

A project of the fund for peace.

Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

\*Abortion Initiative Project; All Five Women's Committee for August 28, 1970 (San Fran.); Alberta Women's Media Group; Alliance of Union Women; Alternates U. Women's Liberation Workshop; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers; American Anthropological Assn. Committee; American Civil Liberties Union; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1895; American Friends Service Committee; Anna Louise Strong Brigade, Seattle; Anti-Imperialist Women, D.C.; April Coalition, Berkeley; April 10th Women's Committee; August 26 Action Org.; August 28 Service Committee; AWARE, U. of S.C.  
\*Baltimore Defense Committee; Bernard Women's-Columbia Women's Liberation; Bay Area Radical Teachers Org.; Bay Area Revolutionary Union; Black Flag; Black Panther Black Student Union (Univ. of Md.); Black Women's Liberation Committee; Black Women's Alliance; Black Women's Alliance; Boston Day Care Workers' Union; Boston Liberation Action Coalition; Boston Women's Center; Boston Women United; Bread and Roses (Boston, Cambridge); Broadway (Boston); Bronx Women; Bronx Coalition of WLM; Bronx WL Group; Brooklyn College WL Group; Business and Professional Women's Assn. of Nashville.  
\*Cambridge Child Care Referral Committee; Canadian Women's Liberation Movement; Calif. Worker-Student Alliance; Cell 16; Cell 55, N.Y.C.; Chicago Women's Liberation Union; Church Women United; Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion; Cleveland WLM; Coalition of Washington Women; Coal. Against Sexual Repression of Women; Columbia Univ. Women's Liberation Group; Committee for Community-control of Abortion; Committee of Returned Volunteers; Communist Party of the Panther 21; Committee to Defend the Right to Live; Communist Party of Eastern Penn. and Delaware; Communist Party, USA; Community Liberation Movement (Fla.); Community Women's Liberation, Eugene, Ore.; Conn. Panther Defense Fund; Congress to Unite Women.  
\*Daughters of Bilitis; The Day After (IDA) Women's Caucus; D.C. Women's Liberation Faction; December 4th Movement; Democratic Radical Union of Md. (DRUM); Detroit Coalition to End the War Now; Downtown Radical Women; Dum-Dum (Univ. of Iowa).  
\*Ecstatic Umbrella Committee for Legal Defense; Elizabeth Cady Stanton Group (N.Y.C.).  
\*Federally Employed Women, D.C.; Fanahan; Fellowship Farm; Female Artists from CCAC; Female Liberation; Female Liberation, Berkeley; Female Liberation of Boston; Female Liberation of Nashville; Female Liberation, Somerville, Mass.; Female Revolutionary Education; The Feminists, N.Y.C.; Feminist Org. for Communication, Action, and Service; Feminist Repertory; Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Freedom Socialist Party; Free Speech at U.C.  
\*Gay Activist Alliance, N.Y.C.; Gay Liberation; Gay Liberation Front; Gay Women's Liberation, San Fran.; George Washington Univ. Coalition;

# The Federal Bureau of Investigation America's Political Police

\*Hall of Brooklyn—a women's at Young Republican Club; Hayward; Health Pac WLM; High School Liberation Coalition; Homophile; Institute for Black Unity; Inst. Studies; Int'l. Socialists.  
\*Jeannette Rankin Rank and Edie; Fund; Junta of Militant Orgs.  
\*Kennington Collective.  
\*Lavender Menace, United Ga Front; Law Commune; Lesbian Front; Long Island Women's Conf.  
\*Madams Birth Contingent; Mag (Steering Committee of Washngt. Org. for the Repeal of Abortion Law); May Day Collective; Media Center; Media Women of Boston; Med. for Human Rights; Metropolitan Alliance; Mich. Org. for Repeal of A (MORAL); Militant Labor Front; National Committee for Adequate Democratic Education; Democratic S.  
\*Nashville Emergency Council; Nashville Female Liberation; Nashville Women's Center; Nashville Women's Group; Nat'l. Assn. for Repeal of Abortion Laws; Nat'l. Liberation Front (So. Nat'l. Peace Action Coalition); National Drug Forum; Nat'l. Steering Comm. of the Revolutionary Youth Movement; National Mobilization Committee; Nat'l. Organization; New Democratic Women's Rights Committee; New England Coalition; New England Women's Center; New England Women's Center Ad Hoc Theater; New Orleans Movement for a Democratic New Orleans Women's Solidarity; New Orleans Women's Solidarity Collective; New Orleans Women's Solidarity Collective; New Orleans Women's Solidarity Collective; Nat'l. Peace Action Mobilization; New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Radical Feminists; New York Rev. NYU Law Students Women's Liberation; New York Women's Center; New York Women's Center; New York Women's Center; Ohio Peace Action Council; Orange; The Outpost; Older Women's Lib. \*Parents Aid Society; Penn. Abortion Law; PAAL (People to Abolish Abortion Laws); Peoples' Coalition for Peace; Peoples' Free Medical Clinic; Peop. Center; Phila. Org. of Women's Rights (POWER); Phila. Movement; Poor Oppressed Women's Caucus; Progressive Law; \*Quaker Action Group; Queer Caucus; Queens Women's Liberation; \*Radical Caucus; Radical Left Women; Rainbow Coalition; Red Letterly Cell; Red Moon Rising; Red Witch; Red Women's Detachment; New Africa; Revolutionary Marxist; Revolutionary Youth Movement; Union; Revolutionary Women's Univ. WLM; Richmond College; \*San Francisco Liberation; San Francisco Rights Council; San Fran.

**THE CENTER FOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES  
WHO WE ARE, WHAT WE DO.**

The Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) is concerned with the alarming growth of state power in the name of "national security." The Center sponsors research and publishes reports on national security situations—including the CIA, the FBI, and the military establishment.

CNSS works to inform Americans about the dangers of the FBI's spying on citizens. Our activities have included writing and speaking as well as assistance to conferences and panels sponsored by others throughout the country.

The Center is a non-profit, tax-exempt project of the Fund for Peace. It is financed by tax-deductible contributions from foundations and private donors.

**AMERICA'S POLITICAL POLICE:  
THE RECORD**

In 1924, Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone prohibited the Federal Bureau of Investigation from engaging in political spying. The FBI was limited to the investigation of crime, for to pass beyond these limits would be "dangerous to human liberty," "a menace to free government."

Yet by 1939, the FBI was beginning to spy on the political activities of American citizens. By 1977 the Bureau's activities have indeed become a "menace" to liberty.

The extent of FBI spying on political activity has now been documented from the Bureau's own files. From 1960 to 1973 alone, the Bureau amassed over 500,000 files on over one million American citizens and organizations it considered "subversive." These individuals and groups were spied on not for criminal activity, but because the FBI simply did not care for their politics.

"He has a file on everybody." Richard Nixon describing J. Edgar Hoover's power to John Dean

Virtually every movement for social change has been the subject of full-scale investigations: labor union, civil rights, anti-war, student, women's liberation, environmental and consumer. Groups include the NAACP, the KKK, Women Strike for Peace, Democratic Party Conventions, and the American Indian Movement. Individuals include Senator Edmund Muskie, Floyd McKissick, Allard Lowenstein, Martin Luther King, Jr., Daniel Schorr, Jane Fonda, and Anthony Lake.

**FEMINISTS**

"The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in Baltimore, Maryland, began in the summer of 1968 . . . as a group therapy session with young women who were either lonely or confined to the home with young children, getting together to talk out their problems . . .

Will continue to follow and report the activities of the Women's Liberation Movement."

FBI Memorandum 5/11/70

## THE TECHNIQUES OF SPYING

The Bureau has used virtually every technique known to secret police to spy on innocent U.S. citizens, a range of tactics the Senate Intelligence Committee called "unworthy of a democracy."

### The Informer

The favorite FBI spy technique is the informer, planted in a group's midst, reporting on personal and private lives, as well as on political activity. The Bureau uses informers in 85% of its domestic intelligence investigations, according to the General Accounting Office.

Informers infiltrate the entire range of political groups of interest to the FBI. In fact, the Senate Intelligence Committee found that the FBI spends twice as much for political informers as it does in its much ballyhooed "War on Organized Crime." In 1975, the Bureau spent over \$7 million on what it calls "intelligence informers," and claimed more than 1500 paid informers and 1254 "confidential sources" in the area of domestic intelligence.

### BLACKS

In 1967 the FBI established a "ghetto informant program." Its goal, in FBI language, was to create "listening posts" in the inner city to "attend public meetings . . . to identify extremists passing through or locating in the ghetto area, to identify purveyors of extremist literature as well as . . . specific assignments."

FBI Memorandum, 9/27/72

In addition, the Bureau created a program designed to infiltrate every black student organization in the country.

Few techniques are more corrosive of liberty than the informer. Informers betray trust and openness. They insinuate themselves into a group and abuse friendship to spy on and manipulate their colleagues. Numerous government prosecutions based on information from FBI informers have collapsed because informers are notoriously unreliable, and generally unstable. Inevitably their activities lead to abuses.

"UH-- THESE ARE SORT-OF SECRET ORGANIZATIONS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HIRES TO SEE THAT WE ENJOY THE RIGHT KIND OF -UH- LIBERTY"



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### PEACE GROUPS

For almost 18 months in 1973 and 1974 Mary Jo Cook was an FBI informer in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Cook said her purpose was to be "a vacuum cleaner for information," and to "participate in the organization." She estimated that she reported the names of as many as 1000 people to the FBI over her year and a half as an informer.

"I ended up reporting on groups like the United Church of Christ, the American Civil Liberties Union, lawyers—the National Lawyers Guild, and liberal church organizations . . . Those people were reported on as part of the normal course of my work."

Cook resigned from the FBI after she became convinced that the VVAW was not a group of "crazies" as the FBI had said, but "a community of people engaged democratically in a self-help program."

### The Wiretap

Modern technology enables the police to listen in on conversations through wiretaps and bugs. Senator Frank Church sadly portrayed the horror of an America in which the government might use its present capability "to monitor everything; telephone conversations, telegrams, it doesn't matter. There would be no place to hide. . . . there would be no way to fight back because the most careful effort . . . no matter how privately it was done, is within the range of the government to know."

The FBI has used its ability to wiretap to spy on everyone from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce to the Ku Klux Klan. Peace groups, civil rights groups, unions and their sympathizers, all have been the victims of wiretaps.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE PRESS

From May 1969 to February 1971 the FBI wiretapped 13 government officials and 4 journalists, at the direction of the Nixon White House. The purpose was ostensibly to plug the leaks about the secret bombing of Cambodia. The taps on the phones of Morton Halperin and Anthony Lake remained even after the 2 had left the government to work on Senator Muskie's presidential campaign. The tap yielded political information valuable to the Nixon White House. Halperin and his family won a lawsuit in the winter of 1976, establishing that their right to privacy under the First and Fourth Amendments had been violated.

In October 1963 the FBI—with the approval of Attorney General Kennedy—wiretapped the home of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the New York and Atlanta offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference allegedly to determine the extent of "communist influence in the racial situation." From November 1963 to May 1965 the FBI tapped Dr. King's phones 7 different times for periods ranging from 2 days in Los Angeles to almost a year and a half at King's Atlanta home.

In November 1969 the FBI wiretapped the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam claiming the *size* of the peaceful demonstration they were planning was cause for concern *if* violence were to occur. Two other groups were

wiretapped because they were working with NMC organizing the demonstration. The rationale for tapping the Vietnam Moratorium Committee was that the group had "endorsed fully the activities of the NMC concerning the upcoming antiwar demonstrations."

### Mail Opening

It is against the law to open the mail of a U.S. citizen. Yet from 1940 to 1973 the FBI and the CIA opened and photographed mail in the U.S. The FBI both participated in the CIA's program and conducted its own. The pretext was to obtain foreign intelligence information; soon, however, the FBI and CIA were opening the mail of the same American people and groups that they were infiltrating and wiretapping.

#### 18 U.S.C. 1702

Whoever takes any letter, postal card, or package out of any post office or . . . depository for mail . . . or from any . . . mail carrier, before it has been delivered . . . with design to obstruct the correspondence, or to pry into the business or secrets of another . . . shall be fined not more than \$2000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

The officials worked from a "watch list" that totalled about 600 names. About 25% of the letters opened came from the names on this list. In the 1960s the list was made up of groups and individuals active in domestic politics. The other 75% of the letters were opened randomly. As one CIA agent who opened mail in New York said: "It might be according to individual taste, . . . your own reading about current events."

In total, the FBI and CIA mail opening programs opened and photographed more than 300,000 letters. From 1958 to 1973, when the CIA ended its mail opening, the Agency forwarded more than 25% of the material it collected from the programs to the FBI. Meanwhile, between 1940 and 1966, the FBI was opening mail on its own in 8 different cities.

### Break-Ins

The Bureau calls it a "surreptitious entry" or a "black bag job." In the law it is known simply as breaking and entering or burglary. Over 200 black bag jobs to photograph and/or steal documents were conducted by the FBI before 1966, when J. Edgar Hoover suddenly stopped approving them. 500 additional break-ins were conducted to install microphones to spy on political groups and individuals.

Families and friends of fugitive members of the Weather Underground have been the victims of FBI black bag jobs at least through the early 1970s, despite assurances that the program had stopped. In one instance, the brother of a fugitive had his apartment burglarized—and apparently his phone illegally tapped—by the FBI while he and his parents were giving the Bureau their full cooperation in their search for his brother.

### BLACK BAG



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### COINTELPRO: THE FBI'S SECRET WAR

Inevitably the FBI was not satisfied only to spy on domestic political groups. In 1956, frustrated by inaction, constitutional protections of speech and assembly, the FBI moved from spying to sabotage. Bureau officials established a series of "counter-intelligence programs"—COINTELPROs—which had as their objective "the disruption of the group's activities; or the disruption, exposure and neutralization thereof." COINTELPRO was formally ended in 1971 but secret interference remains an instrument of the FBI.

COINTELPRO fulfills the image of a secret political police moving to suppress those groups whose opinions it finds undesirable. The first target of COINTELPRO was the Communist Party in 1956, followed by the Socialist Workers Party in 1961, "White Hate Groups" in 1964, "Black Nationalist Hate Groups" in 1967, and the New Left in 1968.

### The Petty Harassments

Some of the tactics were petty harassments: the FBI field office in New York distributed derogatory information on an SWP candidate to newspapers and television stations; the field office in San Francisco sent information on an SWP operated school to "Tocsin," an anti-communist weekly; an Atlanta reporter writing an article for the *Saturday Evening Post* was given the Bureau's investigative files on the Ku Klux Klan for his research.

### The Disruptive Tactics

Other tactics were designed to cause violence and personal disruption:

The FBI's campaign against Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was one of the Bureau's most vicious. The vendetta began in the late 1950s, when King was first becoming nationally known, and involved wiretaps, bugs, informers, the planting of misinformation, attempts to cut off funding of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and personal threats to King's life.

In January 1964 Assistant FBI Director William Sullivan proposed that after King was revealed to be "a fraud, demagogue and scoundral," the FBI "take him off his pedestal" as a leading figure in the civil rights movement and replace him with a man Sullivan had chosen with "all the qualifications I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership."



Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

In November 1964 the Bureau mailed to Coretta King tapes from its bugging of her husband's hotel rooms, along with a letter suggesting that King commit suicide or face public revelation of the information on the tapes:

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significance). You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy fraudulent self is bared to the nation.

It was 34 days before King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

### Violence and Murder

Causing violence in American cities has been an on-going FBI program. From 1967 to 1972, Howard Barry Godfrey was a member of the Secret Army Organization—a right-wing paramilitary group in San Diego, California. He was also a paid FBI informer. While Godfrey was sitting outside the house of a San Diego State University professor the SAO had labelled "Red Scum" spying on him, Godfrey's subordinate in the SAO used Godfrey's gun to shoot a woman inside. Later in his 5 year tenure as an FBI employee, a man under Godfrey's command in the SAO bombed the Guild Theatre in San Diego. Godfrey sold him the explosives.

In Chicago in 1968 and 1969 the FBI encouraged violence between Black Panthers and Blackstone Rangers. The Bureau specifically sought to portray the Black Panthers as an enemy of the Blackstone Rangers because it believed that to the Rangers "violent type activity—shooting and the like—is second nature." The Bureau sent an anonymous letter to Jeff Fort, leader of the Rangers telling him "there's supposed to be a hit out for you . . . from what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not black people . . . I know what I'd do if I was you." Shortly after the letter was sent, there was a shooting incident between Rangers and Panthers in a Chicago suburb. According to Bobby Rush, at that time coordinator of the Chicago BPP, the confrontation occurred because Panther William O'Neal told them that a Panther had been shot by Rangers and insisted they retaliate. O'Neal has since surfaced as an FBI informer.

Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois branch of the BPP, was a major target. With Hampton, the FBI did not stop halfway: on December 4, 1969, Hampton was murdered in his bed. After the killing the FBI conducted an investigation of the episode and covered up its involvement. Now, documents released in connection with a lawsuit establish that although it was Illinois police who fired the guns, the murder was a part of the FBI's war against the Black Panthers.

#### AN FBI FIELD AGENT ON COINTELPRO

"Kelley said it won't be done anymore, but I can assure you that it will, informally if not in an official program."

Anonymous FBI Agent quoted in *FBI*,  
by Sanford Ungar

## THE JUSTIFICATION???

For the last 30 years, the Bureau has justified its political spying and disruption programs citing the need to protect "internal security" from "subversives." The limits of law and decency were not applicable.

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

Assistant FBI Director for Intelligence William Sullivan

But one person's subversion is another's salvation. The FBI has ended up surveilling groups on both sides of the political spectrum and most of those in the center. It is political activity itself that has become suspect.

Some of our soundest constitutional doctrines were once punished as subversive. We must not forget that it was not so long ago that both the term "Republican" and the term "Democrat" were epithets with sinister meaning to denote persons of radical tendencies that were "subversive" of the order of things then dominant.

Attorney General Robert Jackson, June 1940

The FBI's activities are not helpful to our security. Espionage is a crime and should be investigated as a criminal case. By going beyond the investigation of crime, the FBI squanders its resources in programs which imperil our political freedoms.

The risk of ignoring laws was that you would get people who would be susceptible to political considerations as opposed to national security considerations . . . to move from the kid with a bomb to the kid with a picket sign to the kid with the bumper sticker of the opposing candidate. And you just keep going down the line.

White House Assistant Tom Charles Huston

## BY WHAT AUTHORITY???

The FBI has no legal authority to spy on or disrupt American political groups. Congress has never passed any laws permitting political spying. The Bureau bases its claim of "authority" on a 1939 press release by President Franklin Roosevelt that granted authority for spying on "subversives." Since 1939 the directive has been re-affirmed by presidents; the last time was in 1952.

Various Attorneys General and Presidents have issued orders for the FBI to surveil various types of groups and individuals. The FBI claims no laws are necessary, that these orders and directives fall under the "inherent power" of the President.

Until a law is passed by Congress prohibiting the government from political spying on citizens, the Executive Branch will continue to do whatever it wants.

"IT'S FRIGHTENING THE WAY SOME OF THESE CONGRESSMEN WANT TO PRY INTO OUR AFFAIRS"



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## WHAT TO DO/WHERE TO GO

We believe the FBI should be transformed into a Federal Bureau of *Criminal* Investigation. The Bureau should be limited to investigating crime and prohibited from political spying. The use of break-ins and wiretaps must end; the disruption and sabotage of political groups outlawed. The informer has no place in our political life. The FBI should get out of the role of political censor.

Citizens all over the country have joined in seeking an end to political spying. The Campaign to Stop Government Spying is seeking support in its efforts to stop the growth of political police in this country at a local, state, and national level. The American Civil Liberties Union is conducting a campaign for laws to control the Bureau. Legislation has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Representatives Badillo, Dellums, and others. CNSS serves as a resource center for public education on the intelligence agencies.

You can help in this effort. Inform yourself and others about FBI spying in your community. Find out which of the organizations you belong to have been targets of political spying or disruption. Join the demand for new legal prohibitions against the FBI's political spying.

### WRITE TO:

Campaign to Stop Government Spying  
201 Massachusetts Ave., Rm. 112, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

American Civil Liberties Union  
600 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

## WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS

The Center will work to inform citizens about the FBI's surveillance of American citizens. But we need help. Most of our budget comes from foundations, but we need private contributions to continue. If you could help, we can assure you that any contributions will be well spent and greatly appreciated. Contributions are tax deductible. Checks should be made out to the *Fund for Peace* and sent to:

The Center for National Security Studies  
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## PARTIAL LIST OF CNSS PUBLICATIONS

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