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### Resist Newsletter, May 14, 1971

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# RESIST

a call to resist  
illegitimate authority

14 May 1971 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, #4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 - Newsletter #53

## FBI: DOMESTIC PACIFICATION

"Those men" have been knocking at the RESIST door more frequently these days. Immediately after RESIST was identified as one of the distribution sources of FBI files liberated by the Citizen's Commission on March 8th, two agents showed up. They went away when we exercised our right not to talk to them. A few short weeks later, however ten agents in a fleet of three cars delivered a subpoena to Claudette Piper, the Associate National Director. In an obvious attempt to intimidate, Claudette was instructed to testify before the grand jury sitting in Harrisburg, Pa. Clearly angry at both the Citizen's Commission and RESIST, the Justice Department was trying to stop the further distribution of the files to the mass media and to catch the raiders.

The intimidation ploy failed: Claudette refused to testify (and now faces a possible contempt citation), the anonymous Citizen's Commission continued to send xeroxed copies of the files to RESIST, and we continued to distribute them to the widest possible audience. To date: sixty documents detailing the nature and extent of FBI surveillance have been sent to over fifty journalists and scholars across the country.

This unique look into the operation of the national secret police produced both shock and titillation among liberals and a "told ya' so" air of dismissal from many radicals. No cogent political analysis or response is developing so far. The established media focuses on the age of J. Edgar Hoover as the principle issue (much to the Administration's pleasure), Newsweek engages in shallow "cover-story" journalism, the Boston Globe headlines the Bureau's restraint, while the New York Times criticizes its inefficiency, advocating a re-organization along two lines--criminal detection and political surveillance and infiltration.

Informers, provocateurs, illegal wire taps, pretext phone calls, investigation of bank records and personal mail, and even in one case using the subject's wife as an informant--the fact that these are every-day techniques used by the FBI on citizens not engaged in anything resembling "criminal" activity is left unchallenged by the established media.

A small number of journalists (the notable case being Nat Hentoff of the Village Voice) are, on the other hand, beginning to deal with the political assumptions behind the massive surveillance of citizens who hold incredibly diverse views from vaguely anti-war to revolutionary. Those who have begun this analysis are themselves being harassed

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## MOVEMENT WORKSHOP TRASHED

Early Sunday, April 4, the Movement Workshop in Springfield Massachusetts was vandalized. The damage was considerable: an IBM selectric typewriter worth \$560, a Davidson offset press valued at \$1,800, a light table for layout worth \$60. and another \$100 worth of office equipment all totally destroyed.

We discovered the damage Sunday morning. Two policemen had tacked a note on the front door saying they'd noticed about 2:30 AM that the place had been broken into and to drop by the station if anything was stolen.

Other attempts to scare the Workshop out of existence have occurred over its past two and a half years. The original storefront had its windows smashed. Although they drove by regularly, the police never reported this, and the landlord was pressured to evict us. The current location was broken into once before, apparently just a "warning." A few months ago, a bugging device was found in the phone.

The Movement Workshop has served the needs of many groups and activities in the area and the valley. Just some of our jobs have been:

- Power structure research of Springfield area
- Women's Liberation, Black Panther, and People's Peace Treaty literature
- A pamphlet for the Middle East Research and Information project in Boston
- La Raza: a North End paper in Spanish
- Small Arms: an area underground paper
- Smash: an area high school paper

The Workshop prints for the movement at cost or below cost (requiring outside fundraising and some commercial jobs). It is essential for the movement to have printing available that are controlled by our sisters and brothers. This incident will cost the Workshop Collective about \$2,500 to get material needs back together. Any and all contributions will be gratefully accepted and are most essential. SOLIDARITY!!!

The Movement Workshop  
Box 1608  
Springfield, Massachusetts 01101

RESIST received this letter from the Movement Workshop in April, we are printing it in full. We are saddened to hear of the extent of the damage.

## FBI: DOMESTIC PACIFICATION CONT.

by the FBI; Bill Wingell of Philadelphia's Thursday's Drummer, the first person contacted by the Citizen's Commission after the raid, has been watched, followed, and investigated ever since.

It seems the established media cannot be trusted to make the necessary political connections between the contents of the files and the recent trend of the Nixon Administration. This failure to make connections can be explained two ways: either the Times and Newsweek fail to see the import of the files or they agree with their necessity and consequently have no argument with their existence. We suspect the latter.

The recent phenomenon of "dossier-collecting" a characteristic of police states--is a direct transference of the Cold War mentality to the domestic scene. No longer do the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China, it seems, constitute the major threat to the security of this country. According to Attorney General John Mitchell, the present threat is the American public itself. At a recent speech before the Kentucky State Bar Association, he said that it is impossible to separate foreign and domestic subversion, that "experience has shown greater danger from the so-called domestic variety." (NYT 4.24.71) He argues that the Fourth Amendment prohibition of unreasonable searches and invasion of privacy must be balanced against the "right of the public to protect itself" which is, he said, implicit in the Constitution.

Translated, this means that stretching the limits of the Constitution is necessary to deal with the diffusion of revolutionary capacity. No longer is the bureaucratic Communist Party much of a threat. The present one is an entire generation's revolutionary subculture. The diffusion into collectives, affinity groups, and communes (and the consequent protection against successful infiltration) requires new strategies of surveillance. "In order to catch the terrorists," the argument goes, "we have to know the names of all who attended the April 24th march." The result is pervasive surveillance. (For a discussion of other repressive tools employed by the Nixon Administration see Newsletter #50 "A New and Better Tool for 'Legal' Repression.")

According to political theorist Eqbal Ahmad, a defendant in the Harrisburg Conspiracy Case, the domestic subversion mentality and the repressive manner of dealing with dissent is the inevitable result domestically when a country pursues a foreign policy of counter-insurgency. In his forthcoming Reaction and Revolution in the Third World, he writes that "the war is eventually seen as being lost at home rather than in the field; dissent and divisions at home contrast with the enviable solidarity and dedication of the enemy; and democratic institutions increasingly appear as unworkable in revolution-

ary settings. The 'powerlessness' of the 'democratic ideology' was a common complaint among supporters of counter-insurgency in France. In America too it is becoming a familiar theme, in scholarly analyses no less than political pronouncements."

Ironically, everything the FBI represents, Hoover vowed it would never become. In a 1949 volume of the Yale Law Journal (#58, pp. 401-425), he indignantly responded to an attack upon the Federal Employee Loyalty Program by appealing to his own good character and that of his agents as the ultimate protection against the Bureau becoming a secret police. (The protection which the Judiciary offers is mentioned only in an aside).

His remark was recently echoed by Richard Helms, Director of the CIA, in a speech before the American Association of News Editors. He asked the nation "to take it on good faith that we are honorable men devoted to her service." (NYT 4.15.71) The CIA, he said, does not want its own work to distort the values and principles of the American democratic system. "We propose to adapt intelligence work to American society, not vice versa."

In 1949, Hoover affirmed that the FBI is non-political, engaged in investigating and apprehending only the "most vilest (sic) of criminals. What a citizen says, thinks, or does is his business, not ours, so long as he is not alleged to violate Federal Laws." He categorically denied the assertion that collection of gossip, rumor, and data on private affairs becomes an inevitable part of the process of investigation. "The FBI does not, has not, and never will so long as I am Director investigate political views."

If this is true, then how can the existence of the following files be explained?

- detailed documentation of living arrangements, use of marijuana by residents of a Philadelphia commune
- a young woman's attendance at French universities
- the desire of a Berkeley student to go to Cuba on a Venceremos Brigade, described by an informant as "an inveterate Marxist revolutionary" but by the end of the report as "your run-of-the-mill Berkeley liberal"
- a scout master's desire to take his troop to the Soviet Union
- the background of a couple who visited the Soviet embassy in Washington
- the necessity for informants to attend a planned conference of the War Resisters International

In a recent letter from the Citizen's Commission, the following information was given about the full contents of the files in the Media office of the FBI:

- 40% dealt with political surveillance and other investigation of political activity.

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Yet another idea for fund raising!!! All colleges and universities spend many thousands of dollars each year on lectures and similar events. In addition to department budgets, there are also university-wide lecture series as well as clubs and interest groups. Lecture fees tend to run from \$150.00 to \$1,000.; more if the speaker is notorious. RESIST urges its friends to search out possibilities for financial support by booking speaking engagements for members of the steering committee. Honorariums would go directly toward grants for local movement groups. Keep this in mind for the summer and fall.

The following RESIST people can speak on the topics listed below based on both their travel and/or study. Where noted, slides accompany the talk.

#### RESIST SPEAKERS' BUREAU

William Davidon (Professor of Physics at Haverford College, co-conspirator in the Harrisburg Conspiracy Case): "Science for the People," "The Hoover Bombing and Kidnapping Conspiracy."

Richard Ohmann (Professor of English at Wesleyan University): "Machines, Knowledge, and Power," "Universities in a Late Industrial Society."

Dan Stern (Professor of Sociology at Northeastern Illinois State College): "The Politics of the Indo-China War."

Wayne O'Neil (Professor of Linguistics and Education at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute): "Radical Education," "The U. S. and Thailand."

Mitchell Goodman (former professor, author): "The Movement Toward a New America: Who, What, Where, and Why."

Paul Lauter (National Director of RESIST, author): "The Conspiracy of the Young," "The Literature of Revolution," "A New Socialist Party?"

Tony Avirgan (Syracuse Peace Council, formerly with Philadelphia Resistance): "Reflections upon Travel in North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia," "Urbanization in South Vietnam." slides accompany talk.

Florence Howe (Professor of Humanities at SUNY, Old Westbury, author): "The Conspiracy of the Young," "Educating Women: a Revolutionary Perspective," "Women and Revolutionary Literature," "Women's Studies."

Michele Russell: "Black Education as a Colonial Experience," "Black Culture as a Medium of Struggle," "The Political Significance of: Richard Wright, W. E. B. DuBois, Harold Cruse, Muhammed Ali, and the Black Panther Party."

Robert Zevin (Member of the Steering Committee of the United States Servicemen's Fund, economist): "Imperialism in Latin America," "Defense Spending and Economic Conversion."

Frank Joyce (formerly with People Against Racism in Detroit): "Racism and Anti-Racism in the 60's and 70's," "The History of the New Left," "Indo-china and U. S. Imperialism."

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#### RESISTER UP FROM UNDER

John Phillips, underground for nearly a year and a half after participation in the Chicago 15 draft board raid, turned himself into the FBI recently. A founder of the Prisoner's Information and Support Service (PISS) in Boston, John has already served fifteen months in Federal prison for refusing induction.

He pleaded guilty to participation in the raids on the Chicago draft boards in May of 1969. Sentencing has been delayed until June 22nd. He faces a possible ten year sentence.

John's parents ask that friends of RESIST appeal to Judge Edwin A. Robinson for amnesty: "We feel that John has been punished enough and suffered enough...because of his beliefs and ideals and compassion for his fellow man."

Letters addressed to the Judge should be sent to The Phillips Family, 30 Harwood Street, Lynn, Ma. 01902.

#### APRIL GRANTS

Tenants Action Council, Dorchester, Ma.: help with operating expenses, legal documents, and for a newsletter

Lynn Coalition for Peace and Justice, Lynn, Ma.: security downpayment for storefront

Malcolm X Liberation Front, Tallahassee, Fla. seed money to start a community newspaper

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## FBI CONT.

Of these cases, two were right-wing, ten concerned immigrants, and over two hundred were on left or liberal groups.

- 25% dealt with bank robberies
- 20% with murder, rape, and interstate theft
- 7% with draft resistance
- 7% with AWOLs
- 1% with organized crime, mostly gambling

All of this information exposes the political nature of the FBI. Its choice of subjects to investigate and infiltrate provides this inescapable conclusion. What Mitchell called "the so-called domestic variety" of subversion has to be the New Left/Anti-War movement and not the Radical Right since only SDS, Black Student Unions, and draft resistance merit files, not YAF or rightist gun clubs.

These files are telling statements of how closely the Bureau reflects the racism in U.S. society. Upon direct order of Hoover himself, every BSU across the country was to be the subject of a preliminary investigation by FBI agents. Dossiers were to be initiated on recognizable leaders. At the bottom of one report, Agent James O'Connor typed: "This report contains neither recommendation nor conclusion." The truth is the opposite. The very fact that this BSU was fit subject for an investigation is a very frightening political conclusion.

Coping with the urban rebellions of the late sixties proved a particular problem for the almost all-white FBI. Close surveillance was impossible and consequently the Bureau was caught unprepared time after time. Men at the highest levels of the Government participated in discussions to solve this "problem." The result was the application of the most sophisticated methods of control and "pacification", refined in Vietnam. Two of these participants, Ramsey Clark and Joseph Califano, are now critical of these methods and deny responsibility for their use in U.S. cities. Califano does, however, admit "saying to Ramsey and a variety of others 'is there any way we can predict this sort of thing?" (NYT 4.17.71)

The result of this conversation in January of 1968 was an FBI memorandum entitled "Racial Informants" calling for a renewed surveillance network in all black resident areas in all U.S. cities. This memo was dated only a few weeks after Califano said the White House conversations took place.

Ghettos were to be saturated with formal and informal sources of information. Taxi drivers, bus drivers, bill collectors, bartenders, mail men, phone repairmen, veterans--all were to be contacted by agents and to report on the "mood" and potential for violence of black people. In 1968, there were operative a minimum of one

hundred and forty-eight of these "eyes and ears" for the FBI. Add the present number of two hundred and fifty to the number of police "community relations" officers (who are regular informants for the FBI, according to the FBI), provocateurs, and other assorted undercover agents and the total in every city ghetto reaches staggering proportions. Black residential areas are saturated with police who use modern techniques of repression ("riot control") taken from the battlefields of Vietnam that they would never dare to use in white residential areas.

When President Johnson said that a country's foreign policy should be a reflection of its' domestic policies, the credibility gap was lessened a bit by his honesty. Now, thanks to the Citizen's Commission, we begin to understand Eldridge Cleaver's statement that "Vietnam is only a testing ground for Harlem and Watts."

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## APRIL GRANTS CONT.

King Community House, Milwaukee, Wisc.: expenses for the next several months supply of educational materials

Milwaukee Newsreef, Milwaukee, Wisc.: help with pressing bills to publishers and printers

Milwaukee County Welfare Rights Organization, Milwaukee, Wisc.: down payment on a press

Black Lung Association, Kimball, West Virginia: travel expenses, telephone bills, and publications

Mobile-Non-Violent Information Center, Rhode Island: towards the purchase of a bus

American Exile Counselling Center, Montreal: continuing grant for operation expenses

High School Coffeehouse, San Antonio, Texas: seed money for project

RYM, Racine, Wisc., operating expenses for storefront

The Next Step, Germany: continuing grant for expansion of a GI newspaper

The Kudzu, Jackson, Miss.: towards an overdue printer's bill

Appalachian Movement Press, Huntington, West Virginia: toward the purchase of new equipment

AFSC, Philadelphia, Pa.: travel expenses for a black resister from North Carolina who is filing a class action suit against the Selective Service System