## The FBI's Burglar Coverups

Washington

With top-level approval, the FBI carried out hundreds of illegal break-ins under an elaborate "Do Not File" system that kept all trace of the burglaries out of regular bureau files.

Members of the Senate Committee on Intelligence, which began devling yesterday into the so-called "black bag jobs," said they were shocked by the devious manner in which the burglaries of "domestic subversives" were authorized.

"It's really the perfect coverup," declared Senator Richard Schweiker (Rep-Pa.).

Schweiker pointed out that under the system, which appears to have been discontinued, FBI officials could even submit affidavits in court saying that bureau records contained no indication of this or that break-in.

"It would be technically telling the truth, yet it would be a total deception," Schweiker said.

"Pure frightening," Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. (Rep-Tenn.) agreed later.

The statistics on the burglaries, admittedly incomplete, were not supplied to the committee until Wednesday night, staffers said.

Chairman Frank Church (Dem-Ida.) said the report showed 238 break-ins between 1942 and April of 1968 against 14 so-called "domestic subversive targets."

In addition, at least three other "domestic subversive targets" were subjected to numerous entries from October, 1952, to June, 1966. Of these the FBI said, "Since there exists no precise record of entries, we are unable to retrieve an accurate accounting of their number."

The Washington Post reported in July that the FBI until 1966 conducted dozens and occasionally more than 100 burglaries of all kinds each year, against targets ranging from domestic extremist groups and the Communist party to foreign embassies and ordinary criminal cases.

The Church committee did not make public any information concerning FBI break-ins at foreign embassies and consulates. For its part, the FBI apparently did not bother to submit a count of the break-ins involved in criminal cases, on the grounds that all these were done simply for the

purpose of installing "authorized" eavesdropping devices.

According to other documents, the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover ordered all "black bag" jobs stopped in mid-1966 after a report from assistant FBI Director William C. Sullivan acknowledging that they were "clearly illegal."

Addressed to a high-ranking Hoover aide, Cartha D. DeLoach, and dated July 19, 1966, the Sullivan memo nevertheless praised the technique as "a very valuable weapon which we have used to combat the highly clandestine efforts of subversive elements seeking to undermine our nation."

Alluding to one recent "black bag" job, Sullivan said it produced complete membership and financial records of one organization "which we have been using most effectively to disrupt . . . and in fact, to bring about its near disintegration."

The name of the organization was carefully deleted by the Church committee staff from the copies of the memo handed the press, but Senator Robert Morgan (Dem-N.C.) indicated at one point

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CHARLES BRENNAN
A system of secrecy

## FBI

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that it referred to a burglarly of some Ku Klux Klan headquarters in Louisiana, around March, 1966.

Momentslater, after a whispered conference, Morgan dropped the line of questionina, saying he'd been told, "We've reached an agreement not to talk about specific cases."

Committee counsel Fritz Schwarz said FBI officials had not yet "declassified" the details.

Elaborating on the procedures used to approve "black bag" jobs, the Sullivan memo said the system then in effect required detailed requests from FBI bureau chiefs for eventual submission in memorandum form to either Hoover or his longtime aide, the late Clyde Tolson, for approval.

"Subsequently, this memoran-

dum is filed in the assistant director's office under a "'Do Not File' procedure," Sullivan explained. Meanwhile, "In the field, the special agent in charge prepares an informal memorandum showing that he obtained bureau authority and this memorandum is filed in his safe until the next inspection by bureau inspectors, at which time it is destroyed."

Testifying at yesterday's hearing, Sullivan's successor, former assistant FBI Director Charles Brennan, said the system menat that the headquarters memos reflecting Hoover's or Tolson's approval would be tucked away in the safe of the appropriate assistant director. There, he said under questioning by Schweiker, it would be kept out of the regular bureau files.

Schweiker pointed out that regular FBI files carry serial numbers. As a result, those records cannot be destroyed without leaving a missing number, a telltale sign that something has disappeared.

The system also guaranteed peace of min d for agents in the field offices, knowing that authorizing memos could be shown to bureau inspectors and at the same time knowing that those memos were going to be destroyed, Schweiker said.

"It looks to me as though the bureau has perfected a better technique . . . a lot more sophisticated and refined than the 'plausible denial' of the CIA," Schweiker said. "I think we've just touched the top of the iceberg."

The three-page Sullivan memo ended with an edict in Hoover's handwriting decreeing, "No more such techniques must be used."

Under questioning by Schwartz, Brennan said the FBI director had never shown any legal qualms about such illicit operations in earlier years. Instead, he suggested that Hoover began to grow uneasy after reaching mandatory retirement age (70) in 1965 about any operations that might be embarrassing to the bureau and thus force his ouster.

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