

Documents Reveal FBI Cam

By Howard Armstrong
Special to The Washington Post

PHOENIX—The Federal Bureau of Investigation apparently thought its counterintelligence efforts against a socialist professor here were successful in 1970 because it later said his reputation and standing in the academic community had been "greatly tarnished."

FBI documents released Tuesday to Dr. Morris Starsky, a former Arizona State University philosophy professor, reveal a campaign at least two years long by the FBI to get Starsky dismissed and to disrupt New Left activities at the university between 1968 and 1970.

They show how Starsky was chosen as a vulnerable target in the first documented case of harassment of a private citizen by the FBI's Counterintelligence Program, known in the agency as COINTELPRO.

Starsky, 41, was fired by the state board of regents June 30, 1970, after the FBI in Phoenix had sent an anonymous letter discrediting him to a five-member

university faculty committee that was weighing whether he should be dismissed.

However, it is difficult to determine to what extent the letter influenced the firing.

Dr. Ross Rice, an ASU political science professor who was chairman of the review committee, said the committee recommended against firing Starsky and that the FBI letter didn't influence the committee because committee members agreed that anonymous material couldn't be considered.

Ross added, "We had no reason to think at the time it (the letter) could have emanated from the FBI."

The regents, however, rejected the Ross committee's recommendation and yielded to pressure from legislators who demanded Starsky be fired because he had dismissed a class at ASU so he could speak to student protesters, at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

Dr. Paul Singer, chairman of the board of regents

when Starsky was fired, said Thursday the regents were "absolutely not aware" of the FBI letter when their action was taken.

"I've never heard of it until now, and I'm as astonished as anyone else," said Singer.

Starsky contends his firing has prevented him from keeping teaching jobs at a California university and at a California college. He is now doing legal research for a living in Los Angeles, he said. His appeal to be reinstated at ASU is now before the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

The FBI documents were released to Starsky by Attorney General William B. Saxbe after the former professor appealed for their release under the Freedom of Information Act.

Saxbe said in a letter to Starsky's attorney, Alan M. Kyman of Phoenix, that four COINTELPRO documents on Starsky were withheld by the FBI.

Also among the released documents are several mem-

oranda sent by special agents in charge of the FBI's Phoenix field office to then-Director J. Edgar Hoover, recommending that COINTELPRO move against Starsky, and a communique from Hoover's office authorizing the anonymous letter to be sent.

All the memoranda were heavily edited to delete names of apparent FBI informers and cooperating agencies.

The latest of the memoranda released, dated June 30, 1970, 20 days after Starsky's firing, said some person or organization, whose name had been deleted, "advised that the various charges against Starsky brought out during this hearing and other anonymous charges received by the faculty committee members greatly tarnished Starsky's reputation and standing in the academic community."

Starsky, a self-proclaimed socialist, aroused the anger of conservative associates and others in Arizona for or-

campaign to Get Professor Fired

ganizing anti-Vietnam war teach-ins at ASU and anti-draft activities and for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He said here Wednesday that the partial disclosure of his file by the FBI significantly demonstrates the "insidious methods" used by the agency to violate the civil rights of political dissidents in America.

He and Kyman said they plan legal action to force disclosure of the balance of the FBI's file on him.

The earliest of the documents released by Saxbe, dated May 31, 1968, was addressed to Hoover by John P. Mull Jr., special agent then in charge in Phoenix. It read, in part:

"It is apparent that New Left organizations and activities in the Phoenix metropolitan area have received their inspiration and leadership almost exclusively from the members of the faculty in the department of philosophy at Arizona State University, chiefly Assistant

Prof. Morris J. Starsky. The most logical targets for potential counter-intelligence action locally are therefore pretty obvious."

A subsequent memo from Mull to Hoover, dated July 1, 1968, said Starsky's dismissal from ASU "could be expected to disrupt New Left organizations at Arizona State University and in the Phoenix area generally."

Three months later, another Mull memo to Hoover said Starsky "has continued to spotlight himself as a target for counterintelligence action" by being named with his wife, Pamela, as presidential electors for the Socialist Workers Party. The memo said that a recommendation for counterintelligence action would be submitted by separate letter.

After the faculty committee began reviewing charges against Starsky in April, 1970, Special Agent in Charge Paul H. Fields wrote Hoover, detailing Starsky's troubles with both his opponents and some members of the New Left community at the university. He asked

permission to send the anonymous letter to the faculty committee.

A communique dated April 24, 1970, from the FBI director to Fields granted the permission.

The anonymous letter alleged that Starsky had learned of an attempted suicide by one of his close campus co-workers, and, feeling that the man no longer could be trusted, demanded the return of Socialist literature. When he refused, the letter continued, Starsky and three others "invaded" his apartment and threatened to have him beaten "unmercifully."

"Where did Starsky learn of the effectiveness of smashing into a person's house at 2 a.m.?" the FBI's anonymous letter asked. "Also, of utilizing four persons to threaten the health or life of someone? Is this an example of academic socialism? Should the ASU student body enjoy the guidance of such an instructor? It seems to me that this type of activity is something that Himmler or Beria could attempt with pride. If Star-

sky did not enjoy the prestige and sanctuary of his position, he would be properly punished for such a totalitarian venture."

The letter was signed "A concerned ASU alumnus."

In the June 30, 1970, memo to Hoover, Special Agent in Charge Robert E. Gebhardt said, "New Left activities in the Phoenix division are largely dormant at the present time and it seems unlikely that there will be any significant New Left activity in this area during July and August."

It added that Starsky had been fired following the mailing of the anonymous letter, and that "in the event his case becomes a cause celebre for the New Left or the Socialist Workers Party on the ASU campus in the near future, it will be evaluated for possible counterintelligence action."

Gebhardt, now an assistant to the FBI director in Washington, said "I don't recall any of it," when queried about the Starsky case.

Mull and Fields could not be located for comment.

FBI Data Said Slipped to Rep. Ford

By Jack Anderson
and Les Whitten

When Gerald R. Ford tried to impeach Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas five years ago, Mr. Ford used secret data that had been slipped to him from the files of the FBI and probably the CIA.

Mr. Ford was then the House minority leader, a loyal party man who sometimes played a rough game of politics.

In 1969, President Nixon wanted to clean the liberals out of the Supreme Court so he could appoint conservatives in their places. With this in mind, his friend Mr. Ford began a campaign to get impeachment hearings going against Douglas.

For ammunition, Mr. Ford went to John N. Mitchell, who was then the Attorney General. Mitchell agreed to put someone in contact with Mr. Ford.

Not long afterward, in December, 1969, Assistant Attorney General Will Wilson showed up at Mr. Ford's office with derogatory data about Douglas. It was based on secret intelligence reports developed by U.S. agents in the United States and the Dominican Republic from 1956 to 1964.

One suggestion, wholly false, was that Douglas had ties with the Mafia. But the reports focused on a visit by Douglas to the inauguration of Dominican President Juan Bosch on Feb. 27, 1963.

Douglas was accompanied, the agents reported, by the head of a foundation paying Douglas \$1,000 a month and by a lawyer "who had represented racketeers."

To hide the source, the information was typed on plain paper with no letterhead. Mr. Ford later borrowed entire sections from the smear sheets and used them almost verbatim in a virulent anti-Douglas speech, which he delivered on the House floor on April 15, 1970.

He fobbed off the speech as the fruit of his own investigation, with no mention of his behind-the-scenes dealings with Mitchell and Wilson.

A high Justice Department official with direct knowledge of the case told us that most of the damaging data against Douglas came out of FBI files. Intelligence sources added that the details from the Dominican Republic were provided by the CIA.

We reached Wilson, who slip-

ped the typed sheets to the President-to-be, in Austin, Tex. He told us that the Douglas material had been prepared from "general intelligence files," which he used to keep in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department.

When we pressed him, he acknowledged that the material "probably" came from the FBI, with portions "possibly" contributed by the CIA.

Footnote: Last month, Time magazine reported that Douglas had been a "target of CIA surveillance" in the 1960s "after he visited the Dominican Republic." Spokesmen for both the FBI and CIA refused any comment. The President has said he didn't know where Wilson got the material.

SEX SNOOPS—For years, we have been reporting on the snooping practices of the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and other government agencies.

As evidence that government gumshoes were abusing their investigative powers, our sources provided us with secret FBI files. CIA reports and Secret Service records on prominent Americans. Among them were members of Congress, black leaders, newspapermen,

movie stars and football heroes. We have noticed that the government agents spend a great deal of time observing and reporting on the sexual adventures of a wide variety of non-criminal Americans.

A few examples:

- The Watergate wiretap transcripts, still sealed by the courts, are full of sex talk. What the White House wanted to know about the Democrats, apparently, was their sex secrets.

- An FBI report on a football star states he "has been observed intoxicated on several occasions and also reportedly had an affair with an airline stewardess who became pregnant as a result of this association."

- In the file of a religious leader, the FBI has included the allegation that "he had illicit relations with an underage girl."

- A well known writer, according to the FBI, "was evicted by the landlord for having homosexual parties."

- A famous movie star has this report in his FBI file: "The informant states that from personal knowledge he knew that [the actor] was a homosexual."

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The Washington merry-go-round

Jack Anderson

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WITH LES WHITTEN

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As evidence that government gumshoes were abusing their investigative powers, our sources provided us with secret FBI files, reports and Secret Service records on prominent Americans. Among them were members of Congress, black leaders, newspapermen, movie stars and football heroes.

We have noticed that the government agents spend a great deal of time observing and reporting on the sexual adventures of a wide variety of noncriminal Americans. From the quantity and detail of information, we suspect there was as much voyeurism as sleuthing in the investigations.

Here are a few examples of what we mean:

— The Watergate wiretap transcripts, still sealed by the courts, are full of sex talk. What the White House wanted to know about the Democrats, apparently, was their sex secrets. The Waterbuggers bugged the only telephone that didn't go through the Democratic headquarters switchboard. The Democrats used this phone, therefore, to make their most intimate calls.

— One FBI report on a prominent black leader contained nothing but titillating tidbits about his sex life. It told, for example, about an incident with a woman in a New York City hotel. "(He) threatened to leap from the 13th floor window of the hotel," the FBI reported solemnly, "if this woman would not say she loved him."

— An FBI report on a football star states he "has been observed intoxicated on several occasions and also reportedly had an affair with an airline stewardess who became pregnant as a result of this association."

— In the file of a religious leader, the FBI has included the allegation that "he had illicit relations with an underage girl."

— A well-known writer, according to the FBI, "was evicted by the landlord for having homosexual parties."

— A famous movie star has this report in his FBI file: "The informant states that from personal knowledge he knew that (the actor) was a homosexual."

Yet the sex lives of celebrities, quite obviously, should be none of the government's business.