

Mr. Paul Valentine
Newsroom
Washington Post
1150 15 St., NW
Wash., D.C. 20005

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Dear Paul,

While all three accounts of the FBI's Cointelpro release interest me much, as would the accounts of any other reporters you may have preserved, most of all did I find John Jacobs' suggestion provocative. I do not know him. I would be very interested in knowing if there is anything in the records he saw that led him to introduce Lee Harvey Oswald.

When you can speak to George I'd also like to know if those records he saw hold any references to Memphis or to King. The reason here is because if so they would have been withheld from me in response to my own requests.

As best I can guess what you read I find myself wondering if they disclose either operations against or surveillance of those with whom I would likely have been in contact during the period in which I was seeking aid in getting published. I recall Sammie Abbott (who was on their agitators index) and various people at IPS but mostly Maskin and Bernet. I used phones at both places, too.

I do not make the suggestions inevitable in the asking of questions without basis. I have partial compliance with FOIA/PA requests from the CIA and FBI. The malevolence of the FBI is impossible to exaggerate. Some of this I'll be able to show you easily because I had special reasons for making a separate copy. I can lay hands on it rapidly and easily. Protected by a secrecy expected to be permanent its fabrications were horrendous. You may recall some of the CIA stuff I obtained from other than it. What I have gotten from it includes the means by which they assured non-compliance - by withholding records from their own general counsel.

My garbage was examined and my mail watched in the 1940s. That particular kind of crazy probably still regards me as a special menace.

I can't begin to pay the government for that many records especially when they are not central to my work. However, if I can borrow any for a few days I can make copies and return them. If this is possible I know I'll be in Washington on the 2d with Bill for medical and dental checkups.

Because the Post is no more interested in reporting what I am doing than I am in having it reported I tell you what may amuse you and George and what I do not want used. The Department of Justice had actually hired me as a consultant in a lawsuit in which I am suing it! I demurred without refusing, instead asking for evidence of good faith on the part of the FBI. Instead of doing this they actually put it to a judge in a way that leaves no record - in camera and without a court reporter - and have judicial sanction for it. Meaning I am indentured to involuntary servitude, you might say.

But what a switch!

Of course it also turns the Act around, placing the burden of proof on me.

Hope you have all had a nice holiday by the time you get this. We look forward to seeing you all.

Best,

PS for George, laugh for you: when Bill has the copying machine running again she'll make copies of the first 3 or 4 pages of a long statement to the House assassins by one Amos Meacock. His words do not require underscoring for George to see what I send this. What I would call to George's attention is that two assassins' staffers saw the guy after he was a known quantity to the assassins.

15 Years of Dirty Tricks Bared by FBI

Infiltration of Protests

11-22-77
By Paul W. Valentine
Washington Post Staff Writer

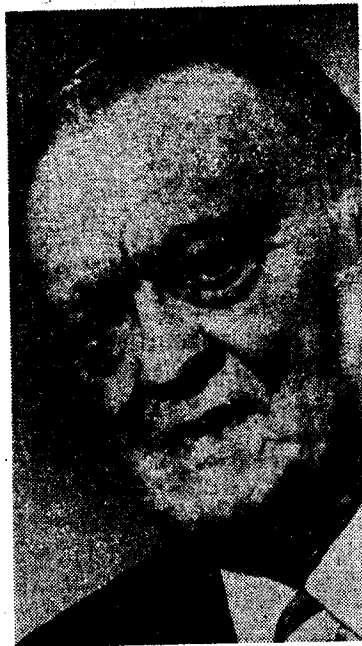
The FBI's Cointelpro disruption program penetrated far into the Washington area antiwar movement of the late 1960s, crippling several "new left" campus organizations, especially the Students for a Democratic Society, according to FBI documents released yesterday.

The documents, providing the first extensive disclosure of local Cointelpro operations, paint a picture of campus organizations honeycombed with informants and of the Washington field office of the FBI systematically intent on confusing and intimidating the organizations and exploiting all political differences among them.

Disruption tactics, outlined in FBI memos and generally authorized by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, included:

- Broadcasting misinformation on the citizen band walkie-talkie system used by organizers of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to coordinate its mass demonstration against the inauguration of

See LEFT, A6, Col. 5



J. EDGAR HOOVER
... an eye for detail

Tactics of Disruption

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The FBI once paid for newspaper subscriptions for top American Communists, talked of helping elect an informant as Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and apparently served as the primary distributor of "Black Panther Coloring Books" that depicted the police as saber-toothed pigs.

For several years, FBI agents even reached across the border—in tightest secrecy lest the CIA or anyone else find out—to conduct covert operations against the Mexican Communist Party. Surreptitious attacks on other targets were occasionally couched in language so coarse that the contents were marked "Obscene" before submission to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The FBI operations, all part of a long-lasting campaign of disruption and dirty tricks against those deemed subversive, were laid out in unprecedented detail yesterday with the release of 52,648 pages from its so-called Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) files.

The 15-year campaign was ordered
See COINTELPRO, A6, Col. 1

FBI Penetrated Protests Against War in Vietnam

LEFT, From A1

President Nixon in January 1969. Agents not only tuned in on the "New Mobe's" frequency to give misinformation and counter orders but also to monitor the legitimate activity of the demonstrators.

- Mailing New Mobe large numbers of "housing forms" with phony names and addresses of persons purportedly offering places to sleep for out-of-town demonstrators.

- Informing university administrators of planned demonstrations against specific campus activities so that the activities could be changed or postponed.

- Circulating an FBI-produced newsletter called "Chevara News" to create dissension between SDS and other campus groups with "contradictory" new left articles. "Chevara" is a contraction of the name Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary leader. Circulation of this newsletter was authorized by Hoover in March, 1969, but it is not clear from the documents whether the local field office followed through.

- Distributing another newsletter called "The Rational Observer" on the American University campus designed to stimulate "conservative students" into nonviolent political activity against the New Left. The monthly newsletter was printed on unwatermarked paper for the "sake of security," according to the documents and distributed on the campus by a "source" using a "cut-out" to avoid detection of the FBI's role. FBI agents assisting reporters with the Cointelpro documents yesterday said they did not know what a "cut-out" is. In intelligence terminology, a "cut-out" is an intermediary used to conceal an intelligence agency's identity from a source.

The documents also said FBI agents developed a "close liaison" with several District real estate companies that kept them informed of suspected political dissidents living in "commune type dwellings."

The documents said the FBI had a general agreement with some of the real estate firms for "breaking up" the communes when it was "in the best interest" of the FBI and the firms to do so.

In the same way, local FBI agents developed a "confidential source" in the D.C. Department of Human Resources—a welfare employee who kept agents informed of the "background and whereabouts" of suspected dissidents on welfare. The employee also took steps to remove dissidents from the welfare rolls when the FBI provided information disqualifying them for welfare, according to the documents.

In a Sept. 15, 1970, memo, Hoover rejected a proposal by local agents to send anonymous letters to prominent university alumni decrying the "permissive attitude" on Washington area campuses in hopes of bringing pressure on college administrators to curb new left activity.

Hoover called the proposal "imaginative" but said that if the FBI was caught, "cries might erupt that the Bureau was infringing upon academic freedom."

Throughout the memos, the FBI stressed the need for its informants to exploit political differences among new left groups.

"Sources will be encouraged to undertake leadership roles in various factions and stimulate dissension among them," said an Aug. 4, 1969, memo from the Washington field office to Hoover.

15 Years of FBI Dirty Tricks Bared: Coloring Books, Wizards, Awful Odors

COINTELPRO, From A1 discontinued in 1971. But according to an FBI memo dated the day before the cutoff order was handed down, the primary reason was "to afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations." The Senate Intelligence Committee cautiously reported last year that it had uncovered three instances of "Cointelpro-type" actions after the cutoff date and simply had not been able to determine with any greater precision whether they might be continuing.

The massive compilation of documents released yesterday added many new details and some new operations to what is already public record, but they were still heavily censored. Another 16,346 pages, also sought for the past three years by reporters and others under the Freedom of Information Act, were withheld completely.

The records reflect a stunning range of disruptive techniques, a constant drumbeat of bureaucratic and peer pressures to show results, and a steady source of unquestioning allies in the press who could be fed a wide variety of discomfiting rumors and reports.

Not a few of the suggestions came from Hoover, who had an eye for detail. On Aug. 5, 1965, he suggested that FBI agents approach the New York State police to see if they might "accidentally" intercept Communist Party leader Gus Hall for a minor traffic violation while vacationing in Clifford's Falls, N.Y. (There was no indication of whether this was done).

For the 1966 Communist Party national convention, the director told the New York City office that "uncomfortable" odors might be introduced through the cooling system and that the power in the hall might be shut off completely on the last day of the convention.

For the KKK, the documents included a proposal to depose Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton of the United Klans of America by means of a "smear campaign" depicting him as

afraid to call a national klonvocation for fear it would vote him out of office. The strategy was to goad Shelton into calling the klonvocation, where the ubiquitous FBI would arrange to have him removed.

"Our objective," according to one memo, "would have been the establishment of an informant or a subject controlled by a bureau informant as UKA imperial wizard."

FBI headquarters rejected the scheme in 1967—on grounds that the bureau already had an adequate network of klan informants.

Other records seemed to bear out the old saw that the FBI was at the core of not a few "subversive" cells. In one of the incessant progress reports demanded by FBI headquarters, the special agent in charge of the Mobile, Ala., office wrote:

"As previously noted the only Black Nationalist organization active in this division is the Youth Progressive Committee in Montgomery, Ala., which has a reported membership of eight, two of whom are informants."

For the New Left, the harassment included a variety of disruptive tactics such as a 1970 flyer aimed at the New Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam. Depicting one sneering duck atop another under the headline, "Fly United?" the flyer assailed what it said was "the crap influence" in the New Mobe of the Socialist Workers Party and "its bastard youth group—the Young Socialist Alliance."

A copy was submitted to Hoover with the apologetic notation, "The enclosed has been marked 'Obscene' because of its contents. The copy program on the leaflet has been written in the jargon of the New Left, necessitating the use of a certain amount of profanity."

The first Cointelpro began in 1956 with a patriotic flourish. On Aug. 22, William C. Sullivan, assistant to the director, turned in a memo stating that "The Communist Party, USA, to-

day is in a state of confusion and fluster and division." He went on to propose a thorough study of the party and its various factions which could "serve as a type of text or guide or source book for carrying out a program of disruption."

The origins of the "Black Panther Coloring Book" are murky, but it seems first to have come to the FBI's attention in early June of 1969. Hoover deemed it worth exploiting if the FBI could "determine whether Black Panther National headquarters is responsible" for the book, which depicted black children enthusiastically killing police officers.

The coloring book was the centerpiece on June 24, 1969, at a hearing before the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee. A Panther spokesman later accused a renegade member of printing the books without permission, and a priest at a Catholic church in San Francisco where some copies were distributed accused police of circulating far more. The FBI was still surreptitiously handing them out months later, including copies for church and women's groups where the Panthers were seeking funds.

An FBI official defended the often bizarre suggestions by field offices: "Once you make it a program, with required reports every 30 or 90 days, you've got to come up with ideas. And there just aren't that many around. So sometimes some agent would go bananas, or oranges."

The oranges reference was to a November, 1970, suggestion by the Newark field office that a mild laxative be injected by hypodermic needle into a shipment of oranges being sent to the local Black Panther headquarters. The idea, besides making the recipients ill, was to make the Panthers afraid to accept free food from supporters.

Headquarters in Washington rejected the proposal, an answering memo said, only because the FBI

Hill Unit Sets Korea Hearings

The continuing congressional investigation of covert Korean activities in the United States will go public again next week when a House subcommittee hold two days of open hearings on the American operations of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

About half a dozen witnesses, including former KCIA agents assigned to undercover work in this country, will testify Nov. 29 and 30 before the Subcommittee on International Organizations, one of four congressional committees probing Korean activity here.

The International Organizations panel, chaired by Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), has been investigating the KCIA's ties with the evangelist Rev. Sun Myung Moon, and the agency's alleged harassment of Korean-Americans who are critical of South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

couldn't control the shipment of the oranges.

The Newark field office, about the same time, also suggested that a "foul-smelling" chemical called Skatole (C9H9N) be sprayed on a shipment of Black Panther newspapers to "disrupt distribution." That proposal was also turned down.

The internal memos constantly refer to using "friendly" members of the press to get the FBI message across.

In October, 1970, the Miami field office suggested that false information be passed to a "cooperative staff writer" on the Miami Herald to imply that a local man had furnished the government with information leading to the arrest of Angela Davis.

Headquarters rejected the idea, not because the information was false but because it had "no great benefit" to the FBI.