

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (100-28895) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
INTERNAL SECURITY

DATE: 8-1-69

Re Cleveland letter, 1-16-69.

Set forth below is a resume of activity conducted under captioned program in the Cleveland Division during the period from January 1, 1969 through June 30, 1969.

1) POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The current situation in the Ohio Region of SDS is not particularly conducive to counterintelligence operations of an internal and ideological nature. As a result of the recent National Convention the Ohio Region combined with the Michigan Region to emerge as a powerful force on the SDS national scene. One Ohio leader, [redacted], was elected to the National Interim Committee and another Ohio leader, [redacted] is now operating as a full-time functionary in the National Office and a close confidant of MARK RUDD. [redacted] also took with him another Ohio leader, [redacted], who is now reported to be working out of the national office as a contact between SDS and liberal foundations throughout the country who are being requested to afford financial support to SDS. Over and above this, it appears that BERNADINE DOHRN owes her victories at the National Convention to the support she received from the Ohio-Michigan caucus.

As a result of the above mentioned developments the current leadership in the Ohio Region is "riding high, wide and handsome" and gives every indication of a complete unwillingness to brook any opinions contrary to those of a few well established members of the elite leadership group. As an indication of this new trend it may be noted that the entire SDS chapter at the University of Toledo, including [redacted] who was a member of the six-man SDS Regional Staff, was summarily expelled due to a difference over the

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mechanics of the Summer Work-In Program. Others within the Work-In Program have also been expelled when they expressed opinions differing from the "line" established by the current leaders. At present therefore it does not seem wise to risk valuable informants by engaging them in the delicate task of injecting disruptive opinions into SDS policy-making discussions.

As a concomitant of the situation described above, it is noted that SDS activity in the Ohio Region is currently confined almost exclusively to the Work-In Program with the result that campus activity is virtually at a standstill. Members of SDS who are engaged in the Work-In Program have been instructed not to return to college this Fall and a complete commitment in this respect has been exacted from them. They are to operate as an "Internal Cadre" of revolutionary leaders who will visit campuses, as well as other groups within each community, to foment strife and promote SDS organization within both campus and working class groups. The immediate consequence of this tactic has been the removal from the college campus of the most active and militant element of SDS membership. As an example, the SDS chapter at Kent State University (KSU), Kent, Ohio, was the largest and most active SDS group in northern Ohio until June, 1969. After that time most of the chapter members went into the Work-In Program and now the KSU group meetings are irregularly scheduled and sparsely attended. Activity on campuses throughout the Cleveland Division is likewise diminished. Whether this condition will persist after the beginning of the Fall, 1969 school term or not remains, of course, to be seen. With its new Marxist "class" approach the Ohio Region of SDS is emphasizing the organizing of "oppressed" minorities and workers and whether it will attempt to renew and strengthen its base on the college campus is, at this moment, a problematical matter. SDS leaders have stated they intend to go back to the campus, not as students but as visiting organizers, this Fall but at the same time it appears there is a real and substantial effort being made to emphasize "working class" organization. In addition, recent publicity depicting SDS in a highly derogatory light, as well as the "hard line" taken by such University presidents as KSU President ROBERT WHITE, may serve to inhibit a resurgence of SDS activity on the college campus.

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Thus, the homogeneity of SDS leadership including the complete absence in the Ohio Region of a PLP faction, the emphasis upon Class analysis and "worker" organization and a stiffening attitude of resistance to the incursions of SDS on the college campus, indicate the possibility of a new type of SDS activity in the immediate future. The word "possibility" must be emphasized in this context since at this juncture it is impossible to state with certainty, or even a high degree of probability, the exact course which the "new SDS" will follow. Unquestionably, SDS has embarked upon a new phase based upon the concept of revolution, increasing militancy and escalated efforts toward violence. What the operational impact of this new philosophy will be is, at best, a matter of conjecture at the moment, especially as it relates to the potentiality for counterintelligence activities.

The Cleveland Office will closely follow developments in the SDS as its pattern of activity emerges during the Fall of 1969. Every effort will be made to diminish, disrupt and bring public condemnation upon the organization and its activities through the use of sources and techniques both internal and external to the group. The Bureau will be kept advised of these developments and Bureau authority for specific Cointelpro operations will be obtained prior to their initiation.

2) PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The only pending counterintelligence operation in the Cleveland Office concerns SIDNEY MORRIS PECK (Key Activist) whose 1966 and 1967 income tax returns have been called to the attention of the Bureau of Internal Revenue with respect to several questionable deductions listed therein. This matter has been under investigation by IRS for some time now and IRS [redacted] has advised he will inform this office at such time as the investigation has been completed. To date [redacted] has not so advised. He was last contacted regarding this matter on [redacted] at which time he stated the investigation is continuing but was expected to be completed in the near future. At this time it appeared that IRS delay in this matter was beginning to be a source of embarrassment to [redacted] (who is a close friend of this office [redacted] and, in view of his strong

promise to inform the Cleveland Office when the investigation is terminated or discontinued, further contact with [REDACTED] has not been pursued by this office in order to avoid embarrassment to him. At such time as advice is received from him concerning the status of the IRS investigation of PECK, the Bureau will be promptly advised.

3) TANGIBLE RESULTS

A) Reference is made to San Francisco airtel, dated March 25, 1969, under the triple caption of SDS, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union and Cointelpro-New Left wherein San Francisco suggests that Bureau informants support the National Office faction in SDS against the PLP faction on the grounds that PLP control of SDS would transform a shapeless and fractionalized group into a militant and disciplined organization. Cleveland fully concurred in this observation.

[REDACTED] All [REDACTED] informants were instructed to support the National Office faction during convention proceedings. The precise effect of support rendered by these sources to the NO cause cannot, of course, be determined. As the Bureau is well aware, however, the convention did result in a split of the SDS with the result that PLP was required to form its own "rump" organization; the SDS as the mainstay of the New Left Movement is now seriously divided and, to this extent, weakened; and the National Office faction is gradually being forced into a position of militant extremism which hopefully will isolate it from other elements of the libertarian community and eventuate in its complete discrediting in the eyes of the American public.

B) The foregoing paragraph sets forth the only instance in which Cleveland has utilized established informants in a counterintelligence capacity. Other counterintelligence efforts of this office have been, as in the past, directed toward the use of external sources to discredit the SDS. Among these efforts have been the following:

a) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b)

[REDACTED] Ohio, and a confidential source of the Cleveland Office, advised on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was furnished with public source information concerning the SDS which material he used in his speech. This material was highlighted in local news media accounts of [REDACTED] speech and he subsequently advised that many of the persons present at his address expressed their surprise and concern that material of this type is permeating out of college campuses. Inasmuch as all of those present at the meeting addressed [REDACTED] are the type of persons controlling not only individual wealth but corporate

wealth as well and are men who make substantial contributions to educational institutions.

it is believed that beneficial results of a long-range nature will accrue from his use of the New Left material provided to him.

- c) In February, 1969 "The Big Us," then a self-identified publication of the SDS, printed a highly derogatory article and cartoon concerning Mr. GERALD T. MC FAUL, a member of the City Council of Cleveland, Ohio. Upon receipt of Bureau authority, a copy of this article was anonymously furnished to Mr. MC FAUL who threatened to sue the publication and those who had until that time permitted their businesses to be used as retail outlets for the paper. Although MC FAUL ultimately failed to pursue his threat to sue, his statement that he intended to do so resulted in most of the "outlets" for the newspaper being cancelled.

- d) mentioned above, a member of the Ohio legislature from the Cleveland area. After receiving items of SDS literature provided as well as information concerning campus disruption evoked by New Left activities which

introduced four bills dealing with this subject matter in the Ohio legislature. Although the legislature did not pass these bills, it is abundantly clear that their pending status in the legislature prompted the administrations in virtually all state-supported colleges and universities to take a firmer stand in relation to student disruption on the campus. This is clearly depicted in the situation at Kent State University where, in November, 1968 President ROBERT WHITE adopted a soft position when confronted with SDS and black nationalist disruption; yet in April, 1969, when faced with another series of disruptive actions by SDS, revoked campus recognition of the SDS chapter and suspended a number of students involved in the demonstrations. It appears fairly

certain that these bills, and others in the Ohio legislature which would affect state-supported institutions, served as a catalyst in bringing about a firmer attitude on the part of the administrations of institutions related to the state in a financial manner. A copy of each of the bills introduced by [REDACTED] is included as an enclosure to this letter for the Bureau's information.

- e) During the period preceeding the SDS National Convention the organization, as the Bureau knows, made extensive efforts to locate a university which would permit use of its facilities to host the convention. Information was received by the Cleveland office that SDS representatives had made overtures to both Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, and Bowling Green State University at Bowling Green, Ohio. In both instances the Cleveland Office immediately contacted established sources within the administrations of these institutions and, while pointing out that the decision to accept or reject the request of SDS was a matter for the institution to decide, other campuses which had accommodated SDS in this manner had been rewarded with damaged property, rowdy, and disruptive activity on the campus, unfavorable newspaper publicity, the animosity of irate alumni and, in some instances, embarrassing litigation. In both instances the institutions involved immediately notified SDS that their facilities were unavailable for the use of the organization and its National Convention.