

16 JUL 1972

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

STATINTL

'Can You Tap This?'

A New TV Show, And Other Bright Ideas For The F.B.I.

By Victor S. Navasky

Mr. L. Patrick Gray, 3d
Acting Director
F.B.I.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I was glad to read of your new policy encouraging the exchange of ideas between the press and the F.B.I. and I thought that rather than attempt to arrange an appointment (I am sure you are very busy what with reading the files and all), I'd simply send you this letter containing some of my own thoughts on the Bureau which you have temporarily inherited.

Who am I, you might well ask, to advise you on how to run what some regard as the most sophisticated intelligence agency in the world? Let me concede at the outset that my own raw, unevaluated file on the F.B.I. is probably no more accurate than your own raw, unevaluated file on me. Oh, I've written a book on the Justice Department and the F.B.I. under Robert F. Kennedy. I attended last fall's Princeton Conference on the F.B.I. co-sponsored by the Committee for Public Justice. I'm a regular Sunday night viewer of Efrem Zimbalist Jr. and "The F.B.I.," and I take the F.B.I. tour in Washington every chance I get. But it is only because after all this research I have concluded that there are no outside experts on the F.B.I.—in the sense that there are experts on such nonsecret Government agencies as State, the Pentagon, the Bureau of the Budget—that I am presuming to write you now.

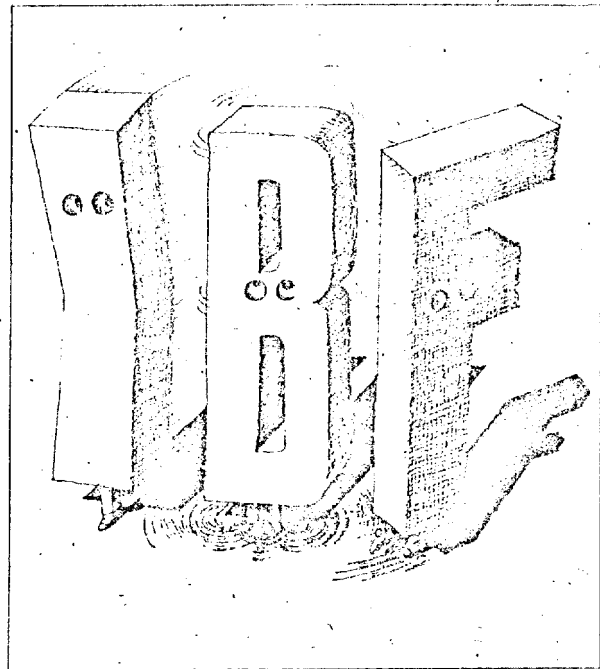
Actually, although there are no experts, there are a growing group of quasi experts including alumni of the Bureau and the Justice Department, law school professors, members of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Committee for Public Justice and other long-time Hoover-watchers, who are developing a consensus about the direction in which the Bureau ought to move; but since their first suggestion is that President Nixon ought to dump you in favor of some nonpartisan figure of greater stature, you understandably might not be disposed to accord them the sort of impartial hearing which I am sure you are giving this letter.

Victor S. Navasky is the author of "Kennedy Justice," which he wrote without the cooperation of the F.B.I.

And anyway my own ideas differ markedly from the evolving conventional wisdom which was perhaps best summarized in a letter to this newspaper from N.Y.U. law professor and Committee for Public Justice chairman Norman Dorsen, who wrote:

... Among the major issues that should be canvassed are the Bureau's effectiveness in organized crime and civil rights and police brutality cases, its emphasis on statistic-producing crimes and its reported lack of cooperation with some local police agencies. . .

The F.B.I. has not had a thorough Congressional review in its 64-year history . . . the failure to define the Bureau's intelligence-gathering powers has apparently resulted in the accumulation of much unchecked, often derogatory information, whose dissemination is not subject to proper control. It has also resulted in the use of an unknown number of undercover agents and listening devices. . . .



Change the Bureau's name.

My own six-point program for the Bureau is not inconsistent with much of this agenda but it is, I hope you will agree, much simpler to grasp and therefore should be easier to implement. Briefly, the Bureau should: Change its name, shred its files, drop Zimbalist's option, teach a course in what I call Bureauspeak, give away the new F.B.I. building and hire some Nader's Raiders. I'll elaborate

(1) Change the Bureau's Name. Lest you think this a radical step, please recall that J. Edgar

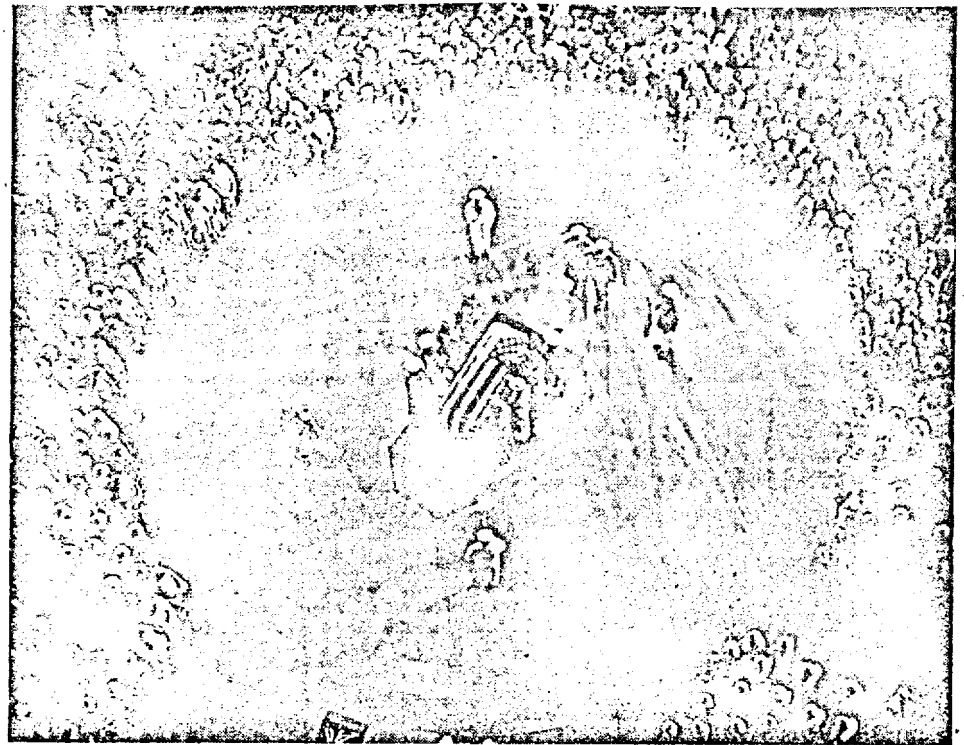
continued

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hoover and His FBI: An Era Ends

John Edgar Hoover was a legend who outlived his own time. He came into the government as a library clerk in Woodrow Wilson's day and served as its pre-eminent policeman for every President from Calvin Coolidge to Richard Nixon. In his extraordinary 48-year run as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he held more power longer than any man in the history of the Republic. He made himself and the FBI into authentic American icons—the gang-busting, spy-catching, straight-shooting, star-spangled heroes of the tabloid headlines and radio-TV serials and the backs of Wheaties boxes. When Hoover died last week at 77, the President himself did the eulogy—a man of lesser station would have been unimaginable—and spoke for millions of Americans when he called the Director “one of the giants . . . a peace officer without peer.” But the years that had ravaged the old man's bulldog face and rattled his bureaucratic calm had begun to erode his legend as well. It was not grief alone that some of his mourners experienced when they guessed that there would never be another J. Edgar Hoover.

His legacy to American law enforcement—the development of the FBI into one of the world's most effective police forces—was large and beyond challenge. But in his last years, his age and his



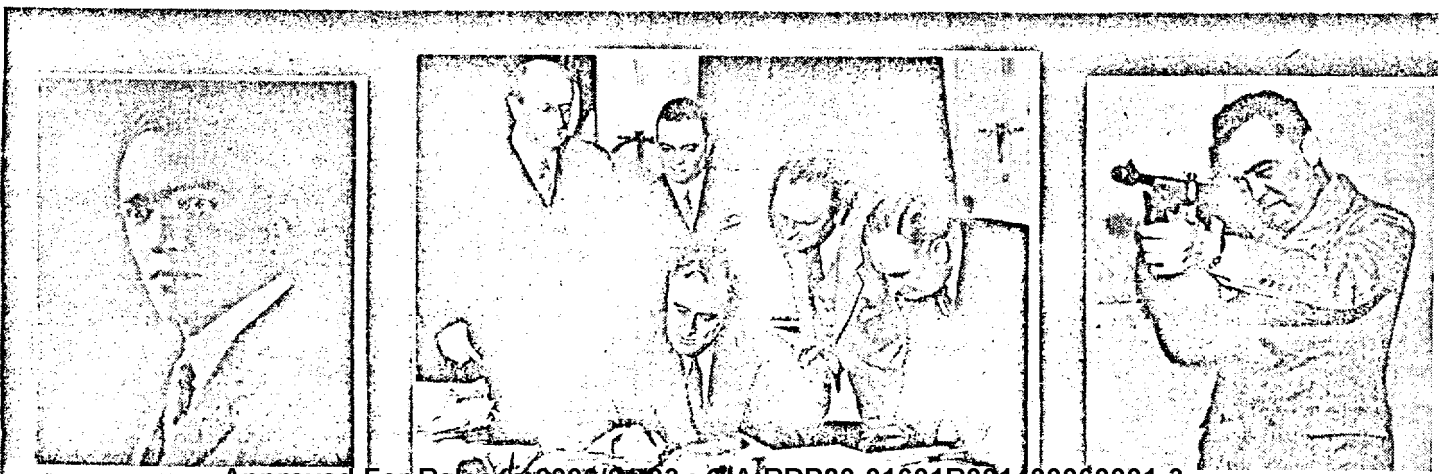
The Director in state in the Capitol Rotunda: ‘One of the giants’

crotchets began to show, both in his own public flashes of temperament and in the reduced morale and misdirected energies of the bureau he so loved. The times ran past him, and by the end, Mr. Nixon, who had known Hoover since the Hiss case 25 years ago, stood almost alone resisting the advice of his counselors that the Director ought to be retired. Now, with Hoover's death, the President postponed choosing a successor until after Nov. 7 and instead gave the job pro tem to an old Nixon hand, Deputy Attorney General-designate L. Patrick Gray III, 55, a lawyer of conservative temper and managerial talent (page 28).

Making Gray acting director avoided yet another round of nasty Senate confirmation hearings in this election year, and it could well move the bureau more nearly under real Presidential control

than it had been for years under Hoover. But it left open all the hard questions about just what the FBI does and what it ought to do—questions from which it had been sheltered for a generation by Hoover's near immunity to criticism or even serious review.

There had been little apparent contingency planning; Hoover's immortality had been rather assumed in official Washington. (“I think,” said one Congressional staffer, “that people felt he had a dossier on Saint Peter.”) He looked fit enough the last anybody saw of him in public, betting the Saturday races at Pimlico, taking Monday lunch as always with Associate Director Clyde Tolson at the Mayflower Hotel, leaving work that evening after a day crowded with paper and ceremony. Hoover died, apparently of heart disease complicated by high



1924: Taking over

1933: As FDR signs crime bill

1935: Gangbusters

blood pressure, in his sleep that night.

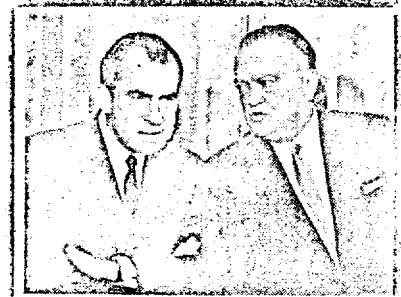
The passage of mourning that followed was suitably stately and yet oddly diminishing, given Hoover's towering presence in American life over a half-century. His body lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda, an honor ordinarily reserved for Presidents, the giants of Congress and war heroes, and 25,000 mourners filed past in 21 hours. Flags dropped to half-staff. Hoover's banquet at the Mayflower was draped in red, white and blue and retired till after the funeral. FBI agents drove close to his home, an old Georgian house lush with flowers and fake grass, and sat there in silent witness. Dr. Benjamin Spock said he was relieved, and Jerry Rubin of the yippies whooped: "Wow! Wow! Wow! Wow!" But mostly, even old antagonists managed a few kindnesses, and Mr. Nixon's somber ten-minute eulogy at National Presbyterian Church ("The United States is a better country because this good man lived his long life among us...") more surely set the tone of the public response. After the burial, the flag was folded and presented to Tolson, his aged and ailing companion, who succeeded Hoover for two days and then retired.

Standards: And so an era ended. It had begun 48 years earlier almost to the day, when Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone asked Hoover—then a natty, up-and-coming Justice Department lawyer of 29—to retrieve the bureau from the corruption it had sunk into during the Harding years. Hoover accepted, with absolute power over the agency as one of his conditions. He ran out the blackmailers and boodlers, set high hiring standards (lawyers and accountants preferred) and pioneered in scientific law enforcement (the fingerprint files, the national crime lab, the police academy and, lately, computer banks of data on crime and criminals available at push-button speed). The bureau under his stewardship, and with his intuitive PR genius, brought in a memorable series of kills and collars—Dillinger, Floyd, Ma Barker, Bruno Hauptmann, Nazi spies

and saboteurs, the Rosenbergs, Colonel Abel. Hoover went gaudily public—mugging for photographers, hobnobbing with Winchell, relaxing at the Stork Club, promoting the bureau legend, and his own, in books and movies and comic strips. Presidents respected his talent and authority and enjoyed his gossip. Congress approved his budgets with the most perfunctory review.

His power rested on fear as well as reverence—on the presumption that, as master of the FBI files, he knew everybody else's secrets. His discretion with this material was not absolute (the bureau's tapes of Martin Luther King's sex life were widely leaked around Washington) but was substantial: the serious complaint in his latter years was that his management of the FBI was going ideological—that he overcommitted it to infiltrating the enfeebled U.S. Communist Party and to wide-ranging surveillance of black and left protest activities and that civil-rights enforcement, the war on organized crime and even counterespionage all suffered as a result.

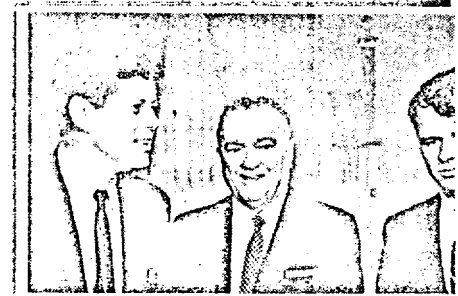
His last years were marked by a series of public embarrassments. Activists looted the bureau files in Media, Pa., and leaked batch after batch of papers on the sometimes Kafkaesque reach of the FBI watch on the left. Earth Day rallies got monitored and Weatherpeople got away. Hoover himself leaked word of the Berrigan kidnap-conspiracy case prematurely and prejudicially to a Congressional committee before anybody had been indicted. Congressmen found the nerve to attack him. Democrats sensed his vulnerability and began making him a campaign issue. Hoover got controversial and responded to controversy with moments of pique (he called King a liar, Ramsey Clark a jellyfish) and long moody interludes of almost total inaccessibility. He came out of the cloister only for a very few safe interviews and for his annual *pas de deux* with Congress, and even these took on a wistfully parodic quality by the end. ("You don't allow any gay ac-



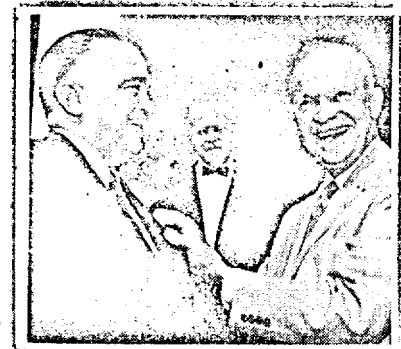
1969: Last post



1965: Breaking a civil-rights case



1961: The Kennedy years



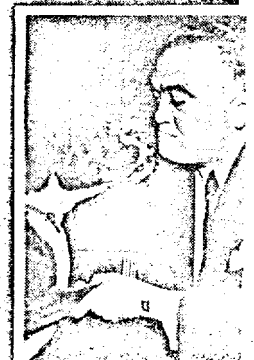
1955: Ike liked him



1938: With Tolson and Walter Winchell



1950: With Harry Truman



1954: G-man's best friend

tivists in the FBI, do you?" he was asked by a House appropriations subcommittee last March. "We don't allow any types of activists in the FBI, gay or otherwise," said the Director.)

What he wouldn't do was stand down under fire, and, as even his hardest admirers in Washington had finally to agree, the bureau—his bureau—began to suffer under his narrowing rule. Day-to-day liaison with the Justice Department faltered because Hoover wanted everything to go through him. The FBI quit speaking to the CIA because somebody in the FBI leaked some trivial information to the CIA and the CIA wouldn't tell Hoover who. The old innovative spark that helped make the bureau's reputation began to flicker. "To suggest change," said one former agent, "was to suggest that the way things were being done was wrong, and that was suicide." Avoiding embarrassment became a major imperative.

Priorities seemed to get misarranged. Agents used up valuable time fattening the FBI's annual statistics with stolen-car recoveries and minor thefts from interstate commerce. Two FBI men infiltrated one three-man Communist cell; 100 monitored a rally of 400 Catholic antiwar activists. Hoover got late into organized crime, partly because he refused for years to believe that the Mafia existed, partly because he didn't want the bureau's immaculately scandal-free record exposed to the temptations of syndicate-size bribes. Big-city police forces, once dependent on the FBI's great technical resources in bank-robbery and kidnaping cases, developed their own skills and savvy over the years and began wishing that the Feds would move on to authentically national crimes—stock, security and credit-card frauds, for example. "A big-city robbery-squad detective," one urban police captain told NEWSWEEK's Nicholas Horrock, "handles more robberies in a month than an agent might in a year. Yet when there's a bank robbery, they come zipping up with a lot of so-called expertise. The fact is we know more about these investigations than they do."

None of this was likely to get changed so long as Hoover stayed on. Last year, with the controversy quickening, some senior White House and Justice officials began a quiet effort to persuade Mr. Nixon to put the old man to pasture. "Hoover," one official said, "was becoming more and more of a political issue and more and more a developing liability. The mood of the nation was changing, and he appeared to be out of tune. There was a desire among some people to remove the issue before the campaign got started." They got as far as the Oval Office three times; at the last of these meetings, last autumn, only one man in the room besides Mr. Nixon favored keeping Hoover on. The President was said to have seen the inevitability of having to move Hoover out but not until

the critics quieted down—he would not throw an old friend to the wolves.

Ploy: The issue was settled; the tacit decision was to let Hoover stay on, probably past the election. But they began talking about the succession, and decided last year to post Patrick Gray to the bureau as Hoover's No. 2, perhaps this summer, perhaps after the election. This plan went awry when Richard Kleindienst was nominated to succeed John Mitchell as Attorney General and insisted on Gray as his deputy. With Hoover's death, Gray's name resurfaced instantly in phone conversations among Kleindienst, Mitchell and the White House, and his choice as acting director was sealed before the day was out. Other names circulated as possible permanent successors. Still, the suspicion grew in Washington that Gray was really Mr. Nixon's man and that the delay till November was only a ploy to prevent a reprise of the long, contentious hearings over Kleindienst's still-pending nomination. Gray, with or without the President's encouragement, moved in as though he planned to stay a while.

The successor, Gray or anybody else, will follow J. Edgar Hoover but will not replace him. He will, for one thing, be subject to closer Congressional scrutiny than Hoover ever had to endure. The requirement of Senate confirmation is a new one, enacted in 1968, and the senators are likely to seize on it not only to screen the nominee but to debate the larger, graver issues of what the FBI is and ought to be about. Hoover did not have to answer those questions; he was permitted, by the leave of Congress and with the clear affection of most Americans for most of his career, to run the FBI as his own lengthened shadow. He brought the bureau to an exaggerated power that it is unlikely to maintain now—not without challenge. But it will remain a large and enduring monument, and when it does its work well—enforcing the law with honesty, efficiency and dispatch—it will honor the memory and the best impulses of the man who managed it for nearly half a century.

S 7572

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 9, 1972]

UNITED STATES SEEKS JOBS FOR VETERANS

Although Vietnam veterans claimed almost one-fourth of the new jobs created in the nation during the past 12 months, their unemployment rate remained at 8.6 per cent, well above the national average, the administration said yesterday.

President Nixon ordered Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson to continue for another year the Jobs for Veterans program began almost a year ago.

"I regard this effort as of the highest priority in federal manpower and training programs," Mr. Nixon said in a letter to Hodgson.

Hodgson reviewed for newsmen the results of the program during the first year. He said one of its most difficult targets was to overcome "a public indifference to the obligation we owe to Vietnam-era veterans."

Hodgson said Vietnam veterans accounted for a net increase of 538,000 jobs in the 12-month period that ended April 30. That was almost 25 per cent of the 2.2 million increase in total employment throughout the nation.

Despite the advances, there were 340,000 veterans without work, 8.6 per cent of the total in the work force, down from 9.7 per cent a year ago, but still above the national average of 5.9 per cent.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.,
April 14, 1972.

Senator THOMAS EAGLETON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

SENATOR EAGLETON: The enclosed Resolution was passed by the Student Senate at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, April 4, 1972.

We felt it would be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

CHARLES HUDDLESTON,
Student Body President.

RESOLUTION

Whereas: 5 million Vietnam-era veterans have come back to America and have ended up looking for unemployment assistance, including 95,000 Vietnam veterans in Tennessee alone and several hundred at U.T.;

Whereas: Many of these veterans, including a number of GI Bill students at U.T. have "lost" their earned unemployment benefits because of an obscure one-year-drawing limitation ("benefit year") in Tennessee law, and believing that veterans need more financial assistance while looking for jobs or completing school;

Whereas: U.S. Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri introduced a bill on May 3, 1971 (S. 1741) to provide for Vietnam-Era Veterans' Supplementary Unemployment Compensation, for 52 weeks at \$75 per week; but the bill is still in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare;

We the Student Senate of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, do hereby respectfully request Labor and Public Welfare Committee Chairman Harrison Williams to hold hearings on S. 1741, and urge Sens. Howard Baker and William Brock to help procure such hearings on S. 1741.

In addition, we respectfully request that Governor Winfield Dunn, and the U.T. area's State Representatives, Richard Krieg and Victor Ashe, do all within their influence to extend the one-year Tennessee limitation on ex-servicemen's unemployment compensation to two years (similar to Maine, California, et al), with a retroactive provision back to 1965, the year the Vietnam War began, so as to reimburse several thousand Vietnam vets who "lost" their earned benefits, due to poor Claims Office information and trying to get an education on the GI Bill (unable

by law to draw unemployment simultaneously); and to end present confusion and discrimination in the Unemployment Compensation Act.

THE PORNOGRAPHY OF VIOLENCE

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, many people feel that organized crime is becoming a phenomenon of the past. Numerous nations are free of it as are entire regions of this country. However, the recent assassination of Mafia Chief Joseph Gallo jolts us back to reality. Today, organized crime penetrates broad segments of American life. However, the Cosa Nostra can thrive only when and where the public tolerates it. Organized crime syndicates provide goods and services desired by the consuming public—narcotics, prostitutes, loan sharking, and gambling. These are consensual crimes.

The American public not only supports the Mafia, we also find its leaders amusing and admirable and the heroes of recent literary works. The shooting of Joseph Gallo blends fact with fiction. Gallo served as the inspiration for the book and the movie, "The Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight." The plot deals with the rivalry between the south Brooklyn gang led by Kid Sally Palumbo and the Mafia establishment. They slaughter one another with every means at their disposal. The attempted comedy is funny, I suppose, to those capable of laughing at shooting, stabbing, blowing up, and strangling. The subject matter is even less amusing when it becomes reality and a four-gun battle takes place in a public restaurant.

Following the shooting of Gallo, an onlooker standing across from Umberto's Clam Bar in Little Italy was reported to comment that—

It's just like *The Godfather*. They filmed it down the block, you know. Yeah, Corleone [the crime chieftan played by Marlon Brando] got hit right over there.

The plot of "The Godfather" revolves around gang warfare, and the names of the leading characters might well be Genovese, Gallo, and Profaci. People are currently flocking to see this movie which portrays a family that uses guns, axcs, garrotes, and fear to achieve dominance over the entire Mafia in the United States. It is intended to shock, and it does. But what truly is frightening about "The Godfather" is the reaction of the spectators. I could not help feeling despondent when the audience laughed at the sight of a Hollywood film producer waking up to find the severed head of his prize race horse staring blindly at him and cheered at the sight of Michael Corleone shooting a police captain and a rival Mafioso in a restaurant. The heroes of "The Godfather" scorn law as impotent, and they create and administer their own code of ethics. They share a conviction that street justice is preferable to the justice practiced in the courts. And the audience loves it.

History and culture are expressed in literature. What will future generations say of our society when they read "The Godfather" and "The Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight"? Our culture not only tolerates violence, we glorify

violence. We must commit ourselves as a nation to exposing the true character of violence and to supporting more positive values. This is why I have joined with 12 other Senators in introducing the Omnibus Criminal Justice Reform Amendments of 1972.

THE FBI IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, it seems very likely that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, one of the Nation's most effective and most respected organizations, may become a common topic of political discussion in the months ahead.

Such an occurrence will be particularly unfortunate, because the FBI is, as it was during Mr. Hoover's long and dedicated tenure, a professional organization. As such, it should not be, nor was it embroiled in partisan politics.

I know those of us in this body are united in the hope that the agency, during the period of transition which it must now undergo, will be spared the discomfort of being dragged into partisan political debate.

In this connection, the eminent Washington Columnist Richard Wilson has written a timely and interesting column which places the national role of the FBI into the proper perspective.

The article capsules clearly and concisely the role of the FBI in the entire scheme of national law enforcement. It also points up the problems which the Acting Director, L. Patrick Gray, will have to face as he takes over the reins of the organization which knew only one Director for nearly five decades.

Mr. Wilson's column is worthy of our attention. It should be particularly noted by those who in an election year will be faced with the temptation to make political capital of the agency.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of Mr. Wilson's column as it appeared in Monday's Washington Star under the headline, "Coming Dispute on FBI Put in Perspective," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMING DISPUTE ON FBI PUT IN PERSPECTIVE (By Richard Wilson)

The role of the FBI in the general scheme of things in the nation has always been exaggerated. It is not a national police force. Its jurisdiction is circumscribed.

By far the greater responsibility for law and order resides in state, local and other federal agencies. The latter includes the United States Secret Service as well as numerous federal enforcement agencies operating in conjunction with the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

Of the \$2.3 billion budgeted for 1972-73 federal anti-crime programs, \$330 million, or less than one-sixth, is directly for the FBI.

These facts are recited in an effort to put into perspective a kind of hysteria which will soon evidence itself on how the post-Hoover FBI shall be run, who shall head it, and what its philosophy shall be.

The hysteria rises from one major source, those who imagine that the FBI is or will soon become a secret police used for political repression. This bugaboo is regularly paraded in Congress and the liberal community, which must now be astounded by the state-

RICHARD WILSON

Coming Dispute on FBI Put in Perspective

The role of the FBI in the general scheme of things in the nation has always been exaggerated. It is not a national police force. Its jurisdiction is circumscribed.

By far the greater responsibility for law and order resides in state, local and other federal agencies. The latter includes the United States Secret Service as well as numerous federal enforcement agencies operating in conjunction with the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

Of the \$2.3 billion budgeted for 1972-73 federal anti-crime programs, \$330 million, or less than one-sixth, is directly for the FBI.

These facts are recited in an effort to put into perspective a kind of hysteria which will soon evidence itself on how the post-Hoover FBI shall be run, who shall head it, and what its philosophy shall be.

The hysteria rises from one major source, those who imagine that the FBI is or will soon

become a secret police used for political repression. This bugaboo is regularly paraded in Congress and the liberal community, which must now be astounded by the statement of Interim Director L. Patrick Gray that he has yet discovered no secret files or dossiers, a la the European secret police, on political figures and prominent Americans.

If Gray finds no such incriminating files in the future, he will have destroyed the cherished convictions of thousands of liberals and radicals that they are under constant surveillance. Their megalomania and status will have undergone a shattering deflation with the disclosure that the FBI did not even think it worthwhile to tap their telephones.

In fact, the FBI is very exclusive, having in operation about 50 telephone taps in national security cases at any particular time on the scores of millions of phones in the

country. In view of the politically inspired violence and threats of violence in the era of dissent and the many bombings and depredations, a figure of 50 wiretaps (actually 36 in 1970) does not seem out of proportion.

Gray has undertaken, as one of his first responsibilities, dispelling such distrust of the FBI as was based on hatred of Hoover. He tries to appear in the role of a reasonable and accessible official who will effect changes in style if not in substance, contrasting with Hoover's adamancy and remoteness.

This may be useful in the beginning but in the end Gray will have to undertake, because he is required by law to do so, the type of inquiries which made Hoover so unpopular in radical intellectual circles. These inquiries extend to college campuses where dissent crosses the perilous boundary into overt action against the government, and to the ghettos where the creed

of armed violence challenges established authority.

If Gray receives reports of plots to blow up the Capitol, or destroy its heating system, or to kidnap prominent federal officials, he will have to look into them, regardless of how juries have reacted to such charges in the past.

And if such inquiries result in renewed charges that the FBI is an agency of political repression, Gray will have to live with it, as did Hoover — having at the same time the general support of the vast majority.

If Gray is looking for an example of how to extract a leading government agency from the field of controversy, he might examine the tactics of the U.S. director of intelligence, Richard P. Helms.

CIA Director Helms, before he ascended to a higher role, managed to extricate the CIA from a position of prominence which did not become it.

CIA is managing to keep out of the news, except in those cases where it might be expedient to let it be known that it was not entirely in agreement with the Defense Department.

Otherwise, very little is heard anymore of the CIA's shadier side, although it stretches credulity to believe that this agency has abandoned an active role in shaping the world's affairs.

A mild manner and lowered profile has aided Helms, and something like this may be valuable in the case of the FBI now that it is no longer necessary to support the Hoover personality cult.

If Gray succeeds he may become the permanent director of the FBI, although that would depend to a great extent on Nixon's re-election.

Bureau Policies to Face Wide Scrutiny by Public

By ROBERT M. SMITH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—The word drifted down through the bureaucracy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation here this afternoon just about the time an informal meeting was taking place in the office of the Attorney General-designate, Richard G. Kleindienst.

The word was not startling. It simply told the thousands of agents, supervisors, inspectors and secretaries what to put at the bottom of letters that for 48 years had borne one imprint, J. Edgar Hoover. In the early afternoon, they were told that mail would be signed Clyde A. Tolson. Mr. Tolson is Associate Director of the bureau.

However, it was clear that the ailing, 71-year-old Mr. Tolson would not be Mr. Hoover's successor. The meeting in Mr. Kleindienst's fourth-floor office—one floor below the F.B.I. director's—began the process of collecting names and, with the names, ideas for the way the F.B.I. should be changed.

When they began to think about a successor for Mr. Hoover, Justice Department officials inevitably began to think of two related questions: What the persons whose names occurred to them would do to the F.B.I. and what their nomination would do to the Nixon Administration politically.

The questions that a new bureau director will have to face range from the agency's surveillance practices to its relationship with the Attorney General, from its role in a period of "radical" politics to the distribution of power within the bureau.

Possible Choices

Persons who are rumored to be under consideration are Jerry V. Wilson, police chief of Washington, D. C.; Peter J. Pitchess, sheriff of Los Angeles County; Cartha D. DeLoach, a former top F.B.I. official and now a vice president of PepsiCo, Inc.; Myles J. Ambrose, former head of the Customs Bureau and now director of the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement; Jerris Leonard, head of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration; and Evelle J. Younger, Attorney General of California.

Darker horses appear to be John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs; and Patrick Gray 3d, Deputy Attorney General-designate.

Still less likely appear to be Robert C. Mardian, former Assistant Attorney General, and Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White.

So far there are no solid reports on the persons being considered. According to reliable sources within the Justice Department, Mr. Kleindienst's meeting this afternoon was just an informal "name-dropping" session and no machinery has yet been set up to gather and process candidates for White House consideration.

"Do not expect rapid action," one informed official said.

Apparently, some informal lobbying has gotten under way. A public relations assistant to Mr. Ingersoll at the Bureau of Narcotics called to offer a reporter a biography of Mr. Ingersoll "in connection with Mr. Hoover's death."

One course that the Administration might choose would be to have Mr. Kleindienst name an acting F.B.I. director—such as W. Mark Felt, the current No. 2 man—and have him keep the job through November.

That would eliminate the prospect of handing the Democrats of the Judiciary Committee—fresh from the embarrassing hearings relating to the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation—the chance for scrutinizing another Administration appointee as well as the policies and practices of the F.B.I. during the last three years.

By the logic of at least one Administration official, if Mr. Nixon loses in November, the new President will appoint his own F.B.I. director anyway. And if Mr. Nixon wins, "there will be a lot less zeal on the part of the Democrats to question anybody in the fall."

Asked how people in the F.B.I. here were taking the news of Mr. Hoover's death, one long-time bureau official said:

"There is no emotion. What you had is a small empire and a king, and very few people ever got to meet the king. The director was totally isolated. People are sitting around asking, 'What's going to happen and how will it affect me?'"

'Bureau Runs Itself'

The official said, "In a real sense, the bureau runs itself." Edward H. Hayes, the special

agent in charge of the bureau in Wisconsin, struck a typical note when he said he had "no worries about the future of the F.B.I. without Hoover."

The personality and experience of the new appointee and the changes the Administration would like to see in the bureau are obviously linked, particularly in a Government bureau that has been the fiefdom of one man for almost half a century.

Justice Department officials have indicated for a long time that they were unhappy, even at high levels, with three aspects of Mr. Hoover's direction of the bureau, and they are already indicating that they hope the Administration will try to remedy these in appointing his successor.

The first complaint of many officials was "the gulf" between the bureau and the Justice Department. As one of them put it, "Mr. Hoover's tremendous dominance of the bureau allowed him to put a curtain around it and make it inviolable at less than his level." This, he said, impeded "day-to-day working intercourse" between people in the department and their counterparts in the F.B.I.

Other Justice Department officials have spoken privately of a kind of clandestine relationship that grew up between themselves and bureau employees, with F.B.I. personnel helping them so long as they were "protected" from Mr. Hoover's learning they were not living by the rigid structure of the organization chart.

That chart required every request from Justice to go to the top of the F.B.I., be approved, then bucked down to the operational man. "It was," one official explained, "a way of preserving Mr. Hoover's control."

Morale Problems Cited

The second complaint of some department people was related. They felt that the F.B.I. had severe morale problems, that it inhibited and repressed its younger men and daily forced so much bookkeeping, clerical work and ritual forms on its agents that they became partially immobile.

The third complaint related to Mr. Hoover's personality. Most Justice Department lawyers shared respect for the man and his accomplishments in law enforcement. They admired what Ray L. Faist, the special agent in charge of the El Paso, Tex., bureau office pointed to today—"47 years free of fraud or scandal."

about his near-total power in a very powerful agency, only

casually scrutinized by Congress.

For that reason, former bureau officials have been urging the need for "safeguards" on Mr. Hoover's successor. One department official said today that the next appointee "will have to inspire confidence that he will not abuse the power of leading a potential secret police force."

Whether or not Congressional critics of the bureau will now move to build such restraints into the structure of the bureau is not yet clear.

Democratic Views

Democratic sources in the Senate indicated today that some of the persons reportedly under consideration would encounter little opposition from them—such as Justice White and Police Chief Wilson.

On the other hand it was contended that only "Mitchellian logic" could prompt the Administration to face the likely Congressional

struggle of appointing some one like Mr. Mardian, whom they regard as an arch-conservative on civil rights.

No matter whom the Administration nominates, the bureau seems certain to face in the course of his confirmation hearings the most thorough public investigation in its history. The nominee will doubtless be asked to deal with a range of questions that have been raised with growing disquiet over the last year.

It was in April, 1971, that Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana, the House majority leader, charged that the F.B.I. had been tapping the telephones of members of Congress. While subsequently he did not produce evidence that would satisfy most of his colleagues, this appeared to be the first of a string of criticisms.

Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, charged that the F.B.I. had conducted widespread surveillance of antipollution rallies on Earth Day, 1970. Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, contended that Mr. Hoover had tried to injure the reputation of an airline pilot who had criticized the bureau for its handling of a hijacking attempt.

Burglars broke into the Media, Pa., office of the F.B.I. and released to the press documents indicating that the bureau was engaged in active surveillance of student, Negro and peace groups.

Continued



EDITED
by LLOYD SHEARER

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

BECAUSE OF VOLUME OF MAIL RECEIVED, PARADE REGRETS IT CANNOT ANSWER QUERIES.

**FBI AGENTS
OVERSEAS** The FBI has expanded its overseas network of agents from 90 to 96.

FBI operations in foreign countries have never been specifically authorized by Congress. Intelligence gathering, especially overseas, is supposedly the domain of the Central Intelligence Agency. But FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has convinced Congress to let him open two new offices abroad and increase his permanent foreign staff.

The function of 96 FBI agents in ten overseas posts is to develop and maintain a close and cooperative relationship with police agencies in the countries to which they've been assigned.

Overseas the FBI agents are called "legal attachés."

7 FEB 1972

STATINTL

SOCIETY OF FORMER AGENTS**MR. HOOVER'S LOYAL LEGION****WILLIAM W. TURNER**

Mr. Turner, a former FBI agent, is now a journalist and lecturer. He is the author of Hoover's FBI (Sherbourne Press) and Power on the Right (Ramparts Press).

The annual convention of the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI might again have passed unnoticed last fall had not Spiro Agnew been the featured speaker. The press showed up at Atlanta's posh Regency Hyatt House, and although rapped by the Vice President and the program chairman and pointedly left unfed at lunch, dutifully reported the speech. "Our traditional concept of success," Agnew told his well-tailored-and-barbered audience, "makes the ultraliberal nose twitch with distaste, as though it has sensed a vaguely unpleasant odor." The former G-men greeted his familiar philippics with a standing ovation.

Despite this coverage, few newspaper readers had the remotest idea of the success J. Edgar Hoover's alumni have had in penetrating the highest echelons of the nation's security-industrial complex, or in populating the Congress, the Executive, the Judiciary and state and local governments.

As an index, there are eleven Society members in the House of Representatives, foremost among them being H. Allen Smith, ranking Republican on the powerful Rules Committee. Four hold key staff positions on the House Internal Security Committee. The chiefs of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), Secret Service, IRS Intelligence Division and Post Office Inspectors belong to the Society. So do the security directors of major defense contractors, large corporations and the National Football League. Many public law-enforcement and private investigative agencies are dominated by Society members. The Governor of New Jersey carries a card, as does the attorney general of California, who aspires to be that state's governor in 1974.

The Society, with headquarters in the Statler Hilton in New York, claims approximately 5,200 members. It was founded in 1937 with slightly more than 100 members and the motto: "Loyalty—Goodwill—Friendship." The motivation seems to have been an American Legion-like camaraderie among men who fancied themselves front-line veterans of the war against crime. To this day, the pages of the Society's monthly *Grapevine* drip with nostalgia for the Dillinger days. A recent article, for example, lamented the passing of a member who had helped "set the trap for John Dillinger in front of the Biograph Theatre in Chicago on July 22, 1934," and ran a news photo of the agent, in two-tone shoes and straw boater, standing behind the hearse that carried away the remains of Public Enemy No. One. Another issue published an article by a charter member, entitled "G-Men Cut Gangsters Down to Size in Blazing 1920s." It told how "the FBI stepped in with brilliant detective work and undaunted courage under the matchless leadership of J. Edgar Hoover." Nothing in *Grapevine* tampers with the legend. No mention is made, for instance, that the *Approved For Release 2006/01/02 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3* Dillinger for the kill was actually a paid informer of the private Hargrave Secret Service, and an announcement

that a member newly elected to a California judgeship took part "under J. Edgar Hoover's leadership in the capture of Roger 'The Terrible' Touhy" fails to recall that the FBI had erroneously seized Touhy for the 1933 Hamm kidnaping, a caper actually pulled off by Alvin "Kreepy" Karpis.

The bond of experiences shared lures the Exes, as they call themselves, to Society luncheons, dinners, dances, parties, ceremonial functions and days at ballparks and race tracks. A meeting of the Los Angeles chapter was addressed not long ago by Jeremiah O'Leary, a Washington *Star* reporter through whom the FBI plants its stories. In 1970 the Philadelphia chapter passed a resolution over after-dinner coffee, commending that city's "law-and-order" police commissioner, now Mayor Frank Rizzo. Later that year the Utah chapter played host to Judge George W. Latimer, defense counsel in the My Lai trials. And last October 22, Hoover himself appeared at a Washington chapter dinner to report delays in the construction of the new FBI headquarters (which will cost an estimated \$105 million and be by far the most expensive government office building).

Such events are covered by *Grapevine* in something of a fraternity-house style. One recent item reported that a member who manages a restaurant-hotel complex in Southern California had bought a female elephant for a wild animal farm that is part of the promotion. The member, the magazine advised, "is adamant in his refusal to ride the elephant as a publicity stunt, even though it conforms to his political party preference."

The Society's most important single activity is the Executive Services Committee, a kind of placement bureau that depends on the local chairmen to keep it informed of local employment opportunities. The Exes have found the FBI legend highly exploitable—indeed, some entered the bureau simply to gain the prestige. Lawyers have found that an autographed portrait of Hoover on the office wall generates clients; others have discovered that the doors of industry and commerce are frequently wide open. The committee puts out feelers on behalf of agents who are quitting or retiring. Its success is indicated by a recent report that it had "placed thirty-nine Society members with an average salary of \$19,750."

The annual Congressional Night staged by the Society shows just how highly placed some of the Exes are. The 1970 event, at the Rayburn House Office Building, heard speeches by Secret Service Chief James J. Rowley and Congressman Smith. The 1971 affair, transplanted to the more commodious Shoreham Hotel, starred Lieut. Gen. Joseph F. Carroll, head of the DIA, and Republican Congressmen Samuel L. Devine of Ohio and Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland. Six other Congressional members of the Society were present: Garry Brown (R., Mich.); Omar T. Bursleson (D., Tex.), chairman of the House Administrative Committee; Frank Denholm (D., S. Dak.); Ed Edmondson (D., Okla.) and Wiley E. Mayne (R., Iowa). Three others who couldn't make it that night were Smith, Robert Tiernan (D., R.I.) and Harold Runnels (D.,

DES MOINES, IOWA
TRIBUNE

E - 113,781

JAN 26 1972

Spy Competition

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has 90 agents overseas and plans to add six more. Is J. Edgar Hoover trying for an International Bureau of Investigation?

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak say Hoover had to promise the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (which have a primary duty of gathering intelligence abroad) that FBI agents abroad would operate strictly under U.S. ambassadors. They will operate in the guise of "legal attaches" to embassies. The FBI is said to have agreed that it will not gather foreign intelligence, but just help apprehend fugitives from U.S. justice.

Evans and Novak assert, however, that FBI men do gather foreign intelligence and that they forward it directly to FBI headquarters, not through the ambassador. The intelligence the FBI gathers is mostly worthless gossip, according to intelligence agents from rival agencies.

Interagency wrangles among rival intelligence outfits are normal. The Central Intelligence Agency was created in 1947 to bring some order into the situation — to co-ordinate the work of the various Defense and State Department intelligence agencies abroad, and leave the FBI to handle investigations of violations of federal laws at home — unless particular fields were assigned to other agencies, such as the Narcotics Bureau.

The Central Intelligence Agency was forbidden to do clandestine work inside the United States, but an expose-type book by David Wise and Thomas Ross ("The Espionage Establishment") asserted that the CIA violates this ban.

A recent Newsweek account of the shift of heroin smuggling in the last two years from French and Corsican smugglers to Latin American smugglers is based mainly upon FBI sources. So evidently the FBI has moved into narcotics, now, once reserved for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

Co-operation and even competition between different federal agencies has its values sometimes, but aren't jurisdictional lines getting pretty snarled up? Are there no workable limits for the FBI and the CIA?

HOLYOKE, MASS.
TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM
JAN 26 1972
E - 27,815

Indulgence

We're going to wake up some morning and find that J. Edgar Hoover has been named third-in-line for the presidency. At about 10 a.m. that day the president and his number two will succumb to poisoned cheesecake and the Grand Old Watchdog will take over.

Despite Hoover's enfeebled state (even right-wing columnists concede that his able men are quitting and toads are rising) — he still has one of the biggest monuments in Washington. The new FBI building is second in size only to the Pentagon and will cost \$120 million. Hoover feels nice about that since the Kennedy Center cost just more than half that.

While the world has been expecting Hoover's retirement, he has apparently been shoring up his Wash-

ington stock. According to columnists Evans and Novak, he just got authorization from Pres. Nixon to open up 20 new spy offices abroad. Coming at a time when foreign service and the CIA are getting cut back, there's hardly rational justification for putting from two to six agents in places like Rio de Janeiro, Santo Domingo, Canberra and New Delhi as "legal attaches."

Hoover has a feud with the CIA though, so I guess we've no choice but to go along with his spy vs. spy exercise. Every time he hears swing tunes Hoover decides he wants to get back into the kind of worldwide operation he had in WWII with the Intelligence Service. And, as presidents and public know too well, whatever Hoover wants, Hoover gets.

21 JAN 1972

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Hoover's Empire Abroad



J. EDGAR HOOVER has quietly won President Nixon's approval for an expansion of the FBI's international intelligence-gathering operations despite grave misgivings in the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency.

That will put the Federal Bureau of Investigation in over 25 foreign capitals, unauthorized specifically by law and unknown to the public or most congressmen. Moreover, these FBI agents, supposedly stationed abroad to help apprehend fugitives from U.S. justice, are transmitting secret intelligence reports back to Director Hoover.

This bizarre story casts further light on two intriguing aspects of Hoover: First, his undiminished ability, born of four decades of experience as the bureaucrat supreme, to get his way in Washington; second, the tenacity of Hoover's passion to get the FBI into the spy business and his animus toward the CIA.

The overseas FBI agents are called, officially and euphemistically, "legal attaches" and are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad. Legal attaches have long performed useful work in

Ottawa and Mexico City, helping track down fugitives. Similarly, the case can be made for agents assigned to London, Tokyo and perhaps one or two other foreign capitals.

But Hoover has gone far beyond this. Shielded from public and congressional scrutiny, he has quietly built an overseas network of FBI agents in some 20 countries. The latest step came last year when the director proposed expansion into another dozen capitals, and showed his legendary deftness in the bureaucratic jungles by going right to the top for approval.

In a private conversation at the White House with President Nixon, Hoover casually brought up his desire to establish a few new legal attache offices. Like most Presidents of the past 47 years, Mr. Nixon has no desire to cross the director. He agreed.

Thus, Hoover went to the State Department armed with the President's prior approval, a *fait accompli*. State Department functionaries, faced with cutbacks in the demoralized Foreign Service, were appalled at presidential approval for a dozen legal attache offices

containing two to six FBI agents each. Across the Potomac River, CIA officials eyed Hoover's overseas expansionism suspiciously.

In tedious negotiations, the State Department managed to cut back Hoover's expansion by about half. Finally, the FBI proposed opening new offices in six additional cities: Manila, Rio de Janeiro, Singapore, New Delhi, Canberra and Santo Domingo. Although the location of legal attache offices is a closely guarded secret, it is understood that FBI agents will now be placed in all of these cities with the possible exception of New Delhi.

IN OTHER WORDS, Secretary of State William Rogers, who as attorney general under President Eisenhower in the late 1960s gave Hoover free rein at the FBI, decided not to make an issue of Hoover's worldwide expansionism. One reason is assurances, given to both the State Department and CIA, that the overseas FBI agents will be operating strictly under the U.S. ambassadors and will not be gathering foreign intelligence.

The truth is otherwise. The "legal attaches" are re-

quired to send foreign intelligence reports back to Hoover through FBI channels unseen by State Department or CIA. Indeed, the director himself has reprimanded legal attaches for failure to send him sufficient intelligence material.

The caliber of the intelligence picked up by the overseas FBI agents is considered suspect by intelligence experts, however. Banned from conducting overseas operations, the legal attaches tend to pass along gossip picked up on Embassy Row and in the coffee houses. Whether the thousands of tax dollars spent for this purpose is justifiable is therefore questionable.

But, as we have reported in earlier columns, the FBI's own outstanding agents know that the bureau could stand substantial improvement in carrying out the tasks Congress has assigned to it—particularly apprehension of foreign espionage agents in the United States. In view of that, Hoover's overseas expansionism, condoned by the President and the Secretary of State, seems particularly inappropriate.

Publishers-Hall Syndicate

12 JAN 1972

STATINTL

DAVID LAWRENCE

Hoover Should Be Kept as Adviser

To some people, the possible resignation in 1972 or 1973 of J. Edgar Hoover at the end of a long and meritorious career would mean just a change in an official position, which happens often in government as able replacements are found. But the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is today one of the most important persons in the government, and anybody who succeeds him can hardly have the knowledge that Hoover has gathered in 48 years of dedicated service.

The Bureau of Investigation was established in 1908 to handle Department of Justice investigations. But it had many difficulties and it had to be reorganized during the Coolidge administration. In 1924, J. Edgar Hoover was appointed by Atty. Gen. Harlan F. Stone as its director and has served in that post ever since.

When this correspondent talked with officials in the early 1920s about the future of the FBI, they foresaw it as a small agency that would do the detective work of the government. But when Hoover took charge, he began to develop it as an effective investigative unit that could be helpful not only to the Department of Justice but to the President and other executive departments.

The main reason why many people inside the government will be sorry to see Hoover retire is that he has performed useful duties in information-gathering and has been able to detect activities by factions or groups either generated by foreign influences or prompted

by a desire to assist the causes of countries hostile to America.

All that Hoover has packed into his mind over these many years has not been put on paper. President Nixon will be reluctant to see him go.

This correspondent has not mentioned the subject to Hoover, but believes that perhaps the present director of the FBI could be persuaded, when he does decide to retire, to continue to perform duties as an adviser, especially in delicate situations that arise from time to time and with which he is familiar. Also, this would permit orderly transfer of the huge task to the new director, which is not going to be something that can be done in a year or two.

Hoover is not interested at the moment in retiring, but when he is ready to leave public office, he ought to be encouraged to serve as an adviser to his successor so that his recollections of events and his knowledge of particular types of problems will become immediately available to whoever is in charge of the FBI and to the President.

Few people have a complete knowledge of the scope of the FBI's operations. It does, of course, cooperate with the local police departments and enforcement bodies. But its main functions are carried out through its own investigative machinery, which is very efficient and works to collect information that has often been used to solve crimes promptly.

A lot of the important tasks performed by the FBI never get into print. This is because

they are merely in the information-gathering category and are transmitted to other agencies, such as the CIA, and frequently help in dealing with plots of an international nature which have been hatched to hurt this country.

The FBI has a limited number of agents, and the decision of how to use them requires experience. Some people think the FBI only serves the Department of Justice in the pursuit of evidence in connection with certain kinds of criminal activities. But the FBI has worked in many cases that never became public. The man who must survey this entire establishment and watch it from all sides gathers over the years an experience that is difficult to describe. For this is almost unlimited in covering the many crime problems that arise.

J. Edgar Hoover has instilled a spirit of fidelity among his men not to any political party but to the government of the United States. His wide experience should not be lost. If he does retire, a method should be found to maintain contact with him for his advice, as his 48 years have taught him more than any other man knows about the crimes and underground warfare with which this country is threatened from time to time.

Certainly it is to be hoped that Hoover would accept the idea of an arrangement that would continue to make available to the government his unmatched knowledge in a special and important field.

FBI CONFERENCE

STATINTL

A CRACK IN HOOVER'S FORTRESS

ARLIE SCHARDT

Mr. Schardt is a Washington-based free-lance writer concentrating on civil liberties subjects, and is national legislative director of the ACLU.

Supreme Court nominee Lewis Powell characterizes criticisms of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as "mindless attacks." Supreme Court nominee William Rehnquist is impatient with those who object to the Bureau's proclivity for tapping the private telephone conversations of law-abiding citizens. Some 71 per cent of the American people are so untroubled by the role of the FBI in America that they can assure Gallup pollsters they highly approve of the Bureau's work. Those who disagree with the majority on this inevitably emotional topic are often called "soft on crime," or worse. Indeed, most of the majority would transpose the phrase "mindless critics" to read "any critics," for they have long been conditioned to misconstrue even constructive criticism of the Bureau as an attack upon it.

But those who disagree with the majority are growing, both in numbers and in determination that the time has come for a searching evaluation of America's single most sacrosanct institution of government. So it was that early this month the Committee for Public Justice, a recently formed group concerned about political repression, teamed up with the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University to conduct a historic conference—the first organized, serious, scholarly inquiry ever conducted into the place of the FBI in American society.

Participants included some forty legal and constitutional scholars, journalists, former agents, former Justice Department personnel and ex-informers. Inside Princeton's Corwin Hall they sat around a huge, green felt rectangle of tables, amidst microphones, pitchers of ice water, tape recorders, banks of TV cameras and tall towers of blinding lights. For the sake of the cameras, the huge room's 30-foot tan curtains were closed against the brilliant sunlight of two sweet, warm fall days. Inside, the discussions went on and on and on. If the hard-working group never saw the light of day inside that room, their pulling and tugging and probing did manage to shed a different kind of light on a topic long exempt from meaningful scrutiny.

Getting there was *not* half the fun. From its inception, the conference had been accused of being "loaded" against the FBI. It was, in fact, difficult to achieve a satisfactory balance, since invitations to participate or to send a representative were rejected by Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, the Society of Former Special Agents, and J. Edgar Hoover himself, the latter asking the conference, in the course of a 7-page letter of regrets, for an "acquittal" in the "trial."

A name-calling, pre-conference column by William F. Buckley wrote off the group as including some "anti-FBI nuts" and others who had committed such sins as

taking the Fifth Amendment during the 1950s witch hunts, or publicly disagreeing with Mr. Hoover. On the floor of Congress the conference was attacked by Rep. Richard Ichord, chairman of the House Internal Security Committee. A 2-page ad in *The Daily Princetonian*, headlined "Scholarly Convocation or Hatchet Job?" was sponsored by Undergraduates for a Stable America (USA), a group headed by T. Harding Jones, a senior who last summer served as a White House intern to Presidential counselor Robert Finch. Jones termed the conference "the epitome of the bias and oneness of opinion that the USA has tried to change at the university." (I. F. Stone exclaimed that he never thought he would live to see such a meeting, let alone at Princeton, "which I had always considered an air-conditioned desert island where [politics professor] Hubie Wilson sits in lonely liberal splendor.")

Numerous protests came also from Princeton's conservative alumni, along with thick stacks of hate mail and threats. The range and depth of protests against even this sober effort to examine the FBI underscored the overwhelming success of the Bureau's decades-long publicity campaign, and reinforced the need to hold such a seminar.

Besides examining the role, powers and structure of the Bureau, the conference aimed to study six major areas of mounting concern. Princeton professor of politics Duane Lockard, a conference co-chairman along with Norman Dorsen of NYU Law School and Burke Marshall of Yale Law School, listed them in a letter re-extending an invitation to Mr. Hoover: the Bureau's failure to deal adequately with organized crime; the extent and nature of its use of informers; its collection of vast quantities of data on private citizens; the Bureau's budget; its performance in enforcing civil rights laws; and its public relations activities.

To do its work, the smoothly run marathon was organized to hear summaries of thirteen study papers prepared by various participants, to discuss each of them, and to take part in four panels—one featuring ex-informers, one of former Special Agents, one of former Justice Department officials, and one examining FBI relationships with local police. Questions were accepted from anyone in the room—conferees, official observers, or members of the general public who filtered in and out of the 200 chairs provided for them at one end of the room.

At the end of the first day, which lasted until after 10 P.M., persons were heard to say that they had not learned much new. Yet even near the close of almost twelve hours of work, everyone in that room had been listening and concentrating with notable intensity. And by the end of the second day, it was unmistakable that something important had gradually been put together, topic piling upon topic until there it all was.

What it amounted to was an enormous collection of information, proposals and unanswered questions. And always felt,

continued

Newsweek

STATINTL

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

November 22 1971 / 50 CENTS

Newsweek

STATINTL

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

A New Focus on F.B.I.

Talk in Capital No Longer Centers on Hoover but on Bureau as Institution

By ROBERT M. SMITH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—How good are your relations with J. Edgar Hoover, a Justice Department official was asked. "No better and no worse than they have ever been," he replied.

Does that mean they are good or bad, the questioner persisted. "No comment," the official said. When a Justice Department official does not not say outright that things with the F.B.I. are just great, it is significant. It is a sign of the times and of the problems that have recently come to plague the F.B.I.'s 76-year-old chief.

It is also a sign of Mr. Hoover's bureaucratic skill, power, perseverance and just plain staying-power that officials still don't talk about the real problems between their agencies and the F.B.I.

If they wanted to talk about them publicly, they could mention that the bureau has severed direct liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency. They would also contend that it is plagued with bureaucratic rigidity in carrying out its assignments and is as jealous as an insecure lover of the information it has gathered.

Although officials are not discussing Mr. Hoover publicly, there is increasing discussion of the F.B.I. as an institution.

A Different Crossroads

Thus, J. Edgar Hoover is not just at another of the crossroads that have dotted his 47-year career as the bureau's chief. The focus has shifted. Washington is now talking about what is wrong with the agency—instead of what's wrong with Mr. Hoover—and the bolder officials are speculating on what should be done to the agency and who should head it when Mr. Hoover is gone.

In the last few months, since Representative Hale Boggs's charges that Congressmen's telephones were tapped, the personal attacks have dropped off.

The discussions now involve such topics as: the responsiveness of the bureau to the control of the President; its role in a

time of "radical" politics; meaningful oversight of the bureau's finances; the relationship between the bureau and local police forces, and the dissemination and control of computer-stored information.

One sign of the new questioning was the recent conference on the F.B.I. at Princeton University. Mr. Hoover declined to go on the ground that the participants were patently biased against him. Many of them were, as they were civil libertarians and former associates of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Nevertheless, the criticism of the bureau tended, on the whole, to be scholarly and institutional.

One of the key questions that developed at Princeton was: Should the F.B.I. combine both criminal investigations and security surveillance—and where does one draw the line between the two?

Professor Troubled

Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, a Yale law school professor, said that what bothered him about the bureau was its work in "compiling political dossiers on people not charged with a crime or reasonably suspected of a violation of the law."

Two participants immediately replied with two questions: Would he not want the F.B.I. to look into a "political" group whose activities included violence? And who should decide what constitutes "reasonable" suspicion of violating the law?

Mr. Emerson agreed that these were tough questions. He drew a distinction between the Ku Klux Klan—which he thought should be subject to F.B.I. surveillance—and the John Birch Society, which he thought should not. But those, he acknowledged, were extreme cases.

The conference made no progress in drawing a clearer line.

Nor did the conference make headway on the question of who should decide which groups ought to be bugged, tapped and watched. Some participants contended that whoever that person should be, he should not be Mr. Hoover.

John T. Elliff, a young political

was in order was an examination of the burdens that the executive branch had placed on the F.B.I. in the last 30 years.

His basic argument was: If the President and his assistants tell the F.B.I. that they want to know whether there are subversives at an ecological or consumer gathering, what bureau director is going to say, "We shouldn't try to find out."

Questions like that carried the conference to support of a suggestion heard in Washington since last spring: The creation of a board of private citizens to monitor the F.B.I.'s work. That is not a suggestion that Mr. Hoover's operating style makes him likely to welcome.

HARRISBURG, PA.
 PATRIOT
 M - 45,299
 PATRIOT-NEWS
 S - 159,880

NOV 6 1971

CIA Chief to Head Overhaul of All Intelligence Units

From The Patriot Wire Services
 WASHINGTON — CIA Director Richard A. Helms has been given broad overall supervision in an overhaul of the United States' intelligence gathering operations, the White House announced yesterday.

Officials said Helms would be freed from some operational responsibility at the Central Intelligence Agency to assume "communitywide responsibilities of the several scattered intelligence operations."

Chairman George H. Mahon of the House Appropriations Committee, which has been among congressional critics of U.S. intelligence operations, said after a White House briefing on the reorganization that it was a step in the right direction, but it was too early to predict results.

"I believe we can save personnel and money and get more intelligence," Mahon told a reporter, but he quickly added that intelligence operations had been repeatedly reorganized with but limited success.

Rep. Lucien Nedzi, D-Mich., chairman of a House armed services subcommittee with supervisory responsibility for the CIA and Pentagon intelligence operations, said he did not find the new shakeup particularly "dramatic."

But Nedzi questioned the additional duties given Helms. "I have doubts about the capacity of any one person to be able to oversee the entire intelligence operation and at the same time administer the CIA," the congressman said.

The reorganization also revived the old U.S. Intelligence Board whose membership will include Helms, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the chief of the Defense intelligence agency and representatives of other agencies with a stake in intelligence operations.

Time magazine reported in its October 25 issue that Hoover recently had "effectively cut off the international from the national intelligence effort" by limiting contacts between FBI and CIA men. But officials flatly denied the report.

Time in the same article said Hoover also had abolished a seven-man FBI section that maintained contact with other U.S. intelligence units, including the defense intelligence agency.

The White House announcement listed these specific steps:

—Helms will assume "enhanced leadership" in planning, reviewing, coordinating and evaluating all intelligence programs and activities.

—An intelligence committee will be set up within the National Security Council which will be headed by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, presidential adviser on national security affairs. The committee will include the CIA director, the attorney general, the under secretary of state, the deputy secretary of defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

—A "net assessment group" will be established within the National Security Council which will be responsible for reviewing and evaluating all intelligence.

FT. WAYNE, IND.
JOURNAL GAZETTE

NOV 5 1971
M - 68,240
S - 105,850

Scalp Hunting At The FBI

Much of what's been happening at the FBI recently will never appear on its Sunday evening television show. On TV the inspector never unexpectedly "resigns" or gets transferred to a remote post, the FBI never bungles a rescue attempt during a plane hijacking, and, most importantly, it never is asked to appear at a university seminar to defend its activities.

The FBI's early strength was the product of a single dedicated man, the director. The FBI's current weaknesses have the same origin. The identification of the individual with the institution has made it particularly difficult to separate the two and look at the FBI with the same sort of detachment given other federal agencies. And that's the point on which most of the FBI criticism bogs down.

A recent Princeton University conference on the FBI followed a familiar script. Invited to appear before the conference, Director J. Edgar Hoover declined on the grounds that the FBI had been convicted ahead of time, but he sent a long letter defending the bureau and its operations. Hoover also suggested a referendum on FBI performance among living U.S. Presidents, Congressmen, Senators, attorneys and federal judges. A referendum, however, is

hardly the type of review the FBI needs.

If the Princeton-type examination irks the FBI, it might be pointed out that there has been little else done over the years to make unnecessary. The long-standing lack of accountability and adequate review procedures have led to a massive accumulation of questions, complaints and weaknesses that threatens both the FBI's image and effectiveness. While no one would reasonably suggest "politicizing" the bureau, there are numerous matters about FBI quality, competence, direction of activities, and financial expenditures that are of legitimate public concern, but have been sealed away in the name of security.

There have been a number of recent reports, including the severing of close relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency, to support the belief that FBI is running into substantial conflicts. As long as the bureau remains almost totally immune from a thorough and relatively impartial review, which might be provided by a Presidential commission, there is no way of knowing whether the FBI's version of national security is a sound or defective product. And there's little possibility for examining the product as long as the critics can only focus on the director's scalp.

STATINTL

Ken W. Clawson

Spotlighting the FBI

THE APPREHENSION of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that last week's citizens' inquiry would result in a lopsided lambasting was largely unjustified.

As it turned out, the Conference on the FBI at Princeton University faithfully mixed its criticism with some solid support and meaningful insights into the agency built by J. Edgar Hoover.

To be sure, there was an abundance of shrill denunciations from professional FBI haters of long standing and it was true that Princeton's Duane Lockard, conference chairman, loaded the sessions with plenty of critics.

As Lockard explained yesterday, "How else could you have a conference" on FBI procedures and its role in society "without inviting mostly critics?"

But whether out of a sense of fair play or because the conference was indeed rigged, individuals saw to it that the FBI got its due along with its lumps. For example, Burke Marshall, former assistant attorney general in the Kennedy administration, listened to alleged FBI informers and wondered aloud whether they should have even been invited.

Chairman Lockard also invited Frank Carrington and Richard Wright of the conservative Americans for Effective Law Enforcement, Inc., of Chicago and then saw to it they were given every opportunity to criticize the critics.

IN THE CONCERN over whether the FBI was getting a fair shake or not, probably the best and certainly the most complete explanation of the bureau's role in civil rights enforcement was nearly ignored.

It was prepared by Dorothy Landsberg and John Doar, who served in the Justice Department's civil rights division from 1960 to 1967.

In the unlikely event that an official body held a similar hearing on the FBI, this paper would be an invaluable model of objectivity, personal knowledge and ability.

To the long-standing criticism that the FBI dragged its feet on civil rights, Doar pointedly replied that neither the government nor the American people were ready, in 1969, for the civil rights revolution but that the law had involuntarily enlisted the FBI.

Documenting FBI failures between 1960 and 1964, Doar said:

"The bureau was ill-prepared for its predicament. Is it any wonder it delivered such a lackluster performance? FBI field offices in the South were neglected and undermanned. There were no bureau manuals on the detection of discriminatory selection of voters.

"Voter discrimination itself had not yet been clearly or specifically defined. The bureau supervisors established in high posts at the seat of government knew only the myths published by the disciples of the solid South."

But with the buildup of violence in Mississippi in 1964, a series of events produced, Doar said, a "magnificent change" in FBI performance.

THE EVENTS included the murder of three young civil rights workers; an examination of the Mississippi situation by former CIA Director Allen Dulles and Hoover himself, plus the opening of an FBI office in Jackson, Miss., and the assignment of more than 150 agents to the state.

After that, Doar said, the FBI "demonstrated in some of the toughest law enforcement assignments imaginable, exactly how and why it had earned its reputation for thoroughness, persistence and toughmindedness in responsible law enforcement."

In solving major rights cases involving the Ku Klux Klan, Doar supported the FBI's use of paid informants, infiltration, wiretapping and other tactics soundly criticized by others at the conference as infringements on constitutional rights.

Several conference participants asked if Doar's approval of FBI methods in fighting the Klan might also be applied to such groups as the Black Panthers or the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society.

The responses were so diverse that even the FBI would be satisfied of a bonafide cross section of opinion.

Princeton FBI 'Trial' Ends

BY GLEN ELSSASSER
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 31.—For the first time in history, J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation was on trial.

But after two days of deliberations by scholars, former Justice Department officials and writers, there is no final verdict on this most untouchable of American governmental institutions.

The organizers of the affair—the Committee for Public Justice, top heavy with liberal Democrats—pleaded ignorance yesterday as they wound up the proceedings at Princeton University.

Called Required Review

In their final statement the committee's organizers stated the problem as they saw it and their inability to do more than draw public attention to the situation.

"The central point is that for 50 years a powerful federal

News Analysis

agency has not had the thorough review that we believe freedom and good government require in a democracy," they said.

"Public officials have not conducted such a review and private citizens find themselves unable to do so thoroughly for a lack of public information," the committee leaders concluded. "We have made a start here, but it is only a start. We urge Congress to continue.

Hoover, who will be 77 on Jan. 1 and has headed the FBI since 1924, refused to participate or send a representative to the meeting. Hoover charged that the committee—whose prominent members include former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark with whom he has feuded and who was absent, and Burke Marshall, a former assistant attorney general—was set up against him.

Excerpts Are Read

For two days at Princeton's Corwin Hall, the committee heard excerpts from 13 papers specifically commissioned for the occasion. The papers, to be published in book form, amounted to probably the most concentrated attack on the FBI in its 64-year existence.

What emerged was a picture of an agency obsessed by bureaucratic skullduggery, apparently

growing more powerful thru its widening use of informers and wiretaps, and fast becoming a serious threat to constitutional rights.

William W. Turner of Mill Valley, Cal., one of three former FBI agents who participated in the conference, presented a highly unflattering "insider's view" of the agency in his paper. Turner was previously disowned by the FBI as "unreliable."

Besides the usual office gossip and tales of life under a director who tolerates no criticism, Turner disparaged many of the FBI's achievements in catching spies and criminals. In short, he attempted to document what he believed to be the great gap between the myth and reality of the FBI.

Warns of Informer Use

The former FBI agent told how agents are "paperbound" in a morass of forms and documents that must be filled out. Agents have strict time requirements for instance, he said, such as being expected to spend a certain amount of time cultivating potential "criminal informants, security informants and racial informants."

Another participant, Frank Donner, a Yale University law professor active in the American Civil Liberties Union, warned that the growing use of informers by the FBI is turning the nation into a "Judas society."

He contended that FBI preliminary probes of potential subversive organizations thru

manent—even if the preliminary check produces negative results. He also said that organizations, not "high priority" surveillance targets, are systematically infiltrated by the FBI in order to provide informers with cover for penetrating more inaccessible groups.

The FBI was also frequently attacked during the conference for its dissemination of data not connected with criminal activity. Arych Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, charged that the FBI has injured "millions of people" by data dissemination functions that are beyond the agency's legislative authority.

According to Neier, of the 25,000 sets of fingerprints received by the FBI on an average working day in 1970, only 13,000 came from law enforcement agencies. The remainder were from banks, insurance companies, government agencies engaged in hiring and licensing people, or other sources not directly connected to law enforcement.

Carelessness Is Alleged

The A. C. L. U. official said that the FBI, on receiving these prints, reports to the agency what the FBI files show on the subject of the fingerprint.

Another sore point for Neier was the bureau's alleged carelessness in distinguishing between "arrests" and "crimes" in its data gathering and dissemination.

Nevertheless, one conference participant, John T. Eliff, an assistant professor of politics at Brandeis University, praised Hoover for establishing a highly objective and politically neutral system for processing, filing and retrieving data for the bureau.

He blamed any FBI faults on the "long line of attorneys general, Presidents and Congresses who have given power and responsibility to the FBI, but have

failed to give it direction, guidance and control."

Generous Budgets Noted

The conference was also given a critical look at the FBI's budgeting process and how unlike other government agencies and departments, the FBI is not subject to the usual outside budget review systems.

Walter Pincus, a former investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, noted that in the last 21 years the FBI had received exactly what it asked for in its budget in all but two years. On these occasions, he said, Congress gave it more than its original requests.

He added that most government agencies except perhaps the Central Intelligence Agency almost never receive what they request.

Pincus also ridiculed Hoover's statistics used in his appearances before the House appropriations subcommittee handling the FBI funds as meaningless.

Examples of these figures are: Fugitives located were 59,318, "a new high and an increase of 18 per cent over the locations in 1939. . . . Automobile recoveries increased 5 per cent in 1970 as compared to 1939 to reach a record high of 30,599."

Overseers Board Urged

In the end the committee came up with more gripes than recommendations for the FBI. The most important question to be settled, it seemed to be, was how to draw the line between the FBI's crime enforcement functions and its role in political surveillance.

There were also recommendations that a board of overseers be established to review the FBI's activities, or an ombudsman be created to hear citizens' complaints about the FBI.

Hoover may have the final word. The conference promised to send him its papers for his comments.

No Verdict

Congress Is Urged To Investigate FBI

By Charles Krause
Special to The Washington Post

PRINCETON, N.J., Oct. 30 — The three co-chairmen of the two-day Conference on the FBI called on Congress today for a "thorough review" of the FBI "neither to vindicate nor condemn the bureau" but "only to improve it."

Burke Marshall, former assistant attorney general during the Kennedy administration, Norman Dorsen, a professor of law at New York University, and W. Duane Lockard, chairman of Princeton University's politics department, said that "for 50 years a powerful federal agency has not had the thorough review that we believe freedom and good government require in a democracy."

The conference, which ended this afternoon, made a start toward such an inquiry, the co-chairmen said, but was hampered "for lack of public information." "We urge our legislative representatives to consider a national commission of inquiry that would answer many of the questions raised here," they said.

The co-chairmen suggested that the Senate, having power of approval over the next director of the FBI, might do the job.

One of the conference's participants had another view, however. Bernard Fensterwald, former counsel to the Administrative Practices Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said he did not think Congress "is ever going to investigate J. Edgar Hoover or the FBI. Hoover's got a dossier on everyone on the Hill, and they know it."

William Hundley, chief of the Justice Department's organized crime division from 1958 to 1966, said he believed one of the reasons the FBI had been lax in investigating organized crime was that many congressmen had connections with the Mafia and that, conversely, congressmen will be loath to investigate the bureau because they feared the FBI might retaliate.

"Mr. Hoover is the complete

bureaucrat," Hundley said. "He always picked areas where he had the most popular and political support. In some political prosecutions I was involved with, the bureau was very, very sensitive."

The discussion of the FBI's investigation of organized crime stemmed from a paper presented to the conference by Fred J. Cook, author of "The FBI and Organized Crime." Cook said the FBI became interested in the Mafia only after Robert Kennedy became attorney general and even then was not always cooperative.

A discussion of the FBI's performance in investigating civil rights voting discrimination cases was led by John Doar, former assistant attorney general in the civil rights division. Doar said that before 1964 "we found that the bureau didn't know the first thing about its job" of investigating discrimination cases.

But after CIA Director Allen Dulles spent two days investigating an increasingly violent situation in Mississippi in 1964, "the bureau really performed," he said.

Doar defended the FBI's use of informers, wiretaps and electronic surveillance in gaining information about the Ku Klux Klan and differed sharply with opinions expressed earlier in the conference that the use of informers "raises the specter of a police state."

STATINTL

Speakers Hit Bureau's Power

By Charles Krause

Special to The Washington Post

PRINCETON, N.J., Oct. 29 —An "FBI Conference" opened here today with the 55 participants painting a grim picture of a police state disregarding constitutional liberties and repressing political dissent by use of informers, wiretaps, electronic surveillance and agents provocateurs.

The FBI, charging it was cast as the "defendant" and found guilty before the fact, has declined to participate.

Legal scholars, political scientists, journalists and former Justice Department personnel, FBI agents and informants spoke of increasingly uncontrolled power of the FBI, especially in its attempts to monitor groups which seek social, economic and political change.

While most of the participants did not question the FBI's ability to combat certain types of crime, many expressed their dissatisfaction with the bureau's efforts to fight organized crime, protect civil rights workers, infiltrate protest groups and promote the FBI's image as a vigilant and incorruptible investigative agency.

William Turner, a former FBI agent asked to resign in 1961, charged that he knew of several instances in which FBI agents had forged checks, stolen property, been involved in drunken driving accidents and otherwise acted outside the law. Turner said that none of these agents was charged because it is bureau policy to persuade local law enforcement officials to drop charges.

Turner said that the FBI has been so unsuccessful in its attempts to uncover foreign espionage agents working in the United States that the CIA has been forced to set up its own bureaus around the country.

Prof. Thomas J. Emerson of Yale law school, charged that the FBI regularly violates the First and Fourth amendments

of the constitution. Emerson said that wiretaps, bugging and the use of informers tend to limit freedom of speech and violate the Fourth Amendment's protection from illegal searches and seizures.

Emerson said that the FBI's "political warfare against dissident groups raises the spectre of a police state." The Yale law professor said the only remedy for current FBI practice is the creation of a public board of overseers and an ombudsman, to protect the public from arbitrary FBI practices, such as the inclusion of persons' names in practices, such as the inclusion of persons' names in FBI dossiers.

Prof. Frank Donner, also of Yale law school, said political informers used by the FBI are "intended as a restraint on free expression, as a curb on movements for change."

"It can hardly be denied that the self censorship which it (surveillance by informers) stimulates is far more damaging than many expressed statutory or administrative restraints."

Former FBI agent Robert Wall supported Donner's charges. Wall said he resigned from the Washington bureau in 1970 because he became disgusted by the FBI's surveillance activities. "Anyone who would say something against the Vietnam war had to be watched and watched closely. The chilling effect was very real," he said.

Donner concluded that "thoughtful Americans must begin to ask themselves whether 'national security'... really requires that we corrupt and bribe our youths, blacks, professors, students and others to betray friends and associates; whether there is no other way to defend ourselves... than to institutionalize the surveillance of non-violent protest activity."

The participants in the conference questioned whether all surveillance should be

ended, or only that concerned with political dissent. There was a strong feeling, expressed by John Doar, former assistant attorney general for civil rights during the Kennedy administration, that the use of informants was necessary in protecting civil rights workers and combatting organized crime.

The use of wiretaps and electronic surveillance was the subject of another paper, prepared by Victor Navasky, author of "Kennedy Justice," and Nathan Lewin, a Washington attorney.

Navasky charged that there has been "a history of deceit, ambivalence and confusion within the government concerning bugs and taps," he said the use of "suicide taps," illegal wiretaps by FBI agents to obtain information without authorization from either the courts or FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, was wide spread.

The FBI Conference, sponsored by Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School and the Committee for Public Justice, will end Saturday.

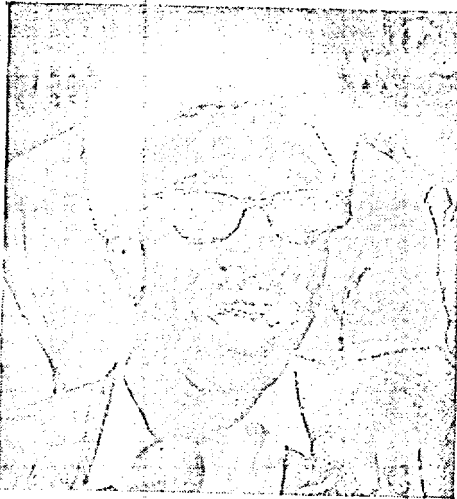
STATINTL

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE FBI:

Hoover Under Fire

In 47 years as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover has always had two things going for him: absolute loyalty at the highest echelons of the bureau and unswerving support from each incumbent Administration. But in the wake of a long run of embarrassments to the bureau (NEWSWEEK, May 10), the unexpected retirement earlier this month of William C. Sullivan—the third top-ranking official to depart in less



Brown: Manhattan shoot-out

than two years—has triggered a new round of attacks on the crusty, 76-year-old G-man. There are signs that some of Hoover's closest lieutenants are among the critics—and that the disaffection may have spread to the White House itself.

The main thrust of the fresh objections is that Hoover, ever sensitive to criticism of any kind, has increasingly isolated the FBI from other agencies of government and that the bureau's performance has consequently deteriorated—particularly in a field in which it once was justly famous, counter-espionage.

To be sure, an FBI man still sits in on the weekly meetings of the United States Intelligence Board, along with representatives from the CIA and the Pentagon's intelligence-gathering agencies. But Hoover has eliminated the special FBI teams that once handled liaison with other agencies of government. And he has ended the informal man-to-man byplay that once existed between FBI agents and their counterparts in other governmental agencies—including the CIA. Now G-men may consult other government officials on a case only in writing, through channels, and they must include an account of the contact in their reports.

When the agents themselves argued



Top G-man Hoover: New critics

against these and other Hoover policies they deemed restricting, the chief responded just as he usually has in the past—by branding the men insubordinate, and pressuring them into retirement. The first to go was the FBI's chief liaison officer with CIA, a 29-year Bureau veteran and onetime professional football player named Sam Papich. Papich stepped down last year after an incident involving alleged disclosures by an FBI agent to the CIA about the mysterious disappearance of a Czech-born Russian history professor at the University of Colorado.

But the sharpest rift involved Sullivan, another 30-year vet and one of the men deemed most likely to succeed Hoover. For years, Sullivan had been asking his chief for more money to fight Soviet-bloc espionage. For years, Hoover turned him down. Finally, Sullivan spoke out publicly on the threat as he saw it—infuriating Hoover and assuring his own professional demise. It came a year later—after Hoover, word has it, ordered Sullivan's phone disconnected and the lock on his office door changed.

The fact is that a small, elite corps of the FBI's best agents bear responsibility for all counter-espionage within U.S. shores. In recent years, however, this facet of FBI activity has gradually fallen on Hoover's list of priorities—despite the concern of other U.S. intelligence officers, who, like Sullivan, fear that the Soviet spy threat may be growing. In part, the neglect may reflect FBI frustration at State Department interference. After months of legwork, for example, the FBI arrested a Russian U.N. translator in Seattle last February as he was picking up missile secrets from a U.S. Air Force sergeant—but the State Department, fearing possible damage to improving U.S.-Soviet relations, had the Russian deported instead of prosecuted.

Glamorous Figures: The chief's growing body of critics, however, lays primary blame on Hoover himself—and what they contend has been his unwarranted preoccupation with the New Left and the U.S. Communist Party. The slow, often unrewarding, largely secret work of counter-espionage, they add, simply does not lend itself to the wholesale-arrest statistics Hoover likes to spread before Congress to bolster his appropriations requests each year.

All of which has led some Washington observers to conclude that an effort is finally under way within the Administration to force Mr. Nixon to ask his old friend to step down. Hoover's own lines are still open to the President; he chats with Attorney General John Mitchell almost daily on the phone. And the old crime fighter—a past master at protecting his bureaucratic flanks—shows no sign of caving in under the current pressure. As one senior military intelligence officer told NEWSWEEK's Nicholas Horrock, "Hoover understands that the sure whoever's on your side is more important than those who are ranged against you."

25 OCT 1971

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

The File on J. Edgar Hoover

UNDER J. Edgar Hoover's dictatorial, 47-year rule, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has in the past been widely regarded as one of the finest law-enforcement agencies in the world. Yet now the 76-year-old director's siefdom shows evidence of crumbling, largely because of his own mistakes. The FBI's spirit is sapped, its morale low, its initiative stifled. For the first time, there are doubts within the bureau and within the Administration about the FBI's ability to serve as an effective agency against subversion. An experienced former CIA agent, until recently an open admirer of the director, remarks unhappily: "Hoover, because of his personal pride, has seriously affected the efficient operation of American intelligence. And personal pride in a matter of national security

has no place. If a guy does that, he is a real liability." professor named Thomas Riha. The FBI had refused to give the president of the university any assurance that the disappearance did not involve foul play, but an FBI agent, acting on his own, told a CIA employee that it did not. The CIA man passed on the message —no foul play—to the president, who then let it slip to the press. Hoover was furious. Because of that fairly obscure incident, he has limited most FBI contacts with the CIA since then to written and telephone messages and occasional direct meetings that he specifically approves.

Shoring the Glory. Given the complexity of most espionage cases, coordination between the two agencies is often crucial. Men from the FBI and CIA continued, on rare occasions, to circumvent Hoover's directive by

out of our way to cooperate. That would mean sharing the so-called glory. It's an infantile view of things."

In recent months, Hoover has displayed a certain vindictiveness in more minor matters. Angered by a TWA pilot's criticism of an FBI attempt to prevent a skyjacking, Hoover first tried to have the pilot fired, then ordered his agents not to fly on TWA any more. Hoover also concluded that the Xerox Corp. was not cooperating sufficiently in an investigation of the theft of documents from an FBI office in Media, Pa. The FBI learned that copies of the documents distributed to newspapers were made on Xerox machines, and Xerox executives, in Hoover's judgment, did not disclose enough about customers who used the Xerox machines. He proposed replacing all of the FBI Xerox machines with IBM equipment, and was dissuaded only when told it would cost millions.

Ironic Tangle. Seven months before Hoover passed the mandatory retirement age of 70 in 1965, Lyndon Johnson extended his tenure indefinitely. Nixon has been as reluctant as past Presidents to face the political outcry that might follow the repudiation of a legend. A tangle of political ironies surrounds the director's present relations with the Nixon Administration. The President and Attorney General John Mitchell have been hoping for months to ease Hoover out with great ceremony and public thanks for his long, remarkable career.

The Administration has grown increasingly disenchanted with Hoover's performance, believing that the FBI was doing too little in intelligence against Soviet agents and against domestic radicals. Yet last spring, when Democrats in Congress led an attack against the FBI for the opposite reason —what they saw as an overzealous expansion of intelligence investigations —the Administration was forced to defend Hoover and postpone his retirement. There are those who believe that Hoover deliberately embroils himself in political controversies precisely because they serve to prolong his tenure. At least one highly ranked Justice Department official has urged reporters not to write stories critical of Hoover, so that the FBI director can be decorously removed.

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

Although long a favorite of Hoover's, Sullivan quarreled with his boss a decade ago over his non-Hooverian contention that the Ku Klux Klan represented a greater threat than the party. Since 1967, they have been at odds about espionage restrictions, ordered by Hoover,



has no place. If a guy does that, he is a real liability."

For months a feud between Hoover and one of his most senior assistants has shaken the higher levels of the bureau. In the midst of a bureaucratic war of memos, some FBI men have resigned to escape the crossfire. Said one Justice Department official who has followed the battle: "Hoover is flailing out in all directions. Everybody in the FBI is looking for cover." Even more significant is the pattern of damaging isolation in which Hoover has placed the bureau. A year and a half ago, he ordered the FBI to break off direct daily liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency, raising apprehension in the intelligence community about effective counterespionage in the U.S.

Hoover gave those orders in irritation over a minor piece of information that was relayed by an FBI agent in Denver to a CIA employee. The case involved the disappearance of a Czech-born University of Colorado pro-

meeting privately, without his knowledge. CIA men complained that Hoover's action effectively cut off the international from the national intelligence effort. One former CIA agent argues that Hoover, finding himself under heavy attack, believes that he is safer making fewer moves and allowing fewer initiatives so that there is less possibility of a damaging mistake.

Last July, Hoover increased his bureau's isolation by abolishing the seven-man FBI section that maintained contact with other U.S. intelligence units —including the Defense Intelligence Agency and the individual armed services' intelligence networks. Some observers speculated that Hoover took the action to prove that he was not discriminating against the CIA, that all major contacts could be handled by telephone and mail. In fact, Hoover has never been eager to exchange in-
cies and police departments. Says a former FBI official: "We've never gone

REDWOOD CITY, CAL.

TRIBUNE OCT 18 1971

E - 21,923

Are We Reduced To Spy-Catching by Mail?

If the Central Intelligence Agency obtains some evidence of domestic spying, stuff too sensitive to relay by telephone, is it really unable to deliver the facts in a face-to-face contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

If so, America's intelligence community isn't working as well as the national security requires, and the President should look into it and straighten it out.

"Leading" but unidentified members of the U.S. intelligence community have made the charge through the press. They say the CIA could only mail the hot tips to the FBI, or get FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's express consent for a special agent-to-agent meeting. They claim Hoover ordered the break in direct liaison 1½ years ago after growing piqued at the CIA in a furor about a leak from an FBI field office.

More than a year ago, Hoover abolished a seven-man FBI section that kept contact with a dozen important federal agencies, including five military intelligence units, customs and immigration. That liaison, too, now is done by phone or correspondence.

Our concern goes not so much to assessing blame as to the continuing impediment in intelligence machinery. With the British exposing Soviet spies in lots of 100, and with sophisticated equipment and computers making time of the essence, can America afford to wait for mail deliveries to nab spies?

If effective liaison does not exist, the President should do some head-knocking or some housecleaning. Bureaucratic strife, whoever is involved, must not be allowed to imperil the national security.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TRIBUNE

OCT 15 1974
M - 240,275
S - 674,302

Hoover vs. the CIA

For all of J. Edgar Hoover's much-vaunted anti-communism, he has apparently broken off relations between his Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). And the reason, according to intelligence officials in Washington, is little more than Hoover's vanity: The 76-year-old director was piqued over the CIA's refusal to divulge the name of an FBI agent who disclosed information to the CIA about the disappearance of a Czech-born University of Colorado professor in 1969.

These same officials are concerned over what's happened, as a result of Hoover's irritation, to the government's ability to control foreign espionage in this country. The British recently discovered the extent of Soviet espionage in their country, and surveys of embassy and foreign-office officials in other nations indicate that the picture is much the same there. It is no less so in the United States — yet, in the last three years, there have been only four instances in which the exposure of foreign espionage agents in this country has come to public attention.

So long as the world's powers are involved in espionage activities, prudence dictates that it's wise for gov-

ernments to know what's going on within their own borders. Hoover, in fact, has drummed that notion into the American consciousness with great success, and his reputation and position are based in large measure on his success in convincing the public of the need for FBI protection against Communist espionage or subversive activities.

But Washington's intelligence community is now questioning how good the FBI's protection is. The CIA is forbidden by law to operate as an intelligence agency within the United States, but it picks up information elsewhere in the world that the FBI had been able to use. The break-off of the liaison between the two agencies, intelligence officials contend, has left a gap that foreign agents may be able to exploit.

It's ironic that Hoover is allowing the FBI to become less effective in counter-espionage work because of his injured pride. That he is, however, is another indication that he's come to run the FBI as a personal fiefdom, placing his own reputation ahead of the agency's responsibilities. It's also another reason why President Nixon should give Hoover the honorable retirement he's long-since earned, and should place the FBI in new hands.

STATINTL



SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
CHRONICLE

OCT 15 1970
M - 480,235

Non-Communicating

THE SITUATION OF UNWILLING communication between the FBI and the CIA, as reported by the New York Times, is deplorable. It is particularly unfortunate if it results from a personal
miff and affront felt by Director J. Edgar Hoover. It is simply unacceptable that bruised feelings, however justified they might be, should be carried so far as to defeat the clear interest of the government in having unhesitating and co-ordinated intelligence from these two agencies.

MODESTO, CAL.
BEE

E -- 45,178
S -- 47,770

OCT 13 1977

An Editor's Notebook

Hoover's Retirement Is Overdue

By C. K. McClatchy, Executive Editor

DIRECTOR — J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has held his job for 46 years and served the nation well by building the bureau into a first rate crime detection organization.

Recent news stories, however, suggest his balance and judgment no longer are sufficient for the demands of his job.

The New York Times on Monday revealed that a year and a half ago Hoover had the FBI break off direct liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency in a fit of pique because the CIA would not disclose the name of an FBI agent who had given the CIA some confidential information.

Long known as a strong-willed director, Hoover ordered all contact between the two vital security agencies limited to mail, telephone and infrequent special

meetings. This ended the role of Sam Papich, the FBI agent, who had full-time responsibility for maintaining close contact with the CIA.

The FBI director was warned by Papich that communications with the CIA by mail would be an impossible arrangement that might leave a dangerous gap which enemy agents would try to exploit. Papich pointed out that the complexity of the intelligence work, along with the speed of travel and communication, made it essential there be direct links between the bureau and more than a dozen CIA officials every day.

OTHERS — Four months later, according to the Times, Hoover also abolished the seven man FBI section which handled liaison with other government offices, including the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Office of Naval Intelligence, Army Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence and the State Department.

The Times reported Hoover said the work of this section could be properly handled by telephone and correspondence. This might be amusing if an automatic business executive issued such an obviously foolish order while running an unimportant business enterprise, but Hoover's arbitrary edict is affecting the most sensitive areas of national security.

To get around the damaging effect of Hoover's order, officials of the FBI and CIA have held private meetings, unknown to Hoover, at which they exchanged information, but this is a hell of a way to run an intelligence service.

High officials of the intelligence com-

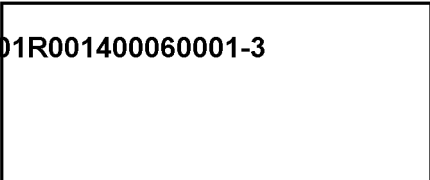
munity are concerned about the government's ability to control foreign espionage under these difficult circumstances, according to the Times. There now is a feeling among the government's top intelligence officials that the situation has become so acute that Hoover should be deposed and some of these intelligence leaders are making their views known for the first time.

ARBITRARY — The Times says the criticism of Hoover, who is now 73, centers on his "insecurity and authoritarianism." He makes arbitrary decisions such as the one to end the liaison with the CIA and other intelligence agencies in moments of anger and then sticks to them with dogged stubbornness, regardless of any adverse consequences.

The retirement, under pressure, of William C. Sullivan, 59, a 30-year FBI veteran who at one time was Hoover's heir apparent, created another furor in October. Hoover was said to have been made furlous by Sullivan's efforts to modernize the FBI and direct more of its efforts toward fighting organized crime.

There is a personal tragedy involved in Hoover's present problem. He deserves great praise for the loyal devotion he has given to his task. There is no doubt he has made an invaluable contribution to the nation. The tragedy is that he is hanging on to his job when he no longer is capable of doing the job.

It has reached the point his friends should say "retire." If this does not happen, then it is time for President Richard Nixon to ask for his resignation.



Ex-CU Head Has No Comment on Alleged CIA Word About Riha

By FRED GILLES

Denver Post Staff Writer

Dr. Joseph R. Smiley, former president of the University of Colorado, declined comment Monday on a report that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided assurances of the safety of Prof. Thomas Riha shortly after he vanished from the University of Colorado about 2 1/2 years ago.

Smiley, now president of the University of Texas at El Paso, recalled that while he was president of CU, he had contacted "reliable sources in Washington" in April 1969 and had received the assurance that Riha was "alive and well" at that time.

But a February 1970 investigation by the Denver District attorney's office indicated there was "no substantial basis in fact" for Smiley's public statement about Riha's safety.

Also in February 1970, the Boulder Police Department said that its earlier "alive-and-well" report on Riha was based on "a misunderstanding." Similar reports of Riha's safety issued by the Denver Police Department were based on Boulder police sources.

A New York Times dispatch Sunday said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) broke off direct liaison with the CIA a year and a half ago because the CIA wouldn't tell J. Edgar Hoover who had leaked information about Riha's disappearance to the CIA, which then passed on the information to Smiley.

The dispatch said the FBI learned that there had been no foul play, and that Riha had chosen to leave Boulder for personal reasons.

According to well-informed sources, the dispatch said, an

agent in the FBI's Denver office, acting on his own, told a CIA employe in Denver. The CIA then suggested that the FBI tell Smiley, and when the FBI refused, the CIA went ahead and informed Smiley, pledging him to secrecy.

A CIA spokesman in Washington declined comment Monday on the reported rift between the CIA and the FBI.

SPLIT DENIED

Other Washington sources, however, insisted there has been no disruption of any kind in the direct liaison between the two agencies. The CIA and the FBI, this source said, "constantly have communication by telephone, letter and (weekly) meetings of the U. S. Intelligence Board, as well as in conversations with one another."

The board was described as the liaison instrument between members of the intelligence community. Members of the board include the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency, State Department and U. S. Atomic Energy Commission.

An FBI spokesman was quoted in the New York Times dispatch as denying any break in direct FBI-CIA liaison a year and a half ago. "The FBI," the spokesman was quoted, "has always maintained liaison with the CIA, and it is very close and effective liaison."

The dispatch said that as a result of the alleged break in liaison, high officials of the intelligence community were concerned about the government's ability to control foreign espionage in this country.

'STILL CONCERNED'

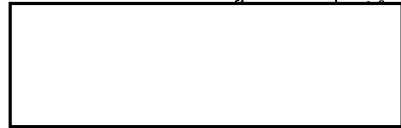
In a telephone conversation from El Paso Monday, Smiley told The Denver Post, "I'm still concerned about the professor

(Riha) and the impenetrable mystery about all this."

Riha, then 40, disappeared March 15, 1969, from CU, where he was an associate professor of Russian history. An acquaintance of the professor, Mrs. Galya Tannenbaum, committed suicide by cyanide poisoning last March at Colorado State Hospital. Before she died, she reportedly said Riha had "just made it to Russia" after leaving Boulder.

Mrs. Tannenbaum had been committed to the hospital after being found legally insane on the July 1969 date she allegedly

forged Riha's name to a check for a charter flight. At the time of her death she was involved in court proceedings in connection with her alleged conversion of some of Riha's property to her own use.



STATINTL

10 OCT 1971

Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001400060001-3

F.B.I. Is Said to Have Cut Direct Liaison With C.I.A.

Hoover Move in Quarrel 1 1/2 Years Ago Causes Concern Among Intelligence Officials About Coping With Spies

By ROBERT M. SMITH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 9—The Federal Bureau of Investigation broke off direct liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency a year and a half ago because the C.I.A. would not tell J. Edgar Hoover who had leaked information from his organization, according to authoritative sources.

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

To offset some of the danger, officials of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. have held private meetings, unknown to Mr. Hoover, at which they exchanged information. Authorized communication is limited to mail, telephone and infrequent special meetings.

F.B.I. Spokesman's Statement

Asked if it was true that the bureau broke direct liaison with the C.I.A. more than a year ago, an F.B.I. spokesman said today. "It is not true." He added, "The F.B.I. has always maintained liaison with the C.I.A., and it is very close and effective liaison." Spokesmen

for the C.I.A. could not be reached today.

The suspension of direct contact is one of the factors prompting leading members of the intelligence community to feel that Mr. Hoover must be deposed as Director of the F.B.I. The feelings of these officials run so high that some of them have dropped their customary secrecy to make their views known. Others remain silent because they fear public criticism might boomerang, reinforcing Mr. Hoover's desire to continue in his post and evoking public support for him.

Reputation a Factor

Adding to the anxiety and anger of members of the intelligence community is Mr. Hoover's reputation. In their view, his personality is a compound of insecurity and authoritarianism. They fear the 76-year-old Director will do nothing to repair the breakdown in liaison between the two agencies and will try to remain as long as he can at the post he has held for 46 years.

Mr. Hoover's retirement has been periodically predicted and

is said to be favored, for a variety of reasons, by several prominent members of the Administration. But so far there is no sign that he has lost the backing of the one person who counts—President Nixon.

Only four cases involving the exposure of foreign espionage agents in the United States have come to public attention in the last three years. Two of the cases involved the expulsion of Soviet agents; another involved two Cuban diplomats at the United Nations and a South African girl, and the fourth dealt with a Swiss Government official.

The story of the severance of F.B.I.-C.I.A. liaison begins with the disappearance of Prof. Thomas Riha in March, 1969. Mr. Riha was a Czech-born associate professor of modern Russian history at the University of Colorado.

The 40-year-old professor left the university abruptly, apparently took nothing with him and left a mysterious trail. He disappeared from the campus so suddenly that, though normally a neat and precise man, he left papers scattered on his university desk where he had been preparing his income tax return.

Friends and fellow faculty members said they feared that Professor Riha might be dead, but police officials in Boulder and Denver and the former president of the university, Dr. Joseph R. Smiley, insisted that he was alive.

Dr. Smiley told the press enigmatically at the time that he had been assured of the professor's safety "by what I consider reliable sources" in Washington.

"I repeat my real regret that I can't go beyond what I have said," he told The New York Times in a telephone interview in January, 1970. "A confidence is a confidence."

Confidential Information

What Dr. Smiley, by then president of the University of Texas at El Paso, could not say was that he had been given the information concerning Professor Riha in confidence by an employee of the C.I.A.

The agency was interested in the Riha case because of the professor's Czech origin. It wanted to know if there had been foreign interference. The F.B.I. learned that there had been no foul play, that the professor had chosen to leave for personal reasons.

According to well informed sources, an individual agent in the F.B.I.'s large Denver office, acting on his own, told a C.I.A. employe in Denver. (The C.I.A.

is restricted by law from operating as an intelligence agency within this country. The employe in Denver was involved in recruiting.)

The agency then suggested that the F.B.I. tell Dr. Smiley, who was very concerned about Mr. Riha's disappearance, what had happened on a confidential basis to quiet his and the community's fears. The bureau refused.

After the refusal, the C.I.A. went ahead and told Dr. Smiley, pledging him to secrecy. According to reliable sources, Dr. Smiley later inadvertently let it get out that there had been no foul play. The question arose at F.B.I. headquarters in Washington: How had the president of the university obtained this information?

The bureau office in Denver told headquarters that it had not given the information to anyone. It eventually was learned here, however, that an individual F.B.I. man had told the story to a C.I.A. man. For Mr. Hoover, the question then became: Which of my men gave out this information? He asked the C.I.A.

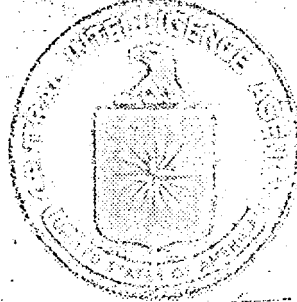
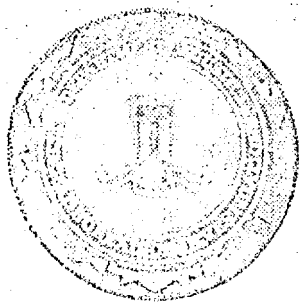
The C.I.A. man in Denver was inflexible. He told his superiors that the information had been given him in confidence and it was a matter of confidence, science. According to sources, he well knew what would happen to any F.B.I. man he named—at the least, exile to Montana; at the most, dismissal.

The C.I.A. man held his ground under pressure from the bureau, saying any disclosure would be a breach of faith. The Director of the C.I.A., Richard Helms, accepted his man's position and refused to force him to divulge the F.B.I. man's identity.

Irritated, Mr. Hoover broke off all direct liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Until February of last year, the F.B.I. man who provided the personal link with the C.I.A. was Sam Papich. Mr. Papich grew up in Montana and worked in mines there before he attended Northwestern University. He played professional football, then went to work for the F.B.I.

Mr. Papich worked in Latin America for a while for the bureau and handled several special assignments. He later became the liaison officer between the bureau and the C.I.A. His reputation was that of an honest and sincere man with high professional competence and an insatiable appetite for work. Most importantly, in an area potentially fraught with jealousy, intrigue and deceit.



WASHINGTON POST

1 OCT 1971

F.Y.I.

From time to time the question is asked why newspapers never seem to get anything right and one answer, of course, is that we try, but that we are only human. Another answer, however—and a better one—is that in the complex and delicate interworkings of the press and the government it takes at least a little cooperation by the government if the public is to get a version of events which can properly be said to be right. As a case in point, we would like, strictly For Your Information, to walk you through a brief case history involving a news story on Page One of The Washington Post, on Sept. 3, and a subsequent article on this page on Sept. 8, both of which asserted that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had employed lie detector (polygraph) tests in an investigation of State Department employees. The original story said three or four officials were interrogated in this fashion as part of a government-wide inquiry into a leak of classified information having to do with the American position in the SALT negotiations. Today, in the letters space on the opposite page, FBI Director Hoover states categorically that both stories were "totally and completely untrue" and that "at no time did the FBI use polygraphs, as alleged, in its investigation." He takes us sharply to task for "this inept handling of information."

Well, we have looked into the matter and it is clear that we were wrong about the FBI's use of lie detectors. We are pleased to have this opportunity to express our regrets to Mr. Hoover and to set the record straight. But we are not prepared to leave it at that, if only because the implication of Mr. Hoover's sweeping denial ("totally and completely untrue") is that the original story was entirely wrong—that no polygraphs in fact were used upon State Department employees — and this is clearly not the case. Nor is it quite so certain whose handling of this information was "inept." The facts are, from all we can gather, that polygraph tests were administered to State Department officials by employees, and with equipment belonging to an outside agency—presumably the Central Intelligence Agency which has these instruments avail-

able for regular use in security checks of its own personnel.

In other words, we had the wrong agency, which is an important error and one we would have been happy to correct immediately, before it had been compounded in the subsequent article on Sept. 8, if somebody in the government had chosen to speak up. But the FBI was silent until Mr. Hoover's letter arrived 10 days later, and Secretary of State Rogers, who was asked about the story at a press conference on Sept. 8 in a half-dozen different ways, adroitly avoided a yes-or-no answer every time. That is to say, he did not confirm the role of the FBI, but neither did he deny it; he simply refused to discuss methods, while upholding the utility of lie-detector tests in establishing probable innocence, if not probable guilt. And that remains the State Department's position, even in the face of Mr. Hoover's denial. No clarification, no confirmation, no comment—despite the fact that the original story in The Post had been checked with the State Department and the role of the FBI had been confirmed by an official spokesman on those familiar anonymous, not-for-attribution terms which government officials resort to when they don't want to take responsibility publicly for what they say, and which newspaper reporters yield to when there is no other way to attribute assertions of fact.

The result of this protracted flim-flam was, first of all, to leave the Justice Department and the FBI falsely accused of administering lie detectors to officials of another agency, and then, with Mr. Hoover's denial, to leave the impression that no polygraphs were used at all, and you have to ask yourself what public interest is served by having this sort of misinformation circulating around, gathering credence. It is not an uncommon practice, of course, for the government, when it is confronted in print with an embarrassing and not altogether accurate news story, to clam up completely rather than help straighten out inaccuracies—especially when clarification risks confirmation of that part of the story which is accurate. But it is not a practice that does much to further public knowledge. And still less does it help the newspapers get things right.

BOSTON GLOBE
20 SEPTEMBER 1971

After 1967 expose CIA sought new ties with campus, labor

By Crocker Snow Jr.
Globe Staff

The written report of a confidential discussion about Central Intelligence Agency operations held in 1968, a year after the public controversy over agency involvement with the National Student Assn., shows the CIA was anxious to establish new contacts with other student groups, foundations, universities, labor organizations and corporations for its overseas work.

The discussion was held in January 1968 among ranking government officials and former officials, including several former CIA officers, under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Though no direct quotes are attributed in the report, the opinion was stated by the discussion leader, Richard M. Bissell Jr., formerly a deputy director of the CIA, that: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though these relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected."

The discussion also referred to the continued utility of labor groups and American corporations to CIA operations. No such groups or corporations are named.

The written report, like others sponsored by the council, is considered by the participants as "confidential" and "completely off the record."

The document is being circulated by the Africa Research Group, a small, radically oriented organization headquartered in Cambridge, because "it offers a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of CIA manipulations."

Portions of the document are scheduled to appear today in the "University Review," a New York-based monthly.

The document reflects individual assessments of the CIA by those present. The report includes a number of general statements:

—The two elements of CIA activity, "intelligence collection" and "covert action" (or "intervention") are not separated within the agency but are considered to "overlap and interact."

—The focus of classical espionage in Europe and other developed parts of the world had shifted "toward targets in the underdeveloped world."

—Due to the clear jurisdictional boundary between the CIA and FBI, the intelligence agency was "adverse to surveillance of US citizens overseas (even when specifically requested) and adverse to operating against targets in the United States, except foreigners here as transients."

—The acquisition of a secret speech by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in February 1956 was a classic example of the political use of secretly acquired intelligence. The State Department released the text which, according to one participant, prompted "the beginning of the split in the Communist movement." Since this speech had been specifically targeted before acquired, the results meant to this participant that "if you get a precise target and go after it, you can change history."

—"Penetration," by establishing personal relationships with individuals rather than simply hiring them, was regarded as especially useful in the underdeveloped world. The statement is made that "covert intervention (in the underdeveloped world) is usually designed to operate on the internal power balance, often with a fairly short-term objective."

—The reconnaissance of

during the '50s provided "limited but dramatic results." flights were late of the cancelled scheduled summit between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev after Francis Gary Powers was shot down in Siberia.)

"After five days of flights were cancelled from the Russian side, these operations were highly secret in the United States, and with the exception of the overflight 'leaked' to the press, the US government has never been forced to take any action."

The meeting, which was not to consider CIA missions so much as to characterize general concepts and procedures, was part of a council study of "Intelligence and Foreign Policy."

The chairman of the meeting was J. Edgar Hoover, an inveterate banker who has served in Washington as undersecretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury in the Kennedy Administration.

Twenty persons were listed as attending including prominent former officials and educators like Harry Howe Ransom of Vanderbilt University and David B. Truman, president of Mt. Holyoke College.

The list included Allen W. Dulles, former director of the CIA, and Robert Amory Jr., who had been deputy director, as well as Bissell, who had been deputy director until shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion, in which the CIA was involved.

The discussion took place just a year after revelations by Ramparts Magazine concerning CIA-funded training of agents for South Vietnam at

The document includes the statement that "it is notably true of the subsidies to student, labor and cultural groups that have recently been publicized that the agency's objective was never to control their activities, only occasionally to point them in a particular direction, but primarily to enlarge them and render them more effective."

In an article in the Saturday Evening Post in May 1967, Thomas Braden, who had helped set up the subsidies with Dulles, defended the concept as a way to combat the seven major front organizations of the Communist world in which "the Russians through the use of their international fronts had stolen the great words" such as peace, justice and freedom."

The report shows that the publicity had not been as damaging to CIA activities as some had feared.

STATINTL

HUTCHINSON, KAN.
NEWS

JUN 23 1977

D - 50,622

S - 51,841

Hoover's Red Warning

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has quietly entered into the growing debate over President Nixon's Red China policy.

Writing in a veterans' magazine, Hoover sounds an alarm that "the shadow" of Red China is falling across America. He says that "subversive" activities by the Communist Chinese already are mounting, and he implies that such activities will become critical if the present thaw in relations leads to recognition of the mainland.

His story has been taken as an open endorsement of the forces that seek to block that recognition, both by the U.S. and in the UN.

His argument is a right-leaning marshmallow.

Hoover is well aware that "subversive activities" by foreign governments are bound to increase when they have established a diplomatic base. This long has been recognized as a two-way street, as any

CIA agent could inform the FBI director.

The major accomplishment of establishing diplomatic bases is, however, that it offers a direct line of communications between heads of government and can lead to relationships between the peoples of those governments.

Not recognizing the nation with the largest population on earth would be funny if the world was a stage and governments were its stars. Since that is not the case, it is a folly with far more dangers than laughs.

It is natural to assume that spying activities in the U. S. would increase somewhat when, or if, Red China is recognized. That is a major FBI concern that should and would not be taken lightly.

But spreading the cold word on the thaw now is an open political maneuver by Hoover. You'd think he had been elected to the office he has held so long.

Special Report

The Wiretap

How Much

Really Goes On?

How extensive is wiretapping by federal agencies? Is it a necessary evil or has it become a threat to American society? To find out, Washington correspondent Kelly spent weeks interviewing officials, FBI agents and former agents and pouring over court records.

By HARRY KELLY
News American
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Two blocks from the home of Congress is a three-story, concrete building with locked, steel-sheathed doors. Unlike the liquor store on one side and the woman's shop on the other it carries no signs of advertising. It wears an air of mystery and intrigue.

Pedestrians walking on the other side of Pennsylvania Avenue, past the big annex of the Library of Congress, can see men moving behind the blinds on the second and third floors. The ground floor is almost faceless except for the closed garage doors.

"I think that building with the garage doors is the center of FBI wiretapping on capitol hill," says a 35-year-old senator's assistant with passionate conviction. "I can't prove a damn thing, but I know it."

Up another block, beyond the street-corner vendor selling cut flowers, is a small shop with a giant poster in the window bearing the warning "Shhh, Someone is Listening."

ALONG WITH the warning is a bigger-than-life size picture of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover with enormously magnified ears.

Is this what President Nixon calls "hysteria" and Attorney General John Mitchell describes as "paranoia?"

The building which the Senate aide denounces as a covert FBI wiretap center for eavesdropping on members of Congress is an FBI installation all right.

It is the crypto-analysis section of the FBI crime laboratory where everything from horse race bookie's mysterious jottings to the code of the master Soviet spy Rudolph Ivanovich Abel have been broken.

Has an unreasonable fear of federal electronic surveillance activities developed — fueled in part by Mitchell's own tough talk, disclosures of surveillance, and Democratic leader Hale Boggs' charge that his telephone been tapped by the FBI?

The evidence indicates that federal agencies do more wiretapping and bugging than they officially admit — in a trend that has increased significantly — but still do not do as much as many critics fear.

"Lord, there couldn't possibly be as much electronic interception as people seem to think there is," says a former official. "There isn't that many agents to do it or money around to monitor the damn taps or tapes."

The average cost of a federal electronic interception last year was put at \$12,106.

ALTHOUGH THE FBI gets practically all the wiretap publicity, other federal agencies are involved to a lesser degree in the electronic interception of conversations, including the Secret Service, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Customs Bureau and the Internal Revenue Service.

The Central Intelligence Agency is forbidden by law to carry on domestic intelligence gathering operations, so it turns most of these missions over to the FBI.

Although Attorney General Mitchell has ridiculed the far-out view of some in Washington who feel every room is bugged and that every phone is tapped and that the FBI is tapping the CIA, and the CIA is tapping the FBI, there is testimony that the FBI did tap an official CIA telephone.

In Washington, the center of FBI wiretapping is reliably reported to be the FBI's Washington field office, one block from the Justice Department and only three blocks from the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone company.

"In the old days," recalls a former agent, "if you wanted to tap someone's telephone, you'd climb the pole outside his house, hook up the tap

and they run it to a car or truck at the foot of the pole. Now there are a hell of a lot more wires and cables, and gadgets. It's a lot more complicated."

The FBI is understood to lease 450 telephone lines that run from the telephone company to the Washington field office and can be used for tapping and bugging.

SOME OF THESE lines, according to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, are used to tap telephones and teletypes of foreign missions and foreign nations working for other countries.

A telephone company spokesman said he "couldn't talk about that" — the leased lines — and then added quickly "I'm not aware of it. If there is such a thing you'll have to direct that query to the FBI or the Justice Department . . . we can't talk any more about the government's telephone service than we can about yours."

He acknowledged that when the FBI presents a court order for a wire tap under the organized crime act or in a national security case approved by the attorney general, the telephone company personnel will identify the line for the FBI but does not make the attachment.

An FBI spokesman declined to comment about any leased wire telephone lines.

The FBI, and other federal agencies, have authority to tap and bug under the 1968 omnibus crime bill and presidential orders in organized crime cases with a court's approval and in national security cases.

Most of the current controversy has developed over Mitchell's claim of the right to use wiretaps in the surveillance of domestic

in the surveillance of domestic groups, such as the Black Panthers, the Weatherman and others deemed to be radicals or dangerous.

The Justice Department is now appealing court decisions denying the government has such a wiretap right without court order.

THE JUSTICE Department and the FBI have acknowledged in court or in other statements the wire tapping, bugging or "overhearing" of the late Rev. Martin Luther King, boxer Muhammad Ali, black militant H. Rap Brown, five of the defendants in the Chicago seven trial, black panther leader David Hilliard and Sister Elizabeth McAlister in the alleged plot to kidnap presidential adviser Henry Kissinger.

Clark, a critic of wiretapping who said he rejected all FBI requests to use taps in domestic security cases, said he knew of no case where Hoover tried to go around his back to use a tap or bug without his approval.

The city's folklore is full of stories adding to the shadows around the practice of wiretapping.

Robert Amory, Jr., said high officials of the White House showed him evidence that the FBI was tapping his official telephones when he was deputy director of Intelligence for the CIA from 1952 through 1962.

Now a Washington lawyer, Amory said he believes the phones were tapped because he favored Red China's admission into the United Nations in the 1950s.

He suggested that the tapping was part of the tugging and hauling between the CIA and FBI at that time.

At the start of the bitter foreign policy debate in the Johnson administration, a go-between tried to smooth relations with a high administration official. Their meeting splintered on disagreement over a point with the high official reportedly contending, "we know this is true. In this city of ugly devices we know many things."

IN A CONVERSATION on the general subject of wiretapping an official of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the Justice Department suddenly blurted: "Some people here think these phones are tapped. I say the hell with them. Let them listen." The official has since left the department.

The debate, with its constitutional and political overtones, has also developed the brassy ring of Washington's favorite bureaucratic sport — the numbers game.

STATINTL

8 JUN 1971

16 times this year

Hoover's life threatened

(UPI) — The FBI received 23 threats on the life of Director J. Edgar Hoover, last year and 16 so far this year. That's why the FBI has four armored cars.

Mr. Hoover disclosed in testimony made public today that both he and Attorney General John N. Mitchell have used the \$27,000 cars in getting around New York City and Los Angeles.

ARMORED CARS

"The armored vehicles are used for protective purposes," Mr. Hoover told a closed door house appropriations subcommittee hearing March 17.

The other two cars are kept in Washington.

The FBI, Mr. Hoover also told the committee, currently is tapping 47 telephones and has secretly planned at least six microphones for security reasons or to investigate organized crime. None of them is being used on congressmen, he said.

He said he "wanted to put the record straight" in the secret testimony.

House Democratic Leader Hale Boggs of Louisiana charged earlier this year the FBI was bugging congressional telephones. However, he never produced evidence of his charges.

DENIAL

Mr. Hoover cited a newspaper article (Washington Post) which he said raised "suspicion that Sen. Birch Bayh's (D-Ind.) office was bugged during the Judge Clement Haynsworth's nomination to the Supreme Court was rejected by the Senate last year, with Sen. Bayh among the more vocal Haynsworth opponents.

"We, of course, never had an electronic coverage of Senator Bayh or any other senator or congressman," Mr. Hoover said. "Furthermore, the charge that the FBI has tapped CIA phones is absolutely false. At no time in the history of FBI has this ever been done.

"I would like to add, also, we have never tapped a telephone of any congressman or any senator since I have been director of the bureau," he said.

Mr. Hoover said his testimony on FBI electronic surveillance was cleared by Attorney General John N. Mitchell prior to his March 17 appearance before the subcommittee.

"We are operating 33 telephone surveillances and four microphone installations in bureau cases in the security field," Hoover reported, and said two additional telephone taps were waiting to be installed.

HITS CLARK AGAIN

Mr. Hoover also took exception to a recently published book by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who was critical of Mr. Hoover's handling of the FBI.

Mr. Hoover recalled how Mr. Clark "crushed him and the FBI during Mr. Clark's tenure as attorney general, citing a speech he made in 1967.

"When I listened to the recording of that speech and read what Clark had said in his book I was so outraged it caused me to make the statement that he is a 'jellyfish,'" Mr. Hoover said.

"He did the same thing to me," Rep. John J. Rooney, D-N.Y., subcommittee chairman said. "He (Clark) spoke at a dinner in my honor at the Waldorf Astoria in New York and lauded me to the skies. As a matter of fact, it was to me a little sickening, he was laying it on so heavy."

"He was too sirupy," Hoover interjected.

"He later attacked me and endorsed my primary opponent, ignoring everything he had said just a year or so before that," Mr. Rooney added.

"He did the same thing to me," Mr. Hoover said.

Russia still poses the main threat to American security, Mr. Hoover said and added that Moscow has encouraged terrorist acts by domestic protest groups to further its goal of overthrowing the U.S. government.

In 1970 "new left and black extremists stepped up their violent and terroristic tactics" while "old line communist countries, intensified their intelligence operations, targets against the United States," he said.

"The most serious threat to the security of our country is Soviet Russia and its satellites," he said.

He also warned that "despite its differences with the Soviet Union, Red China continues to regard 'the United States as the common enemy of the people of the world and its propaganda is designed to stimulate disruption of our society.'"

He voiced the warnings in support of his budget request for \$318.6 million for 1972, which is \$4.2 million more than last year and which along with \$14 million he got last month in a supplemental appropriation, would allow for 1,000 new agents to bring the FBI agent force to 8,873.

Mr. Hoover also announced that the FBI opened six new "foreign liaison posts" during the past year in Lebanon, Venezuela, Denmark, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Israel making a total of 17 such posts "to develop and maintain a close, cooperative relationship with the police and other investigative agencies of the countries which they cover."

STATINTL

FBI Inspection

The FBI is charged with the most important police functions in our Republic. Its duty is to investigate not only serious federal crimes but also domestic and foreign political threats which rise to the level of treason, sabotage or "subversion." It is the nearest thing America has to a secret police. During the past 50 years Presidents and Congresses of both parties have given the FBI and its director ever-wider responsibilities, powers and discretion. Yet no matter where their sympathies lie, few will deny that the Bureau is undergoing the most serious and sustained attack in its history.

The proudly displayed conservative attitudes of Mr. Hoover and his ill-concealed disdain for the left have produced a very real fear that the director does not carefully distinguish between his own political preference and his professional work. Practically every politician in Washington more liberal than a right-wing Republican feels that the FBI has him under constant surveillance, and that the director has a dossier filled with all his peccadilloes. If a "law and order" champion like Rep. John Dowdy, who was instrumental in passing the DC Crime Bill, is not immune from surveillance, who is? Whatever the judgment on Hale Boggs' wiretapping charges, it is significant that an astute, political animal, who is also House Democratic Majority Leader, could launch a broadscale attack on the Bureau. The Bureau's competitor agencies, such as the CIA, the IRS, the Secret Service, military intelligence, and state and local police forces have also had much reason over the past 25 years to develop a healthy respect for and jealousy of the power, effectiveness, and political strength of the Bureau. There are hints and rumors that even Mr. Hoover's superiors in the Justice Department are looking for a graceful way to ease him into retirement. Against this background, it was only natural that the recent outrage over the revelations of Army political spying should have so quickly shifted and broadened to focus on the FBI and its activities. Without at all minimizing the seriousness of the Army's spying, it was short-lived, amateurish, small potatoes compared to what the FBI has been doing for decades.

It must have been some perverse fate that decreed that the director should be confronted in so short a time with so large a collection of controversies—the public indictment of the Berrigans before any legal action had been taken against them; the forced withdrawal of agents from a class conducted by a professor who had been critical of the director; the firing of agent Shaw for being so indiscreet as to be less than sycophantic in his defense of the director; the embarrassing theft of FBI documents and the excruciating glimpse they gave into Bureau inefficiency and

inanity; the firing of three clerks for off-duty envelope-stuffing; the bugging (legally) of a congressman; the surveillance of Earth-Day, the most nonpolitical political demonstration in memory; and the TWA pilot's troubles. The list becomes larger every day. Mr. Hoover has faced similar incidents before. What is new is the political climate, the concurrence of the controversies, and of course, Hoover's age.

At 76, his attitudes have hardened, his enemies have become legion and emboldened, and his friends have become embarrassed. The revealing meeting among "top White House aides" a few weeks ago is evidence of the political mortality of a man who only recently was universally acknowledged to be invulnerable. It is revealing, in the first place, because it was held at all; second, because it took 25 minutes to conclude the director's retirement couldn't be forced; third, because a top presidential aide deliberately leaked the details of the meeting to the press; and finally, because the reason for not retiring the director right then was that he couldn't be removed under fire. Naming a successor has become a popular lunch-time game all over Washington.

While friends of the Bureau fulminate and enemies rejoice, the fact remains that this is a serious situation for the FBI and for the country. Who succeeds Hoover is not the only or the central question. No agency, and certainly not one charged with so much power in an area so fraught with political and constitutional dangers, should be permitted to go 50 years without a public accounting. Not only must we guard against political abuse, illegality, and infringements of our political liberties, but we must also protect against bureaucratic arthritis.

An investigation is a necessity. And it should be by Congress. No presidential body of "distinguished Americans" would have the power, the trust, or gain the public attention that is necessary for this undertaking. But no existing committee or subcommittee of Congress meets the prerequisites that are called for. Senator Sam Ervin's Constitutional Rights subcommittee has done fine service in publicizing the prevalence and danger of political surveillance. But it has Bureau friends on it like Senators Thurmond, Hruska, Byrd and McClellan, and it has Bureau enemies like Senators Bayh, Kennedy and Tunney. An inquiry into the Bureau by Ervin's subcommittee would probably end in a shambles. And then there is always Mr. Hoover's friend, James Eastland, who is not only chairman of the full Judiciary Committee of which Ervin's group is a subcommittee, but also chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee as well. Clearly, the Ervin subcommittee will not do.

What will do is a Select Senate Committee, chaired by Sam Ervin. Ervin has just the right qualities for the task. He is a conservative, he personally likes the

28 APR 1971

Assessing the FBI

House Majority Leader Hale Boggs' transparent failure to back up his specific charge that the FBI had tapped his home telephone should not be allowed to obscure the significance of his contribution to an understanding of the grave threat which the bureau presents to American liberty. It is true—and the fact needs to be acknowledged candidly—that Mr. Boggs said more than he has been able to sustain in his attack on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover two weeks ago. "I charge categorically," he said, "that the FBI has had me under surveillance — my personal life." This newspaper commented at the time that the charge was, by its nature, unprovable. Certainly Mr. Boggs' glib assertion in a speech to the House that an unidentified telephone company investigator once told him that someone, also unidentified, had at some time placed a tap on his telephone—a tap which had been removed prior to the inspection of his line by the company investigator—fell ludicrously short of proof positive. Mr. Boggs' subsequent appearance on the TV show "Face the Nation" was even more embarrassing. Serious criticism of the FBI suffered a setback in consequence.

Nevertheless, recent events have afforded incontrovertible evidence that the FBI has engaged in widespread surveillance of Americans on purely political grounds and that the FBI has employed techniques of surveillance which high officials of the Department of Justice sought to hoodwink the public into believing it did not employ. In his speech to the House on April 22, Congressman Boggs said some indisputable things about the FBI which he should have said in the first place; and he put the blame for the FBI's excesses for the first time precisely where it belongs—on the shoulders of the United States Congress.

"Today," he said, "I see what until now I did not permit myself to see. Our apathy in this Congress, our silence in this House, our very fear of speaking out in other forums has watered the roots and hastened the growth of a vine of tyranny which is ensnaring that Constitution and Bill of Rights which we are each sworn to defend and uphold . . . What has occurred could not have occurred without our consent and complicity here on Capitol Hill . . ."

"We have established the rule of the dossier.
"We have conferred respectability upon the informer.

"We have sanctioned the use of bribes and payments to citizen to spy upon citizen. . . ."

"No member of this House knows—or can know with any certainty—what the bureaus and agencies involved with the liberties of the American people may be doing. . . ."

"Today, as we in the Congress undertake to recover and restore the people's liberty, we find that it is ourselves who are called to account, ourselves who are under surveillance, ourselves who are prisoners of the power which our silence permitted to come into being."

This is a terrible indictment—and a true one. For at least 25 years—of the 47 years during which he served as director of the FBI—Mr. Hoover has been treated by Congress not as a public servant but as a royal personage. His appearances before the appropriations committees were occasions for sheer fawning and adulation, not for inquiry into his performance. And, indeed, such studies as the appropriations committees may have made as to the ways in which the bureau expended the public funds entrusted to it were made largely by FBI agents assigned to the committee as investigators.

No committee of Congress has ever presumed to demand a sampling of the bureau's reports on government employees to determine whether they are done wisely or foolishly, if they are filled with facts or with unverified gossip and rumor.

No committee of Congress has ever inquired into the extent of FBI surveillance or investigation or eavesdropping or snooping—or whatever euphemism or circumlocution you may want to apply to its activity—into the lives of American citizens concerning whom there is no evidence of criminal conduct, only evidence of political nonconformity.

No committee of Congress has ever inquired into the personnel policies of the bureau, into its hiring standards or its promotion procedures or its treatment of its employees—or even into the question whether there is actually any need for the monster monument or mausoleum now being erected in honor of Mr. Hoover on Pennsylvania Avenue.

An investigation of the FBI by Congress is long, long overdue. Perhaps there is real merit to Senator Muskie's proposal of a domestic intelligence review board analogous to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board organized in 1956 to ride herd, mainly on the CIA. But that, of course, presents a danger of becoming in time a mere gloss or protective umbrella for the FBI. It might, as Senator Ervin observed, "amount to a Band-Aid on a broken leg." The appropriate means of keeping the FBI within proper bounds ought to be determined by the Congress, we think, and only after a thorough examination of the way in which it now functions and of the duties which the Congress wishes it to fulfill. The FBI, like any other federal agency, ought to be subject to searching congressional scrutiny—and more frequently than once very 47 years.

Rep. Ogden Reid has called for hearings by the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. That would at least be preferable to hearings by the Government Operations Committee of the Senate. Senator Kennedy has displayed an interest in taking on such an investigation. Senator Margaret Chase Smith has been suggested as a particularly detached, able and vigorous person to conduct a study of the FBI. But the outstanding senator to head a thoroughgoing investigation of the FBI—of the whole range of domestic intelligence and criminal investigating activity by the federal government — is, in our judgment, Sam Ervin of North Carolina. Tough, fair-minded and with a profound commitment to American constitutional liberties, Senator Ervin has pioneered in the study of incursions into privacy. It would offer reassurance to the whole country if he would now indicate a willingness to take on this difficult and important assignment.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.
HERALD-EXAMINER

E - 540,793

S - 529,466

APR 27 1971

'Watchdog' Group For FBI is Urged

U.S. Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, D-Wash., has called for a "watchdog" committee to oversee activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to "protect its good name."

Jackson, mentioned as a possible presidential hopeful, made the proposal yesterday at a news conference in the Hollywood Plaza Hotel following a meeting with 10 Southern California labor leaders. He then flew to Palm Springs to meet with other potential backers for a presidential bid, although he still has not announced he will be a definite contender for the Democratic nomination or enter the new Hampshire primary.

"I have great respect for the high degree of professionalism and efficiency of the FBI," said the former attorney and prosecutor. "In light of the controversy that has arisen, in the

best interests of the American people and to protect the good name of the FBI, it would be wise to have a watchdog committee of Congress oversee their activities."

Jackson said his suggestion in no way meant he supported or disbelieved charges of improper investigations leveled at the FBI and its chief, J. Edgar Hoover, recently by Rep. Hale Boggs, D-La., and several Democratic presidential aspirants.

He said he respected Boggs but had seen no proof of his charges of illegal wire-tapping. Jackson said he also "has seen no evidence" that Hoover is too old at 70 to perform his job. Any decision to replace the FBI chief, he said, should be left to President Richard M. Nixon.

The watchdog committee, he said, would be similar to the Joint Appropriations Armed Services Watchdog Committee over the CIA which now audits and supervises the Central Intelligence Agency.

"The FBI has been a highly efficient organization . . . never involved in any scandal," he said. "The accusation is that they have been too efficient."

Jackson also said he would favor United Nations seating for both Nationalist and Mainland China but doubts the issue "can be resolved that easily."



Jack Hooper Says

Cleaver-Guerrilla Split: Unusual Algiers Saga

WHEN U THANT retires as secretary general of the United Nations, his successor may well be chosen from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Ceylon or Indonesia. One objection to a Swede or a Finn taking office is that a white man will not be favored. Black, brown, yellow, si; white, no.

The flip side of the coin is also unusual. Eldridge Cleaver heads a chapter of Black Panthers in Algeria. They collaborated with Arafat's Palestinian guerrillas against Jordan's King Hussein, though the revolution is none of their business. But, comradeship seems to have puffed off in angry recrimination. Cleaver claims blacks are discriminated against by Arafat, and are not taken into high councils when strategy and tactics are discussed. So, now Black Panthers and the Arab guerrillas are on the outs.

* * *

THE FEDERAL Bureau of Investigation, under J. Edgar Hoover, became the world's greatest crime-fighting organization. Now the Bureau and Hoover have come under attack from politicians, several of whom have beady eyes fixed on the presidential

nomination. No man, over the years, has done more for his country than the director. It may be time has come for him to pass in the responsibility of his post. But, Hoover's record does not warrant the snide attacks. The presidential aspirants smear their own image by making them. If there is a governmental bureau that should have a studied investigation, it is the CIA. According to reports, it has authorized murder, spends billions without having to account for a penny, and puts out intelligence reports (as in the Bay of Pigs) that often fall far short of accuracy. Why doesn't Muskie stick his New England nose into that Pandora's box?

* * *

THAT THE old days are gone forever is demonstrated by the disappearance of elevator operators, golf caddies, shoeshine boys, butchers who gave away liver, kidneys and brains, trolley car conductors able to retire on fares they didn't ring up, newspaper copy desk men who wore green eyeshades, politicians who thought all our country's ills could be cured by a good five-cent cigar, ladies who wore high-

button shoes. But they may come back any day now. Most of those people and things I could do without, but they're nice to remember.

* * *

A LADY writes, asking help in promoting hotpants for men. The answer is no, no, 1,000 times no. The very thought of pot-bellied, hairy-legged males trotting forth in such apparel shakes my aesthetic principles to their very foundations. It's bad enough to see that type in Bermuda, or walking shorts . . . but hotpants? Perish the very thought.

* * *

THE PERUVIAN government has seized American fishing boats, even though they were in international waters. Owners were fined \$50,000. A congressman has introduced a bill that would suspend sugar imports from countries that illegally seize our fishing vessels. A heart-broken wail burst from President Juan Velasquez. He said: "I do not believe Americans can do such a barbarous thing. They have human feelings and a sense of justice, and will not harm my country." Don't be too sure, Velasquez. We've had a bellyful of Peruvian piracy. Stop har-

rying our tuna hunters more than 12 miles off your coast, and return the money you blackmailed out of them, then maybe we'll buy your sugar.

* * *

REMEMBERED by all old timers is Mother Kelly's noted groggery on Dade Boulevard, long gone but not forgotten. "Mother," of course, was no woman, but a stout Irishman, who made the beginnings of his fortune by tending bar for Helen Morgan in high old prohibition days. The solid rock of the Kelly entertainment routine was Bennett Green, singer and master of ceremonies, and pianist Jack Reynolds. Reynolds stayed here, and has played at many places. Bennett went to the coast, got into movies and TV, particularly as a regular on the "Lucy Show." He's retired now, which shows how fast time goes. But Jack keeps merrily on his way. Bennett, incidentally, had a part in the original "No, No, Nannette" musical, which has become the biggest 1971 hit on Broadway. "Nannette" first appeared in 1925, so you can see how far back the show (and Mr. Green) go.

Charges, Denials*Senator Muskie Takes on the FBI*

By ADAM CLYMER

Washington.

He isn't any Dillinger, but the new Public Enemy for the FBI has certainly put the administration into an exceptional snit. And with good reason, because responses to Senator Edmund S. Muskie aren't nearly as obvious as ways of answering other critics.

From the administration view, Senator George S. McGovern and Representative Hale Boggs, the earlier recent critics, were less of a worry. Each of them was vulnerable in two ways. In personal terms, Mr. Boggs was sneered at as unstable or unwell, with the implication (drunk) perfectly clear. Senator McGovern can be dismissed as an all-out dove, denounced by letter-writing FBI officials as unpatriotic. More important to any good counterattack, however, was that Mr. Boggs charges congressional phones were tapped without offering evidence and Mr. McGovern publicized an attack on the FBI as coming from several agents even though all he had was an unsigned letter on FBI stationery.

But Senator Muskie is personally unassailable, subject only to a charge of seeking political advantage, but then who isn't? And, more important, he had evidence that the FBI had snooped on various Earth Day activities here. He charged, without backing it up, that activities in another 40 to 60 cities were also spied on. That charge may be the more believed—whether true or not—because the first had evidence.

The reaction was that, again and again White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler trotted out the administration's outrage that anyone would think it, of all people, believes in invasion of privacy.

That's only one level of the suspicion. The soberer critics here think it is just insufficiently bothered by such invasions, especially against unwelcome types, and especially when an organization it

seems to worship, the FBI, is involved.

This mistargeting is part of the reason the protests don't seem to be very effective. Moreover, there are a few substantial points at which the administration is taking a position that sounds like anti-privacy, like the Justice Department's view—lately scorned by a judge—that it has an absolute right to decide when national security is involved in internal dissent and tap a phone without a court's permission. And the administration has, in contrast to its predecessor, talked about the usefulness of wiretapping and bugging. The Johnson administration talked harder than it sometimes acted, and the Nixon administration may be tapping less, but it's enjoying it more.

A recent epistle to the President from Daniel P. Moynihan, the great memo-writer, warned of a widespread feeling, even among well-off businessmen from whom Mr. Moynihan now extracts consultant's fees, that the administration wanted to suppress "civil liberties in the nation and has already to some extent succeeded." The memo seems to have stirred the White House breast-beating, since it said the case was going by default.

So the administration restated the philosophical part of its case this week. But it still ignored the detail. Reporters came away from Ziegler briefings feeling he simply could not comprehend how any honest and rational person could question that wonderful old man, J. Edgar Hoover.

Without taking space for a number of well-documented cases of the FBI's saying one thing and doing another, the simplest reason for good reporters to distrust the FBI is that it behaves as if it has something to hide. It has the least helpful public information operation of any major chunk of the government excluding, maybe, the

CIA: except to a handful of reporters most of them known to it and to their colleagues as its patsies, who can be counted on to write a story involving the FBI pretty much as the FBI, and not its foe, would like to see it written.

When reporters asked at the FBI about Muskie's charges Wednesday, they got "no comment" with the implication that they were unreasonable even to ask. At the theoretically superior Justice Department, there was also no comment, but with a friendlier manner, and the man in charge said he would see if he could get some reaction.

He did, but it was 24 hours later, apparently after someone had studied tea leaves and other omens sufficiently to decide that the Muskie charges had not been obliterated by Ziegler's courage, and it wouldn't be fatal to explain just what the FBI was doing at Earth Day. It was a good explanation—not wholly dispositive of all the fuzzy edges—but sensible, saying the FBI had been warned of violence at the rallies and went to check. The spokesman of the Far Left might call it a lie, but reporters here would not, and printed it.

But they got it a day late, and some papers didn't get it until they had gone to press. It would have been so much easier, and better for the administration, to do it all the day before; but it almost seems that the administration, upset over the way its activities, especially the war, are reported, has decided that sitting down and answering reasonable questions is like consorting with the enemy.

Mr. Moynihan, the former presidential counselor, suggested that his erstwhile colleagues answer false charges with precise data, a message that apparently got through to Mr. Nixon Friday night at the editors' gathering. He cited total numbers of tapped telephones

in his administration and insisted no U.S. Capitol phone had been tapped. (Of course, congressmen have other phones, too, and having an informer call a congressman and then tapping the informer's phone is technically and legally different, but it sure as hell is listening to his conversation, which is what bothers people.) But the Moynihan suggestion didn't get through elsewhere, at least not quickly.

There were two other intriguing elements in the President's presentation. He praised Mr. Hoover fully, but without the stridency others have used. And he admitted that a little criticism of Mr. Hoover might sometimes be justified, just as criticism of himself might sometimes be justified. Of course, Mr. Nixon has occasionally admitted he has messed something up. At the FBI, never is heard a self-critical word. Mistakes are punished, sharply, but not admitted.

Finally, the President observed that criticism, especially that segment of it which was "unfair" or "malicious" was only likely to make Mr. Hoover "dig in" and not retire. He said he agreed, and felt it would be unfair for Mr. Hoover, after long years of great service, to leave "under a cloud." The forces attacking the 76-year-old director are hardly united, under a single command that makes them advance or halt, but was the President wistfully appealing to them collectively? Was he, recalling one of his predecessor's favored peace methods, seeking a "Hoover pause," a period of a few months of silence that would enable Mr. Hoover to retire gracefully? Of course Mr. Johnson's "bombing pauses" did not produce the face-saving compromises their advocates promised, but perhaps the inscrutable Mr. Hoover is really more traditionally Oriental than the crowd in Hanoi and would respond differently.

THE FBI: Hoover's Woes

He seems as formidable as any other Washington monument—and very nearly as enduring. Yet as he approaches his 47th anniversary in office, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover appears to have fallen into unprecedented disfavor in the highest places. From the Justice Department to Capitol Hill and even within the White House itself there are veiled hopes and hints that the Hoover era may finally be coming to an end. "Hoover's replacement as the head of the FBI is no longer unthinkable around here," says one Republican Congressional insider. "In fact, there would be a sigh of relief that could lift the Capitol dome quite a few inches."

Age alone could write a last chapter to Hoover's unique career, of course. Although still remarkably hearty at 76, he has already served six years beyond the normal Federal retirement age, thanks to an exemption granted him by President Lyndon Johnson. But Hoover's departure could also be hastened by a run of embarrassments that lately has plagued his agency—including several precipitated by the domineering director himself. Not only has the FBI met with sparse success in dealing with the new breed of radical terrorists,* it has also suffered some lapses in its own internal security: a "leak" from its Seattle office that linked San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto with alleged Mafia members, for example, and the recent theft of 800 to 1,000 FBI documents from an unguarded Media, Pa., branch office. And Hoover has not helped the bureau's image by publicly denouncing former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as a "jellyfish," airily stereotyping Puerto Ricans and Mexicans ("They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware.") and prematurely announcing an alleged kidnap-conspiracy involving the Berrigan brothers and a group of other Roman Catholic antiwar activists.

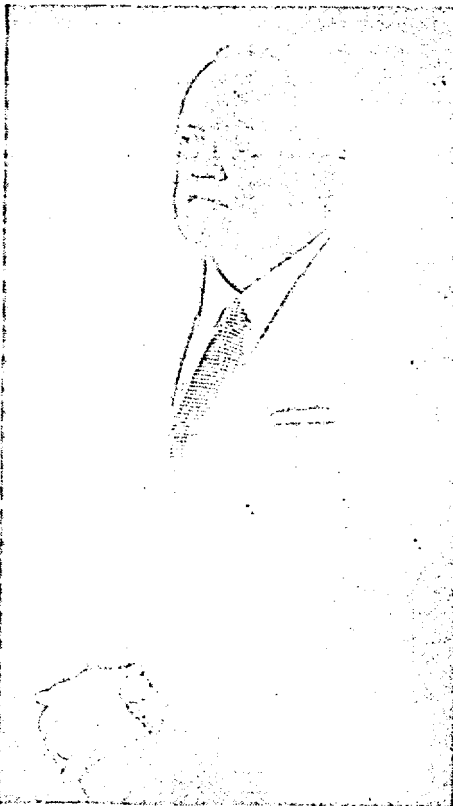
Vindictive: Another case in point, reported earlier this year, was Hoover's seemingly vindictive treatment of an agent who criticized some aspects of the bureau in connection with a course he had taken in police science. Although he generally defended the FBI's record, agent John F. Shaw was summarily ordered transferred to the FBI's Butte, Mont., office and then permitted by Hoover to resign "with prejudice." Shaw subsequently filed suit in Federal court, and Sen. George McGovern has demanded a Congressional investigation of the case.

The Shaw affair was nothing new to old FBI hands. "Mr. Hoover administers by pique, whim and fancy and the Shaw

case is just the latest instance," says one former high-ranking G-man. "But this case has done to the bureau what the Calley case has done to the Army. It has had a significant demoralizing effect."

Still, it is the Berrigan affair that has triggered most of the recent criticism of Hoover—especially within the Justice Department under whose aegis the FBI is nominally supposed to operate. The director broadcast the alleged kidnap conspiracy during an appeal for supplemental appropriations before a closed session of a Senate subcommittee. His remarks, made public with his blessing, mortified DOJ staffers who feared their case against the Berrigans might be compromised.

Relations between Justice and the FBI are also threatened now because copies



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Hoover: End of an era?

of some potentially incriminating letters, supposedly written by the radical priests, have mysteriously found their way to several Washington newsmen. Whether the letters are genuine is not clear and none has been published. But should they be, the government's case could be hurt, and some Justice staffers are prepared to blame the FBI for the leak.

Health: But despite grumbles from DOJ staffers about the FBI's penchant for going it alone, Attorney General John Mitchell argues that there is more cooperation than ever. "We have liaisons on more levels than ever existed before," says Mitchell, who helped persuade Hoover to let his men join racket-busting Federal "strike forces" around the country. Health, active, works a full day, is always available day or night, just as if he was

26," the A.G. told Newsweek's Robert Shogan. "There have been a number of public incidents which, to use the words of the President, have just given [some] characters a 'cheap shot' at him. But the President has known J. Edgar Hoover for many years and is fully cognizant of his capabilities. I believe that on balance the President continues to have faith in Mr. Hoover..."

The notion that the President might be keeping a balance sheet of sorts on his old friend Hoover is novel enough. Elaborations on that theme by other top Nixon aides hint at a surprising degree of disillusionment. "Everything is on balance," says one, gesturing with his hands to represent scales. "Right now there is more on this side [Hoover's assets] than that [his liabilities]." What about all the embarrassing headlines? "They're noticed, obviously," he says. "This Administration is concerned with the public attitude toward law and order and the forces of justice, and the public confidence in its institutions, and cannot overlook anything." Should the balance tip against the old bulldog, it is suggested, the President would have no qualms about arranging for Hoover to retire. Of course, Mr. Nixon's relationship with Hoover dates back to his House days and the Alger Hiss investigation, and "roots like that are not lightly overlooked," observes one White House staffer. But the suggestion alone is seen by some Hoover watchers as an unmistakable signal of changing times.

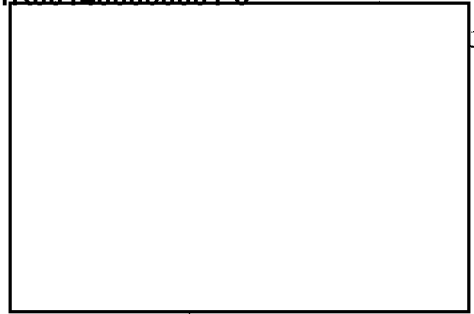
Rigid: For the record, most congressmen still defend the FBI boss against his critics. But even Hoover's staunchest supporters in Congress privately admit that his retirement is long overdue. "I would hate for this to get back to my district, but it is time for Mr. Hoover to move along," says one unreconstructed Southern conservative. "He has done a tremendous job in developing a highly disciplined and professional organization but he has outlived his usefulness... In an age where we constantly require more flexibility, Mr. Hoover is one of the least flexible officials in the government." Says a GOP House leader: "Any man who has made the statements that J. Edgar Hoover has made lately... should be put out to pasture."

Whenever and however Hoover steps down, the problem of naming his replacement will remain. For Hoover has been notably wary of grooming a successor who might share the limelight. His No. 2 man, officially, is Associate Director Clyde Tolson, but at 70, Tolson is reportedly feeling his age far more than Hoover. Besides, Tolson for years has served primarily as Hoover's companion at lunch (the Rib Room of the Mayflower Hotel each noon), dinner and regular excursions to local race tracks.

A more likely choice from the ranks would be William C. Sullivan, 57-year-old director. Described as a scholarly type, Sullivan made headlines last fall with a speech warning of

*The FBI's Ten Most Wanted List was expanded to sixteen last year to speed the capture of radical terrorists but no arrests have been recorded since the capture of Angela Davis in October. Indeed, after last month's mysterious bombing of the FBI, the FBI modestly permitted the 51st anniversary of its famed list to pass without even a "birthday" press release.

18 APR 1973



Tidbitting Tidbits

By Jack Anderson

It has been the FBI's practice to collect tidbitting tidbits about prominent people, which turn up in the course of other investigations.

The FBI learned from its wiretaps at the Soviet Embassy, for instance, that ex-Attorney General Ramsey Clark had telephoned Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin last December about possibly going to Russia to observe the trial of 12 Russian Jews who allegedly had plotted to hijack a plane to fly them to Israel.

J. Edgar Hoover immediately sent a secret message about Clark's plans, quoting a "highly reliable source," on the FBI teletype to the White House, Pentagon, State Department and Central Intelligence Agency.

Untouchable Hoover, FBI Under Fire

By Ken W. Clawson

Washington Post Staff Writer

After decades of near immunity from public criticism, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director, J. Edgar Hoover, within the last five months have become a punching bag for an ever-broadening segment of the nation.

The FBI has managed to step from one controversy into another in a manner so uncharacteristic of the agency that it prompted a knowledgeable Justice Department official to remark, "It's almost as if the director pushed the self-destruct button."

Two Democratic presidential hopefuls, Sens. George McGovern and Edmund S. Muskie, have already called for the resignation of the 76-year-old Hoover. His stewardship of the FBI is likely to become an issue in the 1972 campaign.

Criticism also has come from such predictable sources as the peace movement and civil liberties groups as well as from carefully disguised sources within the FBI itself. There is even some grumbling at the White House and the Justice Department.

But despite these signs of growing unhappiness, the nation's No. 1 G-man is currently in no danger of being eased out. Nor is his highly personalized method of running the FBI being challenged.

Sources close to President Nixon and Attorney General John N. Mitchell contend that Hoover "still enjoys the full confidence" of both of them.

One White House source said, "It's axiomatic that in a law-and-order administration, you don't fire your top policeman, especially one with the credentials of Mr. Hoover. He's a great man."

But top administration officials have been irritated with the FBI and Hoover during the past few months because of calamitous events originating with the bureau that have resulted in intense pressure on the government.

The events started Nov. 16, 1970, when Hoover called former Attorney General Ramsey Clark a "jellyfish" and disclosed that he didn't speak to Robert F. Kennedy during his last six months as Attorney General. He also revealed his high regard for Mitchell.

Administration officials were delighted with the vintage Hooverism, but McGovern thought it unseemly and made an initial attack on Hoover that has escalated into open warfare.

Testifies About Plot

Shortly afterwards Hoover asserted in testimony before a Senate subcommittee that the FBI had uncovered a plot to kidnap a presidential adviser and to blow up government heating plants.

This disclosure, made during the investigatory phase of what later became the Berrigan 6 case, opened the floodgates of criticism. Rep. William Anderson (D-Tenn.) led the attack on Hoover, and explanations varied widely on the reasons for the premature disclosure.

The FBI at first said the testimony was secret and was not intended to be public. But on the day Hoover testified, reporters picked up copies at the Justice Department. Others, however, believe that Hoover misjudged the impact of what he said, and that his normal desire to give a congressional unit "something hot to chew on" during an appropriations hearing was behind the disclosure.

Hoover had already raised hackles in a Dec. 14 interview with Time magazine.

He enraged Spanish-speaking people by saying, "You never have to bother about a President being shot by Puerto Ricans or Mexicans. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware."

The Jan. 12 indictments of the Rev. Philip Berrigan and five other Catholic anti-war activists was accompanied by charges that the whole thing was staged to get Hoover off the hook for his earlier disclosures.

On Jan. 17, the Los Angeles Times reported that Hoover had blackballed an FBI agent, Jack Shaw, because he had written a letter on the strengths and weaknesses of the FBI to a professor at John Jay College in New York.

The letter, which was never sent, was reconstructed from torn pieces in a wastebasket in the FBI's New York field office. Shaw resigned under pressure after Hoover assigned him to Butte, Mont., for exhibiting "irresponsible judgment."

Shaw, who said he couldn't accept a transfer because his wife was seriously ill, later said he couldn't get another job because his resignation was accepted "with prejudice." Mrs. Shaw has since died.

Shaw has filed a civil suit against Hoover and other top government officials.

The Shaw incident was grabbed by McGovern as indicative of Hoover's leadership. It also disclosed further dissension within FBI ranks. Ten FBI agents wrote the South Dakota Democrat that Hoover was "stifling" initiative and promoting personal publicity.

As McGovern called for a congressional investigation of the bureau, the FBI helped keep the issue alive by sending the senator a letter, signed by 21 senior FBI officials, calling McGovern an irresponsible, reprehensible opportunist.

In the midst of this controversy, it was disclosed that Hoover has been provided with a bulletproof car annually since 1937. Five or six of these vehicles reportedly are on-call for Hoover's use in Washington, New York, Los Angeles and Miami.

According to Rep. John J. Rooney (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee that covers the FBI, the disclosure of the existence of these vehicles has generated more mail to him than any other issue.

Rooney said he is not critical of providing these cars, the last of which cost the government \$27,655. Rooney said that President Johnson used these FBI vehicles occasionally when he was in cities where they are located.

With the Berrigan case and Shaw incident still smoldering, a powerful bomb exploded on the ground floor of the Capitol during the early-morning hours of March 1. The explosion followed by 33 minutes a telephone call to the Capitol saying a bomb had been placed there in "protest of the Nixon involvement in Laos."

The FBI mobilized its maximum resources to deal with a case that was characterized by President Nixon as a symbolic attack on the foundation of the Republic.

Thirty-six days after the bombing, there have been no arrests. During recent testimony on Capitol Hill, Hoover reported that progress was being made, but he did not give specifics.

The most far-reaching and perhaps most embarrassing incident occurred March 8 when the FBI's Media, Pa., resident agents' office was burglarized and its files stolen.

The extent of the theft—more than 1,000 documents—was not disclosed until a packet of 14 documents was sent to McGovern, Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) and three newspapers.

What was made public, according to the Justice Department, were selected files that were designed to create an impression that the FBI is trampling on civil liberties.

Included among the 14 documents, however, is some all-encompassing material like a Nov. 4 Hoover memo that ordered "an increase in both quality and quantity of intelligence information on black student unions and similar groups which are targets for influence and control by violence-prone Black Panther Party and other extremists. Advance information on disorders and violence is of prime importance. We must target informants and sources to develop information regarding these groups on a continuing basis..."

Great Restraint

Justice Department officials contend their examination of the reconstructed stolen files show the FBI used great restraint in its intelligence activities and they point out that the stolen files, containing everything from raw intelligence to rumors, was never intended to be used by anybody except the FBI.

One source pointed to a document that appeared to be a policy change permitting the FBI to recruit informers from the age group 18 to 21. He said the directive bears directly on public criticism that the FBI has not been successful in solving computer-type crimes, such as bombings and arson usually directed at ROTC facilities.

"You can't catch an 16-year-old bomber by using a 25-year-old informer," he said. Although he would not

STATINTL

4 APR 1977

STATINTL

Nixon Backs Hoover in FBI Flap

By JERRY GREENE and
JAMES WIEGHART

Washington, April 3—Despite growing controversy here over the continuing role of J. Edgar Hoover as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there emerges now the authoritative word that President Nixon is not contemplating any change.

Attorney General Mitchell, who is known to have discussed the situation with the President, made the Nixon position clear this week when he told an interviewer who asked about the Hoover tenure:

"I expect him to stay in the job as long as he is in good health and is able to do the job as he is doing it now."

Then Mitchell said the question was asked of the wrong man, for the FBI directorship was a presidential appointment.

"I would guess if you were to talk to the President," Mitchell said, "you would get the same answer."

The flap over the FBI, stemming only partly from accusations made by former special agents, boiled up on the

CAPITOL STUFF

heels of one of the worst secrecy breakdowns in the FBI's history—the theft and partial publication of more than 1,000 confidential investigative documents from the bureau's Media, Pa. field office.

Additionally, informed sources disclosed that other government intelligence agencies have been concerned by an FBI decision making a large cut in the number of liaison officers who formerly coordinated activities and information. Some agencies feel that the reduction in the liaison force has created a national security problem.

But an FBI spokesman, inspector Tom Bishop, categorically denied that there has been any sort of breakdown in intelligence liaison. He also rejected other charges which have been leveled publicly and privately at the 76-year-old Hoover.

In fact, Bishop countercharged that the barrage of criticism in recent days was part of a conspiracy "to drive Mr. Hoover out of the FBI and into retirement."

Former President Lyndon Johnson granted Hoover, a longtime personal friend, an exception to the mandatory age 70 retirement provision in the federal law in 1965, and the director now serves at the discretion of the President. Under a special law, Hoover is entitled

to full pay of \$42,000 a year for life upon retirement.

The White House is not unduly concerned by the steady stream of politically inspired attacks on Hoover from would-be revolutionaries of the "new left," or from the more conventional liberals in Congress who have had a long and vocal distaste for the chief G-man.

Of greater concern to presidential advisers are the expressed hopes of some Hoover admirers that the director step down after 46 years of dedicated service before his image as one of the nation's top crime fighters becomes tarnished by political infighting and criticism.

Flow of Security Data

There is concern, too, in the administration over alleged friction between the FBI and other intelligence agencies that resulted from the reduction in liaison activities. These were centered in a special office manned by 20 trained agents, created to insure a free flow of intelligence. The liaison office was closed last September because Hoover became dissatisfied with the handling of material by some of the other agencies.

Officials told these reporters that the flow of national security data—from the FBI to the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency and intelligence and counterintelligence units serving the military services and the Treasury and State Departments—has been curtailed to formal, written communications. These were said to have been furnished mostly on request.

The officials who reported this viewed the liaison cutback as symptomatic of a general deterioration in the bureau's once highly acclaimed counterespionage operations which they say Hoover now keeps on a short leash to avoid possible criticism.

Specifically cited was what was described as the director's increasing reluctance to use "extralegal" means, such as bugging, wire-tapping and sometimes burglary to obtain inside information about suspected spy operations.

A top Pentagon official argued that Hoover's early reluctance to get into investigating hard-core radical revolutionaries, such as Weatherman, was one reason for the Army's controversial plunge into domestic intelligence operations.

Complaints Are Dismissed

This official, who refused to permit use of his name, said that it was Hoover's slowness to order FBI agents into a probe of radical groups in 1967, that led to President Johnson's directive that the army institute domestic intelligence operations-civilian-type spying that has brought a storm of criticism from a Senate judiciary subcommittee.

In response, FBI Inspector Bishop dismissed all these complaints as "completely false." He said the liaison force

of 20 agents was reduced to three last fall when the bureau was under heavy pressure to provide more agents for a wide variety of assignments such as investigations of bombings, protection of airlines plagued by skyjackings and stepped-up violence by radicals.

"There has been absolutely no reduction in information going to the other intelligence agencies," he said. "We had 20 agents tied down delivering the mail to them. They did not have liaison men assigned to us. Their mail came to us by courier."

Successful Prosecution Is Aim

Instead of having a 20-man liaison office, he said, there are now three men assigned specifically to handle queries and to keep in touch with the other intelligence offices. In addition, he said, a new, high-speed teleprinter has been installed so that information can be transmitted rapidly and securely from the FBI to the offices of the other agencies.

The spokesman said that none of the agencies has complained about the change and, so far as he knew, there was no friction between the FBI and others in the intelligence community.

He dismissed the contention that the FBI had become "too timid" in conducting espionage investigations, pointing out that there were even more complaints that the bureau had been far too aggressive in the past in using bugs, wiretaps and other "extra legal" means of investigation.

"Our record in espionage cases over the years speaks for itself," he said. "There are really few experts in this field in the country. People on the sidelines who really don't know what they are talking about often think they know more than the experts, but they usually don't know all of the facts."

The primary goal in an espionage investigation is a successful prosecution, he said, and sometimes that requires restraint. There are also times when the agents working the case seek to turn the subject into a double agent or to feed him false information.

In some cases, agents are pursuing all three goals at once with different persons involved in a conspiracy, he said. To an outsider not familiar with all the facts in such a case, it might not seem that the investigation is being pursued as hard as it should be, he said.

Whatever the pros and cons of the controversy, the one thing completely solid is the evidence that the president himself has no intention now of taking action for a change of command at the FBI.

When Attorney General Mitchell said in a taped interview with David Frost—that he expected Hoover to stay and that the President felt the same way, it was quite clear that the comment had full White House approval.

FBI Wiretapping: How Widespread?

First of Two Articles

By Ronald Kessler
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nearly every year for the past 15 years, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has reported to Congress the number of telephone wiretaps operated by his agency in national security investigations. The number never exceeds 100, and in recent years it has fluctuated between 30 and 50.

How Hoover arrives at these figures is not known. One well-informed source quotes FBI agents as saying the monitoring devices on many FBI taps are turned off a day before Hoover's congressional appearance, then reactivated—the taps still in place—a day later.

Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general, says information given to him while he headed the Justice Department indicated the taps were "thinned out" before Hoover's testimony.

Whatever the method, Clark, a present and a former FBI man, and a telephone company source all claim that the actual number of FBI taps exceeds the number Hoover reports to Congress. Clark claims that the true number was at least double the number reported by Hoover.

Even more widespread than wiretapping and bugging, both government and private, The Washington Post was told in interviews, is the fear of tapping, a condition thought by many to be as harmful as the fact.

About a quarter of the senators, congressmen, lawyers, businessmen and journalists responding to a Washington Post questionnaire said they have suspected or believed that their telephones were tapped or their offices bugged.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell, in a recent interview, discounted such talk as being symptomatic of paranoia.

"The misconception about wiretapping goes almost to the point of absurdity," Mitchell said. "Some people

feel everybody in Washington is tapped, and the CIA's tapping the FBI, and the FBI's tapping the NSA (National Security Agency).

"Of course, it couldn't be further from the truth." The FBI and other government agencies have authority under the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and Presidential orders to tap or bug under two circumstances: in major criminal cases, only after obtaining approval of a judge, and in national security cases, only with the approval of the attorney general.

The number of court-ordered surveillances has increased from none in 1968 to 33 when Mitchell took over in 1969 to 213 last year, court records and Justice Department figures show. National Security

But it is the national security category that is the frequent subject of controversy, and here there appear to be three sets of figures.

The first, unchallenged through the years, is the public accounting given by Hoover in annual testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee. The testimony last March followed the standard format:

"Our investigation coverage is also enhanced through the limited and closely controlled use of telephone and microphone installations," Hoover stated. "Currently—Feb. 14, 1970—we are operating 33 telephone surveillances and two microphone installations in bureau cases in the security field. All were authorized in advance and in writing by the Attorney General..."

Mitchell declined to either confirm or deny Hoover's figures. "I have a hell of a lot better things to do than read the testimony of people in the department on the Hill," he said.

Clark's View

But Ramsey Clark, who was followed as Attorney General by Mitchell in January, 1969, said in an interview in his Washington law office, "I don't think the Hoover testimony ever purported to give the full extent of FBI wiretapping."

Clark said Hoover in his congressional report is apparently counting only one category of national security taps: those on foreign nationals or persons working for foreign nationals in this country. Apparently excluded, Clark said, are taps on domestic security targets (persons suspected of plotting to overthrow the government) and taps on foreign missions. Combined, these categories represent the second set of figures and would be at least double the number cited by Hoover, Clark said. The highest number of taps is in Washington, he added.

"Mr. Hoover, according to information given to me while I was at Justice, will pull taps off before he testifies, and he couches his language. Of course, you have to thin them out (the taps) anyway," Clark said.

Clark said he was unaware of any further categories of FBI taps, but information given to The Washington Post indicates there is still a third set of figures, "Leased Lines."

In Washington, a well-qualified source who requested anonymity said the FBI leases 450 lines that can be used for tapping and bugging. Several of the lines, he said, are sometimes used for one tap, as when a foreign embassy has five or 10 incoming circuits as well as special teletype and telegraph lines, all of which are to be intercepted. Many other lines in the tapping cable are attached to single telephones, the source said.

According to this source, the 450 lines run from Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.'s downtown exchange, the nucleus of the D.C. telephone network, to the FBI's Washington field office, a distance of three blocks. The field office, housed in the Romanesque former national headquarters of the Post Office Department, on Pennsylvania

Avenue, is in turn a block from the Justice Department.

In C&P cable records, the 450 lines are listed as "special test circuits" rather than leased lines.

The source said taps are placed on lines in Washington by C&P employees, then routed from the various exchange offices to the downtown exchange, where the tapped wires are connected to the FBI's listening cable. "Soundman"

A former FBI "soundman"—wiretapper and bugger—says he has seen at least one of the "tech rooms" in the field office where the lines are monitored. A telephone company source reports that the FBI removes its monitoring equipment from tapped lines when the lines or tapped telephones require repair.

Both the FBI and telephone company declined to comment: the telephone company on the grounds that discussion of telephone lines or customers would violate its obligation to insure secrecy of communications.

Mitchell, referring to the reported 450-line cable, said, "Anybody who told you that is absolutely out of his cotton-picking mind."

Mitchell said all FBI taps and bugs are approved by him. He said he has "no problem whatsoever accepting the clear records that we have."

He added, "All you have to do is prove to me that these taps are on there at the FBI's activation, and whoever put them on there will be out on the street looking for a job."

"200 Lines"

According to a former FBI soundman, who asked not to be identified, widespread FBI tapping is not new. He says that he personally serviced 200 surveillance lines, almost all of them wiretaps, in New York City around 1960. The taps were monitored from an average of six rooms leased in apartments and office buildings throughout the city, he said. During that period of time, congressional hearing transcripts show, Hoover was testifying to fewer than 100 taps throughout the country.