

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The subject of this study is to attempt to determine the present scope of domestic surveillance activity of the federal government. In viewing specifically who and what organizations are under surveillance, I hope to come to some conclusion as to the feasibility of anything being done about it.

II. SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

1. Surveillance activity by the federal government is virtually all-inclusive. From the social security index card on 200,000 people to the Army dossier on 25,000,000, surveillance data exists on the majority of the American people.

2. J. Edgar Hoover is the greatest threat to national security. By implementing personal politics, arrogant pride, and wielding dictatorial powers, J. Edgar Hoover has directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a biased campaign to inhibit and/or eliminate peaceful political dissent of American citizens, while the crime rate in America has climbed 148 percent in the past decade.

3. Political surveillance on organizations and prominent individuals is widespread and is not a recent phenomenon. Political surveillance is not helpful in defending the national security and does not significantly limit acts of violence or organized crime.

4. Individuals in Right Wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen have on record committed more murders and felonious acts of criminal sabotage than all civil rights and peace organizations combined.

5. The use of informants in surveillance activity often is the catalyst in diverting legitimate political activity of individuals to overt acts of illegitimate activities; e.g., bombings, arson, robbery.

6. The CIA engages in domestic surveillance activity.

7. Public sentiment is generally pro surveillance. However, the public has very little knowledge of the actual scope of activity.

8. Little can be done legally and illegally to counteract government surveillance. Surveillance data on organizations and individuals is collected whether or not there is information to collect.

9. Army surveillance activity was intensified as a result of the riots around the country in 1967.

10. The objective of surveillance of civil rights, left wing, peace organizations, etc., is to uncover a grand Communist conspiracy in the making, whereas the objective of surveillance of right wing organizations is to prevent criminal violence.

III. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. All governmental agencies should be limited to surveillance of individuals. The scope of surveillance activity will no longer include surveillance of entire organizations.

This can be implemented as a directive from the heads of the various federal data gathering agencies. This will serve to limit unnecessary surveillance of masses of people who are observed merely because of their association with other people who have had histories of being under surveillance. Pp. 7,8.

2. All forms of "political surveillance" should be made illegal, except in cases of national security; A Court of Warrants (Mr. Glauberman) should have the power to decide.

Surveillance of individuals should be permitted only in cases where the individual has previously committed a felony. Pp. 9, 26, 27, 32, 33, 36, 37.

3. No permanent files, e.g., fingerprints, of people under 18 who have been involved in criminal activity are to be maintained.

All files should be systematically destroyed no later than five years after his or her 18th birthday. This is in order to insure the person his right as an adult to carry on a normal life, unstigmatized by events or acts committed in his childhood. This will also eliminate the paranoia of accidental or purposeful dissemination of the information. Pp. 5, 6, 35, 36.

4. Congress should establish separate boards of overseers for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The makeup of these boards should have civilian majorities. These boards would be designated to watch over all domestic surveillance investigative agencies, who's primary goal is to protect the national security. The boards would issue reports to the American people on surveillance activity and utilize congressional powers of appropriations to make its decisions carry weight in the agencies. These boards would have their own autonomous investigative task forces, which would entail researching evidence of illegal or unwarranted surveillance activity by the agencies. Pp. 12, 13, 20, 21, 22.

5. The President of the United States should demand the immediate resignation of the present FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover.

There are doubts within the Bureau and the Administration about the FBI's ability to serve effectively against subversion. Hoover has alone directed the FBI's surveillance activity as emanating from his own political perspective. E.g., the FBI's unnecessary concentration on the bias against civil rights, leftist, liberal, moderate and peace organizations in America. Pp. 15, 17.

6. The position of "Director" should be changed to "Coordinator". The term of office of the Coordinator will be a maximum of 12 years.

The new position would entail coordinating investigative activities rather than directing the bureau to particular areas of personal importance to the director. Pp. 15, 17-19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35.

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V. DISCUSSION

Who Is Under Surveillance?

Surveillance activity by the federal government is vast and highly complex. This activity manifests itself in many different ways. Through governmental agencies and services, data is compiled on millions upon millions of people. Much of the compiled information by the agencies is indeed needed for the efficient functioning of the governmental structure. However, much of the compiled information by surveillance activity is not only unnecessary but unjust.¹ Surveillance has expanded mainly because of the scale and militance of the various protest movements of the sixties.

Since there are approximately twenty federal agencies² that are involved in intelligence activities, only the agencies with the most intensive surveillance programs will be covered in this paper, and only the names of the more prominent citizens and publicly known organizations will be revealed to give

¹Frank Donner, "Theory of Practice of American Political Intelligence," p. 3.

²Ibid. FBI, Army, CIA, Internal Revenue Service, Post Office, Secret Service, Customs Bureau, Civil Service Commission, Immigration and Naturalization, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard, Passport Division of the State Department, Department of Justice, Department of Health, Education & Welfare, Office of Economic Opportunity.

one some idea of the enormous scope of surveillance activities.

The surveillance of citizens in the United States has been growing year by year. It has been indicated in an analysis of the U.S. security system several years ago that more than 13,500,000 Americans or approximately one fifth of all the jobholders were being scrutinized under some sort of security or loyalty program.

The U.S. government employs more than 25,000 professional investigators, not including counterintelligence and espionage operators. Federal investigators, however, represent only a small fraction of the total number of people in the nation who earn their living investigating other people.

There are 2,700,000 citizens in the U.S. armed forces who definitely require varying degrees of surveillance based on their assignments. What is somewhat alarming is that in U.S. industrial plants that do some business with the Pentagon, surveillance activity is spreading. Business Week estimates that 24,000 industrial facilities are now under Pentagon regulation and security and that more than 3,500,000 employees in the past fourteen years have had to obtain clearances.

Work?

Many corporations are so anxious in not loosing their profitable contracts with the Pentagon, to be on the safe side, they allow security affairs to push defense-type precautions with other areas of the company. In such instances little

distinction in hiring and surveillance policy is made between employees working on defense contracts and those in commercial, non-military phases of their company's operations.

Cost

Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence for the year 1970 would cost 2.9 billion dollars.³ The testimony of Robert F. Froehike, Assistant Defense Secretary, to the House Appropriation Subcommittee showed that "military intelligence agencies on June 30, 1970 would be 136,114 persons."⁴ The Subcommittee was informed that the budget covers information gathered from an old-fashioned spying to mapping and the clipping of newspapers, plus communications and the making and breaking of coeds. The budget does not include the cost of "tactical" intelligence that is used in day-to-day combat operations in Vietnam. It does not cover the Central Intelligence Agency or intelligence activities of the State Department.⁵

How Long?

The army has been involved in domestic surveillance of civilians for over a half century. In 1929, under the direction of Major General Ralph H. Vandeman who was then Army Chief of Intelligence, a secret collection of reports on 125,000 allegedly subversive organizations were being compiled across the nation; this activity continued for 23 years - until 1952.

³"Intelligence Cost of Military in '70 Put at 2.9 Billion", New York Times, May 19, 1969.

⁴Ibid.

⁵New York Times, Sept. 7, 1971.

The subjects of top secret surveillance activity were politicians, labor leaders, civil rights activists, actors, writers, academicians and ordinary citizens, many of whom are still alive. One of the more prominent on file is Representative Emanuel Celler, a Democrat of Brooklyn, and also the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. He was described in his dossier as a "Jew playing the Reds." Others listed were Pearl Buck, author; Joan Crawford and Helen Hayes, actresses; former Representative Adam Clayton Powell of Manhattan; and Nobel prize winning chemist Linus Pauling. The Major General obtained files regularly from Naval, Army and FBI Intelligence.

The U.S. Civil Service Commission, which maintains a dossier on nearly everyone who has applied for federal employment since 1939, reportedly has nearly 250,000 dossiers that contain adverse information. Its central index of approximately 7,500,000 dossiers is one of many on individuals that have grown to immense proportions. In 1962 the Department of Defense alone conducted security investigations on 862,000 individuals.

Reasons Why?

Recent increased Army surveillance activity actually stemmed from the urban riots of the late 1960s. "Repeated calls for federal troops to help local police and National Guardsmen to quell riots meant the Army needed information on cities, location of armories, police stations, power sources, potential detention facilities, and the names of people who could restore order."⁶

⁶"Army Spying on Civilians," Congressional Quarterly Review, p. 429.

Senator Birch Bayh said "the apparent source of Army collection of intelligence data on civilians was a civil disturbance information collection plan." The plan was issued by the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence on May 2, 1968, and called on agents to collect information on prominent persons friendly with potential leaders of civil disturbances. Information was also to be gathered on "the aims and activities of groups attempting to create, prolong or aggravate racial tensions," and named the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference among them. After the public discovery, the plan was rescinded December 4, 1970.

One of the most basic methods of domestic surveillance activity today is the use of fingerprinting. The Armed Forces constitutes one of the major sources of fingerprint records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As of April 30, 1968, the FBI files included 187,777,997 fingerprint records representing about 81 million persons. Over 90 million records were obtained from Armed Forces entry examinations. The Army has approximately 26,030,977 fingerprint files on record. The most interesting aspect of this is the subtle process of selectivity inherent in this process.

It is important to note that a selective bias exists in the acquisition of such records. Only persons called for induction examination are fingerprinted. Thus, persons with claims

to deferment after high school (such as college students or skilled workers) may never be called for examination. Negroes and lower class whites (with low educational attainment are more likely to be called than whites generally). Fingerprint records are obtained in pre-induction examinations only from those registrants who refuse induction, or who refuse to complete the security questionnaire (which elicits information of past activities or affiliations.)⁷

Fingerprinting under the circumstances cited above by induction centers are apparently used as a follow up method, or surveillance option the government has if a person refuses to serve or has been active in any movements contrary to the government's philosophy. The most recent testimony on the scope of contemporary Army surveillance activity comes from former Army agents and intelligence officers themselves.

Army Watches Civilian Politics

In the Washington Monthly magazine, former Army Captain Christopher Pyle, now a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University, exposed the Army's civilian-watchdog activity in detail. According to Pyle "the program started in 1965, mushroomed after the disastrous 1967 ghetto riots in Detroit and elsewhere and soon was collecting data from police and FBI reports, campus newspaper clippings and the Army's own operatives posing as newsmen, students and even, in 1968, as residents of the SCLC's 'Resurrection City,'" "Today," charged Pyle, "the Army

⁷Stanton Wheeler, On Record, p. 259.

maintains files on membership, ideology, programs and practices of virtually every activist political group in the country."⁸

Some of the better-known organizations and institutions under surveillance by the Army, according to Pyle, are the Minutemen, the Revolutionary Action Movement, Clergy and Laymen United Against the War in Vietnam, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Women's Strike for Peace, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Columbia University, the Universities of Wisconsin and Oklahoma, Students for a Democratic Society, K.K.K., the University of Maryland, the Black Panther Party, the Weathermen, the National Urban League, the John Birch Society, the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"Some of the most prominent private citizens under surveillance by the Army," said Pyle, are "Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., playwright Leroi Jones, folk singers Joan Baez, Phil Ochs and Arlo Guthrie, State Representative Julian Bond, Rear Admiral Arnold E. True and Brigadier General High B. Hester, the late Urban League Director Whitney M. Young, Jr., and Communist theoretician Herbert Marcuse.

Pyle said that "there are more than 1000 plainclothes investigators, working out of some 300 offices from coast to coast, and hundreds of agents and informants associated with troop units and installations of the Continental Army Command, whose headquarters is at Fort Monroe, Virginia."

⁸Christopher Pyle, "Army Watches Civilian Politics," Washington Monthly, January 1970 p. 5.

Although the research into this area has been consistent with the testimony of Pyle, there has been no official government confirmation of army activities of this dimension.

Pyle was not alone in his revelations of the scope of the Army's domestic surveillance activity. Another former Army intelligence officer came forth. John M. O'Brien of Evanston, Illinois told a Senate hearing that at one point in October 1969,

"...our collective time (the 113th military intelligence group in Chicago) were collecting information on every individual and organization in the State of Illinois who espoused discontent with the military involvement in South East Asia, and who openly oppose the Nixon administration's controversial domestic policies, and to include elected public officials at the local and federal levels of government. It was also ordered that undercover agents be at all public gatherings considered to be of a radical nature and the direct penetration of organizations opposed to U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. The information is to be placed in the military files with a copy of information being sent to various other federal agencies and to the command center at Fort Holabird, Baltimore, Maryland."

O'Brien also stated the 800 organizations were under surveillance. Persons under surveillance included Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III, Representative Abner Mikva, U.S. Court Judge and former governor Otto Kerner, plus state and local officials, political contributors, newspaper reporters, lawyers and clergymen.

Other private citizens being watched, claimed O'Brien, were W. Clement Stone, a millionaire insurance executive and

⁹"Army Spying on Civilians," Congressional Quarterly Review, July-December, 1971, p. 428.

a heavy contributor to the Republican party, who once gave money to a Chicago street gang; Mrs. Luch Montgomery, a lawyer's wife and contributor to former Senator Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign; and Father Lawlor, a Catholic priest who opposed "forced" integration of Chicago public schools.¹⁰

Senator Sam J. Erwin, Jr., Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, said that "the reasoning the Army had for surveillance in Illinois was that the Army wanted to determine the political leanings of the persons involved in order to predict future behavior."¹¹ Army Secretary Stanley Resor quickly denied that intelligence agents ever spied on Stevenson, Mikva or Kerner but avoided O'Brien's other charges.

Former Sergeant Ralph Stern of Flushing, New York also testified before the Senate Subcommittee. He claimed he was in charge of the Army counter intelligence analysis branch's "left wing desk" in 1967-68 and that he personally gathered information on Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy of SCLC and a variety of folk singers.¹² Former Lt. Joseph Levan, an Alabama lawyer, said he was assigned to the 108th Military Intelligence Group in New York City during 1967-68 where he spied on "college students and welfare mothers."¹³

¹⁰"Army Spying on Civilians," Congressional Quarterly Review, July-December, 1971, p. 428.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Pyle, op. cit., p. 49

Other former agents charged that the Army had agents at the Republican and Democratic Conventions of 1968.

Looking objectively at these various assignments, e.g., to watch "welfare mothers and folk singers," one might tend to question the purpose and validity of Army surveillance. A Life magazine article documents some even more blatantly absurd surveillance assignments: One agent was assigned to remain at the gravesite of Martin Luther King and told to listen to what the mourners had to say; when Mrs. King made a speech some weeks later recalling that her husband "had a dream," an agent was asked to find out what dream!

In 1968 some agents were asked to cover the Poor People's March by photographing the rumps of the mules which pulled several leaders of SCLC. The agents were asked to do this to determine sores or abrasions which would indicate the mules were being mistreated.

Some agents were ordered to infiltrate a group of potential demonstrators at President Nixon's inauguration. The long haired and bearded agents were issued liquor money and also marijuana, with instructions to "use it and pass it out to keep their cover."

Finally, in a report on Moratorium Day activities at Wisconsin State College in October 1969, newspaper pictures were clipped for identification of participants for the Army files. One of the people pictured in a clipping was Wisconsin State student John Laird, son of Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird.

Outcome of Revelations

As a result of public exposure of some of the Army's surveillance activities some mild reforms have occurred. The Army has admitted that its Continental U.S. Intelligence Program "exceeded its needs" in preparing for riots and agreed to cut back. From its headquarters at Fort Holabird in Baltimore, the Army Intelligence Command flashed orders to each of the intelligence groups limiting the collection of domestic intelligence to only the most "essential elements of information." Agents were forbidden to discuss any aspect of the program with newsmen and were warned that any who did would be prosecuted for breach of national security. Robert E. Jordan III, Army General Counsel and Special Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Function suspended all replies to Congressional inquiries. In violation of its own regulations, the Army even refused to acknowledge receipt of them.¹⁴

In December 1970, two months after his son's picture showed up in Army files, the Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, ordered a major shakeup of military intelligence operations and suggested that they be brought under closer civilian control. This may signify a direct correlation of Laird's increased sensitivity to the issue because of

¹⁴Pyle, op. cit., p. 49.

his son's involvement as an object of surveillance by his father's department. "The Department of Defense alone has a central index of 21,500,000 name cards and has compiled 14,000,000 life histories in the course of its security investigations,"¹⁵

The CIA and Domestic Surveillance

In Congressional hearings in the Army's 1958 intelligence budget the then Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Major General Robert H. Wienicke was asked how closely Army intelligence works with CIA? The General replied "hand in glove," The Army makes major contributions to central intelligence.

The CIA has become a central governing authority, a co-ordinator of strategic information, and a correlator of data gathered not only by its own far-flung overseas staff and to thousands of Washington intelligence analysts but also by the dozen or so departmental and agency units of government. The total number of persons working directly within the intelligence community probably is between 20,000 and 30,000. Tens of thousands of others are less directly involved in intelligence production. Although its inner functions are inevitably shrouded in secrecy, the CIA today is clearly both an extensive "holding company" over this community - a co-ordinator - as well as an intelligence operating agency.¹⁶

"Among the more widely publicized activities in recent years have been the CIA's surreptitious financing of student groups, labor unions, and foundations (despite the territorial limits of the agency's mandate)."¹⁷

¹⁵Wheeler, op cit., p. 293

¹⁶Harry Howe Ransom, Central Intelligence and National Security, p. 86.

¹⁷Pyle, op. cit. p. 12

A former Staff Officer of the CIA, Victor Marchetti, criticized the CIA's surveillance activity, describing his "fear today that the CIA may have already begun" going against the enemy within the United States as they may conceive it; that is, dissident student groups and civil rights organizations. Marchetti has launched a campaign for more presidential and congressional control over the entire U.S. intelligence community.

"I think we need to do this because we're getting into an awfully dangerous era where we have all this talent (for clandestine operations) in the CIA - and more being developed in the military, which is getting into clandestine operations - and there just aren't that many places any more to display that talent.

"The cold war is fading. So is the war in Southeast Asia, except for Laos. At the same time, we're getting a lot of domestic problems. And there are people in the CIA who - if they aren't right now actually already running domestic operations against student groups, black movements and the like - are certainly considering it.

"There'll be a great temptation for these people to suggest operations and for a President to approve them or to kind of look the other way. You have the danger of intelligence turning against the nation itself, going against 'the enemy within'!"¹⁸

"The basic point about the CIA is not that it follows an independent policy although it inevitably does at the tactical level - but that its overall policy is approved by the highest officials of government and the dominant party leadership. Increasingly it appears that intelligence agencies may guide the whole network of institutional control."¹⁹

¹⁸"The CIA Attack and a Reply," U.S. News and World Report, October 1971, p. 78.

¹⁹H. H. Wilson, "Some Reactions to the Revelations About the CIA," Monthly Review, June 1967, p. 29.

Following the 1967 Ramparts disclosure, the White House endorsed a report saying that the CIA had acted in accordance with government regulations in its secret penetrations of educational, labor and church groups. Then Attorney General Katzenbach praised the many far-sighted and courageous Americans who had quietly cooperated with the agency.

In assessing the federal agencies that cooperate and even coordinate functions with the CIA, one of the most important in viewing the scope of that agencies overt domestic surveillance is the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which, until recently, maintained a direct liaison with the CIA.

The FBI

J. Edgar Hoover, the present 76 year old director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who has run and directed the FBI for 47 years, ordered the suspension of direct contact with the CIA in 1969.

"Hoover gave these orders in irritation over a minor piece of information that was relayed by an FBI agent in Denver to a CIA employee in 1969. The case involved the disappearance of a Czech-born University of Colorado professor named Thomas Riha. The FBI had refused to give the president of the university any assurance that the disappearance did not involve foul play, but an FBI agent, acting on his own, told a CIA employee that it did not. The CIA man passed on the message - no foul play - to the president, who then let it slip to the press. Hoover was furious. Because of that fairly obscure incident, he has limited most FBI contacts with the CIA since then to written and telephone messages and occasional direct meetings that he specifically approves.20

²⁰ Robert M. Smith, "FBI Said to Have Cut Direct Liaison with CIA," New York Times, October 1971

"As a result, high officials of the intelligence community are concerned about the government's ability to control foreign espionage in this country. Their apprehension has been increased by the recent British discovery of extensive Soviet operations."²¹

As a result of one man's unquestioned authority, Hoover has put the national security in a dangerous and precarious predicament. "To offset some of the danger, officials of the FBI and the CIA have held private meetings unknown to Mr. Hoover at which they exchanged information."²² Information generally exchanged between FBI and the CIA might concern such subjects as "officers of the Black Panther Party traveling overseas, Soviet diplomats en route to this country, the activities of an international arms dealer, and American youngsters cutting sugar cane in Cuba."²³

CIA men complained that Hoover's actions effectively cut off the international from the national intelligence effort. In July of 1971 Hoover increased his bureau's isolation by abolishing the seven-man FBI section that maintained contact with other U.S. intelligence units²⁴ - including the Defense

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

Intelligence Agency and the individual armed services' intelligence networks. Some observers speculated that Hoover took the action to prove that he was not discriminating against the CIA, that all major contacts could be handled by telephone and mail. The FBI has denied allegations that it has broken direct liaison with the CIA. A spokesman said, "The FBI has always maintained liaison with the CIA and it is a very close and effective liaison." One former CIA agent, who until recently was an open admirer of the director, remarks unhappily, "Hoover, because of his personal pride, has seriously affected the efficient operation of American intelligence."

Today, the FBI operates largely as an agency for domestic counter-intelligence. "Its primary national security jurisdiction is investigation of espionage, sabotage, treason and other facets of internal security."²⁵

I submit that it is these other facets of internal security that J. Edgar Hoover has alone directed the FBI against, and it is the other facets that are now the FBI's number one priority. This number one priority is surveillance of organizations, institutions and private citizens.

Under the present system the Bureau can investigate almost any person on the grounds that it is collecting data in case of future trouble. The FBI has done just that. "It has carried license far beyond the violent revolutionary fringe and has

²⁵Ransom, op. cit., p. 129.

collected, catalogued, filed and crossfiled 'security' intelligence on a wide range of peace protesters, student and black activists and other more or less dissident citizens."²⁶

The Bureau today has 8,400 special agents and 10,000 clerical support troops speard over Washington; 59 field offices and some 500 small resident agencies. The FBI does play a significant role in the curtailment of crime. More so than any agency in the nation, but that is not to suggest that its involvement in crime is adequate.

The black and New Left activism of the sixties thrust the FBI even deeper into domestic intelligence gathering.²⁷ In the testimony of Hoover before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, March 5, 1970, he listed some of the events, organizations and individuals that have been or are presently under FBI surveillance: Students for Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the National Antiwar Conference, The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the Committee of Returned Volunteers, the Black Muslims Venceremos Brigade, the United States Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Black Panther Party and every educational institution where a Black Panther has lectured, the National Black Economic Development Conference of Detroit, Michigan, The Student National Coordinating Committee, the

²⁶"Hoover's FBI: Time For Change?" NewsWeek, May 1971, p. 28.

²⁷Ibid., p. 29.

Republic of New Africa, some newly-formed Maoist groups, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, the Red Guard. Among the Right Wing extremist groups are the American Nazi Party, The National Socialist White Peoples Party, the National States Party of Savannah, Georgia, the National Renaissance Party in New York City, the Minutemen, the White Party of America, the United Klans of America, Inc., and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (the most dominant Klan group in the nation).

Some of the individuals Hoover named in the report were: Bobby Seale, David Dellinger, Thomas Hayden, Abbott Happman, Jerry Rubin, John Frome, Lee J. Werner, Herbert Marcuse, Charlene Mitchell, Michael Zagarell, members of the Communist party, Charles Gary, attorney for the Black Panther party, Huey Newton, David Hilliard, Fred Hampton, Leonard Bernstein, composer-director, Otto Preminger, film director, Mrs. Peter Duchin, wife of orchestra leader, Shirley Sutherland, a Canadian and the daughter of the leader of a minority political party in Canada, James Farmer and Elijah Mohammed.

A telephone poll of 522 persons, conducted by the Gallup Organization in March 1971 returned enormous favorable ratings for Hoover and the Bureau. Neither are Americans unduly distrubed about the spread of surveillance. Solid majorities, quite to the contrary, believe the Bureau should be monitoring and infiltrating protest groups at least as intensively as it has been - if not more. Yet there remains a substantial minority view of doubt about some of the Bureau's techniques - about

wiretapping and bugging, for example, and about collecting files on citizens who are not suspected of anything criminal. And, most surprising of all, given Hoover's deep reservoir of public favor, Americans believe - by 51 to 41 percent - that the time has come at last for him to step down.²⁸

Although the Administration has grown increasingly disenchanted with Hoover's performance, believing the FBI was doing too little in intelligence against domestic radicals, Democrats in Congress led an attack against the FBI for what they saw as "an overzealous expansion of intelligence investigations."

Several Democratic Presidential contenders have taken up the cry for Hoover's removal; Edmund Muskie is prominent among these. Muskie charged that "40 to 60 media reports"²⁹ were done on Earth Day activities. Muskie suggested that a "domestic intelligence review board composed of the intelligence community, the judiciary, and law scholars and Congress legislate precise limits over the scope of domestic crime."³⁰

Another candidate for the 1972 Presidential nomination, Senator George McGovern, said that Hoover had attempted to unsuccessfully sabotage the career of a Trans World Airlines pilot who criticized the FBI's attempt to prevent an airplane's hijacking. McGovern also felt Hoover has been retained in

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The code name for FBI dossiers.

³⁰ Muskie, op. cit., Congressional Quarterly.

office out of a political fear that the Administration cannot run a "sacred cow" from the public scene.

"For the White House to push Hoover out would be not just to dishonor a public idol but to concede the issue to the Democrats. And the Hill's appetite for combat remains blunted by Hoover's popularity - and by the pervasive suspicion that he has something in his files on practically everybody on the Hill. Hoover, according to one insider, has done little to discourage this fear. 'He doesn't always present a source. 'All he does is call up someone on the Hill and say, 'Senator, you don't have to worry about a thing. I've taken your file out of the main record section and I'm keeping it here right where I can keep my eye on it.' He says it very sincerely, but the message gets across."31

House Majority Leader, Hale Boggs, in April 1971 made charges that the FBI was wiretapping telephones on members of Congress. Boggs said he was convinced that the FBI had his personal life under surveillance. He also asserted that 'there is a substantial number of members of Congress who are firmly convinced their phones are tapped by the FBI.'32

Boggs called for Hoover's resignation.

In answering some of the criticism, Attorney General Mitchell insisted that the FBI "does not conduct general political surveillance of senators, congressmen or anyone else." However, the facts speak for themselves. In April 1971, a federal judge in Baltimore released documents showing that the FBI had recorded four conversations between Representative John Dowdy and an FBI informant in the course of an investigation of an alleged bribery incident. Both Attorney General John

31. "Hoover's FBI," op. cit., p. 24.

32. "FBI Controversy: Wiretapping, Charge and Denial," Congressional Quarterly Weekly, April 1971, p. 792.

Mitchell and the FBI Director knew about the surveillance. Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst responded with 'The recording did not constitute surveillance since one of the parties knew the conversations were being recorded.' He said the department considers surveillance to be the recording of conversations without the knowledge of either party."³³ As a consequence, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said that he thought the FBI's activities concerning the Dowdy case should be reviewed.

Reactions and Responses

As more cases of government surveillance activity were made evident, more prominent leaders came forth and demanded action. In the House, Representative Bella Abzug introduced a resolution calling for a Judiciary Committee investigation of the administration and operation of the FBI. Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson submitted a bill that would authorize a commission to probe domestic intelligence gathering by the federal government. Representative Ogden Reid called for "new hearings on domestic spying."³⁴

Hoover eventually reacted to all the criticism by releasing a statement saying: "I want to make a positive assertion that there has never been a wiretap of a Senator's phone or phone of a member of Congress since I became director in 1925, nor has any member of Congress or the Senate been under surveillance by the FBI."³⁵

³³ Ibid., p. 793

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

Publicly, the President has had nothing but praise for Hoover; however, the administration was

"...irritated by Hoover's attempts to withhold information from the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. There was also concern that several times his testimony before congressional committees was wrong - although FBI agents were generally allowed to correct the mistakes before they were entered in the record. Mitchell was especially angered by the way in which Hoover endangered the Justice Department's case against the Rev. Philip Berrigan and others charged with conspiracy to kidnap Henry Kissinger, Nixon's foreign affairs adviser. Hoover insisted on telling a Senate subcommittee about the alleged plot last November, more than a month before a grand jury began to return indictments."³⁶

The feeling of the Administration tends to suggest that even they are beginning to look at Hoover as some sort of security risk.

"Last summer, as the Administration's dissatisfaction with Hoover increased, the Justice Department took unprecedented steps to curb the director who for decades had worked with virtual autonomy. The department's public relations men began editing Hoover-drafted FBI crime reports and news releases. Then Mitchell intervened directly in FBI internal affairs, urging new courses of action and, in some areas, bluntly telling Hoover to change his way of doing things."³⁷

³⁶"Hoover's FBI," op. cit., p. 29

³⁷"The File on J. Edgar Hoover," Time, Oct. 1971, p. 15.

Limiting the Scope of Surveillance

The Justice Department is seriously considering the creation of a civilian review board to oversee domestic spying by FBI and other agencies. Mitchell said on a David Frost show in April 1971 that such a panel "might be productive" and it is under discussion by his aides. Critics of review boards have stressed the dangers of duping the private citizen with a false sense of security, if there are no actual legislative limits placed on the scope of domestic surveillance activity. While the Justice Department is considering reviewing the FBI, the Senate Judicial Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights has begun a long-term investigation of investigative activities of the Justice Department. A spokesman for the subcommittee said that the unit has tried unsuccessfully since June of 1971 to obtain FBI documents covering standards and guidelines for all of its information collection programs. Investigations on top of investigations rarely solves problems. Legislation is the only adequate way of dealing with overt activity. The problem lies in making the American people aware that the scope of surveillance activity is invading basic rights to privacy. To that end, a review board could serve a purpose - the purpose being in educating and communicating to the mass of American people that there are covert functions of their government that is indeed affecting each and every one of them. Education or raising the level of consciousness of the people can serve to set a mood conducive to the stringent

legislative guidelines needed for contemporary domestic surveillance. "The question posed by this activity (surveillance) is not whether someone ought to watch out for foreign spies and domestic terrorists, but what the proper boundaries of our surveillance ought to be. 'Any country,' agrees Alan Dershowitz, a Harvard law professor, 'has to have a counterintelligence agency that is relatively secret and not open to scrutiny.' The problem is Hoover's lack of distinction between terrorism and political activity. There should be a tremendous separation between the two."³⁸

This lack of distinction that Professor Dershowitz speaks of describes more basically the lack of ability of the FBI to determine the difference between crime and politics. They, too, are very different. This lack of ability is evident in the intensity with which the Bureau pursues political activists.

Surveillance Selectivity

In civil rights, Hoover had to be pressed to commit his troops to the fight against a resurgent and murderous Ku Klux Klan in the early sixties.³⁹ During that time the FBI did an extremely effective job in fighting and uncovering the criminal activities and plots the Klan had initiated.

Hoover's feud with William C. Sullivan, the former No. 3 man at the bureau, is a measure of the Administration dilemma. At 59, Sullivan is a 30-year veteran of the bureau with an impressive reputation among intelligence officers here and abroad.

³⁸"Hoover's FBI," op cit., p. 30

³⁹Fred Cook, The FBI Nobody Knows, p. 408.

Although long a favorite of Hoover's Sullivan quarreled with his boss a decade ago over his non-Hooveran contention that the Ku Klux Klan represented a greater threat than the U.S. Communist party, "which has an average of one informant for every 5.7 legitimate members."⁴⁰

Considering the hundreds of thousands of organizations that might be considered right wing (i.e., the American Legion, Rotary Clubs, some labor unions) and some organizations's members even have resorted to violence, like construction workers in 1970 beating up peace demonstrators and receiving praise by the President or truck workers sabotaging and shooting at scab truck workers.

To place under surveillance an organization who's stated public goal is peace or who's title has non-violent incorporated into it can only be determined as irrational if the more violent prone are not watched as well. Of the hundreds of thousands of left of the middle organizations under some form of surveillance, one can count on one's hands as the paper documents the number of right wing organizations under similar surveillance. Usually only after a violent criminal act, are they considered for surveillance.

⁴⁰"File on Hoover," op. cit., p. 14.

The FBI and Crime

At almost the same time the FBI began to intensify its scope of domestic surveillance of political groups, the crime rate rose considerably. The crime rate in the early years of the 1960s was relatively low, and even dropped in some cases. In the mid sixties, it began to climb; by the end of the decade it was soaring. The crime rate for each 100,000 people was 2,471, a 10.6 percent increase over 1968 and a 148 percent increase over 1960."⁴¹

The twentieth century has been marked by a succession of different forms of restraint on political expressions: criminal anarchy statutes, sedition laws, deportation, Congressional anti-subversive probes, loyalty oaths, enforced registration. These and related measures still survive. But in recent years no more formidable ways of responding to political and social movements on the left have emerged. The most important of these is the system of political intelligence, which is rapidly coalescing into a national network.

Political surveillance manifests itself in the orders of agents to investigate activities of antiwar, anti Establishment, civil rights, black, militant, student, and youth groups. Some FBI documents were mailed anonymously from Princeton to several newspapers and public officials. In one, Hoover orders his band of agents to check "all organizations to project the

⁴¹Richard Halloran, "FBI Finds Crime Rate Has Risen 148% in Decade," New York Times, October 1970.

demands of black students.

FBI Media Document

On March 21, 1971, a group calling itself the Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI mailed or delivered to a congressman and senator as well as to the Washington Post, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times, a packet containing fourteen documents, selected from over 1,000 stolen from a FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia. The fourteen documents showed that the FBI concentrate much of its investigative effort on college dissenters and black student groups. According to a memorandum in the Media documents from J. Edgar Hoover black student unions pose a definite threat to the nation's stability and security.

The media papers showed in brief summary surveillance on a Philadelphia area couple who openly visited the Soviet Consulate in Washington; an Idaho scoutmaster who wanted to take his Explorer troop camping in Russia; a Quaker couple who visited a Czech academic to the U.S. for a lecture tour; a congressman's college age daughter from her college grader ("indifferent") to her travels abroad, a Haverford Pennsylvania peace conference on chance that it might "generate...anti U.S. propaganda; a 14 year old boy who summered at a youth camp in Communist East Germany. (The Bureau got ahold of his mail from home, including a letter from his father - a University of Pennsylvania faculty member - reporting on the "physical and emotional well-being of 'Mom' who presumably is the subject's mother. The Media documents prove to make the case stronger against unwarranted and unnecessary political surveillance of American private citizens.

In an interview with an anonymous member of a Black Student Union that was under surveillance, I asked for his explanations and reactions to testimony submitted to a Senate Subcommittee to investigate the administration of the Internal Security Act. Following were his reactions to portions of the testimony.

What Is Being Done with Data?

Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate
the Administration of the Internal Security
Act and Other Internal Security Laws
of the
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. Senate

June 26, 1969

"Extent of Subversion in Campus Disorders"

*Testimony of Detective Sergeant John F. McCormick, New Rochelle, N.Y. Police Department, and Detective William E. Grogan, Yonkers, New York Police Department.

Accuracy of data and negative outcome.

(Norpel, director of research for committee, asked most of the questions.)

Mr. Norpel: Now in connection with matters or activities tending to disrupt the educational process in schools, Detective McCormick, what has happened generally in New Rochelle?

Mr. McCormick: In the City of New Rochelle we have one high school, New Rochelle High School. We have two Catholic colleges, the College of New Rochelle for women and Iona College for men. On the high school level, we have, as of fall 1968 an SDS faction.

Mr. Norpel: That is Students for a Democratic Society, is that correct, Sergeant?

Mr. McCormick: Right. That is correct. The leader is David Yobahen, who is 18 years of age and resides at 192 Beechmont Drive, city of New Rochelle.

*The author interviewed a member of a Black Student Union for his reactions to Senate testimony of an investigation of his organization. The union was called Black Radicals Onward.

15.

Member: "Wow!" They make SDS to seem like it was larger than what it actually was. The so-called leaders, David Yobahen and his best friend Mark Reitman were the only official members of SDS in New Rochelle High. The rest of the white students (the school was about 90% white) thought SDS was a joke, and David and Mark were considered "political freaks."

Mr. McCormick: At the same high school we have another group known as the Black Radicals Onward, also known as BRO. At the time of its organization in 1968 BRO was under the leadership of Jerome Redd and Dodbrook Weeks.

Member: That's just not true! I was a prime minister and Jerome Rhett, not Redd, was the minister of information. We organized B.R.O. Dodbrook Weeks was in prison seven times for charges of possession of Heroin and he definitely was addicted.

Mr. Norpel: In connection with activities in the high schools in the area, specifically what positions or what actions has the organization known as BRO taken?

Mr. McCormick: On the 19th of April 1969, some 15 members of BRO were arrested in the city of New Rochelle involving an altercation which resulted in felonious assault on a police officer.

Subsequently, on the 31st of April 1969 some 75 to 100 members of BRO, plus several unidentified members of the Black Panther Party appeared in city court for a hearing. These hearings continued for a period of 3 weeks. By that I mean postponements; the hearings were conducted one a week. At each hearing we had large numbers of Negro students, members of BRO and SDS sympathizers who, led by Mr. Yobahen, appeared in the courtrooms.

Member: BRO as an organization was not responsible for the actions of those 15 people. They acted on their own as individuals; the leaders of the organization didn't even know about the incident and arrests until a day or so after it had occurred.

All the white people who showed up were not SDS sympathizers. As I said earlier, there were only two members.

Mr. Norpel: Now at the time the BRO members and Black Panthers went into the courtroom, did they sit together in one section, or did they take positions?

Mr. McCormick: From 75 to 100 members that I previously mentioned took over the courtroom in its entirety. They occupied the entire seating facilities. There were planned incidents by these BRO members including the assignment of 3 BRO members to each detective. The 3 BRO members assigned to a detective would pin the detective to the wall of the courtroom so that he could not move and not go to the aid of any other police officer who could conceivably have been in trouble. It was also planned to turn off all the lights in the courtroom.

Member: This testimony convinces me there were undercover agents or an informant in the Organization. I didn't know of any such plan.

Mr. Norpel: Were there any incidents in the courtroom?

Mr. McCormick: The Chief of Police was charged with assault. The charge of assault against Chief Edward F. McCaffery of the New Rochelle Police Department was filed by an attorney representing the firm of William Kunstler in New York City. The attorney's name was Arthur Turco.

Member: Yes. Turco was fairly young and had long hair. The Police Commissioner must have thought he was a hippie because the Commissioner, on his way through a courtroom door obstructed somewhat by Turco, who had been already stopped by three armed policemen, pushed Turco and told him to "get out of here."

Mr. Norpel: Sergeant, were there any other incidents in which Black Panthers, so identified, appeared in New Rochelle or in the vicinity?

Mr. McCormick: Yes Sir. On the 11th of October 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information for the Black Panther group, spoke at Iona College.

At this time the New Rochelle Police Department, in conjunction with the Yonkers Police and the District Attorney's office for Westchester County, State Police, and FBI covered the speech of Mr. Cleaver at Iona College.

Member: That was when the FBI took photographs of the spectators and also took down the license plates of all the cars in the immediate vicinity. Many of my friends' parents' names were sent to Washington because they drove their parents' cars. Months later, to the surprise of many upstanding white and black citizens, their names were published in a newspaper article revealing that

they had been also published in the U.S. Senate report on internal security.

This caused quite an uproar in the community. Many citizens demanded the Police Chief's resignation for allowing the FBI to come for surveillance and others filed suit.

Mr. Norpel: Now in connection with BRO or what you describe as probably a junior subsidiary of the Black Panthers, do you have any information on how they are financed or if they are financed?

Mr. McCormick: I would have to say at this time that I have no indication of where their funds are coming from.

Member: Our funds come from the parties we had and a newsletter we sold for 20¢ a copy.

Mr. Norpel: In connection with BRO individuals or individual leaders of BRO or people who associate with BRO, do you know of anyone who has connections with other organizations such as the Revolutionary Action Movement RAM, Republic of New Africa or SNCC?

Mr. McCormick: Yes I do. Currently under investigation by the Police Department in the City of New Rochelle is an individual believed to have close association with RAM and is presently believed to be an active member of RAM. In our investigation, certain information was conveyed to us by a confidential source that she was part of a plot to assassinate Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and other moderate Negro leaders. We were also apprised that insufficient evidence prevented her name from being drawn into the grand jury for possible indictment purposes. In regard to this matter Herman Ferguson, a leading Panther, was indicted.

Member: If there were any members involved in RAM I didn't know it. Whitney Young, also a resident of New Rochelle, was a good friend of mine. I was asked by his family and did serve at the time of his tragic death as a pallbearer in his funeral. (The other pallbearers included Roy Wilkins, Ramsey Clark, Leroi Jones, George Wiley, Theodore Kheel, McGeorge Bundy, Joseph Cullman III, Vernon Jordan, James Linen, Carl Rowen, Dr. George Harrar.)

Commentary

The information from this interview on the accuracy of the data can be testimony in itself to the kinds of unjustified negative assumptions and inferences that can be made the collectors of data. The assumptions are contradicted in the testimony of the BRO member. First, the fact that SDS had very dubious support. The senate testimony makes SDS sound as if it could actually pose a threat. Second, the incident of assault on the police officer was made to sound conspiratorial, pre-planned and that even the white people who attended the hearings were being led by the SDS leader. The tragedy of hearings of this type is that most of the time contradictory viewpoints are not aired. The hearings do not provide a mechanism to negate false or misconstrued facts and presumptions.

The most leading question was the presumed association of BRO with the Revolutionary Action Movement by way of another presumption which was that the person who was suspected of being a member of RAM was also suspected not proven of being a member of BRO. None of these allegations have since been proven. But, all too often reports by investigations like these turn out to be indictments in themselves or proof enough of "guilt by investigation" for many people. This committee on internal security reportedly has already accumulated a card file of more than a million names.

One of the most popular methods used in political surveillance is the use of informants. At a two-day conference examining the role of the FBI held at Princeton University in October, 1970, Frank Downer, lawyer and director of a study project on political surveillance, said that informers always have information, because their income depends on information. Informants made from a few to thousands of dollars for their information. "Many student informers who have surfaced and recanted have been revealed as operating for two intelligence agencies at a time, usually a local and a federal one." There have been cases of informants initiating the action that turns a peaceful group of individuals into terrorists. At the FBI conference in Princeton, one former informant, David Sannes testified that a friend, also an informant, Jeff Desmond, confessed to the unsolved bombings at the University of Washington. Desmond, who was recruited at his Seattle home by FBI agent Lou Harris who knew he had been trained in explosives by the DuPont Company. Harris later provided money for Desmond to buy fuses, blasting caps etc., for use in teaching the University of Washington radicals how to manufacture and detonate bombs.

After aiding in the explosion of a construction site near the University of Washington campus, Desmond helped plan the

bombing of a local post office, the particulars of which he conveyed to the FBI and the Seattle Police Department, who arrested the group (including Desmond) just after the bomb was thrown. "They let me out the next morning," said Desmond, "and gave me five hundred dollars." Sannes also revealed that the reason why he stopped was that he was asked to initiate a bombing plot with three co-conspirators. But in this case the bomb was to be booby-trapped and detonate prematurely, killing the other three people. After these orders the former informant quit and decided to tell his story.

The college campus became a center of focus for informant surveillance activity because of student activism, e.g., peace protests, moratorium marches, etc. "These campus disruptions helped to create somewhat of a Congressional backlash." In a Life magazine article, one agent said: "We might be asked for the names of 10 of the most active radical groups in the area. If there were only four active, we would have to come up with the names of six others. We didn't make any distinction as to whether they were engaged in legal or illegal activities."

Political intelligence indiscriminately sweeps into its net the mild dissenters along with those drawn to violence. Thus peaceful, moderate, lawful organizations - from the NAACP to the Women's Peace Day Committee - become intelligence targets on the theory that they are linked to a grand Communist conspiracy. This conspiracy theory is what led J. Edgar Hoover to place a wiretap on Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mohammed Ali. It is what has led the Army to collect a file on Adlai E.

Stevenson III (because he attended a picnic with Jesse Jackson who was already on file). It is this conspiracy theory that has helped J. Edgar Hoover remain autonomous in office with an autonomous budget.⁴² "It is this conspiracy theory that has caused the U.S. Army to publish a 433 page encyclopedia entitled Communist Party USA, which lumps the administration, the United Nations, the Supreme Court, Mrs. Martin Luther King, former Health Education and Welfare Assistant Secretary James Farmer and many others into the same Communist cauldron."⁴³

One can see impending danger when files are collected and compiled and an Army supervisor is not capable of differentiating between an SDS Weatherman and the Peaceful American Friends Service Committee. It is dangerous when there is no distinction made between the 7 1/2 million people who go on record as having been arrested and the records do not say that 3 1/2 million of these people were never convicted.⁴⁴ It is dangerous when there is no way of distinguishing between FBI fingerprint files of youthful offenders and criminal adult records. When minors are fingerprinted, intended or not, the procedure brackets them with a known and suspected adult criminal

⁴² Whatever FBI Director Hoover has asked the Appropriations Committee for, he has received; sometimes he has gotten more than he asked for.

⁴³ Jack Anderson, "By the Book," New York Post, October 24, 1970.

⁴⁴ Quote and figures from FBI Conference, Princeton (Committee for Public Justice).

population. Only seven states have special statutes to guard the interests of juveniles in the matter. Procedures should be established to make these necessary distinctions.

Chicago police in 1967 followed a departmental rule allowing fingerprints of juveniles to be taken only after authorization by a divisional Area Commander or the Director of the Youth division. After the needs of investigators in clearing cases were satisfied, the fingerprints were destroyed.

Shameful biographical facts also recorded and known to others have long been recognized as personally degrading and also serve as barriers to full participation in social life and economic survival. The practice of destroying the record in effect serves the purpose of giving youthful offenders an unhindered attempt at developing a new life so to speak. Exclaimed Senator Sam J. Erwin, "The basic question at issue is the power of the executive branch to monitor the activities of individuals when there is no probable cause to believe they have committed a crime."⁴⁵

How one feels or thinks ideologically or politically is not a crime. Blowing up a building is. Inherent in the scope of surveillance activities is the presumption "guilty until proven innocent." The only way this presumption can be eliminated is if the process itself, political surveillance, is eliminated. Senator Erwin continues, "The largest segment of

⁴⁵Erwin, op. cit., Congressional Quarterly

such persons will be the political dissidents of all shades of political opinion who disagree intellectually and actively with government policies or associate with those who do. This is not a new problem. We have known political black lists before."⁴⁶

To equate dissent with subversion, as intelligence officials do, is to deny that the demand for change is based on real social, economic, or political conditions.⁴⁷

The acts of "Political Surveillance" as they have been implemented, have failed to uncover is any significant conspiratorial plot to seriously threaten the national security. It is no wonder, with the emphasis on the surveillance of groups that are generally peace oriented. It is a sad commentary on the stability of the American national security, if the political ideologies of organizations or individuals whose actions manifest themselves in mostly low key forms of protest can seriously shake up the basic political tenets of traditional American democratic theory and threaten the cornerstone of free enterprise and capitalism (George Meany and his labor union has been more of a threat to the effective implementation of wage price freeze, than any political organization.)

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Frank Donner, op. cit., p. 5.

If the government has come to the conclusion that an activity such as a protest rally can have such a revolutionary impact, I will concede that political surveillance is helpful. Thus far the government has not stated this conclusion.

Counteraction of Surveillance by the Observed

Many people are finding ways of evading undercover surveillance of their political activities. "Radical groups in the past few years have tried to protect themselves by rigorously checking the backgrounds of possible infiltrators, isolating a suspected agent or feeding him bogus information, giving him test assignments, banning the use of drugs, cars, and private phones and forming affinity groups. The radicals themselves sometimes use disguises and false names."

Another anonymous interview source who was a member of SNCC, worked in a Black Panther office, and was Secretary of the Washington Chapter of the National Black Anti-Draft Anti-War Union told me of his experiences living with Stokely Carmichael and his wife, Miriam Makeba, who were constantly under government surveillance. He talked of the times when a "beeper" would be placed on any cars that parked in front of Carmichael's home. "The only way you could lose the pigs," he explained, "would be to ride around curvy roads and up and down hills. This would foul the beeping device for about 15 minutes."

"The ultimate response to surveillance is counter-surveillance, including the penetration of surveillance agencies to thwart their effectiveness. Some groups are beginning to boast about their double agents, counter spies, and pipelines to police sources."⁴⁸

In the discussion of this paper I have tried to give the reader a more realistic perspective on the actual scope of domestic surveillance activity. With a brief look at three governmental surveillance networks, and with the information submitted in this paper one only has to project these findings on to the numerous other federal intelligence gathering agencies and services.

A political bias is apparent in overt domestic surveillance operations. This bias is not inherent in surveillance, it is selective. It is selective in the way in which the organizations and individuals are chosen for observation, and selective in the way the information is compiled as a result of that choice.

The overwhelming implications of the results of this investigation of the scope of surveillance that have surfaced repeatedly point to the fact that the federal government

⁴⁸Ibid.

unnecessarily fears its own people. It fears a coordinated consipracy whereas this study has illustrated in not one case of surveillance of organizations and their relations to each other, is there any justifiable evidence.

If presumptions such as these are continued to be made on the American people, it will be the source of these presumptions, and not the people under surveillance that will lead to the downfall of the American government.

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