SPECIAL REPORT
INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE (AD HOC)

CHAIRMAN J. EDGAR HOOVER

JUNE, 1970
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This report, prepared for the President, is approved by all members of this committee and their signatures are affixed hereto.

[Signatures]

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PREFACE

The objectives of this report are to: (1) assess the current internal security threat; (2) evaluate current intelligence collection procedures; identify restraints under which U. S. intelligence services operate; and list the advantages and disadvantages of such restraints; and (3) evaluate current interagency coordination and recommend means to improve it.

The Committee has attempted to set forth the essence of the issues and the major policy considerations involved which fall within the scope of its mandate.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART ONE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY OF INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. MILITANT NEW LEFT GROUPS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Student Protest Groups</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Antiwar Activists</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. New Left Terrorist Groups</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Scope and Effectiveness of Current Coverage</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gaps in Current Coverage</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. BLACK EXTREMIST MOVEMENT</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Black Panther Party</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. New Left Support for BPP</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. BPP Propaganda Appearances</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Appeal to Military</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. BPP Philosophy and Foreign Support</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other Black Extremist Groups</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Black Student Extremist Influence</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Foreign Influence in the Black Extremist Movement</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Other Black Extremist Organizations</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*TOP SECRET*

*HANDLE VIA COMINT CHANNELS ONLY*
III. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat
   1. Intervention in Domestic Unrest
   2. Intelligence Operations

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection
   1. Scope and Effectiveness
   2. Gaps in Current Coverage

IV. OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat
   1. Communist Party
   2. Socialist Workers Party and Other Trotskyist Groups
   3. Pro-Chinese Communist Groups
   4. Puerto Rican Nationalist Extremist Groups

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Coverage
   1. Scope and Effectiveness
   2. Gaps in Current Coverage
   3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence Collection

PART TWO
RERAINTS ON INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

I. SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL RESTRAINTS
   A. Interpretive Restraint on Communications Intelligence
   B. Electronic Surveillances and Penetrations
   C. Mail Coverage
   D. Surreptitious Entry
   E. Development of Campus Sources
   F. Use of Military Undercover Agents

II. BUDGET AND MANPOWER RESTRICTIONS

PART THREE
EVALUATION OF INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

I. CURRENT PROCEDURES TO EFFECT COORDINATION

II. SUGGESTED MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE COORDINATION OF DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION
MILITANT NEW LEFT GROUPS

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

The movement of rebellious youth known as the "New Left," involving and influencing a substantial number of college students, is having a serious impact on contemporary society with a potential for serious domestic strife. The revolutionary aims of the New Left are apparent when their identification with Marxism-Leninism is examined. They pointedly advertise their objective as the overthrow of our system of government by force and violence. Under the guise of freedom of speech, they seek to confront all established authority and provoke disorder. They intend to smash the U. S. educational system, the economic structure, and, finally, the Government itself. New Left groups do not have a large enough number of rank-and-file followers, nor do they have a unity of purpose to carry out massive or paralysis acts of insurrection. They do, on the other hand, have the will to carry on more militant efforts in local situations and an inclination to utilize more extreme means to attain their objectives.

1. Student Protest Groups. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has, in the past year, split into several factions, including the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), which has control over 30 chapters; and the Worker Student Alliance (WSA), which consists of 63 chapters. The WSA faction, dominated by the pro-Chinese communist Progressive Labor Party (PLP), aims to build a worker-student movement in keeping with the PLP's aim of developing a broad worker-based revolutionary movement in the United States.

There are some 85 unaffiliated SDS chapters generally sympathetic to revolutionary tactics and goals. The trend of increased radical campus organizations is noticeable at campuses where recognition of SDS has been refused or rescinded and SDS members have banded together, with or without sanction, under a new title to attract student support. In addition, numerous ad hoc groups have been established on campuses and elsewhere to exploit specific issues.

The National Student Strike (NSS), also known as the National Strike Information Center, was formed following the entry of the United States forces into Cambodia and the deaths of four students at Kent State University. NSS, which helped to coordinate the nationwide student strike in May, 1970, has three regional centers and includes
among its leadership SDS members and other New Left activists. The
NSS has established a nationwide communications system of "ham" radio
stations on campuses to encourage student demonstrations and disruptions.
This communications capability may have a significant impact on campus
stability in the coming school year.

The Venceremos Brigade (VB), established to send United States
youth to Cuba to aid in the 1970 harvests, has continually received favorable
publicity in Cuban propaganda media. To date, over 900 members of
the VB have visited Cuba and another group of approximately 500 members
are expected to follow suit. While in Cuba, VB members were individually
photographed and questioned in detail about their backgrounds. Because
of their contacts with Cuban officials, these individuals must be considered
as potential recruits for Cuban intelligence activities and sabotage in the
United States.

The greatest threat posed to the security of the country by
student protest groups is their potential for fomenting violence and unrest
on college campuses. Demonstrations have triggered acts of arson by
extremists against war-oriented research and ROTC facilities and have
virtually paralyzed many schools. There has been a growing number of
noncampus, but student-related, acts of violence which increase tensions
between "town and gown" and which constitute a marked escalation of the
scope and level of protest activities. Few student protests are currently
related to exclusively campus issues; virtually all involve political and
social issues. Increasingly, the battlefield is the community with the
campus serving primarily as a staging area.

The efforts of the New Left aimed at fomenting unrest and
subversion among civil servants, labor unions, and mass media have met
with very limited success, although the WSA and its parent, the PLP,
have attempted through their "Summer Work-Ins" to infiltrate and
radicalize labor. The inability of these groups to subvert and control
the mass media has led to the establishment of a large network of under-
ground publications which serve the dual purpose of an internal communica-
tion network and an external propaganda organ.

Leaders of student protest groups have traveled extensively
over the years to communist countries; have openly stated their sympathy
with the international communist revolutionary movements in South Vietnam
and Cuba; and have directed others into activities which support these
movements. These individuals must be considered to have potential for
2. Antiwar Activists. The impetus and continuity for the antiwar movement is provided by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). The NMC is a coalition of numerous antiwar groups and individuals including communist "old left" elements. The SMC is under the control of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The NMC and SMC have announced a policy of "nonexclusion" which places no limitation on the type of individuals allowed to participate in demonstrations. This policy opens the door for violence-prone individuals who want to capitalize on the activities of these groups. Both groups profess to follow a policy of nonviolence; however, the very nature of the protests that they sponsor sets the stage for civil disobedience and police confrontation by irresponsible dissident elements. Various individuals in NMC and SMC are calling for more militant protest activities, a subject to be discussed at national meetings by both groups in late June, 1970.

Although antiwar groups are not known to be collecting weapons, engaging in paramilitary training, or advocating terrorist tactics, the pro-Hanoi attitude of their leaders, the unstable nature of many NMC advocates and their policy of "nonexclusion" underscores the use of the antiwar movement as a conduit for civil disorder. This is further emphasized by the NMC leadership's advocacy of civil disobedience to achieve desired objectives.

There is no indication that the antiwar movement has made serious inroads or achieved any more than a slight degree of influence among labor unions, the mass media, and civil servants. One group, however, the Federal Employees for a Democratic Society (FEDS), offers a means of protest for recent radical graduates employed by the Federal Government.
The military and educational institutions are the prime targets of the antiwar movement. In addition to vandalism, arsons, and bombings of ROTC facilities, there has been stepped-up activity to spread antiwar sympathy among American servicemen from within through sympathetic members in the military and from without through such programs as "GI Coffeehouses" and the proposed National GI Alliance. The increasing access by members of the military to the underground press, the establishment of servicemen's unions, and organizations which facilitate desertions, have contributed significantly to the increasing instances of dissent in the military services.

NMC and SMC leaders are constantly speaking before student groups and endeavoring to use student radicals to further the antiwar movement. They have called for an end to the ROTC and have demonstrated, often violently, to force universities to halt war-related research projects.

The NMC maintains close contact with the Soviet-controlled World Council for Peace and Stockholm Conference on Vietnam. A new organization dominated by NMC leaders, the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam, emerged in January, 1970, after contacts with North Vietnamese representatives. It attempts to present a favorable picture of North Vietnamese treatment of American prisoners of war.

One NMC official is known to have met with a Soviet intelligence officer. NMC leaders have frequently traveled abroad. It is therefore necessary to consider these individuals as having potential for engaging in foreign-directed intelligence collection.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in its analysis of bloc intelligence, is of the view that the Soviet and bloc intelligence services are committed at the political level to exploit all domestic dissidents wherever possible. This attack is being conducted through recruited agents, agents of influence, and the use of front groups. It is established bloc policy to deploy its forces against the United States as "the main enemy" and to direct all bloc intelligence forces toward ultimately political objectives which disrupt U.S. domestic and foreign policies.

3. New Left Terrorist Groups. The Weatherman terrorist group, which emerged from a factional split of SDS during the Summer of 1969, is a revolutionary youth movement which actively supports the
revolutionary leadership role of the Negro in the United States. It has evolved into a number of small commando-type units which plan to utilize bombings, arsons, and assassinations as political weapons.

There has been evidence of Weatherman involvement in terrorist tactics, including the accidental explosion of a "Weatherman bomb factory" in New York City on March 6, 1970; the discovery of two undetonated bombs in Detroit police facilities on the same date; and the blast at New York City police installations on June 9, 1970.

While Weatherman membership is not clearly defined, it is estimated that at least 1,000 individuals adhere to Weatherman ideology. In addition, groups such as the White Panther Party, Running Dog, Mad Dog, and the Youth International Party (Yuppies) are supporters of Weatherman terrorism but have no clearly definable ideology of their own.

Adherents to Weatherman ideology are also found within radical elements on campuses, among those living in off-campus communes, among New Left movement lawyers and doctors, and the underground press. Individuals who adhere to the Weatherman ideology have offered support and aid to hard-core Weatherman members, including 21 Weatherman members currently in hiding to avoid apprehension.

They identify themselves politically with North Vietnam, Cuba, and North Korea and consider pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese organizations as being aligned with imperialist powers. In addition, some of the Weatherman leaders and adherents have traveled to communist countries or have met in Western countries with communist representatives.

Weatherman leaders and other members of terrorist groups are not known at this time to be involved in foreign-directed intelligence collection activity. The fugitive and underground status of many of these people, as well as their involvement in activities which would likely bring them to the attention of American authorities, would be a deterrent to contacts by foreign intelligence organizations.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection Procedures

1. Scope and Effectiveness of Current Coverage. Although New Left groups have been responsible for widespread damage to ROTC facilities, for the halting of some weapons-related research, and for the increasing dissent within the military services, the major threat to the internal security of the United States is that directed against the civilian sector of our society.

- 5 -
Coverage of student groups is handled primarily through live informants and it is generally effective at the national level or at major meetings of these groups where overall policy, aims, and objectives of the groups are determined.

The antiwar movement's activities are covered through the FBI by live informants in all organizations of interest. This is supported by information furnished by all members of the intelligence community and other Federal, state, and local agencies. Key leaders and activists are afforded concentrated and intensified investigative coverage on a continuing basis and, in situations where there are positive indications of violence, electronic surveillances have been implemented on a selective basis. Informant and electronic coverage does not meet present requirements.

Although several SDS chapters on college campuses which adhere to Weatherman ideology have been penetrated by live informants, there is no live informant coverage at present of underground Weatherman fugitives. There is electronic coverage on the residence of a Weatherman contact in New York City and on the residence of an alleged Weatherman member in San Francisco; however, no information has been developed concerning the whereabouts of the 21 Weatherman fugitives.

2. Gaps in Current Coverage. Established, long-term coverage is not available within student protest groups due to the fact that the student body itself changes yearly, necessitating a constant turnover in the informants targeted against these groups. His idealism and immaturity, as well as the sensitive issues of academic freedom and the right to dissent, all serve to increase the risk that the student informant will be exposed as such.

Generally, day-to-day coverage of the planned activities of student protest groups, which are somewhat autonomous and disjointed, could be strengthened. Advance notice of foreign travel by student militants is particularly needed. Campus violence is generally attributable to small, close-knit extremist groups among radical students. Coverage of these latter groups is minimal.
The antiwar movement is comprised of a great many organizations and people which represent varied political, moral and ethnic beliefs. Current manpower commitments preclude optimum coverage of all antiwar activities on a day-to-day basis.

Existing coverage of New Left extremists, the Weatherman group in particular, is negligible. Most of the Weatherman group has gone underground and formed floating, commando-type units composed of three to six individuals. The transitory nature of these units hinders the installation of electronic surveillances and their smallness and distrust of outsiders make penetration of these units through live informants extremely difficult.

Financially, the Weatherman group appears to be without a centralized source of funds. Wealthy parents have furnished funds to some of these individuals, including those in a fugitive status. Many members have also been involved in the thefts of credit and identification cards, as well as checks, and have utilized them for obtaining operating expenses.

3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence Collection.
To establish effective coverage of student protest groups would require the expansion of live informant coverage of individual campus chapters of these organizations. This would entail extensive use of student informants to obtain maximum utilization of their services for the periods of their college attendance.

Because of the great number of individuals and groups in the antiwar movement, an increase in the manpower assigned to these investigations would facilitate more intensive coverage. In addition, there are several key leaders involved in virtually all antiwar activities, including international contacts, against whom electronic surveillances and mail covers would be particularly effective.

Improvement of intelligence gathering against New Left terrorists depends on a combination of live informant coverage among key leaders and selective electronic surveillances. Because of the nature of the Weatherman groups, live informant coverage will most likely result through the defection of a key leader.
Extensive efforts have been undertaken which should produce a live informant capable of furnishing information as to the location of Weatherman fugitives and planned terrorist acts. In the event a commune is located, prompt installation of electronic coverage should produce similar results. Utilization of additional resources to expand and intensify this collection would be beneficial.
II. BLACK EXTREMIST MOVEMENT

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

1. Black Panther Party. The most active and dangerous black extremist group in the United States is the Black Panther Party (BPP). Despite its relatively small number of hard-core members--approximately 800 in 40 chapters nationwide--the BPP is in the forefront of black extremist activity today. The BPP has publicly advertised its goals of organizing revolution, insurrection, assassination and other terrorist-type activities. Moreover, a recent poll indicates that approximately 25 per cent of the black population has a great respect for the BPP, including 43 per cent of blacks under 21 years of age.

The Panther newspaper has a current circulation of approximately 150,000 copies weekly. Its pages are filled with messages of racial hatred and call for terrorist guerrilla activity in an attempt to overthrow the Government. The BPP has been involved in a substantial number of planned attacks against law enforcement officers, and its leadership is composed in large part of criminally inclined, violence-prone individuals.

Weapons are regularly stockpiled by the Party. During 1968 and 1969, quantities of machine guns, shotguns, rifles, hand grenades, homemade bombs, and ammunition were uncovered in Panther offices.

2. New Left Support for BPP. The BPP has received increasing support from radical New Left elements. During 1970, the BPP formed a working relationship with radical student dissenters by injecting the issue of Government "repression" of Panthers into the antiwar cause. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) supported the BPP in a 1969 "united front against fascism." The probability that black extremists, including the BPP, will work closely with New Left white radicals in the future increases the threat of escalating terrorist activities. It would be safe to project that racial strife and student turmoil fomented by black extremists will definitely increase.

3. BPP Propaganda Appearances. Despite its small membership, the BPP has scored major successes in the propaganda arena. In
1969, BPP representatives spoke at 189 colleges throughout the Nation, while in 1967 there were only 11 such appearances. Although no direct information has been received to date indicating that the BPP has initiated any large-scale racial disorders, the year 1970 has seen an escalation of racial disorders across the Nation compared to 1969. This fact, coupled with an increasing amount of violent Panther activity, presents a great potential for racial and civil unrest for the future.

4. Appeal to Military. The BPP has made pointed appeals to black servicemen with racist propaganda. High priority has been placed on the recruitment of veterans with weapons and explosives training. The BPP has also called for infiltration of the Government. These activities, should they achieve even minimum success, present a grave threat.

5. BPP Philosophy and Foreign Support. The BPP relies heavily on foreign communist ideology to shape its goals. Quotations from Mao Tse-tung were the initial ideological bible of the BPP. Currently, the writings of North Korean Premier Kim Il-sung are followed and extensive use of North Korean propaganda material is made in BPP publications and training. The Marxist-oriented philosophy of the BPP presents a favorable environment for support of the Panthers from other communist countries.

BPP leaders have traveled extensively abroad including visits to Cuba, Russia, North Korea, and Algeria. International operations of the BPP are directed by Eldridge Cleaver, a fugitive from United States courts. Cleaver has established an international staff in Algeria, from where communist propaganda is constantly relayed to the BPP headquarters in Berkeley, California. He has also established close ties with Al Fatah, an Arab guerrilla organization, whose leaders have reportedly extended invitations to BPP members to take guerrilla training during 1970. Cleaver, in a recent conversation, indicated that North Koreans are conducting similar training for BPP members. Radical white students in Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries have organized solidarity committees in support of the BPP. These committees are the sources of financial contributions to the Party and provide outlets for the BPP newspaper.

6. Other Black Extremist Groups. The Nation of Islam (NOI) is the largest single black extremist organization in the United States with an estimated membership of 6,000 in approximately 100 Mosques. The NOI
preaches hatred of the white race and advocates separatism of the races. The NOI as a group has, to date, not instigated any civil disorders; however, the followers of this semi-religious cult are extremely dedicated individuals who could be expected to perform acts of violence if so ordered by the NOI head, Elijah Muhammed. When Muhammed, who is over 70 years of age, is replaced, a new leader could completely alter current nonviolent tactics of the organization. For example, Muhammed's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrief, now among the top hierarchy of NOI, could rise to a leadership position. Sharrief is vicious, domineering, and unpredictable.

There are numerous other black extremist organizations, small in numbers, located across the country. There is also a large number of unaffiliated black extremists who advocate violence and guerrilla warfare. One particular group, the Republic of New Africa (RNA), headquartered in Detroit, Michigan, calls for the establishment of a separate black nation in the South to be protected by armed forces. These groups, although small, are dedicated to the destruction of our form of government and consequently present a definite potential for instigating civil disorder or guerrilla warfare activity.

7. Black Student Extremist Influence. Black student extremist activities at colleges and secondary schools have increased alarmingly. Although currently there is no dominant leadership, coordination or specific direction between these individuals, they are in frequent contact with each other. Consequently, should any type of organization or cohesiveness develop, it would present a grave potential for future violent activities at United States schools. Increased informant coverage would be particularly productive in this area. Black student extremists have frequently engaged in violence and disruptive activity on campuses. Major universities which made concessions to nonnegotiable black student demands have not succeeded in calming extremist activities. During the school year 1969-70, there were 227 college disturbances having racial overtones. There were 530 such disturbances in secondary schools compared with only 320 during the previous school year.

8. Foreign Influence in the Black Extremist Movement. Although there is no hard evidence indicating that the black extremist movement is substantially controlled or directed by foreign elements, there is a marked potential for foreign-directed intelligence or subversive activity among black extremist leaders and organizations. These groups are highly susceptible to exploitation by hostile foreign intelligence services.
Currently the most important foreign aspect of the black extremist movement is the availability of foreign asylum, especially with regard to black extremists subject to criminal prosecution in the United States. Some foreign countries, such as Cuba, provide a temporary safe haven for these individuals. Information has been received that passports and funds for travel have also been furnished by countries such as Cuba, North Korea, and Algeria. Communist intelligence services do not, at present, play a major role in the black extremist movement; however, all such services have established contact with individual black militants. Thus, the penetration and manipulation of black extremist groups by these intelligence services remain distinct possibilities. Communist intelligence services are capable of using their personnel, facilities, and agent assets to work in the black extremist field. The Soviet and Cuban services have major capabilities available.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection Procedures

There are some definite gaps in the current overall intelligence penetration of the black extremist movement. For example, although there appears to be sufficient live informant coverage of the BPP at the rank-and-file level, additional penetration of the national leadership of the BPP, especially at a Central Committee level, is needed. High echelon informant coverage could conceivably prevent violence, sabotage, or insurrection if such activity was planned by BPP leadership. Insufficient coverage of the national leadership of the BPP is offset to some extent by technical coverage of BPP headquarters and various branch offices. Penetration of leadership levels has been hindered in part by current BPP policies which prevent rank-and-file members from advancing to leadership roles.

Improvement in coverage of BPP financial activities could be made, particularly with regard to sources of funds and records. Information received to date indicates that financial support for the BPP has been furnished by both foreign individuals and domestic sources. Thus, a deeper penetration and correlation of foreign and domestic information received is essential to a full determination of BPP finances. Coverage of BPP finances has been hampered by fact that BPP leaders handle financial matters personally.

In view of the increased amount of foreign travel and contacts by BPP leaders abroad, there is a clear-cut need for more complete coverage of foreign involvement in BPP activities.
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1. Other Black Extremist Organizations. Informant coverage of the NOI is substantial, enabling its activities to be followed on a current basis. Coverage of militant black student groups and individuals is very limited because of the sensitive areas involved. An effective source of such coverage would be reliable, former members of the Armed Forces presently attending college. Live informant coverage, particularly with respect to the activities and plans of unaffiliated black militants, needs to be increased. More sources both in the United States and abroad in a position to determine the amount of foreign involvement in black extremist activities need to be developed. Maximum use of communication intercepts would materially increase the current capabilities of the intelligence community to develop highly important data regarding black extremist activities.
III. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

The threat posed by the communist intelligence services must be assessed in two areas: (1) direct intervention in fomenting and/or influencing domestic unrest; (2) extensive espionage activities.

Taken in complete context, these services constitute a grave threat to the internal security of the United States because of their size, capabilities, widespread spheres of influence, and targeting of the United States as "enemy number one." The largest and most skilled of these services is the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB) which has roughly 300,000 personnel of whom some 10,000 are engaged in foreign operations.

1. Intervention in Domestic Unrest. There have been no substantial indications that the communist intelligence services have actively fomented domestic unrest. Their capability cannot, however, be minimized and the likelihood of their initiating direct intervention would be in direct relationship to the deterioration of the political climate and/or imminence of hostilities. The ingredients for a first-rate capability are present, including both the personnel and the ingrained philosophy and know-how for using such tactics.

Communist intelligence has shown a real capability to foment disorder in a number of trouble spots. The dissidence and violence in the United States today present adversary intelligence services with opportunities unparalleled for forty years. While fostering disorder and rebellion through communist parties and fronts is a potent weapon in the communist arsenal, their past success has been evident in clandestine recruitment efforts on campuses during times of unrest. H. A. R. (Kim) Philby, Guy Burgess, and Donald Maclean were all students at Cambridge during the depression period of the 1930's and were in the vanguard of what was then the New Left. Their recruitment and cooperation with Soviet intelligence wreaked havoc on British intelligence and also compromised U.S. security in those sectors where they had authorized access.

Although these services have not, as yet, directly intervened in domestic unrest, the Cuban and Soviet intelligence services have major capabilities in this area based primarily on the accessibility of
members and leaders of protest groups. For instance, about 900 members of the Venceremos Brigade, a group of American youths, recently completed a round trip to Cuba. This travel was financed by the Cuban Government. While in Cuba, they were exhorted to actively participate in United States revolutionary activities upon their return to the United States. The organizers of the Brigade were instructed to direct any questions to an individual assigned to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations who has been identified as a member of the Cuban intelligence service.

A sabotage manual, prepared in Cuba, turned up in the hands of individuals responsible for recent bombings in Puerto Rico and New York City. While the potential for widespread, well-organized incidents of violence generated and controlled by the Cuban intelligence service is considered minimal, isolated occurrences of this nature must be considered probable. The Soviet services appear to have assumed the passive roles of observers and reporters.

The communist intelligence services maintain contacts and exert influence among a variety of individuals and organizations through the exploitation of ideological, cultural, and ethnic ties. Most of these liaisons are maintained with some degree of openness with individuals associated with the Communist Party, USA, various of its front groups, other pro-Soviet organizations, nationality groups, and foreign-language newspapers. These contacts are exploited as sources for and propaganda outlets of communist intelligence services. Regarded individually, these efforts cannot be considered a major threat to our internal security; however, in total, they represent a sizable element of our population which can be influenced in varying degrees by communist intelligence service operations.

2. Intelligence Operations. Persistent and pervasive intelligence operations which have their inspiration and direction supplied by communist intelligence services represent a major threat to the internal security.
The threat posed by such numerical concentration is readily apparent. Specifically, the damage these operations can inflict in any given circumstance can be extreme.

In addition to their efforts at collecting extensive intelligence data through both overt and covert means, their chief and on-going aim is to gain high-level penetration within the U. S. Government, including U. S. intelligence services.

The recruitment of U. S. military personnel is high on the list of adversary intelligence services. In a recent instance, a Soviet diplomat did his utmost to recruit a U. S. Air Force field grade officer with access to sensitive information. Of particular interest, the Soviets appear to consider the U. S. Air Force as a prime source of information relating to Communist China.

In addition to the legal representation of SIS, it is believed that as many as 20 SIS illegal networks may be operating in the eastern portion of North America. Our current lack of definitive knowledge regarding both the individuals involved and their targets makes a threat assessment difficult; however, one such network, exposed in a friendly foreign country, determined that SIS, through the efforts of the illegals, had access to construction plans of an atomic submarine. Two of the four agents surfaced in this operation were Americans.

Information developed by a U. S. Air Force-controlled double agent operating against a bloc intelligence service has given indications that the bloc service has shown willingness to progress to the eventual establishment of an illegal U. S.-based operation.

These deep cover operations, with little or no tie-in with official Soviet and bloc establishments, would continue to function following a break in diplomatic relations. The threat posed by such operations is considerably heightened by current lack of knowledge about their identity.
The Chinese communist (Chicom) intelligence service, lacking a legal base in the United States, is considerably handicapped in any extensive intelligence undertaking; however, the Chicom also do have a Canadian-based intelligence apparatus directing operations against the United States. Among the large ethnic Chinese population in the United States are 3,500 scientists employed in sensitive positions, many of whom have relatives in Communist China. Current intelligence pinpoints the United Nations Secretariat, where there are a number of pro-Chicom employees, as being the hub of their domestic activities.

The potential for increased Chicom activity in the United States is a considerable factor, but it is dependent mainly on the establishment of legal Chicom establishments in the United States.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection

1. Scope and Effectiveness. The scope of overall intelligence efforts is encompassed in the threefold goals of penetration, intelligence, and prosecution. Domestic implementation of these goals is delimited by agreement among United States intelligence agencies. Intelligence components of the United States military services are immediately concerned with protecting the integrity of their personnel and installations. Although this is primarily a defensive stance, they have furnished a potent offensive weapon in the controlled utilization of their personnel in double agent operations directed against hostile intelligence services. Central Intelligence Agency, with basic foreign responsibility, nevertheless, uses similar tools, mentioned below, to achieve the same end: the collection of intelligence primarily related to hostile intelligence services.

Methods used in these endeavors, employed in varying degrees by U.S. intelligence agencies dependent upon their specific tasks are: penetrations; defectors; double agent operations; physical, technical, and photographic surveillances; examination and analysis of overt publications; information supplied by friendly intelligence services; and COMINT.
2. Gaps in Current Coverage.
There is currently a serious void in knowledge of [redacted] illegal operations in the United States. Sophisticated coversages have, in the past, proven most effective in developing this type of intelligence.
IV. OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

1. Communist Party. The Communist Party continues as a distinct threat to the internal security because of its extremely close ties and total commitment to the Soviet Union. There are many thousands of people in the United States who adhere to a Marxist philosophy and agree with the basic objectives of the Communist Party although they do not identify themselves specifically with the organization. The Party receives most of its finances from the Soviet Union, adheres to Soviet policies explicitly, and provides a major outlet for Soviet propaganda. The Party will without question continue to implement whatever orders it receives from the Soviets in the future.

There is little likelihood that the Communist Party, USA, will instigate civil disorders or use terrorist tactics in the foreseeable future. Its strong suit is propaganda. Through its publications and propaganda it will continue its efforts to intensify civil disorders, and foment unrest in the Armed Forces, labor unions, and minority groups. The Party is on the periphery of the radical youth movement and is striving to strengthen its role in this movement and to attract new members through a recently formed youth organization, but it does not appear this group will achieve any substantial results for the Party in the future.

2. Socialist Workers Party and Other Trotskyist Groups. These organizations have an estimated membership of 2,500. The major Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party, has attained an influential role in the antiwar movement through its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance, which dominates the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and which has more than doubled its size on college campuses in the past year. Trotskyist groups have participated in major confrontations with authorities both on and off campuses and have consistently supported civil disorders. At this time they do not pose a major threat to instigate insurrection or to commit terrorist acts. The propaganda of these groups, while emphasizing student unrest, is also aimed at creating dissatisfaction in labor organizations and in the Armed Forces. The Trotskyist organizations maintain close relations with the Fourth International, a foreign-based worldwide Trotskyist movement.
3. Pro-Chinese Communist (Chicom) Groups. There are approximately ten organizations in the United States which follow the ideology of Red China and their total membership is estimated at 1,000. Most of these groups are seeking ties with the Chicom Government, but there is no evidence to date that any are receiving substantial Chicom support. These groups are extremely militant and, therefore, attractive to youthful activists. In fact, the Progressive Labor Party, the principal pro-Chicom organization, controls a faction of the Students for a Democratic Society.

These groups generally advocate revolution. Some have marked potential for terrorism and sabotage, although it is likely that such acts would be isolated instances of adventuristic violence. All of these organizations stress the use of propaganda to foment unrest in the Armed Forces and among labor, minority, and student groups.

4. Puerto Rican Nationalist Extremist Groups. The radical Puerto Rican independence movement has spawned approximately ten violently anti-American groups committed to Puerto Rican self-determination. Revolutionary violence is a major aim of the estimated 1,000 members of these groups and if sufficiently strong, they would not hesitate to mount armed insurrection. Since July, 1967, some 130 bombings in Puerto Rico and in the New York City area have been attributed to these extremists. American-owned businesses have been the main targets, but there has been a recent upsurge of violence against U.S. defense facilities in Puerto Rico.

The leading groups have reportedly received guerrilla training and money from the Cuban Government and in one instance funds were received from Communist China for use in sabotage activities. One group, organized and led by Cuban espionage agents, is reported to have committed numerous bombings in Puerto Rico and New York City in the past 18 months.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Coverage

1. Scope and Effectiveness. Coverage of the Communist Party is considered excellent through live informants and limited electronic surveillances. This coverage affords access to leadership
decisions and should provide information concerning any plans
developed for insurrectionary activity. There is effective penetra-
tion regarding the Party's receipt and expenditure of funds.

Coverage of the Trotskyist and pro-Chicom groups is
less effective. Access to their top leadership levels is limited
because these groups are heavily splintered and often have very
small memberships. Current live informant coverage can furnish
information on the general activities of these groups and it should
serve to warn of policy changes in favor of insurrection or sabotage.
It is doubtful that advance warning of isolated acts of violence would
be received, however.

Informant penetration of the Puerto Rican independence
groups provides information on the objectives of most of these
organizations as well as the identities of their members. However,
these sources have limited ability to provide advance information
regarding violence committed by these groups or by individual members.


Better coverage is needed of the high-level meetings and sources
of funds of the Trotskyist and pro-Chicom groups. The limited
penetration is due in part to multiplicity of these groups and their
generally small memberships.

Closer coverage at the policy-making levels of the Puerto
Rican independence groups is needed to obtain more comprehensive
information on persons involved in terrorist activities. The small
memberships of many of these organizations is a major reason for
the limited coverage.

3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence Collection.
The selective use of electronic surveillances would materially enhance
the intelligence coverage of the policy-making levels of these organizations.
A particular benefit of electronic surveillance in the Puerto Rican field
could be the development of information identifying persons involved in
terrorist activities. Communications intelligence coverage and travel
control measures could be improved to provide greater awareness of
the travel and other activities of individuals of security interest. Through
the establishment of additional informant coverage on college campuses,
the involvement of these organizations in the radicalization of students
could be assessed with increased accuracy.

- 22 -

TOP SECRET
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PART TWO

RERAINTS ON INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

The Committee noted that the President had made it clear that he desired full consideration be given to any regulations, policies, or procedures which tend to limit the effectiveness of domestic intelligence collection. The Committee further noted that the President wanted the pros and cons of such restraints clearly set forth so that the President will be able to decide whether or not a change in current policies, practices, or procedures should be made.

During meetings of the Committee, a variety of limitations and restraints were discussed. All of the agencies involved, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the three military counterintelligence services, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), participated in these considerations.

In the light of the directives furnished to the Committee by the White House, the subject matters hereinafter set forth were reviewed for the consideration and decision of the President.

1. SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL RERAINTS

   A. Interpretive Restraint on Communications Intelligence

      Preliminary Discussion
Nature of Restriction

Advantages of Maintaining Restriction

Advantages of Relaxing Restriction

1. Circumstances have altered considerably since the original intelligence directive was written. Subversive activity has materially increased and now represents a significant danger to public order and stability.

- 24 -

TOP SECRET
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B. Electronic Surveillance and Penetrations

Preliminary Discussion

The limited number of electronic surveillances and penetrations substantially restricts the collection of valuable intelligence information of material importance to the entire intelligence community.

Nature of Restrictions

Electronic surveillances have been used on a selective basis. Restrictions, initiated at the highest levels of the Executive Branch, arose as a result of the condemnation of these techniques by civil rights groups, Congressional concern for invasion of privacy, and the possibility of their adverse effect on criminal prosecutions.

Advantages of Maintaining Restrictions

1. Disclosure and embarrassment to the using agency and/or the United States is always possible since such techniques often require that the services or advice of outside personnel be used in the process of installation.

2. 

3. Certain elements of the press in the United States and abroad would undoubtedly seize upon disclosure of electronic coverage in an effort to discredit the United States.

4. The monitoring of electronic surveillances requires considerable manpower and, where foreign establishments are involved, the language resources of the agencies could be severely taxed.
Advantages of Relaxing Restrictions

1. The U.S. Government has an overriding obligation to use every available scientific means to detect and neutralize forces which pose a direct threat to the Nation.

2. Every major intelligence service in the world, including those of the communist bloc, use such techniques as an essential part of their operations, and it is believed the general public would support their use by the United States for the same purpose.

3. The President historically has had the authority to act in matters of national security. In addition, Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 provides a statutory basis.

4. Intelligence data from electronic coverage is not readily obtainable from other techniques or sources. Such data includes information which might assist in formulating foreign policy decisions, information leading to the identification of intelligence and/or espionage principals and could well include the first indication of intention to commit hostile action against the United States.

5. Acquisition of such material from COMINT without benefit of the assistance which electronic surveillance techniques can provide, if possible at all, would be extremely expensive. Therefore, this approach could result in considerable dollar savings compared to collection methods.
DECISION: Electronic Surveillances and Penetrations

Present procedures on electronic coverage should continue.

Present procedures should be changed to permit intensification of coverage of individuals and groups in the United States who pose a major threat to the internal security.

Present procedures should be changed to permit intensification of coverage

More information is needed.

NOTE: The FBI does not wish to change its present procedure of selective coverage on major internal security threats as it believes this coverage is adequate at this time. The FBI would not oppose other agencies seeking authority of the Attorney General for coverage required by them and thereafter instituting such coverage themselves.

- 28 -
C. Mail Coverage

Preliminary Discussion

The use of mail covers can result in the collection of valuable information relating to contacts between U.S. nationals and foreign governments and intelligence services. CIA and the military investigative agencies have found this information particularly helpful in the past. Essentially, there are two types of mail coverage: routine coverage is legal, while the second--covert coverage--is not. Routine coverage involves recording information from the face of envelopes. It is available, legally, to any duly authorized Federal or state investigative agency submitting a written request to the Post Office Department and has been used frequently by the military intelligence services. Covert mail coverage, also known as "sophisticated mail coverage," or "flaps and seals," entails surreptitious screening and may include opening and examination of domestic or foreign mail. This technique is based on high-level cooperation of top echelon postal officials.

Nature of Restrictions

Covert coverage has been discontinued while routine coverage has been reduced primarily as an outgrowth of publicity arising from disclosure of routine mail coverage during legal proceedings and publicity afforded this matter in Congressional hearings involving accusations of governmental invasion of privacy.

Advantages of Maintaining Restrictions

Routine Coverage:

1. Although this coverage is legal, charges of invasion of privacy, no matter how ill-founded, are possible.

2. This coverage depends on the cooperation of rank-and-file postal employees and is, therefore, more susceptible to compromise.
Covert Coverage:

1. Legal mail coverage is used daily by both local and Federal authorities in criminal investigations. The use of this technique should be available to permit coverage of individuals and groups in the United States who pose a threat to the internal security.

2. This coverage, not having sanction of law, runs the risk of any illicit act magnified by the involvement of a Government agency.

3. Information secured from such coverage could not be used for prosecutive purposes.

Advantages of Relaxing Restrictions

Routine Coverage:

1. High-level postal authorities have, in the past, provided complete cooperation and have maintained full security of this program.

2. This coverage involves negligible risk of compromise.

3. This coverage has been extremely successful in producing hard-core and authentic intelligence which is not obtainable from any other source. An example is a case involving a letter to a specific establishment in which the writer offered to sell information to the establishment in that city. The letter was intercepted and enclosed a sample of information which might have been more damaging than actual information.

If disclosed, could have adverse diplomatic repercussions.

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**DECISION: Mail Coverage**

Present restrictions on both types of mail coverage should be continued.

Restrictions on legal coverage should be removed.

Present restrictions on covert coverage should be relaxed on selected targets of priority foreign intelligence and internal security interest.

More information is needed.

**NOTE:** The Committee noted that a change in the basic structure of the Post Office Department into a corporation wherein the Government would not exercise administrative control could make this technique too hazardous to use.

The FBI is opposed to implementing any covert mail coverage because it is clearly illegal and it is likely that, if done, information would leak out of the Post Office to the press and serious damage would be done to the intelligence community. The FBI has no objection to legal mail coverage providing it is done on a carefully controlled and selective basis in both criminal and security matters.

-31-

**TOP SECRET**

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D. Surreptitious Entry

Preliminary Discussion

Nature of Restrictions

Use of surreptitious entry, also referred to as "anonymous sources: and "black bag jobs," has been virtually eliminated.

Advantages of Maintaining Restrictions

1. The activity involves illegal entry and trespass.

2. Information which is obtained through this technique could not be used for prosecutive purposes.

3. The public disclosure of this technique would result in widespread publicity and embarrassment. The news media would portray the incident as a flagrant violation of civil rights and/or diplomatic immunity.

Advantages of Relaxing Restrictions

1. Operations of this type are performed by a small number of carefully trained and selected personnel under strict supervision. The technique is implemented only after full security is assured. It has been used in the past with highly successful results and without adverse effects.
2. Benefits accruing from this technique in the past have been innumerable.

3. In the past this technique, when used against subversives, has produced valuable intelligence material.

DECISION: Surreptitious Entry

- Present restrictions should be continued.
- Present restrictions should be modified to permit procurement
- Present restrictions should also be modified to permit selective use of this technique against other urgent and high priority internal security targets.
- More information is needed.

NOTE: The FBI is opposed to surreptitious entry.
E. Development of Campus Sources

Preliminary Discussion

Public disclosure of CIA links with the National Student Association and the subsequent issuance of the Katzenbach Report have contributed to a climate adverse to intelligence-type activity on college campuses and with student-related groups. It should be noted that the Katzenbach Report itself does not specifically restrain CIA from developing positive or counterintelligence sources to work on targets abroad.

Restrictions currently in force limit certain other elements of the intelligence community access to some of the most troublesome areas: campuses, college faculties, foreign and domestic youth groups, leftist journalists, and black militants. It is recognized that these are prime targets of communist intelligence services and that the opportunity for foreign communist exploitation increases in proportion to the weakness of a U.S. counterintelligence effort.

Nature of Restrictions

The need for great circumspection in making contacts with students, faculty members, and employees of institutions of learning is widely recognized. However, the requirements of the intelligence community for increased information in this area is obvious from the concern of the White House at the absence of hard information about the plans and programs of campus and student-related militant organizations. At the present time no sources are developed among secondary school students and, with respect to colleges and universities, sources are developed only among individuals who have reached legal age, with few exceptions. This policy is designed to minimize the possibility of embarrassment and adverse publicity, including charges of infringement of academic freedom.
Advantages of Maintaining Restrictions

1. Students, faculty members, and others connected with educational institutions are frequently sensitive to and hostile towards any Government activity which smacks of infringement on academic freedom. They are prone to publicize inquiries by governmental agencies and the resulting publicity can often be misleading in portraying the Government's interest.

2. Students are frequently immature and unpredictable. They cannot be relied on to maintain confidences or to act with discretion to the same extent as adult sources.

Advantages of Relaxing Restrictions

1. To a substantial degree, militant New Left and antiwar groups in the United States are comprised of students, faculty members, and others connected with educational institutions. To a corresponding degree, effective coverage of these groups and activities depends upon development of knowledgeable sources in the categories named. In this connection, the military services have capabilities which could be of value to the FBI.

2. Much of the violence and disorders which have occurred on college campuses have been of a hastily planned nature. Unless sources are available within the student bodies, it is virtually impossible to develop advance information concerning such violence.

3. The development of sources among students affiliated with New Left elements affords a unique opportunity to cultivate informant prospects who may rise to positions of leadership in the revolutionary movement or otherwise become of great long-range value.

4. The extraordinary and unprecedented wave of destruction which has swept U.S. campuses in the past several months and which in some respects represents a virtual effort to overthrow our system provides a clear justification for the development of campus informants in the interest of national security.
5. Contacts with students will make it possible to 
   obtain information about travel abroad by U.S. students and about 
   attendance at international conferences.

   DECISION: Development of Campus Sources

   ___ Present restrictions on development of campus 
      and student-related sources should be continued.

   ___ Present restrictions should be relaxed to permit 
      expanded coverage of violence-prone campus and 
      student-related groups.

   ___ CIA coverage of American students (and others) 
      traveling abroad or living abroad should be increased.

   ___ More information is needed.

NOTE: The FBI is opposed to removing any present controls and 
restrictions relating to the development of campus sources. 
To do so would severely jeopardize its investigations and 
could result in leaks to the press which would be damaging 
and which could result in charges that investigative agencies 
are interfering with academic freedom.
F. Use of Military Undercover Agents

Preliminary Discussion

The use of undercover agents by the military services to develop domestic intelligence is currently limited to penetration of organizations whose membership includes military personnel and whose activities pose a direct threat to the military establishment. For example, although the Navy has approximately 54 Naval ROTC units and numerous classified Government contract projects on various campuses across the country, the Naval Investigative Service conducts no covert collection on college campuses. The same is true of the other military services.

Nature of Restrictions

The use of undercover agents by the military investigative services to develop domestic intelligence among civilian targets is believed beyond the statutory intent of the Congress as expressed in Title 10, U. S. Code, and in current resource authorizations. The Delimitations Agreement (1949 agreement signed by the FBI, Army, Navy and Air Force which delimits responsibility for each agency with regard to investigations of espionage, counterespionage, subversion and sabotage) reflects the current missions of the FBI and the military services. Further, there is a lack of assets to undertake this mission unless essential service-related counterintelligence missions are reduced. There is also concern for morale and disciplinary reactions within the services should the existence of such covert operations become known.

Advantages of Maintaining Restrictions

1. If the utilization of military counterintelligence in this mission is contrary to the intent of the Congress, discovery of employment may result in unfavorable legislation and further reductions in appropriations.

2. Lacking direct statutory authority, the use of the military services in this mission could result in legal action directed against the Executive Branch.

3. The use of military personnel to report on civilian activities for the benefit of civilian agencies will reduce the ability of the military services to meet service-connected intelligence responsibilities.
4. If expansion of the mission of the military services with regard to college campuses is to provide coverage of any significance, it will require corollary increases in resources.

5. Prosecutions for violations of law discovered in the course of military penetration of civilian organizations must be tried in civil courts. The providing of military witnesses will require complicated interdepartmental coordination to a much greater extent than the present and will serve, in the long run, to reduce security.

6. Disclosure that military counterintelligence agencies have been furnishing information obtained through this technique to nonmilitary investigative agencies with respect to civilian activities would certainly result in considerable adverse publicity. The Army's recent experience with former military intelligence personnel confirms this estimate. Since obligated service officers, first enlistees and draftees are drawn from a peer group in which reaction is most unfavorable, morale and disciplinary problems can be anticipated.

Advantages of Relaxing Restrictions

1. Lifting these restrictions would expand the scope of domestic intelligence collection efforts by diverting additional manpower and resources for the collection of information on college campuses and in the vicinity of military installations.

2. The use of undercover agents by the military counterintelligence agencies could be limited to localized targets where the threat is great and the likelihood of exposure minimal. Moreover, controlled use of trusted personnel leaving the service to return to college could expand the collection capabilities at an acceptable risk.

3. The military services have a certain number of personnel pursuing special academic courses on campuses and universities. Such personnel, who in many instances have already been investigated for security clearance, would represent a valuable pool of potential sources for reporting on subversive activities of campus and student-related groups.
DECISION: Use of Military Undercover Agents

Present restrictions should be retained.

The counterintelligence mission of the military services should be expanded to include the active collection of intelligence concerning student-related dissident activities, with provisions for a close coordination with the FBI.

No change should be made in the current mission of the military counterintelligence services; however, present restrictions should be relaxed to permit the use of trusted military personnel as FBI assets in the collection of intelligence regarding student-related dissident activities.

More information is needed.

NOTE: The FBI is opposed to the use of any military undercover agents to develop domestic intelligence information because this would be in violation of the Delimitations Agreement. The military services, joined by the FBI, oppose any modification of the Delimitations Agreement which would extend their jurisdiction beyond matters of interest to the Department of Defense.
II. BUDGET AND MANPOWER RESTRICTIONS

The capability of member agencies, NSA, CIA, DIA, FBI, and the military counterintelligence services, to collect intelligence data is limited by available resources, particularly in terms of budget and/or qualified manpower. For some agencies fiscal limitations or recent cutbacks have been acute. Budgetary requirements for some agencies, other than the FBI, are reviewed and passed upon by officials who, in some instances, may not be fully informed concerning intelligence requirements.

The military services noted that cuts in budget requirements for counterintelligence activities have the effect of severely hampering the ability of these services to accomplish missions relating to coverage of threats to the national security. Budgetary deficiencies have occurred at a time when investigative work loads are increasing significantly.

Manpower limitations constitute a major restriction on the FBI's capabilities in the investigation of subversive activities. The problem is further complicated by the fact that, even if substantial numbers of Agents could be recruited on a crash basis, the time required to conduct background investigations and to provide essential training would mean several months' delay in personnel being available for use against the rapidly escalating subversive situation.
In the event, as a result of this report, additional collection requirements should be levied on the agencies involved, it would be necessary to provide for essential funding. For example,

DECISION: Budget and Manpower Restrictions

___ Each agency should submit a detailed estimate as to projected manpower needs and other costs in the event the various investigative restraints herein are lifted.

___ Each agency must operate within its current budgetary or manpower limitations, irrespective of action required as result of this report.

___ More information is needed.
PART THREE

EVALUATION OF INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

I. CURRENT PROCEDURES TO EFFECT COORDINATION

There is currently no operational body or mechanism specifically charged with the overall analysis, coordination, and continuing evaluation of practices and policies governing the acquisition and dissemination of intelligence, the pooling of resources, and the correlation of operational activities in the domestic field.

Although a substantial exchange of intelligence and research material between certain of the interested agencies already exists, much remains to be done in the following areas: (1) the preparation of coordinated intelligence estimates in a format useful for policy formulation; (2) the coordination of intelligence collection resources of the member agencies and the establishment of clear-cut priorities for the various agencies; and (3) the coordination of the operational activities of member agencies in developing the required intelligence.

II. SUGGESTED MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE COORDINATION OF DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

It is believed that an interagency group on domestic intelligence should be established to effect coordination between the various member agencies. This group would define the specific requirements of the various agencies, provide regular evaluations of domestic intelligence, develop recommendations relative to policies governing operations in the field of domestic intelligence, and prepare periodic domestic intelligence estimates which would incorporate the results of the combined efforts of the entire intelligence community.

Membership in this group should consist of appropriate representatives named by the Directors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the counterintelligence agencies of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. In addition, an
appropriate representative of the White House would have membership. The committee would report periodically to the White House, and a White House staff representative would coordinate intelligence originating with this committee in the same manner as Dr. Henry Kissinger, Assistant to the President, coordinates foreign intelligence on behalf of the President. The chairman would be appointed by the President.

This interagency group would have authority to determine appropriate staff requirements and to implement these requirements, subject to the approval of the President, in order to meet the responsibilities and objectives described above.

**DECISION: Permanent Interagency Group**

An ad hoc group consisting of the FBI, CIA, NSA, DIA, and the military counterintelligence agencies should be appointed and should serve as long as the President deems necessary, to provide evaluations of domestic intelligence, prepare periodic domestic intelligence estimates, and carry out the other objectives indicated above. The ad hoc group should be tasked to develop a permanent organization to carry out the objectives of this report.

A permanent committee consisting of the FBI, CIA, NSA, DIA, and the military counterintelligence agencies should be appointed to provide evaluations of domestic intelligence, prepare periodic domestic intelligence estimates, and carry out the other objectives indicated above.

No further action required.

More information is needed.

**NOTE:** The FBI is opposed to the creation of a permanent committee for the purpose of providing evaluations of domestic intelligence, however, the FBI would approve of preparing periodic domestic intelligence estimates.

- 43 -