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F.B.I. Files Tell of Surveillance Of Students, Blacks, War Foes

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WASHINGTON, March 24—Copies of Federal Bureau of Investigation documents that have been mailed anonymously to several newspapers and individuals indicate that the agency is engaged in active surveillance of student, Negro and peace groups.

The F.B.I. acknowledged today the authenticity of the documents and said they had been stolen from the two-man bureau office in Media, Pa., near Philadelphia, on March 8.

The documents suggest that F.B.I. surveillance of dissenters on the political left has been far more extensive than was generally known. They also show that the subjects of inquiries include obscure persons marginally suspected of illegal activity.

The disclosures come at a time of mounting controversy over reports of widespread Government surveillance.

A Justice Department source said that a distorted picture on the bureau activities had been given because the thieves had thus far circulated only 14 documents—relating to investigations of students, blacks and new Left groups—out of more than 800 documents that were stolen.

Surveillance discussed in the documents that have been put into circulation, ranges from an order by the bureau director, J. Edgar Hoover, to investigate all student groups "organized to project the demands of black students," to a paper

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noting an Idaho Boy Scout leader's plans to take his troop to the Soviet Union.

There is also a discussion of a bureau order to investigate all students, teachers, and scientists who had been in the Soviet Union at least a month, to determine if there had been attempts by Soviet intelligence agencies to recruit them.

In addition, the papers disclose that Mr. Hoover has given his approval for the limited recruitment of informers in the 18-to-21 age group.

Copies of the documents are known to have been received by Senator George S. McGovern; Democrat of South Dakota; Representative Parren J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maryland; The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times. The copies sent to The Times came in an envelope addressed to Tom Wicker, an associate editor and columnist. It bore a Princeton, N. J. postmark.

A letter signed by the Citizen's Commission to Investigate the F.B.I. said the documents had been taken as part of an effort to scrutinize the bureau's surveillance activities.

Apart from the 14 internal bureau communications and

memorandums, most of which were typed on Government stationery. There was a report from the Swarthmore (Pa.) Police Department about black militant activities at Swarthmore College.

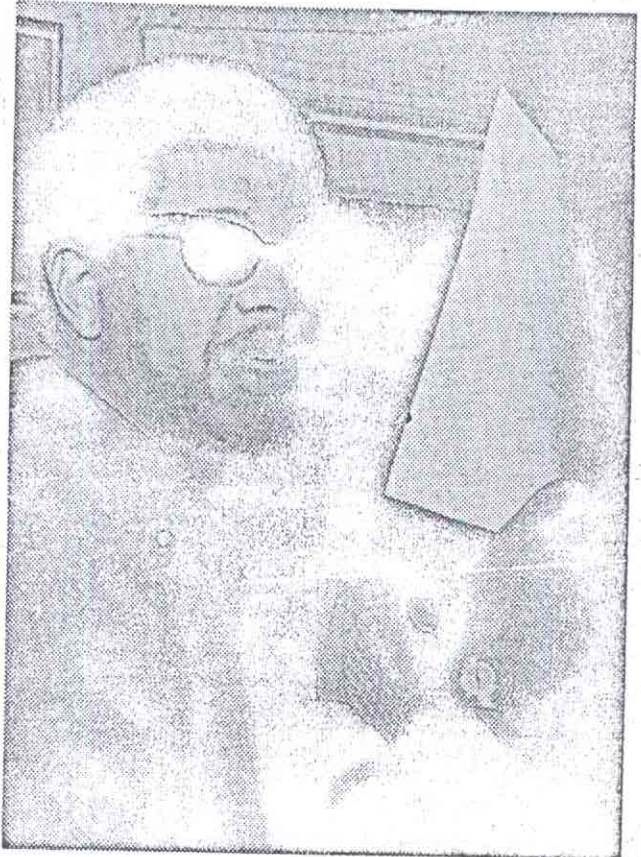
Memo From Hoover

The bureau's interest in student militancy is reflected in a memorandum of Nov. 4, 1970, by Mr. Hoover.

It said in part:

"Increased campus disorders involving black students pose a definite threat to the nation's stability and security and indicate need for increase in both quality and quantity of intelligence information on Black Student Unions and similar groups which are targets for influence and control by violence-prone Black Panther party and other extremists . . .

We must target informants and sources to develop infor-



Associated Press
Muhammad Kenyatta, president of Black Economic Development Conference, with copies of records from F.B.I.

mation regarding these groups on a continuing basis to fulfill our responsibilities and to develop such coverage where none exists.

"Effective immediately, all

B.S.U.'s and similar organizations organized to project the demands of black students, which are not presently under investigation, are to be subjects of discreet, preliminary inquir-

ies, limited to established sources and carefully conducted to avoid criticism. . . .

Open individual cases on officers and key activists in each group to determine background and if their activities warrant active investigation."

Mr. Hoover specified that "this program will include junior colleges and two-year colleges as well as four-year colleges."

Infiltration Attempted

Other papers disclose that the bureau attempted to infiltrate a conference of war resisters at Haverford (Pa.) College in August, 1969, and at a convention of the National Association of Black Students at Wayne State in June, 1970.

There was also a report on a Berkeley University coed from Philadelphia who was said by one informer to be "an invertebrate Marxist revolutionist" and by another informer to be an "average, liberal-minded student." The girl was not placed on the "Security Index."

One memorandum said that the telephone operator at an Eastern college showed to an F.B.I. agent long-distance telephone records of a philosophy teacher who was apparently suspected of harboring fugitives. The college security officer and the city's chief of police also provided information.

Several documents urged discretion in campus investigations, which are apparently governed by a special manual for checking on student groups.

Documents concerning black militant groups disclose that minute details are recorded involving activities within the Black Panther party and the National Black Economic Development Conference, which campaigned in 1969 to collect reparations from the nation's churches for "racial injustices."

Financial Problems

The memorandums, apparently based on information from informers within the Philadelphia chapters of these two organizations, quote conversations involving financial difficulties and personal bickering. They also include copies of the checking account statements of the Economic Conference's Philadelphia branch, obtained from the Southeast National Bank.

Assistant Attorney General William H. Rehnquist has argued in Senate hearings that noncoercive surveillance does not have a "chilling effect" on free political expression.

However, a newsletter from the Philadelphia bureau office has urged increased interviewing of people identified with the new left because "it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an F.B.I. agent behind every mailbox."

"In addition," it said, "some will be overcome with the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agents and volunteer to tell all—perhaps on a continuing basis."