learn more about this man and his organization, the FBI turned to his bank and the telephone company, both of which were cooperative. The Southeast National Bank provided copies of cancelled checks and monthly statements that showed balances in 1970 fluctuating from a high of \$1,948 to a low of \$38.

The Bell Telephone Co. of Pennsylvania supplied the investigator with the Kenyattas' unlisted phone number (but cautioned that this should not be made public without first going through the motions of issuing a subpoena for it).

The Media papers, fragmentary as they are, do not really establish how widespread that sort of surveillance is. Again, the ex-agents with experience in other cities suggest that it was the common practice, not the exception.

Two former agents who served together on the Washington field office's Racial Squad agreed that surveillance of black groups was conducted broadly, though they came away from their bureau jobs with vastly different attitudes about it. One of them was so disgusted that it led to his resignation. The other found the work fascinating and educational.

"It was very racist," said one of them. "The bureau was interested in anything or anyone that said black. If I were to start an organization called 'Friends of Blacks,' chances are I would be investigated. You couldn't convince them that they had no right to investigate all over the lot willy-nilly."

The second agent, his former colleague, did not argue with this description of the scope, but insisted that the

surveillance was not "racist" since other squads were at work covering white groups with equal vigor, particularly New Left dissidents.

"It was something new and interesting to me," he recalled. "I saw things differently, things I'd never seen before about the colored. I used to enjoy going around with Stokely Carmichael. He was a damn good speaker. If he could find his cause, he could be a great leader."

Several former agents added another distinction. Prior to the urban riots, bureau agents followed various civil rights groups, always on the pretext of potential foreign attachments. Officially, they were investigating to see if the civil rights movement was being infiltrated by Communists under foreign domination. After 1967, the ex-agents said, that distinction was dropped and any group which might be characterized as "black militant" or "extremist" became a subject of concern in its own right.

None of this probably would shock many of the "black militant" citizens who are being watched. For years, various civil rights leaders have complained about the FBI, even before the increased surveillance stimulated by the riots.

Some of them insisted that the real purpose was to destroy their organizations by stimulating paranoia—fear of infiltration which makes fellow members suspicious of one another, splinters a group into factions and inhibits the recruiting of new members. That was a factor, certainly, in the FBI's successful penetration of the Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan—although few people objected when the tactic was used against those organizations.

Curiously, one Media document mentions "paranoia" as government weapon against its citizens. A Philadelphia agent, reporting on an SOG conference on the New Left held last September, notes:

"There was a pretty general consensus that more interviews with these subjects and hangers-on are in order for plenty of reasons, chief of which are it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox."

On the record, the present administration has said that its racial intelligence-gathering related to civil disturbances is a continuation, with a few refinements, of what was started under Ramsey Clark and the Democrats. Privately, Justice Department officials have hinted on several occasions that Attorney General John N. Mitchell has actually been more restrictive, though they have offered no evidence of that.

The fragmentary disclosures from the Media files suggests the contrary. Stirred by the campus disorders of 1969-70 into asking Congress for 1,000 additional agents to cover college bomb-

ings and burnings, the bureau ordered all of its 59 field offices to investigate and, if possible, to infiltrate every black student organization in the country, not just at the campuses where disorders had occurred, but at every four-year college and junior college.

The memorandum is dated Nov. 4, 1970, a period when campuses were quiet, but the tone is urgent. It linked campus trouble involving black students with "influence and control by violence-prone Black Panther Party and other extremists." The order indicated that the bureau was increasing and re-emphasizing an area of surveillance which already had been opened.

"We must target informants and sources to develop information regarding these groups on a continuing basis to fulfill our responsibilities and to develop such coverage where none exists," the director said.

"Effective immediately, all BSU's and similar organizations organized to project the demands of black students which are not presently under investigation, are to be subjects of discreet, preliminary inquiries limited to established sources and carefully conducted to avoid criticism, to determine the size, aims, purposes, activities, leadership, key activists, and extremist interest or influence in these groups. Open individual cases on officers and key activists in each group to determine background and if their activities warrant active investigation."

In the Philadelphia area, that meant black-student organizations on 13 campuses, each case "opened and assigned" under the heading of "Racial Matter," with additional individual files on the officers and "key activists." Across the nation, there are now about 500,000 black collegians and probably a couple of thousand campus groups called Black Student Union or Afro-American Society. Most of them, of course, were "organized to project the demands of black students," as the FBI put it, but only a small minority have been associated with violent disorders.

In addition to the campus-by-campus investigation, the FBI aimed its resources at the National Association of Black Students, a fledgling Washington-based group that is trying to form a loose national affiliation of black college groups.

Last summer, all agents were alerted to have "logical informants" attend the first NABS convention in Detroit. NABS is an "RM" too. The directive suggests that the FBI was already successful in infiltrating at least some Black Student Unions.

One of the most troubling items on racial surveillance is the last one, a memorandum from late February of this year describing what the FBI found out from three informant sources about the Black Student Union at Pennsylvania Military College, a quiet campus in Chester. What they found was a "basically dormant" organization, yet instead of closing the file and forgetting the matter, the agency decided to open new files on two leaders of the organization—just in case.

"These sources," the memorandum reported, "described the BSU as a somewhat disorganized group of students, possibly having a membership and/or following of no more than 30 students and possibly as few as a half dozen, who have not displayed radical or militant ideas, and do not appear to be aligned with any radical or black militant groups."

That sounds like a clean bill, even under the broad standards which the FBI applies in deciding who should be watched. The memorandum even described "Black Festival Week," held on the campus last October, as a flop. Nevertheless, according to the document, the FBI is still watching the leaders of this organization. The memo acknowledged the lack of damaging information, then directed:

"Philadelphia will, however, open cafes on the individual leaders listed as the leaders of the BSU and informants will be developed



on these individuals so that this office is aware of their identity and background."

The incident frames a crucial question about the FBI surveillance, not just of black spying but of political black organizations, but of political dissidents generally: when does the spying stop?

If one accepted the idea that the FBI has a right at least to look into any and all organizations which had "probable cause" to be what it regards as potentially subversive or the source of crime or disorder, then presumably the agency would follow some procedure for taking a "first look" to test its suspicions.

If the "probable cause" proved to be unfounded, then the case would be closed, the surveillance stopped, ideally, the dossier destroyed. The case of Pennsylvania Military College suggests that, on the contrary, the agents keep the files active, even when they know the subject is harmless.

The Media documents provide no conclusive answer to this question, but they do contain a series of similar examples of the FBI men passing the threshold of an initial investigation without accepting the negative results as grounds for closing the file.

In one bizarre case, the Philadelphia agents spent some energy tracking down Norman John Shore after an Army intelligence unit in Europe intercepted seven letters between Shore and people in East Germany. They dealt with Shore's visit to a "Free German Youth" camp. When the agents learned that the subject was only 14 years old, they decided to close the case—but switched their investigation to his father.

In another document, a confidential informant, PH 948-S, recounted his evening at the "Bernheim Commune," chatting with several men about New Left politics while a Women's Liberation meeting was under way in an adjoining room. The men and some of the women were already the subjects of individual surveillance files as "internal security" cases; so was Women's Liberation.

The informant concluded: "It would appear that they consider themselves 'intellectual revolutionaries,' but are not organizational types and not personally activists." Despite that assessment, the agent's memorandum closes with instructions to open and assign a new security case on the Bernheim Commune.

In a similar vein, a 1969 memo indicates that the government is interested in infiltrating a meeting of the War Resisters International at Haverford College for political propaganda purposes in connection with the Paris Peace talks, not to detect potential crime.

The organization is a radical pacifist league which has been producing antiwar propaganda for several generations. Its meeting at Haverford was open to press and public, but the FBI memo alerted 22 "security informants."

"Determine its scope and whether or not there are any indications it will generate any anti-U.S. propaganda," the orders said. "Be most discreet in handling this matter."

Former FBI agents, asked about their own experiences, express conflicting views on this question. Several think the FBI is reasonably careful about checking out a "security" or "racial" subject, then dropping the case if it proves unproductive. "A lot are eliminated by the first look," said one ex-agent. "I think they're doing a pretty good job."

But others disagree rather strongly. The system which they describe never forgets a name. Once someone comes under surveillance, they contend, it is hard to drop him. One agent described an example:

"In practice, Joe Doaks gives a speech. He says it's about time for a revolution in this country. So we take a look at him and determine that he's a straight guy, just got carried away, no bomb thrower.

"But then you can't close the investigation, because you've got to get background, to make sure he's okay. Meanwhile, maybe he makes another speech somewhere and the bureau or another field office asks, 'Who is this guy?' Once a guy makes a public name for himself, it's almost impossible to close it."

Some of the bureaucratic pressure that the ex-agents cite is evident in the Media papers. One memorandum mentions the "credit" system under which individual agents and field offices score points with their superiors when a case is solved or stolen property recovered.

Agents were urged to use racial informants for solving crimes, but promised that an agent would be given "full credit" for his piece of the action, even if another

squad made the final "rust. In addition, when the agents were ordered to obtain at least one "ghetto informant" apiece, the field office acknowledged that this might be impossible for some, but they should protect themselves against possible criticism:

"If an individual RA (resident agent) covers only a county which does not encompass any municipality containing a ghetto, so specify by memorandum form 170-6 with a copy for the RA's error folder, so that he will not be charged with failure to perform."

With that sort of encouragement, it would seem natural for a special agent to spread the fruits of his investigating as broadly as possible. Indeed, again and again, the Media memos demonstrate the great proliferation of paper recording and disseminating even insignificant discoveries.

The Philadelphia "Security" investigation of Jacqueline Reuss, daughter of the Wisconsin congressman, though it discovered nothing derogatory about her, was forwarded for files in Washington, Milwaukee and Alexandria, Va.

Seven copies of a report on a University of California student were distributed to files across the country repeating the allegation that she is "an inveterate Marxist revolutionist," although the field investigation failed to substantiate that.

A student at the University of Maryland's Eastern Shore campus was investigated as a "black nationalist" and described as a "constant source of agitation" on the campus in recent years. Thirteen copies of the report went to dossiers on him in six cities.

The FBI files do have a long memory. That is also demonstrated clearly by the Media documents on old left cases which show the agency keeping an eye on people and organizations literally for decades on the presumption that they are potentially dangerous.

There is no "first look" test applied apparently, on a person or group falls into this category, even if over a number of years no evidence develops to suggest they are about to commit a crime.

One memorandum, for instance, notes that the FBI maintains an interest in watching such long-established and public antiwar groups as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, SANE and the American Friends Service Committee—but agents were instructed not to mix them with New Left groups who were more dangerous—the "violent and terroristic-minded young anarchists."

In one instance, the FBI reached back in its collective memory 30 years, Agents in Washington were trying to establish a Latin American employee at an international organization here as a double agent to spy on Cuba. In their search of his background, they discovered that his brother was a Communist candidate for a minor post in a Maritime Union election, held on the docks of New Orleans in 1940.

In still another example from the Media papers, the Philadelphia agents were scanning the background of a Quaker pacifist, a radio engineer, who had invited a Czech folklore scholar to visit and lecture in the United States in 1966. In the files, they found a variety of items:

- A 1961 report that the Quaker and his wife were on the addressograph plates of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York.

- A 1957 report that that the subject and his wife, as "staunch members" of the Religious Society of Friends, are opposed to war that neighbors regard them as loyal Americans.

That the engineer has indicated to his employer that he is not a member of any subversive organizations but "during the Spanish Civil War (1936), he attended many public meetings which he believed were sponsored by groups which are cited and consequently his name has apparently been listed on the mailing lists of several of these organizations."

- A 1956 report, which apparently inspired the 1957 investigation, that the man's wife had corresponded with the Yugoslav State Tourist Office in New York—Whose director according to another confidential source, was actually an intelligence agent.

Maybe the thousands of names and organizations which the FBI is now cataloging—antiwar, black militant, New Left radical—will be handled differently, but the Media documents suggest strongly that the dossiers will follow these people for many years, regardless of their political activities or the "national security" problems of the future. "The bureau," one former agent remarked, "has a tendency never to purge its files."

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *esm*

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: 9-20-71

- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop *MB*
- Miller *ML*
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*EXTREMIST INFORMANTS*

In order to increase the productivity of the Ghetto Informant Program, there is attached for approval an airtel to all continental field offices instructing that each Special Agent in Charge (SAC) thoroughly evaluate the Ghetto Informant Program in his respective division and submit recommendations for improving the program in line with the guidelines set forth by the Bureau.

The Ghetto Informant Program was instituted 10-11-67. A ghetto informant is an individual who resides or works in an area described as a ghetto and can furnish general information concerning extremist activity. When originally instituted, the ghetto informant was mainly a listening post; however, with the change in extremist activities, a good number of these informants were given positive assignments, which assignments definitely increased the productivity in certain field divisions.

At the present time we are operating 6,541 ghetto informants. This is a valuable reservoir of individuals who should be elevated into positions in extremist organizations. In addition, by increasing the productivity of the ghetto informants, the Bureau will be in a position of obtaining additional criminal statistics.

It is to be noted that in addition to obtaining information concerning extremist activities, the ghetto informants along with other extremist informants since January 1, 1971, have been responsible for bringing about the arrest of 445 individuals on both local and Federal charges, 127 of which were FBI fugitives, as

Enclosure - Sent 9-22-71  
JGD:bad (9)

EX-102 REC-45 170-20-207

CONTINUED - OVER

10 SEP 24 1971

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*5-DW/gan*



Airtel

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

9/22/71

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

*C*  
 \*GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
 EXTREMIST MATTERS  
 BUDED: 10/22/71

- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

*Extremist Informants*  
 The increasing need to fully penetrate all extremist groups in U. S. dictates that we fully use the vast reservoir of individuals now being operated as ghetto informants; therefore, each SAC must fully evaluate his ghetto informant program so that the Bureau may evaluate this program as a whole.

The evaluation should include but not necessarily be limited to: 1. Number of ghetto informants elevated into extremist organizations. 2. Determination of percentage of ghetto informants regularly given positive assignments. 3. Evaluation of extremist intelligence accomplishments of these informants. 4. Evaluation of their criminal statistical accomplishments. 5. Specific steps taken to not only increase the productivity of the ghetto informant program but also the steps being taken to elevate the ghetto informants into extremist organizations.

Ghetto informants should be so operated as to elevate them to key positions in extremist groups at a regular rate.

Submit results to Bureau by 10/22/71.

EX-102 REC-6 23220  
 170-00-221  
 9 SEP 23 1971

2 - All Continental Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

JGD:maz  
 (127)

MAILED 2  
 SEP 23 1971  
 FBI

MCT-23

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyurs \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 9/20/71, captioned as above, and prepared by JGD:bad.

58 SEP 30 1971

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

11/24/71

- 1 - Mr. C. W. Bates
- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

UPGRADING EXTREMIST GHETTO  
INFORMANT PROGRAM

- CONTINENTAL

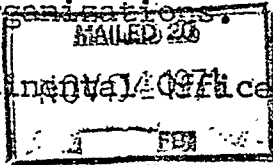
The evaluation of the ghetto informant program made by each continental field division clearly shows that there is a definite relationship between the accomplishments of this program and the percentage of ghetto informants being given positive assignments.

In addition, the ghetto informant program has proven to be a most productive program not only in the extremist intelligence field but it has also shown that ghetto informants can be helpful in obtaining criminal statistical accomplishments. Since 2/1/71 ghetto informants have been responsible for bringing about the arrest of 111 individuals, 51 of whom were Bureau fugitives, as well as bringing about the recovery of \$49,999.

In view of the increase of guerrilla warfare activity on the part of black extremists, it is necessary that we develop additional informant coverage to obtain information concerning this activity.

Experience has shown that individuals involved in guerrilla warfare have limited or no contact with the aboveground extremist organizations. These individuals operate within the

2 - All Continental Offices



REC-4

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WBS EAM DEM

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
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- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JGD:maz msz (126)

EX-100

54 DEC 1 9 1971

Handwritten signatures and initials: JGD, P, GCM, HTR, DJD, JGM, etc.

Airtel to Albany, et al.  
Re: Upgrading Extremist Ghetto  
Informant Program

community (ghetto areas); therefore, our ghetto informants must be targeted to obtain information concerning this guerrilla warfare activity.

In order to fulfill our responsibilities in this field, each field division must promptly improve both the number and quality of ghetto informants in accordance with the guidelines set forth below: (1) New ghetto informants developed must be the type who can obtain information concerning black extremists who are operating in the ghetto areas and planning or perpetrating guerrilla-type activities such as robberies, attacks on police, and other violent activities; (2) The recent survey of ghetto informants showed that the productivity of the program in each field office was in direct relation to the percentage of ghetto informants being given positive assignments. Those field divisions achieving greater productivity are the ones who had a greater percentage of their ghetto informants being given positive assignments. Accordingly, on your FD-405b setting forth your extremist informant accomplishments you must set forth the percentage of your ghetto informants being given positive assignments.

Each ghetto informant must be evaluated on a yearly basis; and if it is determined that the informant has not produced positive extremist intelligence-type information, which information would include criminal-type information, the informant must be closed and a new ghetto informant developed.

It is expected that the quality and quantity of ghetto informants will be improved in the near future in order that the Bureau may fulfill its responsibilities in the extremist intelligence field.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller dated 11/19/71, captioned as above, prepared by JGD:maz.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM/TD*

SUBJECT: UPGRADING EXTREMIST GHETTO  
INFORMANT PROGRAM *J. J. Moore*

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: 11/19/71

- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. C. W. Bates
- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

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Purpose of this memorandum is to obtain approval for attached airtel to all continental field offices instructing that the extremist ghetto informant program be upgraded in accordance with the guidelines set out in order to increase the productivity of this program and to obtain information concerning the present phase of extremist activity, namely, the guerrilla warfare phase.

By airtel dated 9/22/71 all continental field offices were instructed to evaluate the ghetto informant program. These evaluations have been received and reviewed. The review clearly shows that those field offices giving the majority of their ghetto informants positive assignments are achieving not only positive intelligence information but also valuable criminal statistical accomplishments. These informants, since 2/1/71, have been responsible for bringing about the arrest of 111 individuals, 51 of which were Bureau fugitives, and the recovery of \$49,999 in stolen merchandise, weapons, and cars.

In addition, we are now seeing another phase of extremist activity, that is the guerrilla warfare phase, as opposed to the mass demonstrations which occurred in the past. Extremists are involved in expropriations (robberies), killing of police, and other terroristic activities. The extremists involved in guerrilla warfare have very limited or no contact with the aboveground extremist organizations; therefore, our coverage has been limited in this respect. The guerrilla operates within the community (the ghetto area), and this is the area where we also operate our ghetto informants; therefore, our ghetto informants should be targeted toward developing information concerning acts of guerrilla warfare.

Enclosure

JGD:maz, 02

55 DEC 6 1971

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*5-24*

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Upgrading Extremist Ghetto  
Informant Program

Accordingly, if approved, the field will be instructed to develop ghetto informants who are the type who can obtain information concerning black extremists operating in the ghetto areas and planning or perpetrating guerrilla-type activities such as robberies, attacks on police, and other violent activities. In addition, the field will be told that the recent survey of ghetto informants showed that the productivity of the program in each office was in direct relation to the percentage of ghetto informants being given positive assignments. Those field divisions achieving greater productivity are the ones who had a greater percentage of their ghetto informants being given positive assignments. Accordingly, on the monthly report setting forth the accomplishments of the ghetto informant program each field office will advise as to the percentage of its ghetto informants being given positive assignments.

In addition, the field will be instructed to evaluate every ghetto informant on a yearly basis; and if it is determined they have not produced positive extremist intelligence-type information, which information would include criminal-type information, the informant must be closed and a new ghetto informant developed.

The field also will be instructed that it is expected there will be a definite increase in the quality and quantity of ghetto informants in line with the Bureau's greater responsibilities in the extremist intelligence field.

ACTION:

That attached airtel to all continental field offices, in accordance with the above, be approved.

JCD      DEM  
✓ DEPT      WIS  
OR  
MJB  
R  
CUB.  
DID  
LHM  
SDI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM/10/72*

FROM : G. C. Moore *BCM*

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

- 1 - ~~Mr. S. B. Donahoe~~
- 1 - ~~Mr. J. P. Mohr~~
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- DATE: 6/23/72
- 1 - ~~Mr. N. B. Callahan~~
- 1 - ~~Mr. T. E. Bishop~~
- 1 - ~~Mr. W. V. Cleveland~~
- 1 - ~~Mr. C. W. Bates~~
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Campbell \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neegan \_\_\_\_\_

*LMK*

This is to justify continuance of captioned program in view of the fact that this program is producing substantial accomplishments in the extremist field on a regular basis.

During the past year these informants have furnished intelligence information concerning extremist activities which has brought about the arrest of Black Panther Party (BPP) members on armed robbery charges, identified individuals responsible for a fire bombing of a food store, identified individuals who have been involved in murder cases, as well as information which brought about the recovery of weapons and ammunition, and information which has been of assistance to local police in handling civil disturbances.

While the primary objective of the ghetto informant program is to obtain information concerning extremist activities, it also provides substantial accomplishments in the criminal field in that these informants either live or work in ghetto areas which are usually high crime areas. During the period 7/1/71 to 4/30/72 ghetto informants were responsible for bringing about the arrest of 305 individuals (174 local and state, 131 Federal), of whom 85 were FBI fugitives. In addition, these informants were responsible for the recovery of \$174,994 which included 37 stolen automobiles, weapons, ammunition, narcotics, and other contraband.

*5-1918/1919*

It is to be noted that when the ghetto informant program was first instituted in 1967 the purpose of the program was to establish listening posts in areas where violence could

*AS*

JGD:maz  
(11)

REC-6  
63-114

275

4 JUN 28 1972

CONTINUED - OVER

JUL 14 1972

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

occur in the form of disturbances and riots. As the program progressed it was noted that these informants could be operated in such a manner to increase their value by giving them positive assignments to develop information concerning black extremists who are operating in ghetto areas and planning or perpetrating guerrilla-type activities such as robberies, attacks on police, and other violent activities. In addition, the field has constantly been reminded of the potential of ghetto informants to obtain criminal information in addition to the extremist intelligence, and this has paid off as indicated above.

Information has recently been developed indicating black extremists are obtaining funds by robbing narcotics dealers. Accordingly, the field has been instructed to target ghetto informants specifically toward ascertaining the identities of narcotics dealers in their particular areas as well as obtaining information concerning plans of black extremists to rob these individuals.

The ghetto informant program is a sound program and is analyzed on a regular basis through field inspections, inspections at FBI Headquarters, and through supervision by the Domestic Intelligence Division. In view of the need for extremist intelligence information provided by this program and its productivity, it is believed this program should be continued, and it will be reevaluated in July, 1973.

ACTION:

If approved, this program will be continued and rejustified in July, 1973.

JGD/RFD

DEW

EM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

DATE: 9/8/72

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway

SUBJECT: ~~GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM~~  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*Supervision - Extremist Informant*

This is to obtain authority to implement a modified ghetto informant program which will reduce the number of ghetto informants by fifty per cent without impairing the efficiency of the operation.

After careful analysis of the ghetto informant program during the recent inspection of the Domestic Intelligence Division, it was concluded that a modified ghetto informant program would streamline and improve efficiency of the existing program. This will be achieved by having only Special Agents assigned to extremist matters handling ghetto informants. Experience has shown that Special Agents experienced in extremist matters are in a better position to achieve maximum use of ghetto informants.

Growing civil unrest in the mid-1960s created an urgent need for a comprehensive network of "listening post" type sources within ghetto areas to provide advance intelligence information relating to civil unrest. To fill this need the ghetto informant program was initiated on October 11, 1967. The ghetto informant program proved highly successful and subsequently these informants were directed to areas of greater responsibility in addition to their "listening post" function. A notable by-product of these informants has been their ability to furnish highly significant criminal information. *REC 43 170-23-20 NOV 1 1972*

*3 ENCLOSURE*  
*ST-114*  
There is still a vital need for the "listening post" informant concept. Even though the emotional, spontaneous-type civil unrest of the past has subsided, there remains a potentially

Enclosure

CONTINUED - OVER

*R* RLR:klk *KW*

*5- Deegan*

(6)  
6 NOV 14 1972 *225*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

explosive element smoldering within the ghetto areas throughout the Nation. This volatile force, more sophisticated than in the past, frequently surfaces in the form of urban guerrilla terrorist-type activities often by unaffiliated extremists, resulting in the sniping and killing of police, firebombings, and other violent criminal activities. The current threat of civil unrest in the ghetto is perhaps an even greater menace to our society than the unrest we have witnessed in the past. To cope with this continuing undercurrent, a more selective ghetto informant program is necessary.

The primary purpose of our modified ghetto informant program is to provide a highly selective corps of "listening post" informants versed in the type of information desired by the Bureau which will assure we are abreast of growing civil unrest and developing extremist activities. This can best be accomplished by having ghetto informants exclusively handled by those Special Agents assigned to extremist matters. Inasmuch as ghetto informants generally work or reside in high crime areas and frequently associated with the criminal element, we will continue to encourage the acceptance of criminal information coming to the attention of these informants.

While we expect a fifty percent decrease in the 7,514 ghetto informants currently being operated, the modified ghetto informant program in no way diminishes the responsibility of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) to have "listening post" type sources in those ghetto areas where there is a potential for civil unrest or extremist activity. In addition, the SAC will be instructed to carefully analyze each current ghetto informant and those with the best potential to be retained as ghetto informants or elevated to probationary extremist informant and others, if appropriate, redesignated as criminal informants or discontinued.

Some SACs have levied an arbitrary rule requiring Special Agents, regardless of assignment, to develop ghetto informants. We will give instructions to insure this practice is discontinued.

RECOMMENDATION: That attached SAC memorandum, in accordance with above, be approved and sent.

7 *202* *JCO* *DEM* - 2 - *WBE* *CWH* *EM* *CUB* *g* *P* *man*  
*WV/L*

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
  - 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
  - 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- (Typed September 11, 1972)

**PERSONAL ATTENTION**

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge:

**RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS**

To achieve greater efficiency and maximum utilization of our ghetto informants and to reemphasize the "listening post" concept of these informants, a modified program designed to reduce the number of existing ghetto informants has been instituted. Effective immediately all ghetto informants are to be exclusively handled by those Special Agents assigned to extremist matters. Experience has shown that Agents knowledgeable in extremist matters are better qualified to realize the full potential of ghetto informants.

With the implementation of the modified program, you will be expected to redesignate or close at least 50 percent of your ghetto informants. Accordingly, carefully analyze each of your ghetto informants and the most qualified should be retained as ghetto informants or elevated, if appropriate, to probationary extremist informants. In the event you have ghetto informants predominately furnishing criminal information they should be designated criminal informants. All others are to be discontinued.

While it remains the primary purpose of the ghetto informant program to provide "listening post" type sources in ghetto areas where there is a potential for civil unrest or extremist activities, you are still expected to fully utilize these informants by giving them specific assignments where appropriate. Because these informants generally live and work in high crime areas, you are encouraged to continue to obtain criminal information coming to their attention.

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Valters \_\_\_\_\_
- ele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

RLR:cas  
(8) *cas*

*7* *med*

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO

*WGC 170-00-241*  
*LCM*  
*JCD*

*EM*  
*DEAR CUB*  
*R.L.R.*  
*P*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT  ENCLOSURE

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

This modified program in no way minimizes your responsibility for having an aggressive and effective ghetto informant program and in this regard you are still required on a yearly basis to evaluate each ghetto informant pursuant to instructions set out in airtel from Director to Albany dated November 24, 1971, captioned "Upgrading Extremist Ghetto Informants."

In the past, some Special Agents in Charge have levied an arbitrary rule requiring Special Agents, regardless of assignment, to develop ghetto informants. This practice is to be discontinued.

Promptly advise the Bureau, under the Ghetto Informant Program caption, when you have completed your transition to the modified program setting forth the number of ghetto informants retained, closed, or reassigned as criminal, security, or extremist informants.

Appropriate Manual changes forthcoming.

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

NOTE:

See memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller dated 9/8/72, captioned as above, prepared by RLR:klk.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Felt
- Baker
- Bates
- Bishop
- Callahan
- Cleveland
- Conrad
- Dalbey
- Jenkins
- Marshall
- Miller, E.S.
- Ponder
- Soyars
- Walters
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Kinley
- Mr. Armstrong
- Ms. Herwig
- Mrs. Neenan

TO : Mr. L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

DATE: September 18, 1972

FROM : *DM* Daniel M. Armstrong, III

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

**AGREE!**

A request to reduce the number of ghetto informants by fifty percent, which gives the appearance of being an arbitrary figure, immediately suggests the need to explore thoroughly the merits of the ghetto informant program and to consider what, if any, more practical alternatives might exist.

An informant who is classified as a ghetto informant, as distinguished from a criminal, security, potential security or extremist informant, appears to be one who is expected to provide advance intelligence information relating to civil unrest. In evaluating the program, it is therefore important to know of each instance since the program was begun on October 11, 1967, in which intelligence information prior to an urban riot or upheaval was obtained from a ghetto informant.

I am not referring to criminal and security information. If the information from a ghetto informant fits within one of these two categories, it would seem more plausible for the informant to be carried as a criminal, a security, a potential security or an extremist informant. Only if he has furnished intelligence information concerning an urban riot or upheaval should an informant be designated as a ghetto informant.

*SL-114* REC 43 170 24 20 NOV 7 1972

Classifying the informant as a ghetto informant when any information obtained from him falls only within the criminal or security field is not a mere matter of semantics. It seems apparent from the Agents Handbook, Part I, pp. 20a and 20b, that carrying a person as a ghetto informant involves a vast expenditure of Agent and clerical time. There has to be a background investigation, at least one contact a month and, in some instances, progress letters to the Bureau every six months.

DMA:nm (2)

*257*

EXT. INT. SEC.

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum for Mr. Gray  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program  
Extremist Matters

Although I have not seen the answers to the question referred to above as to the instances in which ghetto informants have furnished the type information which was expected of them when the program was established, my initial opinion is that the ghetto informant program has not produced any information which could not be obtained by (1) regular debriefing of criminal, security, potential security, and extremist informants; (2) liaison with local police departments who, as a part of the increasing emphasis upon better police-community relations, are much closer to the pulse of the local ghetto community than may have been the case heretofore, and who have probably always been closer to the ghetto than the FBI could ever hope to be; and (3) volunteered information from interested citizens.

The last paragraph of the Moore to Miller memorandum of 9/8/72 impliedly suggests what I believe to be the major justification for continuing a separate program under the heading of ghetto informants. SACs do not levy an arbitrary rule requiring SA's to develop ghetto informants unless the SACs, rightly or wrongly, believe the Headquarters expects a certain caseload of ghetto informants from their respective offices.

The suspicion that it is the caseload concept which underlies much of the current discussion about the ghetto informant program in the aftermath of the recent inspection of DID is increased by the proposed cutback of fifty percent, which, as previously indicated, appears to be a somewhat arbitrary figure.

You should know in advance what the consequences would be as far as the budget is concerned if the ghetto informant program, which has undoubtedly accounted for a significant number of cases, were discontinued. If those consequences include a drastic cut in funds, you of course can not be oblivious to them, but, at the risk of sounding naive, I would hope that the future of this program can be decided solely on the basis of the program's merit or lack thereof without regard to the case-load factor.

Not ATIPS  
DIP 70  
ESH

This is the criteria.

*[Handwritten signature]*

I will not buy a  
meat-axe reduction.  
Let's go into this thoroughly.  
Submit recommendations.

Jim 9/26  
8:28P

September 27, 1972

To: Mr. Miller

*(X+... 1.1) A.7*

Re Dave Kinley's note about our discussing this matter, I believe I heard at the SAC Conference on 9/26 that DID was going to poll the Field to get the views of SAC's and I got the impression that DID, upon receipt of these comments from the Field, might wish to revise the proposed SAC Memorandum which was the subject of the 9/8/72 memorandum from Mr. Moore to you.

If there is to be a revised proposal from DID in light of comments from the Field and the comments of Mr. Gray, it may be that our discussion would take a substantially different form than if it occurred now. Therefore, I suggest that the meeting contemplated by Mr. Kinley not occur until after you have had a chance to poll the Field and consider the comments of Mr. Gray.

D. M. Armstrong, III

*Q. 9/27/72*

*il*

DMA:nm (2)

*W*

ST-114

REC 43

*File - 5 - Gen  
170-20-244*

20 NOV 9 1972

SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 17

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

3/11/71

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt
- 1 - Mr. L. M. Walters
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Young
- 1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff
- 1 - Mr. F. B. Still

To: SAC, Albany

EX-114

From: Director, FBI (105-195696)

12 73

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE  
IS - ANARCHIST

REC-45

The fourth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) is presently preparing for departure to Cuba near the end of this month. Investigations of individual members of prior contingents are still being conducted and it is imperative that these cases be completed in accordance with instructions previously issued concerning security investigations of members of the VB.

MAILED 4  
FBI

Bureau airtel to all offices dated 5/15/70, captioned as above, instructed that the Bureau was to be advised every 45 days of the whereabouts and activities of VB subjects included on Priority I of the Security Index (SI) and that the Bureau must be advised every 90 days for period of one year of the whereabouts and activities of Priority II and Priority III and any non-SI subjects who are VB returnees. In this latter category, the period of one year begins upon the date of your communication to the Bureau containing the recommendation for or against inclusion of subject's name in the SI.

Prior to closing VB cases, consideration must be given to reinterviewing these subjects from the standpoint of further assessing the informant potential of those subjects who were cooperative during the initial interview or to better determine the dangerousness of those subjects who were not cooperative when an attempt was made to interview them. A closing communication must be submitted in every case and your justification for not interviewing the subject at the expiration of one year should be clearly stated.

2 - All Offices

FBS:cae  
(128)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

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

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Albany  
Re: Venceremos Brigade  
105-195696

For purpose of compiling statistics regarding the VB at the Bureau, your closing letter on each VB subject should also include data as follows:

1. SI status prior to VB travel, as well as current SI status.
2. Prior subversive background (Communist Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Weatherman, et cetera).
3. Cooperative or uncooperative VB interview. If none, explain briefly why none conducted.
4. Brief summary of any extremist or violent activity since subject's return from Cuba.

All feasible efforts must be expended in order to locate and interview those VB subjects whose whereabouts have not been ascertained. Approximately 20 members of the first contingent and about 95 members of the second contingent have not been located and interviewed according to Bureau records. You should immediately review your cases and place stops with the Identification Division on all VB subjects who have not been located and interviewed. This should be accomplished through the use of FD-165 marked "Wanted for Questioning Only."

The facilities of the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) are presently being programed to accept stops on Bureau subjects wanted for questioning. This programing will be operational in approximately 30 days, but the stops may be placed by Seat of Government (SOG) only. Accordingly, when submitting your FD-165 to the Identification Division, a duplicate copy of the FD-165 should be designated for Room 910, New Left Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. Data from this FD-165 will be furnished to NCIC by SOG when the program is operative. In addition to the usual numbers listed on the FD-165, NCIC requests you should also set forth Social Security numbers, automotive operator's license numbers, passport numbers, and vehicle license and identification numbers.

**Airtel to Albany**  
**Re: Venceremos Brigade**  
**105-195696**

The passport file review conducted in all VB cases usually indicated a Social Security number. The NCIC stops for questioning only are for the exclusive use of the Bureau and the fact that such stops may be placed should not be made known outside the Bureau. Stops should be placed within 30 days from the date of this airtel.

Although informant coverage for the second and third contingents of the VB was considered adequate, there is a continuing need for Bureau sources within the VB at a policy-making level. Efforts should be intensified to recruit informants who are members of the National Committee of the VB in order that the Bureau may be informed in advance of policy decisions of this Castro-oriented group.

Information has come to the Bureau's attention which indicates that the Cuban Government is exercising more control as to organization policies and activities and selection of individual members of the VB. Every effort must be made to obtain proof of violations of the laws of the U.S. by members of the VB or by members of the Cuban Government acting in concert with the VB. All offices should be alert for violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, of the various espionage statutes, and of the various laws administered by the Internal Revenue Service relating to funds for organizations such as the VB, and intensive investigations of possible violations should be conducted from a prosecutive standpoint.

**NOTE:**

See memorandum R. L. Shackelford to Mr. C. D. Brennan, captioned as above, dated 3/30/71, prepared by FBS:cae.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. W. M. Felt

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

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 3/9/71

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

- 1 - Mr. L. M. Walters
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Young
- 1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff
- 1 - Mr. F. B. Still

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS BRIGADE  
IS - ANARCHIST

PURPOSE:

To obtain approval for the attached airtel to all offices, advising field to submit stop notices for Identification Division and NCIC, concerning Venceremos Brigade (VB) subjects whose whereabouts are not known, as well as requesting field to furnish statistical data concerning Security Index (SI) status of VB subjects.

BACKGROUND:

By airtel dated 5/15/70, the field was instructed to intensify investigations of VB subjects including interview, placing such subjects on the SI when warranted, and to follow these subjects for a period of one year in order to determine their long-range role in the revolutionary movement. Since approximately one year has expired since return of first VB, requirements for closing cases and furnishing statistical data and recommendation of Inspection Division that subjects be reinterviewed prior to case being closed, are included in attached airtel.

EX-114

REC-45

105-175696-1275

Inspection Division also recommended that stops be placed with Identification Division and NCIC on those VB subjects (approximately 115 in first and second VB groups) who have not been located for interview to date. NCIC is currently programing stops for "questioning only" which will be completed in approximately 30 days. NCIC stops must be handled at Seat of Government and duplicate copies of the Identification Division stops (FD-165) are being obtained from field for purpose of placing NCIC stop when available.

Enclosure sent 3-11-71

105-195696

FBS:cae  
(10)

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Venceremos Brigade  
105-195696

Inspection Division also recommended that field be reminded of continued necessity for good informant coverage and that possibilities of prosecuting Castro-oriented VB subjects be explored.

RECOMMENDATION:

In line with the above, attached airtel to all offices be approved and sent.

*Curt*  
*Fry*  
*Tgm*  
*WAS*  
*V.*  
*OK.*  
*WAS*  
*MAN.*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Walters    | _____ |
| Bishop     | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Felt       | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Walters    | _____ |
| Beaver     | _____ |
| Soyars     | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : The Executives Conference

SUBJECT: ~~STOP INDEX~~  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

DATE: February 12, 1970

*John Buchanan*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

The Executives Conference, presided over by Mr. Tolson, and consisting of Messrs. DeLoach, Mohr, Bishop, Callahan, Casper, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Sullivan, Tavel, Walters, Beaver and Soyars, met in your office today. Mr. Bishop proposed the establishment of a Stop Index in the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) computer which would take advantage of the surveillance capability of the NCIC, to which over 10 million inquiries were directed in 1969 concerning persons arrested locally, suspicious persons and vehicles observed in police operations. These observations of persons and things can provide valuable intelligence information to the FBI and save a considerable amount of investigative time.

The investigative divisions of the Bureau are interested in locating suspects for interview, such as Selective Service delinquents, etc., but on whom no warrant is outstanding; in any police contacts with Soviet Bloc cars and personnel; in any police contacts with, or movement of, agitators; in police contacts with Cosa Nostra members; and in the movements of criminal suspects such as bank burglars, sex perverts, etc. The identity of such individuals or the license numbers of the cars used by them can be entered into the NCIC computer. Should an inquiry be made by a police agency anywhere in the country with respect to these records, the NCIC computer would advise the inquiring police agency "no warrant," "no want outstanding" or "no stolen record." At the same time, the computer would advise a monitor terminal located in the NCIC control room that an inquiry was received, identifying the police agency, the time and the information used to make the inquiry. This information would be furnished to the appropriate investigative division which, in turn, would advise the field to follow up with the inquiring agency as to the nature of the inquiry and whether the subject is in custody. Each of the investigative divisions would establish the criteria for entering a record into the Stop Index and all entries of Stop Index records in the NCIC would be done through the NCIC control room for control purposes, with no entries being made directly by the field offices.

*Copy file in 66-2-154*

*62-115784-1*

- |                  |                  |                |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 - Mr. Tolson   | 1 - Mr. Casper   | 1 - Mr. Beaver |
| 1 - Mr. DeLoach  | 1 - Mr. Gale     | 1 - Mr. Daunt  |
| 1 - Mr. Mohr     | 1 - Mr. Rosen    | 1 - Mr. Bishop |
| 1 - Mr. Callahan | 1 - Mr. Sullivan |                |

FEB 18 1970

TEB:ms  
(13) MAR 3 1970  
3-97

XEROX  
OCT 4 1973 CONTINUED - OVER

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21581-1-10-1780  
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Memo for Mr. Tolson  
RE: Stop Index  
National Crime Information Center (NCIC)

In order to program (instruct) the NCIC computer to handle such a Stop Index for the FBI, it would cost approximately \$1320 of employee time. Computer storage is available and would not be extensive since it is estimated by the investigative divisions that the Stop Index file would not exceed 10,000 entries during the first year.

It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that the above-proposed Stop Index in the NCIC should be established.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

That the Domestic Intelligence, Special Investigative, General Investigative, Administrative and Crime Records Divisions work out the necessary details to place the Stop Index into effect, with criteria and procedures for implementing the program to be sent through for approval.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
✓  
TJB  
JAM  
OK  
JL  
JL  
WBS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Soyars *WBC*

DATE: 6/5/72

FROM : M. F. Row *mf*

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX MATTER

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Malby \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

STOP INDEX

The Stop Index File now contains approximately 3,200 individuals and vehicles. With the addition of new categories of subjects the file will continue to expand and the number of inquiries will increase. In order to insure that only those individuals meeting the approved Stop Index criterion are entered, the appropriate substantive Division at Headquarters should review and approve all requests prior to actual entry with the exception of Selective Service delinquents. If the request for entry is approved, a copy of the request should be so noted and routed to the Voucher-Statistical Section.

A new form (FD-457) has been designed and approved for entry, modification and cancellation of a Stop Index record. The form will be used for all authorized categories with the exception of Selective Service cases which will continue to be processed from a copy of the FD-165 (Wanted-Flash-Cancellation Notice) which is prepared for the Identification Division.

The attached SAC Memorandum instructs the field to submit all entries except Selective Service delinquents on the new form to the appropriate substantive Division.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

**MCT**

REC-30 62-115784-13

EX-112

62-115784-3334

- (1) That the above procedure for entry into the Stop Index File be approved.

17 JUN 20 1972

- (2) That the attached SAC Memorandum be forwarded.

Enclosure

TJF:sls/nls  
(9)

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Mr. Row

*Handwritten notes:*  
 4/29/72  
 7/19/72  
 6/2/72

JUN 20 1972

JUN 21 1972

STAT. SECT.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

6-13-72

MEMORANDUM 5-72

(E) STOP INDEX MATTERS - The following instructions pertain to the entry of individuals and vehicles into the Stop Index File and supersede all previous instructions.

With the exception of Selective Service delinquents, the appropriate substantive Division at Headquarters must approve all individuals and vehicles before they are entered into the Stop Index File. Therefore, communications requesting entry of a record must be directed to the attention of the appropriate Division.

A new form (FD-457) has been developed that will accommodate entry, modification, and cancellation of Stop Index File records. A sample of the FD-457 is attached. The form is self-explanatory. A supply of these forms will be furnished to each field office.

For Selective Service delinquents, the field should continue to use the Wanted-Flash-Cancellation Notice (FD-165). One copy should be designated for the Voucher-Statistical Section, Computer Systems Division, rather than National Crime Information Center (NCIC). The Special Investigative Division does not have to approve Selective Service delinquents prior to their entry.

For your information, the categories now authorized for entry into the Stop Index File, by their respective Division, are as follows:

6-13-72

MEMORANDUM 5-72

--6--

Domestic Intelligence Division

Category I ADEX, Extremist Subjects  
Medburg Case Individuals  
Soviet Vehicles  
Urban Guerrilla Warfare Suspects  
Venceremos Brigade Members  
Weatherman Suspects

General Investigative Division

Bank Robbery Suspects  
Top Jewel Thieves

Special Investigative Division

Selective Service Delinquents  
Selected Organized Crime Figures  
Top Echelon Informants

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

Enclosures for (B) and (F)

6-13-72

MEMORANDUM 5-72

- 7 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*7/10/73*

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt
- Mr. Jenkins
- Mr. Marshall
- Mr. Miller
- Mr. Purvis
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Soyars *WBS*

DATE: 5/1 /73

FROM : M. F. Row *mf*

SUBJECT: EVALUATION OF STOP INDEX PROGRAM

STOP INDEX

During the recent inspection of this Division it was suggested that the captioned program be evaluated as to its cost effectiveness. Inspector suggested that the following sentence be added to the end of teletypes advising the field of a "hit" of a Stop Index subject: "Advise Bureau only if above information results in its being an effective investigative aid or is of useful intelligence." Inspector further suggested that consideration be given to having the substantive desks furnish the Data Processing Section an overall analysis of the effectiveness of the Stop Index Program.

*E. J. [unclear]*  
*Shackelford*  
*L. [unclear]*  
*A. [unclear]*

Effective immediately, the caveat suggested by the Inspector will be appended to all field office teletypes advising of "hits" in the Stop Index Program. Based on the answers coming in from the field, it is suggested that the Intelligence, General Investigative, and Special Investigative Divisions furnish a semi-annual report, beginning December 31, 1973, to the Data Processing Section as to the effectiveness of the Stop Index Program in their Division including a recommendation as to whether the Program should be continued.

In order that all personnel may be aware of this evaluation, there is attached a suggested SAC Memorandum.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

*62-115784-27*

(1) That the caveat: "Advise Bureau only if above information results in its being an effective investigative aid or is of useful intelligence" be appended to all field office teletypes advising of "hits" in the Stop Index Program.

Enclosure *sent*

REC-96

MFR:njd  
(7)

23 MAY 10 1973

1 - Mr. Soyars  
 1 - Mr. F. S. Miller

1 - Mr. Gebhardt  
 1 - Mr. Cleveland

*55 MAY 30 1973*

OVER  
DATA PROCESSING

Memorandum M. F. Row to Mr. Soyars  
Re: EVALUATION OF STOP INDEX PROGRAM

(2) That reports analyzing the effectiveness of the Stop Index Program be furnished to the Data Processing Section by the Intelligence, General Investigative, and Special Investigative Divisions on December 31 and June 30 of each year beginning with December 31, 1973. Such reports should include a recommendation as to desirability of continuing the Stop Index Program.

(3) That the attached SAC Memorandum be approved and forwarded.

*EM wdy*  
*RSCG*  
*WCS*  
*WEC*

(D) STOP INDEX - EVALUATION -- Effective immediately, all teletypes to the field advising of a "hit" on a Stop Index subject will contain the caveat, "Advise Bureau only if above information results in its being an effective investigative aid or is of useful intelligence." Based on information furnished by the field, a semiannual evaluation of the cost effectiveness of the Stop Index Program will be made. Accordingly, it is incumbent upon each field division to promptly advise the Bureau of any positive results obtained by it of a Stop Index "hit."

You are reminded that the Stop Index is strictly an FBI in-house operation and its existence should under no conditions be discussed outside the Bureau.

5-8-73

MEMORANDUM 20-73

- 2 -

3927

62-115784-  
~~62-115784-16~~  
NOT RECORDED

141 MAY 16 1973

F48

62-115784-16



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst.
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - W. G. Campbell
- 1 - J. A. Mintz
- 1 - E. S. Miller

DATE: 9/25/73

- 1 - W. A. Branigan
- 1 - W. O. Cregar
- 1 - G. C. Moore
- 1 - R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - T. J. Smith

TO : E. S. Miller *ms*

FROM : T. J. Smith *ms*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RULE MAKING RELATING TO CRIMINAL HISTORY INFORMATION

*1 9105* *STALTZ*

Rememo from N. F. Stultz to Mr. Campbell 9/11/73 enclosing a draft prepared by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of proposed security and privacy regulations governing criminal justice information systems funded by LEAA. It was requested that comments of interested Divisions be furnished to the Computer Systems Division.

That portion of the regulations which would affect Intelligence Division (INTD) operations, in that it would place restrictions on the use of the Stop Index, is included in Section 7, which relates to criminal intelligence information systems. "Criminal intelligence information" is defined as "any information contained in a criminal justice information system and indexed under an individual's name, or retrievable by reference to an individual by name, or otherwise associated with an identifiable individual, other than criminal offender record information." Section 7 reads, in part, "Information regarding an individual may be entered into a criminal intelligence information system only if reasonable cause exists to believe that the individual has committed a criminal offense for which the maximum penalty provided by applicable law exceeds six months' imprisonment."

The Bureau's Stop Index would presumably be categorized as a criminal intelligence information system. INTD matters contained in the Stop Index include individuals in Category I of the ADEX; urban guerrilla warfare suspects; Venceremos Brigade members; Medburg case individuals; Weatherman suspects, including the known false identities used by them; and license numbers of vehicles used by official personnel attached to communist-bloc establishments in the United States. In many instances these matters do not fit the criteria for entry as outlined in Section 7 of the proposed regulations.

RLL:pld  
(9) *pld*

CONTINUED - OVER

*5-1-73*  
*54 OCT 25 1973*  
*1 1973*

*5-1-73*  
*54 OCT 23 1973*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-100000-100000

Memorandum Smith to Miller  
Re: Proposed Rule Making Relating  
To Criminal History Information

The Stop Index is and has been an effective investigative technique in INTD operations; however, INTD sees no alternative but to discontinue its use should the regulation in question be implemented.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to the Computer Systems Division for information.

RLL

RH

7/11/73  
EM/wlc

w raw/lon

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. JENKINS

DATE: 2/22/74

FROM : *WGC* W. G. CAMPBELL

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX PROGRAM EVALUATION  
RECOMMENDATION FOR DISCONTINUANCE

- Assoc. Dir.
- Dep. AD Adm.
- Dep. AD Inv.
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm.
- Comp. Syst.
- Ext. Affairs
- Files & Com.
- Gen. Inv.
- Ident.
- Inspection
- Intell.
- Laboratory
- Plan. & Eval.
- Spec. Inv.
- Training
- Off. Cong. & Public Affs.
- Telephone Rm.
- Director Sec'y

By memo M. F. Row to Mr. Soyars 5/1/73, it was recommended and approved that captioned program be evaluated semiannually beginning with the period 12/31/73. The field offices have now submitted their first six-months reports. The Intelligence Division, General Investigative Division and Special Investigative Division have analyzed the reports coming from the field and a memo from each of these Divisions setting forth the results of this analysis is attached.

The great majority of the field offices felt that the Stop Index has great potential and a substantial number cited positive results from its use. Most of them recommended the continuance of the Stop Index program; however, a few expressed doubt as to whether the program should be continued and two recommend outright that the Stop Index program be discontinued. Albuquerque, Dallas and Philadelphia felt that the danger of losing public support for NCIC should the existence of Stop Index become known overshadowed the benefits of the program. It was pointed out that the now defunct Counterintelligence Programs (COINTELPROS) became known to the public despite caveats designed to protect their in-house nature.

Several field offices made recommendations to expand the categories included in the Stop Index. Others made recommendations to eliminate some categories. Still other field offices recommended some minor changes to the program. None of these suggestions will be considered at this time pending a decision as to whether the Stop Index program is to be continued.

REC-8

The General Investigative Division advised that they felt the Stop Index was invaluable with bank robbery suspects and the Top Thief Program. They indicated they were considering expansion of the information entered into the Stop Index. During the months of November and December 1973, there were 38

### Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Gebhardt
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Franck
- 1 - Mr. Adams
- 1 - Mr. Campbell
- 1 - Mr. Row

5 MAR 7 1974

CONTINUED - OVER

MFR:mhb (8) 54 MAR 14 1974

Memo to Mr. Jenkins

Re: Stop Index Program Evaluation  
Recommendation for Discontinuance

and 17 hits respectively concerning bank robbery suspects. On one occasion a hit was useful in determining the death of a bank robbery subject who was at that time being sought for interview. On a second occasion a bank robbery suspect was located as a result of a hit and thereafter admitted his participation and that of other individuals in two separate bank robberies. The General Investigative Division believes that the Stop Index is a valuable investigative aid with great intelligence potential and should, therefore, be continued.

The Special Investigative Division advised that in one of the more important areas (Organized Crime Figures and Top Echelon Criminal Informants) less than a dozen instances were cited of Stop Index "hits" producing positive results with only two examples set forth in detail. More than 20 Selective Service subjects were located and interviewed as a result of Stop Index "hits." The Special Investigative Division believes the Stop Index has shown some promise to date and if it can be retained without jeopardizing other Bureau operations (such as NCIC) then it should be continued for another trial period of six months with the field offices being instructed to maintain more accurate records so that a better evaluation can be obtained.

The Intelligence Division advises that Los Angeles cited three examples of hits on subjects with close association with Weatherman activity and these hits were of assistance in learning the whereabouts and activities of these individuals. Boston cited four examples of hits on Revolutionary Activity and Extremist subjects which resulted in determining their locations. Portland also cited examples of positive results from Stop Index hits including one on a missing Weatherman, resulting in his location. On this particular individual over a dozen hits were received over a period of time from different parts of the country and it is Portland's opinion that because of his nomadic nature his whereabouts can only be ascertained through the continuation of the Stop Index program. The Intelligence Division advised there is no question that Stop Index is a useful and cost-effective investigative tool but it is not a crucial tool - not a technique that if taken away would seriously jeopardize the success of the overall investigative responsibilities of that Division. They raised the issue of whether we are on solid ground (1) in maintaining a computerized file essentially for intelligence purposes on individuals against whom warrants are not outstanding

Memo to Mr. Jenkins  
Re: Stop Index Program Evaluation  
Recommendation for Discontinuance

and (2) in systematically running this file against all NCIC queries in an attempt to develop further intelligence concerning these individuals which would be of interest to us, this being a technique which is not available to other users of NCIC. Intelligence Division's position is that if by continuing the Stop Index NCIC operations would be jeopardized the Stop Index should be discontinued.

After careful consideration of the comments of various field offices and of the three Divisions who have analyzed the six-months results, it is my firm belief that the Stop Index should be discontinued immediately for the following reasons:

1. A full disclosure of the existence of this file, which must be recognized as a distinct possibility in our present environment, would be a severe blow to FBI credibility. We have stated categorically in writing to Congress and others that we have no intelligence data in our computer banks. While this is technically true since the Stop Index data is maintained off-line and off-line searches are made against NCIC activities this would be a shallow argument with which to combat criticism.
2. Although some positive results have been cited by a few field offices and the majority believe there is good potential in the continuance of the program there have not been any substantial accomplishments at least to the extent that would justify the risk we are running in maintaining the program. Although the present evaluation program only covered a six-months period the Stop Index program has been in existence for several years and if it was really going to result in major accomplishments such should be evident by now.

Memo to Mr. Jenkins  
Re: Stop Index Program Evaluation  
Recommendation for Discontinuance

3. Provisions of the Security and Privacy Bill being introduced by the Attorney General and similar bills being introduced by Ervin and others, if passed, could throw doubt on the legality of the Stop Index operation.

4. The cost in the Computer Systems Division of operating the Stop Index program as it now exists has been determined to be approximately \$50,000. This does not take into consideration cost of the substantive divisions at FBIHQ or costs in the various field offices.

I strongly feel that the risks to our credibility far outweigh any positive results of the Stop Index program. It is believed that a decision as to whether the program should be continued should be made immediately since in the Director's testimony before the House and Senate Committees on the pending Security and Privacy Bill he could very well be asked questions whose answers would involve the Stop Index program.

RECOMMENDATION: That the Stop Index program be immediately discontinued and the field so advised.

*JK* *IG* *REG/afk* *wfw*  
*WGC* *mfr* *JD*  
*w/c*

*I agree to discontinuance completely - CMY*  
*SN*

*The sensitivity of the privacy issue currently makes it imperative that this operation be discontinued at once.* *JAM*  
*Chick*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst.
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : MR. JENKINS

DATE: 3/1/74

FROM : MR. CAMPBELL

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX PROGRAM

Forw FD-457

*(1) Michael's Book*  
*(1) Michael*  
*gib/rwh (3) Per. 5263*  
*(1) T. Ladi, 13 stb*

Re Campbell to Jenkins memorandum dated 2/27/74, recommending discontinuance of Stop Index Program, which was approved.

There is attached an airtel advising all offices to immediately discontinue the Stop Index Program and to destroy all unused FD-457 forms.

### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be approved.

Enclosure

MDS:daw  
(18)

- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. Miller
- 1 - Each Assistant Director

*[Handwritten signatures]*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

*FD-457 deleted in FBI Forw Book*

*3/6/74*

REC-87

5 MAR 7 1974

**ENCLOSURE**

**APR 3 1974**

*Noted in prop. 3/29/74*

**PURS. DEPT**

airtel

3 - 4 - 74

To: SAC, Albany **REC-8A**

From: Director, FBI *62-115784-78*

Re: STOP INDEX PROGRAM

*ok*

All offices are to immediately discontinue Stop Index Program and destroy all unused FD-457 forms.

2 - All Field Offices

MDS:daw *daw*  
(18)

- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. Miller
- 1 - Each Assistant Director

*AM*

*W*

*WGC*

*mf*

*ser*

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 3  
MAR 5 - 1974  
FBI

*J.P.J.*

*1257*

*AM*



SSC request 8/20/75, Part III, Item 18

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *[Signature]*

DATE: 7/20/70

FROM : C. D. Brennan *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CAMPUS UNREST *[Handwritten initials]*

|                   |       |
|-------------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson        | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan      | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr          | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop        | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan, C.D. | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan      | _____ |
| Mr. Casper        | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad        | _____ |
| Mr. Felt          | _____ |
| Mr. Gale          | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen         | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel         | _____ |
| Mr. Walters       | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars        | _____ |
| Tele. Room        | _____ |
| Miss Holmes       | _____ |
| Gandy             | _____ |

The Commission was established by President Nixon on June 13, 1970 to identify the principal causes of campus violence; suggest ways to protect academic freedom and the right to dissent; and propose practical steps to minimize dangers attendant upon expressions of dissent. The Commission is composed of nine members, and you were previously advised of the identities and backgrounds of these individuals.

The Commission has tentatively scheduled public hearings concerning this matter to be held in Room 1202 of the New Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. on July 23-24, 1970.

Pursuant to Mr. Tolson's request, arrangements have been made to have our Washington Field Office discreetly cover these hearings and furnish a teletype summary concerning them on a daily basis.

In the event the Commission holds hearings outside the Washington, D. C. area, appropriate instructions will be issued to the field office in whose territory the hearings are held. They will be instructed to submit a summary teletype of the hearings on a daily basis.

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

TPD:dlb  
RW (6)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*  
 REC-61  
 EX-109  
 62-113563-14  
 wbs

10 JUL 27 1970

INT. SEC.

54 JUL 30 1970

F 335

7/21/70

- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. W. N. Preusse
- 1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

Airtel

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI

*0*  
*Special Agent in Charge*  
*Director - Campus Unrest*

**PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CAMPUS UNREST**

*file*

The Commission was established by President Nixon on 6/13/70 to identify the principal causes of campus violence; suggest ways to protect academic freedom and the right to dissent; and propose practical steps to minimize dangers attendant upon expressions of dissent. The Commission is composed of nine members, the Chairman of which is William W. Scranton, the former Governor of Pennsylvania.

The Commission has tentatively scheduled public hearings concerning this matter to be held in Room 1202 of the New Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., on 7/23-24/70.

You should discreetly cover these hearings and furnish a teletype summary concerning them to the Bureau on a daily basis.

*P*

In the event the Commission holds hearings outside the Washington, D. C., area, you should inform the appropriate field office to cover these hearings and submit a teletype summary to the Bureau on a daily basis.

TPD:jlm  
 (6)

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

MAILED 22  
 JUL 20 1970  
 COMM-FBI

REC-201 12-113563-10

19 JUL 21 1970

30 JUL 24 1970 *cut*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

*WFO*  
*TWD*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan *CB*

FROM : R. D. Cotter *RC*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION  
ON CAMPUS UNREST

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. N.P. Callahan

DATE: 8/4/70

- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Haynes
- 1 - Mr. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. Wells

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

*Callahan*

My memorandum, attached, dated 8/3/70 furnished background information on former Special Agent Charles E. Stine, a staff member of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. The Commission has started a three-week investigation of the Kent State University shootings. The Director noted, "Be certain any contact by this group with our local offices are referred here."

Inspector J. A. Sizoo, Domestic Intelligence Division, on 8/4/70, telephonically advised Assistant Special Agent in Charge Odd T. Jacobson of our Cincinnati Office and Supervisor Rudolph Gerbitz of the Cleveland Office of the Director's instructions.

Inasmuch as the Commission may conduct inquiries in other areas, it is felt that all offices should be advised that any inquiries by the Commission's investigative staff should be referred to the Bureau.

*Jh*

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter to all offices be approved.

Enclosures

BAW:jes  
(10)

*8-5-70*  
*jes*

*EX-110*

*62-113563-32*

REC-53

10 AUG 12 1970

*SEP 18 9 35 AM '70*

*461*

86 AUG 19 1970

*5-2*

SAC, Albany

8/5/70

Director, FBI

*6- [Signature]*

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION  
ON CAMPUS UNREST

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest is conducting inquiries concerning campus violence. An eight-member staff has begun a three-week investigation of the shootings at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. It is probable that inquiries will also be held in other areas. Any member of the Commission or its staff contacting your office should be referred to the Bureau. No information is to be furnished such individuals locally without prior Bureau approval.

2 - All Field Offices

BAW:jes/ekn *[Signature]*  
(12)

*✓ S*

NOTE:

See memo R. D. Cotter to Mr. C. D. Brennan dated 8/4/70, captioned as above, prepared by BAW:jes.

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Haynes
- 1 - Mr. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. Webb

*EX-110*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*REC-41*  
*102-113-63*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

MAILED 3  
AUG 6 - 1970  
COMM-FBI

19 AUG 7 1970

*[Large handwritten signature]*

*55*  
*55 AUG 12 1970*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN

DATE: August 6, 1970

FROM : W. R. WANNALL *[Signature]*

1-Mr. McGowan  
1-Mr. Shackelford  
1-Mr. Wannall  
1-Mr. Haynes

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION  
ON CAMPUS UNREST

Reference Sizoo to Brennan memorandum 8/5/70 advising that former Special Agent Charles Stine contacted Mr. Sizoo from Ohio seeking to establish liaison between the Commission staff conducting investigation at Kent and the FBI. Stine was advised that contact with the Bureau should be handled through established headquarters channels. Subsequent to this, Mr. James Arthur, Administrative Officer of the Commission, contacted Supervisor R. H. Haynes, who has served as the point of contact with the Commission, and stated that Stine had called Commission headquarters in Washington with request that inquiry be made of the FBI concerning photographic coverage of the Kent State disorders. The Bureau's reports were furnished to the Commission at the direction of the White House, are in the possession of the investigative team at Kent, and, therefore, Arthur had some difficulty understanding what Stine wanted. He asked if it would be satisfactory if Stine called Haynes directly and was told this would be all right.

Stine called late in the afternoon of 8/5/70 and advised that he had just joined the Commission staff under Kenneth McIntire that morning. He is still trying to get his feet on the ground but has several requests from McIntire. He stated that the investigative reports contain references to photographs obtained from students and other citizens and wanted to know if these photographs would be available to the Commission as McIntire felt they would be helpful. He was advised that previous inquiry had been made regarding these photographs and they had been furnished to the Commission in Washington and he should contact Arthur in this regard (this is in accordance with Wannall to Brennan memorandum 7/29/70 recommending that the additional photographs be furnished the Commission and the Director noted "O.K. H.>").

Stine stated that McIntire told him that there was some motion picture film, possibly TV film, in existence covering the events of May 4th and would this be available to the Commission. He was advised this would be looked into. A check with the General Investigative Division disclosed that there was TV film coverage of the events of May 4th shown on NBC and CBS. These

REC 45 62-113563-38

BHH:hke  
(8) *[Signature]*

CONTINUED - OVER

66 AUG 27 1970

*[Handwritten signature]*  
RESEARCH

Memorandum from W. R. Wannall to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
RE: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CAMPUS UNREST

networks refused to furnish the film to the FBI without a subpoena. This was referred to the Department of Justice and no further action was taken.

Stine volunteered that the Commission is planning to hold hearings on the Kent State affair commencing August 21st. The location is not yet settled, but there is some feeling that the hearings could create incidents if held at Kent so there is some thought to holding them in Cleveland. Stine stated that the Commission staff in reviewing the FBI reports were "flabbergasted" that the Bureau had done such a big job in such a short time. The Bureau reports are most helpful and they are not going to try to re-cover the same ground but are going to try to look into aspects other than those covered in such great detail by the Bureau, such as the administration of the college and events occurring prior to the disturbance on May 4th. He asked if the Commission staff should develop information not covered in the Bureau's reports, would the Bureau wish to be advised of this. He was told that any information which they develop which he believes might fall within the Bureau's jurisdictional responsibilities, the Bureau would accept it.

Stine said that inasmuch as he was previously acquainted with the Ohio State Patrol, he was assigned by McIntire to handle liaison with that organization. Upon briefing the head of the State Patrol on his assignment with the Commission, the head of the Patrol commented, "So you have joined the camp of the enemy." Stine thought this was a most curious statement and wondered what the basis of it could be. No comment at all was made to Stine in this regard.

ACTION:

If approved, the Commission will be advised that the Bureau does not have in its possession any TV film coverage of the disorders and the Commission may wish to contact NBC and CBS in this regard.

*DEF. advise me  
Director advise me  
are to have  
Lanson with Stine  
WEL  
8-7-70*

*R. J. [unclear]  
WEL*

*[Handwritten signature]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 10/5/70

FROM : A. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines
- 1 - Mr. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

SUBJECT: KENFOUR

This case concerns the shooting of students at Kent State University (KSU) on 5/4/70. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest has prepared a 92-page report containing their findings with regard to the burning of the National Guard Armory at KSU on 5/1/70 and the shooting of students on 5/4/70. The Commission also prepared a press release through which they released the report to the press at 6:00 PM on 10/4/70. A copy is attached.

The press release stated that the Commission condemned as "intolerable" the violent actions of some students and non-students at KSU and labeled as unnecessary and unwarranted and unexcused the fusillade of gun fire by Ohio National Guardsmen that killed four and wounded nine students. They concluded that the actions of some students were violent, dangerous, reckless and irresponsible but that the danger which the guardsmen faced was not a danger which called for lethal force and did not justify the firing of 61 shots by the guardsmen.

The President's Commission report, a copy of which is attached, does not make any derogatory references to the FBI. Nine references are made in the report to the FBI's investigation. These references basically state that the Commission reviewed 8000 pages of FBI reports; that the reports did not indicate the disturbances were planned by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); that SDS students previously arrested in connection with the disturbances at Kent State did not plan or direct the events on 5/1/70 through 5/4/70. It also stated that FBI reports indicated a significant number of persons participating in the ROTC fire were not students and that General Cantaburry told the FBI his order to disperse the students on 5/4/70 was based on a proclamation from the Governor.

Enclosures

ST-106 REC 8

ACTION . . . OVER

JWH:mcl  
(8)

ENC. BEHIND FILE

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186-100 T4

Rosen to Sullivan Memorandum  
RE: KENFOUR

The Commission report stated four students were killed and nine were wounded and it quoted from FBI Laboratory reports the distances of each killed and wounded student from the firing line. The report stated that the FBI has located no evidence of sniper fire. The report also mentioned that the FBI had collected 340 rocks weighing 175 pounds at the scene of the shooting.

The Commission's report also includes approximately 60 pages of photographs taken during and after the shooting at KSU. For the most part, these are photographs collected in our investigation and furnished to the Commission.

The Commission's press release noted that its investigation at Kent State was especially sensitive because a State Grand Jury began proceedings in September while the report was being prepared. The State Grand Jury is currently sitting and conducting hearings concerning the Kent State incidents. Copies of FBI reports were furnished to the Ohio State Attorney General by the Civil Rights Division.

ACTION:

For information. Events relating to the Kent State matter are being closely followed.

*Handwritten initials and signatures:*  
JWS  
DWS  
Rosen

*Handwritten initials:* WES

*Handwritten checkmark:* ✓

*Handwritten initials:* WBS

*Handwritten initials:* JF

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CAMPUS UNREST

1717 H STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, *Chairman*  
JAMES F. AHERN  
ERWIN D. CANHAM  
JAMES E. CHEEK  
BENJAMIN O. DAVIS  
MARTHA A. DERTHICK  
BAYLESS MANNING  
REVIUS O. ORTIQUE, JR.  
JOSEPH RHODES, JR.

WM. MATTHEW BYRNE, JR.  
*Executive Director*  
JOHN J. KIRBY, JR.  
*Deputy Director*

For Release Sunday, Oct. 4, 1970  
6:00 p.m. EDT

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 3 -- The President's Commission on Campus Unrest today condemned as "intolerable" the violent actions of some students and nonstudents at Kent State University and labeled "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable" the fusillade of gunfire by Ohio National Guardsmen that killed four and wounded nine students on the Kent State campus on May 4.

In a report released today by the White House, the nine-member panel said that "the actions of some students were violent and those of others were dangerous, reckless and irresponsible." But the danger the guardsmen faced "was not a danger which called for lethal force," the panel said. "The 61 shots by guardsmen certainly cannot be justified."

The lessons learned from Kent State were drawn upon in making its report issued September 26. The special report on the events at Kent State demonstrates vividly that those lessons must be learned by the Guard, students, police and faculty.

44-7087-478--more--  
ENCLOSURE

administrators, government at all levels and the American people.

"The widespread student opposition to the Cambodian action and their general resentment of the National Guard's presence on the campus cannot justify the violent and irresponsible actions of many students during the long weekend" stated the panel.

Even so, the Commission pointed out there would have been no deaths if the guardsmen had not been equipped with loaded M-1 rifles which are high velocity weapons with a horizontal range of almost two miles.

As the guardsmen confronted the students, the nine-man panel recalled "all that stood between the guardsmen and firing was the flick of a thumb on a safety mechanism and the pull of an index finger on a trigger.

"The Kent State tragedy must surely mark the last time that loaded rifles are issued as a matter of course to guardsmen confronting student demonstrators," said the Commission.

"Kent State was a national tragedy," the Commission said, but it was not a unique tragedy. "Only the magnitude of the student disorder and the extent of students' deaths and injuries set it apart from the occurrences on numerous other American campuses during the past few years."

--more--

The events at Kent State illustrate the necessity for adopting the recommendations made in its general report, said the Commission.

The Commission described in detail the events of the first four days in May in Kent including widespread disorder in the city of Kent on May 1, and burning on May 2 and disorderly rallies on May 3. The Commission stated that "those who wreaked havoc on the town of Kent, those who burned the ROTC building, those who urged them on and applauded their deeds share the responsibility for the deaths and injuries of May 4."

The Commission pointed out that the May 4 rally began as a peaceful assembly on the Commons, the traditional site of student assemblies. They noted that even if the Guard had the authority to prohibit a peaceful gathering -- a debatable proposition -- "the decision to disperse the noon rally was a serious error."

The "timing and manner of the dispersal were disastrous. Many students were legitimately in the area as they went to and from class. The rally was held during the crowded noon-time lunch period, and there was no apparent impending violence," said the report.

--more--

The Commission noted that only when the Guard attempted to disperse the rally did some students react violently. "Under these circumstances," the panel continued, "the Guard's decision to march through the crowd for hundreds of yards up and down a hill was highly questionable. In fact, the Guard never did disperse the crowd... Guardsmen had been subjected to harassment and assault, were hot and tired, and felt dangerously vulnerable by the time they returned to the top of Blanket Hill.

When guardsmen confronted the students, "it was only too easy for a single shot to trigger a general fusillade," the Commission said.

The panel noted that many students considered the Guard's march from the ROTC ruins across the Commons up Blanket Hill, down to the practice football field, and back to Blanket Hill as a kind of charade. The report told of tear gas cannisters tossed back and forth to the cheers of the crowd, many of whom acted as if they were watching a game.

"Guardsmen have claimed that they were under an increasingly heavy barrage of rocks and other objects as they advanced back up Blanket Hill, and that students rushed toward them threateningly," the panel said. "Many indicated that they began firing when they heard one or some of their fellow guardsmen open fire."

--more--

The Commission stated that the closest student killed was 85 yards from the Guard at the time of the shooting. The closest of the nine wounded students was 20 yards from the Guard.

"The Guard fired amidst great turmoil and confusion, engendered in part by their own activities. But the guardsmen should not have been able to kill so easily in the first place. The general issuance of loaded weapons to law enforcement officers engaged in controlling disorders is never justified except in the case of armed resistance that trained sniper teams are unable to handle. This was not the case at Kent State, yet each guardsman carried a loaded M-1 rifle.

"No one would have died at Kent State if this lesson had been learned by the Ohio National Guard."

In the preface to the report, the Commission noted that its task at Kent State was especially sensitive. At the outset of the Commission's investigation, the Kent incidents had not been placed before any grand jury, either county, state or federal. During the investigation, the Attorney General of Ohio announced the convening of a state grand jury. The grand jury began proceedings in September as the Kent report was being prepared.

--more--

The Kent State Report is the final of two special reports issued by the Commission and follows by one week the release of the main report.

# # #



# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway  
DATE: 9/27/72

FROM : G. C. Moore *GLM*

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM- GHETTO  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

|               |                                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Felt          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Baker         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Bates         | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Bishop        | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Callahan      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Cleveland     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Conrad        | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Dalbey        | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Jenkins       | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Marshall      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Miller, E.S.  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Ponder        | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Soyars        | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Walters       | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tele. Room    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Kinley    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mr. Armstrong | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Ms. Herwig    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Mrs. Neenan   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

During the morning session of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) conference held at FBI Headquarters on 9/26/72, the ghetto informant program became the topic of a lively discussion with various opinions expressed concerning the most efficient utilization of this program. It was agreed that further study of the ghetto informant program is necessary. Accordingly, attached for approval is an airtel to all offices instructing each SAC to submit their recommendations concerning the ghetto informant program.

REC-46 171 - 236

The ghetto informant program was instituted on 10/11/67, to fulfill an urgent need to develop a network of "listening posts" in the ghetto areas of our cities. Ghetto informants are those persons living or working in ghetto areas who could furnish information concerning the potential for riots and violent civil unrest. As the field gained experience in the handling of these informants, their value steadily increased. The "listening post" concept was expanded and ghetto informants are now utilized to attend public meetings held by extremists, to identify extremists passing through or locating in the ghetto area, to identify purveyors of extremist literature as well as given specific assignments where appropriate. A valuable by-product of the ghetto informant program has been their ability to furnish highly significant criminal information. In addition, our ghetto informant program has been a proven reservoir of productive extremist informants who have been elevated from the ghetto informant ranks.

We currently operate 7,482 ghetto informants. These informants are developed and handled by field agents regardless of their assignment, whether it be criminal, extremist, or

RLR:cas  
(4) (ms)

CONTINUED

Enclosure

*5- Harrison*  
*5- Ridgeway*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program - Ghetto

security. During the recent inspection of the Domestic Intelligence Division, it was concluded that a modified ghetto informant program would streamline and improve the efficiency of the existing program. This was to be achieved by having only Special Agents assigned to extremist matters handle ghetto informants and instructing the SACs to reduce their ghetto informant numbers by 50 percent in order to eliminate the less productive informants. To date this modified program has not been approved.

As a result of the number of views expressed during the SAC conference on 9/26/72, concerning the appropriate utilization of ghetto informants, there is a need to obtain the opinion of all SACs before considering modifying the existing program. Accordingly, there is attached an airtel to all SACs with instructions to promptly analyze their ghetto informant program and submit their recommendations concerning the most efficient use of these informants in accordance to their needs to fulfill their respective responsibilities in the extremist field. Upon receipt of these views, a thorough review will be made at FBI Headquarters and appropriate recommendation that will best serve the needs of all field offices will be made.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached airtel be approved and sent in accordance with the above.

*RJR*     *JGP*     *DEM*     *WGC*     *EM*  
*G*  
*9/28*  
*10:08P*     ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~     *AKK*

Airtel

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
9/28/72

To: SAC, Albany

REC-46

From: Acting Director, FBI 170-00-1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway  
236 PERSONAL ATTENTION

GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS  
BUDED 10/9/72

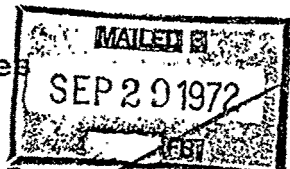
The Bureau is currently considering modifying the ghetto informant program for the purpose of achieving greater efficiency and maximum utilization of these informants while carefully preserving the "listening post" concept of the program.

One proposed change to the ghetto informant program recommends a reduction in the number of these informants by fifty percent and the handling of these informants exclusively by Special Agents assigned to extremist matters. This proposal emphasizes quality and the closing, where appropriate, or redesignation of those informants best suited as extremist, criminal or security informants.

The proposed modification of the ghetto informant program was discussed during the 9/26/72 session of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) conference held at FBI Headquarters. A number of opinions were expressed as to the value of ghetto informants in enabling each office to fill its responsibility in the extremist field. It was agreed that further study of the program is necessary before initiating any modification of the program.

For your ready reference, our ghetto informant program follows guidelines set out in Bureau airtel to Albany dated 11/24/71,

2 - All Field Offices



- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

RLR:cas  
(122) *cas*

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

*edm*

*WGC EM GCM*

*ICD*

*Z-R*

57 OCT 11 1972

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to All Field Offices  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

captioned "Upgrading Extremist Ghetto Informant Program." This airtel requires that ghetto informants be the type of individuals who can obtain information concerning black extremists who are operating in the ghetto areas and planning or perpetrating guerrilla-type activities such as robberies, attacks on police, and other violent activities. Our current ghetto informant program requires that these informants be given positive assignments and that they be evaluated on a yearly basis in order to close the unproductive informant.

To assist the Bureau in determining what changes, if any, should be made to the existing ghetto informant program, you are instructed to carefully analyze your ghetto informant program in line with the following points and submit your recommendations to reach the Bureau by 10/9/72. Bear in mind our purpose is to have a uniform program to best do the job intended:

- 1) Retain current program without modification.
- 2) Adopt the proposed change set out above calling for a fifty percent reduction in the number of ghetto informants. Should you disagree with the fifty percent reduction, submit your recommendation concerning the percent of reduction you consider appropriate with an explanation as to how you arrived at your conclusion. Bear in mind that quality is difficult without quantitative measurement.
- 3) Other changes believed necessary.
- 4) Abolish the ghetto program in its entirety. If you recommend the program be abolished, submit specific alternate program you recommend to obtain the intelligence information now being developed by ghetto informants.

Airtel to All Field Offices  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

In line with the above, submit full details justifying whatever recommendations you make concerning the ghetto informant program.

A thorough review of your recommendations will be made at FBI Headquarters and appropriate modifications, if any, will be made that will best serve the needs of all field offices and you will be advised accordingly.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller dated 9/27/72, prepared by RLR:cas.

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - Mr. R. L. Ridgeway
- DATE: 9/28/72

Felt ✓  
 Baker ✓  
 Bates ✓  
 Bishop ✓  
 Callahan ✓  
 Cleveland ✓  
 Conrad ✓  
 Dalbey ✓  
 Jenkins ✓  
 Marshall ✓  
 Miller, E.S. ✓  
 Ponder ✓  
 Soyars ✓  
 Walters ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Kinley ✓  
 Mr. Armstrong ✓  
 Ms. Herwig ✓  
 Mrs. Neenan ✓

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: GHETTO EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM  
 EXTREMIST MATTERS

*ha*

This is to advise that instructions issued by Mr. Gray on the memorandum from Mr. Daniel M. Armstrong III to Mr. Gray dated September 18, 1972, concerning captioned program are being complied with.

Mr. Armstrong's memorandum set out observations concerning the ghetto informant program based on the recommendation set forth in memorandum dated September 8, 1972, from G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller that the ghetto informant program be modified. This modification included reducing the number of ghetto informants by 50 percent and instructing each Special Agent in Charge to carefully analyze the current ghetto informants and to retain those informants with the best potential and to either elevate other informants to probationary extremist informants or, if appropriate, redesignate as criminal informants or discontinue.

Mr. Gray stated, <sup>*ST-114*</sup> "I will not buy a meat-axe reduction. Let's go into this thoroughly. Submit recommendations."

REQ 43 170-3-245

The ghetto informant program was the topic of a lively discussion at the September 26, 1972 Special Agents in Charge conference held at FBI Headquarters. Various opinions were expressed concerning the most efficient utilization of this program and it was agreed that further study of the program was necessary. Accordingly, by memorandum dated September 27, 1972, from G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, it was recommended that a further study of the ghetto informant program was necessary and accordingly there was attached for approval an airtel to all

JGD:cas  
(4)

CONTINUED

*5-JCP*

*273*  
 54 NOV 1972

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Extremist Informant Program

offices instructing each Special Agent in Charge to submit their recommendations concerning the ghetto informant program. The above recommendations will be submitted by October 9, 1972.

The replies from the Special Agents in Charge will be studied in detail and appropriate recommendations will be made by the Domestic Intelligence Division concerning the future of the ghetto informant program.

ACTION:

You will be advised of the above recommendations.

IGD

EMA

DEM/GEA

Thank you.

WGC

Yes. I recall the  
Sept 27<sup>th</sup> memo.

~~?~~

JAK  
DMS

J...  
10/2  
9:30 P

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

DATE: 10/18/72

1 - Mr. L. M. Walters  
1 - Mr. D. M. Armstrong III  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of the memorandum is to secure approval of a letter to all offices modifying instructions concerning the ghetto informant program.

A survey of all field offices relative to the ghetto informant program has been completed.

The field overwhelmingly expressed a desire to continue the program; however, a number of suggestions were offered to modify certain aspects of it.

Based upon a review of the results of this survey the following recommendations are made: *clb*

1) The number of informants operated under this program should definitely be governed by the needs of a specific office as determined by the Special Agent in Charge (SAC). Attached letter will instruct each office to conduct an analysis to determine its needs and only those informants absolutely necessary to fulfill the needs of the office are to be operated. The letter will also instruct that this program is not to be utilized as a device to increase the office case load.

2) We will continue to utilize these informants in a "listening post" capacity, that is, to keep us abreast of potential civil unrest and possible extremist activities. We will, however, continue to encourage that positive assignments be given these informants where appropriate and in view of our past experience showing that these informants

HEH:cas  
(7)

Enclosure

REC-28 177 250  
CONTINUED - OVER

ADDENDUM OF INSPECTION DIVISION PAGE FIVE

1 JAN 16 1973



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

have furnished extensive criminal information we will continue to accept this valuable side benefit and will record the office statistical accomplishments as we have done in the past.

3) The offices responding in the survey were about equally divided as to whether these informants should be handled exclusively by Agents assigned to extremist and security matters or by all Agents in the office. Attached letter will instruct that this should be left to the discretion of each SAC. In this connection it will also be emphasized that the SAC is not to levy an arbitrary requirement that each Agent must have a certain number of these informants.

4) We recommend that the name of this program be changed from ~~"ghetto informant"~~ to ~~"urban informant"~~ as more properly descriptive. It has been mentioned that some offices actually do not have "ghetto" areas but do have certain geographical locations of potential civil unrest and extremist activity. *Agree*

As of September 1, 1972, we were operating 7,482 ghetto informants. It is not possible to determine at this time the number of these informants that we will end up with based on the instructions set forth in attached letter. However, we anticipate a decrease from the existing level.

OBSERVATION: There have been a variety of opinions expressed in the past on the value of the ghetto informant program and, in fact, we have utilized a discussion of this program to "warm up" Agent conferences and in-service classes because of the lively discussion it generates. The recently completed survey, however, shows that only four offices were in favor of doing away with the existing ghetto informant program. It is obvious that this program is considered to be of continuing value to our field offices.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

It has been said that there has not been a single instance where a ghetto informant has furnished significant information pertaining to civil unrest. This is a misconception because, in fact, since the inception of this program there have been numerous times that these informants have furnished significant information concerning civil unrest. Examples of a few of these are as follows:

A Memphis ghetto informant identified four Negro males who had assaulted and stabbed a high school teacher which lead to their arrest and resulted in the quieting of a potentially riotous situation. A Minneapolis ghetto informant identified participants involved in a disturbance at the University of Minnesota. A Jackson ghetto informant provided pertinent information concerning a disturbance at Jackson State College and identified four individuals setting fires on the campus. This informant also identified individuals leading a mob of 100 persons attacking the Reserve Officer Training Corps Building on that campus. Ghetto informants of the Knoxville Office furnished information on black extremists extorting money from white merchants with the threat of fire bombing their stores if they failed to cooperate. A Norfolk ghetto informant furnished information that a gathering of 200 young blacks had 40 fire bombs which they intended to use. Local authorities credited this information with avoiding a massive civil disturbance. A Springfield ghetto informant identified an individual attempting to sell a large quantity of explosives for use in creating a civil disturbance. A Tampa ghetto informant identified five Negroes responsible for provoking trouble at a local school.

*Target more like these.*

In addition, ghetto informants have furnished a large amount of valuable criminal information which is perhaps best highlighted by a recent case wherein a ghetto informant of the Oklahoma City Office furnished the information which lead to the identification and apprehension of four subjects in a terrorist-type slaying of a man, his wife, and a young son.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program

Implementation of the recommendations set forth above should result in a strengthening of this program which plays an important part in our intelligence gathering responsibilities.

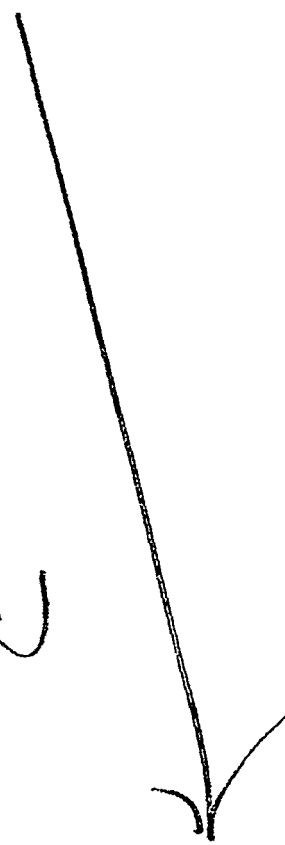
ACTION:

1) That the attached letter to all offices setting forth instructions in line with the above be approved.

2) If approved, necessary Manual changes will be prepared.

HEH  
HLMWAG

HEH



Ghetto Informant Program instituted 10/11/67 to fulfill a need then recognized to develop a comprehensive network of "listening posts" in the ghetto areas of urban centers throughout the country. Over the succeeding years number of such informants has gradually built to some 7500 existing today. Field inspections in past year have pointed to difficulty of evaluating justification for such informants because, unlike the other informant programs (criminal, security, extremist, revolutionary activities, and top echelon) the justification for an individual informant cannot be supported by what he is producing. It is sufficient that ghetto informants are geographically well dispersed and promise cooperation. The practice of opening such cases varies widely and can be used by a field office to effect sharp changes in total case load upward or downward. The number of ghetto informant cases substantially affects manpower utilization in that each ghetto informant opened requires a background investigation and thereafter 30-day contacts.

Accordingly, during inspection (8/18 - 9/1/72) of Domestic Intelligence Division (DID) the merits of the overall program were thoroughly reviewed and discussed. As a result, DID proposed in inspection that hereafter assignment of such informants be limited to those Agents assigned to extremist squads or extremist work and that SACs be instructed to cease levying a requirement that all Agents, regardless of assignment, must develop and operate ghetto informants. DID estimated that such a change in the program would probably reduce the total number of such cases by 50%.

The proposed letter to the field accomplishes little meaningful change. It changes the name of the program; it provides latitude to SACs to determine extent of program within guideline that the number of informants operated must be deemed necessary to fulfill the needs of the office (this has always been so); it also provides latitude to SACs as to whether all Agents in the office participate or only those Agents assigned to extremist matters. Implementation of changes proposed herein would result in an extraordinary lack of uniformity throughout the field.

The point really called into question here is whether concrete steps should be taken to effect an overall case load reduction by sharply reducing marginally productive cases in order to divert Agent manpower to more productive uses in major program areas. The broader question is currently under consideration and the results of that consideration should

more clearly dictate the proper approach to the Ghetto Informant Program. Accordingly, it is recommended that any change in this program be deferred until the overall question of case load vs. manpower utilization is resolved.

*I agree*  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

*L.M.W.*

*WGC*

~~7~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S.
- Purvis \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

DATE: November 2, 1972

FROM : Daniel M. Armstrong, III

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

*Extremist Informant*

Re memo of G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller of 10/18/72 on this subject.

The first paragraph of the Addendum of the Inspection Division sets forth some of the considerations which have caused my skepticism as to whether the benefits gained from this Program are sufficient to justify the costs in terms of resource utilization attendant to the Ghetto Informant Program.

With reference to the recommendation of the Inspection Division that no action be taken until the overall question of caseload versus manpower utilization is resolved, I am not certain as to the precise inquiry currently in progress which is being referred to by the Inspection Division. If there is such an inquiry with a view towards instructing the Domestic Intelligence Division not to let fears as to the consequences of a reduction in the quantity of its total caseload interfere with devoting concentrated attention towards the most important matters within its jurisdiction, I would be the first to applaud this inquiry.

In this regard, the problem I see with the proposed letter of the Domestic Intelligence Division is that by giving wide latitude to SACs to administer the Ghetto Informant Program within their respective offices, the memorandum is not likely to accomplish meaningful change as long as so much turns within the Bureau on the total caseload of an office. Even though an SAC in Field Division X believes that he could terminate his Ghetto Informant Program altogether and, by doing so, increase the effective utilization of his personnel, he will hesitate to make such a decision because he knows it could well result in a substantial reduction in his total caseload, which in turn would mean that his office would lose Agents and/or supervisors or would not be able to obtain additional Agents and/or supervisors.

Enclosure

DMA:nm (2)

5 JAN 18 1973  
Mr. Armstrong

ST-103 REC-28 170-100-20

CONTINUED - OVER

ENC. 10/20/72

Memorandum to Mr. Gray  
Re: Ghetto Informant Program  
Extremist Matters

This is why it seems so vitally important to achieve the by no means easy goal of finding some way to measure the needs of an office without resort to dependence upon the total caseload of the office because the present reliance upon caseload figure restricts the SACs ability to make decisions, otherwise called for, which would reduce his total caseload.

The Domestic Intelligence Division furnished to me copies of the responses received from the Field Divisions in connection with the Field survey concerning the Ghetto Informant Program. The information submitted by the Newark Division so closely approximates my opinion concerning the Ghetto Informant Program that I am attaching a copy of the Newark airtel to this memorandum.

*J III*  
*12-11*  
*9:10 A*

FBI

Date: 10/5/72

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

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

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (170-6)  
SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS  
BUDED: 10/9/72

*M*

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, ALBANY, 9/28/72.

The Newark Office is in complete agreement that modification of the ghetto informant program is necessary in order to insure greater efficiency and maximum utilization of these informants.

A review of ghetto informant files in the Newark Division following the guidelines set out in Bureau airtel dated 11/24/71 captioned "UPGRADING EXTREMIST GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM" has revealed the following:

Ghetto informants are divided into two general groups.

The first group are those serving as "listening posts". These informants are generally individuals who own or are employed in such businesses as gas stations, candy stores, barber shops, etc. and are usually in no way directly connected with extremist or criminal matters. These individuals are contacted on a regular basis and routinely report that "all is quiet in the neighborhood". The value of such informants is highly questionable.

2-Bureau  
2-Newark  
(1-S-3 Desk)  
CAM: jz  
(4)

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent 17 M Per 951  
Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1071-413-135



Civil disturbances are either planned or spontaneous. In the first case, such planning is done by various militant groups. It is the responsibility of all field offices to have developed informants of such character in these groups that they are in a position to furnish advance information about such plans. "Listening post" informants are not in a position to furnish information about preplanned disturbances and they certainly cannot furnish prior information relative to a spontaneous disturbance. Once a disturbance or riot has started, it is virtually impossible to contact these individuals inasmuch as most commercial enterprises are closed down and entry into these areas is not feasible and the ability of these informants to report by telephone is very doubtful.

Targeting of such informants towards obtaining information concerning black extremists, robberies, attacks on police and other violent activities, as well as recent targeting towards obtaining narcotics information has been extremely limited in its value. In view of this, it is felt that the value of the "listening post" is limited and they should be eliminated. The manner in which this action should be taken is set out later in this communication.

The second group consists of those individuals opened as ghetto informants who are considered to have definite value in the extremist field and who are targeted to furnish specific information relative to extremist organizations and individuals. These informants are actually under development towards becoming extremist informants. They are generally individuals who are presently members of extremist organizations or are in some way affiliated with these organizations through contact with members. These ghetto informants are of great value for the continued development of new informants in the extremist field. In the Newark Division it is this group of ghetto informants who have furnished positive information relative to extremist activities, as well as contributing information relative to fugitives, bank robberies and local criminal matters. They are all targeted towards furnishing information relative to narcotics activity and it is anticipated that they will be of great value in this field. These ghetto informants are of definite value and in the Newark Division are all assigned to Agents conducting extremist investigations.

The Newark Division disagrees with arbitrarily closing fifty percent of all ghetto informants. The following is Newark's recommendation as to how each ghetto informant should be evaluated:

The Extremist Informant Coordinator or Supervisor, as the case applies, routinely reviews all files under the tickler system. As a file comes up on tickler for review, it should be evaluated. If it appears to be a "listening post" with no value as a future extremist informant, this should be brought to the attention of the case Agent. This Agent should then within one month make a recommendation to either close this informant or convert him to a criminal or security informant for development in a specific area. All ghetto informants considered to be of no other value than as "listening posts" should be closed.

In the Newark Office ghetto informants are assigned to the extremist squad or security squads, the applicant and accounting squads. Those assigned to other than the extremist squad are generally "listening posts" in character. Upon review, as set forth above, if it is determined the informant is of value in the extremist field he should be reassigned to an Agent working extremist matters. If of value in another field of investigation, he should be appropriately reassigned.

It is felt that if the above is adopted, a great deal of Agent time and clerical time would be saved and could be diverted to more productive and efficient usage, particularly by the Agents conducting investigations in the extremist, security and criminal fields. Further, concentration on the remainder of the informants would logically result in their becoming more productive and efficient.

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. D. M. Armstrong, III
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S.
- Purvis \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walden
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley
- Mr. Armstrong
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: November 20, 1972

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore *GC/3/69*

- 1 - Mr. L. M. Walters
- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

In connection with various memoranda concerning captioned matter, Mr. Gray inquired "Why not handle this program in same manner as our other programs involving informants? G III 11/9 2:34 P"

The question asked is similar to the questions raised at the time the captioned program was inaugurated in October, 1967. Faced with the need for a rapid development of a particular type of informant, the decision was made to implement a program with a minimum amount of Headquarters' supervision. Accordingly, authority was granted for the Special Agents in Charge (SAC) to approve the operation of an individual as a ghetto informant.

There is set forth data showing that the Ghetto Informant Program is in line with other Bureau informant programs in that there are specific guidelines for the operation of the informants, as well as requirements for the justification of the informants and requirements for contacts with these informants along with the regulations concerning payments to informants.

There are also set forth observations concerning the comments made by Mr. Armstrong in his memorandum of November 2, 1972, and the comments made by the Inspection Division in its addendum of 10/24/72.

### Need for the Ghetto Informant Program

In 1967 the United States experienced violent racial disturbances in many cities and it was indicated that there was a need for cooperative individuals (sources) in those areas experiencing the above disturbances. Such questions as "Are these disturbances spontaneous or are they planned?" "Are these disturbances caused by organizations or individuals? If so, identify them" were being asked not only by FBI Headquarters officials, but also by high-ranking Government officials including the White House.

JGD:as *12-5-72* ADDENDUM OF INSPECTION DIVISION PAGE NINE

CONTINUED - OVER

Enclosure

REC-64 170  
JAN 15 1973

Memorandum to Mr. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

Analysis of the then existing Security, Criminal and Extremist Informant Programs determined that none of these existing programs could supply the answers to the questions being asked.

The above analysis further showed that due to the orientation of the various informant programs mentioned above, that is, criminal informants to obtain criminal information, security informants for security information, and extremist informants for specific information concerning extremist organizations and known extremist individuals, there was still a vast area where racial unrest was rampant, namely, the ghetto areas where there was a need for a "listening post" type informant. Accordingly, the Ghetto Informant Program was instituted.

#### Comparison of Ghetto Informant Operations With Other Bureau Informant Operations

The Security Informant Program as well as the Extremist Informant Program require tight supervision at both Headquarters and field level because of the extreme sensitivity of these operations. As previously stated, there was a need for development and rapid operation of sources in the ghetto areas which were to be utilized as "listening posts." In view of the nature of this operation, it was decided that the tight supervision required by the other informant programs was not necessary, however, it was also recognized that for any program to be fruitful and administratively sound, there must be guidelines set out.

The guidelines formulated were based on our experiences with the Security and Extremist Informant Programs and required that some background checks be conducted prior to the approval of an individual as an informant; a contact be made with the individual designated as an informant at least once every 30 days; that any payments made to a ghetto informant must be in accordance with Bureau policy which is also the requirement for other informant programs.

In synopsis, it can be said that the Ghetto Informant Program is similar to other informant programs (security and extremist) in that there are definite guidelines set for the designation and operation of an individual as a ghetto informant, as well as the fact payment to these informants must conform to Bureau regulations. In short, the Ghetto Informant Program, although operated basically as other informant programs, does serve a separate and distinct need which our experience has shown the other Bureau informant programs did not and could not fill.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

Comparison of the Justification of Ghetto Informants With  
Justification of Other Existing Informant Programs

In the Inspection Division's addendum dated 10/24/72 to the memorandum from G. C. Moore to E. S. Miller dated 10/18/72 concerning captioned matter, it was set out "Field inspections in past year have pointed to difficulty of evaluating justification for such informants (this refers to ghetto informants) because, unlike the other informant programs (criminal, security, extremist, revolutionary activities, and top echelon) the justification for an individual informant cannot be supported by what he is producing."

The Inspection Division's difficulties have not previously been brought to the attention of the Domestic Intelligence Division (DID), however, this Division does not agree with the above set out difficulty.

The statistical accomplishments of the ghetto informants have been set out numerous times, therefore, this in itself would assist in making a justification for ghetto informants; but, it is more important that the ghetto informants be justified by obtaining information concerning potential civil unrest. This must be considered in light of present circumstances. While we are not experiencing the burning of the cities that we did in the late 1960s, we are still living in a state of emotional fears concerning the polarization of the races.

*Agree &  
it is  
increasing,  
w/ my judgment.*

Therefore, based on our experiences, we recognized that in reporting on the pulse of a particular area in regard to the potential for civil unrest it is very important to know that there is no indication of civil unrest in a particular area at a particular time, as well as knowing that there are indications of civil unrest. Accordingly, the report that there is no indication of civil unrest in a particular area is considered positive information and should be counted as such. In accordance with these guidelines, there does not appear to be any difficulty in justifying the continuance of a ghetto

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

*it was not answered.  
A conclusion was stated. You  
must submit hard info to  
support conclusions.*

informant if he is being contacted in accordance with instructions and reporting concerning the tempo of feelings in his particular area.

In addition to the above, there will be set forth observations concerning the comments made in the memorandum of Mr. Armstrong dated November 2, 1972, as well as the addendum of the Inspection Division dated 10/24/72.

Addendum of Inspection Division dated 10/24/72

Paragraph one of the above addendum in addition to the comment concerning the difficulty of evaluating justification for the Ghetto Informant Program which was answered above makes reference to the practice of opening ghetto cases and states these cases can be used by a field office to effect sharp changes in total case load upward or downward. This is merely an administrative matter and should not be considered in connection with the concept of whether or not there should be a Ghetto Informant Program. The value of this program has been previously set forth in connection with the obtaining of intelligence information and will be repeated further in this memorandum.

*THIS IS WHAT I WANT TO KNOW... THE VALUE OF THE PROGRAM!*

Concerning the comment that the number of ghetto informant cases substantially affects manpower utilization in that each ghetto informant opened requires a background investigation and thereafter 30-day contacts, this is to state that the background investigation is minimal and the 30-day contact is the basic minimal requirement that could be made if an informant is to be of any use at all.

*Is this really the way to do it? How good is a minimal BI?*

The above-mentioned addendum sets out that DID's proposed letter to the field dated 10/20/72 accomplishes little meaningful change in the Ghetto Informant Program. This is exactly what the DID intended. DID's letter to the field was based on the observations of the SACs and was a consensus of their studied critique of the program and their respective recommendations. As a result of discussion with SACs and

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

Mr. Gray concerning the Ghetto Informant Program on 9/26/72, all SACs were instructed to submit their comments and recommendations concerning this program. If we are not going to take the recommendations of the SACs, who are our leaders in the field, then why did we bother to request their opinions? Likewise, they certainly are entitled to know the results of the survey and this is what we are attempting to do.

In connection with the recommendation made that any change in this program be deferred until the overall question of case load versus manpower utilization is resolved, there apparently is no indication as to when this will be resolved and further, this question should not be the deciding factor as to whether or not there should be a Ghetto Informant Program.

Memorandum of Mr. Daniel M. Armstrong, III dated November 2, 1972

Mr. Armstrong stated that in connection with the inquiry concerning the overall question of case load versus manpower that if there is such an inquiry with a view toward instructing DID not to let fears as to the consequences of a reduction in the quantity of its total case load interfere with devoting concentrated attention towards the most important matters within its jurisdiction, he would be the first to applaud this inquiry.

In respect to this, DID is not aware of any fears in connection with the above case load work load inquiry and, further, we will always go full steam ahead to obtain the maximum quality intelligence data needed to fulfill our responsibilities to the United States Government, regardless of any alleged "fears."

Mr. Armstrong stated that the problem he sees with DID's proposed letter of 10/20/72 is that "by giving wide latitude to SACs to administer the Ghetto Informant Program within their respective offices, the memorandum is not likely to accomplish meaningful change as long as so much turns within the Bureau on the total caseload of an office."

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

SAC Newark probably has a  
bigger black % in his HQ  
city than any other SAC, hence  
he should have firm experience  
in an urban area. *Jm*

Again it is pointed out that the DID memorandum was intended to give latitude to the SACs in the operation of the Ghetto Informant Program because this basically is the recommendation of the greater majority of SACs.

*Again this is a conclusion. How do you know this? And of what value is this statement to me? *Jm**

Mr. Armstrong cited the opinion submitted by the Newark Division because it so closely approximated his own opinion. It is to be noted that the SAC Newark was one of four SACs who recommended against maintaining the program in its same form, whereas 53 SACs recommended modifications in accordance with those set out in DID letter 10/20/72.

It is respectfully submitted that the recommendations of 53 SACs carry more weight than one SAC and that these 53 SACs recommended that the Program be continued. The greater majority of these individuals recommended that the Program be continued along with the modifications set out in DID letter dated 10/20/72.

OBSERVATIONS:

The Ghetto Informant Program since 1967, when it was instituted, has been analysed and critiqued not only by FBI Headquarters personnel, SACs, but also by Field Supervisors and Field Informant Coordinators through a series of correspondence, as well as specialized conferences. The overriding opinion of the majority of individuals involved in the above has been that this program has in the past and still is an effective productive program. The program serves a vital need, that is, the need to know the potential for acts of civil disturbances that could not only disrupt the operations in local communities, but could also cause disruption on a nationwide basis.



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

As previously stated, the country is not experiencing the burning of the cities and the major riots as we had in the late 1960s, however, there are movements in this country that are more dangerous than the riots of the late 1960s. We are familiar with the rhetoric of known extremists such as Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, LeRoi Jones, and unfortunately this rhetoric is the fact of life in our country today. These extremists preached the theory of "kill the pig," and we are seeing today not only known extremists actively waging guerrilla warfare against the establishment (the pigs) but we are also seeing individuals not affiliated with extremist organizations taking this same action.

Messrs. Carl T. Rowan and David M. Mazie in an article in the November, 1972, "Reader's Digest" captioned "The Growth of Black Separatism--A National Tragedy" very accurately portrayed the problem facing FBI intelligence gathering capabilities.

*Agree. The issue is: The value of the Ghetto Informant Program  
What can be done to enhance it?*

The above article sets out the hostility of racial factions in the military which has caused military leaders to declare it a threat to our national security. It further points out the tensions and violence that exist in our high schools and states that traditional white racism has collided with a virulent new black nationalism to drive the races as far apart as they have been in half a century, with an increasingly destructive impact on the stability of our society.

*No doubt  
about this  
fact of life!*

As can be seen from the above, there is still a need to measure the potential for violence in our urban areas, as well as the need to identify any individuals in these areas who may be fomenting violence because of racial hatred.

The Ghetto Informant Program has proven in the past to be the only vehicle where the above type information can be obtained on a regular basis. Accordingly, it is believed that the attached letter to all field offices setting forth

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM

the instructions regarding the handling of ghetto informants which was previously submitted by DID should be approved. This letter is based on the recommendations of the majority of all SACs. In addition, Mr. Gray previously agreed by memorandum dated 10/18/72 to the proposal that the name of the Ghetto Informant Program be changed to Urban Informant Program.

ACTION:

1. That the attached letter to all offices setting forth instructions in line with the above be approved.

*No*

2. If approved, necessary Manual changes will be prepared.

*SEP*  
*DEMANUS*

*done* *No. W/C* *EM*  
*W/C*

*OK*  
*A*

*J*  
*12-11*  
*9:10A*

*✓*

The attached series of documents arose from DID inspection review of Ghetto Informant Program, 8/18 - 9/1/72. Inspection Division adheres to its position expressed in addendum to 10/18/72 memorandum attached and still feels that the proposed letter to the field contains no meaningful change in the operation of the Ghetto Informant Program.

Under the heading, "Need for the Ghetto Informant Program," in foregoing memorandum (page 1, last paragraph), DID mentions questions such as "Are these (racial) disturbances spontaneous or are they planned?", and "Are these disturbances caused by organizations or individuals?", as questions asked by high Government officials after the racial disturbances of 1967. Inspection Division feels that advance information responsive to such intelligence needs must be obtained from productive, well-placed Security, Revolutionary Activities, and Extremist Informants, or as by-product information from Criminal Informants and other sources from whom we have reasonable expectation of positive information reporting based on past experience. Our current concept of a Ghetto Informant includes the proprietor of a candy store or barber shop in a ghetto (under new proposal in an urban area) who may or may not have such information. One such proprietor could have significant information about an impending racial disturbance and another may not. Can we assume that our Ghetto Informant is the local proprietor with the answer because we have selected him in the neighborhood as a listed Ghetto Informant?

Inspection Division feels that the Ghetto Informant Program as viewed by the DID is different from all other informant programs in at least one highly important respect. On page 3 of the memorandum, it is stated that the report (from a Ghetto Informant) that there is no indication of civil unrest in a particular area is considered "positive" information and should be counted as such. Negative information is not counted as positive information in any other informant program and in other programs we obtain some history of the furnishing of productive information before forming a conclusion that the individual is worthy of continued contact or further development. If we accept the views of the DID, then every Ghetto Informant opened by an office and established for monthly contact is capable of furnishing "positive" information because everyone is capable of saying they do not have information indicating civil unrest.

Some Ghetto Informants have in the past furnished information in extremist or criminal matters. This has been recognized as a by-product of the Ghetto Informant Program. A more meaningful approach to this whole problem might be to concentrate more heavily in ghetto areas to develop proven Security, Extremist, Revolutionary Activities, and Criminal Informants upon whom we can then rely to keep us advised of civil disturbance plans as a steady by-product to the information

they are regularly furnishing on domestic intelligence or criminal matters. Existing Ghetto Informants who have shown productivity in any area of FBI jurisdiction should be converted to the appropriate substantive informant program to which their services relate. Further, all informants designated in the other informant programs who are strategically located in areas of potential civil unrest, should be briefed on supplying information that may come to their attention relating to developing tensions and civil unrest. Such approach would, in our view, represent a better ordering of priorities and not have the "cart before the horse." Moreover, we have some concern of justifiable apprehension that might be expressed by the Congress or the public if this program were to be described in terms out of context with our real intentions. We could fully defend informants providing us regularly with information directly related to our jurisdictional responsibilities and using them for "by-product" information on civil unrest. It would be much more difficult to defend establishment of ghetto or urban listening posts all over the country with a possible by-product of information directly within our jurisdiction.

In our view, the Ghetto Informant Program is not a proven program and in view of the manpower expended on it, the decision as to whether we should keep it, modify it, or abolish it should be made after a decision is reached concerning the overall question of case load vs. manpower utilization now pending in connection with a separate management study.

*[Handwritten initials]*

*ZMW*

*G*  
*12-11*  
*9:10 A*

SAC, Albany

- 1 - Mr. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. K. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. L. H. Walters

11/28/72

For the Acting Director, FBI  
W. Mark Felt

- 1 - Mr. D. H. Armstrong III  
PERSONAL ATTENTION

Acting Associate Director

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson

~~URGENT INFORMATION PROGRAM~~  
~~EXTREMIST MATTERS~~

*Copy - Extremist Inj...*

Re Bureau airtel 9/28/72, captioned "Ghetto Informant Program, Extremist Matters."

An analysis has been made of responses to referenced airtel.

This survey indicated the field was overwhelmingly in favor of maintaining a ghetto informant-type program and a number of suggestions were offered which have been incorporated into the modifications as set forth below:

- 1) The term "ghetto informant" will be changed to "urban informant" to more properly describe these sources.
- 2) The number of informants operated by a division under this program should be governed by the needs of the specific office as determined by the Special Agent in Charge. In this connection you should analyze the situation in your office to determine your particular needs and only those urban informants absolutely necessary to fulfill the needs of your office are to be operated. You are not to use this program as a device to increase the office case load.
- 3) You will continue to utilize urban informants in a "listening post" capacity; that is, to keep you abreast of potential civil unrest and possible

MAILED 25  
NOV 29 1972  
FBI

2 - All Field Offices

MEH:cas  
(125)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

*EM*  
*CCM/SC*  
*WLC WVC*  
*GCM*  
*HEH*  
NOV 30 1972

- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Baker \_\_\_\_\_
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- Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Furvin \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Horwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

5 DEC 5 1972

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to Albany, Et al  
Re: Urban Informant Program

extremist activities. You will continue to make positive assignments to these informants where appropriate. In view of the extensive criminal information furnished by these informants in the past continue to accept information of this nature they may obtain and record and report statistical accomplishments as in the past.

4) Survey disclosed offices were about equally divided as to whether these informants should be handled exclusively by Special Agents assigned to security and extremist matters or by all Special Agents in the office. This is being left to your discretion; however, you should not levy a requirement that each Special Agent must have a certain number of these informants.

This program, properly administered, can materially assist in your intelligence gathering responsibilities. You should periodically review this program to insure that maximum results are being achieved.

Appropriate Manual changes follow.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller dated 11/20/72, captioned "Ghetto Informant Program, Extremist Matters", prepared by JGD:ass.

# Memorandum

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
 Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purvis \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Kinley *[initials]*  
 FROM : ~~DMA~~ Daniel M. Armstrong III

DATE: December 5, 1972

SUBJECT: GHETTO INFORMANT PROGRAM  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re memorandum from Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated November 20, 1972, on this subject and the addendum of the Inspection Division thereto, dated November 24, 1972.

As noted in the addendum of the Inspection Division, the Urban Informant Program formerly known as the Ghetto Informant Program differs from all other informant programs in that negative information is, under this program, counted as positive information.

It would appear from Section 130 (H) (2) (b) (4) of the Manual of Instructions that an urban informant who does nothing more than advise our inquiring Agents that there is no indication of civil unrest in his particular area could qualify for payments on a regular basis under Bureau authority.

In this regard, I believe it would be useful to know (1) how many of the Bureau's present urban informants are being paid on a regular basis, (2) of that number, how many have furnished only information to the effect that there is no indication of civil unrest in their areas and (3) of those urban informants not paid on a regular basis, are there documented cases in which those informants have been paid for saying that there is no indication of civil unrest in their areas?

The answer to Question (1) would appear to be readily available. The answers to the other questions, especially Question (2), might be difficult to obtain.

REC-28 170-00 252

If you deem it appropriate, I would be pleased to have you obtain the answers to one or more of the above questions, or I would make the effort myself. I would understand completely if you conclude that the request for this information should come only from Mr. Gray.

JAN 10 1973

DMA:rm (2)

JAN 18 1973

*Prepare a memo for my signature requesting the info. G III 12-11 9:09A*

*5-10*

Memorandum to Mr. Kinley

December 5, 1972

In any event, I do recommend that the referenced memorandum and the addendum be shown to Mr. Gray. Although no action proposals are now pending and Mr. Felt and Mr. Gray may have discussed this by phone during Mr. Gray's hospitalization, I think Mr. Gray for his own information should have a chance to read for himself the arguments pro and con concerning this controversial program.



*Gray*

December 15, 1972

To: Mr. E. S. Miller

*ICD*

*Hal Johnston*

Re: ~~URBAN INFORMANT PROGRAM~~

*Supervisor - Ernest ...*

One of the memoranda on this subject which was included in the package which Mr. Deegan sent me at your request was a memorandum of 12/5/72 from me to Mr. Kinley upon which Mr. Gray had written - "Prepare a memo for my signature requesting the info. G III 12-11 9:09A." The information to which Mr. Gray was referring would be the answers to three questions set forth in the body of the memorandum.

In view of the fact that you are already in possession of the memorandum containing the three questions and Mr. Gray's instructions with reference thereto, I have suggested to Mr. Kinley that the preparation of a memorandum for Mr. Gray's signature would now be, under the circumstances of this case, unnecessary. Mr. Kinley suggested that the answers to those three questions could be compiled and made available to Mr. Gray in conjunction with the overall project of developing an Urban Informant Program which he also requested in his notation of 12-11-72 at 9:11 AM.

*ji*

Therefore, I will not prepare a memorandum formally requesting the answers to the three questions, and will assume that the information will be furnished in connection with the project we are now working on. Please advise if this suggested approach presents any problems.

*Mack Armstrong*  
Mack Armstrong

ST-100

REC-18

*10/16 - 2548*  
*5-11*

DMA:nm (2)

JAN 16 1973

*File*  
*D.H.*

58 JAN 22 1973

*25*

DO-6  
 OFFICE OF ACTING DIRECTOR  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MR. FELT \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. BAKER \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. BATES \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. BISHOP \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. CLEVELAND \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. DALBEY \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. JENKINS \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. MARSHALL \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. MILLER, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. PONDER \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. SOYARS \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. WALKERS \_\_\_\_\_  
 TELE. ROOM \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. KINLEY \_\_\_\_\_  
 MR. ARMSTRONG \_\_\_\_\_  
 MS. HERWIG \_\_\_\_\_  
 MRS. NEENAN \_\_\_\_\_

*MILLER TO COORDINATE*

*Supervisor*

*Ext. wist Insp. 1.*

1. I am not persuaded that the "listening post" concept has merit. It is a luxury that we cannot afford at the present. Our effort must be directed to developing an Urban Informant Program with Urban Informants specifically targeted.

*Ob*

2. Messrs. Miller, Walters and Armstrong are to put their talents together and come up with the Program.

*G...*  
 12-11  
 9:11 A

*51 JAN 19 1973*

ST-103

REC-28

JAN 16 1973

INT. SEC.

253

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. M. Felt

FROM : E. S. Miller

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM

- 1 - Mr. D. M. Armstrong
- 1 - Mr. L. M. Walters
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

DATE: 3/6/73

- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. F. Olmert

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

In accordance with Mr. Gray's instructions, Messrs. Armstrong, Walters and Miller met on 2/20/73 at which time they formulated a revised Extremist Informant Program designed to be beneficial to the Bureau's operation both in the field and at FBIHQ.

The new revised Extremist Informant Program eliminates urban (ghetto) informants and is limited to potential extremist informants (PEI), extremist informants (EI), and confidential sources-extremist (CS-E).

Definitions and qualifications for these new informant categories are as follows:

Potential Extremist Informant:

A PEI is an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and organizations as well as information of an extremist nature in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence.

The personal authority of the SAC is necessary to designate and operate an individual as a PEI with exceptions as noted below. These informants are to be operated for a period of not more than one year and not less than six months providing their potential is such that it appears he will qualify for elevation to EI. The PEI must be discontinued immediately following a determination that he has no future potential as an EI and those PEIs not elevated at the end of one year must be discontinued.

REC-31 \_\_\_\_\_ 254X

Enclosure

RFO:klk

(8)

05 AUG 16 1973

18 AUG 9 1973

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. M. Felt  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

The following are exceptions to the SAC's authority for granting the approval of the operation of a PEI. If any of the following conditions exist, the SAC must submit his recommendation to FBIHQ on a UACB basis:

1. Any individual in a sensitive position (i.e. news media, educational field or any other field where disclosure as an informant would cause concern to the Bureau).
2. Any individual being placed in an extremist organization or any individual presently in an extremist organization.
3. Any individual who has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years.
4. Any individual who is presently under indictment or is on probation or parole, Federal or local.
5. Any individual with an unsavory background yet who is in a position to furnish uniquely valuable information not available from other sources.

The Special Agent in Charge has authority to authorize payments to PEIs in the amount of up to \$400. Additional payment authority must be obtained from FBIHQ.

Bureau authority is necessary to elevate a PEI to an EI. Field recommendation must contain full justification. If PEI does not qualify for EI within one year, he must be discontinued.

Extremist Informant:

An EI is an individual who has been operated as a PEI for at least six months (in order that his reliability can be properly evaluated) and is furnishing extremist information on a regular basis whether it be concerning an extremist

Memorandum to Mr. W. M. Felt  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

organization or an unaffiliated extremist. In order to elevate a PEI to an EI, he must have produced authentic data on extremist activities and be in a position to continue furnishing extremist intelligence information.

Confidential Sources-Extremist:

A CS-E is an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Bureau by furnishing extremist information brought to his attention by virtue of his position in the community, by his employment, or in view of his background in extremist activities. This individual, whose identity must be protected, will not be actively seeking information on behalf of the Bureau.

OBSERVATIONS:

We contemplate no changes in the existing extremist requirements as they pertain to background investigation, payments, or other administrative policy.

Our present urban informants will be evaluated to determine if they should be considered in the future as EIs, PEIs, CS-E, directed to the Security or Criminal Informant Programs, or discontinued altogether.

No individual will be operated as an EI or PEI solely because he is in a "listening post" position. To insure we have informant coverage in those areas where there is a potential for violence, instructions will be issued to each SAC to insure all Special Agent personnel are aware of the need for developing information where there is a potential for violence and that those Special Agents not directly involved with extremist matters refer those individuals who may possess information of potential violence to the Extremist Supervisor in order that their informant potential may be assessed.

Memorandum to Mr. W. M. Felt  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

The field will be instructed that CS-Es are not to be kept in a pending status unless these sources are furnishing information on a regular basis. Sources reporting infrequently may be operated from a pending file with a provision for closing after a fixed period of inactivity, out of a dead file or out of a control file. Each SAC should determine which method of operation is best suited for his individual needs. SACs may desire to establish an informant map which will clearly depict coverage in any geographical area within their division.

Those informants currently carried as probationary extremist informants should either be designated as PEIs or elevated to EIs.

If the above revisions to the Extremist Informant Program are approved, appropriate Manual changes will be made.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached memorandum to all SACs be approved in accordance with above. SAC Letter not sent. Carried as enclosure to memo from GC Moore to E.S. Miller dtd 4-11-73

RFD

ICP

GCM

WGC

EM

LMW

WGC

~~7~~



Mr. Gray in his instructions of 12/11/72, which led to the aforementioned meeting of 2/20/73, said he was not persuaded that the "listening post" concept continued to have merit. "It is," he said, "a luxury that we cannot afford at the present." In view of the fact that the "listening post" concept has up to now been a central feature of the Urban (Ghetto) Informant Program, Mr. Gray's comments clearly contemplate a major change in this program.

In order to insure effective implementation of the new policy, it is therefore important that SAC's clearly understand that a major change is intended. Unless the new policy is spelled out in unmistakably clear terms, SAC's may understandably interpret the new policy as not representing a major change from the past. The motivation for this kind of interpretation is great because such an interpretation would be most consistent with the maintenance of a high case load of urban (ghetto) informants, and SAC's continue, I fear, to operate on the assumption (erroneous I hope) that any significant decrease in their case loads, regardless of the circumstances leading to the decrease, will automatically mean a reduction in the number of Agents assigned to their Divisions, etc.

It is with the above in mind that I venture the following comments on the proposed description of the revised Extremist Informant Program.

1. The revised policy statement should include language that the revised Extremist Informant Program is designed to reduce substantially the number of non-productive informants in the Urban (Ghetto) Informant Program who have not provided positive specific intelligence concerning extremist, security or criminal activities. The SAC's should be told that careful and close attention must be given to insure that each informant operating in the revised Extremist Informant Program is both in a position to furnish and willing to furnish information of positive value to the Bureau in the extremist area.

2. I would define a PEI simply as an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and/or organizations. If we are covering both known individuals and organizations with a potential for violence, "geographical areas where there is a potential for violence" should automatically be covered. An additional reference to "geographical areas...." is therefore unnecessary and could be confusing

CONTINUED - OVER

ADDENDUM (Continued...)

to SAC's since they are told elsewhere that mere "listening posts" are no longer to be operated.

3. If a PEI is defined as suggested in #2, it is not clear who else would be left in the great majority of situations for an SAC to approve as a PEI except an individual who is being placed in an extremist organization or an individual who is presently in an extremist organization. Therefore, requiring an SAC to submit a recommendation to FBI HQ before an individual is approved as a PEI when the individual in question is being placed in an extremist organization or is presently in an extremist organization, which submission is required by condition #2 on page 2 of this memorandum, could be tantamount to requiring notification to Headquarters in practically every case. This should not be necessary because the SAC seems to be in the best position in the great majority of cases to make a final decision as to whether a person should be operated as a PEI.

4. With further reference to those situations on page 2 of this memorandum describing when the SAC must submit his recommendation of a PEI to FBI HQ, there would appear to be very few candidates for a PEI who have not been at least charged with felony violations. Therefore, the fact that an individual has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years seems of no great significance to the question whether that person should be operated as a PEI, and the SAC should not be required to notify FBI HQ when this situation arises. Thus, I would delete condition #3. With specific reference to condition #5, as presently worded, this condition seems too broad and/or ambiguous. Practically speaking, couldn't anyone likely to qualify as a PEI quite conceivably be described as a person with "an unsavory background?" If so, this condition could have the effect of requiring advance notification to FBI HQ in practically every situation, a result which, as indicated above, I do not favor. Finally, if FBI HQ is to be notified, as is proposed by condition #1, when the individual is in a sensitive position, I think the SAC should be given more specific guidance as to what is considered to be a sensitive position. The phrase "any other field where disclosure as an informant would cause concern to the Bureau" is too vague.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

1 - Mr. D. M. Armstrong  
1 - Mr. M. Walters  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_  
Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: 4/11/73

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. R. F. Olmert

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM

Purpose is to respond to addendum of Mr. D. M. Armstrong III dated April 6, 1973, attached to Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller memorandum dated March 6, 1973, captioned "Extremist Informant Program."

Set forth below are comments concerning Mr. Armstrong's observations:

1. Mr. Armstrong suggests the revised policy should include language that the revised Extremist Informant Program is devised to reduce substantially the number of nonproductive informants in the Urban (Ghetto) Informant Program. We believe this is clearly stated in our memorandum to all SACs on page four, paragraph one "Under the revised program no individual is to be operated as an EI or PEI solely because he is in a 'listening post' position."

*RE*

2. Mr. Armstrong proposed that he would define a potential extremist informant (PEI) simply as an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and/or organizations. Therefore, since we are covering both known individuals and organizations with a potential for violence, there is no need for a reference to "geographical areas where there is a potential for violence." The key to the weakness in Mr. Armstrong's definition is the statement "covering both known individuals and organizations with a potential for violence." There are many areas in the United States where known organizations and known extremists do not operate. Nevertheless, there is a potential for violence in these areas because of socio-economic conditions that breed frustrations thereby making the individuals involved in these areas potential sparkplugs for extremist agitators. Consequently, our definition of a PEI must be broad enough to enable informants to actively seek out this type of information.

2- ENCLOSURE

REC-31

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CONTINUED - OVER

18 AUG 9 1973

GCM/RFO:klk  
(8) AUG 14 1973

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Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

3. The observation that SACs have a better insight in the great majority of cases to make a final decision as to whether a person should be operated as a PEI in connection with the placing of an individual in an extremist organization is not accurate in each and every case. It is pointed out that extremist activity is nationwide and individual FBI field office files do not necessarily contain full information and background concerning these organizations and the individuals involved in these activities. Experience has shown that Headquarters, after considering the SAC's recommendation, is in a better position to determine an individual's suitability for operation as a PEI. One of our greatest continuing concerns is penetration of our informant ranks by extremist "plants" as well as Agent provocateurs. Headquarters' review of individual cases, although not necessarily one hundred percent fullproof, is an additional necessary check. This in no way mitigates the SAC's responsibility as his approval and recommendation is necessary in the first instance.

4. With regard to the comment there would appear to be very few candidates for PEI who have not been at least charged with felony violations, it is stated that although a great number of our informants have been charged with violations, a felony charge in itself is not as frequent as Mr. Armstrong believes. A sampling of forty recently approved PEIs shows that only seven of this forty had been charged with a felony.

5. As to the observation concerning informants having an unsavory background, it is noted our present regulations as set out in Section 130, Volume IV, Manual of Instructions require that individuals with unsavory backgrounds who would not ordinarily be considered as PEIs because of the possibility they would not make suitable witnesses because of unfavorable characteristics such as extensive arrest records, excessive indebtedness, emotional quirks, abnormal sexual practices, poor employment records, illiteracy, and personal physical defects receive Headquarters approval. Our operation of informants has a twofold purpose (1) to obtain intelligence and (2) evidence necessary for successful prosecution of violations of local and Federal statutes. We strongly believe we must continue this requirement to insure our objectives are attained in all cases.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

As to specific guidelines furnished to SACs with respect to individuals in sensitive positions, SACs through past experience, are knowledgeable of the many possible situations where operation of an informant and subsequent disclosure could cause concern to the FBI. These areas include the news media, entertainment field, academicians, religious leaders, civil rights activists, politicians, and many others. It takes common sense on the part of the SAC to decide the areas in his particular division which could fit in the above categories. The samples cited in the SAC memorandum are to serve as a flag to the SAC to remind him of this pitfall.

OBSERVATIONS:

What we have here in the form of a memorandum to all SACs is a completely revised Extremist Informant Program, formulated through a long series of discussions both written and oral, which began during the August, 1972, inspection of the Intelligence Division. This matter has not only been discussed thoroughly within the Section and Division but it also has been discussed and analyzed by all SACs as well as their supervisors.

As a result of proposals previously submitted, Mr. Gray issued instructions that Messrs. Armstrong, Walters, and Miller get together and come up with an Extremist Informant Program which would serve the best interest of the FBI. Based on these instructions from Mr. Gray, a completely revised Extremist Informant Program, as set forth in the proposed memorandum to all SACs, was furnished Messrs. Armstrong and Walters for review prior to a meeting which took place on 2/20/73. This meeting was attended by Messrs. Armstrong, Walters, and Miller as well as Mr. J. G. Deegan and Mr. G. C. Moore of the IS-1 Section.

At the 2/20/73 meeting a thorough word-by-word and line-by-line analysis was made of the proposed Extremist Informant Program. Revisions were made concerning the proposals and there was a free exchange of ideas in this regard. The proposed SAC memorandum, which has been submitted for Mr. Gray's approval, was agreed to by everyone present, including Mr. Armstrong who now raises several points in which he

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

differs with the proposed instructions to the field. It seems that the time has come that we get on with the job of getting needed instructions to the field and that the dialogue come to an end. If Mr. Armstrong had objections, he should have raised them when we had the meeting which was for that purpose.

We feel that we have a viable, workable program which accomplishes the purposes which Mr. Gray had in mind. It will close out any "listening post" concept and enable the field to concentrate on areas where the need is greatest. Furthermore, this proposed program has been discussed in detail at last weeks session of the Black Extremist, Urban Guerrilla Warfare and Informant Matters School and those in attendance who are field supervisors and key investigative personnel were all in agreement that the proposed Extremist Informant Program is a sound one.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached SAC memorandum be approved and sent.

RFD.  
JLD

1 - Mr. D.M. Armst  
1 - Mr. L.M. Walte  
1 - Mr. N. P. Call  
1 - Mr. T. J. Jenk

(Typed March 6, 1973)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge: 1 - Mr. E. S. Mille  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
RE: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM 1 - Mr. R. F. Olmer

Effective immediately changes in the Extremist Informant Program as set out below are to be implemented.

The revised Extremist Informant Program eliminates the urban (ghetto) informant category and will now be limited to the following three categories:

- (a) potential extremist informant (PEI)
- (b) extremist informant (EI)
- (c) confidential sources-extremist (CS-E)

Potential Extremist Informant:

A PEI is an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and organizations as well as information of an extremist nature in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence.

The personal authority of the SAC is necessary to designate and operate an individual as a PEI with exceptions as noted below. These informants are to be operated for a period of not more than one year and not less than six months providing the informant's potential is such that it appears he will qualify for elevation to EI. The PEI must be discontinued immediately following a determination that he has no future potential as an EI.

- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Baker \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Marshall \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bowers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Herington \_\_\_\_\_
- Ms. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mintz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

RFO:klk KHK  
(69)

*Not Sent.  
revised and sent as  
SAC memo 31-73(A)  
7-21-73 RFO*

*GCM*

SEE NOTE ON PAGE FOUR

*254X1*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

*RFO*

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program.

The following are exceptions to the SAC's authority for granting the approval of the operation of a PEI. If any of the following conditions exist, the SAC must submit his recommendation to FBI Headquarters on a UACB basis:

1. Any individual in a sensitive position (i.e. news media, educational field or any other field where disclosure as an informant would cause concern to the Bureau).
2. Any individual being placed in an extremist organization or any individual presently in an extremist organization.
3. Any individual who has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years.
4. Any individual who is presently under indictment or is on probation or parole, Federal or local.
5. Any individual with an unsavory background yet who is in a position to furnish uniquely valuable information not available from other sources.

The SAC has authority to authorize payments to PEIs in the amount of up to \$400. Additional payment authority must be obtained from FBI Headquarters.

Bureau authority is necessary to elevate a PEI to an EI. The field recommendation must contain full justification. If PEI does not qualify as an EI within one year, he is to be discontinued.

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

Extremist Informant:

An EI is an individual who has been operated as a PEI for at least six months (in order that his reliability can be properly evaluated) and is furnishing extremist information on a regular basis whether it be concerning an extremist organization or an unaffiliated extremist. In order to elevate a PEI to an EI, he must have produced authentic data on extremist activities and be in a position to continue furnishing extremist intelligence information.

Confidential Sources-Extremist:

A CS-E is an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Bureau by furnishing extremist information coming to his attention by virtue of his position in the community, by his employment, or in view of his background. This individual, whose identity must be protected, will not be actively seeking information on behalf of the Bureau.

CS-Es are not to be kept in a pending status unless they are furnishing information on a regular basis. Sources reporting infrequently may be operated from a pending file with a provision for closing after a fixed period of inactivity, out of a dead file or out of a control file. Each SAC should determine which method of operation is best suited for his individual needs. You may also desire to establish an informant map which will clearly depict coverage in any geographical area within your division.

You are instructed to carefully evaluate each of your urban (ghetto) informants to determine if they should be considered for redesignation as EIs, PEIs, CS-Es, directed to the Security or Criminal Informant Programs, or discontinued altogether.

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

Under the revised program no individual is to be operated as an EI or a PEI solely because he is in a "listening post" position. It is your responsibility to insure that there is informant coverage in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence. Alert all Special Agent personnel to the need for developing information where there is a potential for violence. Instruct those Special Agents not directly involved with extremist matters to refer those individuals who may possess information of potential violence to the Extremist Supervisor in order that the informant potential of these individuals may be assessed.

Those informants currently carried as probationary extremist informants should either be designated as PEIs or elevated to EIs.

There are no contemplated changes in the existing extremist informant requirements as they pertain to background investigation, payments or other administrative policy.

• Appropriate Manual changes follow.

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

NOTE:

See memorandum E. S. Miller to Mr. W. M. Felt captioned as above, dated 3/6/73 prepared by RFO:klk.





## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

(Typed March 6, 1973)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge:

RE: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM

Effective immediately changes in the Extremist Informant Program as set out below are to be implemented.

The revised Extremist Informant Program eliminates the urban (ghetto) informant category and will now be limited to the following three categories:

- (a) potential extremist informant (PEI)
- (b) extremist informant (EI)
- (c) confidential sources-extremist (CS-E)

Potential Extremist Informant:

A PEI is an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and organizations as well as information of an extremist nature in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence.

The personal authority of the SAC is necessary to designate and operate an individual as a PEI with exceptions as noted below. These informants are to be operated for a period of not more than one year and not less than six months providing the informant's potential is such that it appears he will qualify for elevation to EI. The PEI must be discontinued immediately following a determination that he has no future potential as an EI.

*File.*  
*This was reversed and*  
*sent 7-30-73 as SAC Memo*  
*31-73(A) PFD*

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

The following are exceptions to the SAC's authority for granting the approval of the operation of a PEI. If any of the following conditions exist, the SAC must submit his recommendation to FBI Headquarters on a UACB basis:

1. Any individual in a sensitive position (i.e. news media, educational field or any other field where disclosure as an informant would cause concern to the Bureau).
2. Any individual being placed in an extremist organization or any individual presently in an extremist organization.
3. Any individual who has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years.
4. Any individual who is presently under indictment or is on probation or parole, Federal or local.
5. Any individual with an unsavory background yet who is in a position to furnish uniquely valuable information not available from other sources.

The SAC has authority to authorize payments to PEIs in the amount of up to \$400. Additional payment authority must be obtained from FBI Headquarters.

Bureau authority is necessary to elevate a PEI to an EI. The field recommendation must contain full justification. If PEI does not qualify as an EI within one year, he is to be discontinued.

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

Extremist Informant:

An EI is an individual who has been operated as a PEI for at least six months (in order that his reliability can be properly evaluated) and is furnishing extremist information on a regular basis whether it be concerning an extremist organization or an unaffiliated extremist. In order to elevate a PEI to an EI, he must have produced authentic data on extremist activities and be in a position to continue furnishing extremist intelligence information.

Confidential Sources-Extremist:

A CS-E is an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Bureau by furnishing extremist information coming to his attention by virtue of his position in the community, by his employment, or in view of his background. This individual, whose identity must be protected, will not be actively seeking information on behalf of the Bureau.

CS-Es are not to be kept in a pending status unless they are furnishing information on a regular basis. Sources reporting infrequently may be operated from a pending file with a provision for closing after a fixed period of inactivity, out of a dead file or out of a control file. Each SAC should determine which method of operation is best suited for his individual needs. You may also desire to establish an informant map which will clearly depict coverage in any geographical area within your division.

You are instructed to carefully evaluate each of your urban (ghetto) informants to determine if they should be considered for redesignation as EIs, PEIs, CS-Es, directed to the Security or Criminal Informant Programs, or discontinued altogether.

Memorandum to All Special Agents in Charge  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

Under the revised program no individual is to be operated as an EI or a PEI solely because he is in a "listening post" position. It is your responsibility to insure that there is informant coverage in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence. Alert all Special Agent personnel to the need for developing information where there is a potential for violence. Instruct those Special Agents not directly involved with extremist matters to refer those individuals who may possess information of potential violence to the Extremist Supervisor in order that the informant potential of these individuals may be assessed.

Those informants currently carried as probationary extremist informants should either be designated as PEIs or elevated to EIs.

There are no contemplated changes in the existing extremist informant requirements as they pertain to background investigation, payments or other administrative policy.

Appropriate Manual changes follow.

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

FROM : G. C. Moore *CCNY*

SUBJECT: EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM

- 1 - Mr. J. T. Jacobson
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
  
- DATE: 7/20/73
  
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. F. Olmert

Assoc.  
Asst. Dir.  
Adm. Serv.  
Comp. Syst.  
Files & Com.  
Gen. Inv.  
Ident.  
Inspec.  
Intell.  
Laboratory  
Plan. & Insp.  
Spec. Inv.  
Training  
Legal Coun.  
Cong. & Public Aff.  
Corr. & Crim. Justice  
Research & Statistics  
Press Off.  
Telephone Rm.  
Director's Sec'y

Set forth below is a revised Extremist Informant Program designed to be beneficial to the Bureau's operation both in the field and at FBIHQ. This program was formulated at a conference attended by Messrs. Walters, Miller, and a representative of Acting Director Gray's Office.

The new revised Extremist Informant Program eliminates urban (ghetto) informants and is limited to potential extremist informants (PEI), extremist informants (EI), and confidential sources-extremist (CS-E).

Definitions and qualifications for these new informant categories are as follows:

Potential Extremist Informant:

ST-102

REC 68

A PEI is an individual who is in a position to furnish information concerning extremist activities of individuals and organizations. A PEI should also be utilized to furnish information of an extremist nature in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence.

6 AUG 2 1973

The personal authority of the SAC is necessary to designate and operate an individual as a PEI with exceptions as noted below. These informants are to be operated for a period of not more than one year and not less than six months providing their potential is such that it appears they will qualify for elevation to EI. A PEI must be discontinued immediately following a determination that he has no future potential as an EI and those PEIs not elevated at the end of one year must be discontinued.

Enclosure - *sent 7-27-73*  
RFO:klk K L K  
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

57 AUG 10 1973

*5 - Miller*  
*OC [unclear]*

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

The following are exceptions to the SAC's authority for granting the approval of the operation of a PEI. If any of the following conditions exist, the SAC must obtain authority from FBIHQ prior to operating any individual as a PEI:

1. Any individual in a sensitive position (i.e. news media, educational field or any other field where disclosure as an informant could cause concern to the Bureau).
2. Any individual contemplating membership in, being considered for membership in, or presently in an extremist organization.
3. Any individual who has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years.
4. Any individual who is presently under indictment or is on probation or parole, Federal or local.
5. Any individual with an unsavory background yet who is in a position to furnish uniquely valuable information not available from other sources.

The Special Agent in Charge has authority to authorize payments to PEIs in the amount of up to \$400. Additional payment authority must be obtained from FBIHQ.

Bureau authority is necessary to elevate a PEI to an EI. The field recommendation must contain full justification. If a PEI does not qualify for EI within one year, he must be discontinued.

Extremist Informant:

An EI is an individual who has been operated as a PEI for at least six months (in order that his reliability can be properly evaluated) and is furnishing extremist information on a regular basis whether it be concerning an extremist

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

organization or an unaffiliated extremist. In order to elevate a PEI to an EI, he must have produced authentic data on extremist activities and be in a position to continue furnishing extremist intelligence information.

Confidential Source-Extremist:

A CS-E is an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Bureau by furnishing extremist information brought to his attention by virtue of his position in the community, by his employment, or in view of his background in extremist activities. This individual, whose identity must be protected, will not be actively seeking information on behalf of the Bureau. Prior to operating anyone as a CS-E, advise FBIHQ of the individual's identity and the type of information he is to furnish on a UACB basis.

OBSERVATIONS:

Our present urban informants will be evaluated to determine if they should be considered in the future as EIs, PEIs, CS-Es, directed to the Security or Criminal Informant Programs, or discontinued altogether.

No individual will be operated as an EI or PEI solely because he is in a "listening post" position. To assure we have informant coverage in those areas where there is a potential for violence, instructions have been issued to each SAC to insure all Special Agent personnel are aware of the need for developing information where there is a potential for violence. SACs will be instructed that those Special Agents not directly involved with extremist matters, refer those individuals who may possess information of potential violence to the Extremist Supervisor in order that their informant potential may be assessed.

The field will be instructed that CS-Es are not to be kept in a pending status unless these sources are furnishing information on a regular basis. Sources reporting infrequently may be operated from a pending file with a

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Extremist Informant Program

provision for closing after a fixed period of inactivity, out of a dead file or out of a control file. Each SAC should determine which method of operation is best suited for his individual needs. SACs may desire to establish an informant map which will clearly depict coverage in any geographical area within their division.

Evaluation of our present urban informants is to be handled promptly and completed within sixty days.

Those informants currently carried as probationary extremist informants should either be designated as PEIs or elevated to EIs.

If the above revisions to the Extremist Informant Program are approved, appropriate Manual changes will be made.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached memorandum to all SACs be approved in accordance with above.

RFD

NPC  
ew

WRW

MPC  
HHS

OSF

EM

DM





## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 31, 1973

## MEMORANDUM TO ALL SPECIAL AGENTS IN CHARGE

(A) EXTREMIST INFORMANT PROGRAM -- Effective immediately changes in the Extremist Informant Program as set out below are to be implemented.

The revised Extremist Informant Program eliminates the urban (ghetto) informant category and will now be limited to the following three categories:

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- (c) confidential source-extremist (CS-E)

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The personal authority of the SAC is necessary to designate and operate an individual as a PEI with exceptions as noted below. These informants are to be operated for a period of not more than one year and not less than six months providing their potential is such that it appears they will qualify for elevation to EI. The PEI must be discontinued immediately following a determination that he has no future potential as an EI.

The following are exceptions to the SAC's authority for granting the approval of the operation of a PEI. If any of the following conditions exist, the SAC must obtain authority from FBIHQ prior to operating any individual as a PEI:

1. Any individual in a sensitive position (i. e. news media, educational field or any other field where disclosure as an informant could cause concern to the Bureau).

7/31/73

MEMORANDUM 31-73

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341 3

2. Any individual contemplating membership in, being considered for membership in, or presently in an extremist organization.

3. Any individual who has been charged with a felony violation in the past five years.

4. Any individual who is presently under indictment or is on probation or parole, Federal or local.

5. Any individual with an unsavory background yet who is in a position to furnish uniquely valuable information not available from other sources.

The SAC has authority to authorize payments to PEIs in the amount of up to \$400. Additional payment authority must be obtained from FBI Headquarters.

Bureau authority is necessary to elevate a PEI to an EI. The field recommendation must contain full justification. If PEI does not qualify as an EI within one year, he is to be discontinued.

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A CS-E is an individual who is willing to cooperate with the Bureau by furnishing extremist information coming to his attention by virtue of his position in the community, by his employment, or in view of his background. This individual, whose identity must be protected, will not be actively seeking information on behalf of the Bureau. Prior to operating anyone as a CS-E, advise FBI Headquarters of the individual's identity and the type of information he is to furnish on a UACB basis.

7/31/73

MEMORANDUM 31-73

- 2 -

CS-Es are not to be kept in a pending status unless they are furnishing information on a regular basis. Sources reporting infrequently may be operated from a pending file with a provision for closing after a fixed period of inactivity, out of a dead file or out of a control file. Each SAC should determine which method of operation is best suited for his individual needs. You may also desire to establish an informant map which will clearly depict coverage in any geographical area within your division.

You are instructed to carefully evaluate each of your urban (ghetto) informants to determine if they should be considered for redesignation as EIs, PEIs, CS-Es, directed to the Security or Criminal Informant Programs, or discontinued altogether. This should be handled promptly and be completed within sixty days of receipt of this communication.

Under the revised program no individual is to be operated as an EI or a PEI solely because he is in a "listening post" position. It is your responsibility to insure that there is informant coverage in those geographical areas where there is a potential for violence. Alert all Special Agent personnel to the need for developing information where there is a potential for violence. Instruct those Special Agents not directly involved with extremist matters to refer those individuals who may possess information of potential violence to the Extremist Supervisor in order that the informant potential of these individuals may be assessed.

Those informants currently carried as probationary extremist informants should either be designated as PEIs or elevated as EIs.

Appropriate Manual changes follow.

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

7/31/73  
MEMORANDUM 31-73

- 3 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/19/70

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

To recommend each Section in Division furnish its recommendations and observations by noon, 2/24/70, regarding criteria for entering record of individuals, vehicles, etc., into the Stop Index and regarding each specific matter raised in the attached memorandum captioned "Stop Index File."

SA W. H. Atkinson attended a preliminary meeting at NCIC on 2/18/70, with representatives of other Divisions, as a result of the Director's approval of the recommendations set forth in the attached Executives Conference Memorandum dated 2/12/70. Notes regarding 2/18/70 meeting; Wanted Person File - Record Format which records information desired by NCIC when wanted notification is entered into NCIC; and, list prepared by NCIC containing identifying data it feels should be considered for the purpose of entering a stop into the Stop Index are also attached.

Representatives of the various Divisions will meet at NCIC on 2/25/70 for the purpose of considering specific recommendations of each Division and for the purpose of establishing criteria and procedures to be utilized in connection with this Index.

**ACTION:**

It is recommended each Section review the attachments and furnish its recommendations in line with the above.

Enclosures - 5

WHA: cas  
(12)

- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. W.A. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. R.D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. A.W. Gray
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall

JAN 2 1971

53 JAN 5 1971

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-110866

MCT REC 11 62-115784-2  
2584

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

NCIC CONFERENCE 2/18/70

49 field offices currently have NCIC terminals. Remainder of continental offices scheduled to be hooked into the system by end of March, 1970.

Majority of field office terminals are hooked into State Police or major city PD terminals. This raises security factor as any replies by NCIC to field offices connected with local terminals would be available to local agency, as well as field office.

Majority of discussion related to types of stops each Division considered placing in the Stop Index File.

The attached wanted personed file - record format sets forth data NCIC would like to include in proposed stop file. The more data furnished will obviously result in a quality Stop Index File. NCIC personnel indicated on attached list of identifying features that we should consider all items on list starting with "Message Key" and ending with "visible scars, marks, deformities." They emphasized, however, Zip Code is very helpful as it defines a specific area in which subject of stop resides.

Concerning automobiles, the more data furnished concerning the automobile will result in a quality search against the file, as a minimum ~~which~~ would require current license plate number, state where issued, date license plate expires and a description of the car, particularly, year, make, model, style and color. The vehicle identification number (VIN) should always be included in stop when known.

Stops cannot be entered by field offices. Must be entered at Seat of Government by NCIC personnel after appropriate Division approves stop.

Concerning cars, NCIC suggested that Divisions consider entering ~~more~~ sensitive automobile registrations under a code name or as an unsub. This Division might consider this in regard to diplomatic automobiles registered in the file. NCIC personnel emphasized that we must bear in mind that there is a possibility that a reply will be furnished the inquiring agency which would identify the individual or organization to whom a car in the Stop Index is registered.

For info, Division 9 is considering placing stops regarding LCN members, Selective Service fugitives and approximately 25 percent of remainder of Selective Service subjects who are wanted for interview. Division 6 is considering adding known bank robbers and burglars and jewel thieves.

Discussion at the conference was limited to item one in the attached memo captioned "Stop Index File."

At the next conference on Wednesday, 2/25/70, each Division representative is to be prepared to discuss his Division's recommendations concerning the various items listed in the attached memo captioned "Stops Index File."

NCIC suggested other Divisions consider amending any current Bureau forms which could be utilized in connection with the Stop Index. For example, consideration should be given to amending FD-165 (Form to Place Wanted Stop in Identification Division) so it could be used to place the Ident stop and to also place a stop against subject in the NCIC Stop Index File. In this Division, we might consider amending FD-397 (form utilized to place subject on Agitator Index) so that the form may be utilized to place subject on the Agitator Index and to also place him in the Stop Index File at NCIC.

Message Key

Stop File Category #

Originating Agency

Date of Entry

Name

Originating Agency Case #

Sex

Race

Miscellaneous

Nationality

License Plate #

Date of Birth

License Plate State

Height

License Plate Year Exp.

Weight

License Plate Typ

Color Hair

Vehicle Identification #

Color Eyes

Year

Skin Tone

Make

FBI #

Model

Fingerprint Classification

Style

Miscellaneous #

Color

Social Security #

NCIC #

Operator's License #

Operator's License State

Operator's License Year

Visible Scars, Marks,  
Deformities

Telephone #

Zip Code

STOP INDEX FILE

- I. Determine specific needs of investigative divisions for file:
  - A. Criteria for entry for each class of data.
  - B. Suggested minimum data elements for entry for each class of data.
- II. Obtain Director's approval of the recommendations made by investigative divisions for classes of data to be entered in file.
- III. Determine from investigative divisions for each class of data to be entered how investigative divisions want to be notified of a "hit" on a record within their investigative jurisdiction:
  - A. By having NCIC Control Room furnish information immediately by telephone only to substantive desk or Duty Agent.
  - B. By having NCIC Control Room furnish information to substantive desk or Duty Agent:
    1. Immediately by telephone and
    2. Follow up by sending copy of printout to substantive desk by next available messenger (may be next normal working day).
- IV. Determine from investigative divisions for each class of data to be entered how they want the field office to be notified of a "hit" on its record:



- A. In accordance with wishes of that field office as indicated in its request for entry
  1. By substantive desk or Duty Agent in the interested investigative division.
  2. By NCIC Control Room personnel
    - (a) After advising substantive desk or Duty Agent of "hit"
    - (b) Without first advising desk or Duty Agent of "hit"
- B. In accordance with wishes of the interested investigative division
  1. To be set for each class separately
  2. To be set for all classes the same
  3. To be decided by substantive desk or Duty Agent on basis of the entry
- C. Alternative media of notification
  1. Telephone
  2. Teletype
    - (a) NCIC or
    - (b) Files and Communications
  3. Airtel (next workday)
  4. Letter (next workday)
  5. Airtel enclosing printout (next workday)
  6. Letter enclosing printout (next workday)

- V. Obtain approval of entry format by investigative divisions and coordinate with Voucher-Statistical Section.
- VI. Have programming done by Voucher-Statistical Section.
- VII. Develop form to be used by field offices in submitting information to NCIC Control Room for entry and obtain approval to use form.
- VIII. Have copies of entry form printed for distribution to field offices.
- IX. Determine whether forms are needed for the field for purpose of having their records modified and canceled.
- X. Determine frequency and date(s) of validating file.
- XI. Obtain suggested effective date from Voucher-Statistical Section (dependent upon completion of programming and system testing).
- XII. Prepare SAC Letter attaching approved forms and advising of effective date of file.
- XIII. Prepare manual changes.

Memorandum

*Handwritten initials and routing marks*

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| Callahan   |  |
| Conrad     |  |
| Felt       |  |
| Gale       |  |
| Rosen      |  |
| Sullivan   |  |
| Tavel      |  |
| Soyars     |  |
| Tele. Room |  |
| Holmes     |  |
| Gandy      |  |

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: February 12, 1970

FROM : The Executives Conference

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

The Executives Conference, presided over by Mr. Tolson, and consisting of Messrs. DeLoach, Mohr, Bishop, Callahan, Casper, Conrad, Felt, Gale, Rosen, Sullivan, Tavel, Walters, Beaver and Soyars, met in your office today. Mr. Bishop proposed the establishment of a Stop Index in the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) computer which would take advantage of the surveillance capability of the NCIC, to which over 10 million inquiries were directed in 1969 concerning persons arrested locally, suspicious persons and vehicles observed in police operations. These observations of persons and things can provide valuable intelligence information to the FBI and save a considerable amount of investigative time.

The investigative divisions of the Bureau are interested in locating suspects for interview, such as Selective Service delinquents; etc., but on whom no warrant is outstanding; in any police contacts with Soviet Bloc cars and personnel; in any police contacts with, or movement of, agitators; in police contacts with Cosa Nostra members; and in the movements of criminal suspects such as bank burglars, sex perverts, etc. The identity of such individuals or the license numbers of the cars used by them can be entered into the NCIC computer. Should an inquiry be made by a police agency anywhere in the country with respect to these records, the NCIC computer would advise the inquiring police agency "no warrant," "no want outstanding" or "no stolen record." At the same time, the computer would advise a monitor terminal located in the NCIC control room that an inquiry was received, identifying the police agency, the time and the information used to make the inquiry. This information would be furnished to the appropriate investigative division which, in turn, would advise the field to follow up with the inquiring agency as to the nature of the inquiry and whether the subject is in custody. Each of the investigative divisions would establish the criteria for entering a record into the Stop Index and all entries of Stop Index records in the NCIC would be done through the NCIC control room for control purposes, with no entries being made directly by the field offices.

- |                  |                  |                |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 - Mr. Tolson   | 1 - Mr. Casper   | 1 - Mr. Beaver |
| 1 - Mr. DeLoach  | 1 - Mr. Gale     | 1 - Mr. Daunt  |
| 1 - Mr. Mohr     | 1 - Mr. Rosen    | 1 - Mr. Bishop |
| 1 - Mr. Callahan | 1 - Mr. Sullivan |                |

TEB:mls  
(13)

↓ ↓  
CONTINUED - OVER

Memo for Mr. Tolson

RE: Stop Index

National Crime Information Center (NCIC)

In order to program (instruct) the NCIC computer to handle such a Stop Index for the FBI, it would cost approximately \$1320 of employee time. Computer storage is available and would not be extensive since it is estimated by the investigative divisions that the Stop Index file would not exceed 10,000 entries during the first year.

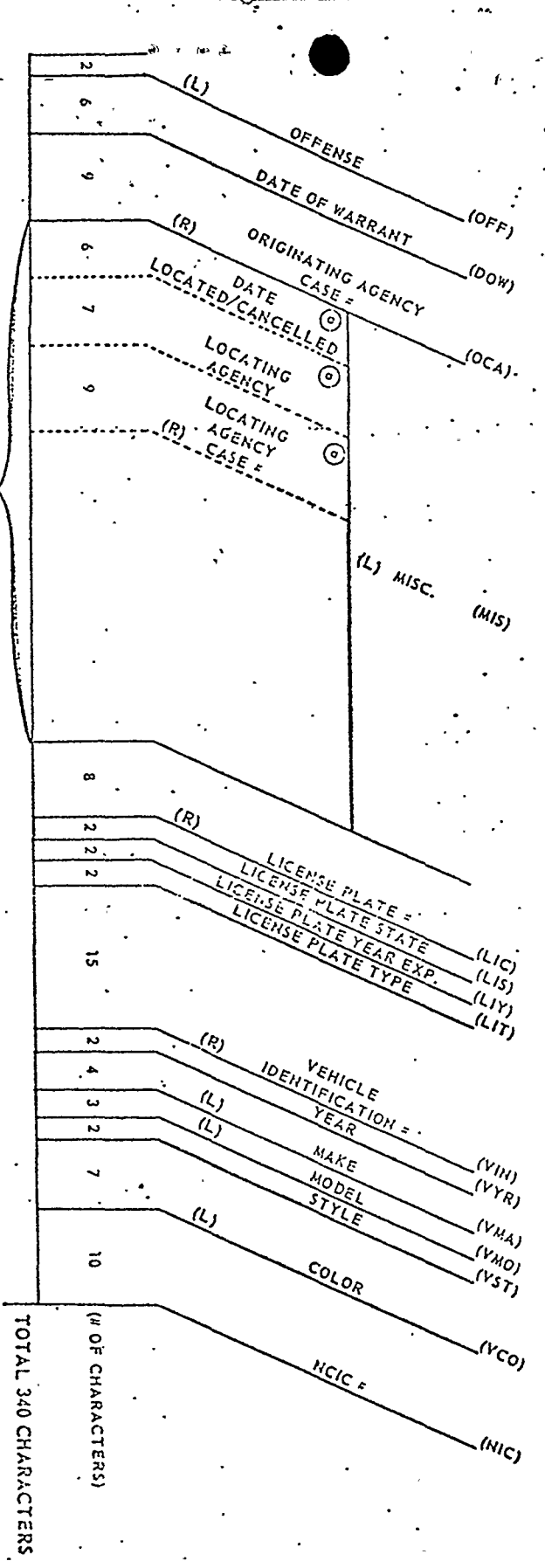
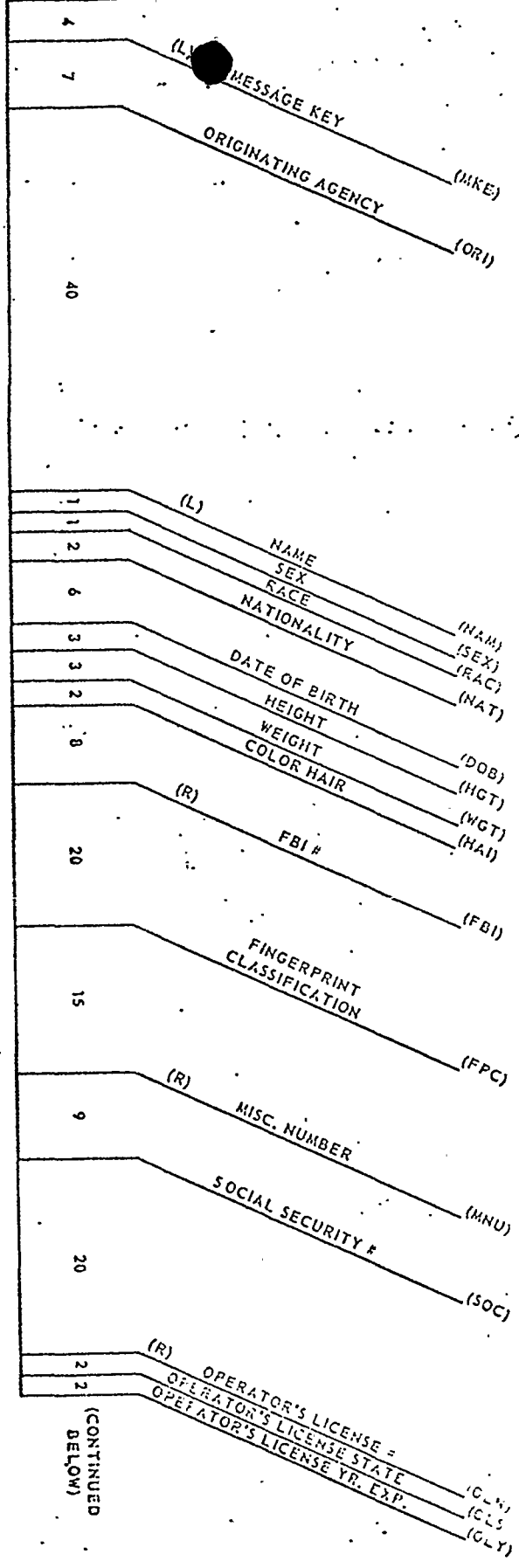
It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that the above-proposed Stop Index in the NCIC should be established.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

That the Domestic Intelligence, Special Investigative, General Investigative, Administrative and Crime Records Divisions work out the necessary details to place the Stop Index into effect, with criteria and procedures for implementing the program to be sent through for approval.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
✓  
T&B  
1/27/85  
OK  
ds

WANTED PERSON FILE-RECORD FORMAT



① LOCATE/CANCEL DATA IS ENTERED IN MISCELLANEOUS FIELD AND REPLACES DATA PREVIOUSLY ENTERED THEREIN.

121 (NOT SHOWN IN TRUE SCALE TO CONSERVE SPACE)

(L) DATA NOT FILLING FIELD IS LEFT JUSTIFIED.  
 (R) DATA NOT FILLING FIELD IS RIGHT JUSTIFIED.  
 IF N/A OR B/P INDICATED, DATA MUST FILL FIELD.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Bishop *MB*

DATE: 4/13/71

FROM : J. J. Daunt *JJ*

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX  
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC)

Programming (preparing instructions for) the computer for the Stop Index has been completed. This computer application, which has been approved by the Director by memorandum dated 2/12/70 (attached), provides the capability of having the computer notify the NCIC Control Room when an inquiry is made from any terminal in the NCIC system relative to a non-fugitive Bureau subject whose descriptors have been placed in this index.

For example, a police officer in Boston arrests an out-of-state individual on a minor charge, e.g. drunkenness. He routinely requests an NCIC check relative to the arrested person to determine whether he is wanted elsewhere. Assume that this individual is a Selective Service subject wanted only for interview and has been entered in the Stop Index. No warrants are outstanding for this individual and, therefore, no Wanted Person entry has been made for him previously in NCIC. The officer would receive a negative response to his Wanted Person File inquiry ("NO NCIC WANT"). At the same time as the "NO NCIC WANT" is sent to the Boston Police Department the NCIC Control Room would be notified by the NCIC computer of the inquiry made against the Wanted Person File because a stop was entered in the Stop Index. The NCIC Control Room would advise the appropriate FBI office immediately of the Boston Police Department inquiry so that the Bureau's interests could be secured before the arrested person is released.

Initially, it is proposed that descriptors of Selective Service subjects who are being sought for interview be placed in this file. Both of the following criteria must be met.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Callahan

- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Walters
- 1 - Mr. Row
- 1 - Mr. Daunt

(CONTINUED-OVER)

CRIME RESEARCH

XEROX  
OCT 4 1973  
BJY:blj  
(9)

57 MAY 11 1971

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-115784-4

Daunt to Mr. Bishop Memo  
Re: Stop Index  
National Crime Information Center (NCIC)

1. The subject must be in a non-fugitive status (Identities of those in fugitive status are placed in the Wanted Person file).
2. The subject's whereabouts is unknown.

Proposed procedures for implementing this program are as follows:

1. The Special Investigative Division, in coordination with the Crime Records Division, will instruct the field to submit to the Bureau (Attention: NCIC) the identities of those Selective Service subjects meeting the above criteria.
2. NCIC Control Room personnel will enter the descriptors of these subjects in the Stop Index via an NCIC Control Room terminal.
3. NCIC Control Room personnel will notify the appropriate field office when a "hit" is made.

The productivity of the Stop Index can be tested on these numerous Selective Service Subjects who are wanted for questioning only.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above criteria and procedures for implementing the Stop Index be approved.

*JFB*  
*JAN*  
*msc*  
*JAS*  
*OK*  
*BE*  
*WEL*  
*TEB*  
*V*  
*LOS*  
*WBS*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: January 6, 1972

FROM : The Executives Conference

STOP INDEX

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RENAMING THE "NCIC STOP INDEX"  
AND INCLUSION OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OF  
INTEREST TO CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

~~ALTERED CRIME INTELLIGENCE BOARD STOP INDEX~~

- Tolson
- Felt
- Rosen
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Miller, E.S.
- Callahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Dalbey
- Cleveland
- Ponder
- Bates
- Waikart
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

*Handwritten notes:* Road map, J. J. B. B. B., M. J. J. J.

Those in attendance at the conference on January 6, 1972, included Messrs. Felt, Callahan for Mohr, Bates for Rosen, Soyars, Bishop, Casper, Ponder, Conrad, Shroder for Bates, Waikart, Walters, Miller, Bassett for Callahan, Mintz for Dalbey, and Staffeld for Cleveland.

The conference considered the suggestion that certain organized crime subjects be included in the NCIC Stop Index to assist in being alerted to inquiries directed to NCIC from police departments and other sources. The proposal was made by the Special Investigative Division.

### Background of Proposal:

Over the years, subjects of interest to our organized crime investigations have been frequently on the move from one part of the country to another and on occasion have been subject of arrest or law enforcement inquiry. While stops are maintained in the Identification Division and elsewhere, when feasible, this gives us only limited capability in learning of such law enforcement interest. It has been ascertained that the NCIC Stop Index can now accommodate inclusion of organized crime figures which may assist in learning of any inquiry directed to NCIC with respect to organized crime subjects whom we may include in the NCIC Stop Index.

Mr. Bishop raised the question as to whether or not this might give rise to the possibility of outside criticism if it were learned that the NCIC facility was being used for the Bureau's internal use in this manner.

- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 1 - Mr. Dalbey
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Miller
- 1 - Mr. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. Waikart
- 1 - Mr. Walters
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. Staffeld

AAS:dlb

CONTINUED - OVER

*Handwritten:* Copy file in 66-2554-

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 66-2554-110756

MCT 62-715784-5

FEB 24 1972

XEROX  
OCT 4 1973

58 FEB 20 1972

*Handwritten:* NICE



Executives Conference Memorandum  
RE: PROPOSED RENAMING THE "NCIC STOP INDEX"  
AND INCLUSION OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OF  
INTEREST TO CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

bearing in mind that the NCIC has been publicly identified as a facility which will give prompt response to any law enforcement inquiry as to whether or not process is outstanding on an individual on whom an NCIC inquiry might be made.

Suggested Alternative to Present NCIC Stop Index:

Mr. Walters pointed out that there can be no guarantee of positive security (immune from dissemination through error or penetration) applicable to sensitive data if it is stored on line in any computer system with remote terminals. Also, we emphasize in public statements that no persons are lodged in the NCIC system unless they meet the announced criteria, pursuant to guidelines established by the Advisory Policy Board, and the Bureau would be sorely embarrassed if it were discovered we were not strictly abiding by our public pronouncements. He pointed out these arguments applied with equal force to persons already included in the Stop Index as well as to additions now being proposed for it. As a solution, Walters proposed the entire Stop Index, which is strictly a Bureau investigative aid, be removed from NCIC and made a separate program stored off line in the computers. At the end of each day (or at any established interval), a computer program could be used to compare that day's inquiries into NCIC (from the automatic log of such traffic maintained on tape) against the separate Bureau Stop Index. Any "hits" would be routed to the interested investigative division for follow-up notification to the field. The only disadvantage from the way the system has been operating is that the field would not receive immediate notification. Assistant Directors of all investigative divisions agreed, however, that the time element is not that critical with respect to persons carried in the Stop Index.

The advantage to the change would be to make the Stop Index completely separate from NCIC and thus provide 100% assurance against NCIC mechanical accident which could reveal our internal Bureau Stop Index program to NCIC user agencies.

Matters Previously Authorized for Inclusion in the NCIC Stop Index:

It was noted that at the present time as a result of previous approval, certain representatives of the New Left, Weatherman, Medburg subjects, Venceremos Brigade members, Top Jewel thieves, Selective Service delinquents and miscellaneous persons on whom the field may place a special stop are included in the NCIC Stop Index. Mr. Miller pointed out

Executives Conference Memorandum

RE: PROPOSED RENAMING THE "NCIC STOP INDEX"  
AND INCLUSION OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OF  
INTEREST TO CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

that the results of stops pertaining to subjects of interest to the Domestic Intelligence Division turned up information with respect to the whereabouts of these subjects which on a timely basis would not have been available from any other source. The Special Investigative Division pointed out that it desires the same capability for selected La Cosa Nostra members, Top Echelon informants, material witnesses who are under assumed names and other selected organized crime figures.

Relative Costs:

The changeover in the manner suggested would enable the Stop Index to be operated through our ADP facilities. The Administrative Division has advised that this would be a much cheaper operation on a day-to-day basis than present costs of on line computer time which is being utilized by the NCIC Stop Index.

Conclusion of Executives Conference:

The conference was unanimous in agreeing that the NCIC Stop Index should be set up as a separate entity and renamed "Stop Index" and that the names on the Stop Index in addition to those individuals now included should incorporate those individuals of interest to our criminal intelligence investigations. The conference also agreed that the Stop Index should in the future be run periodically during the day possibly at 12-hour intervals against the inquiries directed by outside agencies to the NCIC during the previous 12-hour period and the results provided to the interested Division for appropriate handling.

WVC  
pad

LT  
PROT  
7

OK

*[Handwritten signature]*

R  
CWS

WBS  
TER

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Soyars *wb*

DATE: 3/27/72

FROM : M. F. Row *mf*

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX MATTER

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Tolson       | _____ |
| Felt         | _____ |
| Rosen        | _____ |
| Mohr         | _____ |
| Bishop       | _____ |
| Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Callahan     | _____ |
| Casper       | _____ |
| Conrad       | _____ |
| Dalbey       | _____ |
| Cleveland    | _____ |
| Ponder       | _____ |
| Bates        | _____ |
| Waikart      | _____ |
| Walters      | _____ |
| Soyars       | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Holmes       | _____ |
| Gandy        | _____ |

CAMPBELL

With the approval of the Director, the National Crime Information Center Stop Index File has been renamed the Stop Index File, and the operation of the file has been assigned to the Voucher-Statistical Section, Computer Systems Division. The attached SAC letter advises the field of these facts and explains the new procedures involved in handling the Stop Index File. *ow*

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached SAC letter be approved and forwarded.

Enclosures

*JMB*  
JMB:njw *njw*  
(3)

*V*  
*EM* *WBS*  
*OK*  
*WVC*  
*62-115784-6*  
*MGT*  
*IJE*  
*RSG*  
*J*  
*82*  
*AS*  
*980*  
*REC-26*  
*7*  
*R*  
*WSE*  
*12/*  
*mf*

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*sent 3-29-72*

*33*  
66 APR 6 1972 *19*  
APR 4 1972

(C) STOP INDEX MATTER -- The Voucher-Statistical Section is now handling the operation of the Stop Index File, which was formerly called the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) Stop Index File. One copy of any communication concerning the entry, modification, and removal of Stop Index subject should be designated for the Computer Systems Division, attention Voucher-Statistical Section. Selective Service and Venceremos Brigade entries, modifications, and cancellations may be submitted by form FD-165, while Category I Administrative Index (ADEX) extremist subjects should be submitted by form FD-122. All other categories should be submitted by letter or airtel. Subjects which have presently been approved for entry into the Stop File are:

- Selective Service Delinquents
- Venceremos Brigade Members
- Medberg Case Individuals
- Weatherman
- Category I ADEX Extremist Subjects
- Top Jewel Thieves
- Top Echelon Informants
- Selected Organized Crime Figures, such as  
LaCosa Nostra Members

No other categories of subjects will be entered into the file without prior Bureau approval. As in the past, NCIC inquiries which match ("hit") a record in the Stop Index File will result in a response to the inquirer that there is no NCIC record. The Field Office which entered the record into the Stop Index File will be notified of the "hit" by teletype.

You are reminded that should a Stop Index File individual later be entered into the NCIC Wanted Persons File, that individual should be removed from the Stop Index File.

In the future, validation listings will be provided on a regular basis to insure the accuracy and status of each Field Office's records.

4-4-72  
SAC LETTER 72-19

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: STOP INDEX FILE MATTER  
# 714-12

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

DATE: 4/6/72

- 1 - Mr. W. B. Soyars (Route through for review)
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. A. W. Gray
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. A. Brumble
- 1 - Mr. W. H. Atkinson

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Campbell \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mittler, W.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_
- Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_
- Ponder \_\_\_\_\_
- Bates \_\_\_\_\_
- Waikart \_\_\_\_\_
- Winters \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

STOP INDEX

To recommend all offices be instructed to insure all individuals actually involved in or suspected of involvement in urban guerrilla warfare be included in Stop Index File except those already included in National Crime Information Center (NCIC) Wanted Persons File.

*62-115784-8*

During past several months extremists involved in urban guerrilla warfare have traveled throughout U.S. and participated in attacks on police, bombings, robberies and other terrorist acts.

*MCTI REC-29 3213*

The need to exploit every means at our disposal to follow their activities and travel was emphasized at the recently concluded series of conferences with field supervisors handling urban guerrilla warfare matters. The inclusion of subjects involved in or suspected of involvement in urban guerrilla warfare activities in the Stop Index File would exploit this valuable investigative tool in securing timely information concerning whereabouts of such individuals.

16 APR 17 1972

Stop Index File is maintained and operated by Voucher Statistical Section, Computer Systems Division. This index is strictly an investigative aid for the Bureau. Inquiries made by police throughout U.S. of NCIC concerning individuals are

- Enclosure sent 4-11-72
- 1 - 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement)
- 1 - 100-446997 (New Left Movement - Violence)

*5- Atkinson*  
*3rd floor*

WHA:cal

XEROX (17) cal

OCT 4 1973

*55 APR 21 1972*

CONTINUED - OVER

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-110366

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Stop Index File Matter

independently searched by Voucher Statistical Section through Stop Index File to ascertain if any of the traffic concerned persons in whom the Bureau is interested. "Hits" are furnished only to interested field offices for follow-up investigation.

Category I, ADEX, extremist; and Weatherman subjects, as well as Venceremos Brigade members are currently included in Stop Index File and valuable intelligence has been secured as a result concerning their whereabouts and activities. Expansion of the Stop Index File to include those subjects known to be involved in or suspected of involvement in urban guerrilla warfare activities would materially assist in securing data regarding such individuals' whereabouts and activities on a timely basis. Stops concerning these subjects would pinpoint their possible participation in acts of violence in that area and should materially assist us in our investigative objectives. Subjects, however, who are wanted by Federal or local authorities are included in the NCIC Wanted Persons File and because of this they should not be duplicated in the Stop Index File. This has been discussed with Computer Systems Division.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be forwarded to all offices in accordance with the above.

*WMA*  
*W.R.W./A.J.D.*  
*DEM*  
*ops*  
*H*  
*R*  
*EM*  
*A*  
*WGC*  
*JMS*  
*WBS*  
*PETA*  
*7*

airtel

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

4/10/72

To: SAC, Albany

- 1 - Mr. W. B. Soyars (Route through for review)

From: Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper
- 1 - Mr. J. K. Ponder
- 1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. E.S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. T.J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. R.L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Gray
- 1 - Mr. G. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Brumble
- 1 - Mr. Atkinson

TOP INDEX FILE MATTER

As you are aware, extremists involved in urban guerrilla warfare have traveled throughout U.S. and participated in attacks on police, bombings, robberies and other terrorist acts.

Field supervisors attending a series of conferences at the Bureau concerning our investigative approach to urban guerrilla warfare activities recommended that we exploit every means at our disposal to follow the activities and travel of these subjects.

Currently Weatherman and Category I, ADEX, extremist subjects as well as members of Venceremos Brigade are included in the Stop Index File and valuable intelligence has been secured as a result concerning their whereabouts and activities. The Stop Index File is being expanded to include those subjects known to be involved in or suspected of involvement in urban guerrilla warfare activities since this valuable investigative aid should materially assist in securing data regarding such individuals' whereabouts and activities on a timely basis. Subjects included in the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) Wanted Persons File should not be entered into the Stop Index File.

62-115784-9

You are also reminded that should a Stop Index File subject later be entered into the NCIC Wanted Persons File, that subject should be removed from the Stop Index File.

2 - All Offices

MAILED 21  
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 FBI REC

APR 19 1972  
 SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

WHA:cal  
(135)

- Tolson
- Felt
- Campbell
- Rosen
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Miller, E.S.
- Mallahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Dalbey
- Leveland
- Ponder
- Sates
- Saikart
- Walters
- Woyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

- 1 - 157-8415 (Black Nationalist Movement)
- 1 - 100-446997 (New Left Movement - Violence)

OCT 4 1973

APR 26 1972  
 MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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Handwritten notes and signatures: WGC, CM, R, WBS, DEM, WRA/D, RS, CWT, 3247, PAAP, 62-115784-9

Airtel to Albany  
Re: Stop Index File Matter

Entries, modifications and cancellations of subjects involved in or suspected of involvement in urban guerrilla warfare activities may be accomplished by submitting copy of form FD-165 to the Attention of the Voucher Statistical Section. This form may be forwarded to the Bureau by means of a routing slip, letter or airtel but must indicate subject is being included in the file because of his involvement or suspected involvement in urban guerrilla warfare.

The effectiveness of this stop will be enhanced by furnishing numerical-type data available to the police, such as: date and place of birth, address, social security number, operator's license number and state issuing same, automobile license plate number, FBI number, and local law enforcement arrest number.

NOTE:

✓ See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 4/6/72, captioned as above, prepared by WHA:cal.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Tolson       | _____ |
| Felt         | _____ |
| Campbell     | _____ |
| Rosen        | _____ |
| Mohr         | _____ |
| Bishop       | _____ |
| Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Callahan     | _____ |
| Casper       | _____ |
| Conrad       | _____ |
| Dalbey       | _____ |
| Cleveland    | _____ |
| Ponder       | _____ |
| Bates        | _____ |
| Waikart      | _____ |
| Walters      | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Holmes       | _____ |
| Gandy        | _____ |

TO : *B* Mr. Bates

DATE: 3/29/72

FROM : R. J. Gallagher

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Gallagher
- 1 - Mr. Beale
- 1 - Mr. Soyars

SUBJECT: PROPOSED INCLUSION OF  
BANK ROBBERY AND BANK BURGLARY  
SUSPECTS IN STOP INDEX - NCIC

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend bank robbery and bank burglary suspects be entered in the Stop Index of the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) on a selective basis.

The Bank Robbery and Bank Burglary Suspects Program was instituted for the purpose of developing information on potential bank robbers and bank burglars. The objective of the program is to maintain such information in a current status and to have knowledge on a continuing basis as to the whereabouts and activities of such individuals. This, of course, enables the field offices to immediately consider these persons as suspects at the time a bank robbery or bank burglary occurs. All offices are not required to maintain a Bank Robbery or Bank Burglary Suspects Program. However, those offices which have experienced problems regarding unsolved robberies or burglaries have benefited from utilizing this program.

*62-115784-7*

We currently have a total of 1094 bank robbery and bank burglary suspect cases in 45 of our 59 field offices. It is believed that the field could be substantially aided in their coverage of the suspects' activities if selected suspects known to be travel prone were included in the Stop Index of NCIC. Substantial investigative effort could be saved in attempts to determine the suspects' travel and activities if inquiry is made of the indices and field offices are subsequently advised of the source and location of such inquiries.

**ACTION:** It is recommended this memorandum be routed through the Computer Systems Division in order that appropriate observation may be made by that Division as to the adoption of this proposed procedure.

EX-109 REC-19

3277

XEROX

OCT 4 1973

JLB:kap  
(6)

MAY 16 1972

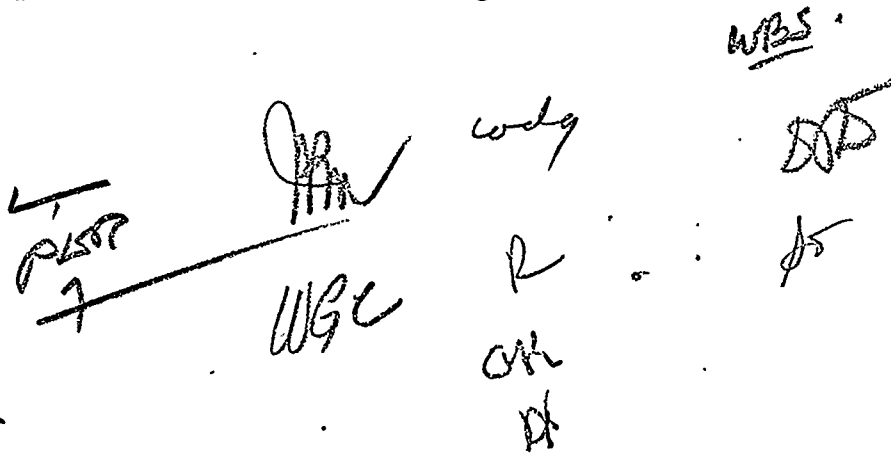
SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 2

OVER

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-110866

We can see no major problem involved in implementing this suggestion if approved. At present we are storing in the Stop Index similar individuals i.e., top jewel thieves, etc. It is recommended approval be given ~~to this~~ to also include in the Stop Index selected bank robbers and bank burglary suspects. If approved, we will get together with a representative of the General Investigative Division to prepare appropriate criteria for furnishing to the field.

WBS


  
 A collection of handwritten notes and signatures. On the left, there is a checkmark above the word "PLST" and the number "7". In the center, there is a signature above the letters "WGC". To the right of "WGC" are the letters "R", "OK", and "H" stacked vertically. Further right, there is a signature above the letters "S" and "D" stacked vertically. At the top right, the name "WBS" is written and underlined.

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bates
- 1 - Mr. Gallagher
- 1 - Mr. Colwell
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Soyars
- 1 - Mr. Casper

SAC, Albany

5-2-72

62-115784-7

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI (Acting) 3277

STOP INDEX - BANK ROBBERY AND BURGLARY SUSPECTS PROGRAM

In order to expand coverage and make this program more effective each SAC may, on a selective basis, submit recommendations to the Bureau for inclusion of individuals in your suspects program in the Stop Index of NCIC. It should provide field offices with an effective means of establishing an individual's presence in a particular area on a specified date where a bank robbery or bank burglary has occurred. Recommendations for entry of individuals into the Stop Index must be on a selective basis and personally approved by the SAC. Submit your recommendations to the Bureau by letter, Attention: General Investigative Division, Bank Robbery Unit.

You should have information in your possession indicating that suspect is currently involved in criminal activity, has actual arrest history for armed robbery or burglary and is traveling in connection with his criminal activity prior to making a recommendation for his inclusion in the Stop Index.

Desired information to enter an individual in the Stop Index includes full name, all known aliases, date and place of birth, Social Security number, Selective Service number, FBI number and any miscellaneous numbers. If an auto operator's license number is available this will be included but should include the state and year of expiration. It can also be placed on the individual's automobile(s) by furnishing the license plate and number, state, VIN, make, and year of the automobile(s). You may also include in the entry the suspect's associates and all automobiles at his disposal. It should be noted that

2 - All Field Offices

XEROX

WLC:ccg OCT 4 1973 (10)

MAY 15 1972 MAY 17 1972

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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

FBI REC.D-WOUB

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO.

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*Handwritten notes:*  
 ✓ PLS  
 7  
 RTG  
 bfe  
 WAC  
 R  
 D/D  
 Jan

Letter to SAC, Albany

Re: STOP INDEX - BANK ROBBERY AND BURGLARY SUSPECTS PROGRAM

all of the above items are not essential for entry of an individual, but will insure complete coverage of an individual entry. A stop can be placed with only the name and date of birth of an individual.

Individuals entered into the Stop Index under this program must be evaluated twice each year to determine whether or not they continue to fit the criteria for retention in the Stop Index. You should incorporate your recommendations for retention of individuals entered in the Stop Index in the letter submitted in January and July of each year in connection with the evaluation of your Bank Robbery Suspects Program.

Manual changes follow.

NOTE: See memo Gallagher to Bates, 3-29-72, captioned PROPOSED INCLUSION OF BANK ROBBERY AND BANK BURGLARY SUSPECTS IN STOP INDEX - NCIC; JLB:kap. Manual changes attached.

8/20/75

request

Part III, Item 13

Sub 72

SSC REQUEST 8/20/75

PART III

ITEM 13

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFKARCA)  
DATE 8/5/94 d.c.

RETAIN

186-10078

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

October 6, 1975

*T - general  
Request*

Reference is made to SSC letter dated <sup>August</sup> ~~September~~ 20, 1975.

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is the original of a memorandum which responds to Part III, Item 13 of the SSC request dated September 20, 1975. Also enclosed for your records is a copy of the memorandum.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

JTA:adn  
(9)

*Released to SA  
10/6/75*  
*Released to SSC  
10/10/75*

*8/20  
Part III, item 13*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TOP SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

942



186-10078

100-10078

100-10078

62-116395

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

October 6, 1975

1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to SSC letter dated September 20, 1975.

The purpose of this memorandum is to furnish to the SSC information and materials relating to SSC letter ~~September~~ 20, 1975, Part III, Item 13, which made the following document request:

"All memoranda and other materials reflecting an analysis of the Communist Party's influence in racial matters which were written subsequent to the March on Washington."

It is noted that the lengthy document being delivered captioned "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters" was prepared as a working paper within only the FBI between April, 1964, and December, 1965. This document was periodically brought up to date with amended pages, thus explaining the numbering and lettering of pages. Memorandum from Mr. W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated April 29, 1964, initiated this document. Memorandum from Mr. F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated May 7, 1964, enclosed the initial amended pages. Memorandum from Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan dated December 1, 1965, covered the last amended pages inserted. Other memoranda which merely enclosed amended pages during the above period are not being delivered at this time in accordance with agreement between Mr. Michael E. Epstein, SSC Staff Member, and representatives of the Intelligence Division of the FBI.

With respect to the excisions in materials being delivered herewith, where no notation appears as to reason for excision, the excision was made for the reason that the information actually summarizes or quotes from conversations monitored during electronic surveillances of King. In some cases it can

JTA:adn

(8)

ORIGINAL AND ONE CC TO AG

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

TOP SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

be ascertained precisely what information in FBI files came from electronic surveillances of King; however; there exist areas where documentation of the information is not precise and no accurate determination can be made. Therefore, no assurances can be given that portions of the material being furnished do not contain information developed as a result of electronic surveillances of King.

1 - The Attorney General

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

**10/6/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 8/20/75, Part III, Item 13**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**TS**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Surveillance, electronic**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

**Materials relating to Martin L. King and CP, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters subsequent to the March on Washington.**

**62-116395**

**FMK: fmk**

**(4)**

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-34)

DATE: 2/26/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-129802)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: CPUSA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C

*Niger Communist 1st/2nd/3rd/4th/5th*

NY letter, 2/11/64, enclosed a suggested document prepared by the NYO which used the CP of China's recent criticisms of the CPSU as a base for criticisms of the CPUSA. The NYO brought out in this document criticisms particularly aimed at GUS HALL and emphasized BEN DAVIS' lack of activity in the Negro movement. The tyranny of the leadership of GUS HALL was set out. The NYO is in the process of anonymously mailing 50 copies of this document to CP members and sympathizers on all levels and in all areas in NYC.

Bulet, 1/28/64, sets forth information furnished by BA 975-S that DAVIS indicated on 1/18/64 an intention to resign from his position as National Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

As pointed out in Bulet, obviously DAVIS is embittered with GUS HALL and with the position of lesser importance to which he has been relegated in the CP. This attitude of DAVIS has, however, existed for some time but DAVIS has never made any real effort to follow through his threats of resigning as National Secretary or from the CP completely. The NYO is of the opinion that although DAVIS continues to express dissatisfaction with his position in the CP, and with the Party line in regard to the Negro, he has no intention of relinquishing his National leadership in the CP. This is evidenced by his current trip to Chicago (2/20/64) to attend a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CP.

There is little doubt that DAVIS is more concerned with the plight of the Negro than with the overall goals of the CPUSA, but DAVIS is not likely to find a vehicle for this cause that he can use as effectively as the CPUSA. This is evidenced by the fact that any efforts by DAVIS to contact responsible

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-149163) (BEN DAVIS)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (414)
- 1 - New York (41)

EJC:bam  
(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY 18-FEB-28-1964  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

CC-100-3-111-575

INT. SEC.

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100-3-104-34-575

NY 100-129802

*CLM*  
*D.C.*

leaders in Negro civil rights organizations have been coolly received. Obviously his Communist background is undesirable to the Negro civil rights movement. It is true that he has had contact with BAYARD RUSTIN, but RUSTIN's leadership in civil rights appears to be dwindling due to his past relations with the CP movement and the recent publicity given to his attending a USSR UN Delegation affair.

Additionally, the NYO views DAVIS' threat to resign as National Secretary with skepticism. Should he follow through with this threat and take on a lesser responsibility, such as in Harlem, the question immediately comes to mind as where would DAVIS be able to publicly speak out, on whose platform, with whose backing and, additionally, where could he obtain a news media such as "The Worker" to publish his articles?

Obviously, if he does resign, GUS HALL will undoubtedly look upon this act with an air of "good riddance." Thereafter, it is inconceivable HALL would permit DAVIS, should he remain in the Party, to publicly speak out with the Party's blessing and/or support, nor would he permit articles of DAVIS' to appear in the Party publications.

The NYO feels DAVIS possesses enough intelligence to realize how foolhardy such an act would be, that he does not intend to resign, and his only interest in making such statements would be to gain more public recognition by HALL as a Party functionary.

*ELSOR*  
NY 2002-S\* in the past furnished several sheets of BEN DAVIS' letterhead stationery. The letterhead consists merely of the Name "BENJAMIN J. DAVIS" and no title or address is given. (c)

In order to create the appearance that BEN DAVIS is involved in criticizing and disrupting the CPUSA, the following suggestion is offered for the Bureau's consideration:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-129802

A sheet of DAVIS' stationery will be slipped in between the pages of the document currently being anonymously mailed by the NYO. The person selected will not be a member of the cadre so that it will look more accidental. The NYC would hope that the appearance will be created that when preparing on a cluttered desk the material to be mailed, the letterhead accidentally slipped in between the sheets. (c)

The NYO is holding up its anonymous mailing since DAVIS is away and this mailing will be resumed when it is known that he is in New York City.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 Mac/ndc  
ON 4-15-94 (JFK)

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

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

DATE: 12/11/63

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Turner
- 1 - Mr. Denz

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*EISUR*

NY 2359-S\* has reported on the details of a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA, held in New York City, 12/4/63. Among the items discussed was a report by Benjamin J. Davis, the Party's National Secretary, on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. *(u)*

Davis, who blamed the assassination on the lawlessness which was caused by the ultraright, was confident that the American people, particularly the Negro people, have not been "stunned" into blaming the communists. Davis commented that Oswald (Lee Harvey Oswald) was with the Central Intelligence Agency. *(u)*

Davis feels that the appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren to head a commission to investigate the assassination was a correct choice as he, Chief Justice Warren, is a person who acts with concern toward the American people against the "established hatreds from the State and local police in Texas and the FBI in Washington." *(u)*

OBSERVATION:

Davis' comments are indicative of the Party's desires to blame the assassination of President Kennedy on the ultraright. The fact that Davis feels the American people, particularly the Negro people, are not blaming the communists appeals to the Party as it was most concerned over how the public was going to react. Any lack of blame of the communists could well be utilized in the future to boost the morale of the Party's rank-and-file members. *(u)*

ACTION:

REC-103

*100-3-116-604*

There is attached a letter to the Honorable Walter W. Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President. In addition, we are forwarding by separate communication a letterhead memorandum concerning this matter to the Department of State.

Enc. *det of*  
100-3-116  
RCD:eeb:rbm

This document is prepared in response to your request and is for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFKARCA)  
DATE *8/5/94*

*The attached letter was not sent to...*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-116

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Carl Bloice, correspondent for the "People's World," a west coast communist newspaper, who recently spent a great deal of time with SNCC people in the South, commented, according to a source, that the Marxist classics are very familiar to the SNCC leadership. *(u)*

Dorothy Miller, a CP member in June, 1963, was identified as a representative of the SNCC in Georgia in April, 1963.

In November, 1963, Gerald Stern advised a Bureau Agent that he has been coordinating recent SNCC activities and the SNCC headquarters in Greenwood would always know his whereabouts. John Rosenberg has allegedly been seen in close contact with SNCC workers and, according to B. C. Hammond, Police Commissioner, Greenwood, a local police officer observed Rosenberg departing a Negro hotel in the company of a Negro female, presumed to be an SNCC worker. (It is noted that Rosenberg is of the white race.)

OBSERVATIONS:

It is evident from our investigations that Department Attorneys Rosenberg and Stern are in close association with SNCC people in Mississippi, the reasons for which are unknown to us. We do not know if they are operating under Departmental instructions. We believe that because implications inherent to this association could well prove to be an embarrassing situation, the Department should be advised. This way the Bureau can be on record with the Department concerning the communist background of some of the SNCC people in the event that a future question arises as to Department Attorneys' not knowing the type of people that they were counseling.

RECOMMENDATION:

*Dura 12/12/63*  
The attached letter to the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General be hand delivered by Assistant Director Courtney A. Evans in view of the sensitive nature of this matter. At that time, Mr. Evans can advise that this information was received by the Bureau during our investigations of communist influence in racial matters, civil rights and election laws and not as a result of any Bureau investigation of Rosenberg and Stern or of the SNCC, other than an infiltration case of the SNCC. Mr. Evans can call the attention of the Attorney General to the possible embarrassing situation which exists with the association of the Departmental attorneys and the SNCC.

*per  
Jes*

*OK  
J. Wel*

*2*

*Keynes*  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
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| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Evans      | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: December 19, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Administrative Division
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Denz
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QU' STION  
 COMMUNIS INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNA SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This memorandum recommends that Special Agent Henry G. Rowse, Security Supervisor, and Special Agent Robert R. Nichols, both of the Atlanta Office, be ordered to report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 for a one-day conference in order to explore fully the communist influence in racial matters as it pertains to Martin Luther King, Jr., whose headquarters are in Atlanta, Georgia, and to discuss avenues of approach to exposing King's unholy alliance with the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA).

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort. Communists are using every means possible to divert the course and force of the unrest into support of communist objectives. Long-range communist strategy looks to the establishment of a Negro-labor coalition which the communists hope to be able to manipulate as a powerful political action weapon. This communist goal constitutes a serious national security problem in light of the fact that the individual playing a most dominant role as a leading spokesman for the estimated 20 million Negroes in this country today, Martin Luther King, Jr., is knowingly, willingly and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists. King is using the communists and in turn is being used by them.

The composite of information available about King depicts an unprincipled, opportunistic individual, as well as a man considered and described within the Party as a Marxist. Because of the important role he plays in the Negro movement and communist influence being brought to bear upon him, Atlanta has been instructed to keep the Bureau and pertinent offices advised of King's travels and his activities. Those offices have also been instructed to take no action which would embarrass the Bureau or which would make King aware of our coverage of him.

In order to explore fully the communist influence in racial matters and pin down all facets of the investigation as it pertains to King, as well as to discuss avenues of approach to exposing King's unholy alliance with the CPUSA and the delicacy of handling this phase of our investigation, it is deemed advisable and fully justified to have Henry G.

Enc. 20

100-3-116

LTG:kmj

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JAN 14 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

Rowse, the Security Supervisor, and Robert R. Nichols, the case Agent, both of the Atlanta Office, report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 for a one-day conference.

ACTION:

That the attached teletype directing Rowse and Nichols to report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 be approved.

*SA*  
*with*  
*John*  
*do*  
*Was.*  
*John*  
*OK.*  
*J*  
*V. King*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 24, 1963

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

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley
- 1-Mr. Ryan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

In view of the influence the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is exerting on the racial situation, particularly through Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Director approved a conference be held between representatives of our Atlanta Office and Seat of Government personnel.

Recognizing the delicacy of this entire situation because of the prominence of King, the primary purpose of the conference was to explore how best to carry on our investigation to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. Included in our discussion was a complete analysis of the avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader and developing evidence concerning King's continued dependence on communists for guidance and direction.

The conference was held at the Seat of Government on 12-23-63. It was attended by Security Supervisor Henry Rowse and SA Robert Nichols from our Atlanta Office. The Seat of Government representatives were Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Inspector Joseph A. Sizoo, Section Chief F. J. Baumgardner and Supervisors L. T. Gurley and David Ryan. The conference lasted from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Assistant Director Sullivan briefed the conference on the task at hand. He pointed out the necessity for good judgment and discretion in conducting any investigation concerning this matter. He made it clear it was necessary for us to continue obtaining evidence of the CPUSA's influence on King and, through King, influence on the Negro people. Mr. Sullivan also stressed the fact that, although King is a minister, we have already developed information concerning weaknesses in his character which are of such a nature as to make him unfit to serve as a minister of the gospel.

Mr. Sullivan pointed out that the field should continue to gather information concerning King's personal activities, such as

100-3-116  
 FJB:skw  
 (6)

EX-117  
 REC-39

100-3-116-684

XEROX

22 JAN 8 1964

57 JAN 13 1964 JAN 8 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

getting drunk and associating with women other than his wife, in order that we may consider using this information at an opportune time in a counterintelligence move to discredit him.

During the discussion which followed, the men from the field outlined in detail the operation of the SCLC in Atlanta and the manner in which it is managed by King.

Our discreet approach to this case has been necessitated by King's prominence and the delicate situation which surrounds the entire racial movement. A wrong move could well result in extreme embarrassment to the Bureau. As a result of the conference, it was decided we need to develop additional information in the following areas:

- (1) We must determine and check out all of the employees of the SCLC.
- (2) We must locate and monitor the funds of the SCLC.
- (3) We must identify and check out the sources who contribute to the SCLC.
- (4) We must continue to keep close watch on King's personal activities.
- (5) We will, at the proper time when it can be done without embarrassment to the Bureau, expose King as an immoral opportunist who is not a sincere person but is exploiting the racial situation for personal gain.
- (6) We will explore the possibility of utilizing additional specialized investigative techniques at the SCLC office.

Our technical coverage on King and the SCLC is producing excellent information. It was decided that, in view of this fact and since we could not engage in active investigation at this time without embarrassment to the Bureau, we would hold in abeyance open investigation as outlined above for another 90 days. During this time, we will utilize the information obtained from our technical coverage and conduct whatever investigation can be made discreetly.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

This conference proved to be most beneficial, and the men from the field expressed their appreciation for the opportunity of being brought into the Seat of Government for the purpose of exploring this entire matter. They were both enthusiastic about the case and stated the conference was of exceptional benefit to them and will be of assistance in setting the future course of the investigation.

ACTION:

We will continue to give this case priority attention both at the Seat of Government and in the field and will expose King for the clerical fraud and Marxist he is at the first opportunity. At the end of the 90-day period, or sooner if conditions permit, we will make a further recommendation as to whether we are in a position at that time to take further action against King and the SCLC without embarrassment to the Bureau.

*407* *J.M.S.*  
*ged* *J.H. Wess*  
*G.K.* *[Signature]* *[Signature]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *W.C.S.* DATE: August 29, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *F.J.B.*

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Gurley

This is a preliminary memorandum of information available as of early a.m. 8/29/63 concerning communist activities relative to the March on Washington, 8/28/63. We had a number of informants from various cities at the March who were unable, for security reasons, to report to the Bureau while still in Washington, D. C. (WDC). We are expediting debriefing of these informants by our field offices after which a comprehensive memorandum will further inform you.

Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), Members in Attendance *B*

As of the morning of the March we had reports indicating that almost 200 CPUSA members planned to attend. While most were to be from New York City (NYC) and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, other areas such as Upstate New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Western Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and California were to be represented. Bureau offices reported observing in excess of 150 Party members boarding various modes of transportation early on 8/28/63 bound for WDC. Number observed does not necessarily include all Party members attending since complete information yet to be obtained. Washington Field Office Agents identified Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, and several other national Party functionaries at March.

Gus Hall's Activities and Observations Relative to March *N.Y. D.C.*

Although Gus Hall interrupted a Maine vacation to arrive in WDC the evening of 8/27/63, he was present at March site only from approximately 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. and enplaned from National Airport at 12 noon for NYC. Upon arrival in NYC Hall told NY 694-S\* that he left WDC immediately upon learning of the return to NYC of CG 5824-S\* from a mission abroad on behalf of the Party (Solo Mission 13). Hall said he saw a group of photographers trying to photograph him. Hall told NY 694-S\* that he now believes he should

Enc. *CONFIDENTIAL*  
100-3-116

LTG:SFP:rbm  
(9)

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
100-3-116.

never have gone to the March as it "could have been a cause for provocation." (Reference to "provocation" not further explained.) Hall claimed that one-fourth of the March participants were white and that the Party deserved credit for white participation since the Party played a major role in pushing for white attendance. White noncommunist supporters and participants also claimed credit for white participation.

Comment: David Brinkley (NBC-TV) reported "maybe 10% were white." Similar estimate mentioned in local radio broadcast with attribution to Metropolitan Police Department. Press and police estimated March attendance at approximately 200,000.

#### Soviet and CPUSA Press Coverage of March

Six representatives of Soviet news media (Tass, Izvestia, Trud, Soviet Radio) observed covering March. Gus Hall and other national Party functionaries conversed with two of the Soviets who were engaged in photographing March proceedings and recording interviews with March participants at random. James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," and three other Party functionaries observed at March wearing "The Worker" press cards. N.Y.  
11.

#### Sale of Party Literature

At various times during afternoon of 8/28/63 Agents observed Phil Bart, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, and an unidentified white male at 15th and Constitution Avenues, N. W., selling "The Worker" and two pamphlets written by James E. Jackson. N.Y.  
13

#### Reaction of Party Leaders to March

A sensitive source reported on a meeting held in WDC immediately after the March at which were present Jackson, Bart and other national Party functionaries, Benjamin J. Davis, Louis Weinstock and Arnold Johnson. Highlights of discussion included: they were pleased with March and agreed it had been organized with great dignity; believed March would impress Congress; opined that enough people participated in March to shift any U. S. election; a rally of similar proportions on the subject of automation could advance the cause of socialism in the United States; and a remark was made that the communists are now entering a period of peaceful N.Y.  
14

DO NOT  
DELETE

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
100-3-116

DO NOT  
DISCLOSE

cooperation with capitalism--the Government is no longer able to "smash" a movement like this March. During the discussion, Weinstock remarked that there is a social upheaval all over the world, citing Africa as an example. To this Jackson commented that the social upheaval in the United States is a peaceful transition to socialism.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached letter containing pertinent information set out above go forward to the Attorney General with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshall and J. Walter Yeagley. Separate dissemination is being made to the military intelligence agencies and the State Department. As soon as more detailed information is obtained from our informants who attended the March, we will expedite the preparation of a comprehensive memorandum to further inform you in this matter.

B  
H  
R  
W

Wes  
A

Assume C.F. function  
an claims are dis-  
honest!

H

447

Mr. A. H. Belmont

April 29, 1964

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1-Mr. DeLoach
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Board
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

EVIDENCE:

The enclosed document captioned as above has been prepared to depict the extent of communist influence in the Negro movement.

The document was prepared as a working paper. Thus, it is purposely lengthy to provide as complete a picture as possible and furnish as much information as possible so that every facet of the information deemed desirable will be available.

SUMMARY OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT:

The Communist Party has been exploiting present racial unrest in the United States successfully. Benjamin J. Davis, Communist Party, USA, National Secretary, expressed the view of the Party when he said the Negro racial unrest, while not yet "a proletarian revolution" is the next thing to it. Communist Party plans call for the control and direction of the entire Negro movement.

In carrying out its activities in the Negro movement, communists have participated in demonstrations in Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cambridge (Maryland), Chicago, Cleveland, Danville (Virginia), Englewood (New Jersey), Newark, New Orleans, New York City, the New York World's Fair, Philadelphia, Paterson (New Jersey), Wheeling (West Virginia), St. Louis, South Bend, and Seattle. In the March on Washington, D.C., which took place August 28, 1963, Gus Hall, Party head, estimated 5,000 communists participated in one way or the other.

Evidence submitted in the details of this study shows definite communist influence in such racial organizations as: Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Congress of Racial Equality; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Negro American Labor Council; Southern Commercial International Fund; and African-American Heritage Association.

Original ~~is~~ not located and is not on record. When original is received in Records Branch, it will be filed either with this copy or may be prepared as a new serial.

REG-114

1309

ENCLOSURE

100-3-116 -  
 WCB:ESH:slw

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

52 MAY 8 1964  
 NW 68262 DocId:32989648 Page 541

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-2-116

and he has been seeking, accepting and acting upon counsel and advice from Stanley Levison, a secret ideological communist. In various ways officials of the Communist Party from time to time have given support to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Communists also have supported the other organizations mentioned in one form or the other.

*SENSITIVE Foreign intelligence operations*  
~~Martin Luther King has been described in high Party circles as a Marxist but he does not care to so admit publicly because of his religious front.~~ In the light of his relationship to Levison, for all practical purposes King constitutes a communist tool. In addition to King's relationship to communism, it is well known to the Bureau that he is a sexual degenerate.

The communist drive to control and lead the Negro movement in the United States is today the greatest single threat of our internal security. With some twenty million Negroes in the United States, there is contained in this segment of the population a tremendous potential for communist exploitation. In recent months the evidence that the communists are steadily making headway with the Negro movement is unmistakable.

OBSERVATIONS:

We left no stone unturned to furnish a comprehensive picture. In so doing, we necessarily included information from two of our most sensitive informants, NY 684-S\* and CG 6824-S\*. We suggest that information from these informants be treated with utmost care.

RECOMMENDATION:

The enclosed document is furnished for your information.

SAC, New York

September 17, 1963

Director, FBI (100-3-68)

1 - Mr. Denz  
1 - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
*INFLUENCE  
IN RACIAL MATTERS*

As you are well aware, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is ever alert to exploit any domestic situation which presents the Party with an opportunity to work for the further development of its cause in promoting communism. The communist press consistently attempts to paint a false picture of the CPUSA as a champion of Negro rights and of the unemployed.

While the extent to which the Party will utilize the recent March on Washington as a steppingstone for future Party activity remains to be seen, it is interesting to note comments made at a recent meeting of leading Communist Party functionaries. At this meeting, James M. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," stated that "The 200,000 people who took part in the March should be the 200,000 people who should be in our Party." Jackson indicated that the Party had a duty in the March to win Party members. George Morris, member of the editorial staff of "The Worker," at this same meeting commented "that union representation at the August 28th March was brought there by unions that are partially or to some extent Socialist-Party influenced or have a Left background."

We should anticipate that the Party will not resist this opportunity of supplementing its original efforts in the March on Washington through future contacts with March participants in the belief that groups interested in the Negro and civil rights issues will gravitate to the Party once they lose perspective of the issues involved and succumb to Party propaganda.

- 2 - Baltimore
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Cleveland
- 2 - Detroit
- 2 - Minneapolis
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - Philadelphia
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Portland
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Seattle
- 2 - Washington Field

① - 100-3-116

RCD:fjh

(39)

100-3-116-  
NOT RECORDED  
150 SEP 17 1963

DUPLICATE YELLOW

61 SEP 24 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Letter to New York  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
100-3-66

Recipient offices should assure themselves that they are in a position to obtain all available data concerning any Party plans and/or efforts to make use of the March on Washington results in order to attract sympathizers and potential members.

1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Phillips  
September 25, 1963

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-151548)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-3-116)

COMMUNIST PARTY, - USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(BUDED: NOON, 10/7/63)

ReBuairtel 8/30/63 which re-emphasized the imperative need for your office to furnish in a form suitable for dissemination all data pertaining to activities of any subversive type group and/or individual in connection with the 8/28/63 March on Washington. Buairtel 9/11/63 further emphasized this matter to your office, particularly as to the debriefing of all sources who attended the March.

The Bureau has carefully reviewed all the information submitted by your office to date in this matter, particularly the chart submitted under cover of your letter 9/4/63, and the 19 individual memoranda prepared by Agents of your office as a result of the debriefing of 22 informants, which memoranda were submitted under cover of your airtel 9/19/63. It is now imperative that your office submit, for dissemination purposes, a consolidated report in this matter according to the following instructions:

An investigative report should be submitted captioned as above to reach the Bureau, Attention: Assistant Director William C. Sullivan, no later than Noon, 10/7/63. Nine copies should be submitted to the Bureau. Extra copies should be prepared by your office for local dissemination, which should be held in abeyance pending review of report by the Bureau and clearance to be later given you for local dissemination. The usual report writing rules should prevail. Data which should be included in the report are as follows:

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

SFP:kmj  
(5)

REC'D - POLICE  
MAILED 8 REC-3  
26 SEP 26 1963  
COMM-FBI

100-3-116-296  
19 SEP 26 1963

19 OCT 3 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Airtel to New York  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

(1) Report should contain as a predicate full information indicating the interest of the Party in the March and its efforts to have Party members participate or otherwise render influence.

(2) Identities of all Party members observed boarding transportation media in the New York City area destined for Washington, D. C., and the March.

(3) Identities of all Party members from your office's territory who may be factually reported as having actually been at the March.

(4) Information concerning all communist and related activities in connection with the March, such as the sale of communist literature, the encouragement of persons to participate, and so forth. Report should indicate, describing the activities of any Party members, whether they were acting openly as Party members or whether they were concealing the fact that they were Party members and acting only as representatives of other groups or as individuals.

(5) Report should contain a summary of information from the informants who attended indicating the manner in which Party members participated in the March; that is, whether they engaged in any activity or were merely passive participants. Comments along these lines are contained in several of the Agents' memoranda submitted with your airtel 9/19/63 referred to above.

(6) In the event any of the informants who attended are Party members, the report should include their names under Item 2 above unless some special reason exists for not doing so.

(7) Report should contain information as to the efforts of the Party to exploit the March, not only prior to 8/28/63, but subsequent thereto.

(8) The report to be prepared will serve to report fully on the matter "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters," with particular emphasis on the March on Washington. Therefore, this report will serve in lieu of the section of your next quarterly report on the Party (for period ending 9/30/63) captioned "Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters." Information concerning the Negro Question



Airtel to New York  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

generally and not pertaining to the March or communist influence in racial matters should, of course, be included in the quarterly report.

Information concerning communist influence in racial matters and the March on Washington which would normally have been included in the quarterly report should now be included in the special report to be prepared and not in the quarterly report. This instruction should be followed irrespective of whether or not the particular information may have been previously submitted to the Bureau in letterhead memorandum form. Information pertaining to the Negro Question generally and not pertaining to the March or communist influence in racial matters should be included in the quarterly report and not in the special report.

This matter should be given preferred and expeditious attention and the Bureau deadline must be met without fail.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

DATE: 10/31/63

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-4284TT)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau letter dated 10/14/63 which set forth the fact that JAMES LUSTIG made statements at a meeting of the CP, USA, National Executive Committee on 10/3/63 regarding the influence of the NJCP in the racial situation in New Jersey.

In effect, LUSTIG claimed that (1) a "progressive person" had actually handled everything in connection with the March on Washington (MOW), while a person named RICHARDSON was only the titular head; (2) that Party people greatly influenced the participation in the MOW on 8/28/63 in New Jersey and (3) claimed that demonstrations at City Hall and on construction jobs would probably not have taken place if it were not for Party initiative.

Newark has reviewed its files and contacted knowledgeable informants and sources in order to assess the truth or falsity of LUSTIG's claims.

### IDENTITY OF "PROGRESSIVE PERSON"

The "progressive person" referred to by LUSTIG is apparently SOPHIE FITZGERALD, a CP member at Paterson, N.J. SOPHIE FITZGERALD was Co-Chairman of the North Jersey Coordinating Committee for the MOW. The other Co-Chairman was Assemblyman GEORGE C. RICHARDSON of Newark, New Jersey.

(The Bureau may wish to refer to Newark airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 8/16/63 captioned as above which set forth this information.)

<sup>Informant</sup>  
ARTHUR HOLLOWAY, a former security informant active in racial matters in Paterson, N.J., advised SA JAMES R. LAUGHLIN on 10/25/63 that SOPHIE FITZGERALD, in her capacity as Co-Chairman, did considerable telephoning and arranging of bus rides in the Paterson area prior to the MOW.

cc-80 PRB  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark  
EWC/jtm  
(3)

REC-23 100-3-116-481

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EXP. PROC.

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NK 100-4284TT

Reverend JOSEPH RANDALL, Negro Minister active in racial matters in Essex County, New Jersey, advised on 10/28/63 that SOPHIE FITZGERALD attended two meetings of the North Jersey Coordinating Committee in Essex County, but RANDALL knew of no specific activities by FITZGERALD in Essex County.

*Informant*

NK 2116-S advised on 10/24/63 that SOPHIE FITZGERALD played no significant role in Essex County in preparation for the MOW. NK 2116-S stated that RICHARDSON was not a figurehead though RICHARDSON delegated considerable authority in preparation for the MOW to his political campaign manager, who is definitely not a "progressive person".

*INFORMANT*

NK 2375-S, who served as a bus captain from Newark, New Jersey in the MOW, advised on 10/11/63 that SOPHIE FITZGERALD had played no role in the preparations for the MOW in Essex County. NK 2375-S stated that RICHARDSON ran the instruction meeting for leaders of the MOW held prior to the March and was not a figurehead.

INFLUENCE OF CP PEOPLE ON PARTICIPATION  
IN MOW FROM NORTHERN NEW JERSEY

Newark files and all sources contacted reflect that the greater portion of the participants from Northern New Jersey in the MOW were under the sponsorship of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP proceeded independently and was not in any way connected with the North Jersey Coordinating Committee for the MOW.

*INFORMANT*

NK 2116-S noted on 10/24/63 that most of the participants from Northern New Jersey in the MOW came from Essex County. He stated that the NJCP exercised a minimum of influence on participants in the MOW from Essex County; in fact, prior to the MOW, the NJCP leaders in Essex County were actually trying to find out what was going on in regard to the MOW, rather than influencing or guiding participants. NK 2116-S felt that aside from participating as individuals in the MOW, NJCP leaders and members had no influence on participants from Essex County.

*INFORMANT*

PARTY INITIATIVE IN DEMONSTRATIONS AT  
CITY HALL AND AT CONSTRUCTION SITES

Newark sources and files reflect no construction site demonstrations which resulted from Party initiative.

NK 100-4284TT

Two CP members are reported to have participated in a picket line at the site of construction of Barringer High School in Newark. One of the CP members, whose identity was apparently known to leaders of the picket line, was asked to leave the picket line by an official of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE).

*Informant*  
Newark files and canvass of informants and sources reflect that one demonstration at the Newark City Hall resulted from Party initiative. This demonstration was sponsored by the Unemployed Council of Newark (now defunct) as a result of proposals by CP members. JAMES LUSTIG arranged for printing of leaflets calling for the demonstration and LUSTIG made arrangements for NK 2116-S to act as the leader of the demonstration, which occurred on 5/11/63. The result was that on 5/11/63 Newark City Hall was picketed for approximately one hour by a total of approximately 35 persons. Approximately ten of these persons were CP members, headed by JAMES LUSTIG. Most of the remainder were a group from the Labor Negro Vanguard Conference (LNVC) which is headed by CLARENCE COGGINS and is opposed by the CP. Following the picketing, the pickets conferred with a representative of the Mayor of Newark. (A summary of CP participation in this demonstration appears on page 7 of Newark letterhead memorandum submitted by airtel to the Bureau, both dated 7/24/63, and headed, "CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION, COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS; IS - C".)

On 6/10/63, about 100 persons picketed Newark City Hall in a two-hour racial demonstration. The Unemployed Council of Newark endorsed this picketing, which was sponsored by other organizations. LUSTIG had favored and encouraged that the UCN participate in this picketing, but it appears likely the UCN would have participated in any case.

At Paterson, New Jersey, DANIEL and SOPHIE FITZGERALD, both CP members, participated in a picket line at the Paterson City Hall on 7/29/63, which was sponsored by CORE and the NAACP. The Mayor called in these pickets, including the FITZGERALDs and conferred with them. (This information appears in Newark airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 7/30/63, captioned "DEMONSTRATION AT PATERSON CITY HALL BY CORE AND NAACP; RACIAL MATTERS", copy of which was designated for Bureau file 100-3-116.)

CP members have participated in other demonstrations and activities in New Jersey concerning the racial situation. The CP did not initiate these activities, but generally learned of these activities and then participated in them with the obvious desire to encourage demonstrations insofar as possible.

NK 100-4284TT

CONCLUSIONS

It is the conclusion of the Newark Office that LUSTIG's statements to the Party's NEC meeting on 10/3/63 gave an exaggerated impression of the influence of the NJCP in connection with the MOW and racial demonstrations in New Jersey. LUSTIG's probable aim is to enhance his own position.

SOPHIE FITZGERALD, as Co-Chairman of the North Jersey Coordinating Committee for the MOW, did play a part in arranging rides to Washington from the Paterson, New Jersey, area, but over all, the CP influence on participation in the MOW from northern New Jersey was minimal.

NJCP influence on construction site demonstrations was practically nil.

The NJCP did initiate a picketing demonstration at Newark City Hall which lasted one hour on 5/11/63. CP members participated in other demonstrations, but the CP did not originate them and CP influence on these other demonstrations was very limited.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

DATE: 10-31-63

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-14992) (C)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
NEGRO QUESTION - COMMUNIST  
INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Re SAC letter # 63-50 dated 10-1-63.

As the Bureau is aware, investigation of Communist Party (CP) activity within the Pittsburgh Division encompasses the CP, Western District of Pennsylvania (CPWP), the CP, State of West Virginia (CPWVA), and the CP, Ohio Valley Section, Ohio District. Information concerning coverage of CP activity in the Negro field pertaining to the aforementioned three areas has been set forth hereinafter.

CPWP

HERBERT W. KRANSDORF, Organizer, CPWP, the only CP, official currently active in this area, heads a loosely organized group of six Negroes with whom he meets regularly. This group has been given no name and is the only known CP group operating within the CPWP. Included in the estimated CPWP membership of 17, are 8 Negroes, none of whom maintain a national level position or a district level position above the status of club chairman.

During the past few months, KRANSDORF has taken great interest in the problems of the Negro and civil rights issues and he and members of his family have participated in picketing demonstrations at Pittsburgh. He supported and took part in the March on Washington and has attempted to exert some influence on Negro groups to break up segregation practices in Pittsburgh. He has been critical of the Pittsburgh chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) calling it a social group rather than a political action group.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Pittsburgh  
JWS:mms

(3)

EX-103

REC-9

100-14992-42  
Serial 154  
NOV 4 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Although KRANSDORF has engaged in a great deal of talking and "preaching" regarding racial matters in general, the plight of the Negro, and the lack of demonstrations in the Pittsburgh area, to CP members and his other associates, he (and the CPWP) have had very little influence on racial matters in the Pittsburgh area. He and his followers are not known to have infiltrated or gained control of any group involved in civil rights demonstrations or any other groups working to advance the cause of Negroes in this area.

Concerning Pittsburgh's coverage of communist activities in the Negro field, it is noted that of the six live informants who furnish information concerning the CPWP, five are Negroes. In addition, two PST's (one a Negro) and another source (PG 180-S\*~~ELSK~~ who is in daily contact with KRANSDORF) provide coverage in this regard. All of these live informants are cognizant of the Bureau's interest in all aspects of the current racial situation and especially regarding any CP involvement in any Negro movements or racial demonstrations. These informants (and PG 180-S\*~~ELSK~~) have, during the past few months, provided pertinent and timely information concerning KRANSDORF's statements and ideas regarding racial matters and are in a position to be aware of any action he might take to directly involve CPWP members in such matters in the future. In addition, Pittsburgh has five other sources in groups sponsoring integration in the Western Pennsylvania area who can also furnish information concerning CP involvement in these matters.

It is believed that Pittsburgh's coverage of communist activities in the Negro field in Western Pennsylvania at the present time is very good; however, Pittsburgh will continue to emphasize the importance of this matter during contacts with the above informants and will closely follow HERBERT KRANSDORF's activities so that appropriate investigative steps may be initiated in the event he and the CPWP become directly involved in racial matters in this area.

CPWVA

The CP in West Virginia is not formally organized and consists of four to six individuals who are considered tentative CP members because of their past CP activities. These individuals meet irregularly for discussions at the home of RALPH and IVA ORTH, former CP officials, in Charleston, W. Va. There is one Negro in the above group who does not maintain a national level or district level position above the status of club chairman. The above individuals have discussed racial matters and problems involving the Negro, but have taken part in no activity in this regard and have exerted no influence in connection with racial matters in West Virginia.

Coverage of the CPWVA is provided by a live informant (a Negro) who attends meetings of the aforementioned individuals and by another live informant who is in frequent contact with these individuals. A third live informant (a Negro member of the NAACP) also lives in West Virginia. The above informants have furnished some general information concerning Negro matters (not involving the CPWVA) and have been alerted to promptly furnish any information in this regard to the Pittsburgh Office. It is believed that the above informants provide adequate coverage concerning the CPWVA at the present time and are in a position to report any attempts of the CP to influence racial matters in West Virginia.

CP, OHIO VALLEY SECTION, OHIO DISTRICT

This section encompasses the four panhandle counties of West Virginia in the vicinity of Wheeling, W. Va., and is a part of the Ohio District which maintains headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio. There are two identified CP members and one tentatively identified member in this section (all white) under the leadership of GENNE KUHN of Wheeling. KUHN has shown some interest in racial matters and formerly was co-chairman of a youth group in the Wheeling chapter of the NAACP. She was suspended



from NAACP membership in early October, 1963, reportedly because of publicity regarding her affiliation with the CP. KUHN recently was involved in a racial demonstratic . at a segregated roller skating rink in Wheeling an' reportedly is currently connected with an effort to c ganize chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in the Wheeling area.

coverage of GENNE KUHN and all aspects of her activities is provided by two live informants of the Cincinnati Division, who are in frequent contact with her. In addition, three sources (one within the Cincinnati Division) who are connected with NAACP activities, have furnished valuable information concerning KUHN's involvement in racial matters. A PCI of the Pittsburgh Division has also furnished some information in this regard.

It is believed that Pittsburgh has very good -- coverage of KUHN's activities at the present time and that any attempts by KUHN to exert her influence in racial matters or to direct communist infiltration of groups involved in Negro matters will be promptly reported to this office.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

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

DATE: November 19, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*B'lym*  
*5- Phillips*

I thought you would be interested in a resume of pertinent data concerning captioned matter, with particular reference to the communist influence on the 8/28/63 March on Washington. First, as to communist "participation," you will recall that at the 10/1-6/63 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Party, Gus Hall stated that an estimated 5,000 communists participated in the March in one way or another. As to the number of Party members (here we are differentiating between communists and Party members), the following analysis has been made from reports received from the field. For the purpose of making this estimate, we considered as current Communist Party (CP) members any individuals who have been reported to be members of the Party since 1/1/62. The estimate, based upon our field reports, is as follows.

A total of 125 CP members from the territories covered by all field offices other than New York was reported as observed in Washington, D. C., 8/28/63. The New York Office reported a total of 37. The total for all offices, therefore, is 162.

We also had reported to us that an additional 67 Party members were observed boarding transportation media in the New York City area destined for Washington on 8/28/63. While it cannot be positively stated that these 67 were actually observed in Washington, D. C., it would be a fairly logical assumption that they did come to Washington, barring such unusual circumstances as a breakdown of a bus or buses or any of the chartered trains. We had no reports of such happenings. Therefore, if we were to add these 67 to the other 162, we could, with justified logic, estimate that approximately 229 Party members were in Washington, D. C., on 8/28/63.

REC-39 100-3-116-525

It is significant to note that among the current Party members who were in Washington were such national functionaries as Gus Hall, General Secretary; Joseph Brandt, Administrative Assistant; Phil Bart, National Organizational Secretary; James E. Jackson, Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker"; Arnold Johnson, Peace Activity and Public

100-3-116

SFP:kmj  
(5)

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*File 100-3-116*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

Relations Director; and Daniel Rubin, National Youth Director. We also had considerable information from the field concerning individuals who came to Washington, D. C., for the March whose current membership (according to the standards set out above) was not established but who were identified either as former Party members or as individuals having other subversive connections. For example, the New York Office reported, in addition to the current Party members set out above, that 18 former Party members were in Washington on 8/28/63 and 14 other individuals having subversive connections were in Washington that date.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information only. File.

*B*  
*J.S.*  
*gm*  
*sm*

*wvg*

11/19/63

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy  
1 - Mr. Phillips

To: SFP, Detroit (100-31597)

From: Director, FBI (100-3-116)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBuairtel 11/18/63 which raised certain questions concerning your coverage of events pertaining to captioned matter as well as the activities of Benjamin J. Davis in Detroit on the weekend of 11/8-10/63. One of the specific items questioned by the Bureau related to the presence of Davis the evening of 11/8/63 at the New Bethel Baptist Church, Detroit.

Attention is directed to the 11/10/63 issue of "The Worker," which contains an article written by William Allan, headed "Rev. King Backs Detroit Conference." This article, on page 1, written at Detroit, states that a Northern Negro Leadership Conference was to meet in Detroit 11/8-10/63 and heading the meeting was to be Reverend C. L. Franklin of the New Bethel Baptist Church. A continuation of the article, on page 11, states that Reverend King (in obvious reference to Martin Luther King) had recently visited Detroit and met with Reverend Franklin and Negro leaders on plans for a Detroit conference.

The article described above underscores vividly one facet of the Party's attempts to exert influence in racial matters, for we here have a situation wherein one of the top leaders of the Negro movement today, King, recently met with Reverend Franklin of the New Bethel Baptist Church and such meeting was followed by Davis, a top Party functionary, also visiting the New Bethel Baptist Church at a time when an important conference was being held in Detroit. These facts

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COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - 100-149163 (Benjamin J. Davis) 3

REC 36

100-3-116-519

SFP:rbm

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NOV 19 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee. The content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Airtel to Detroit  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

should serve to further pinpoint the necessity for determining the nature of the meeting attended by Davis at the New Bethel Baptist Church and what part Davis took in that meeting.

Consider the contents of instant airtel in conjunction with your consideration of reairtel.

1-Mr. [redacted] nt 1-Mr. Baumgardne  
1-Mr. Evans 1-Mr. Morley  
1-Mr. Rosen 1-Mr. Phillips  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Bland

The Attorney General

November 22, 1963

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Stanley David Levison, and Clarence Jones planned to meet on November 20, 1963, at the Idlewild Airport, New York City. According to the source, Levison and Jones wanted to discuss with King a book by the latter. On November 20, 1963, Special Agents of this Bureau observed King entering the International Hotel at Idlewild Airport at 10:42 a.m.; Levison and Jones were observed entering the Hotel at 11:05 a.m. At 2:40 p.m., King, Levison and Jones departed the Hotel together, and King separated from the other two.

Levison has been described as a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Jones is the General Counsel of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an organization formed by King to promote his aims. Jones has been a frequent intermediary in contacts between King and Levison.

As further evidence of a continuing King-Levison relationship, the following is noted concerning a speech delivered by King on October 23, 1963, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, before the 30th anniversary meeting of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. In the speech, King, among other things, urged that the Union work for strong civil rights legislation. He said that a year ago President Kennedy gave "the finest speech on civil rights any Chief Executive has ever delivered."

100-3-116

- 1-100-106670 (King)
- 1-100-392452 (Levison)
- 1-100-407018 (Jones)
- 1-100-158790 (Rustin)

SFP:pwd (18)

REC-52

100-3-116-530

SEE NOTE 6 1963  
PAGE 2

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

100-3-116-530

NOV 21 1963  
COMM-FBI

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

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The Attorney General

King, however, criticized you by claiming you had retreated from a strong civil rights bill. King called on the Administration to give a strong bill, fighting support.

The foregoing ties in with other information this Bureau obtained indicating that Levison and Jones may well have prepared the King speech of October 23, 1963. The above-mentioned source advised on October 16, 1963, that King was in contact with Jones relative to King's speech scheduled for October 23, 1963, at which time King requested Jones to get some material together with their mutual friend. This Bureau has learned from many references made by King and Jones to "mutual friend" that their reference is to Levison. Jones told King that "they" would work on the matter on the weekend. Special Agents of this Bureau observed Jones entering Levison's residence in New York City at 10:29 a.m. on Saturday, October 19, 1963. Jones was observed departing from Levison's residence at 3:55 p.m., that date.

Specifically as to the civil rights legislation aspects of the speech, the above-mentioned source advised that on October 22, 1963, King's secretary was in contact with Jones and stated that the speech had been received and that she had read it to King. She stated that King would like two or three additional paragraphs on the present civil rights legislation concerning whether "they" should support a stronger or weaker bill. Jones said to her that he would work on it.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

*EISU*

NOTE: Source referred to is NY 4092-S\*. Classified "Secret" because of the highly sensitive nature of this source with respect to the communist infiltration of racial matters.

See memorandum Mr. F.J. Baumgardner to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, 11-21-63, same caption, SFP:kmj.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: December 11, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Evans  
 1-Mr. Rosen  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. Bland  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner  
 1-Mr. Rosack  
 1-Mr. Denz *Baumgardner*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUOTATION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 11-22-63 entitled as above pointed out that Department Attorneys John Rosenberg and Gerald Stern spend much time with individuals connected with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Mississippi. Our continuing investigation of all communist activities, as well as our investigations in civil rights and election law matters, has revealed that certain individuals having subversive backgrounds have been affiliated with SNCC activities. We instructed Memphis Division to furnish additional information concerning the identities of any subversive individual who may have been in contact with Rosenberg and Stern through SNCC activities. Instant memorandum sets out a summarization of pertinent information available to the Memphis Division pertaining to this matter.

By way of background, the SNCC is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. It is an organization working for desegregation and complete equal rights for Negroes. We have looked into SNCC on a national basis and have found insufficient information on a national level to warrant active investigation. The case, however, is pending to follow for new developments. We are currently looking into communist infiltration of SNCC in the San Francisco, California, area. Pertinent information concerning the connection between individuals with subversive backgrounds and the SNCC in the South has been previously furnished the Department.

Memphis advised that the individuals with subversive backgrounds who have been connected with SNCC and who are involved in this matter are Fred Hirsch, Carl Bloice and Dorothy Miller.

Fred Isha Hirsch, identified as a Communist Party (CP) member until early 1963, was one of five individuals recently arrested in Greenwood, Mississippi. According to Curtis Lary, Chief of Police, Greenwood, these five individuals were connected with or working on behalf of the Greenwood headquarters of SNCC.

Enc. *S*  
 100-3-116  
 1-100-439190 (Cominfil SNCC)  
 RCD:kjm:skw  
 (10)

REC-1

100-2-116-573

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79 DEC 16 1963

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 21, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Morley
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

## SECRET

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 Mac/rude  
 ON 4-15-94 (JFK)

*B. J. [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

I thought you would be interested in the following important developments in our investigation of the communist influence in racial matters:

Martin Luther King Receives Speech Writing Help From Stanley Levison

New York teletype today (11/21/63) reported a summary of a speech delivered by King 10/23/63 at Madison Square Garden, New York City, before the 30th anniversary meeting of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. In the speech, King, among other things, urged that the Union work for strong civil rights legislation. He said that a year ago President Kennedy gave "the finest speech on civil rights any Chief Executive has ever delivered." King, however, criticized the Attorney General for his retreat from a strong civil rights bill and called on the Administration to give a strong bill, fighting support.

The above expressions of King tie in with previous information we had that secret Party member Stanley Levison and Clarence Jones, who is part of the King movement and has been serving as an intermediary between King and Levison, may well have prepared the King speech in question. On 10/16/63 King was in contact with Jones relative to King's 10/23/63 speech and requested Jones to get some material together with their mutual friend (we know from many references to "mutual friend" by King and Jones that their reference is to Stanley Levison). Jones told King that "they" would work on the matter on the weekend. Physical surveillance by our Agents placed Jones in the Levison residence on Saturday 10/19/63, from 10:59 a.m. to 3:55 p.m. Specifically as to the civil rights legislation aspects of the speech, NY 4092-S\* advised that in a conversation between King's secretary and Jones, the secretary stated that the speech had been received and that she had read it to King. She stated that King would like two or three additional paragraphs on the present civil rights legislation concerning whether they should support a stronger or weaker bill. Jones indicated to the secretary that he would work on it. (S)(U)

- Enc.  
 100-3-116  
 1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King)  
 1 - 100-392452 (Stanley Levison)  
 1 - 100-407018 (Clarence Jones)  
 1 - 100-158790 (Bayard Rustin)

## SECRET

REC-138 5-49

CLASSIFIED BY 13482 2 1963  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

A highly sensitive and anonymous-type investigative technique concerning Levison was used by our New York Office on 10/19/63 and 10/21/63 but proved negative.

OBSERVATIONS:

While we would expect King to discuss civil rights legislation in his current speeches, the fact that he sought advice from Jones as to what position he should take on such legislation lends strong support to the fact that King still receives advice from Levison. It is probably no coincidence that the line taken by King in his speech follows the current Party line relative to civil rights legislation.

King, Levison and Jones Rendezvous at New York City 11/20/63

New York teletype 11/20/63 reported information from NY 4092-S\* that King, Levison and Jones would meet at the Idlewild Airport during a brief King layover en route from upstate New York to Chicago. Levison and Jones wanted to discuss with King a book by the latter. On 11/20/63 our Agents observed King enter the International Hotel at Idlewild 10:43 a.m.; Levison and Jones were observed entering the Hotel 11:05 a.m. At 2:40 p.m., King, Levison and Jones departed Hotel together and King separated from the other two. (S) (u) EISUR

Bayard Rustin Continues Homosexual Proclivities

On 11/16/63 Rustin engaged in a conversation with an unknown male which was replete with obscenities and propositions of a homosexual nature were made. We have for some time been aware of Rustin's inclination in this direction. He was the Deputy Director of the 8/28/63 March on Washington and has publicly admitted prior communist connections. Recently the Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, had indicated a frequent liaison with Rustin, who is also being considered for a position with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which King heads. (u) (S)

OBSERVATION:

We are obtaining the details of Rustin's conversation and will explore the possibility of some counterintelligence tactic to further discredit Rustin because of his homosexual proclivities.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached letter to the Attorney General go forward advising of the 11/20/63 rendezvous of King, Jones and Levison and advising of the details of the speech writing help Levison rendered to King.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-9)

DATE: 2/27/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-32864)

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE  
DIVISION

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
Burt Gardner  
Ryden

*Handwritten note:*  
11/20 Question, IMMEDIATE

Remy phone call 2/26/64 to Inspector JOSEPH SIZOO,  
Bureau.

Forwarded under separate cover by registered mail is approximately 600 feet of 16 mm. negative film with magnetic sound track which records the press conference of GUS HALL and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT held on February 21, 1964, at the Midland Hotel, Chicago. This press conference called by HALL was his answer to an attack on CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and the Illinois CP which appeared in the February 20, 1964, issue of "Chicago's American." The news article was a result of our counterintelligence program, two copies of which are also enclosed herewith.

This particular news article was excellent for our purposes since it touched on several very sensitive points with the CP, including LIGHTFOOT's shortcomings as a CP leader; the inability of the Party to effectively infiltrate the welfare and civil rights movements in this city much less lead these movements as a "vanguard" party is supposed to do; LIGHTFOOT's rebuff and altercation with an arch enemy of the Party, THERESA EHRLICH, leader of a group of communists dedicated to the revolutionary line of MAO Tse-tung, who has been able to involve her group in these struggles; the accusation against the CP by EHRLICH that the Party here is non-existent and that LIGHTFOOT and his crowd are "phonies"; and the accusation that LIGHTFOOT has deserted the working class he purports to represent.

Of all the points raised in the article perhaps the most damaging to the CP leadership is the charge that the CP is not a part of the Negro struggles and is desperately trying, without success, to become associated with the Negro movements.

*Vertical stamp:*  
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*Vertical stamp:*  
ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-116-116

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*Handwritten notes and stamps:*  
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Ryden  
SIZOO

In the film HALL dwells on the point that the CP is involved in the Negro movements and will henceforth increase their activity in this field. As far as we know this is the first time that a CP official has made such statements, publicly. HALL's statement served to alert tens of thousands of Negroes and their leaders of the CP's objective to work in their movements which can only mean the exploitation of their difficulties.

It has been our experience in Chicago that to a Negro, no one is more despicable than one who attempts to exploit him for personal or political gain. Negroes are very deeply suspicious of a member of the white race, as in the case of HALL, who makes claims of devotion and dedication to the cause of Negro freedom.

HALL and the CP have already been rebuffed by leaders of CORE and the NAACP as evidenced by the proceedings of a press conference held by JAMES JACKSON at the Hamilton Hotel, Chicago, on February 26, 1964.

MARTY O'CONNOR, a reporter for "Chicago's American," reported that at the conclusion of the press conference of JAMES JACKSON, an official of the Chicago Chapter, NAACP, who was present, loudly demanded a press conference to answer JACKSON who, like HALL, had stated the CP would become involved in the Negro freedom movements. This NAACP official disavowed any connection between the NAACP and the CP. He said the NAACP did not want the support of the Party in its fight for Negro equality, and further, that a number of years ago the NAACP had expelled the communists from the organization. He pledged that his organization would continue to fight for Negro rights without the assistance of the CP.

It is also reported in the February 27, 1964, issue of the "Chicago Sun-Times" that JACKSON had stated that the CP would support a "work-stoppage" proposed by Negro groups. The newspaper noted that it had questioned Chicago area civil rights groups who stated they had not heard of a work stoppage proposal and would not support such a move.

The article further noted the communists said they had invited representatives of all civil rights groups to the press conference but only one appeared and he used the

opportunity to denounce the communists. He was described as SIDNEY FINLEY, a regional field secretary for the NAACP, who accused the communists of "trying to force their way into the civil rights movement."

It is obvious that this counterintelligence move forced the CP to make a public announcement of their objectives regarding the civil rights movement, and they have already been rebuffed by the leaders of the movement.

A portion of the enclosed film was shown on a Chicago telecast on the evening of February 21, 1964, and on the following day two newspapers reported the gist of the conference. Significant results of this counterintelligence operation are: 1) It alerted the general public and especially the Negro people in Chicago to the designs of the CP in the current racial difficulties, perhaps the number one domestic issue in the U.S. today. 2) It alerted the leaders of the responsible Negro organizations to the CP's continued interest in infiltrating their movements, and it alerted the general public to be wary of the irresponsible Negro leadership who may be influenced by CP leaders or other radicals. 3) the newspaper article was most embarrassing to LIGHTFOOT and to the national Party leaders who were gathered in Chicago for important week-end meetings. It would appear that LIGHTFOOT will have difficulty in refuting the charges contained in the article among the rank-and-file members. There is much more truth than fiction in the article and it is obvious that it gave LIGHTFOOT great pain.

*4/2/64  
H/ly*

This film is being forwarded to the Bureau because it may be beneficial to the Bureau, particularly for In-Service training purposes. The film may be useful for the following purposes:

1. It depicts an excellent example of the impact of a counterintelligence operation on the leadership of the CP.
2. It shows the skill employed by GUS HALL in this news conference, his ability to "thrust and parry" with the press and his ability to evade and skirt direct questions.
3. It depicts LIGHTFOOT's attempt to twist the press attack on him into an attack on the Negro race. (We doubt

CG 100-32864

that LIGHTFOOT convinced many people on this point, but it shows his skill at propaganda.)

4. In considering points 2 and 3 above, the Bureau may wish to consider future counterintelligence moves which may give the CP opportunity to stage a counterattack by employing their skills in the art of propoganda and turn a counterintelligence move to their own advantage. While this was not the case in this instance, it could possibly happen in future counterintelligence moves.

RECOMMENDATION

The Bureau may desire to produce a copy of the enclosed film for training purposes.

This film should be returned to Chicago as soon as possible since I obtained this film on loan from Mr. CON O'DEA, Director of News, ABC-TV, Chicago.

*CONF Source*

BY TED SMART

Claude M. Lightfoot, Illinois communist leader, once again is in hot water—only this time with his communist bosses, not the federal government or local authorities.

Lightfoot's problems stem from his apparent inability to infiltrate with any great success the "hunger marches" and other demonstrations staged by local non-Communists.

So unhappy are the top Reds in the country that a secret meeting has been called for Sunday in a Loop hotel, where Lightfoot's shortcomings will be analyzed. It is reported that Gus Hall, national party chairman, will be on hand.

Passed Out Handbills

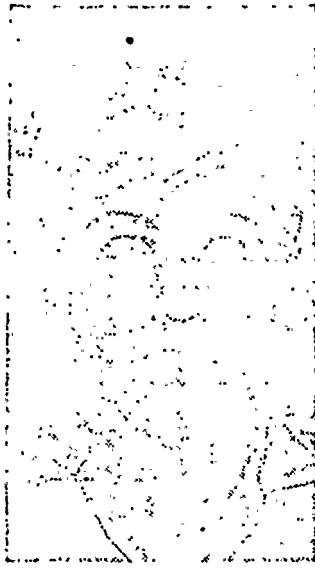
Lightfoot's problems, and his inability to cope with them, were highlighted Jan. 30, when 200 mothers and their children staged the first "hunger march" in front of the State of Illinois building, 160 N. La Salle st.

In line with the order that the Communist party identify itself with these demonstrations, Lightfoot and two of his pals were on hand.

The sponsors of the affair were not happy to see the trio, but no action was taken until a Lightfoot lieutenant began to pass out handbills to marchers and spectators.

Then Miss Theresa C. Ehrlich, a Loop attorney long associated—although indirectly—with left-wing activities, told the man to stop passing out the handbills.

In an interview with Cur-



Theresa C. Ehrlich  
"It was unfortunate"

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN, Miss Ehrlich, who organized a group called "Action for Jobs" as a "social justice" movement, told what happened:

"It was unfortunate. I've known Claude Lightfoot for 25 years," she said.

"Claude and Jim West [Illinois Communist party executive secretary] had hired a West Madison street stevedore to distribute these leaflets about the Worker [official Communist newspaper].

Calls Action "Phony"

"I told him that this had no place in a demonstration for surplus food, and I ordered him away," Miss Ehrlich related.

"Lightfoot saw this and said I had no business ordering the

man away. I said it was unprincipled to distribute this kind of leaflet when they [the Communists] had not helped in the demonstration, and said it was phony.

"It was then that he socked me—see, here on the jaw—and knocked my hat off."

Miss Ehrlich, explained her use of the word "phony"

"Lightfoot and his crowd are phonies," she said. "There is no Communist party in the United States. I think Claude is an agent of the FBI."

Explains Jobs Group

Miss Ehrlich said "Action for Jobs" was organized last June "because there exists no group taking action to help the low paid, the unemployed, or those on relief."

She said the group offered to help the Rev. Henry Mitchell, Negro pastor of the North Star Missionary Baptist church, 1414 S. Hamlin av., in the Jan. 30 march for surplus food, and that he accepted the group's assistance.

The attempted penetration of Communists into local demonstrations is seen by police as a continuing attempt by Lightfoot and his followers to infiltrate social welfare and civil rights movements.

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN last Sept. 6 exposed infiltration of demonstrations staged by the Congress of Racial Equality [C. O. R. E.] by persons with backgrounds as Communists or communist sympathizers.

Lightfoot, 54, himself a Negro, is also suspect of deserting the working class he purports to represent.

100-3-116-

EROX

MAR 11 1964

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Phillips

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

April 1, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

You will recall that at the Seat of Government conference attended by two Agents of your office on December 23, 1963, for the purpose of exploring possible avenues of additional investigation in connection with captioned matter, it was decided that because of the necessity for an extremely discreet approach by the Bureau in this matter and because certain facets of our investigation were then relatively new, this matter would be reappraised in approximately 90 days. In the interim, your office was to give consideration to a number of matters having potential for further inquiry. These included: possibilities of anonymous source contacts; possibilities of utilizing contacts in the news media field; initiating discreet checks relative to developing background information on employees of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); remaining alert to the possibility of capitalizing on any disgruntled SCLC employee; the possibility of developing information concerning any financial dealings of King which may be illegal; and the development of subversive information pertaining to SCLC employees.

The Bureau appreciates the suggestion recently made by you that another conference be held at the Seat of Government with representatives of both your office and the New York Office because of the extensive coverage being given by New York in this matter. The Bureau has given thorough consideration to this suggestion but believes that at this time, rather than a conference, receiving offices should make a thorough self-analysis of the handling of this case and related aspects such as investigations of individuals and organizations close to the communist influence in racial

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2 - New York (100-151548) (PERSONAL ATTENTION) 16-1123

SPB:pwd

501-X3

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9 APR 6

*[Handwritten signature]*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is not to be disclosed to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.



Letter to Atlanta  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-116

matters. Some of the things to be considered are those enumerated above although they should not be considered as all-inclusive. Of particular consideration should be the matter of Fred Bennett of Atlanta as it would appear that intensified coverage of him might develop pertinent information relating to Martin Luther King. This specific matter was brought to your attention by other correspondence recently.

At this time it is desired that both receiving offices give the matter of instant investigation a thorough analysis with a view toward suggesting new avenues of investigation and intensification in areas already being explored. Bear in mind the main goals in this matter; namely, determining the extent of the communist influence in racial matters and taking such action as is appropriate to neutralize or completely discredit the effectiveness of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a Negro leader because of the communist influences upon him.

Within 15 days of the receipt of this letter, Atlanta and New York should furnish the Bureau observations and recommendations in accordance with the foregoing.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)  
 (PERSONAL ATTENTION:  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

DATE: 4/14/64

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520-D)

JUNE

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 IS-C

*P. B. ...*  
*F. ...*

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated 4/1/64 which requested a reappraisal of the investigative efforts based on the past 90 days experience.

The following analysis in Atlanta is based on information furnished from various confidential sources and a review of files in conjunction therewith. It is pointed out that this office is not fully cognizant of all investigative endeavors and results therefrom that have transpired in this investigation to date, particularly as it relates to investigation conducted by auxiliary offices and their use of certain confidential investigative techniques.

In the analysis of this investigation it should further be borne in mind MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., is so closely related to the organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference which he founded that they are considered synonymous in reality. During January, 1964, KING in certain of his conversations had mentioned this very fact, his realization of this condition and that he was going to endeavor to elevate the character and picture of Southern Christian Leadership Conference as an organization rather than subvert Southern Christian Leadership Conference to his own personal name and esteem.

2- Bureau (100-3-116) (Personal Attention: Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Domestic Intelligence Division) (REGISTERED MAIL)

2- New York (100-151548) (Personal Attention: ASAC Donald E. Roney) (REGISTERED MAIL)

2- Atlanta (100-6520-D)

AFM:elt

(6)

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100-3-116-1287

MAY 4 1964

INT. SEC.

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*Let AT, cc NY 4/24/64*  
*SFP/...*  
*Let NY, cc AT 4/24/64*  
*SFP/...*

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

*5/11/68* \* *U.S. 11/11/68*  
A. Utilization of an Anonymous Source

Based on information made available and evaluation of same, consideration has been given to the utilization of an anonymous source; however, it is noted that on one occasion it was reported that STANLEY D. LEVISON had apparently provided \$500 in funds to be utilized for "night watchman purposes." It is further noted there are approximately 40 employees at this time in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Office, whose hours of employment are most irregular and include weekends on occasions. It is considered that a physical surveillance of all employees of Southern Christian Leadership Conference for such an anonymous source development could not be conducted with sufficient discreetness to insure the success of this type operation. It is further noted that the building which houses the offices of Southern Christian Leadership Conference is also occupied by a Negro Radio Station which has most irregular hours for its employees. Another portion of the building is occupied and utilized for Lodge purposes and there is considerable traffic in and out of the building at unusual or irregular hours. This office space is located in an exclusively Negro neighborhood for approximately one mile in radius except for the downtown business district.

From the above the security problems are obvious; however, there is room to explore this further and our investigation will be designed to determine any weakness which we can exploit to our advantage.

*U.S. 11/11/68*  
B. Further Use of News Media

Sources have recently reported certain displeasures on the part of KING relating to statements attributed to ROY WILKINS, Head of the NAACP, which displeasures were resultant of statements made by WILKINS in regard to the Civil Rights Bill presently in Congress. KING indicated he was tired of WILKINS making these statements which in effect carried KING's concurrence when in fact KING had not been consulted.

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

It is recommended that both the New York and Atlanta Office remain particularly alert for any further indications of a rift possibly developing between WILKINS and KING so that full utilization may be made of this incident.

If information is developed confirming such a disagreement a possible course of action may include the use of RALPH McGILL, Publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution" in order to explore the basis of such disagreement and also to feed pertinent subversive connections and dealings of KING to WILKINS. It is unknown to Atlanta whether McGILL is personally acquainted with WILKINS but it is known that McGILL has been most cooperative with the Atlanta Office of the FBI and the Bureau and if he is acquainted with WILKINS, this could be considered.

It is further suggested the Bureau, through its respective auxiliary offices, may desire to discreetly furnish information to reliable news individuals who could report by story and photograph items which would show KING's high living and exorbitant spending. In this regard, it is noted that since February, KING has been in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Los Angeles, residing in the Hyatt House at \$75 per day and again in Nassau, BWI, under an assumed name. While it is realized that certain newspaper publicity might be favorable to KING it is believed that certain articles reporting this high living would have a distinct advantage of causing many Negro supporters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to lose faith in this organization, its leader and their endeavors and hence discontinue their support through the contribution of funds. It is realized that the bulk of the financial support comes from the white community but Negroes provide the numerical majority and support for demonstrations in the street.

Information has come to the attention of the Atlanta Office recently that BILL SHIPP, State News Editor for the "Atlanta Constitution" has been making inquiry in the Albany, Georgia, area regarding the reconstruction of the three Negro churches burned in that area during the

AT 100-6520-D

AFM:elt

summer of 1962. SHIPP has in the past written unfavorable articles regarding KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as it relates to the employment of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. He has also written regarding Civil Rights groups who have within their rank subversive sympathizers. Other articles authored by SHIPP have related to the delay in the reconstruction of these destroyed churches and he has also been critical of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for its failure to make public records as to its financial affairs.

It is noted that funds, for the reconstruction of three Negro churches in the Albany area, were obtained through public solicitations initiated by the "Atlanta Constitution" and other organizations in Atlanta. The SCLC also solicited funds for this project and in so doing used the volunteer services of JACKIE ROBINSON to collect approximately \$65,000 throughout the U.S. SCLC in turn was in charge of the funds collected for this project and responsible for the disbursing of these funds to the contractors building the churches. It is further pointed out that the delay in the reconstruction of these churches has been primarily a result of the contractor not receiving funds from Southern Christian Leadership Conference on a periodic basis for the completion of these churches. It is suggested that the Bureau may desire to furnish to SHIPP on an anonymous basis, certain specific leads where he may develop the necessary data so that he may further write critical news stories which would be based on information obtained by him rather than by this agency. An example of this type of information would include furnishing the name and address of a Catholic priest from South Alabama, whose name is unknown to the Atlanta Office but possibly known to the Mobile Office, who after several years affiliation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference publically denounced this organization based on his experiences and knowledge of their financial dealings. This priest attributed to an SCLC Official a statement that they needed to have a demonstration in order to raise money. This was just prior to a large scale demonstration held in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963.

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C. Background Investigation of Southern Christian  
Leadership Conference Employees

The Atlanta Office currently is maintaining separate files on all SCLC employees and is in the process of discreetly investigating the background of twelve key employees and associates in an effort to obtain some weakness that could be used for counter-intelligence activities. To date no pertinent data has been developed on these individuals which is recognized as an opportunity for counter-intelligence purposes with the exception of KING's girl friends' activities. Recommendations will be forthcoming if and when weaknesses are developed.

D. Disgruntled Employees

It is to be noted that Atlanta sources have disclosed recently that RUTH BAILEY, an employee of the New York office of SCLC, was discharged. She contacted an employee of the Atlanta Office of SCLC and showed her displeasure because her discharge date was prior to the notification date. In showing this displeasure she brought out that STANLEY LEVISON was in some way undesirable and that KING had been warned by unknown individuals about associating with him. Sources advised, however, that upon reconsideration SCLC retained the services of BAILEY. Atlanta suggests this matter be followed closely both in New York and in Atlanta and if the opportunity presents itself to exploit BAILEY's discontent. At this time, however, it is felt that because BAILEY was rehired that the time for appraising her should be delayed.

Sources further reported a certain trend of discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of employees in the Atlanta Office of SCLC based over preferential pay to individuals performing the same duties. This discontent has been temporarily alleviated by recent pay increases made to all employees.

AT 100-6520-D  
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It is suggested that this area may present opportunities in the future from a counter-intelligence standpoint by the injection of false information with certain discontented employees such as EDWINA SMITH, the fiance of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL.

E. Financial Dealings of KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Analysis of recently received tax returns through 1962 and Internal Revenue Service investigation of KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the years 1957, 1958 and 1959, reflects that the main question of contention was the status of money received by Southern Christian Leadership Conference. KING's contention was that these receipts were gifts, while Internal Revenue contends that income from business operations, namely SCLC, was in reality income.

Atlanta sources have recently reported that the Atlanta Retail Credit Company was furnished details to the effect that SCLC had received \$750,000 during 1963. Sources have also advised that one "WILLIE" RICHARDSON, Internal Revenue Service employee, was making a current income investigation regarding the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or one of their employees. Sources at Internal Revenue Service report that WILLIE RICHARDSON is the only Negro Internal Revenue Agent of the Atlanta Regional Office and has been so employed for approximately one year.

It is pointed out that KING has authored several books and it is believed that funds received from this authorship are the funds most difficult to report as gifts as KING's contention has been in the past, rather than as income.

From the return it is apparent that SCLC is classified as a tax-exempt organization; however, contributions to it are not allowable by the donor as a tax deductible contribution to a charity organization. SCLC is considered

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a tax-exempt civil organization. It is noted that in order to obtain this tax-exempt status, a petition must be filed by the organization with Internal Revenue Service, a copy of the organization's charter, By Laws, financial statements and a list of sizeable contributors to this organization is also filed.

It is suggested that the Bureau may desire to obtain through liaison further data available regarding SCLC and the basis of any current investigation being conducted on MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., or SCLC.

It is felt the list of contributors of sizeable gifts to SCLC may be important as with future information it may be possible to compare whether KING is recording all of his contributions as gifts or whether in fact, there is a discrepancy in the amount donated to SCLC and the amount KING reports as gifts. If such a discrepancy does exist it is likely KING is utilizing these funds for his own personal affairs.

It is believed that through various past incidents as reported by Atlanta sources a trend can be established to show collusion on the part of donors who are making contribution to SCLC by various and devious means. Points in contention in this regard relate to a sizeable contribution of funds collected at a benefit held in California by SAMMY DAVIS, JR., the entertainer. It was proposed that these funds be made payable to a church in California. These funds were then forwarded by the church in California to Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, and thence to SCLC, or MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. personally.

Another point in contention relates to the recent gift by an unknown automobile dealer through a Reverend RICHARD BATTLES, Hartford, Connecticut, who contributed 12 automobiles to the SCLC for their use. Atlanta sources reported that this dealer was interested in establishing a capital loss in his business operations and was utilizing the gift of the vehicles in so doing. In order to establish



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this capital loss and as well claim a contribution, the vehicles were actually given to the West Hunter Baptist Church, the Ebenezer Baptist Church and to the United Church of Christ, Decatur, Georgia, all of which vehicles were to be made available to the SCLC.

It is further pointed out that Atlanta sources advised that SCLC is currently short on funds and is known to owe Darby Printing Company, Atlanta, approximately \$12,000.

It is believed that donors and creditors of SCLC present two important areas for counter-intelligence activities. In regard to the donors it is suggested that official SCLC stationery bearing KING's signature, copies of which are available to the Atlanta Office and will be furnished by separate communication to the Bureau Laboratory for reproduction purposes, be utilized in advising the donors that Internal Revenue Service is currently checking tax records of SCLC and that KING through this phoney correspondence wants to advise the donor insuring that he reported his gifts in accordance with Internal Revenue requirements so that he will not become involved in a tax investigation. It is believed such a letter of this type from SCLC may cause considerable concern and eliminate future contributions. From available information it is apparent that many of these contributors to SCLC are doing so in order to claim tax deductions and in order to be eligible for such deductions, the contribution is being made to the Ebenezer Baptist Church, which in turn is forwarded to KING or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is also proposed that pretext calls be placed to Darby Printing Company, impressing upon them the financial plight of SCLC so that they may be incited into collection efforts of the printing bill owed to them in the amount of \$12,000.

It is further suggested that investigative efforts be made in auxiliary offices to determine method used by

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

KING in settling his accounts and if credit cards are used, appropriate checks of these credit card accounts may develop pertinent information regarding KING's financial dealings.

Atlanta confidential sources also advised that KING has a personal account in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia at the Citizens Trust Company. The New York bank is unknown. There is also an SCLC banking account in New York City and Atlanta, Ga., also at the Citizens Trust Company. Mr. L. D. MILTON, President of the Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia, has in the past been extremely cooperative with the Bureau in other investigative matters; however, it is known that he is personally acquainted and considered friendly with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and other members of his immediate family. It is therefore felt that the necessary monitoring of his bank account could not be effective with the desired security warranted in this investigation. It is noted that this bank is owned and operated entirely by members of the Negro race.

F. Subversive Information Regarding Southern Christian Leadership Conference Employees

It is noted that Reverend CORDY T. VIVIAN, Director of Affiliates of SCLC, was identified by a Springfield Informant in 1947 as a member of the Communist Party in Peoria, Illinois. Investigation regarding VIVIAN has been instituted to determine his activities since 1947 and whether he has any other subversive affiliations.

EDWINA SMITH, Secretary to the Program Director, Reverend ANDREW YOUNG, of SCLC, while not known personally to be affiliated with any subversive organization, is engaged to HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, a former SCLC employee, and is known to be in frequent contact with him. She has been responsible for the purchase of numerous copies of the publication "Freedomways" some of which were forwarded to SCLC Offices in Atlanta and others to an SCLC School at Dorchester, Georgia.

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

DATE: 4/14/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

Re Bureau letter to Atlanta, 4/1/64.

The New York Office has analyzed its coverage of the CPUSA's attempts to influence racial matters, both as to the attempts and direction being given by the Party as a National operation and specifically as concerns any influence on MARTIN LUTHER KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

### I. Relationship of the CPUSA to Racial Matters

Intensified coverage is afforded to the Party's national headquarters at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, through the following sources:

~~NY 2353-S\*~~  
~~NY 2357-S\*~~  
~~NY 2359-S\*~~  
~~NY 2362-S\*~~

~~NY 2745-S\*~~  
~~NY 2858-S\*~~  
~~NY 3270-S\*~~  
~~NY 3953-S\*~~

~~NY 2002-S\*~~  
~~NY 2010-S\*~~  
~~NY 2017-S\*~~

In addition, coverage of the Party's interest in racial matters is also afforded by NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\*, because of their personal contacts with Party officials, particularly GUS HALL. Coverage also is given by technical means, when feasible, of specific events such as the meeting of the CPUSA National Negro Commission (NNC) in Chicago, in February, 1964, and also by live informant coverage. In the case of the NNC meeting in Chicago, it was covered by several live informants including BA 975-S, a member of this Commission.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-116) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6520) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-151548) (414)

11 APR 15 1964

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(4)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

14 memo to Atlanta 4/1/64  
SEP 26 1964

NY 4/24/64  
SFP:cls

W. L. ...

Regan P. ...

HARRIS  
FABIAN  
SHAW  
W.P. ...

EX-1179

NY 100-151548

It is felt that this coverage is adequate and, as in the case of the NNC meeting, coverage will continue to be afforded to these type meetings which will bear upon the Party's policies with respect to the racial situation in the United States.

As regards the extent of the Party's influence in racial matters, generally, in the United States, it is noted that in October, 1963, there was a meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CPUSA, the first two days of which were devoted to a report on civil rights. BENJAMIN DAVIS delivered the report on the civil rights movement, during which he stated that the Party should bear in mind the possibilities of extending its influence in the Negro movement, adding that the image of the Party as a militant organization among the Negro people has been dimmed.

DAVIS said the Party has credits in the Negro struggle, including its participation in numbers in the March on Washington, but "we" have not brought the Party forward up to now and have failed to solve the problem of how to indicate to the Negro the line of march. He added that "we" have shown some responsibility in relation to the Negro freedom movement but still do not have a clear line on the role Communists have to play. He called for the Party to find a center in the South around which to rally progressive forces and said they must get into the struggle in the South and help solve some of the problems, even though there are obstacles in the way, because otherwise the Party would be set back for years.

At the NNC meeting in Chicago in February, 1964, BENJAMIN DAVIS gave the opening report, during which he discussed the role of the CP. He said the CP is not in a position to solve the many organizational questions facing the Negro movement, but can establish a secure base in this movement if it develops and demonstrates a sound line and policy. He asked why the CP must always be discussing how to associate with existing movements and said the Party must take more initiative and organize independent movements around the needs of the people. He said the CP must act boldly and that the entire CP must be involved in the Negro people's struggle.

NY 100-151548.

JAMES JACKSON, at this meeting, said that the CP has not recruited from the cream of the crop of the Negro people's movement and that the leaders of the Negro people's movement are not associating themselves with the CP. He said this has to be a direction of the CP's work.

*DISMISSION*  
The Party, at the present time, through its press, "The Worker", is giving considerable coverage to civil rights actions throughout the United States and editorially is calling for a strong civil rights bill. It also has backed demonstrations such as the school boycotts of public schools.

## II. Communist Influence on SCLC and Its Leaders

The SCLC operation in New York has been, until recently, at 312 West 125th Street, New York City. The function of this office appears to be that of operating the mailing procedures of the Conference. This operation was handled successfully by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as Jack O'Dell, and was directed primarily toward mailings of fund appeals for the SCLC. O'DELL, however, was dismissed from the SCLC by MARTIN LUTHER KING in the Summer of 1963, following public disclosure in the press of his Communist background. O'DELL recently is reported to have stated that he has not seen MARTIN LUTHER KING since June, 1963.

Following O'DELL's dismissal, the operation of the New York Office of the SCLC floundered under the direction of RUTH BAILEY, an employee who had worked there for O'DELL. New York has no subversive information concerning BAILEY. However, it is felt that because of her possible dismissal from the SCLC, she can be the subject of a counterintelligence effort.

At present, the New York Office operation of the SCLC is being handled by one ADELE KANTER out of the office of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. There is no known subversive information concerning her.

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As regards the operation of the New York Office of the SCLC and personal contacts with MARTIN LUTHER KING, the persons who are now directly involved are CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON. In addition, BAYARD RUSTIN is being considered for a position with KING and the SCLC, but it does not appear that he will accept this post. The following information concerns these three individuals;

STANLEY LEVISON, along with CLARENCE JONES, is one of the prime movers in the SCLC. As a close confidant of KING, LEVISON has been instrumental in setting policy in the SCLC. He normally meets with KING each time he visits the New York area, and has made trips to Atlanta to consult on matters.

As of July, 1963, LEVISON was a secret member of the CPUSA. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights, and because of these differences with CP leaders, LEVISON is not now under CP discipline in the civil rights field. There has been no indication, however, that LEVISON does not continue his ideological adherence to Communism.

Following LEVISON's criticism of the Party, BEN DAVIS was designated to be the intermediary between LEVISON and the Party. However, there has been no indication that LEVISON has made any attempt to contact DAVIS, HALL or anyone else in the Party.

CLARENCE JONES is a Negro attorney who, in addition to practicing law with LUBELL, LUBELL and JONES, is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. JONES also represents MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. JONES has been identified as a person who, during late 1953 or early 1954, was a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL, which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450). JONES is quite

CLARENCE JONES



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frequently in contact with STANLEY LEVISON and in these contacts they have discussed problems relating to MARTIN LUTHER KING and his activities, the SCLC in Atlanta, the operation of the SCLC office in New York and civil rights in general. One function which JONES serves at the present time is intermediary between LEVISON and KING since direct contact between LEVISON and KING has been on a limited basis. It is to be noted that no information has been developed that CLARENCE JONES has been in contact with any officials of the CPUSA or that any effort has been made by CPUSA officials to direct JONES in the civil rights movement.

BAYARD RUSTIN, the leader of the March on Washington, the New York City School Boycott and the March on Albany, New York, has been seriously considered for the position of Northern Coordinator for the SCLC. However, this seems to be somewhat in doubt at this time, because RUSTIN prefers to operate in an independent capacity, and due to the reluctance of KING to appoint him at this time.

Recently, indications were that RUSTIN was setting up the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, whose purpose will be to deal with economic and social problems in relation to civil rights.

It is not believed that RUSTIN is going to accept the referenced position in the SCLC, which would preclude contact with KING and other SCLC leaders. Furthermore, there has not been any indication that he has contacted any CP leaders except BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. He asked DAVIS' advice as to how he could escape from speaking at a rally sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba. Although RUSTIN contacted DAVIS, it is not believed that he is in contact with other CP leaders, or that he is sympathetic to the CP cause. To substantiate this, RUSTIN as late as April 9, 1964, after addressing a meeting of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, New York, said he was opposed to the Communist movement. He said there was no ultimate principle or position in their movement; that he learned first-hand of the Communists' desire to submerge the goal of social justice as a former member of the Youth Communist League before and after the end of World War II.

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III. ~~Freedomways~~ "Freedomways" Magazine

This magazine is self-described as a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement and is a publication established and financed by the CPUSA. Outwardly, it purports to be a legitimate publication with no connection with the CPUSA. However, it identifies ESTHER JACKSON as Managing Editor and the Winter, 1964 issue published a Statement of Ownership filed 10/1/63, with the United States Post Office. This statement shows the owners of the corporation, Freedomways Associates, Inc., which publishes the magazine, as HENRY O. MAYFIELD, DOROTHY BURNHAM and CYRIL PHILIP.

MAYFIELD was a CP member in Brooklyn, New York, who died in December, 1963, but DOROTHY BURNHAM is married to HYMAN LUMER, the Educational Secretary of the CPUSA. CYRIL PHILIP has been identified in "The Worker" as the treasurer of the Hall-Davis Defense Committee.

However, the principal operators of the publication are ESTHER JACKSON, JOHN CLARKE, an Associate Editor, and O'DELL, who is now affiliated with the magazine and has contributed articles to the last two issues.

This publication is seeking to extend its circulation and influence and O'DELL has been instrumental in this endeavor. Because of his background in work for the SCLC, he still has contacts in the civil rights movement and can be of great help in increasing the circulation of "Freedomways", through legitimate civil rights organizations such as the SCLC. O'DELL has discussed the use of "Freedomways" within the SCLC with EDWINA SMITH, a Secretary in the National Office of the SCLC in Atlanta, who is alleged to be his girlfriend. Recently, EDWINA SMITH ordered copies of "Freedomways" to be sent to SEPTIMA P. CLARK, the Director of Teacher Training and Citizenship Education Program of the SCLC, and to the SCLC Headquarters itself.

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IV. Recommendations

With respect to BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, it is to be noted that he is Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the CPUSA, and in this capacity would be in possession of information concerning the CP's position and activities with respect to the Negro Question in the civil rights movement. It is also to be noted that in the recent past, DAVIS has been in contact with BAYARD RUSTIN. In view of this information, it is being recommended that NY 1869-S\*, who would be in a position to furnish information concerning DAVIS and his activities, be reactivated; however, this recommendation was submitted recently by the New York Office to the Bureau for its approval, but it was not allowed at that time.

*ELSON*

A separate letter will be submitted recommending reinstatement of NY 1869-S\*. *ELSON*

With respect to the SCLC office in New York City, it is to be noted that the SCLC has its office at 312 West 125th Street, New York City, in which office RUTH BAILEY works; however, ADELE KANTER, who is an employee of the SCLC and who is frequently in contact with LEVISON, has office space in the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. It is being recommended that additional coverage be afforded to the SCLC in this location. Details of this additional coverage will be contained in a separate communication to the Bureau. It is also to be noted that the possibility exists that the entire New York office of the SCLC will be housed at the Gandhi Society.

It is also being recommended that an anonymous letter be sent from Atlanta to RUTH BAILEY, SCLC employee in New York City, in an effort to cause disruption in the New York office of the SCLC and cause friction among RUTH BAILEY, ADELE KANTER, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES. The details of this will be submitted to the Bureau by separate communication.

On 3/25/64, EDWINA SMITH, Secretary to the Program Director of the SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, ordered 50 copies of

NY 100-151548

"Freedomways" sent to Mrs. SEPTIMA P. CLARK at the Dorchester Community Center, Midway, Georgia, and 25 copies for the SCLC Headquarters at 334 Auburn Street, Atlanta, Georgia. It would appear that these magazines may be intended for use in the SCLC's training school and it is suggested that the Atlanta Office may be able to determine from a public source that "Freedomways" is being used by the SCLC in its training schools. If such information is obtained, then consideration could be given to the use of Bureau contacts in the mass media field to publicize this information. Such a public disclosure could be most embarrassing and disruptive to the SCLC.

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

4/24/64

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

1 - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to letters from your office and New York 4/14/64, which set out analysis and evaluation of progress which is being made in investigation relative to captioned matter. These letters were in reply to solicitation made of receiving offices with a view toward suggesting new avenues of investigation and intensification in areas already being explored.

The purpose of instant communication is to express the Bureau's gratitude for the analysis submitted by Atlanta which included several suggestions for exploring new areas. The Bureau believes that some of Atlanta's ideas are extremely worthwhile and represent a studied effort combined with an aggressive imagination looking toward more and better ways of meeting the problems involved in captioned investigation.

The specific matters dealt with in Atlanta's letter will be the subject of separate correspondence with that office. You are instructed to place a copy of this letter of approbation in the personnel files of the Atlanta Agents responsible for the excellent analysis and decisive, imaginative suggestions.

1 - New York (100-151548)

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19 APR 24 1964

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

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
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| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

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

DATE: May 7, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland *5 Phillips*
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

By memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont, 4-29-64, there was forwarded a document prepared to depict the extent of communist influence in the Negro movement. It was prepared as a working paper to provide as complete a picture as possible and furnished as much information as possible so that every facet of the information deemed desirable will be available.

Enclosed are several new and amended pages prepared in order to bring the document as up to date as possible with the latest highlights developed from our continuing investigation. The new information covers the following matters: (1) a 4-29-64 public address by Arnold Johnson, national Party functionary, wherein he admitted that the Party is in the current civil rights movement; (2) a meeting 4-26-64 of a Party Subcommittee for the purpose of formulating plans for the forthcoming convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, including strategy the Party plans to use at this convention; (3) a letter from Party Headquarters to all districts dated 4-29-64 calling for all Party members and followers to spare no efforts to assure victory for the current civil rights bill and to make full contribution towards this goal through mass meetings, demonstrations, picket lines, petitions and telegrams to Senators; (4) revelation in the press 5-4-64 that Gloria Richardson, leader of the Negro movement in Cambridge, Maryland, is regularly receiving 50 copies of the "National Guardian" (communist publication) for distribution to her workers and visitors; (5) the fact that Martin Luther King, Jr., spent the nights of 4/24 and 25/64 in Los Angeles with two different women, neither of whom was his wife; and (6) latest data as to communist participation in World's Fair demonstration.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. The additional and amended pages to the original document should be inserted into the copies maintained by the Director, Mr. Tolson, and other Bureau officials receiving copies of instant memorandum. These pages are Table of Contents Page 1, 24a, 24b, 33, 33a, 50, 50a, 50b, 51 and 162a.

NOT RECORDED

Encs.  
100-3-116

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SEP:pwd (8)  
MAY 14 1964

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-116

2. The yellow file copy of the document is maintained as serial 1309 of file 100-3-116 and is in a section devoted exclusively to this document. The necessary changes to the yellow file copy should be made by the Records Section and the original yellows of any changed pages should be maintained behind serial 1309. In addition, the original of instant memorandum should ultimately be filed as an unrecorded piece of mail in the same section with serial 1309.

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials: "Jed" and "Wef" with a large circle below*

*Handwritten notes:*  
✓  
Originals placed  
in file by  
[unclear]  
5-8-64  
OK  
[unclear]

Mr. Edwin O. Guttman  
Special Assistant for Public Information

May 14, 1964

C. D. DeLoach  
Assistant Director

REC-133

94 - X - 1 - 508 D.C.

JACK C. VANDENBERG  
UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI)  
MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO  
DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER OF THE FBI  
MAY 8, 1964

On May 12th I received the memorandum dated May 8, 1964, containing your interpretation of our conversation relative to the above matter. Your memorandum of May 8th contains a number of statements which lead me to conclude now, as I did at the time of our conversation that day, that you have unfortunately misunderstood the purpose of Mr. Hoover's reply to Mr. Jack C. Vandenberg's questions.

To put the matter in proper perspective, let me again state that Mr. Hoover believes there is a great need to inform the public generally, and particularly those dedicated individuals who are actively engaged in the civil rights movement, concerning the dangers of communist attempts to use them. Demonstrations in support of equal rights for all citizens are under way in many cities, both North and South, and we have been informed by spokesmen of some of the leading civil rights organizations that these will increase in frequency in the months ahead. You are aware that many of these demonstrations have resulted in considerable violence.

Coupled with this is the history of communist tactics which include the use of violence in public demonstrations. That is why the clear and irrefutable fact of communist efforts to capitalize upon racial demonstrations and disturbances is of such intense importance at this time--for it constitutes not only a serious and potentially growing problem to law enforcement agencies, who must preserve law and order, but also a threat to the lives and safety of all citizens, particularly those most active in the civil rights movement itself. This is what Mr. Hoover had in mind when he prepared his answers to Mr. Vandenberg's questions, and this is why neither Inspector Wick nor I could agree with your conclusion that Mr. Hoover's "whole statement presents a distorted viewpoint."

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr. memo dated 5-13-64 captioned as above, CDD:sc

REW:GWS: [unclear] prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_



Mr. Edwin O. Guthman

I note that this theme still predominates in your memorandum, particularly in the six numbered points on Pages 1 and 2. With respect to these six points, let me reiterate what I told you last Friday:

(1.) Regarding items 1 and 2 concerning the extent of communist infiltration in the civil rights movement, you indicate that Mr. Hoover's answer "blanketed all Negroes." As I repeatedly pointed out to you, Mr. Hoover's opening sentence is, "Let me first emphasize that I realize that the vast majority of Negroes have rejected and recognized communism for what it is." I further emphasized that, in addition to Stanley Levison and Hunter O'Dell, there are a number of Negro and white communists and persons under communist influence taking an active part in the civil rights movement. Not only did I name several of these persons to you, but I also advised you that this information about them had been furnished to the Department of Justice and was readily available to you. You will recall admitting that you were not conversant with this material.

(2.) Regarding item 3, I feel that you still miss the point, since the very militancy of the groups active in this movement is the ingredient which communists and others advocating violence seek to exploit.

(3.) Regarding item 4, these additional words were incorporated in the final statement by Mr. Hoover, which you approved and which was given to Mr. Vandenberg.

(4.) Regarding items 5 and 6, your misunderstanding of the purpose and objective of Mr. Hoover's reply clearly manifests itself in these two points. Item 6 suggests that your sole consideration in reviewing Mr. Hoover's statement was the impact it possibly might have on the pending civil rights legislation.

As Inspector Wick and I told you, Mr. Hoover's short factual answers to these questions were intended to bring specific facts before the public. His views concerning the need to protect and enhance the rights of all citizens have been reiterated time and again over the years and, in fact, have been clearly expressed in major speeches by Mr. Hoover which you personally have read and approved. Your memorandum makes it clear to me that your entire

Mr. Edwin O. Guthman

objection to Mr. Hoover's answers to Mr. Vandenberg's questions was that publication might be detrimental to the civil rights cause. Actually, the greater danger lies in a failure to recognize and challenge the communists and other spokesmen for violence who attempt to capitalize on the militancy of the sincere advocates of equal rights.

I am enclosing a copy of (1) the original answer as prepared by Mr. Hoover and (2) the revised version which was approved by you. Certainly, the fact that our discussion resulted in agreement is evidence that no "stand fast" policy or "adamancy" existed. B

At the bottom of Page 3 and the top of Page 4 of your May 8th memorandum you appear to be somewhat confused because, as you will recall, you were the one who suggested that the matter could be taken up with the White House. It was agreed that we should first attempt to work out a solution ourselves, which we did.

Enclosures (2)

ITEM 1

Question: You have been quoted as saying there are communists in the civil rights movement. Are these men in positions of leadership? How much influence do they have on the civil rights movement?

Answer: Let me first emphasize that I realize that the vast majority of Negroes have rejected and recognized communism for what it is. However, the infiltration, exploitation, and control of the Negro population for many years has been one of the top goals of the Communist Party, USA. Communist interest is not based on such noble ideals as improving the status or condition of the Negro in this country. Its purpose, pure and simple, is the ultimate advancement of communist objectives of domination, control and conquest of all it touches.

A special target of the Communist Party among the Negroes is the exploitation of the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement. This exploitation is carried out through active members of the Communist Party and individuals who are under communist influence and control.

The existence and importance of the communist influence in the Negro movement cannot be ignored or minimized. The Communist Party will use its forces either in the open forum of public opinion or through its sympathizers who do not wear the badge of communism but who spout some of the same ideas carried in the Communist Party line. This is the influence which is capable of moving large masses of loyal and dedicated citizens toward communist objectives while being lured away from the true issues involved.

JUN 7 1964  
XEROX -

94-8-95-508  
ENCLOSURE

Question: You have been quoted as saying there are communists in the civil rights movement. Are these men in positions of leadership? How much influence do they have on the civil rights movement?

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The communists have always tried to make headway by playing on emotion, faith and injustice and it is inevitable that they have tried and will continue to try to exploit Negro militance for civil rights. Active members of the Communist Party and individuals who are under communist influence and control continually attempt to work their way into civil rights organizations. They have had some success, but many failures.

The existence and importance of the communist influence in the Negro movement should not be ignored or minimized, nor should it be exaggerated. The Communist Party will use its forces either in the open forum of public opinion or through its sympathizers who do not wear the badge of communism but who spout some of the same ideas carried in the Communist Party line. This is the influence which is capable of moving large masses of loyal and dedicated citizens toward communist objectives while being lured away from the true issues involved. It is up to the civil rights organizations themselves to recognize this and face up to it.

TREAT AS YELLOW

# Memorandum

TO : Cartha D. DeLoach, Assistant Director, FBI

DATE: May 12, 1964

FROM : Edwin Guthman, Special Assistant for Public Information

*United Press International*

SUBJECT:

Attached is a memorandum of our conversation on May 8.

Please feel free to make any corrections, suggestions or additions, particularly if you feel your views are not fully represented.

REC-138

94-8-95-508

62-551147-25  
77-41163-25

MAY 28 1964

JUN 1 1964  
XEROX

MAY 15 3 1964

*Handwritten signature*  
CONFIDENTIAL

5-15-64  
CONFIDENTIAL

*Memorandum*

TO : The File

DATE: May 8, 1964

FROM : Edwin Guthman, Special Assistant for Public Information

SUBJECT:

Late yesterday afternoon, Bob Wick of the FBI brought over for clearance answers to two sets of questions submitted to Mr. Hoover by the Associated Press and United Press International.

I made several suggestions and raised a serious question about Mr. Hoover's answer to the UPI question: "You have been quoted as saying there are communists in the civil rights movement. Are these men in positions of leadership? How much influence do they have on the civil rights movement?"

I based my objection on the total impact of Mr. Hoover's answer which, in my opinion, put communist influence in the civil rights movement out of perspective. I made the following points in talking with Bob Wick:

1. The answers blanketed all Negroes without making the point that most of the communists in the Negro movement are white. I said the only important white communist that I knew was Stanley Levinson who advises Martin Luther King, and that almost all the others are on the fringes of the Negro organization.
2. Negro communists in the civil rights movement did not hold positions of leadership. I said I know only of O'Dell and that he appeared to have been moved out.
3. Negroes are so militant over the denial of their rights that communist influence is not needed to foment the demonstrations--they are occurring out of Negro resentment and not because of communist infiltration.
4. I referred to the line in Mr. Hoover's answer which said "the existence and importance of the communist influence in the Negro movement cannot be ignored or minimized"; and suggested that the phrase "also should not be exaggerated" should be added.
5. The answer as a whole was totally negative and I contended that if a statement like that were made, it was also necessary to point out that the way to

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ENCLOSURE

stop the communists from gaining strength in the civil rights movement is to make progress toward eliminating discrimination.

6. I felt strongly that Mr. Hoover's answer would have a very adverse effect on the civil rights bill.

Wick strongly supported Mr. Hoover's statement and after discussing the matter briefly, I said that I could not clear this statement because of the adverse effect it would have on the civil rights bill. I said unless it were changed, it should go to the White House for clearance. Wick left the office about 7:00 p.m.

This forenoon, Deke DeLoach and Bob Wick returned with the statement and DeLoach informed me that Mr. Hoover was standing fast; that he felt the statement was accurate and the truth; and that it should be published.

I repeated my position.

DeLoach read the first paragraph of the statement and asked me if there was anything in there that was not true. I said there wasn't. He read the second paragraph which said that the Negroes are a prime communist target and that active members of the Communist Party and individuals who are under communist influence are influencing the civil rights movement.

Martin Luther King's association with Levinson and other incidents of communist penetration were discussed. DeLoach said that the communists, through Martin Luther King, had a strong voice in the civil rights movement and that because King occupied a position of top leadership, the paragraph was correct.

I said that standing alone this paragraph ascribed too much power and influence to the communists; that some qualification was needed indicating that while the communists had made some penetration, they had also had many failures and that the communists always tried to capitalize on social turmoil.

We discussed this and talked about possible changes. We could not come to an agreement and passed on to the third paragraph.

I suggested that the phrase "nor should it be exaggerated" be added to the first sentence. DeLoach agreed. He read the rest of the paragraph and we discussed it. He said it was accurate as it stood and was an important part of the answer. I felt it did not tell

the whole story and that some language was needed to indicate that: (1) it was up to civil rights organizations to recognize the communist problem and face up to it; and (2) that communist efforts to infiltrate the civil rights movement should not distract us from the fact that discrimination exists, and that particularly the white majority must take action to end discrimination.

DeLoach was agreeable to point one but not to point two, and we discussed that for a considerable period of time. DeLoach said that Mr. Hoover could not "philosophize"; that he was the head of an investigative agency and could only tell what the investigations would show. I said that Mr. Hoover's position was such in the country that he was not just an ordinary Bureau head; that his word on this subject was gospel with millions of Americans.

I said that the civil rights problem was a different problem than had ever faced this country before and that it was extremely important that men in Mr. Hoover's position give leadership. I also said that any statement which would adversely affect President Johnson's position on the civil rights bill would be a disservice to the President and to the country.

DeLoach disagreed that the statement would adversely affect the bill. During the long discussion over this point, DeLoach said that perhaps the best thing to do was simply to withdraw the statement if we wanted to "suppress" it. I said that he knew I was not trying to suppress anything; that what I was trying to do was to get a statement on communist infiltration in the civil rights movement that was exactly in perspective.

DeLoach repeatedly reminded me that Mr. Hoover's statement was the truth and that Mr. Hoover's position was highly respected in the United States because he always told the truth.

I said at least once that I felt Mr. Hoover's answer as submitted to me distorted the extent of communist influence in the civil rights movement--a statement which DeLoach took issue with strongly.

We went back to the second paragraph and after further discussion, I typed out the language as it now appears, and DeLoach accepted it. He said he felt that my changes had watered down the statement because it was talking about the future and the past, and not about the present.

I didn't quite understand this point but said if he was not satisfied with it this way, that I would be glad to see that the original statement was sent to the White House, and if President Johnson wished to clear it, I would accept that decision.

DeLoach asked me if I would take it to Walter Jenkins. I said that I would not; that my dealings in the White House were with George



Reedy and Bill Moyers. He said that he could take the statement over to Walter Jenkins, but that he thought the thing for us to do was to sit down and resolve our differences which we had done to a large extent.

I made one more appeal for one line at the end which would say something to the effect that we should not let the communist threat divert us from the fact that discrimination exists and must be eliminated. But DeLoach was adamant that Mr. Hoover would never say that because it would be "sermonizing" and "philosophizing."

DeLoach said that the statement as it was finally drafted was weaker than Mr. Hoover's statement before the House Appropriations Subcommittee. He also said that Mr. Hoover was the only person who was alerting the country to the communist danger in the civil rights movement.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tolson     | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Sulliyān DATE: 12/1/65 ✓

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

P. J. ...  
B. ...

- 1 - Mr. Belmont (Attention: Mrs. Henley)
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

My memorandum to you 10/29/65 forwarded several new and amended pages to the document prepared to depict the extent of communist influence in the Negro movement. The original document was submitted by memorandum from you to Mr. Belmont 4/29/64.

Enclosed are several new and amended pages prepared in order to bring the document up to date with the latest high lights developed from our continuing investigation.

(1) Pages 241l and 24mm added to report the deliberations of the Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA, concerning the civil rights movement and the respective positions of the Party and Martin Luther King, Jr., relative to the movement; and the fact that the draft of a program which the Party has prepared contains a section concerning the Negro freedom movement.

(2) Page 70d amended and page 70e added to report on a conference between the long-time communist, Stanley Levison, and Andrew J. Young, Executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr., which reveals further evidence of the influence Levison has on King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

(3) Page 158s amended and pages 158t and 158u added to report on a conference had by King 10/30/65 with Stanley Levison, Clarence Jones and an unidentified male relative to the Vietnam situation and the position which King is taking in that matter.

(4) Pages 162d, 162e and 162f added to report further evidences of the moral degeneracy of Martin Luther King, Jr., in that King is reported to have gone to the apartment of one of his female employees on 11/4/65 and to have torn her clothes off of her in an apparent attempt to attack her.

100-3-116

Enclosures

SFP:deh

(9)

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NOT RECORDED  
DEC 6 1965

DEC 8 1965

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Communist Party, USA  
100-3-116

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) The amended pages to the original document should be inserted into the copies maintained by the Director and other Bureau officials receiving copies of instant memorandum. These pages are 241l, 24mm, 70d, 70e, 158s, 158t, 158u, 162d, 162e and 162f. *3/10/50*

(2) The yellow file copy of the document is maintained as serial 1309 of file 100-3-116 (Section 30, Part I). The necessary changes to the yellow file copy should be made by the Records Section and the original yellows of any changed pages should be maintained in Section 30, Part II. In addition, the original of instant memorandum should be filed in Section 30, Part II.

*W.C.G.* *V.* *Jo*  
*REC*  
*J. H.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: August 20, 1966

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

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

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Trainor

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

SUBJECT: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

Historically the Communist Party, USA, has regarded Negroes as a primary target group for agitation, infiltration, and recruitment. Negroes have been subjected constantly to intensive and extensive communist propoganda. The Communist Party seizes upon any opportunity presented to exploit the racial issue. Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference have, over the years, received advice and guidance from such dedicated communists as Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a former national leader in the Communist Party. C. T. Vivian, an official in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is a former communist. Levison went to Atlanta, Georgia, to confer with King during the June, 1966, march from Memphis to Jackson. He was in Chicago to confer with King in connection with King's activities for open housing in August of 1966. Clarence Jones, Harry Wachtel, and Bayard Rustin, all with histories of prior communist affiliation, have also been close advisors of King and his organization.

Basically each riot which has occurred in the United States since the Summer of 1964 followed a single incident generally involving efforts on the part of police to effect an arrest of a Negro. The Communist Party and other subversive organizations exploited the riots after they had begun. Examples follow:

## NEW YORK

The New York City riot which began July 18, 1964, was preceded by protest demonstrations against an off-duty police officer who shot a Negro youth while attempting to make an arrest on July 16, 1964. The Progressive Labor Party, then called the Progressive Labor Movement, a Marxist-Leninist group oriented toward Red China, was reported to be active in stirring up the Negroes against the white communities and once the riot started took advantage of the situation. It distributed one thousand inflammatory leaflets in the riot

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This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*MEMO Sullivan to DeLoach  
8/23/66 TDR/HAD  
page 6.*

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach.  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

area. William Epton, national vice chairman of this organization and a former member of the Communist Party, organized and led young Negroes in fighting the police during the riot. In an inflammatory street speech he warned "...we are going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges and we will have to go up against the Army...." His activities in fomenting and adding to the disorder led to his arrest and subsequent conviction on charges of criminal anarchy. The Communist Party, USA, of course, and other communist-type organizations had a propaganda field day.

In addition, on July 19, 1964, Jesse Gray, a former organizer of the Harlem region of the Communist Party, called for one hundred single revolutionaries who were ready to die to correct what he termed the police brutality situation in Harlem.

#### PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Following an attempted arrest of a Negro woman in a predominantly Negro neighborhood in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on August 28, 1964, Abyssinia Hayes, a well-known Negro agitator, leader of a small black nationalist group and former member of the Nation of Islam which preaches hatred against the whites, mounted the porch of a house urging the people who had gathered at the scene to violence against police officers and thereafter the crowd began attacking police and throwing stones and bricks at passing cars. The following two days saw riotous conditions in the area. During the course of the riots, members of the Communist Party, USA, were observed distributing numerous copies of "The Worker," the East Coast communist newspaper, in the riot area. Hayes was arrested by the Philadelphia police and among other things charged with inciting to riot. A subsequent search of his home revealed knives, an automatic pistol, fifty gallons of flammable liquid and a quantity of communist-Marxist literature.

#### LOS ANGELES

Communists were quick to exploit the Watts area riot in Los Angeles, August 11-15, 1965. On August 14, 1965, members of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, a communist youth organization, and the Socialist Workers Party, a communist Trotskyite organization, staged a demonstration at the police administration building and on August 16, 1965, the DuBois

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

Club members circulated leaflets calling for expulsion of the Los Angeles Chief of Police. Communist Party members prepared articles for a communist publication written in an effort to place blame for the riot on local authorities. The leader of another procommunist China communist splinter group stated in October, 1965, that his group had spent over two years carrying on agitation against the police in the Watts area. He added that his group was engaged in the formation and development of units and squads to fight against "police brutality" and "United States imperialism" which could, in the future, provide the basis for "liberation armies."

During the riot which erupted in the Watts area in Los Angeles on March 15, 1966, the Southside Defense Committee, which was set up by the Communist Party, held a press conference protesting alleged police brutality in connection with the arrest of four members of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs who were in the riot area.

A disturbance which occurred in the Watts area of Los Angeles on May 17, 1966, is directly attributed to actions of the communists who organized the rally at the Will Rogers Park in the Watts area to protest the killing of a Negro, Leonard Deadwyler. An inflammatory handbill announcing the rally was prepared by a Communist Party member and following the rally approximately five hundred individuals led by a paid organizer of the W. E. B. DuBois Club who was driving an automobile equipped with loud-speakers proceeded to the 77th Street Division of the Los Angeles Police Department where they staged a boisterous picketing demonstration. A news vehicle was attacked and one occupant seriously wounded, a liquor store window was broken and looted; bottles and bricks were hurled at passing cars. An inquest into the death of Deadwyler on May 19, 1966, was disrupted to such an extent by unruly spectators that it had to be recessed. The Progressive Labor Party, a violence-prone pro-Chinese communist organization, got into the act during the inquest by distributing a leaflet captioned "Wanted for the Murder of Leonard Deadwyler, Bova, a Cop." At the courthouse while the inquest was in progress, the Communist Party circulated a petition calling for indictment of the officer involved in the shooting.

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach

CLEVELAND

In connection with riots which began in the Hough area of Cleveland, Ohio, on the night of July 18, 1966, a Cuyahoga Grand Jury reported that "The outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals of this business. They were aided and abetted willingly or otherwise by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremists and some of whom are also either members of or officers in the Communist Party."

A prior disturbance had begun on the night of June 22, 1966, in the vicinity of the JFK House, a private community center in Cleveland, which continued nightly through June 25, 1966. The Bureau sources, as well as sources of the Cleveland Police Department, agree that the June disturbance was organized by leaders and members of the JFK House and that JFK youths were primarily involved. The three principal leaders of the JFK House have been affiliated with the Revolutionary Action Movement, an all-Negro black nationalist procommunist China organization, whose nominal leader is Robert F. Williams, a fugitive from justice now residing in Communist China. In addition to their involvement in the June disturbance, the grand jury reported that these leaders caused two thousand pieces of literature to be printed and circulated citing alleged incidents of "police brutality" on the eve of the Hough area riots in July. The greatest number of these were circulated to youths of non-voting age under the guise of urging the defeat of a levy at the polls, and while not instigating the July riots, the JFK House people did exploit the Hough area during the course of the riots.

According to a police undercover agent, a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland, contact was made with Lewis G. Robinson, the head of the JFK House by a member of the Communist Party, and offered Communist Party support. This was done at the instructions of the District Organizer of the Communist Party in Cleveland. In addition, Robinson is known to have attended public functions of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland in 1965 and 1966 and, in fact, was among those arrested by the Cleveland Police Department in November, 1965, during a disturbance at a Socialist Workers

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

Party-sponsored public function. Robinson's wife visited Cuba in 1961 and, in fact, was employed by the Ministry of education while in Cuba. She traveled without State Department permission. She has also attended Socialist Workers Party public functions. Communist contacts with Robinson occurred prior to the July 18 riot with the last contact being July 14, 1966.

During the course of the Hough area riots, four members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club were arrested in the riot area with a considerable amount of communist literature in the car. In this connection it is noted that the DuBois Club headquarters had been set up in the Hough area of Cleveland.

#### CHICAGO

During a disturbance in Chicago in August, 1965, leaflets containing inflammatory statements were distributed in the troubled area by members of Spartacist, a Trotskyite organization, composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party. The leaflets compared the riot situation in Chicago to Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

During the course of the Chicago riot which began July 12, 1966, Douglas Andrews, the leader of a civil rights organization and also a former member of the Revolutionary Action Movement, together with twelve other members of the civil rights organization, were arrested by the Chicago Police Department following receipt of information that they were preparing Molotov cocktails for use later in the riot area.

#### DETROIT

In Detroit on August 9, 1966, a riotous situation developed following an attempt by police to arrest three Negroes. The same night, General Gordon Baker, Jr., a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, and several of his associates were arrested by police. These individuals were in possession of weapons and were en route to the riot area.

In all of the above and similar situations, the Communist Party has seized every opportunity to exploit the situation, to set itself up as the "champion" of social protest, and to portray itself as the "leader" in the struggle for full and equal rights. In other words, the Communist Party wants to "keep the pot boiling" by any possible means.



Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

ACTION:

For information. A monograph dealing with the subject of "Inciters and Exploiters of Racial Violence" is in preparation and is receiving expeditious attention. This monograph will be prepared for dissemination to the White House and interested Government agencies.

*TOR JFB*

*get*

*1-11-68*  
*1/11/68*  
You have given me  
no where what disposition  
at the hands of the police  
& courts was given by  
the authorities for  
overt acts committed

*#*

You have given me  
no where what disposition  
at the hands of the police  
& courts was given by  
the authorities for  
overt acts committed

*#*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: 8/23/66

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Trainor

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

In connection with my memorandum of August 20, 1966, captioned as above, the Director noted that the disposition at the hands of the police and courts for overt acts committed was not set forth. They follow.

## NEW YORK

William Epton, National Vice Chairman of the Progressive Labor Party, a violence prone, Marxist-Leninist group oriented toward Red China, was arrested for his part in the New York City riot which began July 18, 1964. He was charged with conspiracy to incite riot, advocating criminal anarchy and conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy. He was convicted on each count and was sentenced to one year in prison on each count with the sentences to run concurrently. Epton is presently free under \$25,000 bail pending appeal of his conviction.

Jesse Gray, the former organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party who during the course of the New York riot called for 100 revolutionaries who were ready to die to correct what he termed the police brutality situation in Harlem, was not arrested. An injunction, however, was obtained July 24, 1964, prohibiting Gray and others from conducting demonstrations in the central Harlem area of New York City. This injunction was dissolved by the New York Supreme Court September 17, 1964.

## PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Abyssiria Hayes, who was arrested in connection with his participation in the Philadelphia riot which began

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This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

August 28, 1964, and charged with inciting to riot, violation of the Uniform Firearms Act and violation of the explosives section of a local code, was convicted on the charges of inciting to riot, riot and conspiracy to riot and was sentenced to 18 months to three years in prison. He is presently incarcerated.

#### LOS ANGELES

In connection with the arrest of W.E.B. DuBois Club members in the riot area of the March 15, 1966, riot in the Watts area of Los Angeles, Franklin Alexander, a current member of the Communist Party and now National Chairman of the DuBois Clubs of America; Kendra Harris; Donna June Slater and Robert L. Brown were arrested March 16, 1966, and charged with being drunk in area where racial disturbance was occurring. Alexander was sentenced to 30 days in the city jail, Harris was fined \$50 or five days in jail, Slater was found guilty on two counts receiving a five-day suspended sentence on count one and a \$150 fine or 15 days in jail on count two, and Brown was fined \$100 or 10 days in jail.

#### CLEVELAND

Lewis G. Robinsor, the leader of the JFK House, a private community center in Cleveland, members of which organized and were primarily involved in the June 22-25, 1966, disturbance in Cleveland, was arrested in November, 1965, while in attendance at a Socialist Workers Party-sponsored public function. This arrest was in connection with a liquor raid. The case has not come to trial yet but is scheduled for September 14, 1966.

During the course of the Hough area, Cleveland, Ohio, riots which began on the night of July 18, 1966, four members of the W.E.B. DuBois Club were detained by the Ohio National Guard, the automobile in which they were riding was searched and communist literature noted therein; however, they were not charged. Subsequently, Ronald Lucas and

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
RE: SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN RIOTS

Steven Shreefter, two of the four, were arrested by the Cleveland Police Department and were charged with obstructing police officers. They are presently out on \$100 bond each with their cases scheduled for trial September 9, 1966.

CHICAGO

Douglas Andrews, a former member of the Revolutionary Action Movement, was arrested July 14, 1966, by the Chicago Police Department following receipt of information that he and members of a civil rights organization of which he was head were preparing molotov cocktails for use in the riot area. The riot began July 12, 1966. Andrews has been charged with inciting a riot, possession of narcotics and keeping a house of ill repute. There has been no disposition to date.

DETROIT

In connection with the riotous situation which developed in Detroit August 9, 1966, General Gordon Baker, Jr., a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, and three of his associates, Nobel Smith, Rufus Griffin, Jr., and Glanton Dowdell, were arrested by police while en route to the riot area. All were charged with carrying concealed weapons. Baker, Smith and Griffin were released on \$2,000 bond with Dowdell's bond being placed at \$5,000. Trial date has not been set.

ACTION:

Submitted pursuant to the Director's request.

*JSR JPA WES*  
*D*  
*ds*  
*✓ Hooper*



Memorandum for W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SUBVERSIVE AND EXTREMIST  
ELEMENTS IN RACIAL VIOLENCE  
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

the past three years highlight the enormous success achieved by this communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been widely accepted by many noncommunists, particularly by Negroes and other minority groups.

This study analyzes racial riots and disturbances against the background of known communist aims and objectives. It shows that communists seek to advance their cause by injecting themselves into racial situations and exploiting them.

In analyzing the riots and disturbances of the past three years, this study also deals with other factors which have contributed to racial turmoil and violence. It notes that a certain susceptible segment of the Negro population has been aroused and influenced by demagogic public statements of prominent persons--notably civil rights leaders--which have encouraged, advocated, or condoned lawlessness and civil disobedience. This has had the effect of relieving the participants in mob action of all responsibility for their reckless actions. In addition, it is noted that the nationwide publicity given to riotous activity in one locality has served to stimulate impressible people in other areas of the country to mass action.

From this study, it is apparent that the net result of the racial activities of communists and other subversives and extremists has been to promote an increasing breakdown of respect for law and order across the Nation and a flagrant disregard for the personal and property rights of our citizens. Moreover, their activities have played a major role in poisoning the atmosphere and in creating a climate of conflict between the races.

The enclosed document has been proofread by the Reading Room. Upon approval, it should be returned to the Research-Satellite Section for printing and distribution.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this document, the yellow copy of which is enclosed, be approved for dissemination by letter to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; the Vice President; and the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorneys General of the Civil Rights Division, Internal Security Division, and Criminal Division.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. ~~Wick~~ September 23, 1966

Director, FBI *44-38861-1466*

*REC-18*  
 SUBVERSIVE AND EXTREMIST  
 ELEMENTS IN RACIAL VIOLENCE  
 RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Garner

Communists and other subversives and extremists strive continuously to precipitate racial discord and to take advantage of racial problems in the United States. Such elements were active in exploiting and aggravating the riots, for example, in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago. The enclosed document, entitled "Subversive and Extremist Elements in Racial Violence," analyzes a number of riots and disturbances of the past three years and delineates the role played in them by communists and other subversives and extremists.

Although this document was prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it is not based on any specific investigation conducted by this Bureau. This document, which is an analysis of available intelligence data, is being furnished for your information.

A copy of the enclosure is being furnished to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, and the Vice President. Upon removal of the classified material, this letter becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. John Dear (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr. (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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

RSG:esh  
(16)

MAILED 11  
 SEP 23 1966  
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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

53 SEP 27 1966

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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The Attorney General

NOTE:

See cover memorandum, R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan, dated 9/15/66, captioned, "Subversive and Extremist Elements in Racial Violence, Research-Satellite Matter." Letter is classified "Confidential," since enclosure is so classified. Enclosure is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from confidential informants of continuing value which could result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness.



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SUBVERSIVE AND EXTREMIST  
ELEMENTS IN RACIAL VIOLENCE

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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*ds*

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" because it contains information from confidential informants of continuing value which could result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness.

*100 - 442527 - 1416*

See memo RWSmith to WCSullivan dated 9/15/66 re "Subversive and Extremist Elements in Racial Violence, Research-Satellite Matter."

ENCLOSURE

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- Folson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Vick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

RSG:vms/cda/ebp/epj

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| GROUP 1                 |
| Excluded from automatic |
| downgrading and         |
| declassification        |

*WCS*  
*ds*

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PREFACE

This document is, in essence, an intelligence analysis of a number of riots and disturbances which occurred in cities and communities throughout the United States during 1964, 1965, and 1966. Its contents were derived from public sources, public officials, police officers, knowledgeable observers, and FBI sources. This document should not, however, be considered as a report based upon the results of any specific investigation conducted by the FBI.

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OVERVIEW

Season for Strife

Summer, in the United States, has become the season for racial strife. In the past three summers, racial outbreaks--ranging from minor disturbances to major riots--accompanied by arson, looting, and attacks on law enforcement officers, have erupted with such frequency as to become almost as commonplace as summer thunderstorms.

For the most part, the riots and disorders that have occurred in this country since the Summer of 1964 were sparked by a single incident, generally following an arrest of a Negro by local police for some minor infraction of the law. Although most of the riots and disturbances have been characterized by spontaneous outbursts of mob violence dominated by young hoodlums, the involvement of other violent, lawless, subversive, and extremist elements became readily apparent as the rioting grew and spread.

Exploitation by Communists and Others

Communists and other subversives and extremists strive and labor ceaselessly to precipitate racial trouble and to take advantage of racial discord in this country. Such elements were active in exploiting and aggravating the riots, for example, in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago.

The riots and disturbances of recent years have given communists a golden opportunity to emphasize the Marxist concept of the "class struggle" by identifying the Negro and other minority group problems with it. Communists seek to advance the cause of communism by injecting themselves into racial situations and in exacerbating them (1) to intensify the frictions between Negroes and whites to "prove" that the discrimination against minorities is an inherent defect of the capitalist system, (2) to foster domestic disunity by dividing Negroes and whites into antagonistic, warring factions, (3) to undermine and destroy established authority, (4) to incite

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Negro hostility toward law and order, (5) to encourage and foment further racial strife and riotous activity, and (6) to portray the communist movement as the "champion" of social protest and the only force capable of ameliorating the conditions of the Negroes and the oppressed.

The cumulative effect of almost 50 years of Communist Party activity in the United States cannot be minimized, for it has contributed to disrupting race relations in this country and has exerted an insidious influence on the life and times of our Nation. As a prime example, for years it has been communist policy to charge "police brutality" in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past three years clearly highlight the success of this communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many noncommunists, especially by Negroes and other minority groups.

The net result of agitation and propaganda by communist and other subversive and extremist elements has been to create a climate of conflict between the races in this country and to poison the atmosphere.

#### Infectious Effect

Other developments have also contributed to the racial turmoil and violence that this Nation has experienced during the past three years. There is little doubt that a certain susceptible segment of the population has been aroused and influenced by demagogic public statements of prominent persons--notably civil rights leaders--which have encouraged, advocated, or condoned lawlessness and civil disobedience. This has had the effect of developing contempt for constituted authority and relieving the participants in mob action of all responsibility for their irresponsible actions. In addition, the nationwide publicity given to riotous activity in one locality has served to infect and excite impressible people to mass action in other areas of the country.

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PATTERN OF VIOLENCE

Origin and Nature of Disturbances

During the past three summers, the United States has been wracked by a series of explosive racial riots and disorders, accompanied by arson, looting, and attacks on law enforcement officers. Almost daily, racial violence has erupted somewhere in the country.

It goes without saying that certain economic, social, and psychological factors and developments helped to set the stage for each of the riots and disorders that have occurred since 1964. Over a period of years, seething Negro frustration and resentment arising from inequality of employment opportunities; de facto segregation in schools and housing; distrust of the police; and agitation and propaganda by subversives, extremists, and demagogues have built up tension in many of the Nation's Negro communities to the point of explosion. Only a spark has been needed to ignite incendiary situations.

Most of the riots and disturbances of the past three years have been characterized by spontaneous outbursts of mob violence dominated by the actions of Negro youths ranging in age up to the middle twenties. These youths--individuals as well as roving bands--were usually in the forefront screaming racist slogans, hurling missiles at the police, setting fires, and engaging in sniping and looting. As the rioting grew and spread, it became obvious that subversives and extremists, as well as teen-age gangs, delinquents, criminals, rabble-rousers, agitators, trouble-makers, and irresponsible individuals, were ever present, ever ready, and ever willing to engage in violent acts or to lend encouragement to the rioters.

The Anatomy of Riots

A definite pattern of events has been discernible in all the major riots of the past three years. Almost invariably, they began in a similar way. They were triggered by Negro reaction to a minor, routine incident involving

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police action in a highly combustible, depressed, all-Negro area.

There were initial hostility toward and violent interference with the police. The charge of "police brutality" was shouted repeatedly. Soon, a milling crowd--composed of all ages and both sexes--gathered with startling spontaneity and swiftness, seemingly materializing from nowhere. Some were mere bystanders and curiosity seekers, while others--mainly youths seeking excitement or violence--immediately joined in the activity.

Fired by rampant rumors which distorted and exaggerated the incident, new recruits arrived to swell the crowd. As the mob grew in size and unruliness, the degree of excitement and hysteria intensified as it was fanned by subversives, extremists, hotheads, and irresponsible trouble-makers who recommended drastic courses of action. At some point, when the frenzy reached a fever pitch, the riot was on--like a cattle stampede--unless checked by the application of immediate, decisive, and substantial police action.

As the riotous situation developed, several distinct elements became evident: young hoodlum teen-age groups and gangs who usually initiated the violence by throwing rocks or by similar actions; older lawless elements with pent-up bitterness and frustration, especially toward the police, who became participants; rank-and-file rioters who were participating but not on an active, vehement scale; and bystanders who followed the mob on the fringes but did not engage in most of the direct violence, vicariously enjoying the "show" and even shouting encouragement without taking any risks or doing any fighting, and many times resorting to looting in the wake of the mob.

The police were subjected to every conceivable kind of abuse--heckling, ridicule, jeers, obscene remarks, curses, and threats. As the mob spirit spread like wildfire, every effort by responsible public officials, police officers, and Negro and white leaders to induce the crowd to disperse and return home had no effect. Complete contempt for the law, the individual, and the property rights of others became appallingly evident. Utter chaos prevailed.

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Missiles and objects were thrown and other brutal or violent acts were perpetrated. Each act aroused the mob more and more. Among the targets selected for acts of violence or mob attacks were police, other symbols of authority, and white-owned business establishments. Supermarkets, pawnshops, gunshops, and liquor, hardware, jewelry, clothing, drug, television, furniture, and department stores were prime targets.

Widespread vandalism and plundering took place. News of the rioting swelled the ranks of the rioters by an ever-increasing number of persons who were interested principally in looting. Adults in the riot area carried away liquor, groceries, clothing, television sets, pieces of furniture, and other portable items. Often this occurred in the presence of police or shopkeepers, who were powerless to do anything but acquiesce. In some areas, the plundering was done by women and even by children.

Vehicles such as streetcars, buses, trucks, and privately owned automobiles that happened to be parked in or passing through the action zone were potential and actual targets. In some instances, white occupants were pulled from vehicles and beaten. Then the cars were overturned and set on fire.

False fire alarms in the troubled area were frequent. There were also many cases of arson as fires and explosives were set off by the rioters. Sniping often took place in the larger riots, and gunfire broke out between rioters and police.

The Molotov cocktail was a favorite weapon. In addition, cherry bombs and firecrackers were exploded. Every conceivable type of object, such as rocks, bricks, paving stones, cans, pieces of scrap metal, broken glass, eggs, rotten fruits and vegetables, and animal and human excrement, was hurled at police units in action.

The riots were characterized by a blind, irrational, hysterical, and vicious attack on all constituted authority. Rioters ran through the streets shouting, "Down with whitey," "Get whitey," "Uncle Tom must die," "Burn, baby, burn," and "Kill, kill, kill." Assaults were directed at Negro as well as white police officers striving desperately to achieve order. Victims of the rioting were more often Negro than white.

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The Watts riot of August 11-20, 1965, was the biggest and costliest riot that the United States has experienced in this century. Disorder covered a 46.5-square-mile area of Los Angeles, and panic was widespread in many surrounding racially mixed neighborhoods. The riot resulted in 34 deaths, 1,032 injuries, the arrest of over 3,000 adults and more than 500 juveniles, and \$42 million in property damage. More than 600 buildings were damaged--200 totally destroyed. The riot ended only after 13,500 National Guardsmen, in addition to 334 police officers and 719 officers from the sheriff's office, pacified the riot-torn area. 1, 1A, 2, 3

In every riot of the past three years, only large-scale and determined police action, sometimes augmented by the state police or the National Guard, succeeded in bringing an end to the violence and the restoration of law and order. Since any racial disorder can explode into an outright riot, only a prompt, efficient, and impressive display of force by the police has prevented innumerable commonplace incidents in many communities from escalating into perilous situations.

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ACTIVITIES OF SUBVERSIVE AND EXTREMIST ELEMENTS

General

Many subversive and extremist organizations, groups, and individuals on the American scene seek and labor ceaselessly to cause trouble and to take advantage of racial friction. Nationally, the most prominent are the Communist Party, USA, the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party, Klan organizations, the National States Rights Party, and the American Nazi Party. In nearly every Negro community, there exist black nationalist and extremist groups of every type such as the Revolutionary Action Movement and the Deacons of Defense and Justice. Hoodlum Negro youth gangs, as well as Negro and white racists and demagogues, are active in every major city.

Undoubtedly the organizations having the greatest disruptive impact on race relations in the United States have been communist and Klan organizations. While there is no way to assess the amount of racial hatred and discord that the communist movement and the Klan movement have generated in this country for approximately 50 years, there is reason to believe that the cumulative, insidious influence and effect of the Communist Party and the Klan on the life and times of our Nation have been substantial.

Consider, for instance, the Marxist orientation that must have prompted one of the resolutions adopted at a planning conference on "black power" convened in Washington, D. C., on September 3, 1966, by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and attended by representatives of Negro organizations. This resolution, it is reported, called for Negroes to determine whether capitalism or socialism is more feasible politically for the advancement of "black power." 3A

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## Communist Organizations

### Communist Party, USA

#### Exploiting Racial Turmoil

Since communism thrives on discontent and chaos, racial violence, hatred, and bigotry are grist for the communist propaganda mill. The riots and disturbances of the past three years have given the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), a field day to popularize the Marxist concept of the "class struggle" by identifying the problems of the Negroes and other minority groups with it. These racial disorders have enabled the Party to indict the capitalist system and to charge that it has exploited the Negroes, along with all other minority groups in the United States, for centuries. "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, proclaims that these disturbances have exposed "the generations of poverty and rejection, the exploitation and the discrimination, by the industrial capitalist system."

The CPUSA has a membership estimated by its leaders to be in excess of 10,000. But Gus Hall, the Party's general secretary, refers to 100,000 "state of mind" communists when he talks of Party strength. Many of these "state of mind" communists--former Party members, sympathizers, rebellious-minded youth, and the like--have been and can be activated in aiding the Party in its exploitation of racial issues.

The CPUSA has a number of obvious objectives, all designed to advance the cause of communism, in injecting itself into and exploiting racial controversies and situations. These aims include the following: (1) to intensify the frictions between Negroes and whites to "prove" that the discrimination against minorities is an inherent defect of the capitalist system, (2) to foster domestic disunity by dividing Negroes and whites into antagonistic, warring factions, (3) to undermine and destroy established authority, (4) to incite Negro hostility toward law and order, (5) to encourage and foment further racial strife and riotous activity, and (6) to portray the communist movement as the "champion" of social protest and the only force capable of ameliorating the conditions of the Negroes and the oppressed.

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To attain these goals, the CPUSA engages in mass agitation and propaganda. The illustrations that follow show the Party in action, including such means of agitation and propaganda as the press and printed material, communist front organizations, infiltration of noncommunist organizations, and demonstrations.

"Police Brutality"

A primary communist aim is to alienate the Negroes against established authority. Ever since the CPUSA was founded in 1919, it has been communist policy to charge "police brutality" wherever possible in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement and to intensify racial issues. The aggregate effect of this continuing smear campaign is that communists have achieved enormous success in popularizing this cry to the point where it is being used more and more by noncommunists, particularly Negroes and other minority groups.

"Police brutality," according to communists, is a paramount cause of racial violence. In commenting on the Harlem riot of July, 1964, "The Worker" charged that "...the real criminals...are not the chanting demonstrators nor the youngsters who fought off the clubs. They are the men who, under cover of the police badge, established the 'law and order' of terrorism by wildly beating into submission all who happened to cross their paths. The bloodletting and violence in Harlem rest squarely on the shoulders of the New York City authorities." 5

A sizable disturbance took place in the Puerto Rican community of Chicago in June, 1966, which was finally settled only by firm police action. This disorder prompted "The Worker" to claim that "the outrage committed against the Puerto Rican people by the Chicago police is the latest publicized example of the brutality of these 'servants' of the people throughout the nation against the Negro people, the Puerto Ricans and the poor of every nationality." 6

The net effect of charges of "police brutality" is to provoke and encourage mob action by developing contempt for constituted authority and relieving the participants of all responsibility for their reckless actions.

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### Advisors to Martin Luther King

The Communist Party views legitimate Negro fraternal, protest, and improvement organizations as targets for infiltration and exploitation. Communists continually stress the desirability of influencing, penetrating, or gaining control of Negro mass organizations, with the aim of promoting communist ends.

For instance, Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have, over the years, received counsel and guidance from such dedicated communists as Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a former national leader in the CPUSA. Levison went to Atlanta, Georgia, to confer with King during the June, 1966, march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. He was also in Chicago in August, 1966, to confer with King in conjunction with King's demonstrations for open housing. Clarence Jones, Harry Wachtel, and Bayard Rustin, all with past histories of communist affiliation, have likewise been close advisors of King and the SCLC. 7

### Philadelphia Riot

Officials of the Communist Party in Philadelphia took advantage of the riot in that city on August 23-31, 1964, to prepare a statement and an article which appeared in "The Worker" for September 1, 1964. It was charged that the rioters singled out the police for vengeance, because "for years the people have suffered the outrages, terror and indignity of a police force that has viewed the community as a 'jungle,' the nickname bestowed on the community by the city's officialdom." 8

Four Party members distributed some 200 copies of this issue of "The Worker" in the riot area. About 45 copies were sold, and the remainder were given away on a door-to-door basis. Copies of three Party pamphlets were also distributed along with the newspaper. 9

### Watts Riot and Later Disorders

The Watts riot of August, 1965, was the type of racial trouble upon which communism feeds, because it permitted the Party to capitalize on a tragic development. In the wake

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of this riot, the Party's Southern California District issued an eight-page pamphlet bearing the title, "Watts' Uprising: A Communist Appraisal." This pamphlet claimed that Mayor Samuel Yorty and Chief of Police William Parker--who has since died--were to blame for the deaths of more than 30 people and the jailing of over 3,000. 10

On August 14, during this riot, members of the communist-controlled W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and members of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist organization, staged a demonstration at the Police Administration Building in Los Angeles. Two days later, DCA members circulated leaflets calling for the expulsion of Chief of Police Parker. In addition, CUSA members prepared for a communist publication articles placing blame for the riot on local authorities. 11

The Communist Party in Los Angeles also created a communist front organization called the South Side Citizens Defense Committee to "aid" individuals arrested during the riot. This front group concentrated on charges of "police brutality." 12

During a disturbance which took place in the Watts area on March 15, 1966, the South Side Defense Committee held a press conference to protest alleged "police brutality" in connection with the arrest of four individuals--three of them DCA members--who were together in the troubled area. Three were charged with being drunk and the fourth with interfering with an arrest. They received sentences ranging from five to 30 days in jail. 13

In the Spring of 1966, leaders of the Communist Party's Southern California District gave instructions to three members of the Los Angeles branch of the DCA to establish a DCA club in the Negro community in southeast Los Angeles which would seek new recruits and serve as a vehicle through which the Party could work within the Watts area. 14

The accidental slaying in Los Angeles of Leonard Deadwyler, a Negro, by Jerold Bova, a white policeman, on May 7, 1966, gave the communists an additional provocative incident with which to keep the pot boiling. The South Side Citizens Defense Committee and the Los Angeles branch of the DCA sponsored a memorial meeting on May 16 at the Zion Baptist Church, which was attended by 300 persons. 15

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On May 17, a rally held at Will Rogers Park in Los Angeles to protest Deadwyler's death drew 500 persons. One of the principal organizers of this rally was Franklin Delano Alexander. Not only is Alexander a CPUSA member but he was also elected national chairman of the DCA at a convention in June, 1966. He was assisted in making arrangements for the rally by his sister, Charlene Alexander Mitchell, who has been a member of the CPUSA national committee for a number of years. In addition, another Party member prepared an inflammatory handbill to advertise the rally.

Among those in attendance at the rally were Dorothy Healey, William Taylor, and Robert Duggan. Healey is the chairman and Taylor is the vice chairman of the Southern California District of the CPUSA. Duggan, who is chairman of the Los Angeles branch of the DCA, was elected to the CPUSA national committee at its 18th National Convention in June, 1966. During the rally, Alexander and others made provocative speeches in which the police were severely criticized.

Following the rally, some 500 persons, led by Alexander in an automobile equipped with loudspeakers, proceeded to the 77th Street Division of the Los Angeles Police Department, where they staged a boisterous picketing demonstration. A vehicle containing representatives of the press was attacked, and one occupant was seriously wounded. After a window in a liquor store was broken, the store was looted. In addition, bottles and bricks were hurled at passing automobiles. 16

The Communist Party loudly and insistently demanded that Officer Bova be prosecuted for Deadwyler's "murder." Accordingly, Dorothy Healey prepared a petition addressed to the District Attorney of Los Angeles. The petition called for Bova's immediate indictment for murder. 17

#### DuBois Club Members in Riot Areas

During the Chicago riot of July 12-19, 1966, representatives of the DCA visited the riot-torn area as observers in order to ascertain if any instances of "police brutality" were taking place. 18

In the late evening of July 14, 1966, during the course of a disturbance on Chicago's West Side, some 35 Negroes, a number of whom were known to be members of the DCA, proceeded

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to the Loop area from the West Side. These individuals, armed with bricks and Molotov cocktails, intended to throw these missiles into Loop department stores, including Marshall Field, but when they found the Loop too busy and too well lighted, they returned to the West Side without accomplishing their purpose. 19

On July 18, 1966, during a riot in the Hough area of Cleveland, four members of the DCA were detained by the Ohio National Guard. Communist literature was found during a search of the automobile in which these individuals were riding. Subsequently, two of the four were arrested by Cleveland police and charged with obstructing police officers. They were released on bond to await trial. 20

#### Offer of Party Aid

It has been reported that a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland, on instructions from the Party's Ohio district organizer, contacted Lewis G. Robinson, director of the JFK House in that city, during June and July, 1966. The contact was made to offer the Party's cooperation with Robinson in the fields of "police brutality," housing, and jobs. Robinson was not receptive to the offer. He explained that, since he and his followers were black nationalists and did not believe in integration, only Negroes could work with his group. However, he did indicate a willingness to accept aid from individual Negro Party members and financial support. 21

The JFK House (the initials stand for Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) was a privately operated Negro community center until it was closed recently. While open, it was regarded by Cleveland police as a focal point for racial violence.

#### Dayton Disorder

A major disturbance erupted in Dayton, Ohio, on September 1, 1966, which necessitated calling out the National Guard. Sporadic acts of violence and looting continued until the following day. Several hours after the disorder began, W. Sumpter McIntosh, Jr., one time member of the Communist Party and now a Dayton civil rights leader, reportedly demanded a meeting with Dayton city commissioners and allegedly threatened a full-scale riot later in the day if they did not agree

\* Jomo Kenyatta is president of Kenya, Africa.

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to such a meeting. However, a city official indicated that it was then too late to talk to people participating in the disorder. McIntosh was believed by police to have had a part in inciting Negroes once the disturbance started. Police officers saw McIntosh conferring with groups of Negroes in the troubled area who were later arrested for looting. 21A, 21B

### Vietnam War against Negroes' Welfare

For the past few years, communist propagandists have promoted the line that American foreign policy--particularly when it runs counter to communist objectives--has a direct bearing upon the successes and failures of the civil rights movement in this country. Communists hold that this country's preoccupation with the "imperialist" war of "aggression" in Vietnam is contrary to the welfare and best interests of the Negro people, since the war is preventing the Government from formulating the programs and expending the funds necessary to alleviate the Negroes' plight.

### In the Eyes of the World

Communists are not content to exploit and to publicize instances of racial violence to exclusively American audiences, but they see to it that the message is transmitted to every part of the globe through the world-wide communist propaganda apparatus. They do not confine themselves to facts, but resort to distortion, exaggeration, and the big lie. Communists thus capitalize on the adverse propaganda effect that racial outbursts in the United States produce in the eyes of the rest of the world, particularly among the African and Asian people.

### Progressive Labor Party

Communist splinter groups are also busy exacerbating racial incidents. One of the most active has been the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which has a membership of between 100 and 500. Of the militant Marxist-Leninist organizations in the United States whose policies closely adhere to those of Red China, the most important is the PLP, which was known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) prior to April, 1965. 22

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### Harlem Riot

A riot erupted in the Harlem area of New York City-- July 18-23, 1964--following the fatal shooting of James Powell, a 15-year-old Negro youth, by Police Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan on July 16. The PLM began immediately to aggravate the tense situation. It printed and then distributed in Harlem thousands of copies of a handbill containing a photograph of Gilligan under the caption, "Wanted for Murder." The PLM also conducted a series of demonstrations in Harlem to protest the shooting, to charge "police brutality," and to demand Gilligan's arrest and prosecution.

At a meeting of the PLM held in New York City on July 21, plans were formulated for the PLM to print leaflets containing instructions on the making of Molotov cocktail bombs. 23

Once the Harlem riot reached its peak, the PLM leadership reportedly considered how to spread the chaos to other parts of the city. During the riot, Fred Jerome, editor of the PLM newspaper "Challenge," published a signed editorial in which he declared, "The vision of half-a-million-- or a million--angry black men and women, supported by allies in the Puerto Rican and other working class communities, standing up to their oppressors, is haunting the ruling class. People have already begun to speak of 'guerrilla warfare' and 'revolutionaries.'" 24

William Epton, a Negro and now one of two PLP national vice chairmen, is also chairman of the PLP's Harlem Club. He is a former member of the CPUSA. During the Harlem riot, Epton organized and led young Negroes in fighting the police. In a haranguing street speech in the center of Harlem on July 18, he warned:

"...we will not fully be free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking. And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and will have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army. If we don't do it, brothers, we'll be subjugated; we'll be kept in chains for another two or three hundred years...."

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Epton also declared that all the "people in this world who are free got their freedom through struggles and through revolution.... We will take our freedom. We will take it by any means necessary...as we know the beast that we are dealing with..." 25

For his part in openly advocating and promoting violence during the Harlem riot, Epton was arrested and later convicted on charges of criminal anarchy. After he was sentenced to one year in jail, Epton appealed his conviction. He is presently free under \$25,000 bail pending the outcome of this appeal. 26

"Wanted for Murder"

An inquest into the death of Leonard Deadwyler, the Negro who was accidentally shot by a Los Angeles policeman on May 7, 1966, was conducted at the Los Angeles County Courthouse. PLP members distributed handbills on several occasions during the course of this inquest. One leaflet urged the complete "wipeout" of the Los Angeles Police Department. Another flyer contained a photograph of Chief of Police Parker under the caption, "Wanted for Murder." 27, 28

Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist

Another pro-Peking communist splinter group is the small Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (CPUSA, M-L). At a press conference held in Los Angeles on October 7, 1965, Michael Lasky, general secretary of the CPUSA, M-L, stated that his group had spent over two years agitating against the police in the Watts area. He viewed the Watts riot as a rejection by Negroes of the policy of nonviolence as a means and method of struggle.

Lasky announced that the CPUSA, M-L was engaged in the formation and development of self-defense units and squads to fight against "police brutality" and "United States imperialism." According to Lasky, these squads could provide the basis for "liberation armies" in the future. Lasky forecast that what happened in Watts was, for all practical purposes, a poor dress rehearsal for what will be taking place nationally in a few years. 29

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During a disturbance in the Watts area in mid-March, 1966, Lasky held a press conference in which he criticized "brutal United States imperialism" for the disorder and demanded the removal of police from Watts. <sup>30</sup>

CPUSA, H-L members distributed literature at the time of the inquest into Leonard Deadwyler's death. The leaflets attacked Los Angeles Mayor Yorty and urged people to arm themselves against "police brutality." <sup>31, 32</sup>

### Trotskyist Groups

Other communist splinter groups have endeavored to exploit Negro frustration and unrest. During the<sup>2</sup> Watts riot, for example, members of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist organization with a national membership estimated at 440, joined with representatives of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America on August 14, 1965, to demonstrate at the Police Administration Building in Los Angeles. <sup>33</sup>

The Workers World Party, a Trotskyist splinter group with a membership of 50, circulated a leaflet at various locations in New York City during the Harlem riot in August, 1964. In this leaflet, entitled "Who Killed James Powell?" Police Lieutenant Gilligan was described as a "racist, trigger-happy cop" and the product of a "fascist-type police force that recruits and trains people for brutality." <sup>34</sup>

During a disorder in Chicago in August, 1965, copies of a leaflet captioned "Drive the Cops Out" were distributed in the troubled area by members of the Spartacist Committee, a group of a dozen former members of the Socialist Workers Party. The leaflet denounced President Johnson, Mayor Daley, and School Superintendent Willis. It also compared the situation in Chicago with the situations in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. <sup>35</sup>

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## White Organizations

### Klan Organizations

#### Penchant for Violence

The most infamous of the white extremist groups are 14 Klan organizations which are the literal descendants of the original Ku Klux Klan (KKK) founded a century ago. These Klan groups, with a total membership of over 14,000, continue to promote the KKK's theory of "white supremacy."

The Klan, like other white extremist organizations, foments and perpetuates racial discord by its blatant racist activities. Over a period of years, Klansmen have committed murders, bombings, mutilations, whippings, and abductions--with Negroes as their principal victims.

A recent example of the Klan tradition of violence resulted in the arrest of the Imperial Wizard and 14 other members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi for the bombing of the home of Vernon Dahmer on January 6, 1966. Dahmer, a Hattiesburg, Mississippi, Negro leader, later succumbed to injuries he suffered during the bombing. The Klansmen were indicted on charges of violating the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and are awaiting trial.

#### Harassing Negroes

The Klan also engages in demonstrations designed to antagonize and intimidate Negroes. On May 1, 1966, some 75 pickets of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights organization, demonstrated at a Baltimore apartment house to protest refusal of the management to lease to Negroes. Several dozen individuals, some in Klan regalia, staged a counterdemonstration to the CORE demonstration. They were led by Charles J. Luthardt, self-proclaimed white supremacist candidate for Governor of Maryland. Five individuals, two of whom had dogs, stood by as Klan security guards. 36

During disturbances in Jacksonville, Florida, in July, 1966, two white supremacists harassed members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a civil rights organization. On July 12, Warren Henry Folks, an outspoken segregationist, and Albert T. Massey, who has belonged to several defunct Klan organizations, picketed NAACP headquarters in Jacksonville. Massey wore a bright red Klan robe. A group of

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some 450 Negroes, who had gathered to jeer Folks and Massey, finally closed in around them and started to throw bottles and bricks. Folks was struck on the head. He was removed by police who placed him under arrest. Massey fled from the scene.

On July 18, Folks walked into the path of the leaders of an NAACP march of 200 participants and attempted to make a citizen's arrest of the president of the Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP. Folks was arrested immediately. Massey, who was also present, was ordered from the area by police after he had exchanged taunts with the marchers. 37

A group of Klansmen picketed a civil rights organization known as the Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs (ACCESS) at an apartment rental office in Arlington, Virginia, on August 21, 1963. The rental office had been the scene of weekly demonstrations by ACCESS. On August 21, nine men and women wearing Klan robes and carrying signs reading "Keep Virginia White" and "Smash Black Arlington" appeared in the vicinity of the rental office. Shortly after their arrival, members of ACCESS set up their regular picket line near the Klansmen, but no trouble ensued. 38

#### National States Rights Party

The National States Rights Party (NSRP) is an anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, white-supremacy organization composed of fanatical segregationists and one-time members of Klan organizations. It has a membership of about 75.

#### Baltimore

CORE's designation of Baltimore as a major target for its activity in 1963 attracted the NSRP to that city. The NSRP, with headquarters in Augusta, Georgia, had not been active previously in Baltimore. Several NSRP rallies were organized by the "Reverend" "Connie" Lynch in Baltimore during July, 1963. Lynch, a notorious hater from Bakersfield, California, speaks throughout the United States in behalf of the NSRP. Noted for his fiery racist speeches, he has spoken in such racial trouble spots as St. Augustine, Florida, and Bogalusa, Louisiana.

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At the NSRP's second rally in Baltimore on July 27, Lynch told his audience that he would lead them into a "clear-cut race riot." At the last rally, held on July 28, hundreds of white youths, incited by Lynch and other NSRP speakers, roamed through an east Baltimore Negro district, overturned garbage cans, ran across lawns, and shouted racial epithets. 39, 40, 41

### Chicago

In August, 1966, Chicago was the scene of a series of civil rights marches--spearheaded by Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Chicago Freedom Movement--into white neighborhoods demanding open housing. Those marches aroused bitter and retaliatory white reactions. On August 7, some 1,500 civil rights demonstrators marched through a crowd of some 2,000 jeering, rock-throwing whites in an all-white neighborhood of Chicago's Northwest Side to demand an end to housing discrimination. One knot of counter-demonstrators carried the banner of the NSRP, a red lightning bolt superimposed on a Confederate flag. 42

The "Reverend" "Connie" Lynch appeared at Marquette Park in Chicago on August 21 wearing a vest decorated as a Confederate flag. He was arrested as he harangued a crowd of white people who had gathered to protest against Martin Luther King and his marchers. 43

### American Nazi Party

The American Nazi Party (ANP), another white hate group which preaches and promotes antagonism toward Negroes, Jews, and communists, is led by George Lincoln Rockwell. ANP membership is estimated to be less than 200. In the same manner as the Klan and the National States Rights Party, the ANP engages in activities calculated to create disorder in conjunction with civil rights demonstrations. The ANP has headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, but Rockwell and his aides make frequent appearances in areas where racial tension exists.

ANP representatives were in Chicago on August 3, 1966, at the scene of a march for open housing led by Martin Luther King. In opposition to the march, ANP members distributed to white residents a four-page flyer captioned "White Men Organize White Guard...A Call to Arms from George Lincoln Rockwell." This throwaway denounced "black power," "blood-thirsty, black savages," and "rampaging black scum." It also stated that Rockwell and his associates were prepared to train white men for "anti-insurrection warfare" so they could protect their "home and family" against "black mobs." 44

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On August 14, 1966, more than 1,000 persons, who had gathered in Chicago's Marquette Park to protest King's marches, heard ANP leader John Patler speak. Patler, standing on a park bench, urged the white crowd to assert itself as he shouted, "Japan is controlled by the Japanese, Israel is controlled by the Jews, and America should be controlled by the whites." Patler also told members of his audience that they should prepare for the "white revolution." With each reference to Negroes by Patler, the crowd screamed: "white power! white power! white power!"

Soon after Patler's harangue, 3,000 rioting whites stormed through the park and hurled bottles and rocks at passing Negro motorists. Two cars were tipped over and set afire before police quelled the rioters. 45, 46

One week later, on August 21, George Lincoln Rockwell appeared in Marquette Park. Also present to harangue the mob of 500 with cries of "white power" were representatives of the Klan and the National States Rights Party.

Teen-agers shouted "Sieg Heil" and gave the Nazi salute as Rockwell told them to get guns "to fight niggers in Coon County-- we're about ready to play cowboys and niggers." When police moved to prevent others from speaking, a gang of 200 white youths started rampaging through the area. They set upon a car containing a Negro male and a white female, broke the windows with rocks, and tried to get to the occupants. After the couple was rescued, the ringleaders were taken to the police station. White youths then began a march on the station house, but they were turned back by police.

Elsewhere in Chicago, white youths attacked King and his civil rights marchers with bricks, stones, and bottles. The marchers proceeded among cursing, jeering, and screaming whites. 47

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Negro Organizations

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

"Black Power"

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is a civil rights organization which excludes whites from its activities. It has become increasingly militant and belligerent under the new leadership of Stokely Carmichael, a young firebrand who frequently leads Negro crowds in chanting the rallying cry, "black power, black power."

At a CORE rally held in a Cleveland church on August 5, 1966, Carmichael gave the 600 Negroes in attendance the following description of black power: "When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created. When you talk of black power, you talk of picking up where Malcolm X\* left off. When you talk of black power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs. We are fighting for our lives."

At this rally, Carmichael also admonished Negroes not to serve in the United States Armed Forces. He said, "When Johnson calls, let's stand together and say, 'No, I'm not going.' Any black man who fights in this country's army is a black mercenary." 48

Inflammatory Statements

Carmichael's frequent incendiary remarks can only have the effect of inciting a certain susceptible segment of the Negro people. For example, he made some provocative comments at an impromptu outdoor rally in southeast Washington, D. C., on August 21, 1966, less than a week after a disorder had occurred

\* Malcolm X, a dissident leader of the Nation of Islam, a black nationalist organization, was assassinated in February, 1965, in New York City.

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outside a police station in the Anacostia section of Washington. In a reference to the youths who had stoned the station house, Carmichael said, "They didn't do the job the right way. What they should have done was kill the (police) dogs."

Carmichael then threatened, "If we don't get the vote, we're going to burn down the city. Don't be ashamed when they start talking about looting. The white folks are going to be running tomorrow, and they should take their dirty cracker cops with them." 40a

A few days later, on August 30, Carmichael told a Harlem rally of militant Negro leaders: "In Cleveland they're building stores with no windows--all brick. I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite." 49

#### Manifestations of Violence

On August 13, 1966, a squad of 20 heavily armed police raided a SNCC meeting place in North Philadelphia. The raid was staged after police received information that SNCC meeting places were becoming storehouses for arms, ammunition, and dynamite. Several sticks of dynamite were found during the raid. Four persons--three of whom were SNCC members--were arrested on a charge of illegal possession of dynamite. Three were discharged, while one of the SNCC members was held under bond for the grand jury. 50

Carmichael and two of his aides were arrested by police at SNCC headquarters in Atlanta on charges of inciting a disturbance in that city on September 6, 1966. The disorder was touched off by the shooting of a Negro automobile-theft suspect by a white policeman. SNCC members reportedly told Negro demonstrators that the Negro had been "murdered while handcuffed." 50A

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### Revolutionary Action Movement

One of the most dangerous Negro hate organizations is the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). It is a very small, secret, all-Negro group which follows the leadership of Robert F. Williams and the militant Chinese communist line. RAM advocates urban guerrilla warfare as a means of attaining its goal--the revolutionary overthrow of the United States Government and the subsequent rule by the black race along Chinese communist lines. Williams, a native of Monroe, North Carolina, fled to Cuba with his family in August, 1961, hours before he was indicted on charges of kidnaping a white couple and holding them for several hours during a racial disturbance. Williams is currently issuing his familiar anti-American propaganda blasts from Peking, China. 51, 52

### JFK House, Cleveland

The JFK (for Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) House was a privately operated Negro community center in Cleveland. Harlell Jones and Albert Ware-Bey, both supervisors at this center, have indicated on a number of occasions that they were affiliated with RAM. The JFK House was considered by Cleveland police to be the principal potential trouble spot for racial violence. From the time this center opened in 1964 until it was closed on July 26, 1966, for alleged sanitary violations, it was a hang-out for teen-age hoodlums and black nationalists. In addition, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, a Negro group allegedly organized to protect civil rights demonstrators, met at the JFK House during 1965. Ware-Bey was also a leader of this rifle club. 53, 54

It was the consensus of the Cleveland police that the Superior Avenue disturbances, which began on June 22, 1966, were largely caused by JFK House youths. Police had the JFK House under surveillance throughout these disorders and observed that groups of youths would leave the JFK House and fan out into the troubled area. Shortly thereafter incidents would occur. Then the youths would be seen returning to the JFK House. Police officers also heard Harlell Jones make several inflammatory remarks to the youths. One officer believed that Jones was the person who, on the evening of June 24, threw a fire bomb on the roof of a supermarket. No damage resulted from this attempt at arson. 55

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In February, 1965, Jones reportedly gave out instructions on "How to Construct a Molotov Cocktail" at a meeting of the Hedgar Evers Rifle Club. During meetings of this rifle club at the JFK House in early 1965, instructions were given in judo and in the handling of rifles. Discussions at these meetings also related to guerrilla warfare tactics, hatred of whites, and the coming Negro revolution in this country. 53

Jones talked with representatives of the news media on the afternoon of July 29, 1966, while waiting to testify before the Cuyahoga County Grand Jury probing the recent racial disturbances in Cleveland. Jones was quoted as saying, "There will be riots here next week--next month--next year. Conditions which caused the riots haven't been eliminated. #I have a gun. I don't trust any white man." 57

Lewis G. Robinson, director of the JFK House, is known to have attended several meetings of the Labor Youth League, a defunct communist youth front organization, in Boston in 1959. He and his wife Beth have attended public functions of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland in recent years. Beth Robinson visited Cuba in 1961 and while there she was employed by the Cuban Ministry of Education compiling statistics. 58, 58A

### Chicago

Douglas Andrews, a former member of RAM, was arrested on July 14, 1966, by the Chicago Police Department following receipt of information that he and 12 members of a civil rights organization which he headed were preparing Molotov cocktails for use in the troubled area. Andrews was charged with inciting a riot and other violations. No disposition has been made of his case. 59

### Detroit

On the night of August 9, 1966, General Gordon Baker, Jr. (General is his given name), a Detroit RAM leader, and several of his associates were proceeding by automobile to participate in a disturbance involving 150 Negro youths. Baker and three of his aides were arrested. Found in their possession were two Army carbines, an Italian rifle, a .45 caliber pistol, ammunition, a bayonet, and other weapons. After charges of carrying concealed weapons were lodged against them, they were released under bond pending trial. 60

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Nation of Islam

One of the most important of the Negro extremist organizations which react to racial situations is the Nation of Islam (NOI). The NOI--which is a corruption of Islam ideology--is a personally oriented organization headed by a Negro who calls himself Elijah Muhammad. Members are commonly called "Black Muslims" and they total approximately 5,000.

On May 20, 1966, the NOI distributed a leaflet entitled "Stop Police Brutality!" at the Deadwyler inquest in Los Angeles. The leaflet called for an immediate end to "police brutality" and "mob attacks" against Negroes. <sup>01</sup> #

Jonas M. Little-Little was one of more than 500 persons arrested by the Chicago police during a riot which occurred July 12-19, 1968. Little-Little, who was arrested on July 15 for disorderly conduct, was allegedly affiliated with the NOI at one time. <sup>02</sup>

Within minutes after the initial incident which triggered the Philadelphia riot of August, 1964, a former NOI member named Abyssinia Hayes, who is also known as Shaykh Muhammad, appeared on the scene. Mounting a porch of a house, he urged the people who had gathered to commit violence against police officers. He claimed that the police had brutally abused the Negro woman they had arrested. Thereafter, the crowd attacked the police and threw stones and bricks at passing cars. In a short time, the riot was in full fury.

Hayes was arrested on charges that included inciting a riot. A subsequent search of his home by the police uncovered an automatic pistol, knives, 50 gallons of flammable liquid, and a quantity of communist literature. Hayes was convicted on charges of inciting to riot and was sentenced to serve from 18 months to three years in prison. <sup>03</sup>

After Hayes was expelled from the Nation of Islam in 1956 for striking one of its officers, he later formed his own organization, the National Muslim Improvement Association of America. It has about 20 members. Hayes, who has a volatile temperament and violent temper, served in the United States Army

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in the early 1950's but was dishonorably discharged after committing a number of breaches of discipline. He was court-martialed twice--once for striking a noncommissioned officer and the other time for assaulting two fellow soldiers with a knife. 64

#### Harlem Community Council on Housing

Jesse Gray, one-time organizer for the Harlem Region of the CPUSA, and now director of the Harlem Community Council on Housing, has led picketings, sit-ins, and other types of demonstrations against the New York City Police and other municipal agencies, protesting "police brutality" and poor housing. He agitates ceaselessly among Negroes, urging them to organize themselves into a "black power structure." Gray maintains that "the only way to deal with the white man is with Molotov cocktails and bricks." 65

During the Harlem riot in July, 1964, Gray spoke before an audience of 500 people, half of whom were black nationalists, at a rally held in a Harlem church on July 19. Gray called for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die" to correct what he termed "the police brutality situation in Harlem." One way to correct the situation, he asserted, was "guerrilla warfare." He also maintained that New York City could be changed by 50,000 well-organized Negroes. 66

#### Deacons of Defense and Justice

Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) is an all-Negro organization of armed members formed with the aim of affording protection to civil rights workers in areas of the country where it deems law enforcement to be insufficient. Its activities are centered in Louisiana, where it was founded. It is estimated to have less than 200 members.

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Charles Sims, president of the DDJ, indicated that he planned to take, on June 25, 1966, a carload of DDJ members to Philadelphia, Mississippi, the scene of racial tension. When asked if he planned to be armed, Sims replied, "We always have weapons on hand." 67

Ernest Thomas, northern director of the DDJ, was in Chicago in the Spring of 1966 to recruit members. He appeared on a Chicago radio program on May 23, 1966, and made the following assertion: "We are fighting for our freedom and this means at all costs....we intend to have our freedom one way or the other...." 68

#### Youths and Gangs

Young Negro hoodlums have been a constant and ever-increasing source of trouble and concern to law enforcement officers in every part of the country. They have exhibited deep-seated and bitter defiance of the police, and they can generally be found in the lead wherever there is riotous activity. Their actions contribute materially to the chaos of racial disorders.

During the Watts riot of August, 1965, for instance, the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission called a meeting in the hope of cooling the neighborhood's emotions. Amid the placating speeches, however, one high school youth seized the microphone and announced that rioters would attack adjacent white neighborhoods that night. The mood of the meeting instantly changed. 69

Neighborhood youth gangs, which are prevalent in Negro communities in most big cities, bear such names as "Devil's Disciples," "Supremes," "Cobras," "Vice Lords," "Bishops," "Roman Saints," "Gents," "Blackstone Rangers," and "Black Panthers." One gang will vie with another for control of an area. As a consequence, gang fights, shootings, knifings, and vandalism occur with frequency. These gangs also extort money from school children and engage in muggings, purse snatchings, and the stealing and stripping of automobiles. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74

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Some of these gangs acquire a sizable arsenal of weapons, including firearms. As one teen-age gang in Chicago marched toward Mayor Daley's neighborhood recently, police recovered from the gang members the following weapons: eight pieces of tire chain, two lengths of rubber garden hose, four sawed-off baseball bats, three bats with spikes, a hammer with one claw removed, two meat cleavers, and a six-foot whip.<sup>75</sup>

During racial disorders, members of Negro youth gangs are quick to jump in and add to the turbulence by breaking store windows, tossing fire bombs into buildings, sniping, looting, and overturning and burning automobiles. They usually roam the riot area in small bands of six or less, spontaneously select a target, inflict damage, and then flee.<sup>76</sup>

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FANNING THE FLAMES

Flouting the Law

In addition to the organizations, gangs, and individuals involved in inciting or intensifying racial situations, there are some prominent public figures and recognized civil rights leaders who have done much--wittingly or unwittingly--to foment violence by preaching disrespect for law and order. Through demagogic statements which encourage, advocate, or condone lawlessness and civil disobedience, these leaders have incited the Negro masses to lash out and try to seize by force that which they have been repeatedly told has been denied to them.

Joseph Le Fevour, president of the Fraternal Order of Police, which has 4,000 Chicago policemen as members, recently described Martin Luther King as "no more than a demagogue and a professional agitator. He instructs people to practice civil disobedience and violate the law to draw attention to their civil rights plight. Then he immediately puts up a smoke screen and the very people who violate the law, when they are arrested, scream 'police brutality.' He preaches non-violence, yet wherever he goes, violence erupts." 77

Power of News Media

During the past three years, some Negro leaders have periodically issued ominous predictions of violence to come, named specific cities as targets for organized civil rights activity, or warned that as many as several score of cities were ripe for riots. These inflammatory statements have been given nation-wide publicity in the press, on television, and over the radio. Provocative statements such as these have only served to arouse Negroes to mass action and violence.

Representatives of the news media have frequently been so active in their coverage of a riot that they have tended to generate excitement among the rioting elements. During the course of many of the riots and disturbances, radio and television interviews have been conducted with the participants, thereby affording self-seeking individuals an opportunity to circulate wild and unfounded rumors, especially of so-called "police brutality." These interviews have heaped fuel on the fire by attracting others to the riot area.

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In a case involving the press, a rumor spread in the Hough area of Cleveland during the July, 1966, riot that an organization whose members wore red robes was organized for violence. It was later ascertained that this rumor originated when a man wearing a woman's red duster appeared during the early period of the disturbance, but the press promptly described his apparel as an African-type robe and a symbol of a black nationalist organization. As a result of this distorted newspaper publicity, the hoodlum element in the Hough area adopted red robes as a symbol of terrorism and subsequently JMK House habitues were seen in public wearing various colored robes. 78

### Reaping the Harvest

There is no question but that the national publicity accorded the reckless statements made by prominent people, together with the lurid treatment given by some segments of the news media concerning civil disorders while they were in progress, have had an infectious effect on people in other parts of the country. The stage is frequently set for an outbreak in one city by disorders which have occurred in other cities.

Unlawful activities under the guise of civil rights demonstrations have seriously jeopardized the struggle for civil rights. White resentment and retaliation are now manifesting themselves more and more--fed by such white racist rabble-rousers as George Lincoln Rockwell and the "Reverend" "Connie" Lynch--as a result of continually threatened and actual violence, particularly by the exponents of "black power."

This Nation has been reaping the harvest from the seeds of hate and violence that have been sown, a considerable amount of it by the actions of communist and other subversive and extremist elements intent on undermining and destroying the very fabric of American society.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



**SUBJECT:** COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

**DATE:** April 27, 1964

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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PART II: COMMUNIST TACTICS



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PART III: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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PART IV: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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EXHIBIT NUMBER 1

Biographical Sketches and Subversive  
Activities of Individuals Prominent in  
Racial Movement

\* \* \* \* \*

Stanley David Levison  
Hunter Pitts O'Dell  
Clarence Benjamin Jones  
Bayard Rustin  
Hilton Arthur Galamison  
Jesse Williard Gray

April 25, 1964

STANLEY DAVID LEVISON

Stanley David Levison was born May 2, 1912, at New York City. He attended the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, from September, 1930, to June, 1931; Columbia University, New York City, September, 1931, to June, 1932 and September, 1933, to June, 1935; and St. John's School of Law, New York City, September, 1935, to June, 1939. He received LL.B. and LL.M. degrees. On June 8, 1939, he married Janet Alterman and on July 4, 1943, he married Beatrice Merken in New York City. The application for the license for the second marriage shows his first marriage was annulled June 21, 1942, in Westchester County, New York. He resides at 585 West End Avenue, New York City, and he is self-employed as an attorney and real estate

operator with offices at Six East 39th Street, New York City.

(Birth: Serial 8. Source: Passport records, U. S. Dept. of

State as per birth certificate issued 3/5/43 by Dept. of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, New York City. Education: Serial 190. Source: Levison's application 10/6/39 for admission to New York Bar observed 2/15/52. Marriages: Serial 190, Marriage License Bureau, Borough of Manhattan, New York, reviewed 7/21/53. Residence: Serial 210. Source: NY-3810-S\* 7/22/63. Employment: Serial 210, NY TRIPS on 7/16/63.)

*INT*



*SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELL. OPER.*

In 1945 Stanley Levison and his twin brother, Roy Bennett, each held \$25,000. of Communist Party (CP) funds. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\*, October, 1954)

In 1952 Levison and his brother owned a Ford Agency somewhere in New Jersey. This was a profitable business from which a minimum annual contribution was made to the CP in 1946 and 1947, of \$10,000. Stanley Levison also had other business concerns used to raise funds for the CP such as an import-export firm, a leather firm in Chicago, Illinois, and the Levison brothers had produced a motion picture in Hollywood, California. (Serial 2; Source NY 694-S\*, 5/27/52 and 1/25/53.)

*INFORMATION*

Credit records, Credit Bureau of Greater New York, New York City, in a report dated 4/19/48 show Stanley David Levison was then affiliated with the Washington Motor Sales, 52 Washington Street, West Orange, New Jersey, a Ford agency. (Serial 2)

Stanley Levison attempted to contact Alfred K. Stern on 12/1/47 and 8/4/49. He had an appointment with Stern on 12/9/49 and was in touch with Stern again on 2/23/50.

Alfred K. Stern in September, 1957, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for the Southern District of New York on charges of conspiracy to violate the espionage statutes of the U.S. (Serial 190; Source NY 450-S\*, 12/1/47, 8/4/49, 12/9/49 and 2/23/50, respectively.)

*ELSUR*

Stanley David Levison

*SENSITIVE  
FORE INTELL OPER.*  
As of late 1952 Stanley Levison was a key person

in both the open CP activities and the CP underground apparatus. (Serial 2; Source *Foreign* CG 5824-S\* 12/3, 8 and 11/52.)

As of September, 1953, Levison had a 50 per cent interest in Sunset Plates, Incorporated, 2452 Fletcher Drive, Los Angeles, California. His share of the business was for the benefit of the CP. Investment in the development of presensitized engraving plates by this firm were reported as of that date to have been in the neighborhood of \$200,000

but no profit had yet been realized. (Serial 23; Source *1st Formant* NY 694-S\*, 9/10/53.)

Levison stated he had taken over most of the CP national financial responsibilities after the death of William Weiner in February, 1954. (Serial 190; *INFORMANT* CG 5824-S\* 3/5/54.)

*SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELL OPER*  
In early 1954 Levison had been entrusted to raising 300,000 for the CP. (Serial 190; Source *INFORMANT* NY 694-S\*, 3/31/54.)

As of April, 1954, Stanley Levison was a member of the National Committee on Finances of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). (Serial 190; Source *INFORMANT* CG 5824-S\*, 4/22/54.)

At about this time during a discussion Levison stated his Party work was a most particular kind inasmuch as he was a specialist in a field where there were no other specialists. He explained he had no connection with certain persons except to receive money from them for the CP. (Serial 190; Source *INFORMANT* CG 5824-S\*, 4/24/54.)

*LEVISON*

Mrs. William Weiner stated in July, 1954, that Stanley Levison was a member of the National Committee on Finances of the CP. He was also described at that time as an assistant to Jack Kling, who then was functioning as the National Treasurer of the CPUSA. (Serial 190; Source CG 5824-S\* 8/2/54.) <sup>FN Informant</sup>

In late 1954 Levison was said to have been the "leg man" of William Weiner prior to his death. He was also described as Weiner's first assistant in CP financial operations. The "New York Daily News" for 9/23/48 described Weiner as "Former Financial Secretary of the Communist Party and erstwhile member of its National Committee." (Cover letter Serial 83; Source NY 694-S\*, no date given but letter dated 12/8/54. On 11/14/54 the monument to William Weiner was

unveiled at the New Montefiore Cemetery, Long Island, New York, where Weiner was buried. Roy and Stanley Levison had <sup>SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY</sup>

contributed \$1,500 to this monument. (Cover letter Serial 83; Source NY 694-S\*, 11/10/54.)

Phil Bart was in charge of CP high-level financial operations in the Spring of 1955 and in July of that year he complained that Levison had produced no new donors or businesses. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\*, 7/7/55.) <sup>INFORMANT</sup>

Stanley Levison was to meet Sam Brown in September, 1955, concerning CP financial matters and in October of that year Brown stated that the Levison brothers had assigned him to contact certain CP donors who were expected to contribute at least \$9,000. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\*, 11/5/56.) <sup>INFORMANT</sup>

Near the end of 1953 Levison was maintaining contact with Lomont U. Harris, a CP functionary who had been for many years very much involved in the CP financial operations handled by William Weiner. In early 1954 Levison was said to play an important part in the CP financial apparatus and that he had had an important financial group outside the Party. (Serial 50; Source <sup>NY 694-S\*</sup> NY 694-S\*, 11/20/53, 12/15/53 and 1/18/54.)

On 10/16/56 Levison met Lom Harris, CP functionary, at Schrafft's Restaurant on West 43rd Street, near Broadway in New York City, and on 3/15/60 these two conferred over two hours at Schrafft's, 1496 Broadway, New York City.

(Serial 199; Source FBI Agents)

~~Lom Harris, CP functionary, said he was to meet~~

*SENSITIVE  
FBI  
SECRET*

Stanley Levison on 11/19/62 at which time Levison was to give

him \$5,000 for the CIA.

(Serial 179 page C; Source NY <sup>IN GARMENT</sup> 694-S\* furnished by the 11/19/62 & 1/13/63 (date of report) actual date information furnished by ~~Levison~~ Levison had appointments with Isidore Wofsy

on 10/19/54 and 11/16/54. (Serial 190, Source <sup>ELSOR</sup> NY 1078-S\* 10/19/54, and 11/16/54)

These men met twice on 6/22/55 and Levison gave Wofsy a small white envelope. They met again 7/29/55 in the subway corridor under the Lincoln Building, New York City. They also met on 6/6, 7, 19 and 23/56. Wofsy gave Levison a white envelope on June 6th. On 9/26/56 Levison and Wofsy were again in touch at Check Full O' Nuts, 40th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. Levison and Wofsy again met.

Stanley David Levison

on 11/5/57 at 96th Street and Broadway, New York City,  
at which time they walked around the block and then parted.

(Serial 190; Source FBI Agents on dates of action)

On 11/5/56 it was learned that Stanley Levison  
and his brother, Roy Bennett, were maintaining contact with  
Isidore Wofsy and meeting him on an average of about twice  
a week in connection with CP financial matters. Isidore

Wofsy was described as a paid employee of the CPUSA. (Serial 111;  
Source NY 694-S\*, 11/5/56 documentation of Wofsy, source NY 1743-S\*  
4/27/56) In April, 1956, it was reported that Stanley *ELSUR*

Levison and Roy Bennett had recently turned over several  
thousand dollars to the CPUSA. (Serial 190; Source *Informant*  
NY 694-S\*, 4/2 and 26/56.)

As of January, 1957, Stanley Levison and Roy Bennett  
were to become inactive in CP financial operations. (Serial 190;  
Source NY 694-S\*, 1/16/57.)

At a meeting of the Council on Industrial Security  
of the National Industrial Conference Board on 5/1/57 at the  
Pierre Hotel, New York City, it was stated that the largest  
Ford dealer in New Jersey was a communist. He was said  
to be Stanley Levison, the dealer in West Orange, New Jersey.  
The business was purchased with CP funds and Levison was  
said to have been a CP member since at least 1937 and was at  
that time (1957) the Financial Director of the CP. (Serial 190;  
Source Clayton A. Branthen, Supervisor, Investigation Section,  
Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan, December, 1957.)

*confidential source*

As of April, 1956, Phil Bart had turned over his control of the CP national office financial operations to Isidore Wofsy due to friction between Bart and the Levison brothers. (Serial 190; Source <sup>Informant</sup> NY 694-S\* 4/26/56)

As of May, 1955, Isidore Wofsy, was Treasurer of the CP. (Serial 190; Source <sup>Informant</sup> CG 5824-S\* 5/27/55)

In June, 1956, it was reported that both Stanley Levison and his brother, Roy Bennett, were organizers for the CPUSA in the Rochaway District of New York several years ago. (Serial 190; Source <sup>Informant</sup> NY 694-S\* 6/18/56)

Harry I. Miller, who operated a leather goods business known as LaSalle Leathers, a venture which the National Office, CPUSA, had an interest in, was being contacted on a regular basis by Stanley Levison in connection with the Party's interest in this business as of mid-1956. Miller was identified as a CP member from the early 1930's to 1944 when he became separated from the Party. (Serial 111, Source CG 5824-S\* 7/7/56)

<sup>Informant</sup> At a high-level CP meeting concerning finances on 10/10/53, Isidore Wofsy reported that the Levisons had contributed \$41,000 in 1956, \$25,000 in 1957, \$12,000 in 1958 and \$12,000 in 1959. (Serial 125; Source NY 694-S\* 10/17/53) <sup>Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation</sup>  
<sup>Informant</sup>

Marris said on 6/9/58 that the Levisons had contributed \$30,000 to the CP in 1957 and had pledged \$12,000 for 1958. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\*, 6/10/58).  
*information from Fulfilling operation*

In early 1960 Isidore Weisz said that the Levison brothers had contributed \$18,000 to the CP in 1959 and would probably give \$12,000 in 1960. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\* 1/7/60.)  
*information*

The Levison brothers were expected to contribute \$8,000 to the CP in 1961. (Serial 190; Source NY 694-S\*, 2/20/61.)  
*information*

As of 8/28/62 Stanley Levison was described as a secret member of the CPUSA who contributed funds to the Party on a regular basis. (Serial 179; Source NY 694-S\*, 8/28/62)  
*information*

On 8/30/62 Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell were observed together in the vicinity of 42nd Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. In July, 1962, Hunter Pitts O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA as a member of its National Committee. (Serial 179; Sources substantive material Agents FBI, documentation O'Dell NY 694-S\* July, 1962.)  
*information*

Stanley David Levison was subpoenaed to appear before the Eastland Committee in Washington, D. C., on 4/30/62. On 5/1/62 Levison told an acquaintance he had appeared before the Eastland Committee the day before and that Senator John McClellan had remarked that he (Levison) was the worst witness that had ever appeared before the Committee. (Serial 190; page 83, Source NY 3580-S\*, 4/10/62 and 5/1/62.)  
*ELSON*

Stanley David Levison

In February, 1963, Stanley Levison was still considered a secret member of the CPUSA who contributed money to Party finances. (Serial 190, Source NY 694-S\*, 2/5/63.)

*Structure*  
*intelligence*  
~~Certain CP officials were curious in 1963 how much money belonging to the Party had been collected by~~

~~the Levison brothers during the past ten or fifteen years. (Serial 210, Cover Page E, Source NY 694-S\* 7/10/63)~~

~~As of July, 1963, Stanley Levison was a secret member of the CPUSA. In late 1963 and early 1964 he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. He was described by certain Party leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. Levison's differences with the Party, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to communism. (Unserialized report dated 4/14/64; Source NY 694-S\* 4/9/64.)~~

NOTE:

Serial references on the yellow copy of above memorandum are to Bureau file 100-392452, the main file on Stanley David Levison.



HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

Background and Employment

\* Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who in recent years has called himself Jack O'Dell and J. H. O'Dell, was born in Detroit, Michigan, on August 11, 1923. He attended Northwestern High School in Detroit and Xavier University in New Orleans from September, 1941, to January, 1944. He served in the United States Merchant Marine intermittently from 1944 to 1950. From October, 1956, to the Fall of 1958, he was employed by the Protective Industrial Insurance Company in Alabama.

O'Dell was married to Frances Price in 1952 and reportedly was divorced in 1957. One child was born of this marriage. During this period he was known to use the name Calvin Price.

In 1958 O'Dell was arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, on a complaint of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. These charges, later dropped, related to his indulgence in

intoxicants with and intimate relationship with a married woman at her home. Birth Records, 100-358916-17; Registrar, Xavier University, 100-358916-26; U.S. CG Records, 100-358916-2, 12; Pretext, 100-358916-89; Birmingham, 100-358916-115; Mary P. Grover, 100-358916-102;

In 1960, O'Dell was working in the building that houses the New York offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) for the Committee to Defend

Birmingham PD, 100-3-916-115  
119

Martin Luther King, Jr. He continued his employment as the person in charge of the New York SCLC office during 1962. According to a statement by Martin Luther King, Jr., in July, 1963, O'Dell's connections with the SCLC were severed on June 26, 1963. Nevertheless, O'Dell was observed as late as August 30, 1963, entering the building housing the SCLC offices. In late 1963 O'Dell became associated with the quarterly Communist Party (CP) inspired and supported publication "Freedomways," to which he contributed an article for the Fall, 1963, issue. O'Dell continued to be associated with "Freedomways," as late as March, 1964, and periodically he is in contact with

Edwina Smith, an employee of the SCLC office in Atlanta, to whom he is reportedly engaged to marry. 188; The Atlanta Constitution 100-358916-249; Figur, 100-358916-261; "Freedomways," CG-5824-S\* CSNY 1541-S, 100-358916-281; NY 4171-S\*, 100-358916, 100-3-116-1127; Communist Party Membership and Activities AT 1381-S\*, 100-358916-100-3-116-872

During 1946 and 1947, O'Dell attended classes of instructions in Marxism and Leninism conducted by CP leaders in Miami, Florida, and in May, 1948, he was reported as attending a school sponsored by the New York State CP as a member of the Waterfront Section of the New York County CP; appointed new CP Marine Coordinator of CP for the Gulf Coast area in April, 1951; and in August, 1951, became the District Organizer of the CP in New Orleans. On January 30, 1952, he was identified as the District Organizer for the CP in Louisiana and in this capacity he issued instructions that no CP member was to register under a state law requiring the

registration of communists. He continued as CP Organizer for the State of Louisiana in 1954 and 1955 and during this period he utilized the name John Vesey to conceal his true

identity. <sup>ALL INFORMATION</sup> NY 29, 100-358916-8; ND 426-S, 100-358916-4; NO 998-S, 100-358916-17; NO 885-S, 100-358916-17; NO 996-S, 100-358916-21; NO 901-S, NO 883-S, 100-358916-29, 33, 36; Employment Records and officials, 100-358916-33, page 7

In March, 1956, O'Dell was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which was holding hearings in New Orleans and, during a search by the New Orleans Police Department to locate him, police officers seized, in O'Dell's residence, a large quantity of CP literature including directives from the Party's national headquarters and instructions on how to work with churches, PD, New Orleans, 100-358916-41; SISS, Ben Mandel, and unions. 62-88217-1887, 100-358916

After appearing before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on April 12, 1956, when he took the Fifth Amendment on all questions relating to CP membership and activities, O'Dell left Louisiana, and after a brief stay in New York City, he proceeded to Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, where he remained until August, 1958. Committee Records, 100-358916-43 (549 Exhibit) NO 886-S, 100-358916-5

O'Dell returned to New York City where he was groomed by James Jackson, Secretary of Negro and Southern Affairs, CPUSA, to be his assistant in Southern Regional Activities. In discussing O'Dell with several Party members, Jackson stated on September 25, 1958, that O'Dell had been District Organizer for pretext, 100-358916-89

the CP in Louisiana for six years and his employment with an insurance company in Montgomery, Alabama, enabled him to associate with people like the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. NY 694-S\*, 100-358916-116; WF 1062-S\*, 100-358916-117

In December, 1958, at a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA, in New York City, Jackson introduced O'Dell as "Charles" and said "Charles" was the Party's field secretary of Negro and Southern work. ELSUR NY 1995-S\*, 100-358916-130

During 1958 and 1959, O'Dell attended meetings of the Southern Regional Committee, National Executive Committee, and National Committee, CPUSA, as well as District meetings and conventions of the CP in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Virginia and Texas. At most of these meetings O'Dell spoke

on the policy of the CP in regard to Negro matters. CG 5824-S\*, NY 1995-S\*, NK 1997-S, NY 2359-S, NY 559-S\*, PH 306-S, DE 2551-S\*, RH 161, DL 2-S, 100-358916-130, 138, 148

At the 17th National Convention of the CPUSA held in New York City from December 10 to 13, 1959, O'Dell was elected to the Party's National Committee under the alias Cornelius James. CG 5824-S\*, NY 694-S\*, 100-358916-145

*Sensitive foreign intell. operation*

Shortly thereafter, it was indicated by a National CP leader that O'Dell was working secretly in the South for the Southern Regional Committee, CPUSA, his function being to infiltrate the Negro mass organizations on behalf of the CP.

In January, 1960, O'Dell said that he would continue his work in the South but would also spend a great deal of time in New York City. NY 694-S\*, 100-358916-148

*informant*

In February, 1960, O'Dell was reported as being at that time on the payroll of the National Office of the CPUSA but efforts were being made to get him into something away from the Party. *informant* CG 5824-S\*, 100-358916-148

In November, 1960, Gus Hall, the General Secretary, CPUSA, stated that O'Dell who had been active with the Southern Negro Committee was going to school to learn the insurance business but was still active in the CP. *informant* NY 694-S\*, 100-358916-165

In July, 1962, Gus Hall stated that O'Dell was still representing the CPUSA, was still on the National Committee, CPUSA, and was doing an excellent job as a "brain trust" for Martin Luther King. *informant* NY 694-S\*, 100-358916-196

Although O'Dell is not known to have attended CP meetings since his election to the National Committee of the CPUSA in December, 1959, he has not made an official or public denial of his membership in the CP. During an interview with Bureau Agents in November, 1961, however, O'Dell commented that he has nothing to do with the CP. O'Dell appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in April, 1956, and before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in July, 1958, and on both occasions relied on the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination when questioned regarding his CP membership and activities. SA FBI, 100-358916-178; SISS Record 100-358916-43 (549 Exhibit); "Mobile Register," 100-358916-119

On 3/25/65 Claude Lightfoot, a Party National Vice Chairman and Chairman of the Party's National Negro Commission, was in contact with O'Dell. They exchanged personal pleasantries and arranged to meet together. Later that day Lightfoot was observed by Bureau Agents to meet with O'Dell in New York City.

(NY 2010-S\*, NY let 3/31/65,  
100-108-1299)

ELSUB

4/20/65

-176a-

CLARENCE BENJAMIN JONES

Jones was born January 8, 1931, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He attended Columbia University from 1949 to 1953 receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree and Boston University Law School from 1956 to 1959 receiving a Bachelor of Laws degree. He resides at 5505 Independence Avenue, Bronx, New York, and is a partner in the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones, 165 Broadway, New York City. He is also General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, an organization formed to lend support to Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In 1955 Jones received an undesirable discharge from the United States Army based on alleged subversive activity in 1952-1953 and the fact that he refused to sign a loyalty certificate. On review and appeal, his discharge was changed to "Honorable." (100-407018) Serial 14, page 4)

A source advised on September 13, 1962, that sometime during the period 1949-1953, he had attended "protest rallies" which he believed were sponsored by the Labor

Youth League. (Mr. Edward Moran, Assistant Clerk, Appellate Division, First Department, New York State Supreme Court; 100-407018, Serial 14, page 5)

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

WPJ:cad  
(3)

Clarence Benjamin Jones

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Jones had been a member of the Labor Youth League and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League in late 1953 or early 1954. <sup>CONF. SOURCE</sup> (Albert Brown, self-admitted former Chairman of the Columbia University LYL Club in 1954; 100-407018-7 page 6)  
The Labor Youth League has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have furnished information that during 1952 Jones was active in the National Student Conference for Academic Freedom, Equality and Peace. <sup>informant</sup> (DE 397-S and <sup>informant</sup> M 160-S; 100-407018-1 page 5a and 6)

An informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Harvey Cohen, one of the organizers and leaders of the National Student Conference for Academic Freedom, Equality and Peace, had stated its objective was to promote unity of student action, thereby enabling the "left voice" to extend its influences. Cohen further stated that the objective of the Labor Youth League members within the organization would be to control it. <sup>informant</sup> (BS 627-S; 100-407018 Serial 1, page 5)

A source advised in May, 1952, Jones denounced the State Department ban on travel behind the Iron Curtain. <sup>Conf. Source</sup> (Catherine O'Tool, source of information; 100-407018, Serial 1, page 6)



Clarence Benjamin Jones

In his capacity as General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Jones has been in frequent contact with Stanely Levison, who, according to a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA as of July, 1963, and one who contributes funds to the Communist Party on a regular basis.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Rustin was born March 17, 1913, at West Chester, Pennsylvania. He studied at Wilberforce University, Cheyney State Teachers College, and the College of the City of New York, but received no degree. He resides at 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York. (100-158790-59 and 86)

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, contained an article entitled "Thurmond Assails a Leader of March" wherein it is stated that Bayard Rustin was secretary to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), from 1956 to 1960. According to a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, Rustin was the Assistant Secretary for the SCLC, \*100-158790-59. The above confidential source is Daniel Fernandez, Chief Clerk, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, 275 West 125th Street, NYC. Rustin was Deputy Director of the August 28,

1963, March on Washington and, according to "The New York Times" issue of February 4, 1964, directed the boycott of the New York schools which was held on February 3, 1964. "The New York Times" issue of February 4, 1964, page 20, column six, contained a biography of Bayard Rustin.

\*as of November, 1962.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

Bayard Rustin

According to the article, Rustin was then employed as Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League, described as a group that cites philosophical and humanistic beliefs as its reasons for promoting pacifism. (100-158790-86, pg 2)

Rustin pleaded guilty in 1944 to an indictment charging violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He was conditionally released from prison on June 11, 1946. In addition, it has been reported that at different times during the period 1946 to 1953, Rustin was arrested for such charges as disorderly conduct, New York City; violating local bus laws, Raleigh, North Carolina; and picketing the French Embassy, Washington, D. C. He was also arrested with two other men in January, 1953, at Pasadena, California, on a vagrancy-lewd charge and entered a plea of guilty. He was sentenced to serve 60 days in jail. (FBI Identification Record, 100-158790-59, pages 39-41)

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, contains an article which states that in answer to charges by Senator Strom Thurmond, South Carolina democrat, Bayard Rustin admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. Rustin also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941, after the

Bayard Rustin

Nazi attack on Russia and the YCL's acceptance of racial segregation in the Armed Forces. (100-158790-59, page 6)

The "Daily Worker" of February 25, 1957, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin was one of eight noncommunist observers at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) held in February, 1957, at New York City. (100-158790-59, page 6)

According to informants who have furnished reliable information in the past, at various times since 1958 Bayard Rustin has been in contact with Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary of the CPUSA, and has at times sought Davis' advice. Rustin was also in contact with Marvin Markman, a member of the New York District Staff

of the Communist Party in October, 1963. <sup>ELSONS</sup> (NY 1869-S\*, 11/19/58 and 5/29/59; NY 2353-S\*, 1/21/63; NY 2010-S\*, 9/20/63; NY 4212-S\*, 2/19 and 20/64. Info re Davis by NY 2353-S\*, 10/23/63. 100-158790 ser 67 and Bayard Rustin met with Stanley Levison and

Clarence Jones at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 7th Avenue and 5th Street, New York City, on February 7, 1964. (Observed by SAs of FBI 100-158790-86, page 5)

As late as 1963, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past described Stanley Levison as a secret member of the CPUSA. <sup>INFOS</sup> (NY 694-S\*, 100-158790-86, pg 5)

Bayard Rustin

According to a source who was in a position to furnish reliable information, Clarence Jones was a leader in the Labor Youth League (LYL) about 1953 or 1954. The LYL has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. <sup>CONF. SOURCE</sup> (Albert Brown, Chairman, Columbia University LYL in 1954, 100-158790-86, page 6)

The "New York World Telegram and the Sun" issue of 2/5/64 contained an article captioned "Boycott Leader Rustin is Guest at Soviet Party." The article stated:

"Bayard Rustin, coordinator of Monday's school boycott and last summer's March on Washington, attended a private cocktail party last night at the Soviet Mission in the United Nations, 136 E. 67th St.

"The party was a reception for a Soviet 'peace committee' which has been touring the United States for the last two weeks.

"The Russian delegation came here at the invitation of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, a pacifist group in which Rustin has been active." (100-158790 Sub A)

Rustin was arrested 4/22/64 along with others participating in a sit-in sponsored by CORE at the New York City World's Fair. On 6/17/64 he plead guilty to a disorderly conduct charge and on 6/19/64 received a 30-day suspended sentence. (NY airtel and LHM 6/24/64, 100-158790)

7/9/64

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Rustin is now employed as Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City. According to an article in "The New York Times," 3/12/65, this Institute's purpose is basically educational. (NY 4212-S\*, 100-158790-136)

~~ELSON~~

7/26/65

- 183a -

Bayard Rustin

A close associate of Rustin is Thomas David Kahn who served as Rustin's assistant in connection with the August 28, 1963, March on Washington. Kahn and Rustin no longer live together but they are apparently still friends inasmuch as Kahn called Rustin on April 23, 1964, to tell Rustin he just got out of jail. Kahn had reportedly been imprisoned because of his participation in demonstrations at the New York World's Fair on April 22, 1964. As of September, 1960, Kahn was employed as a clerk by the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, 312 West 125th Street, New York City. (Pretext interview by SA Raymond Mohr, 9-14-60, Bufile 100-425266, Serials 23 and 38; NYlet 5-7-64, Bufile 100-104-34) Kahn became a member of the Young Socialist League (YSL), the youth group of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), in August, 1956, and was active in the YSL until its dissolution in September, 1958. The ISL is described as a Marxist movement in the July 14, 1958, issue of "Labor Action," an official ISL publication.

In 1958 Kahn was in attendance in Los Angeles, California, at a number of functions of the Socialist Workers Party which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (NY 1753-S, 100-425266-6; LA 3732-S, LA 3983-S, LA 4015-S, 100-425266-15)

*Informant*

Reverend Dr. Milton Arthur Galamison

Dr. Galamison was born January 25, 1923, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He received Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity degrees at Lincoln University, a Masters degree at Princeton Theological Seminary and a Doctors degree from Lincoln University in 1961. He presently resides at 1494 President Street, Brooklyn, New York, and is pastor of the Siloam Presbyterian Church, 260 Jefferson Street, Brooklyn, New York. Galamison is past President of the Brooklyn Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and is founder and President of the Parents Workshop for Equality. He is also Chairman of the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools, formed in August, 1963, the organization which sponsored the recent boycotts of the New York City public schools. (100-440362-5)

Information has been developed indicating that Galamison has been connected with the formation of a new racial group known as ACT. (100-440326-7)

In 1953 Galamison's name was listed as one of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Civil Liberties



Reverend Dr. Milton Arthur Galamison

Committee and Galamison participated in the Bill of Rights Conference held on January 30, 1953, which was sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been cited as a front of the Communist Party (CP) by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (100-384660-36,37,44)

Galamison's name appeared on a list of individuals endorsing the "World Peace Appeal," commonly known as the "Stockholm Petition" in 1950. The "World Peace Appeal" was part of the CP peace program in the late 1940's and early 1950's according to a report of the Subversive Activities Control Board. (100-361031-145, p. 74)

Galamison was to give a lecture on February 23, 1961, sponsored by the Brooklyn Emma Lazarus Council and was to speak at a meeting of the Brooklyn Cultural Committee of Emma Lazarus Federation held on January 8, 1957. The Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs is an organization which grew out of the Emma Lazarus Division of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the International Workers Order have been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (100-400394-264,565)

Reverend Dr. Milton Arthur Galamison

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on November 18, 1957, William L. Patterson arranged to meet Galamison for the purpose of discussing an amnesty campaign. A few days later Patterson told the wife of Henry Winston that Galamison had agreed to the use of his name in the campaign for amnesty for Henry Winston. <sup>F-1501</sup> (NY 2010-S\* see 100-440326-5)

"The Worker" issue of September 24, 1961, refers to William L. Patterson as Chairman of the New York State CP. "The Worker" is an east coast communist newspaper. An informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that in August, 1961, Henry Winston was elected to the CPUSA National Committee, the National Executive Committee and was also elected Vice-Chairman of the CPUSA. <sup>Informant</sup> (CG 5824-S\* see 100-440326-5)

According to information furnished by the Bureau of Prisons, United States Department of Justice, Galamison appeared at the Bureau of Prisons on February 9, 1960, and made an appeal for the release of Henry Winston who was at that time incarcerated following his conviction for violating the Smith Act.

Reverend Dr. Milton Arthur Galamison

*SENSITIVE  
Foreign  
FUTEL  
operation*

According to information furnished by an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, the Russians, at the suggestion of Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, are considering inviting Galamison to visit Russia as a guest of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, according to this informant, in December, 1963, Hall received a message from the Soviets stating that an invitation for Galamison to visit the Soviet Union was being extended. It does not appear, however, that Galamison has ever received the invitation. (NY-694-S\* see 100-440326-5)

An article appearing in the April 5, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contains information indicating Galamison and 30 others were arrested on April 4, 1964, at the entrance to the World's Fair grounds, New York City, for blocking traffic. The article also indicated Galamison was charged with disorderly conduct. (100-440326-7)

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Galamison was in contact with Mike Davidow on March 9, 1964, at which time Galamison told Davidow that support was gaining for the school boycott and that

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he (Galamison) had been meeting with Jesse Gray.

Mike Davido is a current member of the New York District CP Committee and the New York District CP Board. Gray is identified in subsequent pages of this memorandum.

In October, 1963, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, called for the formation of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization. After a series of conferences, this organization was formed at a founding convention in San Francisco, California, during the weekend of June 19-21, 1964, and was given the name "W.E.B.

DuBois Club of America." <sup>important</sup> (CG 5824-S\*, NYairtel 5/21/64, "CPUSA-Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, IS-C;" CG-6474-S, SFairtel 6/22/64 "W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, IS-C.") <sup>As reported earlier in this document under the</sup>

<sup>Return</sup> heading "New York State-Wide Demonstration Against School Segregation" Reverend Milton A. Galamison made the statement on May 16, 1964, that he would like to speak to the assembled youth at the above conference. It was later learned that Galamison was the keynote speaker at the founding convention of the above CP youth organization held at Convention Hall, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California. <sup>ELSEW</sup> (NY 4408-S\*, NYairtel "CPUSA-Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, IS-C," 5/21/64.

SFTel 6/20/64 "Unsub (New Youth Organization to be formed by the CP in June, 1964), IS-C," <sup>important</sup> SF 2686-S)

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JESSE WILLIARD GRAY

Jesse Williard Gray is a Negro male born May 14, 1923, at Tunica, Louisiana. He resides at 41-15 Vernon Boulevard, Long Island City, New York, and is employed as Director of the Community Council on Housing, 300 West 121st Street, New York, New York. Since November, 1958, he has been engaged in organizing tenants in the Harlem area of New York City. Gray is also Director of the Organization for Black Power (this organization fully described elsewhere in this summary).

He has recently come into prominence in connection with the Harlem rent strike in which tenants were organized to refuse payment of rent until certain housing conditions were corrected. He is also originator of "Bring a Rat to Court" campaign whereby tenants were encouraged to bring a rat either live or dead into court when eviction cases were being heard in order to dramatize housing conditions. ("The New York Times," 12/31/63)

In connection with the "stall in" campaign at the opening of the 1964 World's Fair in New York City, the April 24, 1964, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" quotes Gray as saying he had sent 20 cars but had held off on his threat to show up at the opening ceremonies with live rats to be turned loose in the crowd.

Jesse Williard Gray

Gray was reported during 1948 to have openly admitted membership in the Communist Party (CP) at that time. He was employed as a bell captain aboard the SS "Washington" of the United States Lines operating out of New York. He was a member of the CP cell operating aboard the ship. (100-357847-24, page 8, District Intelligence Office, 3rd Naval District, New York, New York) <sup>intelligence</sup> <sup>GOVT. Agency</sup>

On December 14, 1951, a self-admitted former CP member advised that Jesse Gray attempted to re-enlist him into the CP when both were delegates to the 1949 National Maritime Union Convention. (100-357847-24, page 8, Lewis James, former CP member)

<sup>CONF SOURCE</sup> A self-admitted CP member during the approximate period 1948 to 1950 advised that Jesse Gray was a CP

organizer between the years 1950 and 1953. (100-357847-24, page 8, Grady O'Connings III)

<sup>CONF SOURCE</sup> Gray was screened by the United States Coast Guard

on February 22, 1951, as a security risk and his Seaman's Papers were revoked. (100-357847-11, page 9, C. F. Hodder, Labor Relations Officer, Moore McCormack, Steamship Lines) <sup>CONF. SOURCE</sup>

Gray attended a secret meeting of the New York

State-Harlem Regional Staff of the CP on July 6, 1955. He

also attended an open meeting of the CP at 124 West 124th

Street, New York City, on June 29, 1955. The purpose of

the meeting was to resolve the issue of factionalism

among Party people in Harlem. (100-357847-24, page 7, <sup>Informant</sup> NY 732-S, 7/7/55 and 6/30/55)

Jesse Williard Gray

Jesse Gray was present at a meeting of the National and State Board of the CP held in New York City on April 10, 1957. The purpose of this meeting was to start a fund drive for the "Daily Worker," which was at that time an east coast communist daily newspaper. (100-357847-32, NY 367-S, 4/17/57)

*informant* At a meeting held in Bermuda Hall, 402 West 146th Street, New York, New York, Paul Robeson, Jr., announced that comrade Jesse Gray who was in attendance was to be a full-time paid organizer of the Harlem Region of the CP. Robeson also announced that he, Robeson, was to be the Educational Director of the Harlem Region of the CP. The meeting was held on October 23, 1957. (100-357847-38, page two, NY 367-S, 10/30/57)

*informant* Jesse Gray attended a New York County CP Committee meeting on December 19, 1957, at 40 East 7th Street, New York City. During the meeting Gray stated that too many of "our Party" are afraid to identify themselves with the international socialist movement and today "we don't have enough hatred for the bourgeois." (100-357847-38, page three, NY 1086-S, 12/27/57)

*informant* On April 1, 1958, Jesse Gray was at that time Regional Director of the Harlem Region of the CP. (100-357847-42, page four, NY 1086-S, 4/1/58)

On September 16, 1958, it was learned that the leadership of the Harlem Region of the CP had been taken over from Gray by four other prominent members

Jesse Williard Gray

as he had not lived up to expectations as Director of the Harlem Region and had accomplished very little during his tenure. Benjamin Davis, Jr., Chairman of the New York State CP at that time said that Gray was a good contact man but a poor organizer. Gray had been in charge of the Benjamin Davis election campaign in which Davis was running for New York State Senator from the 21st Senatorial District of New York as the People's Rights Party (PRP) candidate. The PRP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Davis did not obtain sufficient support to have his name placed on the ballot.

Gray was officially relieved of his duties as Regional Director of the Harlem Section of the CP in November, 1958, and was given four weeks' severance pay. However, he did not resign from the CP.

Jesse Gray was still a member of the Harlem Region CP Club on October 23, 1959.

On February 3, 1960, Jesse Gray appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at public hearing



Jesse Williard Gray

in Washington, D.C. He denied under oath that he was then a member of the CP and invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to questions as to whether he had ever been a CP member; he had been a CP member "anytime in the course of the last year"; or that he was a member "up to 10 o'clock this morning." (100-357847, page 2)

On April 26, 1960, it was learned that Gray had recently tried to obtain funds from the CP to aid him in operating the Lower Harlem Tenants Council. The Party had refused to give him any money because it was felt he was an opportunist and was unstable. (100-357847-52)

On February 20, 1959, the Lower Harlem Tenants Council of which Jesse Gray was the Director was characterized as a "communist broad front" which was being used as a front by the CP with the goal of preparing the way for a "third party" in Harlem with the CP in control. (100-357847-52, page 3, <sup>POT. informant</sup> Albert Gaillard, former PSI, 2/20/59)

An individual who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on January 24, 1964, that according to William Patterson, Chairman of the New York District CP, Jesse Gray is no longer a member of the CP, but is friendly to the CP. (100-441513-4, page 3, <sup>informant</sup> NY 1587-S)

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In an article in "The New York Times" of July 20, 1964, captioned "'Guerrilla War' Urged in Harlem," it was said that in his speech the preceding day during racial demonstrations Jesse Gray had called for 100 skilled black revolutionaries who were ready to die in order to correct what Gray called the police brutality in Harlem. According to the article, Gray said "There's only one thing that can correct the situation, and that's guerrilla warfare." (Memo and letter 7/25/64 to White House re CIRM)

In his position as one of the leaders of the racial demonstrations during July, 1964, Jesse Gray was one of the individuals served with an injunction to prevent further demonstrations in the Harlem area of New York City. (Memo and letter 7/29/64 to White House re CIRM)

On 12/8/64 Gray spoke before approximately 600 students and faculty members at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. During this talk Gray described himself as a "black communist." (Jack Kingery, Security Police, Miami University, 100-3-114-556)

*Copy from [unclear]*

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

James Arthur Baldwin, Negro novelist and writer, was born August 2, 1924, in New York City and was educated in the New York City public schools. He lived in Paris for some time but presently maintains an apartment at 470 West End Avenue, New York, New York. (62-108763-18)

Baldwin has become increasingly active in recent months in the Negro civil rights movement and has made utterances advocating a racial policy of a mobilized Negro community and has made statements of an inflammatory nature. The June 3, 1963, issue of "Newsweek" magazine contained an article reporting on a meeting between Baldwin and Attorney General Robert Kennedy held May 24, 1963, in New York City. The article states that Baldwin when interviewed stated "he (Attorney General Kennedy) was surprised to hear there were Negroes who wouldn't fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves." The "Miami News" of June 30, 1963, reported that Baldwin warned that there are a lot of angry young people among his race and their tempers are wearing thin and the self-control which Negro integrationists use in their non-violence campaign for equality is reaching the breaking point. Baldwin further was reported as stating that obstruction to President Kennedy's civil rights legislation

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in Congress could well be the spark to touch off widespread rioting. On November 6, 1963, the "Washington Daily News" contained an article which stated that Baldwin, at a civil rights conference held at Howard University on November 5, 1963, made several veiled hints of future trouble. He was quoted as saying "I wonder how long we can endure...stand and not fight back." He also said he knew of "many...members of my own family who would think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow." (62-108763-18)

Baldwin has been associated with several Communist Party front organizations. In April, 1960, he was a sponsor of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and in October, 1961, was one of the sponsors of the Monroe Defense Committee. He was a sponsor of a rally to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee held in April, 1961, under the auspices of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. (62-108763-19)

Recently the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee published a pamphlet designed for nationwide circulation in which Baldwin urges abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, calling it "one of the most sinister facts of our national life." (Washington Report by Fulton Lewis, Jr., for June 5, 1964)

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According to a United Press International dispatch which appeared in the "Washington Post" and "Times Herald" on March 5, 1964, Baldwin wrote in "Izvestia," an official publication of the Soviet Government, that "there are no words to describe the full horror of the life of American Negroes." He also stated in this article in "Izvestia" that "only the most radical and far reaching changes in American society" can improve the Negroes' condition and that "it is absolutely clear that white Americans simply do not want to bring these changes into existence." (62-108763-A)

In recent months Baldwin has had considerable contact with members of the Communist Party, USA. On January 2, 1964, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who is previously mentioned in this document; contacted Baldwin and made arrangements to meet at Baldwin's apartment on January 3, 1964. (62-108763-25; NY 4171-S\*) <sup>ELSUR</sup>

O'Dell and Baldwin again met on May 22, 1964, to discuss Baldwin's play "Blues for Mr. Charlie," which was then appearing on Broadway and was encountering financial difficulty. (100-358916-487; NY 4171-S\*) <sup>ELSUR</sup>

In addition, Baldwin has contributed articles to and subscribes to "Freedomways" magazine which is self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement." A source has advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the Communist

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Party, USA, by James Jackson, a member of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee. Baldwin was also scheduled to participate in a Freedomways Forum to be held in Harlem in January, 1964. The Harlem Freedomways Forum was reportedly formed with the knowledge and approval of officials of the New York City Communist Party. (62-108763-25; NY 367-S; NY 1621-S; NY 694-S\*)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
INFORMANT

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WILLIAM LEO EPTON, JR.

Epton was born January 17, 1932, in New York City. He is a high school graduate, is married to Beryl Elizabeth Epton and they have two children, a son born in 1955 and a daughter born in 1959. Epton is employed as the Harlem Organizer of the Progressive Labor Party, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York City, and resides in Apartment 15K, 1420 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City. He served in the U. S. Army from September 26, 1952, until July 21, 1954, being honorably discharged as a private. He received the Korean Service Medal with two bronze service stars and the Presidential Unit Citation. (100-432251-1 and 50)

According to sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, Epton, in 1959, was approved for Communist Party membership by the New York County Communist Party. He was active in Communist Party activities primarily in the Harlem Region from 1959 through 1962. He joined the Progressive Labor Movement in 1962, participated in the activities of this group during 1963 and during that same year was the Progressive Labor candidate for City Councilman at Large for the Borough of Manhattan. In 1963, he attended meetings of the Caucus of Communist Party members in the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council. (New York LHM 5/1/64)(100-432251)

"The New York Times," city edition, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of Progressive Labor Party. The Progressive Labor Party was described as an outgrowth of the Progressive Labor Movement. Its officers

were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. According to the article, the Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Rosen and Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for following the Chinese Communist line. (100-432251-50)

A flier issued in the name of the Harlem Defense Council requested all persons to join a demonstration on July 25, 1964. The flier states that black people of Harlem have historically been terrorized by the police department and sets forth demands to partially alleviate these conditions. One of these demands states, "Our constitutional rights to defend ourselves by any means necessary." (LHM 7/25/64 furnished WH, 100-3-116)

A temporary restraining order dated July 25, 1964, states that on July 18, 1964, at about 4 p.m., at Lenox Avenue, and 115th Street, William Epton and others publically announced an intention to commit illegal acts to disrupt the public peace and to incite a riot. This order contains a supporting affidavit which states that a transcript of Epton's statements on July 18, 1964, contained in part the following: "If we're going to be free, and we will not fully be free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking...and in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges and we'll have to go up against their army. We're going to organize our own militia and our own army." The supporting



affidavit of Assistant Chief Inspector of the New York City Police Department, Sanford D. Garelick, also states "Reports furnished to me by members of the police department established that Mr. Epton, at a meeting held at 336 Lenox Avenue, on July 19, by the Progressive Labor Movement, stated that the defendants would seek to create incidents on a side street; cause the police to deploy their forces from the Avenue; and then assault the police by throwing missiles and bottles filled with inflammable and destructive substances. Mr. Epton also stated that "block captains" would be available to instruct individuals as to the preparation of these weapons." (Enclosure to NY airtel 7/28/64 entitled

"CIRM, IS-C" (100-3-116)

The "New York Daily News" issue of July 26, 1964, in

an article captioned "City Rights Chiefs Join to Arrest Riots," relates that the demonstration held July 25, 1964, had been masterminded by William Epton, an admitted communist, who heads both the Progressive Labor Movement and the Harlem Defense Council. Epton, according to the article, was intent on defying the ban against the demonstration and when he showed up at 4:25 p.m., at West 116th Street to launch the protest, he was promptly arrested on charges of disorderly conduct. Epton was subsequently released on \$500 bail on each of two counts of disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly. (LHM 7/27/64, 100-3-116)

The "Herald Tribune," New York City daily newspaper, late city edition, on August 6, 1964, states in part that William Epton, a self-proclaimed communist and leader of Harlem's Progressive Labor Movement, was indicted on August 5, 1964, for

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advocating the violent overthrow of the New York State Government. Epton was booked on a charge of advocating criminal anarchy. (100-432251-36)

According to the August 14, 1964, issue of "The New York Times," late city edition, Page 24, Epton pleaded not guilty on August 13, 1964, to the charge of criminal anarchy for allegedly urging the overthrow of the State Government during the race riots in Harlem. (100-432251-36)

The criminal anarchy charge against William Epton was dismissed on June 7, 1965, and Epton was rearrested on the same date and charged with riot, conspiracy to riot, advocacy of criminal anarchy and conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy. He was released on \$10,000 bail. (100-432251-50)

The July 26, 1964, issue of the "Evening Star," a daily Washington, D. C., newspaper, contained an article entitled "Harlem Hit Old Foe--Police." It quotes William Epton, New York Chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, as stating "This is a communist organization. I am a communist. Since the rioting and our call for help, we've had maybe 300 volunteers. We'll work with any group in Harlem, Black Nationalists, Black Muslims or anybody else where we agree on issues."

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EXHIBIT NUMBER 2

Photograph of Stanley Levison,  
Clarence Jones and Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
Together, November 20, 1963

EXHIBIT NUMBER 3

Photographs of Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
Wyatt T. Walker and Dolores Sheffey,  
Together, February 25, 1964

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