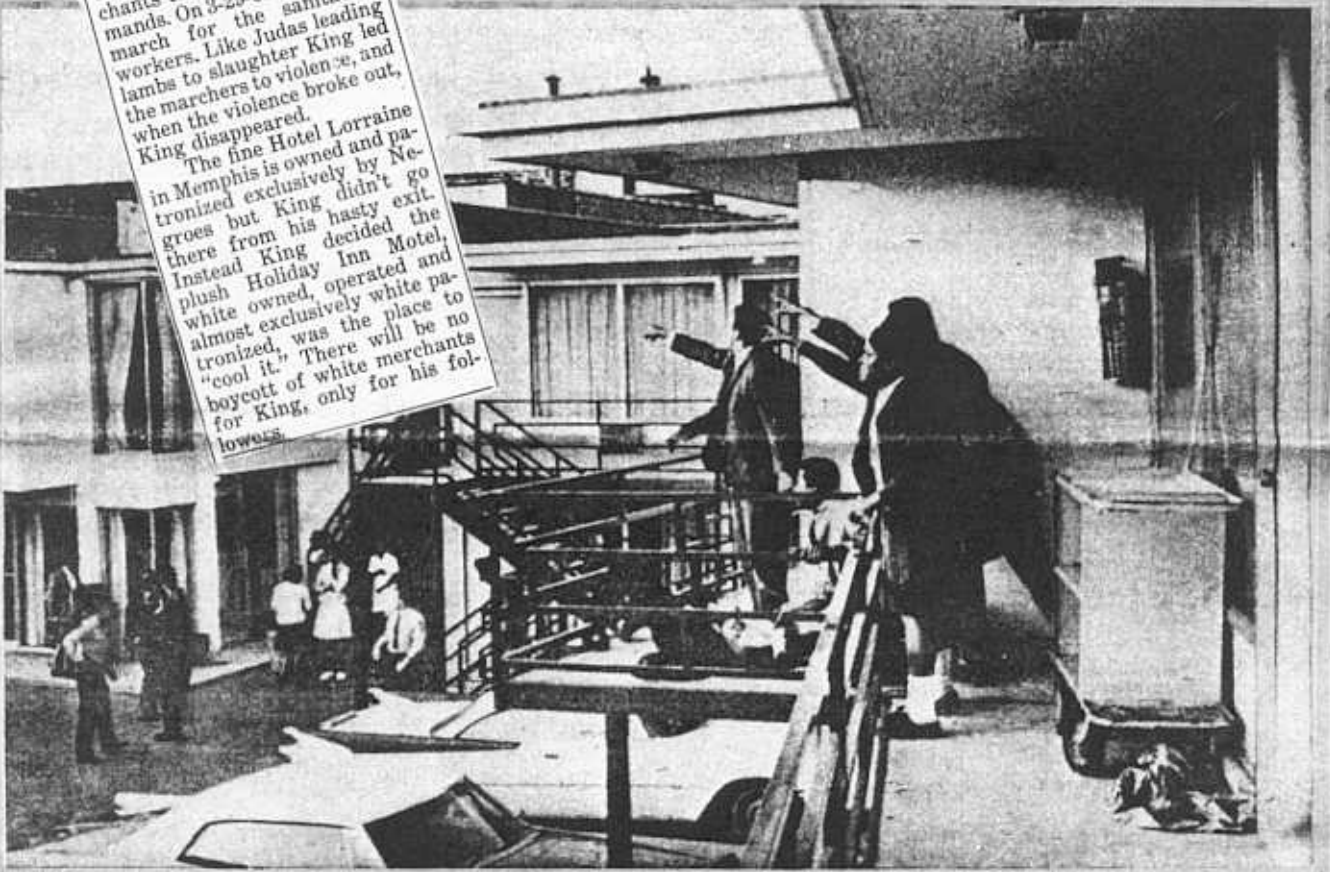


Say NO to the FBI

March 29, 1968
**DO AS I SAY,
NOT AS I DO**
MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Martin Luther King, during the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis, Tenn. has urged Negroes to boycott downtown white merchants to achieve Negro demands. On 3-29-68 King led a march for the sanitation workers. Like Judas leading lambs to slaughter King led the marchers to violence, and when the violence broke out, King disappeared.
The fine Hotel Lorraine in Memphis is owned and patronized exclusively by Negroes but King didn't go there from his hasty exit. Instead King decided the plush Holiday Inn Motel, white owned, operated and almost exclusively white patronized, was the place to "cool it." There will be no boycott of white merchants for King, only for his followers.

FOR YEARS the FBI has been running a national campaign of illegal break-ins, bugs, phone taps, fake news stories and letters and other dirty tricks against people they don't like. This fake story was written by the FBI and planted in southern papers. It helped steer Martin Luther King Jr. to his death five days later.

Who killed Martin Luther King? See page 4.



INSIDE

FOR YEARS . . .

DIRTY TRICKS, bugging, fake letters, and more.

From the Rosenbergs to Fred Hampton
Scores of examples of FBI campaign to disrupt and destroy.

NOW . . .

FBI destroys the evidence of its own crimes.
Activities and Writers try to stop them.
Political Prisoners rotting in US jails

AND . . .

The proposed FBI Charter Political Police, Legalized dirty tricks and more

The Bill of Rights Guarantees Your Freedoms

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the House of Representatives,

Monday, 24th August, 1789.

RESOLVED, BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, two thirds of both Houses deeming it necessary, That the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution—Viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

After the first enumeration, required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

No law varying the compensation to the members of Congress, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Congress shall make no law establishing religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the rights of Conscience be infringed.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

The Freedom of Speech, and of the Press, and the right of the People peaceably to assemble, and consult for their common good, and to apply to the Government for a redress of their grievances, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

A well regulated militia, composed of the body of the People, being the best security of a free State, the right of the People to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed, but no one religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be compelled to render military service in person.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

The right of the People to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

No person shall be subject, except in case of impeachment, to more than one trial, or one punishment for the same offence, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

The trial of all crimes (except in cases of impeachment, and in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of War or public danger) shall be by an impartial Jury of the Vicinage, with the requisite of unanimity for conviction, the right of challenge, and other accustomed requisites; and no person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment by a Grand Jury; but if a crime be committed in a place in the possession of an enemy, or in which an insurrection may prevail, the indictment and trial may by law be authorized in some other place within the same State.

The FBI Charter Threatens Them

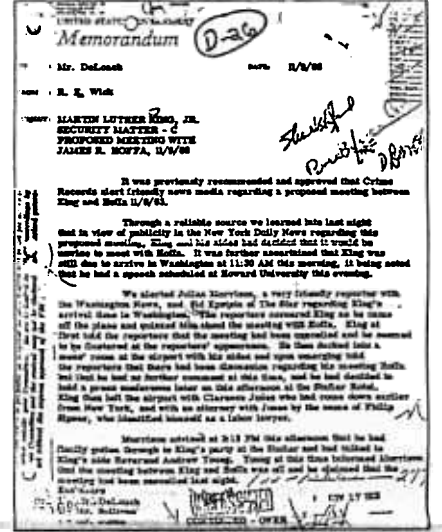
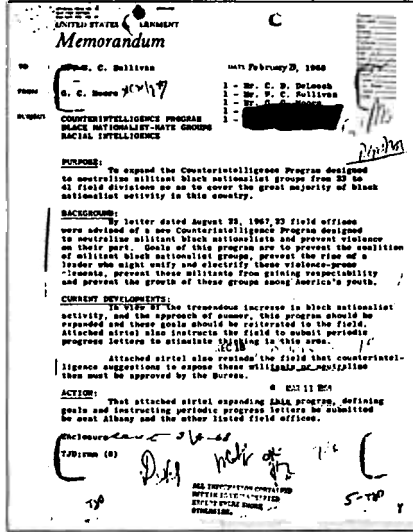
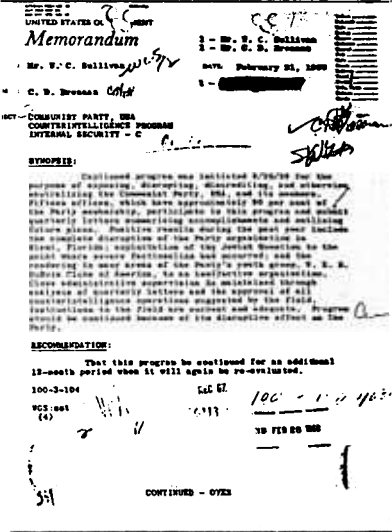
See How on Page 10.

COINTELPRO

THE CAMPAIGN TO DISRUPT AND DESTROY

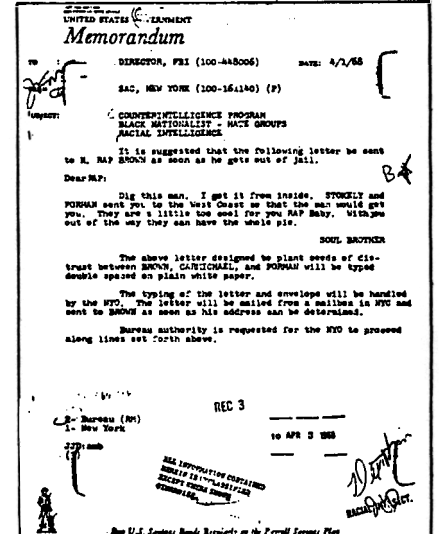
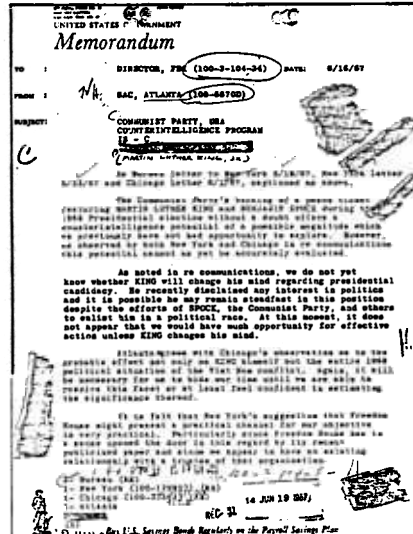
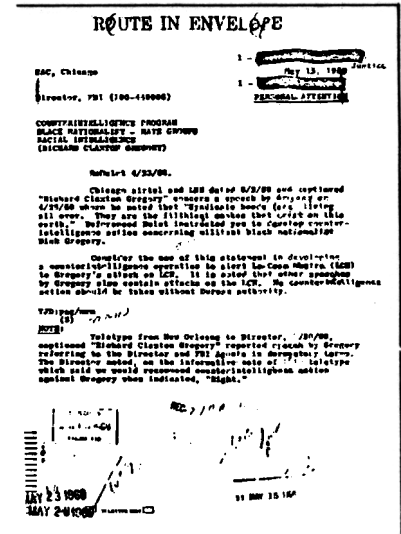
any of the articles in this paper have referred to the FBI program of political surveillance and harassment known as COINTELPRO. This scheme of largely illegal and disruptive tactics was aimed exclusively at political groups with policies acceptable to the Intelligence Community. These groups, as shown in various articles in this paper, were almost always either on the left or representative of minority races and liberation movements. The one noticeable exception was the FBI surveillance and infiltration of the KKK from 1964 to 1971. However as the formation of pg. 9 points out the FBI was actually a source of much of the Klans' violence. At best the Bureau's attitude was one of keeping check on the klans to make

sure they didn't work against their (the FBI's) own interest. Here are some documents which describe examples of COINTELPRO. Perhaps the most startling revelation of FBI attempts to subvert the American political process is described by one document shown here. This scheme to disrupt the proposed presidential campaign ticket of Dr. Benjamin Spock and Martin Luther King on an anti-war platform was proposed by J. Edgar Hoover. In response to Hoover's memo recommending this plan the head of the Chicago FBI office wrote back supporting the idea but warning that it could be asked "What does the FBI have to do with the selection of presidential candidates?"



Perhaps the thing that worried the FBI the most was the possibility of the Black Liberation Movement building an alliance with the Labor Movement. The FBI realized that when these two mass Movements worked in alliance with each other, that Black and white workers would begin to see that their problems were not each other—but with the political and economic structures within the society. Here is an example of how the FBI moved to break up the initial delicate negotiations between two leaders of these movements.

Gregory, political activist and comedian, was a COINTELPRO target of the FBI as the document shown here indicates. photo: LNS



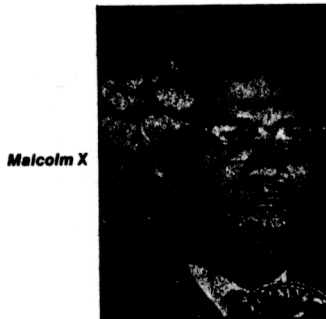
Say NO to the FBI

THE BUREAU'S ATTACK ON THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The history of FBI counterintelligence and repression against the Black Liberation movement began with the establishment of the Bureau in 1919. It was J. Edgar Hoover himself who initiated a campaign against Marcus Garvey which resulted in his deportation as an "undesirable alien". Counterintelligence tactics were used against Black leaders and spokespersons such as Paul Robeson and Richard Wright, and may have been involved in Wright's mysterious death in Paris. As Blacks became active in the Communist Party, the Bureau moved to destroy racial unity and play on racism within the party.

As early as 1960, the FBI started a comprehensive program, originating in Chicago, designed to disrupt and neutralize the Nation of Islam. Although most of the files are still secret, released documents show that one of the primary purposes of this program was to exacerbate the tensions between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammed.

As the civil rights movement moved north and Black people took to the streets to demand their freedom, the FBI expanded their counterintelligence programs against the Black movement and its leadership. In August 1967 Hoover directed all field offices to establish a "black nationalist" counterintelligence program designed to "expose, disrupt,



Malcolm X

misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize" Black nationalist organizations and their leaders. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), SCLC, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the Nation of Islam and the Deacons of Defense were specifically targeted as were Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, the Honorable Elijah Muhammed, and Maxwell Stanford, among other.

On March 4, 1968 Hoover ordered 41 field offices to intensify their efforts against



Martin Luther King Jr.

the Black Liberation struggle, instructing them to:

- "prevent coalitions between militant Black Nationalist groups"
- prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify, the militant Black nationalist movement
- "prevent the long-range growth of militant Black nationalist organizations."

It was one month later that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the target of countless counterintelligence maneuvers, was killed by an assassin's bullet.

The main target of the Bureau's political warfare was the Black Panther Party. In late 1968, the Bureau sent out a communique to all its field offices exhorting them to "cripple the Black Panther Party." For the next four years in what the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence called a "covert program to destroy the Black Panther Party," the FBI mounter a massive counterintelligence program steeped in violence and illegality against the Panthers. Successful community programs like the breakfast program and the Black Panther Party newspaper were disrupted and sabotaged. Wiretaps and informers were used to infiltrate the organization, cause disruption and dissent and, as the killing of Fred Hampton brutally bears out, murder was used to destroy the body and soul of the movement.

In sum the FBI tactics of counterintelligence as practiced against all sectors of the Black Liberation movement, were, and are, so violent and unconstitutional and so illegal, as to make a mockery of the law which the FBI is sworn to uphold. SOURCE COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE

The Murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark

By Chip Berlet

Four-thirty am, December 4, 1969: Chicago Police (assigned to a special prosecutors unit) surround an apartment full of Black Panthers and their supporters asleep after a day of meetings called by Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Hampton and Deborah Johnson, eight months pregnant with their child, are sleeping in the south bedroom. Mark Clark is asleep in a living room chair. Six others are scattered throughout the apartment.

The police kick down the front door firing revolvers, shotguns and rifles. Another squad busts in the rear also firing guns. One cop sprays a wall with bullets from a .45 caliber Thompson submachine gun. Another shoots through the wall with a .30 caliber carbine. Both are aiming towards Hampton's bed.

When the first assault was over, Deborah Johnson remembers stumbling out of the bedroom and the police entering. One officer said "He's barely alive, he'll barely make it." Johnson then heard two shots and "He's good and dead now."

After Hampton was executed, the policeman with the submachine gun sprayed another bedroom with bullets, hitting three teenagers huddling on the floor. Hampton and Clark lay dead. Four of the survivors were seriously wounded. The police left the victims bleeding and without aid. They ransacked the apartment, turning over beds, emptying dressers and scattering the contents.

Over 90 police bullets were pumped into

the thin plaster walls of the small apartment. Ballistics experts found only one shot fired by the occupants in self defense. A chemical analysis of Hampton's blood showed extremely high levels of barbituates. Hampton never used barbituates. His friends had been worried when earlier in the evening he had fallen asleep while talking on the phone with his mother.

After the shooting ended, a tape of police radio calls records a hearty cheer, and a policeman saying, "That's when to get them, when they're (asleep) in their beds."

Fred Hampton after being murdered is dragged off his bed and photographed.

Inset: Dr. Levine's autopsy photo depicting entrance wounds and trajectories in Hampton's head.



Did You Know That . . .

Before the FBI arranged for the murder of Fred Hampton they tried to provoke a Chicago street gang, the Blackstone Rangers, into killing him. They sent out an anonymous letter signed by a 'Black Brother' warning of a phony Panther plot to kill the leader of the street gang.



FBI informant William O'Neal, pictured here, infiltrated the Chicago Panthers, rose up through the ranks to become chief of security and eventually supplied the FBI with a floor plan of Hampton's apartment which they then passed on to the Chicago police.



It was not until five years later, during preliminary proceedings in a civil suit filed against the police, that it was disclosed the bloody raid was conducted at the behest of

the FBI as part of the COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) operations against the Panthers.

The groundwork for the raid was laid in August of 1967 when COINTELPRO was expanded to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize" militant black leaders and organizations. During this period Fred Hampton was an organizer for Dr. Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign; and Hampton and Stokely Carmichael were speaking together at rallies in Chicago and surrounding suburbs.

The FBI opened a COINTELPRO file on Hampton in late 1967. In the remaining two years of his life, the file swelled to 12 volumes and over 4000 pages. The FBI monitored his phone and placed him on the Agitator Index which made him a special COINTELPRO target.

Hampton, a former youth leader in the NAACP, was charismatic. He was a re-

Who Killed Martin Luther King Jr?

The fake newspaper story you saw on the front page was based on the FBI memorandum you see here. It was clearly the FBI's plan to pressure King into staying at the Lorraine Hotel in early April, 1968. This was just the final step in the Bureau's campaign against the Civil Rights leader that began in the early '60's. Here are some other

tactics the Bureau used in its attempt to destroy Martin Luther King.

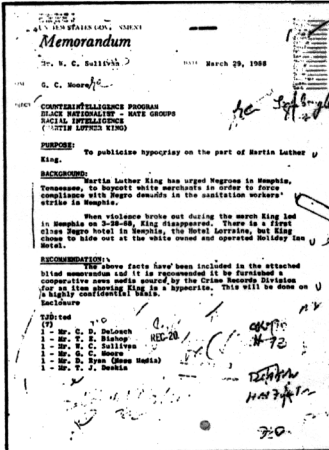
An early FBI memo summarizing a meeting devoted to ways of dealing with King described 21 ways of obtaining derogatory information. Many of the suggested tactics were framed in questions like these:

- "Can colored agents be of assistance?"
- "What are the possibilities of providing a good-looking woman in his office?"

Telephone taps and hidden microphones were also suggested and quickly implemented. In all, 16 microphones were installed in hotel rooms during the next few years. Telephone taps became a regular feature in his life.

The FBI didn't stop there. In 1965 an anonymous letter was sent to King suggesting he kill himself. The letter was accompanied by a tape recording of some of the hotel room bugs. As early as 1963, Hoover's chief deputy, William Sullivan, suggested that the Bureau choose and develop "a national Negro leader to take King's place."

Although the congressional committee that investigated the King assassination made no direct finding that the FBI was responsible for his death, they did suggest that the FBI was at least indirectly involved. The evidence of the counterintelligence-campaign being waged against Dr. King was overwhelming; clearly they didn't want him around. The question remains: Who Killed Martin Luther King?



...AND POLITICAL PRISONERS ROTTING IN U.S. JAILS

Political Prisoner Free Assata Shakur Escapes!

Assata Shakur, the black revolutionary, who had been imprisoned since 1973 at various penitentiaries including New Jersey's Clinton Correctional Institute for Women, is now free. She escaped on November 2. Her arrest and trial are classic examples of an FBI frame-up. It is clear, in view of the declared aims of the FBI's COINTELPRO, that her case was used as a means to provide the Bureau with an excuse to eliminate her.

Assata Shakur was a member of the Black Panther Party, which was involved in community programs and struggles against the US government's total denial of the human rights of all Black people in the USA. She is one of many Black activists who, in the face of increasing FBI attacks against Black people, fought for the survival of Black Nationalism.

In 1973, Assata Shakur had a \$50,000



Chicago police officers appear to be smiling as they remove Fred Hampton's body after the attack on his apartment in the early hours of the morning, Dec. 4, 1969.

spected organizer, praised by his suburban mayor for his mediation skills in cooling out racial tensions between whites and Blacks. Hampton helped found the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party in late 1968. At the same time, the FBI was order to "cripple" and "destroy" the party.

The FBI quickly swung into action. They had an informant, William O'Neal join the Chicago Panthers, begin surveillance and disruptive tactics. O'Neal rose to Chief of Security in the Chicago Panthers, and was Hampton's bodyguard. O'Neal repeatedly sought to cause tensions between the Panthers and other Black groups. He often suggested criminal activity, and ludicrous plans involving nerve gas, explosives, and a bomb attack on city hall.

Hampton and other BPP leaders rejected O'Neal's plans. But O'Neal continued to advocate violence. Unable to force the Panthers into a rash act, the FBI finally stage a June 1969 raid on BPP headquarters using a pretext to secure a search warrant. The FBI, supposedly searching for a fugitive, seized literature, financial records, money, contributors lists, and legally registered weapons.

Despite this harassment, Hampton continued to attract national attention. In November of 1969, he was asked to join the Central Committee of the BPP and become its chief spokesperson. Almost immediately, the FBI targeted him for its final COINTELPRO operations.

O'Neal supplied a floorplan of Hampton's apartment which the FBI passed to the Chicago Police. The FBI encouraged local officials to stage a raid, saying their was a large cache of weapons at Hampton's apartment. FBI agents met several times with the special prosecutors unit planning the raid and offered advice and assistance.

After the raid left two dead and four seriously wounded, the FBI rewarded O'Neal with a \$300 bonus for work in setting it up.

price on her head as a result of spurious robbery charges. The police had been ordered to shoot to kill. When they attacked her and her companions on the New Jersey turnpike in May of that year, they killed Zayd Malik Shakur, and seriously wounded Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli. One of the troopers was killed and another injured. Shakur was acquitted of the underlying robbery charges but convicted in March, 1977, for the murders of the trooper and her own friend and companion. She was sentenced to life plus 65 years.

From 1973 to 1978, Assata Shakur was tried 8 times in New York City. Not once was she found guilty. She is now fighting to gain access to FOIA files, which are expected to demonstrate the FBI's effort to kill or imprison her. Among the points raised in her appeal are the following:

- "Since the jury was all white, I was denied a trial by a jury of my peers.

- "Even though the National Jury Project did a survey that proved that 70% of the people in Middlesex County believed I was guilty prior to the trial, the judge refused to grant a



change of venue or take any other action to counteract the tremendously damaging pretrial publicity.

- "The chief witness (trooper Harper) gave testimony that was laced with inconsistencies and outright lies. Under oath he even admitted to telling 'falsehoods.'

- "The state never contested evidence by two doctors which proved that I was shot with my arms in the air, and then shot from the back.

- "The judge thoroughly intimidated

RNA 11 The RNA (Republic of New Afrika) 11 are members of a Black Nationalist group which sought to establish an independent Black nation in 5 states of the deep south. Their headquarters were attacked and their leaders arrested in 1971. Here some of the 11 are shown being led through Jackson, Miss. in chains.

defense lawyers by having hearings to remove the chief counsel (Bill Kunstler) from the case for nonexistent improprieties and threatening all the lawyers with contempt citations or disbarment proceedings almost daily.

Geronimo Pratt

Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt, a 31-year-old former Black Panther leader and Vietnam War hero, is one of America's foremost political prisoners. His story illustrates an almost incredibly broad range of FBI abuses. He is serving a life sentence for a crime he did not commit; the final result of the FBI's all-out attempt to destroy him. He was the target of COINTELPRO's stated goal to "expose, disrupt, and misdirect the activities of Black Nationalist hate-type organizations, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters." He has been illegally spied on; his friends, including Bunchy Carter and John Huggins in Los Angeles, and his pregnant wife, were brutally murdered.

After many futile attempts to destroy Geronimo Pratt's credibility in the Black Movement through attempted frame-ups and phony charges, he was finally charged with a two-year-old unsolved murder in 1970. The case took two more years to get to trial. Pratt's alibi seemed ironclad. At the time of the murder, he was 350 miles away from the scene at a Black Panther meeting. Since the FBI closely monitored every movement of the Black Panthers, Pratt knew the FBI could verify his alibi through its records. In addition to having been miles away, Pratt, who is of average height and of Haitian, Irish and American Indian descent, does not remotely resemble the tall, dark-skinned Black man described by an eyewitness to the murder.

Geronimo Pratt—Framed Panther leader in the yard at San Quentin Prison, where he has been imprisoned since 1972. photo: Marie Ueda/LNS



The FBI's chief witness was Julio Butler, an informant and infiltrator of the Black Panther Party. The jury disregarded all of this, and duly convicted him of the murder.

Pratt has spent most of his time in prison in solitary confinement. There is no apparent reason for his classification as a high security risk other than that political prisoners are routinely treated this way. Pratt is challenging this treatment in a federal civil rights suit.

Pratt's FOIA request turned up some 7000 pages—over half of which has been blanked

out by the FBI. The information that is readable indicates that the FBI was indeed watching Pratt at the time of the murder, which means that proof of his alibi must be somewhere in the files. The FBI has been careful not to turn over file no. 100-448006, the bureau code for COINTELPRO records for Black groups.

Geronimo Pratt was framed, tried, and imprisoned for a murder he did not commit. In his own words:

The Nixon-Hoover regime unleashed massive bombardment of fascist-like plots and schemes against our courageous but naive ranks and once again the criminal was made to look like the victim, and the victim like the criminal.

Richard Dhoruba Moore

By Bob Boyle

The case of Richard Dhoruba Moore epitomizes the F.B.I. strategy known as COINTELPRO—a strategy which would be legalized under the proposed FBI charter. Moore, a Black political activist and a former leader of the NY Black Panther Party, he is currently serving 25 years to life in a New York State prison due to an FBI orchestrated frame-up.

As the result of pending litigation in New York, Moore has obtained over 5000 pages of heavily excised FBI files. Though Dhoruba and his attorneys contend these files merely scratch the surface, they evidence a conspiracy on the part of the F.B.I. and the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) to frame Dhoruba Moore.

As early as 1968, Moore was labeled an 'extremist' and a man 'with leadership potential' by the F.B.I. as a result of his organizing in the Black community. It was no surprise, therefore, that he was one of 21 Black Panthers indicted in 1969 on conspiracy charges. During this two-year trial, that intense F.B.I. COINTELPRO activity (unknown as such by Moore at the time) forced him to jump bail. While underground, Moore and the other Panther defendants were acquitted of all charges in less than two hours.

This acquittal was a major victory for the Black Liberation movement and was most embarrassing to the F.B.I. and NYCPD. It was in this political context that Moore was arrested on June 5, 1971, and charged with

the shooting of two NY police officers which had occurred a few weeks earlier. A conviction of Moore—one of the most outspoken members of the Panther 21—was essential if the FBI and NYCPD were to re-capture credibility and further stifle the Black movement.

Since eye witnesses to the shooting could not identify Moore as one of the shooters (they, in fact, described a person dissimilar to Moore in appearance), evidence had to be manufactured and testimony created. We now know, based on FBI files, that witnesses against Moore, who claimed knowledge of all the facts and circumstances of the shooting, were ignorant of those same facts during their first few interviews with the FBI and NYCPD. None of this information was known by Moore or his attorneys at the time of his three (3) trials for this shooting.

Much more information is needed to actually overturn Moore's conviction in court. Continuing pressure on the F.B.I. by all concerned to release all COINTELPRO material is the only way Dhoruba Moore and other political prisoners will win their freedom.

For more information:
Law Office: Attn: Robert Boyle
351 Broadway, 4th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10013

Bob Boyle is a third-year law student at Brooklyn Law School who is working on Dhoruba Moore's case.

POLITICAL SURVEILLANCE THROUGH HISTORY

The Labor Movement

By Bob Goldstein

Political surveillance is nothing new. The labor movement has always been a prime target. During the rise of the modern labor movement in the late 19th century, the job of surveilling, harassing, and often physically repressing labor was handled by private corporations and their private detective and armies, such as the notorious Pinkerton Agency.

Even after public police forces got into the act in the 20th century, private surveillance and harassment of the labor movement continued. One Pinkerton agent told a Senate Committee in the 1930's that its spies had been so effective that one union organization no longer had any members and all five of its officers were Pinkerton agents.

Did You Know That . . .

In the early 50's, as a result of intensive FBI surveillance, the folksinging group the Weavers (Pete Seeger, Ronnie Gilbert, Fred Hellerman and Lee Hays) were investigated by the infamous McCarran Committee for, amongst other things, allegedly advocating the over-throw of the government.

26 years ago the full force of the FBI's illegal and abusive powers was turned on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. They were tried, convicted, and punished for what J. Edgar Hoover called the "Crime of the Century"—allegedly giving the secret of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union.

Declaring their total innocence, all three refused to save themselves by falsely confessing or by implicating others. The efforts of many thousands here and abroad failed to save the lives of the Rosenbergs. They were executed in 1953, leaving two small orphaned sons. But after long years of struggle, led by his family, Sobell was released from jail in 1969.

The Rosenbergs

by Ann Marie Buitrago

The Rosenbergs and the Sobells were in the front line of resistance against the forces of fascism that swept America during the Cold War period of the 1950's.

In 1975, the continuing effort to expose the truth about the Rosenberg case was given new energy by the leadership of the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol. Using the newly strengthened Freedom of Information Act, they demanded all the government's files on their parents' case. When the government refused, the Meeropols sued. Three and a half years later they forced the FBI to release some 200,000 pages of files.

- What do these files show?
• That the Rosenbergs and Sobell were

The Rosenbergs after their arrest. 2 am in Birmingham after the Rosenberg executions supporters gather outside the post office. photos courtesy of the Guardian



the Espionage Act of 1917 (later invoked against Daniel Ellsberg), nationwide raids on IWW headquarters occurred on September 5, 1917. Operating under what has been termed the broadest search warrant in American history, federal agents seized tons of materials ranging from IWW mailing lists to rubber bands, love letters, beer bottles and even dress patterns, which were suspected of containing secret code messages. In one of the most notorious frame-up trials in Ameri-

Women's Movement

By Anne Marie Buitrago and David Lerner

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF) is one of the oldest women's groups in this country. When it exercised its right under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to obtain its files, it received a document showing that the FBI was worried about "intellectual women" as early as 1922. The memorandum you see here indicates that Jane Addams, a WILPF founder, and other women working for disarmament were worthy of FBI attention. In a sense, the Bureau was ahead of its time in identifying women as a potential threat to the "status quo." The specter of "intellectual" and influential women was too much for them. The FBI's interest in WILPF continued into the late 1960's. The week before Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in Chicago in December, 1969, the FBI sent an informer to report on a WILPF meeting at which Hampton explained the Black Panther Party program to 40 "elderly white-haired ladies."

Since that time, no segment of the wom-

an history, 100 IWW members were convicted in a mass trial in Chicago in May, 1918, on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to interfere with the war effort. This charge was largely based on highly successful IWW strikes in the lumber and copper industries in 1917 which had reflected the primitive and brutal working conditions there and had gained widespread support among non-IWW members also. In the hysterical atmosphere generated by the Wilson administration, a jury, deliberating for less than an hour—i.e. about 9 seconds per count, found all 100 defendants guilty of all four counts.

(Bob Goldstein is the author of Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to present, Schenkman, 1978).

en's movement has gone untouched. Elected officials, NOW members, women from the Black Panthers, American Indian women, gay women, women from trade unions, and others have been targets for spying and harassment.

The FBI kept these various groups under surveillance by using informers, special agents, and local police agencies. It spied on meetings both public and private; counted heads at demonstrations; collected names, addresses, tapes, leaflets, and slogans, and newspaper clippings of speeches. Phone numbers were catalogued and license plate numbers were traced. All of this is documented by the 1,377 pages of memos, teletypes, tape transcripts, and other materials which the Bureau was forced to release to the Los Angeles Times and Ms. Magazine under the FOIA. The justification for this mass intrusion into the legitimate political activities of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) is typical of the FBI's manipulation of the facts to suit its own and the

the FBI's infamous COINTEL program were used against the Rosenbergs in the 1940's and 1950's: illegal break-ins and wiretaps, informers, infiltrators, false leaks to the press, invasion of bank, insurance, and other financial records.

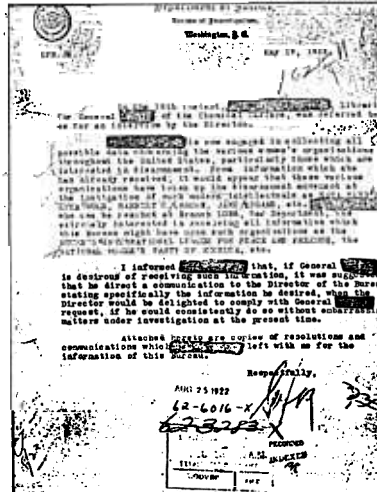
The 1950's trial, conviction and punishment of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell was an opening shot in the U.S. government's war against American progressives. By linking dissent with communism and treason, our government set the stage for the Cold War policies leading to U.S. political and military adventurism around the world, the consolidation of monopoly power, and the destruction of organizations fighting for social change at home.

The FBI through the government made examples of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. It drove many people concerned about social change into fear and unemployment and put the left on the defensive. It effectively immobilized people's movements for more than a decade.

Today, the long struggle around the Rosenberg/Sobell case is on the offensive. The FBI has been exposed. It has lost its "respectability." Through the use of the FOIA, its secrets are out. Its methods, its filing systems, its hiding places, its codes and its symbols are becoming accessible to the very people its strove to destroy. This information is being disseminated and turned into the tools necessary for people in a democracy to keep the secret police at bay. We may not yet be able to eliminate the FBI completely, but we can now push them back so that the people have room to organize and make a better life.

Never was it more clear that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg did not die in vain. Through the use of their files, through the work of their children and the thousands who never gave up the struggle to reopen their case, has come strength and inspiration for the struggles of today. Fred Hampton and Julius Rosenberg are brothers in a common fight. Ethel Rosenberg and Karen Silkwood form a sisterhood against repression.

Ann Marie Buitrago is a political scientist with the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (F.O.I.A. Inc.).



government's purposes. As J. Edgar Hoover said in a May, 1970 memo:

"Intervened with the WLM goals for equal rights for women is the advocacy for militancy and violence in achieving those goals. The WLM has demonstrated its readiness to support or accept support from other extremist or revolutionary type organizations."

One example of these tactics is the FBI's wide-ranging investigation of the women's movement, particularly the gay community, under the guise of its search for anti-war activists Susan Saxe and Catherine Power. Using agents and grand jury subpoenas, the FBI harassed and intimidated much of the women's community throughout the east coast. In Freedom Spent, Richard Harris describes its effect on Lexington, Kentucky:

"And harass them it did. FBI agents began questioning scores of people in the gay community in Lexington, many of whom were susceptible to pressure because they had hidden their private lives from their families and employers. FBI agents went to their families, divulged their quarries sexual habits, and forced reluctant witnesses to talk . . ."

FBI informer Timothy Redfern, who was paid to spy on the Socialist Workers Party, admitted that he was also spying on the women's movement. In particular, he was assigned to keep an eye on feminist bookshops and newspapers such as Big Mama Rag in Colorado and the national Majority Report. Both these papers had their offices broken into under most suspicious circumstances in 1975. Glue and ink were poured on files, phones, and other equipment, and the premises generally trashed. Although there is no concrete evidence to prove that it was the FBI, this kind of functional vandalism has been a hallmark of FBI attacks on radical groups.

While it is claimed that the spying and harassment of the women's movement ended in 1973, the FBI, in conjunction with the government, has made increasing use of grand juries to attack women activists. Fourteen women have been jailed since 1975 for refusing to testify, including activists from the American Indian Movement, the prison movement, the Puerto Rican Independence movement, and as a result of the Saxe and Power hunt in particular, the lesbian community. And, as is pointed out elsewhere in this paper, two prominent members of the Hispanic Commission of the Episcopal Church were jailed for refusing to testify before a grand jury and betray the trust of their community.

As long as the women's movement remains the political force that it is, the FBI will move to counteract it. The FBI Charter, if it becomes law, will grant it the legal right to do so.

ALL SECTORS UNDER INTELLIGENCE ATTACK...

"We are treated as criminals. This type of selective political persecution against American Indian Movement members is no different than the abuses by the Federal Bureau of Investigation against the Black Panther Party and the Socialist Workers Party as revealed in the Rockefeller and Church Reports. For the FBI has abused the American court system by harassing and jailing people who resist their oppression."

Leonard Peltier

"I exercised so much control that you couldn't see Dennis or Russell (Means, co-leaders of the American Indian Movement and defendants at the Wounded Knee takeover trial) without going through me, you couldn't contact any other chapter without going through me, and if you wanted money you had to see me." Douglas Durham—FBI informer on the American Indian Movement.

Bureau Seeks to Destroy Native American Movement.

By Karen Northcott, Native American, American Friends Service Committee

The struggle for Indian sovereignty represents a threat to the plans of US multinational corporations to control the mineral resources under Indian lands. The American Indian Movement's (AIM) militant demand for respect and self determination, accompanied by its efforts to retain control over the coal, oil and uranium on treaty and reservation lands, has been met with increased force by the FBI, whose goal is to wipe out the Indian movement.

This attack was described by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights as a "full scale military operation by the FBI." Norman Zigrossi, former Special Agent in Charge of the Rapid City, South Dakota office described the FBI's relationship to the Indian community as a "colonial police force." The Minnesota Citizens' Review Commission on the FBI found that the FBI's tactics in the Indian community included: arrests without a warrant, using of paid informants; offering bribes to young Native Americans in exchange for collaboration; deploying military armaments, tactics and personnel; intimidating old people and children; open contempt and racially motivated slander; and using "goon squads."

Some of the FBI's brutal tactics against politically active Indian people, AIM in particular, are described below.

On June 26th, 1975, FBI agents Ron Coler and Jack Williams provoked a shootout on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and were killed. The Bureau—using helicopters, a small plane, national guard jeeps, guard dogs, and armed personnel carriers—conducted a reign of terror on South Dakota Reservations which lasted for weeks, searching for the "killers" of their agent colleagues. 200 agents, carrying automatic weapons and wearing combat fatigues, sealed off the Pine Ridge Reservation, landed helicopters in people's yards, burst from the doors of the helicopters waving M-16's, kicked open doors to houses and interrogated men, women and children, making threats and offering bribes of cars, ranches and money to anyone who would name the "killers."

Leonard Peltier is now serving two life sentences for the murder of the two agents. Knowing he would not receive a fair trial in the U.S., Peltier fled to Canada. He was captured and extradited illegally, despite his efforts to prove that he was a political refugee

AIM leader Philip Deer addresses 1974 Treaty Council conference on Standing Rock (Sioux) reservation. photo: Michelle Vignes, courtesy of the Guardian



Leonard Peltier after his illegal extradition from Canada is arrested and brought to trial.

who should have been granted the right to remain there. At his trial, Peltier was convicted based on false testimony provided by Myrtle Poor Bear, who not only gave a series of conflicting stories (she signed three separate and factually diverse statements)

that she had lied in her sworn statements but who later admitted to Peltier's lawyer and in court because FBI agents Bill Woods and David Price said they would kill her and her six-year old daughter if she refused to cooperate. Peltier's codefendants were tried separately and found not guilty by virtue of self defense.

In a pre-dawn raid, in September, 1975, the FBI sent 100 men in helicopters, boats, military vehicles, trucks and vans to Sioux Medicine man and AIM activist, Leonard Crow Dog's encampment. Combat clothed agents wielding M-16's surrounded the sleeping occupants, shook women and children, from their beds and refused to allow them to dress and lined them up against the wall. FBI agents searched every building, car, tent, and cabin on the extensive grounds and made a shambles of everything they touched. The ostensible reason for the raid was a search for four young men who had had a fist fight among themselves. Anna Mae Aquash, Dino Butler, and Crow Dog, among others, were arrested during the raid. Crow Dog was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to five years for "directing the assault [fist fight] which he could have prevented."

Anna Mae Aquash was warned by FBI

"The faking of evidence, harassment, that's going pretty damn far. . . . I don't think the FBI are venal. . . . But I don't want to live in a police state. That (threat) is more likely to come from fascists, from big corporations, than from the communists and leftists. . . . the interlocking directorships of corporations, why they are more powerful than United States Senators, maybe even the President sometimes. The FBI is not worried at all about these people." Judge Fred Nichol, who presided over the Wounded Knee trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks.

Lay Ministers Jailed by Grand Jury

Even the Church is not free from the full weight of FBI surveillance and investigation. Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemkin, the Director and secretary of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Protestant Episcopal Church were jailed in March 1977. They were jailed for refusing to testify before a New York Grand Jury.

The Grand Jury has been called the judicial branch of the FBI. They can command witnesses to appear before it and can then punish them for refusing to testify. In this case the grand jury was allegedly investigating the relationship of the Church Commission to the FALN (the Armed Forces of National Liberation—a group advocating independence for Puerto Rico). The government claimed that this so called relationship was based on secret information provided to the

Raisa Nemkin (left) and Maria Cueto after release from prison January 23, 1978. The two were jailed for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury probing the Puerto Rican independence and Chicano movements. photo: LNS



judges—but not to Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemkins' lawyers. They told the jury over and over again that they had no information about fugitives and bombings. They also insisted that they could not, in good conscience, cooperate with any investigation which threatened relationships of trust and confidence, essential to their work and the very existence of their agency. For this they were jailed for some 14 months. The judge who released them said the government had shown absolutely no evidence of any wrongdoing on their part.

Did You Know That . . .

The FBI had a spy at the National Council of the Church of Christ throughout the '60's, and perhaps still does. The informant was in communication with William Sullivan, then Assistant Director of the FBI, concerning participants in the Council's Mississippi Summer civil rights program.

Special Agent Price that if she didn't cooperate with the FBI she would die. She refused, telling the agent "you can shoot me or throw me in jail as those are the two choices I am making. That's what you are going to do with me anyway." Aquash was arrested again in November and released on bail. Mindful of the agent death threat, she went underground. Five months later, in the isolated badlands of the Pine Ridge Reservation, a cattle rancher found the rotted body of a young woman. Agent Price was on the scene when officials removed the body to a local hospital. No X-rays were taken but, in direct contravention of Indian religious teachings, her hands were cut off and sent to the FBI in D.C. for fingerprint verification. She was named Jane Doe and buried quickly without a burial certificate in the Reservations' Catholic cemetery. The FBI autopsy determined the young woman had died of exposure. Eleven days later the FBI announced that Jane Doe was really Anna Mae Aquash. Her family and the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee had the body exhumed and reexamined by another doctor who found that she had been shot in the back of the head at close range. As the nation's energy problems mount, the Indian community is coming under increasing pressure from the corporations and the federal government. Convinced that the Native Americans are a "conquered nation" and that the resources are there for the taking, the FBI is the first line of offense in the corporate war to seize their lands.

FBI Moves to Stifle Puerto Rican Independence.

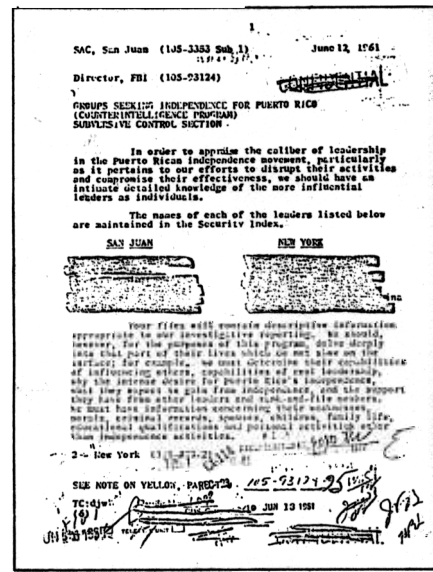
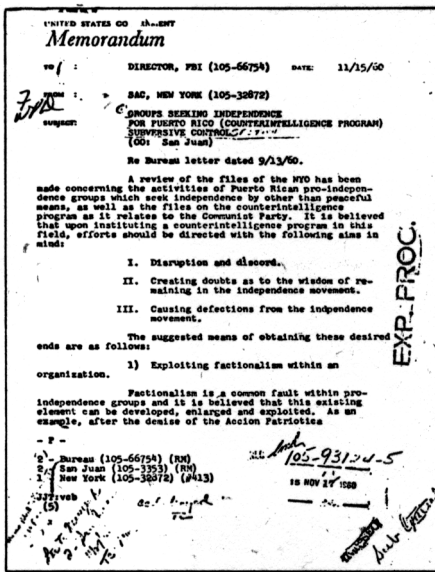
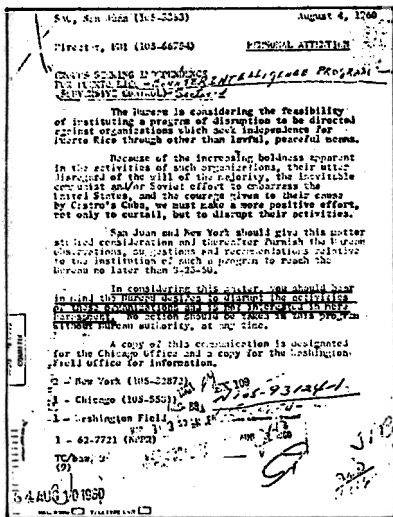
By David Lerner

The Counterintelligence activities, which were initiated in Puerto Rico in 1960, were just the newest and most sophisticated attempts by the US government to sabotage the cause of Puerto Rican independence. The stated goal of the program, as you can see from the FBI documents shown here, was to "disrupt" and cause "discord" within the movement. The real motivation was to protect American interests on the island and maintain the island's colonial status.

Since 1898, when US armed forces invaded and took control of Puerto Rico, persecution of those favoring independence for the colony has been a constant fact of life. In 1916 President Wilson postponed local elections on the island to avoid the possibility of a negative vote on the issues of American citizenship and military draft for Puerto Ricans. More obvious attempts to smash the independence movement were made in October, 1935, when an American colonel led local police in a brutal armed attack against unarmed Nationalist Party marchers in Rio Piedras and again in Ponce in 1937. In 1936, the entire leadership of the Nationalist Party was jailed when the US prosecutor hand-picked the jury for their second trial after the first jury had been unable to reach a verdict.

Direct FBI intervention in Puerto Rico's political process is documented, in its own files, from as early as 1940 when Nationalist Party members were constantly trailed. In the witch-hunting fifties, members of the Committee on UnAmerican activities visited

AND NOW THEY'RE TRYING



the island to inform nationalists that their activities were considered "unamerican." The justification for stepping up intelligence operations in Puerto Rico was its proximity to Cuba...

Independence Party, were victims of the Bureau's 'dirty tricks'. Spurred on by Hoover, the Bureau's operations included direct and blatant intervention in elections and plebiscites...

and division, and leak non-public information. Communications networks were threatened for giving air time to Independence groups. Malicious, false gossip was spread.

against Independistas. In 1978 Puerto Rican activists and lawyers filed a federal suit in an attempt to put an end to FBI intervention in Puerto Rican affairs.

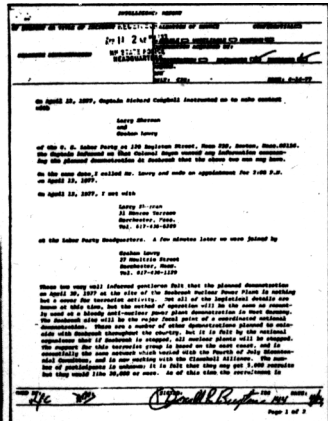
Foes of Nuclear Power

Nuclear power, the corporate state's favorite energy source, has given birth to a growing anti-nuclear (anti-nuke) movement. The inherent dangers of nuclear power, dramatically demonstrated by the events at Three Mile Island, has served to unite a wide range of American people over this issue.

Native Americans, in the forefront of the struggle against nuclear power, are shown here joining forces with demonstrators at Seabrook. photo: Lionel/LNS



State troopers from five New England states assisted New Hampshire state police and New Hampshire National Guard in making arrests of 1,414 Seabrook occupiers, May 1, 1977.



burglar for the Bureau, has testified that his work was done for Research West in cooperation with the FBI. He was told his contact was an FBI agent and to him he turned over documents stolen from movement offices.

received was the same information received by the FBI. Coincidentally, their targets and interests were identical as well. Grassroots anti-nuke activists tell stories of all kinds of spying activity.

TO DESTROY THE EVIDENCE

STOP PRESS!

January 10, 1980—A clear-cut people's victory has been won! Not only did the Court order the FBI and the Archives to stop destroying FBI files, but in his opinion, Federal Judge Harold Greene insisted that, "government records belong to the American people and should be accessible to them." He went on to reaffirm, "the right of the people of this nation to know what they (the FBI) are doing." For the first time in history, the FBI has been ordered to open its raw files to "qualified archivists and historians" before any further destruction can take place.

For a copy of this landmark opinion, *AFSC et al vs. Webster, et al*, send \$2.00 to FOIA, Inc., 36 W. 44th Street, NYC 10036.

By Anne Marie Buitrago

In June 1979 a group of 45 journalists, historians, publishers and active citizens and organizations took the FBI to Court. They asked a federal judge to stop the FBI from illegally destroying its files on the grounds that they and the American public are entitled by law to have them preserved and made available under the Freedom of Information Act.

The trial, held in Washington during the last week in October brought to light the alarming story of a combined effort by the

FBI, the Attorney General and officials of the National Archives and Records Service (NARS) to destroy these files in direct violation of the law. According to law, before government documents can be destroyed, the Archives must certify that they have no historical, research, or informational value and are not necessary for the protection of individual rights.

Document showing instances of destruction of some of the FBI's files on Helen Sobell.

Date	Title	Type of Information	No. of Pages	Disposition	Remarks
1033	11-5-66	INFORMANT REPORT	3	P	b1
1634	11-12-66	INFORMANT REPORT	3	P	See NY 100-37158 #2423
1635	12-1-66	SA TO SAC LA	6	b	
1636		destroyed			see 7-14-67 memo
1637		destroyed			"
1638		destroyed			
1639		destroyed			
1640		destroyed			
1641	10/21/67	cover sheet for informant report	1	O	
1642	7/1/60	INFORMANT REPORT	3	P	
1643		INFORMANT REPORT	2	P	



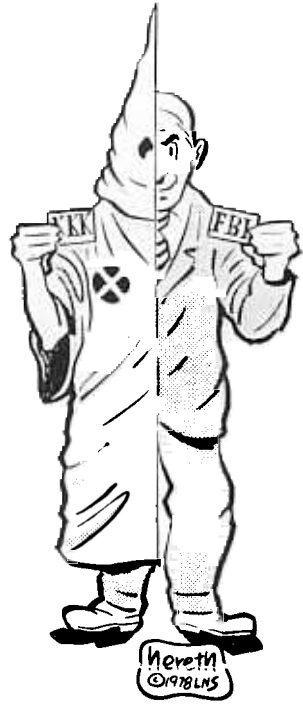
Here is some of the facts drawn from testimony taken in the trial:

- The FBI, with the approval of NARS has been destroying field office files since 1946. This systematic destruction was stepped up in May, 1974, after the Watergate revelations, after the hearings of the Church Committee on Government Misconduct and just 3 months after the Freedom of Information Act was amended to make investigatory files readily accessible to the public. NARS has certified the destruction of billions of pages of FBI files without looking at a single page on the basis that "duplicates" were held at FBI headquarters in Washington and would be held there permanently.

In 1977 the FBI went a step further. Having gotten NARS approval to destroy masses of field office files, they

"Concern with the history of slavery and civil rights finds its logical culmination in the study and writing of contemporary history, specifically in the story of the civil rights movement 1954-1968. The struggles of those crowded, revolutionary years unfolded in the streets and fields of the South and the ghettos of the North. Intertwined with the popular movement, often inseparable from it, was federal initiative and federal response. The story of these years, the assessment of the federal role, not only helping the human rights movement, but inhibiting it—this cannot be achieved without access to the federal records, and in particular to the records of the FBI. John Anthony Scott, Historian

The Agency and the Klan.



In the late 1950's and early 1960's the FBI moved to quash the growing civil rights movement in the South. Over one-fourth of all Klan members in the South were FBI agents and informants, and much violence against the civil rights movement can be directly attributed to these agents. One FBI provocateur, Gary Thomas Rowe, was an active participant in widespread Klan violence, including the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, the bombing of a Birmingham church which killed four Black children, and the killing of a Black man during a racial disturbance in Birmingham in 1963. source COUNTER INTELLIGENCE

Did You Know That . . .

In the early 1970's a right wing organization called the Secret Army Organization that was financed, armed and controlled by the FBI went on a terrorist rampage in San Diego. In one incident the head of the group—a provocateur in the pay of FBI—attempted to murder a teacher at San Diego State College and wounded a young woman in the process. The FBI agent was subsequently transferred out of the state so he could not be prosecuted for his crimes.



Klanmen gather bearing their arms. photo by Chip Berlet



Klanmen entering Tupelo police station. photo by Chip Berlet



Say NO to the FBI

WHO'S CONSTITUTION IS IT ANYWAY?

The FBI Charter and Your Rights.

by Michael Ratner

We interviewed a constitutional lawyer. Here are the questions and answers.

Question: What is the proposed FBI Charter?
Answer: The proposed Charter is a new law presently before Congress. Its sponsors are the FBI and the Attorney General. They claim it will stop the FBI from engaging in illegal activities and violations of people's constitutional and civil rights.

Question: You mean the FBI is trying to get a law passed which restricts itself?

Answer: Well, not exactly. In fact, their proposed law gives them new powers to trample our constitutional rights and legalizes a lot of spying activities which up until now were against the law.

Question: But surely they will outlaw counterintelligence tactics the FBI used against Martin Luther King, Jean Seberg, the Black Panther Party and so many others?

Answer: No! The FBI has turned around and written their new Charter permitting *all* of those tactics that were part of what they called their "COINTEL" (Counterintelligence) program. It legalizes what the FBI has been doing for years. The FBI can continue to disrupt political organizations by planting false information. The FBI can continue to destroy people's lives with phony rumors and lies. It can even set up false rivalries among political groups to cause the deaths of people the FBI and government are afraid of.

Question: But the Charter must restrain the FBI from using these tactics against groups that advocate peaceful change and protest government policies, like anti-nuke groups?

Answer: Wrong again! The FBI has for years been used by the government as a political police to investigate political protest groups and repress dissent in this country. For example, in the 50's against the Communist Party, in the 60's against the Civil Rights movement and in the 70's against the anti-war movement. Under the Charter, the use of the FBI as political police will continue into the 80's and beyond. The charter is, in fact, an attempt to give the FBI broader in-

vestigative powers, to prevent a potentially strong social movement — such as the one against nuclear energy from succeeding the way the anti-war movement did.

Question: It has been proved that working undercover during the 1960's, FBI agents and informants participated in the killing of Viola Liuzzo and the beatings of Black people and civil rights workers. Surely, the Charter prohibits FBI employees from participating in crimes?

Answer: Wrong again! The Charter specifically authorizes under-cover to engage in criminal activity even if it causes death. They can do so if they believe such criminal activity is necessary to protect their "cover" as FBI agents.

Question: What about things like the use of informants, mail covers (getting the addresses off people's mail) trash covers (going through people's garbage) access to bank records, tax returns, wiretaps, and break-ins?

Answer: All of these activities are made legal under the new Charter. The Charter even allows the FBI to recruit your doctor, lawyer or even your priest as informants. For hundreds of years, your conversations with these people have been protected from invasion. The new FBI Charter wipes this out.

Question: Are you trying to say there are no restrictions at all on the FBI in the new Charter?

Answer: There are a few. But they are meaningless. For example, certain political groups can be investigated for more than a year only if the attorney general permits. And some informant activities must get FBI Headquarters approval. But these so-called "restrictions" actually insure that the FBI will be used as a political police. For it has been primarily officials like former Attorney General Mitchell and former Bureau Director Hoover who, not only approved but recommended some of the worst FBI abuses. It's like having a wolf make sure that other wolves don't eat the lambs.

Another point is that if an FBI agent violates the Charter, a citizen injured by the result *cannot* take the agent to court. In other



July 3, 1974, photo by Chip Berlet
Police clash with VVAW members during march on Capitol to demand better health care in V.A. hospitals, better benefits and U.S. out of South East Asia.

Join the Struggle

William Webster, Director of the FBI, has said that he wants a charter that is not a list of "thou shall nots." In his draft "FBI Charter of 1979" he got what he wants.

words, an FBI agent can violate even the few paltry restrictions in the Charter and no one is permitted to sue him. Any discipline is left to his superiors in the agency. We know how useless that is.

Question: If this is the case, what can we do?

Answer: There is always the Constitution. The Bill of Rights, with its guarantees of free speech, its prohibition against searches and arrests without warrants, and its protection of privacy, is a far better protection of our liberties than any FBI Charter written by the FBI. We should all be fighting to insure that the provisions of the Bill of Rights are carried out, and not let the FBI legitimize its functions as a political police. If an FBI agent violates our Bill of Rights he can be sued, unlike the Charter.

Question: This Charter sounds like an early beginning to 1984. What are the chances that it will be passed? What can be done to stop it?

Answer: The fight against the charter is one of the most critical fights facing the American people today. It would legalize repression

S.1612/H.R.5030 will give the FBI the powers of a National political police force the likes of which has never been seen before in this country. Since the FBI was set up in

and the political police function of the FBI. Moreover, it is being pushed by Ted Kennedy, who presumably hopes to be able to use it to limit dissent when he is President. Only strong public opposition will stop this Charter.

The National Citizens Review Commission on the FBI held hearings on FBI abuses on November 30, December 1st and 2nd, 1979. A panel drawn from religious, civic, labor, minority, educational and political communities heard 3 days of testimony from targets of FBI abuse and are in the process of preparing a report of their findings. Video tapes and audio tapes and a transcription of the testimony are available for purchase. Write:

National Citizens Review
Commission on the FBI
P.O. Box 28352
Washington, D.C. 20005

Informers: The Dirtiest Trick of All

By Doug Cassell, Jr. & Matt Piers

The single most important roadblock to citizens' obtaining FBI files in anti-surveillance lawsuits has been the informer's privilege. Claiming this privilege, the government keeps secret not only all informers names, but all information which the government claims might tend to identify any informer. Thus, if an informer reported on a meeting of five people, at which he alone advocated violent tactics, the entire report is withheld because it would tend to identify the informer as one of five persons, even though it also shows the informer acting illegally as an *agent provocateur*.

The impact on citizens' ability to obtain evidence of FBI misconduct has been devastating. Much of what the FBI did (and does) was done through its domestic intelligence informers (10,000 of them in 1973 alone). As Frank Donner, Director of the A.C.L.U. Project on Political Surveillance has noted, the FBI's domestic intelligence informers are primarily deployed against political groups and individuals as opposed to targets of law enforcement investigations. As Donner points out, almost every group on "the left side of political spectrum" has been infiltrated by FBI informants, many for decades without any criminal charges being brought. Allegations concerning these informers' activities have ranged from continual surveillance to murder. In order to conceal their identity, about one-third of all pages of FBI files produced in civil discovery or under the F.O.I.A., have been censored.

In light of the proposals in the "FBI Charter Act of 1979" the question of informers identities becomes particularly pressing. The

limits on the use of informers are broad and vague and, as the box you see here indicates, under some circumstances informers would be permitted to engage in criminal acts. In the context of the current struggles to define the limits of FBI activities, it is crucial that the full history of the FBI's repressive use of informers be told.

Under the new charter the FBI is allowed to recruit your doctor, minister, lawyer, even your wife or husband to be an FBI informant. The Charter states that:

"The FBI may request any person under an obligation of legal privilege or confidentiality, including a licensed physician. A person who is admitted to practice in a court of a state as an attorney, a practicing clergyman, or a member of the news media to collect information as an informant. . . .

It further allows undercover agents to commit crimes, even murder, if such crimes are necessary to gather information or gain credibility with other persons. The Charter states that an FBI undercover agent can commit crimes:

1. to obtain information or evidence necessary for paramount prosecutive purposes;
2. to establish and maintain credibility or cover with persons associated with the criminal activity under investigation.

Likewise it allows an informant to break the law if approval is received from a higher-up FBI official.



National Lawyers Guild

Government Repression and Police Crimes Committee



Counterintelligence
Documentation
Center

343 South Dearborn Street, Room 918
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Now Available!

Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Secret Police. An 80 page book that uses actual FBI documents to show operations against Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano movements. Third edition, revised.

Counterintelligence book	\$3.00
Police Misconduct Litigation Report	\$15.00
A 12-page quarterly newsletter covering legal issues involved in government misconduct, police brutality, and other cases of abuse of authority. 20% discount to NLG members.	
Police Misconduct Litigation Manual	\$35.00
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COINTELPRO FBI FILES	10¢ per page
Sets of COINTELPRO files covering the New Left, "Black Extremist" groups, and "Special Operations." Divided by city and year. Write for index and price list.	

NLG/CDC also maintains a legal Brief Bank on government repression and police misconduct. Write for list of briefs.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE DEMAND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

1919 it has been engaged in repression of political rights of the American people. Ironically, it is after the recent exposure of the FBI's repressive and illegal tactics that the FBI proposes such a law.

The FBI needs restrictions. Political surveillance must stop. The use of informers and infiltrators—some of whom act as agent provocateurs—must stop. The invasion of peoples' privacy and the falsification of facts must stop. There must be no more dirty tricks, no more cover ups and no more murder . . . in the name of national security.

The victims of these illegal tactics include people and organizations of many different shades. They are working people. They are unemployed. They are Blacks. Puerto Ricans. Native Americans. Church-people. Anyone who takes their constitutional rights seriously and tries to put them into practice.

But the problem is not just how to limit the FBI. The problem is how to ensure the constitutional rights of all the American people. This problem cannot be solved if the FBI Charter becomes law.

More importantly—because not even the best and most restrictive of charters would absolutely guarantee to control the excesses of the FBI—the first step in gaining our political rights is to demand the freeing of all political prisoners. For it is people like Geronimo Pratt and Leonard Peltier who have put their lives on the line for all of us and our political, social and economic rights.

The purpose of this Special Issue is to ask you whether you want to see the legalization of the practices described here. If you do not and you wish to join in the struggle to defeat this Charter then you can help:

- Pass this paper on
- Sign the enclosed petition and circulate among your friends, co-workers and in your community, Church and union.

- Write the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Sub-Committee on Civil and Constitutional Rights. (Addresses on Petition)
- Organize activities; seminars, discussions, teach-ins on the Charter and political prisoners in America in your community.
- Stop Political Police.

subpoenaed to appear before them and their supporters. As in the courtroom, the strategy was to confront those responsible for these legislative committees. By ridicule, refusals to cooperate and outright resistance, we destroyed their power to paralyze their targets by fear. These committees were powerless to prevent the people who they wanted to victimize from commandeering their forums and turning them into laboratories on government excesses.

Today, strengthened by a Supreme Court majority hell-bent on destroying the Bill of Rights, the law is still the corporate state's most fearsome weapon against the nation's dissidents. The Wilmington 10, the Charlotte 3, the El Paso 3, the leaders of the 1973 Wounded Knee takeover, the Attica Brothers, Angela Davis, H. Rap Brown, Carlos Feliciano, Daniel Ellsberg and so many others are ample evidence of this.

We are now confronted by increasingly repressive legislation, the "FBI Charter Act of 1979", the still dangerous grandson of S.I. "S.1437". We must remember the lessons of the past. Each perversion of the law must be met by vigorous opposition. Every comrade must be defended with great spirit to save their skins. In the process, we teach the rest of the citizens that their freedoms are just as much at stake as that of the defendants. Only by such efforts will it be possible to keep the candles lit until such time as we can be better than we are.

The Lessons of the Law

By William Kunstler

Civil rights and anti-war activists in the 1969's learned some pointed lessons about the law in the struggle for human rights. Far from advancing the cause of liberty, we discovered that the courts were, at best, helpless. At worst, the legal system was an open enemy of social progress. Only when the gap between the ideals of the Constitution and the reality of American life grew wide enough to be publicly noticeable could we obtain some momentary victories.

We also learned that both criminal and civil litigation affecting us could be orchestrated into effective educational and organizing forums. Think of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial, the prosecution of Philip Berigan & Co. in Harrisburg, Pa., and the Vietnam Veterans against the War (VVAW) in Gainesville, Florida. In these and many other cases, the commitment of those involved to take the offensive and put the

authorities themselves on trial transformed their courtroom struggles into platforms for spreading the gospel about the extent and depth of white racism and the crimes of the war in Vietnam.

State and federal "investigating" committees, such as the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee, were effectively neutralized by the counter-offensive waged by those

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The Center for Constitutional Rights has paid for 50,000 copies of this newspaper to be printed. A drop in the bucket considering the number of peoples lives that have been affected by the unconstitutional practices of the FBI over the years. However once the printers plates are made more copies can easily (and inexpensively) be made. Won't you help us reach thousands more Americans who's political and constitutional rights are at stake?

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