

**File #:**

62-116395

**Serial Scope:**

586- Bulky

Released under the John F. Kennedy  
Assassination Records Collection Act of  
1992 (44 USC 2107 Note). Case#:NW  
88608 Date: 03-18-2025

62-

95  
HQ-116358

Serial 586



BULKY

# 3565

FBI - CENTRAL RECORDS CENTER

HQ - HEADQUARTERS

BOX 3565

Class / Case #	Sub	Vol.	Serial #
0062 116395		1	586
			ONLY

2/13/85777



INSPECTION

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

AUGUST 17 - SEPTEMBER 9, 1971

DDI INSPECTION  
8/11 - 9/15/71

RETAIN COPY

Recommend entire document be classified "Secret,"  
XCDS 1, 2, 3.

Portions recommended for excision from attached have been underlined in red or bracketed in red in left margin.

Generally, criteria for excision were:

1. Information which could identify sources or sensitive techniques
2. Names of individuals or organizations whose privacy requires protection
3. Information which would reveal our overall success or lack of success in a given investigative area
4. Information from "Third Agencies" or friendly foreign agencies
5. Identities of Bureau personnel below the Section Chief level

The adequacy of Personnel Sections, in general, disclose the extent of our commitment in specific areas of counterintelligence activity. We have given the Committee Administrative Division figures regarding total manpower involved in security investigations but, to my knowledge, we have not given them a breakdown as to where these personnel are assigned. A policy decision is necessary as to whether we want to pinpoint, through release of "Adequacy of Personnel" sections of these inspection reports, precisely how much or how little manpower we have on specific types of investigations.

It is questionable whether the information regarding criminal cases in the San Francisco report is germane to the Committee's inquiry. It would not seem improper to me to delete all references to criminal matters and merely substitute a page saying that "pages \_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ relate to criminal investigations."

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
SPECIFIC DIVISION OPERATIONS	
Ellsberg Case	1
East Coast Conspiracy	23
ACCOMPLISHMENTS	
Internal Security Section	31
Research Section	39
New Left Section	43
Espionage Section	57
Extremist Intelligence Section	66
Nationalities Intelligence Section	74
SURVEYS, PROJECTS AND/OR INTENSIFICATION PROGRAMS	
Security Index Program (Basic Revolutionary Organizations)	89
Counterintelligence - White Hate Groups	91
Thumbnail Sketch Program	93
Security Informant Program (Basic Revolutionary and New Left Organizations)	94
Security Index Program	97

	Page
Surveys, Projects and/or Intensification Programs (Continued)	
Emergency Detention Program	97
Technical and Microphone Surveillances	98
Survey Regarding Potential For Racial Violence	99
New Left Movement	101
Key Activist Program	105
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	107
Worker Student Alliance (WSA)	107
The Venceremos Brigade	110
PROSAB	110
ALEM Program	114
BANPOP Program	115
CANIL Program	116
COKMA Program	117
DESECO Program	119
East - West Exchange Program	121
Radio and Technical Equipment Purchased by the Soviets	123
Black Extremist Matters	125
Black Nationalist Movement	127

## Surveys, Projects and/or Intensification Programs (Continued)

Black Panther Party	132
Black Revolutionary Party	136
Congress of African Peoples (CAP)	137
International Black Workers Congress, aka Black Workers Congress	139
Junta of Militant Organizations	140
Nation of Islam	142
Republic of New Africa	144
Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)	146
Communist Influence of Black Extremist Groups	148
Key Black Extremist Program	151
Extremist Informants	152
Ghetto Informants	154
Counterintelligence Program - Black Extremists	156
Name Checks of Aliens Holding Diplomatic and International Organization Visas	158
<u>Communist Coverage Along the Mexican Border</u> BOCOV	159
Security Index - Cuba	161
American Repatriate Program	164
Intelligence Coverage of Friendly Foreign Countries	165



## Surveys, Projects and/or Intensification Programs (Continued)

International Organizations - Dangerous Aliens of Nations  
Outside the Soviet Bloc 167

Chinese Aliens Entering the U. S.; Chinese Entering the  
U. S. Claiming U. S. Citizenship 169

Counterintelligence Operations Against Chinese Communist  
Intelligence Activities in the United States (CHICOIN) 172

Visitors to Communist China and Contacts by United  
States Residents of Chinese Diplomatic Establishments 173

## LEGAL ATTACHE OFFICES - FOREIGN LIAISON

Bern 178

Bonn 179

Buenos Aires 180

Hong Kong 180

London 181

Madrid 182

Mexico City 183

Ottawa 184

Paris 185

Rome 185

Tokyo 186

Beirut 187

Page

Legal Attache Offices - Foreign Liaison (Continued)

Caracas	188
Copenhagen	190
La Paz	191
Managua	192
Tel Aviv	193
Chinese Communist Activities	200
Subversive Activities Control Board	213

ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS

Dividing Domestic Intelligence Division Into Two Divisions	215
Antiriot Laws and Bombing Matters	224
Computation of Case and Work Load in the Domestic Intelligence Division	239
Potential Double Agent Program	244

PERSONNEL MATTERS

Adequacy of Personnel - Agent	249
Adequacy of Personnel - Clerical	300

SUGGESTION MEMORANDUM

Payments to Security Informants and Confidential Sources	314
--	-----


**Suggestion Memorandum (Continued)**

<b>Survey Concerning Computerization of Security Informant Indices</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>Supervision and Control of Security Informant Development and Coverage by Internal Security and New Left Sections</b>	<b>324</b>
<b>Utilization of Inserts in Reporting Investigative Results in Criminal Cases by Legal Attaches</b>	<b>325</b>
<b>Black Nationalist Photograph Album</b>	<b>327</b>
<b>Young Socialist Alliance Internal Security - Communist (Trotskyist)</b>	<b>329</b>
<b>Automation of Intelligence Data re New Left and Extremist Individuals</b>	<b>331</b>
<b>Preparation of Interview Reports (FD-302) in Security Type Investigations</b>	<b>334</b>
<b>Black Extremist Activities In Penal Institutions - Extremist Matters</b>	<b>340</b>



ELLSBERG CASE

4-A-3

 INSPECTOR E. S. MILLER: This case is currently being afforded preferred supervisory and investigative attention. You are requested to furnish the following information about the case:

1. Brief narrative of basic investigation involving Ellsberg and provide current status.
2. You have advised this case may be part of a greater conspiracy. Advise what part you feel this and other leaks may be. It is realized the broad aspects of this case may be yet unconfirmed conjecture; however, furnish narrative of conjecture.
3. Advise what progress we have made and anticipate making in projecting our investigation into areas described in number two.
4. Advise as best you can at this point how "big" this investigation may become from a supervisory standpoint and indicate what impact an overall successful investigation may have on Governmental processes in our system of Government.
5. In regard to the administration of this investigation handled by the Nationalities Intelligence Section and due to certain intricacies of supervision the following information is requested individually from both Division Head and Section Chief:
  - a. At the outset of the investigation, what instructions were issued Section handling case?
  - b. What subsequent instructions or suggestions have been issued?
  - c. What have been the manpower requirements of the case thus far and how have you worked these out with this Section?
  - d. Division Head and Section Chief requested to make any further comments considered appropriate at this time.

Comments of Assistant Director Brennan and Section Chief Wannall requested.

 DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

ELLSBERG CASE

4-A-3

SECTION CHIEF W. R. WANNALL *wrw*  
NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE SECTION

1. Initial investigation by Bureau opened 1/20/70 based on information from step-mother of subject's former wife to the effect that subject, with his children, took papers from his office at Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, and copied them with intent that they be made available for Senators Fulbright and Goodell. This information had come to knowledge of Carol Ellsberg through the Ellsberg children. Initial investigation continued through 9/25/70 when basic facts were presented to Department of Justice with note that no further action would be taken in the absence of a specific request from the Department. No such request was received.

On 6/13/71 "The New York Times" commenced publishing a series of articles purporting to report on the history of the U. S. decision-making process concerning Vietnam policies for the period 1945-1967. "The New York Times" claimed the articles were based on a study later identified as a 47-volume history entitled "United States - Vietnam Relations During the Period 1945-1967," commonly known as the "McNamara Study." The "McNamara Study" was prepared beginning in 1967 and was classified "Top Secret."

On 6/15/71 the Attorney General requested FBI to conduct all necessary investigation into the matter relating to the publication of classified information by "The New York Times." Our 1970 investigation and initial reports from sources obtained in instant matter pinpointed Ellsberg as the prime suspect responsible for the leak of classified data to news media. Extensive investigation at Los Angeles pinned down the identities of individuals present in October, 1969, when Ellsberg duplicated classified documents available to him through his employment at Rand Corporation in Santa Monica. Also revealed were his own statements to his former wife that he, in fact, was converting the classified documents to his own use to furnish them to various Congressional figures. The Los Angeles investigation has resulted in Ellsberg's current indictment alleging violation of Section 793(e), Title 18, U. S. Code (unauthorized possession of documents involved and unlawful retention of same) and Section 641, Title 18 (conversion of the documents to his own use). The Los Angeles investigation was the sole basis for this indictment and served as the basis for current imprisonment on charge of contempt of court of Anthony J. Russo who was present on one occasion when Ellsberg allegedly duplicated material in his possession.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/23/71

WRW:ams

4-A-3

Investigation at Washington, D. C., has pinned down Ellsberg's access to the documents in question and has additionally revealed his early change from "hawk" to "dove." It has also revealed his contacts with individuals at high levels in Federal Government attempting to persuade them to put before American public details of decisions underlying the U. S. policy in Vietnam.

Investigation at Boston has uncovered activity by Neil and Susan Sheehan, employees of "The New York Times," in late March, 1971. This activity has included extensive details of sessions where duplication of portions of the "McNamara Study" were involved. Revealed have been details identifying the printing companies utilized by the Sheehans, considerable travel between these companies and apartments available to or utilized by Ellsberg. We have uncovered extensive detail of Ellsberg's contacts from his Cambridge, Massachusetts, residence with members of the news media. Also revealed has been contact by Ellsberg with factions of the New Left and anti-Vietnam peace groups.

We have recently expanded our investigation in attempt to uncover details of dissemination of the "McNamara Study" by Ellsberg to other newspapers in which articles appeared attributed to the "McNamara Study." This investigation has revealed at least three newsmen from the Washington, D. C., bureaus of the newspapers involved were in the Boston and/or Cambridge area during the week immediately prior to Ellsberg's surrender on 6/28/71. We have learned that at least one newspaper had been contacted by an unknown individual in Boston who had offered the "McNamara Study" instructing that if the newspaper involved wished to avail itself of the offer, the classified documents could be picked up in Boston after contacting a given telephone number in that area for more detailed instructions. We are pursuing this facet of the investigation vigorously to pin down exact activities of the newspaper personnel involved and when this is done, we contemplate interviewing them for additional details.

Extensive investigation has been afforded the possibility that Ellsberg benefited from considerable assistance from other individuals in his attempt to disseminate the "McNamara Study" to the news media. Along these lines we have detected early reports of Ellsberg's cooperation with elements of the War Resisters League and have identified individuals in that organization described by Ellsberg as the principal influences on his change to a militant opposition to the U. S. - Vietnam policies. Investigation is continuing along these lines to establish if any individuals in these dissident groups may have assisted Ellsberg in his alleged violations of the statutes noted.

A relative of Mr. Haldeman at the White House, France Raine, reported that while attending a football game in Los Angeles in October, 1970, he overheard a conversation between two men sitting near him whom he believed to be prominent

in the Business Executives Movement for Vietnam (BEM). This conversation involved the plan on the part of an unidentified individual to leak secret information to the press in the Spring of 1971, with the unidentified individual being mentioned as being an employee of Rand Corporation and having formerly served as an advisor to Dr. Kissinger at the White House. Also mentioned by the conversants was the plan on the part of two White House aides to resign their positions sometime during the Summer of 1971 and to make anti-Administration revelations at that time regarding U. S. - Vietnam policy. Ellsberg was known to have appeared on at least two occasions as a speaker for BEM functions in Los Angeles and Washington, D. C. A close associate of his in Los Angeles was a former leader of the BEM chapter in that city. We have intensified our investigation of BEM and conducted extensive investigation to pin down identities of persons seated near Raine during the game in question. We are continuing our investigation along these lines to pinpoint a possible conspiracy existing as early as October, 1970, with ramifications of anti-Administration activity and revelation of classified information.

We have recently received from Attorney General clarification of the areas in which we can conduct investigation in this matter and, as a result, are extending our interviews into news media circles where we feel we can uncover individuals who will cooperate with us in revealing details of the Ellsberg revelations and any conspiracy that may have existed involving him and others to expose to public scrutiny the classified information involved in this case.

2. At the outset of this investigation Assistant Director Brennan spoke at a Division Chiefs' Conference and also directly to the Section Chief, Nationalities Intelligence Section, regarding the possibility of a wide-scale conspiracy in which Ellsberg could be involved. His observations along these lines were recorded in a memorandum to all Division Chiefs dated 7/23/71 and captioned "Re: Organizational Survey (Priorities and Manpower)." In this memorandum he commented upon the fact that the Ellsberg case might be a landmark in historical significance in view of the long-range potential regarding Governmental operations and the FBI's role in relation thereto. He stated that the leak in this case represented a deliberate and determined effort on the part of certain individuals to seriously disrupt and destroy the Government's capacity to carry out effectively its foreign policy in various areas.

Mr. Brennan noted that the past 15 to 20 years had witnessed the evolution of a new breed of fanatics who were determined to disrupt and destroy Governmental operations and to alter this country's foreign policy. He further noted that the movement supported by these fanatics bordered on treason which must be dealt with if our current form of Government is to survive.



During the early stages of the investigation in this case it became quite evident that Ellsberg had received assistance in getting into the hands of various newspapers the "McNamara Study." He admitted as much on 6/28/71 in responding to questions raised by reporters when he surrendered himself at the Boston Courthouse following issuance of a complaint charging him with violating the Espionage Statute. Accordingly, the thrust of our investigation has been directed toward identifying any individual or individuals or organization that may have assisted or conspired with Ellsberg. It was noted that developments had indicated that at least part of the "McNamara Study" was reportedly in the possession of the Institute for Policy Studies and that while a page-by-page review of the Bureau's file on that Institute had not revealed any information concerning Ellsberg, we had developed material in the Ellsberg investigation showing connections between him and some of the Institute employees.

*No  
excusing*  
On 7/6/71 the Director prepared a memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Sullivan, Brennan and Bishop to advise that the Honorable H. R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, had called the Director about the Ellsberg case. The Director stated that Mr. Haldeman said the President wanted a report on the case immediately to bring him up to date and then to keep him filled in, and that the President was particularly interested in the complicity of individuals.

On 7/6/71 with the Director's approval a conference was held with Departmental attorneys during which Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian explained that information coming to his attention from Departments of Defense and State officials indicated that a group at each of these Departments may be involved in a ring to pass out classified information. He said that while this may or may not be related to the Ellsberg case he was most desirous of getting a complete rundown on Ellsberg's background to determine if any of his associates may have come under suspicion in connection with other leaks. He also said the President was vitally concerned not only with the Ellsberg case but with all aspects of leaks of classified information of the Executive Branch.

We have not developed any hard evidence confirming that a wide-spread organized conspiracy exists to leak Government information. We are aware, however, of one thread common to certain of these leaks. That is, individuals such as Ellsberg, who were either bitterly opposed to the U. S. - Vietnam policy or in disagreement with other major foreign policy issues, have set themselves up above the law, claiming the right to decide what should be released to the public regardless of Executive Branch classification assigned to information. Many of these individuals in common with Ellsberg have been affiliated with one or more of the so-called "think tanks," such as Rand Corporation, have served

5

in a number of sensitive positions in the Executive Branch of the Government and to a large extent are acquainted with one another, at least on a professional basis. Communications to appropriate field offices dated 7/7 and 12/71 contained instructions regarding the necessity for exploring the various facets of this situation.

The conspiracy aspects of the Ellsberg case as revealed to date are set forth in Item 3 below.

3. Speculation that Daniel Ellsberg conspired with others in obtaining, reproducing and disclosing the "McNamara Study" has some basis in public remarks made by him on 6/28/71 indicating that "It is implicit ... that other individuals helped out in various ways," and that he and the press share the responsibility for the newspapers' obtaining the study. We have, however, pursued the possibility of conspiracy from every conceivable angle and while investigation has produced some circumstantial evidence to support this theory, we have not found grounds to indicate existence of an over-all plot or conspiracy, threading its way throughout Ellsberg's actions.

Count One of a two-count indictment returned by a Federal grand jury on 6/28/71 charges Ellsberg with unauthorized possession, access to, and control over copies of what, in effect, was the "McNamara Study," from about September, 1969, to approximately October, 1969, while Count Two of this indictment charges that during the same approximate time span Ellsberg willfully, knowingly and unlawfully converted to his own use copies of these documents. We have established Ellsberg legally had access to the Study in the course of his employment with Rand Corporation at Santa Monica, California, but that he also obtained and had in his possession 18 volumes of a preliminary draft of the Study for at least nine months without the knowledge of the Top Secret Control Officer at Rand in Santa Monica. Failure of Rand employees in Washington, D. C., and at Santa Monica to adhere to established, in-house security procedures accounts for the fact Ellsberg was able to conceal his possession of these 18 volumes, and while over-all possession by Ellsberg of the Study and its preliminary draft volumes continues to be closely examined, no evidence exists of conspiracy at this point of the case.

Count Two of the aforementioned indictment, relating to conversion of these documents, is founded on information that Ellsberg reproduced a large quantity of classified documents in October, 1969, at the office of one Lynda Sinav, in the Los Angeles area. Ellsberg's two children, present at this reproduction session, have identified individuals who assisted Ellsberg in this task, but

interviews of these persons have developed nothing to indicate they were aware of the nature of the items being reproduced or of what use Ellsberg intended to make of the copies reproduced. Anthony Russo, a fellow employee of Ellsberg's at Rand in Santa Monica, would have been in an excellent position to have been aware of the ultimate purpose of Ellsberg's actions but has refused to talk to the Federal grand jury in Los Angeles, and is currently in jail for contempt of court relating to this refusal.

Subsequent to the duplicating of documents in October, 1969, Ellsberg, by his own statements, claims to have made efforts to furnish copies of these documents to Senator J. William Fulbright and former Senator Charles E. Goodell, and Senator George S. McGovern may also have been approached by Ellsberg concerning making these documents public. Representative Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., is also known to be in possession of documents which he publicly admits were given to him by Ellsberg. Data available concerning this phase of Ellsberg's actions also fails to indicate he acted in concert with anyone.

On 6/13/71 "The New York Times" published the first of a series of articles purporting to have been based on the "McNamara Study," and a number of other newspapers in the U. S. subsequently printed similar articles. Investigation has placed Neil Sheehan, a reporter for "The New York Times," in Cambridge, Massachusetts, during March and April, 1971, under an assumed name, and we have determined Sheehan and his wife engaged in a number of frantic copying sessions of documents during the period 3/21-23/71. Four blurred Xerox copies discarded during this duplicating have been identified by the National Security Agency as being reproductions of pages appearing in the "McNamara Study." It is highly probable Sheehan and Ellsberg cooperated closely in actions which enabled "The New York Times" to obtain the documents utilized in articles published by this newspaper and we have recently uncovered evidence indicating representatives of at least three other newspapers which have published articles based on the "McNamara Study" were in the Boston area in June, 1971, for the apparent purpose of obtaining copies of these documents. A source closely connected with one of these newspapers has advised that his newspaper obtained the documents after receiving a telephone call from an unknown individual who instructed that a reporter from the newspaper go to Cambridge and make the necessary arrangements to obtain them by calling a certain, unidentified telephone number. Investigation subsequently placed this reporter in Cambridge, but we have, to date, been unsuccessful in determining who furnished him with the material in question. While the newspapermen thus involved may have cooperated with Ellsberg in various ways in order to obtain the desired documents, available evidence does not suggest they conspired with him in carrying out the disclosure of these documents, but rather took advantage of his offer to furnish them with the material.

We are, however, vigorously pursuing all leads relating to the possession by "The New York Times" and other newspapers of the "McNamara Study" and have proposed that the field be authorized to immediately initiate interviews with friendly newsmen concerning this matter. We believe this area of investigation offers excellent possibilities of effecting a major breakthrough in this case.

There remains the suggestion Ellsberg may have received the cooperation of or conspired with various New Left, anti-draft, anti-Vietnam war elements, and this possibility has received the most penetrating examination. We know Ellsberg to have been friendly with a number of individuals connected with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D. C., and evidence exists that the IPS has been in possession for some time of documents which may be identical with the "McNamara Study." We have also learned, in tracing the development of Ellsberg's thinking from "hawk" to "dove," that from August, 1969, he became increasingly associated with a number of the more prominent anti-war exponents in this country, many of whom occupy important posts at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. We are in the process of tying together all of this data, in an effort to surface, if possible, any possible connection between these elements and Ellsberg in the disclosure of the highly classified "McNamara Study," but information available to date does not, as yet, substantiate or corroborate existence of a conspiracy in this regard.

4. With particular regard to the President's concern expressed by Mr. Haldeman to the Director, mentioned hereinbefore, with respect to the complicity of individuals, and the instructions of the Attorney General that the Bureau in each leak case identify the individuals responsible, it is quite clear that we must resolve all allegations, especially those pertaining to possible conspiracies, during the course of our inquiries. As noted in Item 1, our inquiries have expanded to include not only the leak to "The New York Times" but to encompass the eight other newspapers which carried portions of the "McNamara Study." Since its inception, the Ellsberg case has required expanding supervisory attention here at the SOG. Nine men are currently committed to the case. There are no indications at this time that less supervisory attention will be needed in the near future. In fact, all indications are that there may have to be more commitments in this regard, particularly if the Department refers additional leak matters to us for the intensive investigative attention which has been requested in the past.

A successful investigation followed by a successful prosecution would certainly have a very important impact on Governmental processes, particularly

within the Executive Branch of our Government. When the Supreme Court refused to grant injunctions sought by the Executive Branch against newspapers publishing the "McNamara Study," this upheld the freedom of the press. The question has not yet been litigated with respect to the right of the Executive Branch to protect its secrets through its classification system.

Unless Ellsberg is prosecuted successfully, anyone within the Executive Branch would apparently have the right to decide on his own initiative what information he wishes to place in the public domain by turning the information over to the newspapers. Much of the sensitive negotiations of the Executive Branch with foreign countries is dependent upon the secrecy with which they are carried out. If through a classification system or some other means the Executive Branch is not able to preclude the unauthorized disclosure of its secrets it is felt the Branch will be weakened to the extent that it cannot effectively function on the <sup>inter</sup>national scene certainly, and probably on the domestic scene in some instances. Thus, the structure of the Executive Branch might well collapse.

An unsuccessful prosecution would buttress the considerable support, particularly from the news media, for Ellsberg's contention that his disclosure of the classified documents was basically motivated by conscience and by deep concern that the public should be informed. It is closely related to the viewpoint held by a small but growing minority that an individual is free to follow the dictates of his conscience and to be the final arbiter of the validity of our criminal and civil statutes. If this thesis were to be supported, then it could apply to murder and bombings of Government and private institutions where such acts are dictated by conscience. It could follow that the Legislative, Executive and Judicial functions of the Nation are exercises in futility. This would be a road to anarchy.

From the above, it would appear that the outcome of the Ellsberg case would have a direct bearing on the Executive Branch of our Government and could affect the entire Governmental structure.

5(a). At the outset of the investigation, Assistant Director Brennan instructed the Section Chief to afford special attention to this case and to let him know of any manpower needs. He emphasized the importance of the case in his mind and wanted it handled as a special.

Within a day or two Mr. Brennan introduced the Section Chief to Departmental attorney James McGrath, who is a special assistant to Assistant Attorney General Mardian. Mr. Brennan advised the Section Chief that McGrath was the coordinator for Mardian of the various groups under Mardian engaged in consideration of phases of the Ellsberg case. For example, he explained that

one group headed by Departmental attorney John Martin analyzed all investigative results received by the Department in an effort to establish whether a case was being made. Mr. Brennan advised the Section Chief that Mr. McGrath would be in a position to furnish any information required by the Section Chief from the Internal Security Division and instructed that copies of daily teletypes received from our various offices be furnished through Mr. McGrath to the Internal Security Division as they came in.

5(b). Approximately two weeks after this case was instituted, the Section Chief asked Mr. Brennan if he would brief both the Section Chief and the Section Number One Man on his concept of the magnitude of this case and its various ramifications. This was done and Mr. Brennan again emphasized the need for following all facets on a special basis.

Following the conference with Departmental attorneys 7/6/71, mentioned hereinbefore, Mr. Brennan summoned Inspector D. E. Moore and Section Chief Wannall to his office and instructed that a "book" be prepared on Ellsberg covering his activities and associates during a period of a couple of years. He explained what he wanted in this book and provided for an Agent from Research Section to be assigned full time on its compilation.

On 7/15/71 Mr. Brennan instructed that a copy of each teletype received at the SOG on this case be furnished to him.

On 7/28/71 Mr. Brennan summoned Inspector D. E. Moore, Section Chief, Section Number One Man, and all Agents working on this case to his office for a conference. In compliance with his request, he was briefed on investigative results to date. He asked if serious consideration had been given to the possibility that Ellsberg himself was not directly involved in turning over the "McNamara Study" to "The New York Times," and instructed that we look into this phase of the matter very carefully.

On 8/2/71 Mr. Brennan summoned to his office the Section Chief and Case Supervisor Wagoner for the purpose of introducing them to Mr. G. G. Liddey of the White House. He explained that Mr. Liddey was coordinating all White House interest in this matter. Mr. Liddey pointed out that the White House wanted this case handled as a "Bureau special" and that a letter from the White House to that effect would be forwarded.

5(c). At the present time there are nine Agent Supervisors assigned to this matter.

Investigation was instituted 6/15/71 and from then until 6/23/71 manpower assignments were handled within the Section.

On 6/23/71 two additional Agents were placed in the Section on a loan basis and they were assigned to operational desks, as Agents permanently assigned to those desks from within the Section were assigned to the McLek case.

On 6/28/71 an Agent was assigned on a loan basis from Extremist Intelligence Section and this loan Agent has been rotated on a weekly basis since. He has been utilized to cover an operational desk while one of the regularly assigned Agents in the Section (H. J. Morgan) has been assigned full time to this case.

On 7/8/71 an Agent from Research Section was assigned full time to prepare a "book" on Ellsberg and has worked on this exclusively with the exception of an annual leave period of 8/2-13/71. He has not participated in any other phase of the case on a day-to-day basis.

On 7/8/71 one man on weekly rotating basis was assigned temporarily from the Espionage Section and continues to the present time. This loan Supervisor has been utilized to cover an operational desk within the Section while the regularly assigned Supervisor on the desk (J. R. Hagy) has been utilized full time on instant case.

On 7/29/71 an Agent from within the Section (L. E. Belanger) was assigned part time to handle special aspects of the Ellsberg case, relating specifically to electronic surveillance checks on potential witnesses.

Memorandum Mr. Felt to Mr. Tolson 8/4/71 captioned "Adequacy of Personnel, Leak Cases, Domestic Intelligence Division (DID)," recommended and the Director approved that the number of Agents assigned to handle leak cases, including Ellsberg case, be increased immediately from five to seven, these two additional Agents to be diverted from other assignments in Domestic Intelligence Division with at least one to be diverted from the CP, USA Unit. The Director approved this. At that time we had five men working full time on instant and related cases, including J. M. Sizoo, who was involved exclusively in preparation of a "book" on Ellsberg.

On 8/9/71 in the absence of additional manpower from outside the Section, the number of Agents committed to instant and related cases was increased

//

from five to seven by assigning full time from within the Section SA L. E. Belanger and on a rotating basis one Agent from the Middle and South American Unit (B. M. Perez). Perez was replaced by SA W. W. Hamilton on 8/16/71.

On 8/13/71 two additional Agents were provided from outside the Section, one on a full-time basis and one on a rotating weekly basis. The Agent assigned on a full-time basis (T. J. Seabaugh) was immediately assigned to the McLek case. The Agent assigned on the weekly rotating basis was assigned to assist on one of the regular operational desks within the Section and an Agent who had been continuously on loan with the exception of an annual leave period of 8/6-16/71 (J. P. Benedict) was assigned full time to instant matters.

In summary, manpower from outside the Section have been assigned on a temporary basis on 6/23/71 (two Agents); 6/28/71 (one Agent); 7/8/71 (two Agents); and 8/13/71 (two Agents). Three of these loan Agents are now working full time on McLek case while four are assisting in covering operational desks that exist within this Section. Six Agents from within this Section are assigned full time to McLek case.

5(d). From above discussion, it will be noted that this case is directed at developing evidence concerning violations of Federal statutes under which we have investigative jurisdiction and our principal efforts have been directed toward this responsibility. There are also far reaching aspects of the case which require investigative attention and because they are so diversified there is a necessity for directing efforts in the first instance along those channels which are of greatest importance. These channels relate especially to the possibility of a conspiracy, if in fact one exists, on the part of individuals to acquire and release without authorization classified material of the Executive Branch of the Government.

As noted above, evidence has been developed which would support those prosecutive aspects which to date have been considered by the Department and efforts are currently underway to resolve the potential conspiracy aspects.

The principal problems which have arisen with respect to supervision of this case have related to efforts on the part of Assistant Attorney General Mardian and attorneys within his Division to (1) conduct investigative activity on their own and (2) to direct our investigative activities frequently into areas tangential to the main thrust of the case. With respect to investigative efforts by Mardian, the following are cited as examples:



On 6/29/71 Mardian telephonically advised he was sending a Departmental attorney to see Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., who had received from Ellsberg some copies of classified documents. He said the Departmental attorney would discuss with Mathias the possibility of Mathias' turning these documents over to him. Mardian asked if we wanted to have an Agent accompany the attorney. The Director concurred that no Agent accompany the attorney, stating, "Let Mardian's emissary accept them."

On 7/21/71 when Agents of Washington Field Office endeavored to interview Mr. Charles W. Cooke, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, they were advised by Cooke that he would not submit to interview in the absence of clearance granted by the Deputy Attorney General. This was in pursuance of a lead which had been referred to us by Mardian and when the Cooke interview was attempted it was learned for the first time that two attorneys from the Internal Security Division had been designated to conduct the interview with Cooke.

On 8/10/71 one of Mardian's attorneys telephoned to say that he was going to interview an informant the next day in connection with this case and asked if the Bureau would arrange a place where he could meet securely with the informant and whether the Bureau desired to have an Agent present during the interview. In concurring that Bureau should not accede to these requests, the Director noted, "If Mardian's outfit would refrain from what are basically investigative activities and leave it to the Bureau there would be less friction."

On 8/12/71 the Bureau received through misrouting a communication which Mardian had addressed to the Attorney General to summarize current information in what he described as "Our continuing investigation into the acquisition of the 'McNamara Study' by the 'New York Times.'" The Director inquired whether Mardian's outfit was conducting their own investigation in this matter, as indicated by the contents of the memorandum. As a matter of fact, material summarized by Mardian was nothing more than information extracted from Bureau teletypes showing FBI investigative results.

With respect to Mardian's efforts to direct our investigative activities, the following are the most recent examples:

By letters dated 8/12 and 8/23/71 we received from Mardian lengthy instructions for conducting of investigation in the Ellsberg matter. It is quite evident from a review of these communications that the requests contained therein are the results of disorganized review of the material furnished to Department by the Bureau.


For example, both letters contained requests to conduct investigation previously conducted and reported to the Department. Certain other requests contained therein would more logically fall within the province of the Special Task Force Committee established by the Department of Defense to analyze Rand Corporation security procedures. Other requested investigation had previously been initiated by the Bureau and other investigative requests were not on their face germane to the violations or potential violations of law. Certain of the requested investigation appeared to be based on unsupported assumptions and theories of the involvement of other individuals in the leak of the "Pentagon Papers" but offered no basis or reasons for the requested investigation.

The most recent letter, 8/23/71, contained request for investigation of Ellsberg's travel. We have been developing this information since the inception of our investigation and it has been furnished to the Department on an almost daily basis. This letter also requested inquiries concerning certain telephone calls by Ellsberg, investigation concerning most of which had also been previously initiated. Mardian also stated Department files had no information on Leonard S. Rodberg, whose name has recently come up in this case as the possible source of the "McNamara Study" material which will be published by the Beacon Press in Boston. We have in this and other cases furnished information on Rodberg in approximately a dozen communications.

The analyses of these lengthy letters from Mardian requires the expenditure of a considerable amount of Agent time. They indicate that Mardian's group, apparently in efforts to direct our investigation, are propounding questions, some of which are relevant but many of which are not relevant to the main thrust of our investigation, some of which should be referred elsewhere, and others of which have been previously answered.

In accordance with instructions issued by the Assistant Director, we are furnishing to Mardian copies of the daily teletypes from our field offices. These teletypes contain "raw" investigative results not coordinated. The coordination of these results regularly appears in our investigative reports which are also furnished to Mardian. We feel that the reports resolve many of the questions which have been propounded by Mardian in the past and it would enhance our investigative efforts to eliminate dissemination of the daily teletypes in the future and give to the Department investigative results in report form, supplemented by a weekly summary letter which we regularly forward to him.

## ELLSBERG CASE

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. BRENNAN: 

I generally concur with the comments of Mr. Wannall as to the progress and status of this case from an investigative standpoint. I have reminded Mr. Wannall that the development of direct evidence should not be obscured by the broadening of the scope of this case. He has been advised that his objective must consistently be the development of substantial admissible evidence necessary to establish a conviction as to Federal violations charged in the Los Angeles indictment of Ellsberg and others which may develop from other corollary investigations being conducted.

From the outset, as stated by Mr. Wannall, I expressed the importance of this case and instructed him to advise me of any manpower needs. The question of manpower is discussed under the caption "Adequacy of Personnel" found in 6E of this report and was the subject of my memorandum to Mr. Sullivan 7/29/71 captioned "Proposed Adjustments of Work Assignments, DID," memorandum of W. R. Wannall to Mr. Felt 8/12/71 captioned "Adequacy of Personnel, DID," and my memorandum to Mr. Sullivan 8/12/71 captioned "Adequacy of Personnel, Leak Cases, DID."

In reference to Mr. Wannall's concluding suggestion in his writeup, the procedure of furnishing daily teletypes to the Department in major cases is not unusual. The high level interest of the Department, which will eventually be responsible for the prosecution of this case, as well as the interest of the White House dictates that teletypes in this matter be disseminated consistent with the Director's instructions, copy attached. It appears we should clarify the Department's use of these "raw" investigative results as set forth in our teletypes and suggest their detailed reviews be conducted from Bureau investigative reports, which are the normal communication for such use. Mr. Wannall will be instructed to advise the Department by letter with regard to the foregoing pointing out that our weekly summary letters and investigative reports will resolve many of the questions they raise as to information in our teletypes.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION  
8/27/71  
CDB:lm1  
4-A-3

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SULLIVAN  
MR. BRENNAN  
MR. ROSEN

I have tried to lay down intelligent guidelines as to what should be sent and what should not be sent to the Internal Security Division of the Department. In the last several days I have noted a number of memoranda addressed to the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General about matters about which the Internal Security Division should have been advised and I have had to send these back and request that memoranda be appropriately addressed to the Assistant Attorney General of the Internal Security Division. Apparently I have failed in pointing out the guidelines I desired, so henceforth, you should send everything, including the kitchen stove if it comes in, to the Internal Security Division. It is hopeless to get a considered understanding of my wishes in this matter, which I believe is largely due to some degree of stubbornness because of the recent disciplinary action I had to take when we failed to advise the Attorney General about the Media burglary.

Therefore, as I have indicated, henceforth you will send everything to the Internal Security Division that in any way relates directly or indirectly to the work and jurisdiction of that Division.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

JEH:EDM (7)

ADDENDUM

INSPECTOR E. S. MILLER:  
(R. E. White:bhg, 9/7/71)

This case involves the publishing of parts of the "McNamara Study" in June, 1971, by "The New York Times." The evidence

to date strongly indicates Daniel Ellsberg is responsible for furnishing the classified data to representatives of this newspaper, and he has been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for the unauthorized possession and conversion of these documents. This is the case simply stated; however, this matter is far from being so simple. From its inception, this case has been complicated by the enormity of the work to be completed and problems inherent in this unusual investigation.

In regard to the amount of work involved, a survey was made to establish how many communications were dated during the period of a single week (Saturdays and Sundays included). As a result of this survey, the following represents the number of communications dated during the weeks noted below:

		<u>INCOMING</u>		
	<u>Teletypes</u>	<u>Airtels</u>	<u>Reports</u>	<u>Letters</u>
7/11-17/71	107	21	5	2
8/1-7/71	81	26	5	3
8/8-14/71	82	24	4	2

		<u>OUTGOING</u>	
	<u>Teletypes</u>	<u>Airtels</u>	<u>Letters</u>
7/11-17/71	8	4	8
8/1-7/71	14	0	8
8/8-14/71	19	3	10

	<u>INTRA - SOG</u>	
	<u>Memo</u>	
7/11-17/71	15	
8/1-7/71	7	
8/8-14/71	15	

The above-noted chart is believed to be representative of the high volume of communications received daily. Many of these communications were lengthy and/or complicated requiring close analysis by one or more supervisors assigned to this "Special." Also, a check of the work devoted to the preparation of daily summary memos and of weekly summaries disclosed a supervisor would arrive at the office at approximately 5:30 a.m. each morning, Monday through Friday, to have the daily memos dictated and typed by 8:15 a.m. the same day, and the Supervisor responsible for the weekly summary due each Monday would spend approximately 6 hours preparing this communication on the prior Sunday. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that many responses to the letters from the Attorney General's Office require extensive research.

With the approval by the Attorney General to interview newspapermen, it is anticipated that the work load will increase rather than decrease in the immediate future. Initially there will be at least 75 newspapermen to be interviewed and numerous additional leads will be developed from these interviews. This investigation involves numerous facets and requires extensive work and supervision.

Presently there are 9 Supervisors assigned to this case and their responsibilities are as follows:

E. R. Harrell, Unit Chief, reviews all outgoing correspondence, reviews incoming reports in Ellsberg case; supervises preparation of daily summary memorandum, weekly White House memorandum in Ellsberg case, SALT Lek case (leak of classified information concerning Strategic Arms Limitations Talks appearing in "The New York Times"), and the Toll Lek case (leak from State Department cables concerning alleged misconduct of Bert M. Tollefson, Jr.); assists in setting out leads from daily teletype correspondence from field.

J. R. Wagoner, as case Agent in McLek, responsible for review of all incoming reports as to adequacy of reporting and leads; maintains and supervises operation of lead box in Ellsberg case; responsible for follow-up communications on outstanding leads; has basic responsibility for preparation of weekly White House summary; assists in preparation of daily memorandum summarizing prior day's investigative activity in the field.

J. R. Hagy, as case Agent, has all supervisory responsibility for Toll Lek; conducts research on all New Left aspects of Ellsberg investigation and responsible for preparation of comprehensive analysis of New Left implication in the case; responsible for setting out leads relative to New Left associates and contacts by Ellsberg; responsible for following field investigation; corroborating attendance by Ellsberg at New Left functions; assists in leads obtained from daily teletypes in McLek and Toll Lek cases;

assists in preparation of daily summary memorandum; and assists in preparation of weekly White House summary.

H. J. Morgan, as case Agent, has primary responsibility for supervision of SALT Lek case; reviews all incoming correspondence and sets out pertinent leads relative to SALT Lek; assists in preparation of daily memorandum summarizing investigation in all three major leak cases aforementioned; assists in review of daily teletype traffic in all three major leak cases; review of dissemination of weekly reports in SALT Lek; assists in preparation of White House summary.

L. E. Belanger handles all ELSUR checks; reviews, correlates and conducts necessary research relative to all material received from Department of Defense in Ellsberg investigation; responsible for backup file reviews in connection with New Left contacts by Ellsberg; assists in preparation of weekly White House memorandum; assists in preparation of daily summary memorandum.

T. J. Seabaugh assigned exclusively to a comprehensive study, charting and research into extensive travel performed by Daniel Ellsberg; responsible for setting out leads to insure complete coverage of all details of travel facets of investigation.

J. P. Benedict responsible for extensive file reviews regarding numerous news media personnel and personalities involved in Ellsberg investigation to ascertain their susceptibility to interview as cooperative sources; conducting extensive research and charting of the considerable telephone traffic involved in this matter, including traffic from Daniel Ellsberg, Anthony Russo, the Sheehans, "The New York Times," the Washington bureaus of all newspapers involved, traffic from various hotels utilized by Ellsberg and his contacts, and all other individuals whose telephone traffic has been subpoenaed as a result of Departmental action via Grand Jury subpoena.

W. W. Hamilton assists in preparation of daily summary memorandum; responsible for review and appropriate preparation of all summary teletypes for dissemination to Department of Justice; file reviews on the numerous news personalities being considered for interviews as potential cooperative sources in the Ellsberg investigation; handling of correspondence connected with leads obtained from daily teletypes; assists in preparation of White House summary.

19

J. M. Sizoo assigned exclusively to the research and preparation of an extensive biographical write-up on Ellsberg. In this regard, facts concerning Ellsberg's life, behavioral patterns, associates, education, political views, personality transformations, family, and influences will be studied and analyzed.

In addition to the above specific assignments, each member of the unit on a daily basis is required to participate in Section, Unit and/or Branch conferences for resolution of investigative facets of the Ellsberg, Toll Lek and SALT Lek investigations.

Some of the problems involved in this investigation are:

- (1) Whether Ellsberg was alone responsible for this crime, or whether he was part of a small or large-scale conspiracy.
- (2) Whether the purpose was for idealistic reasons (anti-Vietnam War beliefs), to discredit the Executive Branch of the Government, or to make available classified information to a foreign nation.
- (3) Investigations have been conducted by agencies other than the FBI: State Department, Department of Defense, NSA and the Attorney General's Office, and it is the Bureau's responsibility to review and analyze these investigations.
- (4) To determine what other persons and newspapers received these documents and from whom they received this data.
- (5) Innumerable interviews involve newspapermen, Government officials, and persons having far left leanings, against U. S. policy in Vietnam and antagonistic toward the present Administration. These are all delicate interviews.
- (6) To determine whether the New Left and/or any anti-Vietnam peace groups are involved in this case.
- (7) All logical avenues of investigation to bring this case to a successful prosecution must be explored. An unsuccessful prosecution would open the door for anyone at whim to disclose classified information which could easily endanger the stability of the Executive Branch and impair our relations with other nations.



(8) The White House and the Attorney General's Office are closely following this matter and all other leak cases, and in this respect the Attorney General's Office has sent numerous communications requesting certain leads be covered by the FBI. These requests must be analyzed by DID and the appropriate communications answered, which is a time-consuming administrative procedure.

In regard to the last situation noted above, you are aware that the Department is reviewing for lead purposes the daily teletypes we furnish them. Thereafter, they send us a communication requesting us to conduct these leads. This must be stopped. Such a procedure is unproductive and time consuming, resulting in additional unnecessary communications to the Department. You are instructed to immediately advise the Department that the purpose of the daily teletypes is to make them cognizant of the developments in this case and that the FBI fully intends to pursue all other logical investigation based on these communications.

With the importance of this case, the urgency of the problems to be resolved, the immediacy of the work to be performed, and the volume of communications received daily, there appears sufficient work at the present for nine Supervisors. However, you must constantly evaluate the work load to assure that the assigned manpower is fully justified. Also, much of the present work is exploratory, which involves researching and analyzing and thereafter assuring that the many facets are immediately and fully probed. Once these exploratory aspects are sufficiently investigated, this case will be directed toward more specific objectives which will narrow the investigative field. As this transition period is entered, immediate consideration should be given to reducing the manpower assigned to this matter. Also, it is incumbent upon you to make certain that all logical investigation is expeditiously and fully conducted in order that the Bureau will not be subjected to criticism by any person or agency.

A review of this matter indicates that you should continue affording it top priority supervision and direction.

Comments of Assistant Director and Section Chief Wannall requested.

ADDENDUM

SECTION CHIEF W. R. WANNALL:  
(WRW:ams 9/7/71) *WRC*

The analysis and observations of the Inspector have been noted.


We will continue affording top priority supervision and direction to this case. In addition, we will immediately advise the Department that the purpose of daily dissemination of teletypes to the Internal Security Division is to make that Division cognizant of developments in the case and that the FBI fully intends to pursue all other logical investigation based on these communications.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. BRENNAN:  
(CDB:mls 9/7/71)

*CB* I concur with the above.

EAST COAST CONSPIRACY

4-A-4

 INSPECTOR E. S. MILLER:

At the time of the last inspection this matter was being afforded urgent supervision and investigation for the purpose of identifying all of the conspirators and perfecting cases for prosecution against them.


You are requested to provide a brief narrative summary of this investigation and bring it up to date. Indicate in your response the number of subjects on whom we have developed prosecutive cases, the number yet to be developed and in each instance indicate what you feel are the possibilities of successful prosecution.

In this regard, identify any cases in which successful prosecution is in doubt and indicate what action is being taken to erase the doubt.

What is the current status of prosecution of these cases and when do you feel these cases will be adjudicated?

From a supervisory standpoint, advise how much manpower is being expended presently on the supervision of this (these) cases and indicate when you feel these men can be reassigned to other work.

Comments of Assistant Director requested.

SECTION CHIEF R. L. SHACKELFORD 

The investigation of the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives (EASTCON) is concerned with plots in Washington, D. C., to blow up the tunnels housing the heating system servicing Government buildings and to kidnap a high Government official. Individuals connected with these plots are all associated with the Berrigan antiwar movement. An indictment was returned during

8/24/71  
FBG/GHM:plm

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

ESM:wmj

4-A-4

*John*

the last inspection (1/12/71) at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which charged six individuals with complicity in these plots and two of these six were charged additionally with a violation of the contraband statute in that they caused unauthorized letters to be exchanged into and out of the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. There were also seven individuals named in the indictment as unindicted co-conspirators.

Our investigation into this matter continued, and on 4/30/71, a superseding indictment was returned which expanded the charges and strengthened our case. Eight individuals were included in this indictment as defendants, and the number of unindicted co-conspirators was reduced to four. The superseding indictment includes those charges listed above and added the conspiracy aspects of the selected Selective Service break-in cases in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Rochester, New York; Wilmington, Dover, and Georgetown, Delaware. Two additional counts added to the superseding indictment involve three individuals and charged them with the mailing of a threatening communication.

In addition to the substantive case, potential witnesses have been either cited for civil contempt of court or indicted for criminal contempt of court in connection with their refusal to answer questions before the Federal Grand Jury (FGJ) in Harrisburg after being granted immunity. Five individuals were cited for civil contempt, and four individuals were indicted for criminal contempt. Two of these cases are currently the subject of a petition by the Government to the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of certiorari, and the other cases are being held in abeyance until the Supreme Court renders its decision.

From the investigation conducted to date and the comments of the prosecutive staff of the Department, there does not appear to be any reason to believe that prosecution of this case will not be successful.

The substantive EASTCON case is currently in the pretrial stage with numerous motions of both the Government and the defense still pending before the court. At present, it appears that the court will be unable to set this matter for trial until January, 1972. Even though we are well on our way to trial, due to the complexities of charges in the indictment and the broad scope of the violations involved, there exists additional facets of investigation of a continuing nature which will possibly increase as the trial date approaches.

For example, in the Fall of 1970 we undertook to determine through an Automatic Data Processing (ADP) project whether EASTCON principals had established a long distance telephone communication network. The basis for this theory was information received from our informant, PH 1211-S, who advised that fictitious telephone credit card numbers were being utilized by members of the Berrigan antiwar movement to facilitate contacts. This project disclosed voluminous calls between EASTCON principals and between them and sympathizers from their own telephones and also corroborate the fraudulent use of fictitious telephone credit card numbers. This information was of value to the Department in the examination of witnesses before the FGJ since it placed witnesses in a position of either admitting contact between each other on specific dates, committing perjury, or claiming the Fifth Amendment. This project has more recently been extended and is now being utilized to identify individuals involved in the Washington, D. C., plots of the EASTCON case through "nonhit" telephone toll calls between EASTCON activists and persons not previously known to have been active in the movement. It is believed that recent information from this project, developed further by investigation, has identified a Capitol Hill elevator operator who was recruited for these plots. The project is a continuing one, and the investigation of pertinent developments hopefully will identify an engineer who was consulted on the tunnel plot, as well as other individuals involved in the Washington, D. C., action. The very technical nature of the raw material developed by the ADP project has resulted in individuals at the Bureau and certain offices such as Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and WFO having become well versed and particularly adroit in the interpretation of such complicated information.

The investigation of EASTCON includes the handling of two informants; the first, PH 1211-S, is the individual who will be responsible for the introduction of the most convincing evidence against all of the defendants - the letters between Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister which relate to every count in the indictment. Since the testimony of this informant before the FGJ, he has become theoretically the responsibility of the Department, as a Government witness, but of necessity, the Bureau has coordinated his activities, etc., because of his peculiar status until he testifies at trial. He is currently

living many miles from Harrisburg under an assumed identity and is gainfully employed through the assistance of the Bureau. All of these problems have been coordinated through the Bureau to insure the security of this valuable source. As an example, the informant's father recently died and unfriendly members of the news media became aware of funeral arrangements. By instructions of the Bureau and through very competent handling by the field, the security of this informant was maintained in spite of the presence of unfriendly members of the press at the funeral. It will be necessary to continue to coordinate any other problems of this nature until his testimony is heard during trial. In this regard, as the trial date approaches, other problems develop requiring Bureau assistance such as arrangements for "in depth" conferences with the Department's prosecutive team under secure circumstances. This will be a very important conference since the informant has only been interviewed (briefly) by the Department on one occasion, and no opportunity has existed since his appearance before the FGJ to further explore his testimony.

We have also developed another informant, PH 1223-S, who is a close friend of Philip Berrigan and active sympathizers in the Berrigan antiwar movement. He is the only individual who has obtained any identification of possible MEDBURG suspects from John Peter Grady (arrested in the Camden Federal Building break-in 8/22/71). Grady indirectly claimed credit for that action and by inference named other people who are considered prime suspects. The informant has recently accepted a position of running a newspaper at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on behalf of The Defense Committee, the legal, bail bond, and public relations arm of the Berrigan antiwar movement. He is a unique and cunning individual who is now in a vital position to keep us informed of the on-the-scene and behind-the-scene activities in Harrisburg during the EASTCON trial. One extremely important example of the valuable information this informant has furnished resulted in our initiating (as a corollary investigation to EASTCON) an Espionage - X-type case based upon information he received from an ardent Berrigan supporter who has stated the intention to obtain classified documents from the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, to be publicized for the benefit of the antiwar movement in the same manner as those circulated by Daniel Ellsberg.

With respect to The Defense Committee, investigation is being coordinated as to the activities of this loose-knit group due to its direct relationship to the EASTCON case. There has evolved a national organization, and the activities of local groups, as they become organized, will be followed by the Bureau for intelligence information. As an indication of the potential of this body, recognizing that its real push for funds

will reportedly not begin until the Fall of 1971, information has been received that they already have substantial funds in their coffers.

From information developed by PH 1223-S, it was determined that John Peter Grady was planning an "action" which from an analysis of the facts known at the Bureau appeared to centered in the New Jersey area. After observations in this regard were furnished to the field, investigation culminated in his being located in the Camden, New Jersey, area. The investigation which followed resulted in the arrest of 20 individuals on 8/22/71 in the act of destroying and stealing draft board records in the Camden Federal Building. The individuals arrested included Peter Fordi (an original member of the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives), Paul Couming, and John Swinglish, both indicted at Harrisburg for criminal contempt after refusing to testify before the EASTCON FGJ when granted immunity from prosecution. PH 1211-S determined Swinglish was the "recruiter" for the Washington, D. C., plots in the EASTCON case. It is to be expected that other individuals who are EASTCON activists will also be indicted at Camden. The evidence already obtained in that case discloses other EASTCON activists were responsible for the Selective Service draft board break-in at Trenton, New Jersey, 5/21/71. Likewise, the obviously coordinated Buffalo, New York, draft board break-in on the night of 8/21-22/71 involved sympathizers of the EASTCON movement.

Much of the foregoing represents the continuing intelligence coverage of the Berrigan antiwar movement, absolutely necessary to the Bureau's interests, aside from the important development of admissible evidence in the EASTCON prosecution. Further, many pretrial motions (by defense counsel) have been ruled on by the court, and many others are still outstanding. In anticipation of the court ruling on a motion for Discovery and Inspection as provided by the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, the Government, in order to expedite such matters, has previously allowed the inspection of certain evidence in this case. This has been done at various field offices under Departmental supervision. The lists of evidence made available, other arrangements and details with regard to such inspection, has been handled by guidance from the Bureau. Approximately one half of this evidence has thus far been inspected with hundreds of items of evidence still to be inspected in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The court has ruled in favor of the defense broadly interpreting the right of Discovery and Inspection, particularly as to photographic evidence, Laboratory, and Identification Division reports. The Department has requested such material

to be made available for inspection at the Department in the near future, and this project is being coordinated by the Bureau. There are estimated approximately 1,000 photographs submitted by 11 offices. The Laboratory (document examinations) and Identification Division reports will be voluminous since they include not only those prepared in connection with the EASTCON case itself, but also all of those prepared in connection with six Selective Service Act cases included as conspiracy charges in the EASTCON indictment. It is apparent that the evidence from the three offices covering these six Selective Service Act cases will be voluminous and require close coordination by the Bureau with the Department into the EASTCON case for a successful prosecution at trial.

At present, two supervisors are assigned full-time, and one supervisor spends approximately one half of his time in the supervision of this case. This investigation continues to generate a great deal of paper not only on the substantive case but also in connection with the other matters directly related thereto. It is anticipated the time of two and a half Agents will be the absolute minimum required to effectively handle this matter through the completion of the trial. Depending upon the volume of work generated by necessary requests of the Department in the pretrial and trial stages, additional manpower may be necessary at various times.

The Inspector has specifically inquired as to when these men can be reassigned to other work. It is to be noted that since the return of the superseding indictment on 4/30/71, two other full-time supervisors have been reassigned to other work within the Division.

It is not anticipated that the two supervisors assigned full-time to this case will be released prior to the conclusion of the trial in this matter.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. BRENNAN: I have read the attached and concur  
(JAS:lrs) 8-24-71 in the views expressed by Section  
Chief Shackelford.



ADDENDUM

INSPECTOR E. S. MILLER

(ESM:wmj 8/26/71)

You should insure that every action is taken to insure successful prosecution in this matter.

Assistant Director please note.

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. BRENNAN:

(JAS:mls - 8/30/71)

The Inspector's comments have been noted. The Bureau may be assured that

every possible action is being taken in the interests of successful prosecution.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

4-E

*[Handwritten signature]*  
INSPECTOR E. S. MILLER:

Briefly set forth the noteworthy accomplishments of your Division,

with a section breakdown, since the last inspection, which ended on 1/26/71.

This request deals with specific accomplishments other than statistical accomplishments. Specifically where you have devised a program for a definite purpose furnish also where possible specific tangible accomplishments on this program. This will give you an opportunity to set forth any Division achievements pertaining to the Bureau's progress, welfare, efficiency or any other items not covered elsewhere in this inspection.

A short paragraph on each phase should be sufficient. Do not include identifying data concerning highly confidential matters and any references to such matters should be in general terms.

Comments of Assistant Director requested.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. BRENNAN:  
(JAS:mls 8/20/71)

*[Handwritten signature]*  
Attached are individual write-ups from each Section in the Division pertaining to the accomplishments of that particular Section.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/17/71

ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

4-E

SECTION CHIEF - ARBOR W. GRAY *RV*

Attached are memoranda setting out noteworthy accomplishments of the Internal Security Section since the last inspection.

This Section is responsible for supervision of investigations of the Communist Party, USA, its fronts, pro-Chinese communist groups, selected Trotskyist-communist groups, Klan and white hate groups, international organizations affiliated with the world communist movement and international New Left extremist movement, individuals affiliated with these organizations and movements, as well as sedition cases. Our purpose is to gather evidence to support prosecutions of these subversive organizations and individuals under various statutes relating to the internal security of the Nation and to gather intelligence of interest to Government officials and other agencies. The Section also supervises the development and administration of security informants in basic revolutionary organizations and other subversive and New Left groups. Where appropriate, the Section directs counterintelligence operations against subversive groups and individuals in cases under our supervision.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, UNIT

The major accomplishment of this Unit evolves from the case entitled, "Solo, IS - C." Due to the sensitive nature of this case, it will be orally discussed with the Inspector.

In essence, this case involves sources developing intelligence information of the highest quality concerning the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), the Soviet Union and its satellites, and the world communist movement. Since its inception, 38 successful missions to communist countries have been completed. Information developed by this operation from high-level contacts in the world communist movement is continually disseminated to the highest levels of our Government and, in many instances, is information not available from another source. Examples of this since early 1971 include the following: Soviets requested CPUSA to provide analysis of public opinion in U.S. regarding Nixon Administration and U.S.-Soviet relations to be used by General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Leonid Brezhnev, in speech before 24th Congress of CPSU in March, 1971, and essence of analysis was provided; during the 24th Congress, it was learned Soviets doubted whether U.S. was serious on disarmament and they were concerned over U.S.-Chinese communist improved relations; Soviet countermeasures to counteract include planned vast propaganda campaign against U.S., initiation of a European Security Conference to isolate U.S., and improvement of Soviet relations with Japan; General Secretary, CPUSA, Gus Hall, planned visit to North Vietnam and Laos Spring of 1971, thereafter returning to U.S. to hold mass rallies to raise antiwar movement in U.S. to a new high; visit was set for 5/15-20/71; however, North Vietnamese canceled same, angering Hall who felt this resulted from Chinese communist pressure; information concerning possible split in CPUSA along racial lines; details concerning meeting of CPUSA leaders and Soviet Ambassador to U.S. Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, at which time Dobrynin stated hope for world peace would be improved if President Nixon were re-elected in 1972.

All of this information was furnished the White House and other interested officials of our Government, usually by teletype. Central Intelligence Agency has expressed great interest in information developed by this operation and on July 24, 1970, requested permission to include pertinent data developed by our operation in a "Top Secret/No Foreign/Controlled Dissemination" classified document for senior U.S. Intelligence Board officials.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/18/71

PCM:sfw

The two principal informants in this operation have received the "Order of Lenin," with the title "Hero of Soviet Labor" from the Soviets. This is the highest award given civilians by the Soviet Union and was given our sources for their "invaluable contribution to the international communist movement."

Continued high-level penetration of the CPUSA represents a sustained major accomplishment. At the time of the last inspection, we had 11 informants who were officially members of the CPUSA National Committee. This number remains the same. In addition, we have another informant who is an ex officio member of the National Committee because of the sensitive nature of his Party assignments. This latter source is also a member of the Political Committee which, in effect, runs the Party. This top-level coverage is responsible for furnishing information regarding policy-making matters on a day-to-day basis as they occur.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/18/71

PCM:sfw

4-E

ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND PRO-CHICOM UNIT

A prime responsibility of the Bureau and the intelligence community is to develop intelligence relating to efforts of foreign hostile governments, organizations, and individuals who influence, direct, or dominate the domestic subversive and extremist movements. There has been considerable evidence compiled over the years of this foreign influence. Since the last inspection, the following noteworthy achievements in our investigations relating to foreign influence have been accomplished:

1. In March, 1971, a coalition of leftist individuals including subversives and extremists under the sponsorship of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, American Friends Service Committee, and Fellowship of Reconciliation traveled to Paris where they were in contact with the North Vietnamese and other elements antagonistic to the U.S. We developed two informants to participate in this travel and as a result, identified all 170 people in attendance, their activities, contacts, and objectives. All information developed was afforded dissemination to appropriate Government agencies and we were commended by one intelligence agency for the excellent coverage.

2. The World Peace Council is the leading Soviet-dominated international effort to discredit and subvert U.S. domestic and foreign policy. Upon determining the World Peace Council would hold a General Session in Budapest, Hungary, in May, 1971, an effort was made to obtain informant coverage. An informant was developed for the travel and coverage resulted in the identification of all American participants including the Communist Party, USA, delegation and the activities of these individuals at the meeting. All pertinent documents relating to the Conference were obtained, as were the contacts and activities of American subversives at the Conference. Widespread dissemination of intelligence relating to this Conference was made and both the White House and Central Intelligence Agency favorably commented on its exceptional value.

3. During the past six months, the Unit has afforded specific coverage to the travel of U.S. citizens to three hostile communist countries: North Vietnam, North Korea, and Communist China. All individuals traveling to these countries during 1970 have been identified and, where pertinent, investigations have

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/18/71

DR:sfw

4-E

been opened. Careful records have been maintained regarding U.S. citizens who have visited these countries during the current year and arrangements have been made to receive quarterly reports from another intelligence agency which will enable us to double check our files and insure cases are opened on visitors to these hostile countries, when warranted. We feel this is a strong achievement because, as noted below, we have developed evidence that Americans are currently being recruited for intelligence assignments in these countries.

4. Early in 1971 it was determined an informant who had participated in Venceremos Brigade travel to Cuba had established a rapport with North Koreans in that country. Through careful direction of this informant, he was able to effect an invitation from the North Koreans to visit their country at their expense. He departed the U.S. with a group of three other Americans and traveled to Korea via Paris and Algiers. In Korea he was recruited by the North Koreans for an intelligence assignment, furnished funds, and a code. This is the first individual affiliated with the domestic subversive movement who, acting in a capacity for the U.S. Government, has been able to penetrate North Korea. We believe this informant will be able to furnish exceptionally valuable intelligence relating to foreign intelligence and political influence of the North Koreans in the domestic subversive movement.

5. Through cooperation with the British Security Service we have developed, during the past six months, direct connection between an individual who was associated with the Weatherman in the U.S. and bombing activities in England. British intelligence is extremely interested in this matter and we are carefully following it for developments.

Through intensified investigation of the Revolutionary Union (RU) and Venceremos Party (VP), we have been able to identify over 200 hard-core Marxist-Leninists who have all indicated violence-prone propensities. Of particular note is the fact that our closely supervised investigations in this area have developed an informant on the National Committee of the RU and have resulted in identification of an extremely militant RU group in Eugene, Oregon. The Department has expressed extreme interest in our RU investigation and has indicated a desire to explore prosecutions at the first opportunity.

In late 1970 Mark Lawrence Wefers, the student body president of the University of New Hampshire, traveled with a National Student Association group to North Vietnam. While there he made recorded speeches encouraging the servicemen in

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION  
8/18/71

DR:sfw

- 4 -

South Vietnam to lay down their arms or turn their guns on the real "pigs." Wefers' incendiary comments were broadcast over Radio Hanoi. Intensive investigation has been and is continuing to be conducted and the Department has indicated an interest to prosecute Wefers under the sedition statutes at an early date. This will represent the first prosecution under the sedition statutes since the 1950's.

A suit was instituted against the Director and two Special Agents of the Memphis Office seeking preliminary injunction against the FBI and punitive and compensatory damages amounting to over \$100,000 against the Director and the Agents. The suit was instituted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund claiming harassment and intimidation of war resisters. Former communists, extremists, and subversives were involved as plaintiffs. In July the plaintiffs dropped their plea for a preliminary injunction. Excellent information identifying the principal plaintiff, on whose statements the false allegations were based, as having a criminal record involving furnishing of false information and theft, has been furnished to the Department as well as the fact that he is the subject of a current outstanding State Bench Warrant. It is anticipated when this matter is argued before the court, the plea for punitive damages will be dropped, much to the embarrassment of the communist subversives and extremists involved.

The Unit endeavors to keep track of all efforts to discredit the U.S. military effort through organization of antiwar coffeehouses, oriented groups, and publications. Last January we intensified investigation on Peoples House, a coffeehouse operated by subversives in Clarksville, Tennessee. Excellent information has been developed, all the principal subversives participating have been identified, and details have been furnished to the Department and interested military intelligence agencies. The House Committee on Internal Security has taken an interest in this coffeehouse and it is expected to be the subject of a Congressional hearing which will publicly expose the involvement, tactics, and objectives of the extremist elements behind this subversive endeavor.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION  
8/18/71

DR:sfw

~~4-E~~

- 5 -

36



ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
KLAN AND WHITE HATE GROUPS UNIT

4-E

The FBI has continued its investigation of 18 Klan-type organizations including 255 klaverns (units) throughout the United States which had a slight increase in membership from 4,300 a year ago to approximately 4,500 at present. This increase in membership is primarily attributed to renewed interest in Klan-type organizations brought about by Federal directives regarding school busing in order to achieve racial balance in public schools.

In recent months the UKA and Shelton have undertaken a major campaign aimed at harassing the FBI. The initial step of the campaign was named by Shelton as "Operation Polly" in which he sought to obtain polygraph machines to help "weed out FBI pimps." We have taken steps to assure he is not successful by instructing our key informants to talk it down and, if necessary, to ultimately refuse to take such an exam. We have also discreetly contacted a potential supplier to be assured we are aware of any positive action taken by Shelton in this regard.

Further, as a result of our hard-hitting investigation and interviews of Klansmen, Shelton printed a series of articles in the monthly UKA publication "The Fiery Cross," entitled "Exposing the CIA and FBI," in which Shelton vehemently attacked the Bureau as a "Gestapo-like police force" and the Director as "a man who has sold out his country for his prided FBI." Picketing of the Norfolk and Richmond FBI Offices to protest interviews of Klansmen by FBI Agents as infringement of the individual rights of Klan members also took place recently and Klansmen were instructed to attempt to secure photographs and identities of our Agents in order that this information could be published in "The Fiery Cross" with the intent that the FBI be embarrassed and our Agents transferred. This information was furnished to appropriate field offices and to the Department. To date our Agents have avoided having their photographs taken by the Klan.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION  
8/19/71

LLA:co/bcw

4-E

*[Handwritten signature]*

Violence has been noticeably absent among Klan-type organizations during the past year. This is due in the main to our effective informant program. We have been able to direct our informants to positions of leadership throughout the country, and these informants have been extremely successful in forming nonviolent Klan policy. We have also been able to keep local authorities advised of potential Klan violence in time to thwart such action.

Since last inspection, information was also developed through Joan Gourley, former mistress of Robert DePugh, <sup>head of Minutemen,</sup> concerning murder of Walter Barnes, former Minutemen member who was allegedly murdered and buried by DePugh while in underground hide-out in New Mexico prior to his arrest by the FBI. Gourley traveled to New Mexico to locate gravesite in company of local authorities who granted her immunity. Gravesite disclosed only four small bones identified by coroner as coming from foot of human victim. Gourley furnished statement to New Mexico authorities and, in addition, stated DePugh had indicated in July, 1970, while imprisoned, that body had been removed from original gravesite, but she did not believe him at that time. Local District Attorney, while believing Gourley's story, felt prosecution not feasible without body. During July, 1971, SD 1155-R, a Minutemen informant of this Bureau furnished information and explosives reportedly to be utilized in the bombings of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division (ATFD) and Internal Revenue Service offices in the California area, resulting in the arrest of several individuals, including informant, by ATFD, thus preventing the bombings.

Subsequent to last inspection, dissemination has been made concerning weapons, possible violence and demonstrations of these groups which has resulted in the curtailment of activity and disenchantment with the Klan and other white hate group organizations in some areas. In several cases, confiscation of weapons has been made by ATFD of the Treasury Department based on our information. We have also made apprehensions of extremist subjects for illegal possession of firearms following conviction of a felony, a violation under our jurisdiction.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

LLA:co/bcw

4-E

- 7 -

38

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

4-E

*edcm*  
SECTION CHIEF R. D. COTTER: There follows a summary of accomplishments of the Research Section since the last inspection:

Central Research Unit

This Unit performs a wide range of research and writing assignments and preparation of various documents and special reports. These include the following:

An extensive special assignment on new left research for the Director.

A special report which is kept up to date on FBI usage of electronic surveillances.

The "FBI Current Intelligence Analysis" issued approximately every week summarizes significant items of interest in subversive field.

"FBI Summary of Extremist Activities" issued weekly summarizes significant items relating to black extremists.

"The Extremist Speaks" is a monthly compilation showing extremist views taken from their publications.

A pamphlet entitled "The Black Panther" was prepared for public distribution.

A pamphlet entitled "1970: Year of the Urban Guerrilla" was prepared for distribution.

The monograph entitled "The CPUSA Annual Intelligence Digest" was issued in February.

A number of papers were prepared for the Intelligence Evaluation Committee.

A number of book reviews of interest were prepared.

Special reports are prepared on a continuing basis for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Special Committee.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

*msr* MSR:amt

4-E

39

The Unit coordinated the preparation of material for the Division's participation in the conference with police officials concerning attacks on police and prepared a special packet of material for distribution to those police officials in attendance.

This Unit also was responsible for coordination of preparation of damage assessments relating to Domestic Intelligence Division documents stolen in the burglary of the former Media, Pennsylvania, Resident Agency, and handling other aspects of the Medburg case as related to this Division.

In addition, the Unit also collected and prepared material for various articles, speeches, and surveys. Personnel of the Unit have handled lectures on subjects of communism, the new left, and racial extremism. These have consisted of classified lectures to Bureau's New Agents and In-Service classes, appearances before other intelligence agencies and National Academy classes and appearances before outside groups.

#### Special Records Unit

This Unit is primarily responsible for records keeping for emergency planning. Further details concerning programs handled by this Unit are set forth in Section 4-H.

#### Civil Disorder Reporting Unit

This Unit, formerly called the Racial Reporting Unit, has continued to coordinate all phases of disturbances, violence and other developments where race is a factor as well as information bearing on the potential for violence throughout the country. Material being reported on a daily basis by the field offices is reviewed, coordinated and disseminated to interested officials and agencies and current teletype summaries are furnished to the White House, Attorney General, and other high officials. Statistical data on civil disorders, school disorders and attacks on police is extracted from communications received from the field and is maintained in this Unit for use in the preparation of special papers. Detailed statistical data is prepared for automatic data processing.

This Unit also prepares on demand certain studies and briefs concerning specific subject matters relating to racial extremists and racial situations. Examples of these are a detailed study on the extent of foreign influence on the black extremist movement completed in February of this year. A current document on this subject matter is presently

being prepared for early dissemination. In June, 1971, a comprehensive document on the potential for violence in the Nation during the Summer of 1971 was prepared for high-level dissemination.

In addition to the above, this Unit prepares a monthly "FBI Digest of Civil Disorders" briefly summarizing all disorders occurring in the previous month growing out of racial unrest. The incidents are listed geographically and chronologically so that the White House and other recipients can tell at a glance the general nature of incidents and problems and where they are.

#### Current Intelligence Reporting Unit

This Unit, formerly known as the New Left Reporting Unit, coordinates coverage of activities relating to all New Left, student, and antiwar demonstrations, as well as other civil disturbances arising from issues other than racial in nature. A daily teletype summary on demonstrations and other disruptive activity is prepared for dissemination to the White House, the Attorney General and other interested Government officials.

Continuing and timely dissemination is made concerning major demonstrations in addition to the teletype summary and advance information concerning possible demonstrations is furnished Government officials (principally the President and Vice President) traveling throughout the country.

Since the last inspection, this Unit has covered the following major demonstrations:

Marches on Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, California, on 3/20/71 sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) to protest unemployment.

A series of disruptive demonstrations held in Washington, D. C., during the period 4/1-5/71 sponsored by People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and May Day Collectives. During this series of demonstrations, some 12,000 arrests were made.

A series of demonstrations in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) during the period 4/18-23/71 to protest continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

411

A massive demonstration in Washington, D. C., on 4/24/71 sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). A similar demonstration was held in San Francisco. The Washington, D. C., demonstration attracted an estimated 400,000 persons.

A March for Victory demonstration sponsored by the Reverend Carl McIntire held in Washington, D. C., 5/8/71 to protest withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

A "smoke-in" sponsored by the May Day Collectives in Washington, D. C., 7/4/71.

Nationwide demonstrations during the period 8/6-9/71 sponsored by NPAC and PCPJ, as well as other peace groups to protest the war in Vietnam and to commemorate the atomic bombing of Japan.

This Unit also prepared studies and briefs when they are called upon to do so and regularly issues the monthly "FBI Intelligence Calendar of Major Events." Also statistics are maintained concerning the disorders for use as needed.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### NEW LEFT SECTION

SECTION CHIEF - R. L. SHACKELFORD *RS* Attached are comments from each unit setting out the most noteworthy accomplishments of the New Left Section since the last Inspection. This Section is responsible for the supervision of investigations of the New Left movement, including terrorist groups and individuals engaged in bombings, arson and assassinations, and other New Left groups and individuals both on college campuses and off campus. Investigations concerning New Left publications are also supervised in this Section, as are sabotage investigations, and Protest and Trotskyist groups.

DID INSPECTION

8/18/71

*DPW* DPW:jlm

4-E

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT - WEST

The primary objective in this Unit has been and continues to be the goal of overcoming the threat to American institutions presented by violence prone extremists, such as those within the revolutionary Weatherman organization. This Unit and the Special Investigation Unit - East, supervise security investigations of the Weatherman group and its individual members. Through coordination with the General Investigative Division, which has handled certain criminal investigations involving Weatherman members, and with the Special Investigative Division, which has supervised the investigation of Weatherman fugitives, substantial accomplishments in the task of neutralizing these extremists have been achieved. A number of Weatherman leaders have been indicted on Federal charges involving violations of the Federal Anti-riot, gun control and bombing statutes. Many leaders and activists in the Weatherman organization have gone underground and the organization is currently composed of a few hundred adherents including those underground and above ground. Its underground existence and the fugitive status of its leaders have isolated Weatherman from the mass of American youth. Consequently, Weatherman has experienced a considerable reduction in strength, based on the number of its present adherents and its influence among young people.

Weatherman, though a small group, continues to be extremely dangerous in view of its violent and destructive tactics. It is noted that Weatherman has claimed credit for a number of bombings, including the bombing of the national Capitol building on 3/1/71.

Weatherman continues to receive intensive investigation. In recent months, a Weatherman bomb making factory has been discovered at 1038 A Pine Street, San Francisco, California, and subsequent investigation there has uncovered a number of persons, including attorneys, who are acting in a covert support role for Weatherman. The Department of Justice has now indicated in a letter to the Bureau that it will institute Federal Grand Jury proceedings concerning activities at this Pine Street address, with the prospect of further indictments and further discourage-

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/18/71

HM:smp

4-E

- 2 -

44



ment of Weatherman sympathizers. Approval has been obtained for this Unit to supervise this Pine Street case in view of its intimate connection with the overall Weatherman investigation. Approval has also been obtained for this Unit to supervise a New Left - Violence case in Tucson, Arizona, which involves Unlawful Possession or Receipt of Firearms (UPRF) charges. This Tucson case concerns five New Left extremists, three of whom have now been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury. Two of these have been apprehended and the third is a fugitive. Another subject in this case has been sentenced to jail for contempt of court for refusing to testify before the Grand Jury.

An example of the salutary effect of vigorous investigation and prosecution of New Left extremists is seen in the Seattle area. There, a radical group called the Seattle Liberation Front (SLF), which was composed of former Weatherman members, had fomented continuing violence. Then SLF leaders were tried in Federal court on anti-riot charges. This trial ended in a mistrial but the SLF leaders were cited for contempt of court. Since that mistrial in December, 1970, SLF has been disbanded and most SLF members have left Seattle. There has been a noticeable reduction in New Left violence in Seattle.

In the several cases referred to above, it is noted that in each instance information crucial to the prosecution of New Left extremists was provided by New Left informants.

In recent months significant accomplishments were made in a case involving two extremists in Ohio through the use of a tesur installation. These two extremists were Nancy Kurshan and Howard Emmer, who were leaders of the Youth International Party (YIP). Between February and June, 1971, a tesur covered the activities of Kurshan, Emmer, and others with outstanding success. This source provided advance information concerning the plans of May Day leader Rennie Davis for the recent May Day national action. The source also provided extensive information on planned demonstrations and strikes at Kent State University on May 3 and 4, 1971, the anniversary of the killing of Kent State students by the National Guard in May 1970. This source furnished information concerning activities and movements of suspects in the Capbom case and other New Left extremists. This source also developed information on plans for the Women's March on Washington on April 10, 1971.

As a result of dissemination of advance information developed by this source, authorities were able to further control these demonstrations and reduce the violence arising out of such activity.

With reference to the complicated Weatherman investigation, much progress has been made recently in the development of information on the technical aspects of the actual operation of the Weatherman underground, particularly its use and methods of obtaining false identities, its courier system, its use of radical attorneys in covert support roles and in the movement of its support personnel. Effort is continually being made to develop new techniques and approaches to facilitate this investigation. A "stop index" program in NCIC, for Bureau use only, concerning extremists on Priority I of the Security Index was initiated in June, 1971. This program enables our field offices to receive prompt notice by teletype when police agencies make inquiries about these subjects. In addition, new procedures have recently been devised whereby the Identification Division can better disseminate to the field arrest information on Security Index subjects for whom no fingerprints are on file. This is accomplished by periodic submission by the field of Security Flash Notices to determine if fingerprints have been received since the last check.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT-EAST

Incidents of sabotage currently being investigated by the Bureau are, for the most part, the "home grown variety" occasioned by attacks against the military and related operations on the part of New Leftists, dissidents, and elements opposed to U.S. participation in the Vietnam War.

There are under investigation at the present time 9 sabotage initiated investigations with prosecution pending, involving 21 subjects who are charged with various violations including Attempted Sabotage, Destruction of Government Property, Antiriot Law violations, Civil Rights violations, Violation of National Firearms Act, Possession of Destructive Device, Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicle, Contempt of Court and Conspiracy.

Since last inspection and as a result of sabotage investigations, 10 individuals have either been tried in Federal court and found guilty or have entered guilty pleas. Three of these individuals have been sentenced to a total of 30 years while the remaining 7 are awaiting sentencing. Additionally, since last inspection and as a result of sabotage investigations, 6 additional individuals have been indicted but not yet brought to trial. Two of these 6 are currently in a fugitive status. It should be noted that as a direct result of this Bureau's sabotage investigations, 5 subjects are currently included in the Bureau's Most Wanted Fugitives List and Identification Orders are currently in effect concerning another 3 subjects.

*im*  
TJM:cae

8/18/71

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

4-E

- 5 -

47

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT - EAST

4-E

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) came into being June, 1969, as a coalition of representatives from various New Left organizations including Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, the militant Black Panther Party and a supporting cast of Old Left organizations including the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party and Socialist Workers Party.

Four contingents have traveled to Cuba since November, 1969. The first group was composed of 216 young Americans who obtained their own transportation to Cuba in defiance of the State Department ban on travel to that country. These young revolutionaries were returned to Canada on 2/12/70 at the expense of the Cuban Government which converted a cattle boat into a makeshift troop ship. The second contingent of 687 sympathetic American youths were loaded aboard this boat for its return trip to Cuba. This group, like the first contingent, worked in the sugar cane fields until its return by the same means of transportation on April 28, 1970. In August, 1970, the third contingent of the VB, made up of 407 persons, journeyed to the Isle of Youth where they participated in a Cuban agricultural experiment of planting and fertilizing citrus trees. This group returned to the U. S. mid-October, 1970. The fourth contingent of 233 young Americans traveled by air to Cuba during the last week of March, 1971, and were returned to Canada by Cuban ship on May 29, 1971.

Each group worked approximately 7½ hours a day, 5½ days a week, and in their free time were afforded the opportunity of absorbing communist propaganda offered by the Cubans, North Koreans and North Vietnamese. They were reminded by the Cuban camp director that they were here to show "solidarity with the socialist struggle, to

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION  
8/18/71

~~765~~ FBS:bjn  
4-E

smash the U. S. blockade, and to make a breach in the facade of the U. S. imperialist monster."

Each of the more than 1500 brigade members has been the subject of a security investigation which includes the identification and obtaining of background data as well as a personal interview with each brigade member. These investigations are being made to determine the immediate danger presented by these young revolutionaries and also to ascertain the long-range role they will take in the revolutionary movement in the U. S. Upon completion of the investigation and the interview of each of these individuals, the field must recommend either the inclusion or noninclusion of the subject in the Security Index. In addition the field must continue to report every 90 days for a period of one year on the activities and whereabouts of each brigade member.

The intelligence responsibilities of the Bureau in regard to the VB have been handled through the placing of Bureau informants in the ranks of the various contingents. Accurate on-the-scene reports concerning the training and activities of these groups in Cuba have been furnished to the intelligence community and factual responses have been made to congressional and other legitimate inquiries regarding these young supporters of the Castro Regime. As a result of our investigations, more than 275 VB participants have been placed on the Security Index and it has been noted that about 25% of those individuals currently being intensively investigated as extremists in the New Left section, are ex-VB members.

Plans for a fifth contingent of the VB have been formulated. This new group is tentatively scheduled to depart for Cuba in early January, 1972, and is to be comprised of 225-250 individuals politically oriented to the socialist cause.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### SUBVERSIVE INDIVIDUALS - NEW LEFT UNIT

Among the primary responsibilities of this unit is the identification and investigation of individuals who, because of activities or affiliation with one or more violence-prone revolutionary groups, are dangerous or potentially dangerous to the internal security of the nation. In most instances, this unit handles initial stages of the investigation and carries it through to completion. In some instances where individuals are determined to be of an extremist nature, those cases are referred to the units in this section handling extremist cases. At the conclusion of each investigation or at the phase of the investigation when it is determined that the individual therein could be considered a danger to the internal security of the country, an evaluation is made and, if appropriate, the individual's name is included on the Security Index.

The immense volume of cases handled in this unit is clearly exhibited by the fact that since the last inspection approximately 5000 cases have been handled in this unit. To be exact, 5418 cases have been opened and 4951 cases have been closed.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/18/71

~~WHE~~ WHE:rsm

4-E

## PROTEST AND TROTSKYIST GROUPS UNIT

This Unit is responsible for the investigation of antiwar protest groups and key activists connected therewith, as well as the Eastcon case. Accomplishments of the Unit worthy of note are as follows:

### EASTCON

As a result of our investigation of the plots to blow up the underground tunnels housing the heating system servicing Government buildings in Washington, D. C., and to kidnap a high Government official, an indictment was returned at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on 1-12-71 covering six individuals as defendants and seven unindicted co-conspirators. Our investigation into this matter continued, and on 4-30-71 a superseding indictment was returned at Harrisburg which added two additional defendants and reduced the number of unindicted co-conspirators to four. In addition, five individuals have been cited for civil contempt for refusal to testify before the Federal Grand Jury regarding this matter, and four individuals have been indicted for criminal contempt. By letter dated 2-25-71 to the Director, Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian advised of his appreciation for cooperation extended by the Bureau in this case and singled out the efforts of six members of the Domestic Intelligence Division, as well as two Agents of the Philadelphia Office.

Of paramount importance to the successful prosecution of this case is our principal witness, Boyd Frederick Douglas. He testified before the Grand Jury in January, 1971, and subsequently assumed a new identity and has been living under appropriate cover in Des Moines, Iowa. Inasmuch as he is a witness rather than an informant, the Department is primarily responsible for his welfare and his cover. We maintain liaison between the witness and the Department in order to insure that the Bureau's interests are properly looked after. The death of the informant's father in July, 1971, created a situation whereby the informant's identity and location could have been ascertained by irresponsible members of the press. Through the concerted efforts of the Omaha Office, the informant and his wife attended the funeral with no adverse effects. Assistant Attorney General Mardian, by letter dated 7-21-71, praised the high degree of proficiency of five Agents of the Omaha Office in protecting the identity of the witness.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8-18-71

FBG:plm

4-E

The development of a highly placed informant, PH 1223-S, within the pro-Berrigan forces is also a significant accomplishment. This individual has gained the confidence of leaders in the Berrigan movement and is privy to information not available from any other source. The informant has furnished a wealth of information regarding fund raising and strategy and tactics planned by movement leaders to propagandize their position and to attempt to gain public support for the Berrigan cause. In the course of this coverage, the informant furnished information concerning plans of the group for action in the event parole was not granted to Philip and Daniel Berrigan on 7-28-71. He also furnished plans of the group to mount an attack on the Bureau of Prisons which culminated in a hunger-work strike at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut, on 8/6-7/71. This action resulted in the transfer of eleven inmates to the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri. We furnished plans of this proposed action to the Bureau of Prisons, and in a letter to the Attorney General dated 8-11-71, the Director of the Bureau of Prisons noted that the action of the inmates confirmed our intelligence reports received several weeks prior.

PH 1223-S also furnished information concerning the intention of the group to embarrass the administration by having Daniel Berrigan prepare the text for a Mass composed by musical conductor Leonard Bernstein. This Mass is to be part of the dedication ceremonies for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D. C., and is to be performed on 9-9-71. The words prepared by Daniel Berrigan were to have been in Latin and were to follow an antiwar theme. The group anticipated the President and high ranking administration officials would applaud the work and subsequent publicity would be to the effect that they had applauded antiadministration views. This information was furnished the White House and, according to the news media, the President has declined to attend the ceremonies on 9-9-71.

PH 1223-S has also furnished information showing the Berrigan supporters are interested in obtaining classified material such as that publicized by Daniel Ellsberg in an effort to embarrass the Government. The individual who is to attempt to get these papers is Linda Shaw Finlay, an ardent supporter of the Berrigan cause. Her target is the Lyndon B. Johnson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, which is the repository for former President Johnson's papers. We have a separate espionage investigation underway regarding this situation.



## ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

This Unit is responsible for the investigation of dissident protest groups in order that their potential threat to the internal security of the country can be assessed. This includes development of informant coverage and the dissemination of timely intelligence information, as well as possible violations of Federal laws.

The organizations concerned are the communist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) which is controlled by the SWP/YSA. All three of these groups utilize the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) as a vehicle to project their antiwar message. The Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), continuation group of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC), also exercises considerable influence in the antiwar movement and is a target for infiltration by the Communist Party, USA (CP). The May Day Collective (MDC), organized by Rennie Davis, is a militant group which split from the PCPJ following the May, 1971, demonstrations in Washington, D. C. Also of considerable interest is the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) which came into prominence during the Washington demonstrations. We have disseminated on a daily basis hundreds of reports and memoranda concerning the activities of these and other groups, as well as information regarding principal activists. This dissemination has been augmented by the preparation of several CINALS pertinent to specific demonstrations, conferences, or activities.

Of particular value has been our coverage of national conferences and conventions sponsored by various groups which are used to plan future antiwar activity and demonstrations. We have been able to cover these sessions most effectively and have furnished other interested Government agencies with advance information of their plans. Included in these conferences were the following:

2/19-21/71 -- National student antiwar conference, Washington, D. C., sponsored by SMC.

5/15/71 -- SMC National Steering Committee meeting.

6/25-27/71 -- PCPJ national conference, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

7/2-4/71 -- NPAC national antiwar convention,  
New York City.

8/8-15/71 -- SWP national convention, Oberlin, Ohio,  
which also included Student Activist  
Educational Conference of the YSA.

8/13-17/71 -- MDC national conference, Atlanta,  
Georgia, preceded by regional conferences  
in Washington, D. C., and Fayetteville,  
Arkansas.

With regard to the MDC national conference, our informant coverage led to the apprehension of three leaders of the New York MDC contingent by the New York City Police Department for possession of firearms. Our informant determined the exact location in a specific vehicle where a shotgun, 22 caliber rifle, and 357 Smith and Wesson revolver, all loaded, were recovered. In addition, in excess of 500 rounds of ammunition for these weapons were seized.

Our investigation of the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam (COLIFAM) produced significant intelligence information with regard to the exchange of letters between prisoners of war in North Vietnam and their families within the U.S. By letter dated 8-9-71, the Directorate of Special Investigations, U.S. Air Force, advised that this information was of "considerable assistance", in an intelligence collection program concerned with prisoners of war.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### NEW LEFT GROUPS UNIT

Included in the work of the New Left Groups Unit are the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) factions (with the exception of the Weatherman), other New Left campus groups, the Key Activist program, New Left Movement reports, New Left publications, and the maintenance of a library of research material on the New Left for use of Bureau officials in connection with approved speaking commitments.

In 1969, the Worker Student Alliance (WSA), Weatherman, and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) factions of SDS split into separate groups. Accomplishments concerning Weatherman are reported elsewhere in this survey. The RYM faction of SDS is now practically defunct. Currently, the largest faction of SDS is the WSA faction, which is dominated by the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

Approximately twenty Bureau informants attended the SDS/WSA National Convention in Chicago, December 26-30, 1970. This convention was dominated by PLP controlled leadership; however, dissent was widespread, much of which was led by our informants. Since the last Inspection, this dissent has spread further and has resulted in additional factionalism within the SDS/WSA.

During the past winter, the SDS/WSA has continuously attempted to inject itself into labor disputes without success, due mainly to factionalism. The objective of the SDS/WSA is to build ties with workers inasmuch as in the old Marxist-Leninist tradition, they view the students-workers as the vanguard of the revolution. In this regard, the SDS/WSA set up a Summer Project with the twofold objective of a massive recruitment program and the fostering of a general strike, nationwide, through infiltration of industry and unions. We have been on top of this program from its inception and have kept all interested Government agencies advised of developments on a continuing basis. In addition, again largely due to factionalization, the SDS/WSA Summer Project program has not had significant success in any of its twenty-one target cities.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

DPW:jlm

4-E

New Left Movement reports submitted quarterly by each field office have enabled us to furnish interested agencies timely and informative documents on the activities of the New Left movement. This is a substantial contribution to the objective that responsible Government officials be alerted concerning the nature and extent of this aspect of subversive activities and the threat it presents to our democratic society.

By conducting an intensive review of many New Left publications which range from the pornographic to the clearly revolutionary, we have determined the leadership of these publications; their subversive activities and whether or not they urge violence; and sources of funds. Since these publications are the voice of the New Left and are influential in recruiting youth, pertinent factors concerning them are disseminated to interested officials and agencies. Since our review of these "underground" publications has revealed many of them frequently come into being and become defunct within a short time, we are alert to the birth of new publications by perusing various underground news service lists as well as other documents and books which report new publications in this field.

A library of research material on the New Left is maintained for use of Bureau officials in connection with approved speaking engagements before Government officials and responsible citizens. In this manner, we have assisted these Government officials and responsible citizens to more fully understand the subversive and anarchist manifestations of the New Left movement.

Through the key activist program, we have focused investigative attention on the leaders of the New Left movement with the aim of prosecuting these leaders under appropriate statutes, Federal or local, wherever possible. This program has proved successful in that we have been able to closely follow the activities of these individuals and furnish interested agencies and high Government officials with information concerning their subversive and agitational activities. Of particular note is the fact that more than half of the 73 individuals designated as key activists are subjects of some type of prosecutive action.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS

4-E

Section Chief W. A. Branigan  
Espionage Section

The primary mission of this Section involves counterintelligence operations against Soviet-Bloc Intelligence Services (SBIS). Counterintelligence, by definition and in practice, is a reaction to initiative displayed by a hostile intelligence service. This factor largely inhibits bold and aggressive initiatives on our part and the major part of our efforts is spent in routine, programmatic, non-remunerative work and patient, painstaking analysis of information developed. Positive counterintelligence achievement in the final analysis depends on the ability to detect and exploit in a timely fashion circumstances which arise naturally--contriving, to the extent this is feasible, to anticipate, encourage, or modify circumstances to our own advantage or the disadvantage of the SBIS.

In this perspective, the accomplishments listed below are most noteworthy. These are highlighted by the current operation of four defectors-in-place and the identification of three "illegal" agents since the last inspection. From both a quantitative and qualitative viewpoint, these successes represent an extremely high level of accomplishment in these two vital areas.

In keeping with the Inspector's instructions, brevity will be stressed in the examples portrayed. Security and the "need-to-know" principle also requires limitation of detailed information on many cases discussed. These matters, however, are identified sufficiently so that any additional data desired may be obtained from the individual file. Accomplishments cited are restricted to the most significant and/or representative.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

S. J. EWL: pdr

4-E

57

## I. Defectors-in-Place (DIP)

The most valuable asset which counterintelligence can acquire is the recruitment of a Soviet-bloc official who is an active intelligence officer or who otherwise has access to intelligence information. Such a source can produce information of incalculable value not obtainable from any other source. Highest priority and emphasis is assigned to cases which have such potential. Although we have had success in this area in the past, at the time of the last inspection we had no DIP. Currently we are operating four sources in this category, which are briefly described below.

IRONCLAD is a sensitive, highly placed DIP who furnishes, on a continuing basis, a large volume of high level information concerning operations of Soviet Intelligence Services (SIS). He has identified hundreds of SIS officers and furnished information concerning approximately 250 intelligence operations. Some of his information involves penetrations of other Government agencies as well as substantial information which has been of high interest to the White House. The value of information he has furnished and has a potential to furnish is beyond estimate.

WINGTIP is a DIP who is in a position to furnish information concerning Polish intelligence activities. He was recently recruited and his potential is still being exploited.

KIELBASA is a DIP who is a Polish intelligence officer whose recruitment was recently effected. He is under continuing development.

SPINNAKER is a DIP in the Yugoslav field who has furnished information on Yugoslav intelligence activities pertaining to identities of intelligence agents, their sources and targets. Dissemination of pertinent information furnished by him has been made to interested U. S. agencies.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION INSPECTION

8/19/71

EWL:pdr/eco

4-E

