

Ex-Official Warns of FBI Power

11/25/74
By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—The third-highest ranking official of the FBI under the late J. Edgar Hoover says that the bureau, as now structured, is a potential threat to Americans' civil liberties and that its power should be reduced significantly.

William C. Sullivan, who until 1971 was assistant FBI director in charge of criminal investigations and intelligence, proposed a three-year moratorium on electronic eavesdropping by any federal agency while a special commission studies all internal security and intelligence operations.

The FBI of the future, Sullivan said, "Should not be the creation of any one man or any special groups within government."

"The weaknesses of the FBI have always been the leadership in Washington, of which I was a part for 15 years. I accept my share of blame for its serious shortcomings," Sullivan said in an uncommonly

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Ex-FBI Official Says Agency Threatens U.S. Civil Liberties

SULLIVAN, From A1

candid assessment of the bureau, even for a bureau official who was forced into retirement by Hoover after a much publicized personal dispute.

Sullivan feuded with Hoover over FBI policy matters for several years before the director's death in May, 1972, and he subsequently charged that Hoover was not of sound mind in his final years.

Now retired and living in New Hampshire, Sullivan made his remarks in a paper submitted to the 1974 Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference on Advocacy, sponsored by the Roscoe Pound—American Trial Lawyers Foundation.

Because of an illness, Sullivan was unable to attend the conference, held in Cambridge, Mass., and his remarks were subsequently submitted as an appendix to a foundation report.

"FBI headquarters was wrong in releasing to the American people propaganda that pictured us as an elite corps far superior to any governmental organization, federal, state or local," Sullivan said.

"The gulf between public relations and our actual performances were indeed very great. Not many on the outside knew of this gulf. You might say the FBI concealed it by classifying it," he added.

Tracing the shortcoming of the FBI back to its creation as a national security bureaucracy in 1939, Sullivan said veteran criminal investigators

were then trained in intelligence work by "men equally lacking in authoritative intelligence experience and knowledge."

"The leadership of the FBI was opposed to inviting men from the outside to instruct us . . . we were sealed off from the outside world and the experiences and thinking of others from the very beginning, and we remained relatively so and steadily became inbred for 30 years," Sullivan said.

"To be candid, the 'right to privacy' was not at issue nor was it an impediment to solving cases. It mattered not whether electronic devices or other techniques were used. The issues were black and white and crystal clear. The primacy of civil liberties on occasions gave way to expediency," Sullivan said in what he termed a "backdrop" for the governmental abuses of the Watergate era.

This background, Sullivan argued, extended to the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, he said, "saw nothing wrong in asking the FBI to investigate those opposing his lend-lease policy—a purely political request."

"He also had us look into the activities of others who opposed our entrance into World War II, just as later administrations had the FBI look into those opposing the conflict in Vietnam," Sullivan said.

This attitude continued through administrations in the post-war era, Sullivan said, and was intensified during the Nixon years to the point that "the FBI, as it is now struc-

ture, is a potential threat to our civil liberties, recent events indicate this."

To separate the domestic political, security and criminal investigations operations of the FBI, Sullivan argued, would not only reduce the power of the bureau, but would reduce the budget, which last year totaled more than \$366 million.

"It would greatly help in removing the FBI from politics and politics from the FBI. This would be a tremendous accomplishment for the good of our country," Sullivan told the trial lawyers association.

He recommended that a "truly objective, serious commission" be formed to study all internal security operations and strike a balance between "the need for national security and the preservation of civil liberties."

Saying that it based its conclusions largely on Sullivan's testimony, the trial lawyers group issued a final report that recommended a ban on federal electronic surveillance except in crimes of "the utmost gravity" such as "imminent threat to life."

Conference delegates were evenly divided on whether state and local authorities should be allowed to engage in electronic surveillance.

The group also concluded that bugging of rooms should be banned because it is "more insidious" and constitutes a less controllable invasion of privacy than telephone wire-tapping.

Ex-FBI Official's Papers Subpoenaed By House Unit Soon After His Death

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Associated Press

The House assassinations committee issued a subpoena for former FBI official William C. Sullivan's papers shortly after he was killed in a hunting accident to keep them from being destroyed, a congressional source says.

Sullivan was killed while hunting near Sugar Hill, N.H., last week by another hunter who mistook him for a deer, authorities said. The hunter was charged with a misdemeanor count of shooting a human being.

Sullivan, 65, was the former No. 3 man in the FBI. He served as director for intelligence operations for the FBI for 10 years before becoming a special assistant to the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The source yesterday said the committee wants the papers and files partly for its investigation into whether harassment of Dr. Martin Luther King by the FBI Cointelpro unit, which Sullivan headed, was linked with the civil rights leader's assassination.

THE COMMITTEE also wants the files because Sullivan's intelligence division conducted the FBI's investigation of President John F. Kennedy's assassination, the source said. The committee is investigating both assassinations.

An attorney for Sullivan said the former FBI official had been scheduled to appear before the

House panel, but "didn't know a damn thing" about the assassinations.

He said the committee's chief Kennedy assassination investigator, Clifford A. Fenton Jr., went to Sugar Hill last week, two days after Sullivan's death, to try to find Sullivan's lawyer to serve the subpoena.

Sugar Hill Police Chief Gary Young disclosed the attempt and said he discouraged it because the investigator did not produce the subpoena.

Young also criticized the man's appearance in Sugar Hill so soon after Sullivan's death. "I was disgusted that a representative of the U.S. government would do such a thing at this time," he said.

THE CONGRESSIONAL source said yesterday the subpoena had not been served but asserted that its issuance alone would make anyone who destroyed any of the papers guilty of a federal offense.

He said the assassinations committee issued the subpoena on the basis of information from another House committee.

The source said the other committee told the assassinations committee that Sullivan himself wrote an anonymous letter from the FBI that King interpreted as urging him to commit suicide.

The FBI confirmed to the Senate Intelligence Committee in 1975 that its Cointelpro operations included harassment of King. It confirmed that the harassment included sending an anonymous letter saying in part: "King, there is only one way out for you and you know what it is."

The purpose of the Cointelpro operations as stated by Hoover was to "harass and disrupt" militant organizations.

ALTHOUGH SULLIVAN was not accused at 1975 Senate hearings of writing the possible suicide suggestion to King, he did issue a public statement implying his files contained no derogatory memos against King.

Sullivan had been accused of writing in a memorandum in 1963 that "We regard Martin Luther King as the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country."

In his public statement, Sullivan said he found no such memorandum. He said he had searched his files for it because he did not trust Hoover and wanted to be sure he left nothing that could be "twisted" against him.

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Tass questions Hoover ex-aide death

MOSCOW (UPI) — The Soviet news agency Tass hinted Wednesday that it believes there was more than an accident involved in the death of William Sullivan, former top assistant to the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Sullivan, 65, died of gunshot wounds while he was hunting deer near Sugar Hill, N.H., several weeks ago. Police

believe he was mistaken for a deer by another hunter.

Such accidents are common on the East Coast of the United States, where hundreds of thousands of hunters troop to the woods each deer season. However, the number of fatalities has been declining in recent years.

Tass speculated that it was "a strange story"

that Sullivan was killed in a hunting accident, claiming he held "files which may shed light on the circumstances of the assassination of President John Kennedy" and FBI harassment of civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

"It was recalled that up to now all witnesses who could give important testimony concerning the assassination died one

after another under mysterious circumstances," said Tass commentator Vadim Biryukov.

"A question arises whether there developed some intrigue connected with Sullivan's personality, intrigue which made him potentially a dangerous witness. Is it not because of that that Sullivan developed invisible antlers to be mistaken for a deer during this strange deer hunting?"

Hoover's FBI

Since J. Edgar Hoover died ("Life With a Tyrant," Sept. 23), an amazing assortment of cowards have surfaced to make derogatory allegations concerning him and the activities of the FBI during his tenure. None had the courage to air his faults, idiosyncracies or other peculiarities, if they existed, while he was alive and able to defend himself.

William Sullivan, if he in fact collaborated with Bill Brown, demonstrated a lack of integrity. If FBI activities during his long tenure in responsible positions were so repugnant to him, it seems that a man of high integrity would have resigned and called attention to these matters. Apparently he chose to remain silent and accept a paycheck.

The article is replete with unprovable statements and "gray areas," but one which I can personally label as 100 percent false is that which states: "Until the 1940s

Catholics were kept out of the bureau along with blacks, Jews and Hispanics."

I am a Catholic, entered the bureau in 1934, and five or six other Catholics were in the class of about 25. The agent who conducted the primary investigation of me, I later learned, was Al Rosen, a Jew, who served for almost 40 years and had a distinguished career. Fred Guerrero, a Filipino, served with me in St. Paul, Minn., and Jim Amos, a Negro, was an agent in the New York office . . . just to name a few of the so-called "excluded."

Charlie Winstead was a close personal friend of mine and the quotes attributed to him are very unlike Charlie in their content and language. Charlie, of course, is conveniently dead also.

Hoover's long service to the country and the achievements of the FBI during his long tenure speak eloquently for themselves. It is most unbecoming of The Washington Post to attempt to tarnish Hoover, a strict, fair disciplinarian, or the FBI, with a repetition of minor shortcomings.

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Explanation Asked On FBI 'Burglaries'

United Press International

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A House subcommittee chairman has demanded a Justice Department explanation of a statement by a former FBI official that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover probably ordered some burglaries to gather intelligence.

Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), a former FBI agent and chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee that oversees the agency, also called on Attorney General Edward Levi to disavow statements by outgoing Assistant FBI Director William Sullivan defending Hoover's policies.

Sullivan, who resigned Saturday after 27 years in the FBI, said Sunday he assumed burglaries were approved by the director during Hoover's years as head of the agency.

Edwards, who said he was "distressed" by Sullivan's defense of such counterintelligence activities, said he would ask the Justice Department to explain to his subcommittee why Congress had never been told about FBI-authorized burglaries. He said the subject would be raised at hearings July 17 and 19.

Sullivan, in the television interview program "Face the Nation" (CBS, WTOP), strongly defended Hoover, who died in 1972. He also denied charges that FBI counterintelligence activities under Hoover were either "laughable" or in violation of civil liberties.

Asked if the FBI agents ever conducted burglaries, Sullivan replied he never participated in or ordered one.

"But," he added, "I would assume that in the national intelligence field, that has occurred in some offices. I think that this decision in the past was made by the top officials of the FBI, the director of the FBI, it's had his approval. I think that today it probably would have to have the approval of the Attorney General."

Sullivan said the counterintelligence programs were justified in all but a "very few" instances. He also disagreed with Levi, who described them as foolish.

Sullivan also defended "Operation Hoodwink," a program designed to pit the Communist Party against the Mafia.

"I don't think its laughable at all," he said. "... I don't think there's anything laughable about it, regardless of what the Attorney General may have said about it."

But Edwards said, "It is difficult to imagine more than a few of the [counterintelligence] actions as anything but outrageous, many subjecting the government to civil liability, many clearly illegal."

And, Edwards added, "some of them are just a scream."

TV Teletype

New York/Hollywood

Jane Hall and Joseph Finnigan Reporting

New York

DAVID SUSSKIND and Time-Life Television have optioned "The Bureau," the book by former FBI agent WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN and NBC producer BILL BROWN that provides a behind-the-scenes look at the FBI under J. EDGAR HOOVER that is somewhat less complimentary than the one provided in the old TV series The FBI, with EFREM ZIMBALIST Jr. Screenwriter ROBERT COLLINS (Police Story) has been hired to write the script . . . "Flambards" is the name of a fictional English mansion that provides the turn-of-the-century setting for a Yorkshire Television miniseries about a teen-aged orphan who samples the life style of two brothers. One is a traditional country squire, the other loves airplanes. Flambards, starring CHRISTINE MCKENNA, will run as a 12-part miniseries on PBS beginning July 8.

Documentary filmmakers ALAN and SUSAN RAYMOND ("Police Tapes" and "Bad Boys") will investigate the 10-year-long conflict in Northern Ireland in an ABC News Closeup in June. The Raymonds traveled in tanks with the British Army and filmed a paramilitary funeral for their cinéma-vérité piece. Susan Raymond told us, "An estimated 300 IRA members have disrupted a province the size of Connecticut, fighting against a combined security force of 33,000. The IRA has a press office, and the British put out their viewpoint, too. It's very difficult to arrive at the truth of the situation."

Hollywood

JAY NORTH, the hyperkinetic "Dennis the Menace" who terrorized his parents on TV for four seasons from 1959 to 1963, recently finished a three-year hitch in the Navy and has returned to Hollywood. "I was a seaman," said North. "I was stationed in Norfolk, Va., and San Diego, aboard the destroyer tender Dixie. The Navy was good for me. It was a growing experience." His first acting job since his Navy career ended is in NBC's "Scout's Honor," with GARY COLEMAN. Also in the cast are three other former child stars, ANGELA CARTWRIGHT, PAUL PETERSEN and LAUREN CHAPIN. "We play the parents of some kids in a Cub Scout pack," said North. When asked his age, Jay replied, "I'm 28, and I can't believe it either." He's not alone.

PICTURE CREDITS: 4-5—William Ersland 12—Henry Grossman 14-15 Courtesy of Jerry Vermilye
23—Grant Edwards 29—Rowland Wilson 33—Evy Billout
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