

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449898) DATE: 6/30/69

FROM : [REDACTED] CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau 3/31/69.

## 1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The recent split between pro-national office and pro-Progressive Labor factions of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) present possible opportunities for counter-intelligence action with the objective of widening the split and preventing possible reunification of SDS. There also appears to be a difference of opinion among the members of the national office faction. MIKE KLONSKY, former National Secretary, and his supporters including members of the Revolutionary Union, appear to differ with the present national officers who are followers of BERNARDINE DOHRN, former National Interorganizational Secretary. Chicago sources have been alerted to this possible rift and once policies have been established sufficiently to permit effective counterintelligence action, appropriate recommendations will be submitted.

As there is a new slate of national officers, a careful analysis will be made to determine areas in which they may be vulnerable to counterintelligence activities. Recommendations to attack weaknesses will be made when appropriate.

## 2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

A recommendation was made to attempt to weaken or destroy an alliance between SDS and the Black Panther Party (BPP). The Bureau approved use of informants to attempt to point out that SDS was exploiting the BPP, intending to use

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW/rmb  
(3)

Classified by 2222  
Exempt from GDS, Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ST-111

REC 44

5 JUL 2 1969

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TOP SECRET



ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE

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them as a black army for a white revolution. This has been done, but no tangible results have been noted from this action at this time. Chicago is following closely and will report any results noted.

An article from the "Guardian" and an article from "New Left Notes" were submitted to the Bureau with a recommendation that they be reproduced for distribution among black militant groups. These articles question the right of SDS to claim the support of the BPP and accused SDS of dictating to all persons the "correct line" for revolution. No reply has been received from this request.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

A 27-page cartoon book entitled "Into the Streets, A Handbook for Revolting Kids," a satire of SDS, was distributed to moderate groups to alert them to the revolutionary ideals of SDS. [REDACTED] reported that this book was well received and sparked interest among its readers and caused concern over SDS activities. This book appeared to be especially successful among high school groups where SDS was attempting to organize.

On June 6, 1969, an anonymous letter was mailed to various key persons in SDS accusing the national office faction of refusing to hold a national convention because of fear of the strength of the pro-Progressive Labor, Worker Student Alliance (WSA).

[REDACTED] reported persons receiving this letter felt WSA might not have written it, but that it was credible. This source further reported this letter had created distrust of WSA. It is further noted that immediately after this letter was disseminated, SDS rented the Chicago Coliseum at a reported

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cost of \$2,000 to hold their national convention. This rental fee required SDS to charge a \$5.00 delegate fee, which caused discontent and anger among many of the delegates. It is further noted that SDS split during this convention, the national office faction walking out and leaving WSA to hold its own version of the "SDS convention."

An article appeared on page one of the "Chicago Tribune" which resulted from the Bureau authorized contact by SAC M. W. JOHNSON with [REDACTED] the "Chicago Tribune." This article outlined the factional dispute and the pro-Chinese communist alignment of both major factions of SDS. This caused irate reaction by SDS leadership and caused disaffection among non-aligned members who did not hold a commitment to Maoist teachings. This aggravated a tense situation and helped create the confrontation that split SDS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 6/24/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re my airtel, 6/18/69.

For the further information of the Bureau concerning the contact of SAC M.W. JOHNSON with \_\_\_\_\_ the "Chicago Tribune," pursuant to the authority of Section Chief C.D. BRENNAN, for the purpose of having an in-depth article concerning the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), prepared, the following information is set forth. "Chicago Tribune" \_\_\_\_\_ was assigned to write an article on the forthcoming SDS National Convention.

On 6/16/69, \_\_\_\_\_ met with SAC JOHNSON, Field Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ and SA \_\_\_\_\_ who provided background information available from public sources, and sharpened the understanding of \_\_\_\_\_ relative to the underlying political dispute between the factions vying for the control of SDS.

The story appeared on page one of the 6/17/69 "Chicago Tribune." A copy of this article was furnished the Bureau in referenced airtel.

JUN 28

JUN 27 1969

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Chicago
  - (1 - 100-490903)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY)

RHW:hmm  
(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

70 JUL 8 - 1969

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On 6/18/69, [REDACTED] advised that MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS, was extremely irate with the article, particularly with the association of [REDACTED] with the Revolutionary Union (RU).

On 6/23/69, this source reported that there was widespread discontent among the delegates to the SDS National Convention, with politics of RU and their attempt to "take over SDS."

[REDACTED] reported numerous press inquiries concerning the article, which were generally met with a reply of "No comment."

It is noted that this article set the tone for other news media with emphasis on the factional split between SDS and the pro Progressive Labor Party factions. Articles in other papers in the Chicago area bore headlines such as:

"We Witness Decline of SDS," and

"Communism Lone Victor, Regulars Split With Progressive Labor Party."

It is the opinion of Chicago that this article created a general awareness among convention attendees of the groups' struggle for control of their organization.

It is noted that SDS and Pro Progressive Labor Party factions had split, each electing a slate of national officers. Even within the SDS Pro National Office faction there appears to be considerable friction between the followers of MIKE KLONSKY and the Revolutionary Union, and the followers of BERNARDINE DOHRN, who won all three national offices. It is felt that this article forced all groups to harden their stances, thereby alienating a large number of non-aligned members and leaving a number of disillusioned delegates who do not have a strong commitment to any of the factions.

CG 100-45316

This, it is felt, has weakened SDS severely.

Chicago is alert to the possible future use of this technique in the counter intelligence program, and if the opportunity presents itself Chicago will make appropriate recommendations to the Bureau.

Recommendation for personnel action are being submitted by separate communication.

FBI

Date: 6/18/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT

*C/S - ALL  
100/111  
P 1000-100*

Enclosed is a copy of an article appearing on page 1, of the 6/17/69 "Chicago Tribune."



The enclosed copy of KOZIOL's article is captioned "RED UNIT SEEKS SDS RULE."

(It is noted that the "Chicago Tribune" has the actual reputation of being one of the most conservative newspapers in the nation.)

It is fully expected that this article will greatly encourage factional antagonisms during the SDS Convention.

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(RM)
  - 4 - Chicago
    - (1 - 100-40903)
    - (1 - 100-
    - (1 - 105-
- (REVOLUTIONARY UNION)

RHW:dmv/pag  
(6)

Approved: 51 JUL 21 1969 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*INTS. SEC.*

# Red Unit Seeks S.D.S. Rule

## UNDERGROUND GROUP TO ACT AT MEETING Pro-Chinese Ties Told

BY RONALD KOZIOI.

An underground communist organization is expected to vie for control of the radical Students for a Democratic Society when the S. D. S. opens its national convention here tomorrow, THE TRIBUNE has learned.

The underground group, which recently has emerged after a year of secret organizing in the San Francisco bay area, is known as the Revolutionary Union or the Red Union.

### Affiliates with Groups

In recent months, the union has affiliated with other militant groups in Chicago and Los Angeles to "educate and develop a cadre for the coming revolution," according to investigators in the San Francisco area.

The first link with the pro-Chinese communist union was learned by investigators in March when a leader of the union, Robert Avakian, attended an S. D. S. conference in Austin, Tex. Undercover agents said that Avakian was warmly

greeted by Michael Klonsky, 26, national secretary of the S. D. S.

### Indications of Support

Further evidence of the union's influence on the S. D. S. is that one of the speakers at the convention will be Chris Melton, an associate of Avakian's, who authorities say has lived in Red China for four years. Avakian, while there, was a member of the Red Guards, a revolutionary group.

There are indications, investigators said, that Klonsky will support Avakian for the post he will vacate, that of national secretary.

The Revolutionary Union recently declared its principles in a 31-page booklet entitled "The Red Papers." In it, it was noted that the "main force and leader of a united front against imperialism must be the working class."

The booklet quotes extensively from the teachings of Marx and Lenin and tells of "the need of the working class to acquire arms to overthrow the power of the ruling class."

The union used its booklet to criticize the Progressive Labor party, which has been accused by S. D. S. leaders of receiving operating funds from the Chinese communist government.

Investigators noted that plans are under way by Progressive party leaders to take over the S. D. S. and indoctrinate the group with its own brand of pro-Maoist and Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Most of the party's delegate strength to the S. D. S. convention will come from the east coast and sections of the west

coast, including a large contingent from the Berkeley (Cal.) S. D. S. chapter. This chapter was recently taken over by leaders of the Progressive party.

### Caucus Group to Work

Investigators noted that the Progressive Labor party members are well disciplined and are easily identified at S. D. S. conventions or meetings because they wear clean shirts and ties, in contrast to the slovenly appearance of other S. D. S. members and leaders.

Also working for the party at the convention will be the Workers Student alliance, which is described as a caucus group which sympathizes with the Progressive party. Its members are expected to lobby for the party among uncommitted delegates.

Federal and local authorities, who have been watching closely the activities of the S. D. S.,

believe that the factional infighting at the convention could lead to the formation of new revolutionary student groups.

### Rudd May Join Race

"It all depends which group gains control," said one investigator. "But whichever does, the same Marxist-Leninist theories of revolution will be followed."

Authorities have learned that Mark Rudd, S. D. S. activist who led the riots at Columbia university, may make a bid to run as the national secretary. If Rudd is unsuccessful, plans are under way to place him on the national interim committee of the S. D. S., which sets policy for the group.

Besides Klonsky, whose father, Robert, was the former organizational secretary for the Communist party in eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, two other national leaders of the S. D. S. will leave office.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 6-17-69

PAGE: 1 COL: 3

EDITOR: CLAYTON CORKPATRICK

CHICAGO OFFICE

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 17 1969	
FBI-CHICAGO	

ENCLOSURE  
106-214-9-1-44



EXHIBIT 1712

They are Bernadine Dohrn, the interorganizational secretary, and Fred Gordon, education secretary, who has been known to sympathize with the aims of the Progressive Labor party.

Miss Dohrn played an active role in organizing a legal defense campaign thru the leftist National Lawyers guild for those arrested in the Democratic convention disorders last August, and was among 28 American students who traveled to Budapest to confer with leaders of the National Liberation front in the fall of 1968.



Michael Klonsky

FBI

Date: 6/17/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

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Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau 6/13/69, captioned "Counterintelligence and Special Operations (Nationalities Intelligence)" (Bufile 105-174254).

Chicago does not concur with the recommendation of San Francisco in referenced airtel. New Left Notes is distributed to all Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) national members; therefore, all persons participating in the National Convention will have received the copy of New Left Notes which contains the letter San Francisco desires to have distributed.

Further, all factions attempting to gain control of SDS, such as the KLONSKY supported Revolutionary Youth Movement faction; the Pro Progressive Labor, Worker Student Alliance faction; and the Revolutionary Union will tend toward more centralized control of the organization. This factionalism will be the primary disruptive force at the convention, while the anarchists, by their own lack of a common goal and organization are not expected to be a decisive or influential force.

*[Handwritten mark]*

As the proposed action would be redundant, and in the opinion of Chicago, not effective, Chicago will take no action UACB.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 105-174254)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- (1 - 105-22479)
- 2 - Chicago
- (1 - 105-26004)

REC-24

*[Handwritten file number]*

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JUN 19 1969

RHW:pag  
(7)

Exempt from automatic downgrading and declassification  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

12/7/74

TYPE SEC.

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

55 JUN 30 1969