

Top FBI Officials Approved

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Former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and other top officials of the FBI hierarchy personally approved the anonymous mailing of a reprint of a New York Times article concerning anti-Semitism to various antiestablishment political activists in September, 1970, according to court records and informed sources.

Among those who received the mailing was Marcus Raskin, a fellow at the leftist Institute for Policy Studies here. The mailing was one of three instances in which the FBI has admitted that Raskin or other IPS employees were on the receiving end of disruptive activity under the FBI's controversial and now-discarded domestic intelligence program.

Although Hoover's direct involvement in and approval of the FBI's domestic intelligence program has previously been reported, the instances in-

volving the IPS are the first in which it is clear that even routine mailings under the program received the personal attention of top-level FBI officials.

Documents filed by the FBI in U.S. District Court here acknowledging Hoover's involvement identify the former director as "John E. Hoover" instead of the name by which he was known during his bureau years. There was no explanation for the use of the name in that form, although some bureau sources said it probably was done that way in hopes that it would somehow go unnoticed.

According to the Court records, Raskin was selected to receive the New York Times article because it "highlighted the fears of Jews to the anti-Zionism of the 'New Left' and Black Panther Party. The apparent purpose of this action was to reveal anti-Semitism on the part of the 'New Left' and the Black Panther Party." Raskin is Jewish.

Among the persons who approved the mailing were Hoover and FBI executives Nicholas P. Callahan, John P. Mohr, William C. Sullivan and Clyde A. Tolson.

Persons familiar with the Cointelpro program said FBI files are replete with "probably self-serving" memos saying such mailings had been effective.

"I say 'probably self-serving' because I can't imagine well educated, well-informed people holding deep beliefs about the 'New Left' being persuaded that it was anti-Semitic because they anonymously received a reprint of a New York Times article they probably had already read," said one law enforcement official familiar with Cointelpro.

Raskin also received a leaflet that was mailed to his home by the FBI captioned, "Let's compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther with 'Like it is,'" according to the Court records in an invasion-of-pri-

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vacy suit brought by the IPS against the FBI.

FBI officials said the leaflet identified each portion of the Black Panther Party's program "and described how the Black Panther Party was not practicing the program."

Raskin was among persons to whom the FBI mailed this material because of "their involvement in the Black Panther movement or their prestige in the community," the FBI said.

Both mailings occurred in September, 1970, according to Court files.

Raskin said yesterday that although he did not remember the exact materials that the FBI has now admitted it sent him, "I remember seeing stuff like that. It was strange, since there was no return address. Beyond that, it didn't register.

"My judgment is that those were not the only two times" such material was mailed, Raskin added. He said his

only specific recollection of anonymously mailed material involved a series of mailings that seemed to attempt to pit Jewish "intellectuals" against other members of the Jewish community.

The third incident involving IPS had occurred earlier that summer when the FBI provided published articles and a copy of a letter and brochure by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars "to media source" in the San Francisco area. IPS members were among those who prepared the brochure.

"The apparent purpose of the action was to furnish additional exposure to the populace in the San Francisco area of information relating to the Bay Area Institute," a West Coast spinoff of IPS, the FBI said.

There was no indication the unidentified "media source" ever used the material, the FBI said.

Although Hoover was directly involved in approving only one of the mailings or disclosures, FBI files indicate that other members of the FBI hierarchy were involved in the other two.

Bureau sources said the two mailings described in the IPS suit were not the only instances in which large groups of antiestablishment leaders were sent anonymous mailings. They said names of persons to receive the materials were selected by the bureau's field offices and then routed to the FBI intelligence division in Washington to be included on the mailing list.

Documents filed in the IPS suit previously have disclosed that the FBI used 62 informants to spy on the IPS during a six-year period when the institute was a focal point of antiwar activity here. The IPS claims the spying was illegal and included break-ins and buggings, but the FBI denies those claims.