ARMY SURVEILLANCE OF CIVILIANS:

A DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

BY THE STAFF OF THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

(II)

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PREFACE

Members of the Subcommittee:

The following report by the Subcommittee staff analyzes certain computer print-outs and publications generated in the course of the Army's domestic intelligence program. I asked the staff to prepare this report so that members of the Subcommittee might be saved the labor of analyzing thousands of documents, many of which require painstaking translation from the original "computerese." In addition, it is sensible for us to work from an expurgated version of reports on the political and private lives of law-abiding citizens so that we would not be guilty of compounding the invasions of privacy which already have occurred.

In most instances where names of individuals or groups appear in this report, they are taken from examples presented at our hearings, or from news articles describing the various Army dossier collections. In a few cases, however, it has been necessary to mention some organizations by name in discussing data banks not previously known. Although there is a danger that the unscrupulous might misuse these identifications, on balance it is preferable that they be mentioned in the report. Only in this way can it be graphically demonstrated how the Army mischaracterized individuals and groups to their prejudice without foundation in fact, how arbitrary any judgments were, and how it continually exhibited a lack of appreciation for the potential harm that comes from indiscriminately listing together organizations with widely different aims, aspirations, methods, and behavior. These listings also show how ill-defined the Army programs were, including as they do, small and *ad hoc* groups, street gangs, local organizations—some of them arms of government—along with national organizations of more permanent existence and importance. As the report makes clear, these listings demonstrate how worthless and unsubstantiated the Army's characterizations often were, while at the same time how dangerous they were to individual and associational rights. The evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that the appearance of an individual or organization in the Army's files signifies no indictment of the person or group.

In my opinion, this report and the documents on which it is based demonstrate conclusively that the monitoring of individuals and organizations by military intelligence was of no practical value to military commanders charged with quelling civil disorders and safeguarding military security. The overwhelming majority of the reports pertain to the peaceful activities of nonviolent citizens lawfully exercising their constitutional rights of speech, press, religion, association, and petition. For reasons of efficiency alone, the Defense Department was

right to order the reports destroyed. As the Army General Counsel said of the files: "They were the most worthless damn things I had ever seen in my life. It was a waste of paper. We said, 'Burn 'em.' "

However, it is equally clear that the reports posed a clear and present danger to the privacy and freedom of thousands of American citizens—citizens whose only "offense" was to stand on their hind legs and exercise rights they thought the Constitution guaranteed to them. These files confirm what we learned first from former intelligence agents—that Army intelligence, in the name of preparedness and security, had developed a massive system for monitoring virtually all political protest in the United States. In doing so, it was not content with observing at arms length; Army agents repeatedly infiltrated civilian groups. Moreover, the information they reported was not confined to acts or plans for violence, but included much private information about peoples' finances, psychiatric records, and sex lives.

This report further reveals the enormity of the data collection. Our hearings focused rather narrowly on the operations of the Intelligence Command and on one military intelligence detachment belonging to the Fifth Infantry Division. In contrast, the staff report demonstrates that virtually every major stateside Army unit had its own set of files on civilian politics. For example, in response to an inventory ordered by Army officials in the spring of 1970, Fourth Army Headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., reported the equivalent of 100,000 file cards on "personalities of interest." If that were not enough, III Corps at Fort Hood, Tex., reported a computer data file on civilian political groups within the same five-state area. The size of these and other data banks confirms that the Army's domestic intelligence operations did not begin with the Newark and Detroit riots of 1967. The events of that summer only expanded activities which had been going on, in varying degrees of intensity, since 1940, and which has its roots as far back as World War I.

The absence of *civilian* control over this surveillance prior to 1970 has already been established. This report proves the absence of central *military* control as well. Each major data bank developed independent of the others in a milieu which showed little concern for the values of privacy, freedom, efficiency, or economy.

The documents also demonstrate that the surveillance was not the result of any malevolent intent on the party of military officers. They merely did what they thought was their job in the manner in which they drew a false analogy between foreign counterintelligence and counterinsurgency operations and the Army's role in domestic civil disturbances. The hypothesis that revolutionary groups might be behind the civil rights and anti-war movements became a presumption which infected the entire operation. Demonstrators and rioters were not regarded as American citizens with possibly legitimate grievances, but as "dissident forces" deployed against the established order. Given this conception of dissent, it is not surprising that Army intelligence would collect information on the political and private lives of the dissenters. The military doctrines governing counterintelligence, counterinsurgency, and civil affairs operations demanded it.

If these mis-perceptions of dissent in the United States account for the direction Army intelligence took in the late 1960s, they do not

explain the extraordinary growth of its operations. Responsibility here must lie with civilian authorities in both the Executive Branch and in Congress. In the midst of crisis, Pentagon civilians issued vague, mission-type orders which essentially gave intelligence officers a free hand in collecting whatever information they deemed necessary to the efficient conduct of civil disturbance operations. Subsequently, neither the Pentagon's civilian hierarchy nor the Congress had any routine means by which to review the appropriateness of those decisions until former agents came forward and blew the whistle in 1970.

Meanwhile, the surveillance grew, as most governmental programs grow, by the quiet processes of bureaucratic accretion. As the directives reproduced in the Appendix to the hearings graphically demonstrate, each subordinate element in the chain of command expanded on the orders it received from above, while the traditional secrecy we have granted our intelligence agencies immunized each echelon from effective review by its superiors.

Since the Subcommittee began its investigation in January, 1970, civilian officials in the Departments of Army and Defense have worked hard to reestablish civilian control. The task has not been easy; bureaucracies in motion tend to stay in motion. Many of the records undoubtedly have been destroyed; many others undoubtedly have been hidden away. For the moment, however, it would appear that the systematic monitoring has ceased.

The question this Subcommittee must decide is whether this cessation of operations is adequate for our purposes, or whether some other action, such as legislation modeled on the Defense Department's recent directives, is needed to bar a recurrence.

SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

ACSI—Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence.
AFEES—Armed Forces Entrance Examination Station.
AFSTRIKE—Air Force Strike Command.
ARSTRIKE—Army Forces Strike Command.
CIAB—Counterintelligence Analysis Branch.
CONARC—Continental Army Command.
CONUS—Continental United States.
CORE—Congress of Racial Equality.
CRIS—Counterintelligence Records Information System.
DA—Department of the Army.
DCDPO—Directorate of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations.
DOD—Department of Defense.
DOMS—Directorate of Military Support (formerly DCDPO).
MDW—Military District of Washington.
MI—Military Intelligence.
NAACP—National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
NIS—Naval Investigative Service (formerly ONI).
NMCEWV—National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.
OACSI—Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence.
OEO—Office of Economic Opportunity.
ONI—Office of Naval Intelligence (now NIS).
OSI—Office of Special Investigations, Air Force.
RITA—Resistance in the Army.
SCLC—Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
SDS—Students for a Democratic Society.
SNCC—Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.
USAINTC—United States Army Intelligence Command.
USSTRICOM—United States Strike Command.

ARMY SURVEILLANCE OF CIVILIANS: A DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

The core of any intelligence operation is its files. The Army's files on civilian political activity were voluminous and far-reaching. Scores of local, regional, and national records centers kept track of individuals and organizations of all kinds, from Unitarian Church congregations to the Weathermen. Computers were used to store information and to index voluminous libraries of dossiers. Where computers were not used, card indexes opened the way to the information.

Since the Subcommittee began its investigation of these files in January 1970, many of these records have been destroyed. Before the destruction of records began, however, a lawsuit was filed, *Tatum* v. *Laird*, which sought to enjoin the military's monitoring of civilian political activity. Part of the relief sought by the plaintiffs was supervised destruction of the records. Although the District Court denied the plaintiff's request for an order requiring delivery of the records to the court, the defendants, represented by the Department of Justice, promised to preserve one copy of each computer print-out and publication destroyed for purposes of litigation. These files were turned over to Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice at various times in 1970 and 1971.

In February and March 1971, the Subcommittee conducted hearings on the Army data collection programs as well as on other representative Government data programs. Witnesses at these hearings presented some documentary evidence together with their testimony on Army surveillance operations and their subjects. Statements of correspondents who know of and who participated in Army surveillance activities are included in the appendix to the hearings.

To facilitate the Subcommittee's analysis of the Army's domestic intelligence operations, the Chairman asked the Department of Justice on March 9, 1971,[1] for permission to examine the files. The Justice Department, after consultation with the Departments of Defense and Army, granted the request and the following documents were delivered to the Subcommittee offices:

> 1. Five volumes of a six-volume set of "mugbooks" published by the Army Intelligence Command, and generally known as the Fort Holabird "black list," and containing information on more than 1000 individuals. (Confidential)
> 2. A two-volume "Compendium" published by the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence containing data on

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[1] See Federal Data Banks, Computers, and the Bill of Rights, Hearings before the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 92d Cong. 1st Sess. (1971) Part I, p. 622. (Hereinafter cited as Hearings).

more than 100 organizations and approximately 350 individuals. (overall classification of Secret)

3. A print-out from the "Biographic Data File" of the Ft. Holabird computer, consisting of 379 pages of a 408-page document with information on almost 4000 individuals. (Confidential)

4. Volumes 2 through 6 of a six-volume computer print-out on Personalities from Ft. Monroe data bank of the Continental Army Command. (Confidential)

5. Briefing Reports from CONARC'S Counterintelligence Records Information System dated from December 15, 1969, to January 11, 1970, and from June 30 to July 1969. (Unclassified)

Following examination of these materials, the Chairman addressed inquiries to the Department of Defense seeking additional information about these materials. This letter of March 30, 1971, and the two replies, one to the Subcommittee Chief Counsel on June 9, and one to the Chairman on June 10, are reprinted in the Hearings.[2] On April 10, 1971, a computer specialist from the Department of the Army met with the Staff Counsel, but was unable to explain the coding of the Fort Holabird computer. At that time the Subcommittee was informed that the computer instruction books no longer existed.

The inability of the Chairman and staff to obtain neither clear and detailed explanations for the data collection and storage operations of the Army's domestic intelligence program nor the delivery to the Subcommittee of documents known to be in the Department's possession ultimately caused the Chairman to inform the Defense Department that he was considering introducing a Resolution in the Senate which would have had the effect of authorizing the Subcommittee, on behalf of the Senate, to subpoena the necessary witnesses and documents to make preparation of this, and the Subcommittee Report possible.

In January, 1972, the Department of Defense delivered a second set of materials to the Subcommittee. These materials included:

1. The computer instruction books for the Fort Holabird biographic data file and incident data file with over 750 organizational code listings. (unclassified)

2. A nine-page print-out on five prominent personalities in the civil rights and antiwar movements extracted from the Fort Holabird Incident Data File. (Confidential)

3. A set of microfilm aperture cards containing all print-outs from the Fort Monroe Incident Data file from January 1, 1969, through February 28, 1970. (Unclassified) These print-outs substantially added to the CRIS briefing Reports received in the Spring of 1971. There are reports on well over 4,000 incidents during this period.

4. "An Alphabetical Roster by Initials" representing the organizational data file from the Fort Hood computer of III Corps. The file contains information on approximately 250 organizations and 300 individuals. (Unclassified)

5. One page from the U.S. Strike Command's computer print-out entitled "Counterintelligence Personality File." (Secret)

6. A print-out published by the Directorate for Civil Disturbance Planning and Operation entitled "Civil Disturbance Antici-

[2] Hearings, Part II, pp. 1223, 1228, and 1232.

pated Activities or Events," dated 15 October 1969, with coverage of 177 events. (Unclassified)

7. A copy of USAINTC Regulation 380-100 establishing standard operating procedures for the CONUS intelligence program. (Confidential)

8. An inventory of noncomputerized files maintained by the continental armies, the Military District of Washington, and the U.S. Army in Hawaii. (Parts Confidential; parts unclassified)

These documents have expanded our knowledge of the Army's data keeping operations considerably. However, they are far from complete. For example, the Departments of Army and Defense have been unable to supply us with:

1. Computer code books for the Fort Monroe, Fort Hood, DCDPO, and Strike Command data banks;

2. Fort Holabird's incident data files, (All we have received is a nine-page excerpt of spot reports relating to five persons);

3. Strike Command's full Counterintelligence Personality File, and its incident and organization files, if any;

4. DCDPO's full computer files on individuals, organizations, and incidents;

5. The computerized index to the domestic intelligence sections of the microfilm archives of the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch, (now Detachment); and

6. Documents (or persons) to describe this nature, scope, content, purposes, uses and capabilities of these data banks.

The subcommittee also had a considerable amount of difficulty in obtaining the declassification of much of the materials delivered by the Departments of the Army and Defense. For over a year, we were unable to obtain the declassification of this report[3] despite the fact that none of the information it contains affects national security, and despite the fact that it pertains to an illegal program now disavowed by the Pentagon. Yet even with the public admission that none of the information was of any value to any legitimate military function, the report was not cleared until late June 1972, following another letter from the Chairman concerning his proposed Senate Resolution. At this point, the declassification proved surprisingly easy. A representative of the Department of Defense General Counsel read the report for 1½ hours and pronounced it declassified when he finished.

What follows, then, is the picture of the Army's surveillance of civilians unaffiliated with the armed forces as disclosed by the files and printouts made available to the subcommittee.

LAWRENCE M. BASKIR,
Chief Counsel and Staff Director.

[3] Hearings, Part II, pp. 1227, 1228.

I. Fort Holabird "Mug Books"

The "mug books" consist of six volumes of photographs and personal data, classified "confidential" and entitled *Individuals Active in Civil Disturbances*. The books were compiled by intelligence analysts at Fort Holabird and published by the Intelligence Command in May and October 1968. During the hearings they were frequently referred to as the "blacklist," a name given to them by one of their editors. At other times they have been referred to as the Fort Holabird "identification list." The following information is based on an examination of five of the six volumes issued by the Intelligence Command. Volume 1, for unknown reasons, was not included in the materials preserved for the *Tatum* case.

Slightly less than 1,000 individuals are profiled in these five volumes. Each page, with few exceptions, contains three entries. Each entry consists of a photograph (on the left), and descriptive data, including the individual's name, date of birth, address, occupation, arrest record, organizational affiliation, associations, and miscellaneous information.

The geographical spread of addresses listed is broad, although persons from certain regions tend to be grouped together. Volume 2, for instance, lists persons in Atlanta, Georgia; Selma, Montgomery, Tuskegee, and Birmingham, Ala.; Washington, D.C.; Charlotte and Durham, N.C.; Jackson, Miss.; Arlington, Va.; Cleveland, Ohio; Pine Bluff, Ark.; Dallas, Tex.; and New Orleans and Shreveport, La. Volume 4 includes residents of Brooklyn, New York; Wilmington, Delaware; Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Ill.; and Cincinnati, Yellow Springs, Cleveland, Bowling Green, and Dayton, Ohio.

A wide variety of occupations are listed. They include plumbers, post office clerks, printers, students, professors, teachers, a state legislator, funeral directors, psychologists, priests, a professional comedian, delivery clerks, kitchen workers, a large number of field workers for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and for the Congress of Racial Equality, steel workers, physicians, photographers, mechanics' helpers, attorneys, surgeons, and TV servicemen. At least thirty of the persons appearing in the "mug books" are nationally known. A large number of field workers for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality appear in Volume 3.

A place to note previous arrests is provided for each entry, although no provision is made to indicate the disposition of the charges. A very large number of persons are included in the five volumes with no indication of any arrest. For instance in Volume 2, of 223 entries, 52 have no record of any arrest and in Volume 6, 63 of 167 entries have no record of any arrest. In addition, among those who do have an arrest record, a significant number have been arrested only one time and for violating a local breach of the peace or other similar ordinance in connection with participation in a civil rights demonstration. Typical of the entries are arrests for: unlawful assembly, parading without permit, disturbing the peace, trespassing, breach of peace, disobeying an officer and blocking a roadway, interfering with the free flow of traffic, provocation and resisting arrest, inciting to riot, teaching and advocating overthrow of the government, and using obscene language.

In the case of a small number of entries some serious arrests are recorded. These include arrests for kidnaping, burglary, grand auto theft, aggravated assault, and grand larceny.

Exhibit 1 consists of excerpts from the Fort Holabird mug books, "sanitized" to safeguard the privacy of the individuals involved.

EXHIBIT 1

FORT HOLABIRD "MUG BOOKS"

NAME: [deleted]
DPOB: 1927
ADDRESS: [full street address]
Ohio
OCCUPATION: [deleted] Univ Professor
DESCRIPTION: White, Male
ARRESTS:

ORGANIZATIONS: Active civil rights/anti-Vietnam demonstrator

NAME: [deleted]
DPOB:
ADDRESS: [full street address]

OCCUPATION: Assoc Prof, English - [state univ.]
DESCRIPTION:

ARRESTS:

ORGANIZATIONS: Member, Committee for the Study of Alternatives; Member, SMCEWV; Wants to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee
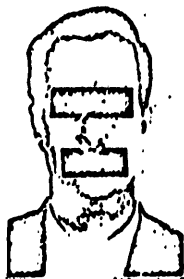
NAME: [deleted]
DPOB: [deleted]
ADDRESS: [a motel], Miami, Fla.
OCCUPATION:
DESCRIPTION: White, Male, 5'11", 175 lbs, Brown Hair, Blue Eyes
ARRESTS:

ORGANIZATIONS: Committed to mental institutions on 4 occasions
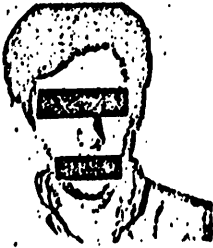
NAME: [deleted]
DPOB: [date deleted], unk
ADDRESS: [full street address]
[another full street address]
DESCRIPTION: Caucasian, Male, 5'11",
170 lbs, Brown Hair, Brown Eyes
ARRESTS: Obstructing a Police Officer;
Obstructing Traffic
ORGANIZATIONS: Crisis Concern Committee;
Upward Bound Project, Fired Sanitation
Workers (St Petersburg)
ADDITIONAL INFO: Reportedly a student at
the [deleted] Theological Seminary in
[city, state], participated in demonstra-
tions for Striking Sanitation Workers
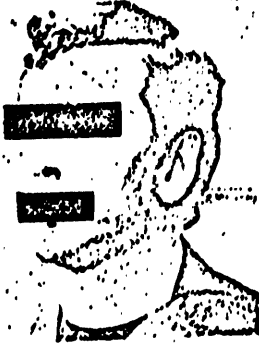
NAME: [deleted] (Reverend)
DPOB: [date deleted], Unk
ADDRESS: [full street address]
DESCRIPTION: Caucasian, Male, 5'11",
168 lbs, Brown Hair, Hazel Eyes, Tan
Complexion
ARRESTS: 17 Oct 65, Disturbing the Peace
in Bakersfield, California; 28 Jan 68,
Disorderly Conduct in St. Petersburg , Fla.
ORGANIZATIONS: [city] Community Crisis
Committee; [state] Community Development
Corp., Inc.; National Council of Churches;
[deleted] City Community Center; Participated
in marches by Fired Sanitation Workers.

NAME: [deleted]
DPOB:
ADDRESS:

OCCUPATION:
DESCRIPTION: White, Female

ARRESTS:

ORGANIZATIONS: Member, [state univ.]
Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Active
Anti-war demonstrator

As the above excerpts indicate, the Army's photographs apparently came from both police booking files and street surveillance. Other photographs in the mug books appear to have been taken from newspapers, magazines, or school yearbooks. The listing of full street addresses for persons without arrest records suggests that Army intelligence was doing more than copying police files, while the listing of arrests in both California and Florida for a minister active in community action work shows the reach of information swapping between police departments and the military. Most important, the entries demonstrate the complete absence of care by the editors of the mug books to link the publication of a person's picture, name, address, and associations with the reasons for that publication. It thus appears that Army intelligence operated on the assumption that all forms of political dissent were within its jurisdiction to monitor.

Most persons listed are identified with some political or social action organization. There is an extraordinary diversity in the kinds of organizations mentioned, and no indication of the reason, purpose, or significance of listing these groups. These organizations include: SNCC; the Communist Party, U.S.A.; the Deacons for Defense and Justice; CORE; the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam; NAACP; the Socialist Workers Party; the States Rights Party; the American Nazi Party; the Black Panthers; Americans for Democratic Action; the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee; American Friends Service Committee; the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; the War Resisters League; the World Workers Party; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Progressive Labor Movement; the Presbyterian Interracial Council of Chicago; the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; and the Dallas County, Alabama, Voters League.

Short notations describe, and sometimes adversely characterize, the individual's alleged political philosophy, activities, or associations. One person, for example, is described as having numerous pro-Communist associates, another is alleged to be an avowed Marxist, and a third is described as an active demonstrator with a Red background who is a radical. The connection between these beliefs, actions, and associations, and the Army's civil disturbance mission is nowhere indicated.

Exhibit 2 indicates both the absurdity and the danger inherent in publications of this sort.

Exhibit 2

Fort Holabird "Mug Book"

[no picture]

Name: [nationally known civil rights leader]
DOB [date] [height] [weight] [eye color]
[hair color]
Address: [street address, number of building not given, city not given but immediately inferable]
Occ.:
Arrest:
Organization: Field Secretary for [civil rights group], advisor to [a civil rights leader], Executive Secretary of [an anti-war group] and has subversive Communist background, and is a sex pervert.
Associates: Known to have many known affiliations.

In this case, the charge of sex perversion is demonstrably false—in addition to being irrelevant to the Army's informational needs.

Many individuals' names and photos appear who, based on the information set forth in the folders, have none or only one arrest, few political associations, and very little other information to indicate why their inclusion in a file of this nature would assist the Army or local law enforcement officials in preserving the peace. Typical of these entries are the following, taken from Volume 2:

    (1) Black female; date of birth; address; member of NAACP; no other information except that she is the wife of a named physician.

    (2) White female; date of birth; physical description; no other information except that she is a member of SNCC.

(3) Name of black male; no other information except the notation, "Active in State of Texas."

(4) Young, black male; date of birth; physical description; address; no other information except his arrest in 1962 for interfering with the free flow of traffic.

(5) White female; date of birth; physical description; address; described as "housewife"; no other information except, "Demonstrator, Civil Rights."

In Volume 3, of 237 entries, 94 were young, black citizens with no other information except the notation of one arrest for either (1) parading without a permit in Lee County, Alabama, on September 1, 1965, or (2) an unidentifiable crime (apparently a violation of a town ordinance) in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. In Volume 5, of 189 entries, 27 individuals identified as members of the Black Panther Party had no arrest record at all. Their entries included name, date of birth, address, physical description, and membership in the Black Panther Party.

The source of the information included in the profiles is not indicated, although Volumes 2 and 3 may have been adapted from a similar publication by the Alabama Department of Public Safety. Thus it is not possible for the user to appraise the accuracy of any item, except insofar as it confirms what he has learned from other sources. No date is printed in any of the volumes examined; therefore users could not have known with any certainty when to consider the information out of date. Nor do the books indicate how many editions were issued or to whom they were sent. Former agents, however, recall seeing copies in MI field offices. From the distribution of intelligence summaries and other publications, it seems likely that copies went to all group, region, and field offices of the Intelligence Command, all G-2s of CONARC troop units, the FBI, the Provost Marshall General, the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, and the Adjutant Generals of all 50 States.

What purpose these books served has never been explained by the Army. Captain Pyle testified that he had been told by one of the editors that the mug books were a "blacklist" of "persons who might cause trouble for the Army." The inclusion of photographs and street addresses supports this interpretation. Whatever their original purpose, the Army General Counsel conceded that the books were not necessary to the Army's mission and would be destroyed.[4]

The order to destroy the mug books was issued on February 18, 1970, but as of August 26, 1970, less than half had been reported destroyed. The absence of detailed records requiring personal accountability for books (as is required for documents classified Secret and Top Secret) made efforts to guarantee destruction difficult. To maximize destruction, the Assistant Chief of Staff directed the Commanding General of the Intelligence Command to withdraw copies from the field and supervise their destruction. Subsequently, however, field units were directed to take charge of the destruction themselves and simply forward certificates of destruction. Thus, while certificates were received for 46 percent of the volumes issued, it is unlikely that 46 percent of the volumes actually went into the incinerators.

4 Hearings, Part II, p. 1049.

II. The CIAB Compendium

The second important domestic intelligence compilation examined by the Subcommittee staff is a set of two yellow, vinyl-covered, loose-leaf binders popularly known as the "Compendium." Both volumes, which were classified "SECRET," are entitled *Civil Disturbances and Dissidence*. Volume 1 is subtitled *Cities and Organizations of Interest*. Volume 2 is sub-titled *Personalities of Interest*. Both were prepared by the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch (CIAB) and bear the imprint of "Headquarters, Department of the Army; Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence." Each opens with an acknowledgment that the basic information on organizations and individuals contained therein was provided primarily by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Compendium employed a loose-leaf format to facilitate the continual updating of information. Standardized formats were prescribed to assure uniformity in the presentation of significant data. New information was to be inserted in the form of replacement pages. Users were encouraged to forward any information in their possession which could fill existing gaps or add substantive knowledge to the present treatment of any city, organization, or personality covered. Such information, as well as comments and suggestions pertaining to continued publications and utilization of the Compendium were to be addressed to the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army. The actual writing and editing was done by analysts in the domestic intelligence section of the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch (CIAB).

A. CITIES

Part I of Volume I classifies cities according to the amount of force that probably would be required to restore order in the event of massive rioting. This categorization was not intended as a prediction of which cities are most likely to experience disorder, but as an estimate of the maximum intensity racial vio'ence was likely to attain and the amount of force that would be required to quell that violence.

Urban areas which probably would require federal troops in the event of major civil disorder are classified as Category I cities. They include Baltimore, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. The total number of cities in this category, which also includes such joint urban centers as San Francisco-Oakland, is 22.

Category II cities, which would probably require no more than National Guard assistance, include Atlanta, Boston, Dayton, Miami and Nashville. There are 61 cities and urban centers in this category.

Category III cities (requiring joint state and municipal police forces) and Category IV cities (within the control of municipal police departments) are not discussed in the Compendium.

The following criteria, taken from the *Summary of Factors Considered*, were used to assign particular cities to particular categories.

    A. The population of the urban area, and the percentage of Negroes among the population.

    B. The population of the "core city" of each metropolitan area and the percentage and distribution of Negro population elements.

C. The presence of large "blue-collar" neighborhoods, as re-reflected by the relative size of the industrial payroll and industrial concentrations.

D. The presence of poor economic and sociological conditions, and their reflection in the crime rate.

E. The unemployment rate in the area, and metropolitan districts of concentrated unemployment.

F. The presence and degree of activity of militant racial, leftist (anti-war and anti-draft), and extreme right-wing groups, and an assessment of the capabilities of these groups to stir up emotions or provoke a civil disturbance.

G. The history of civil disturbances in the area.

H. The assessment of known and probably future demonstrations.

I. The existence of a wide-spread sense of injustice, and real or imagined lack of means of redress.

J. The caching of arms or explosives, or any other preparation for rioting.

These factors are identical to those set forth in the Department of the Army Civil Disturbance Information Collection Plan of May 2, 1968.

The section entitled *City Summary Guide* reveals that the summaries of the cities are no more than condensations of the most salient statistics and activities bearing on civil disturbances. Much of the data is based on information provided by the Bureau of the Budget in its reports on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The following are sources used in the compilation of such data:

1. "The Statistical Abstract of the United States," 88th Edition (1968), Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

2. "Uniform Crime Reports for the United States—1966," released August 1967, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

3. "Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment," February 1968, Department of Labor.

4. Civil Disturbance Planning Packets prepared by CONARC.

5. Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

6. Counterintelligence spot reports.

7. Civil Disturbance after action reports.

8. News media.

Every city summary in Volume I follows a standardized format. Part I, "Basic Data," includes population (and ethnic composition, if significant), unemployment, crime rate (major crimes), potential trouble areas (part of data received from counterintelligence reports), and a brief history of civil disturbances in that area. Part II, "Significant Organizational Activity," is a summary of the organizations whose activities have the greatest bearing on future civil disturbances.

The city summaries are quite brief, averaging approximately one typewritten page each. Population, unemployment, and crime rate statistics are based on government figures. The percentage of non-whites is always noted. Comments on "Potential Trouble Areas" ap-

pear to be somewhat arbitrary and deal almost exclusively with the Negro population. For example, Baltimore's trouble spots are simply designated as the southwestern wards, where the majority of the city's Negro population live. The lower east side area of Detroit is said to be occupied "almost exclusively by Negroes, many of whom have little respect for police, law, or the community in general."

The summary "Histories of Civil Disturbances" are more detailed, but brevity limits their content to the most significant previous disorders and a few facts describing their context. The date of the disturbance, the number of persons arrested, the amount of damage, the number of injuries, and the "cause" of the disturbance are usually included. So far as they go, the "histories" appear to be accurate, but they offer little insight into the causes of disorder. Thus, a typical entry says only that in Jersey City, New Jersey, on July 17, 1967, Negro youths broke windows of a luncheonette and stole gum and candy. The sources of the information are not cited.

The last factor considered in the city summaries is "Significant Organizational Activity." Because the majority of the organizations are characterized politically, this section contains some of the most constitutionally offensive data. These characterizations are in capsule form and do not reveal why particular organizations are labeled "Communist," "anti-white," or "radical." The majority of the organizations represent Negroes; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee appear frequently. Predominately white organizations frequently characterized include Students for a Democratic Society, the Southern Students Organizing Committee, branches of the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Nazi Party.

The information contained in the organization summaries is general enough to have been obtained almost entirely through the public media. Many of the organizations listed have no history of violence. In Baltimore the NAACP is characterized simply as being active in promoting Negro civil rights by peaceful methods. In referring to a black group in Cincinnati, on the other hand, the summary says that it has changed from nonviolence to militant Black Power. Such organizations are listed because they are supposed to be "significant." However, nowhere in the Compendium are there any criteria which might reveal how this determination was made.

B. ORGANIZATIONS

Part II of Volume I discusses "Organizations of Interest." These are broken down into four categories: political, racial, anti-war/anti-draft, and international. The preface to Part II states that a few of the organizations listed are entirely legitimate and legal in their aims and aspirations. Two examples of such groups are the NAACP and the Urban League.[5]

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[5] One example of the inconsistency of the Army's characterizations, and one which illustrates again the lack of any substantiation for their conclusionary statements, is shown in both the Department of the Army and the USAINTC collection plans which label the NAACP as an organization that attempts "to create, prolong, or aggravate racial tensions." It would appear that the authors of the plans did not rely on the Compendium for their "intelligence."

Topics covered in the organizational summaries include: objectives, ideology, history (since 1962), significant activities, influence, leadership (personalities), finances and "final comments." Over 100 organizations are characterized in statements which average between one and two pages. On the whole, these summaries are expanded discussions of the same organizations mentioned in the City Summary Guide. However, the focus here is on national organizations.

Although there is no evidence to indicate that the riots of the late 1960s were the product of any organized effort, the Compendium reveals that Army intelligence kept watch over allegedly subversive groups. As the various collection plans directed, the editors of the Compendium paid close attention to the possibility that Communists and others with revolutionary designs might infiltrate civil rights and anti-war organizations. For example, the summary describing the American Friends Service Committee states that there is no evidence of infiltration or influence by a subversive element. On the other hand, one black organization is reported to be influenced and infiltrated by members of Communist front groups. No documentation is given to support this charge and no proof is offered to indicate that the organization was responsible for any recent civil disorders. Allegations of possible subversive influence appear frequently, usually without reference to the source of the charge, the evidence on which it is based, or any explanation of what constitutes a "subversive" group or "communist front."

As in the descriptions of organizations included in the City Summary Guide, most of the information presented in Part II could have been abstracted from publicly available sources.

The main purpose of the summaries appears to have been to provide an assessment of the particular organization's potential or capability for violence, based on its past actions, its goals, and its leadership. However, unevaluated information and undocumented conclusions often are intermixed. The summary of an urban racial gang, for example, reveals the names of its leadership—seemingly factual information. Yet in the section "Significant Activities," the group's president is said to have hired 14 and 15-year-old gang members to shoot three men on September 12, 1967. The final comment is that members of the gang are known to have access to weapons. Such apparently unsubstantiated data and observations are typical of the organization summaries, and Volume I of the Compendium as a whole.

Thirteen political, 49 racial. 16 anti-war/anti-draft, and 27 international organizations are listed.

As the following examples show, the Army indiscriminately lumped together organizations of unquestioned legitimacy and legality (even in the eyes of the Army) together with those few groups popularly regarded as having employed unlawful methods in pursuit of their ends. In no case, however, was there proof that even these latter groups had violated the law, let alone that they constituted any threat to national security. The groups include:

A. *Political*

American Nazi Party.	National States Rights Party.
Communist Party, USA.	National Renaissance Party.
John Birch Society.	Progressive Labor Party.
Minutemen.	Socialist Workers Party.

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. Workers World Party.
White Party of America.   Young Socialist Alliance.
Workers League.

B. Racial

Action Committee to Increase Opportunity for Negroes.
Action, Inc.
Associated Community Teams.
Black Liberation Party.
Black Awareness Coordinating Committee.
Black Caucus.
Black Panther Party for Self Defense.
Black Student Council.
Black Student Union (San Francisco).
Black Student Union (San Jose).
Black United Front.
Breakthrough.
Cambridge Black Action Federation.
Citizens Coordinating Committee for Civil Liberties.
City-Wide Citizens Action Committee.
Congress of Racial Equality.
The Coordinating Council of Community Organizations.
Council for United Action.
Deacons for Defense and Justice.
Federal Alliance of Spanish Land Grant Heirs.
Industrial Areas Foundation.
Innovative Methods of Progressive Action for Community Tranquil-
    ity.
Ku Klux Klan.
Mayor's Bi-Racial Committee.
Milwaukee United School Integration Committee.
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.
Nation of Islam.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
National Urban League.
Operation Crescent.
Revolutionary Action Movement.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
Southern Conference Educational Fund.
Southern Regional Council on Human Relations.
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
Temporary Woodlawn Organization.
United Afro-American Associations.
United Black Brotherhood.
US.
Virginia Council on Human Relations.

C. Anti-War/Anti-Draft

American Friends Service Committee.
Atlanta Alliance for Peace.
Black Anti-Draft Union.
Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam.
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.
National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.
Southern Students Organizing Committee.
Students for a Democratic Society.
The Resistance.
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam.
War Resisters League.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
Women Strike for Peace.
Youth Against War and Facism.

D. International

American Opposition Abroad.
Anti-Imperialist Front.
Campaign for Democracy and Disarmament.
Church.
Committee of One Hundred.
Fighters Against the Vietnam War.
Friends of Resisters Inside the Army.
General Dutch Peace Action.
German Peace Society.
Japan Council for Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.
Japan Peace Committee.
Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee.
National Students' Self-Government Federation.
Paris American Committee to Stopwar.
Peace Pledge Union.
Provos.
Resisters Inside the Army.
Scots Against War.
Socialist German Students League.
South Vietnamese People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People.
Stop It Committee.
Student Union for Peace Action.
The Refusal.
US Campaign.
Vietnam Information Group.
War Resisters International.
Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The following entries are typical of the organizational descriptions which appear in the Compendium.

EXHIBIT 3

CIAB COMPENDIUM

SECTION B—BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

I. SUMMARY

BUF is a loose coalition of moderate and militant Negro groups in the Washington, D.C. area. It is a relatively new organization embodying the concept of Negro unity, and involves key Negro personalities.

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II. OBJECTIVES AND IDEOLOGY

According to its stated objectives, the BUF was organized to improve communication between all Negroes in Washington, D.C., in order to gain a "proportionate" share in the "decision making councils" and economic institutions of the District of Columbia. There has been little variation by the BUF from its stated purpose.

III. HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

The BUF was formed on 9 January 1968, during a conference of Washington, D.C.'s Negro leaders at the New School for Afro-American Thought (NSAAT), located at 2208 14th Street NW, Washington, D.C. Stokely Carmichael was responsible for calling these leaders together. Since its formation, the group has been the subject of much controversy and speculation concerning its program and future activity. Several press conferences have not clarified these issues. At present, the organization seems to be stressing only unity among the disparate organizations represented.

IV. SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

None.

V. STRENGTH, FOLLOWING, AND INFLUENCE

As a coalition of moderate and militant groups, the BUF has no individual members. The most prominent groups currently involved in the BUF are the Washington, D.C. chapters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the National Urban League (NUL), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The total number of participating groups is between 15 and 20. Organizational affiliation with the BUF is theoretically open to any group with a minimum of 50 per cent Negro membership and an interest in the Negro community. The influence of the BUF in the Washington area is currently of concern in assessing the possible contribution of the organization to Dr. Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project (WSP). As of mid-March 1968, the BUF indicated that it would "support the aims" of the WSP, but would not actively participate in the demonstration as a group, although member organizations would be permitted to do so. The impact of the BUF as a nation wide force cannot be evaluated at this time. It is known that Stokely Carmichael made trips to Dayton, Ohio, and Boston to attempt to spread the BUF concept, and it is reported that his Boston efforts met with little success. An unidentified BUF spokesman has stated that the organization has had inquiries on its activities from interested persons or groups in 37 cities.

VI. LEADERSHIP

No leadership titles are known for the three principal leaders in BUF, who are: Stokley Carmichael (SNCC); Sterling Tucker (NUL); Walter Fauntroy (SCLC).

VII. FINANCES

No information is currently available concerning BUF finances, and it is not felt that the organization actually has control of any of the financial resources or dealings of its member organizations.

VIII. COMMENTS

The term "united front" is a very meaningful one in a discussion of possible communist affiliation with racial organizations in the U.S. The history of communist movements world-wide is replete with examples of the use of the "front" concept, such as, the Front Populaire, active in France during the 1930's, and the current National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. Carmichael called the initial BUF meeting and first used the term publicly less than a month after his return from his much publicized tour of communist capitals. No conclusions can be made at this time as to the BUF organizations being part of a communist front group, but participation of any group in a "united front" organization offers indications of possible communist dominance or influence.

The entry for BUF illustrates the scope and detail of the information gathered on many of the organizations in the Compendium. The entry is notable for the neutral narrative of parts I through VII. More typical, however, of the other entries in the Compendium is part VIII, Comments. Although the comment appears to be straightforward and factual about the history of the term "united-front," it does contain unverified and prejudicial statements suggesting a communist connection or influence. While the report disclaims knowledge of any facts establishing a link between the BUF and communist influence and while it cautions against misimpressions—"conclusions"—on this account, the report leaves the reader with the very same misimpressions warned against. This kind of "guilt by disclaimed innuendo" is not uncommon throughout the files.

Section A—ABC Party (ABC)

I. SUMMARY

ABC Party (ABC) is a small, extreme right-wing political organization of negligible influence. It has the goal of establishing in the United States a strong, centralized "Racial Nationalist State." The ABC is a local organization in the New York City area.

II. OBJECTIVES AND IDEOLOGY

The stated and apparently true objectives of the ABC, as paraphrased are:

A. Enact and rigidly enforce legislation to restrict the benefits of American citizenship to mentally and genetically sound members of the Caucasian race.

B. Enact legislation to prohibit intermarriage between whites and non-whites.

C. The Jewish race, which constitutes the motivating financial and intellectual backbone of the left-wing revolutionary activity in the United States, as manifested in the so-called Negro civil rights movement, shall be deprived of their American citizenship by suitable legislation and shall henceforth be prohibited from holding any professional, political, or educational posts with the Racial Nationalist State. The Jew constitutes an alien virus in the national bloodstream and, as such, must be purged from our cultural, economic, and political life.

D. Enact legislation to hasten the repatriation of American Negroes to the newly independent black nations of the African continent under the auspices and guidance of black nationalist leadership in the United States.

E. The establishment of a selective immigration policy of which the primary purpose is to attract the best European racial stock to the North American Continent in order to utilize their vast energy and talent in the task of creating a dynamic, expanding White Empire capable of withstanding encroachments of the primitive colored world led by the Oriental colossus of Red China.

III. HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

The ABC was founded in 1949 by ———— ———— in New York City. It has always been actively anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-communist. Its infrequent rallies have shown that its membership and power have neither grown nor matured. The headquarters of the ABC is located at — West —th Street, New York City, New York. There are no organized chapters of the ABC.

IV. SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

1949–1968: The ABC attempted to hold numerous rallies, but none has had any appreciable results.

1949–1963: The ABC published several pamphlets and bimonthly newsletters. It reduced the number of its publications due to lack of funds.

October 21, 1967: The ABC attempted to take part in a counter-demonstration at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., but the ABC group was unable to arrive on time due to an illness of a member.

V. STRENGTH, FOLLOWING, AND INFLUENCE

The total membership of the ABC is about 20 people, all from the New York City area. The extent of ABC sympathetic following is estimated at no more than 50, but it is difficult to ascertain the size of this group since ABC meetings usually attract numbers of police, journalists, and the curious. The ABC has a negligible amount of influence due to the lack of members, money, and ideas with popular appeal. The party has in the past attempted to coordinate a few

activities with the American Nazi Party (ANP), but it has been unable to exert any influence on the ANP. It has not had any influence in government or official circles.

VI. LEADERSHIP

National Director : —————— ——————
National Secretary : —————— ——————

VII. FINANCES

The primary sources of funds for the ABC are —————— ——————, an ABC member from Middletown, New York, and other occasional, individual financial contributions. ABC members contribute at meetings and —————— —————— obtains some money from the sale of books which he recommends for reading. There is also some profit from bulk orders of reprints of pamphlets and leaflets distributed by the ABC. The exact financial status of the ABC is unknown, but they may be badly in need of monetary aid.

VIII. COMMENTS

Lack of popular and financial support may cause the demise of the ABC in the near future.

Nothing in these summaries, or in scores of others published in the Compendium, indicates that the groups described pose a threat to civil order or military security. Compared to some other official publications of the same period, the Compendium is a model of professional analysis. While its descriptions, with exceptions, generally stick to publicly available evidence, there are some unsubstantiated allegations of criminal or subversive intent, and a number of examples where damaging inferences are easily made.

C. PERSONALITIES

The second volume of the Compendium contains biographical sketches on 345 "personalities of interest." The volume is divided into two sections: the domestic section, which includes 243 personality sketches, and the foreign section, which contains 102 sketches. Again the FBI is acknowledged as the primary source of information.

From the information contained in the personality sketches, it appears that the material was collected from police arrest records, military files (including psychiatric records), local draft board records, private institutions, credit companies, and records of organizations to which the "personalities of interest" belong. Other sources appear to have included newspapers, magazines, and other generally available publications. Occasionally the source of a particular item of information is acknowledged in the sketch. For example, the sketch of a leader of a right-wing extremist group cites Army medical records as the source of its unfavorable characterization of his mental condition.

None of the biographical sketches indicates when the information was collected or compiled. Some information concerning political activities dates back to the early 1920s, but most of the data pertains to activities and events which took place during the 1960s. All sketches in the edition examined by the Subcommittee staff were prepared prior to the elections of November 1968. Occasionally there are slightly different sketches of the same individual and not every sketch has a page number at the bottom of the sheet. The Compendium was updated as late as November 1969, but these revisions were not made available to the Subcommittee.

Information in each personality sketch is presented according to the following format:

I. Personal Data:
    A. True name.
    B. Alias/nicknames.
    C. Date and place of birth.
    D. Current resident (or usual location).
II. Background.
III. Political/Organizational Affiliation and Activity.
IV. Individual or Non-Organizational Activities.
V. Other Information.

Most of these biographical sketches are less than a page long, and most of the information in them is set forth in category II—"Political/Organizational Affiliation and Activity." Persons of Interest" include the leaders of all major minority groups and anti-war organizations, political extremist groups, the Communist Party USA, and organizations described in Volume I as Communist fronts active in the civil rights and peace movements. A few of the sketches note that the individual was not directly aligned with any known racial or political organization of counterintelligence interest. In these instances, the individuals usually have made outspoken remarks on racial or anti-war issues.

Advocates of civil rights and peace causes are not the only persons profiled in the Compendium. Leaders of groups described as "white racist", such as the White Party of America, the National States Rights Party, and the Ku Klux Klan, are listed alongside "black power militants" from the Revolutionary Action Movement, Deacons for Defense and Justice, and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In many instances the fact that the individual is a leader of an organization of interest is the only fact noted about him. For example, seven persons are listed simply as members of the board of a southern students organizing committee. The same holds true for officers of the American Nazi Party and other organizations which have been in existence for a great many years. Surprisingly, the authors of the Compendium were unable to supply anything more in these instances other than the fact of membership.

Sketches vary from brief rundowns of organizational roles to elaborate descriptions of the individual's mental condition, family situation, schooling, occupation, financial condition, criminal record, political associations, speeches given and statements made. Beliefs, associations, and private conversations also are reported. For example:

Following a medical examination in February 1961, ————— was diagnosed as a "schizoid personality, chronic, moderate." He was described as suffering from depression and excessive worry due to personal problems. It is not known who conducted the examination.

A psychiatric examination on 15 April 1955, revealed that ————— is subject to feelings of uncontrollable hostility in times of stress and that he has a paranoid personality.

————— attended ————— City College from 1958 to 1961; ————— (college) for three weeks; and ————— where he obtained a B.A. degree with honors in political science in 1963 and an M.A. degree in political science in 1964.

————— completed the third grade of formal education. From 1943 to 1946 he attended the ————— Institute, Texas, but did not graduate because of failure to comply with a school policy involving female students.

————— has an elementary school education and has been employed as an engineer with the ————— Central Railroad since 1947.

————— has associated with known communists.

————— is the Chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

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He was an unsuccessful senatorial candidate in ————— where he ran on a peace platform.

A leading anti-war spokesman is quoted as stating that "his purpose is to develop '. . . an anti-imperialistic consciousness among the American people.' He wants 'a supervised armistice' in Vietnam. He said that he would have 'backed LBJ if he would have come to the aid of Israel in their war with the Arab nations.' "

In a closed PTA and staff meeting called in connection with the disturbances, ————— said, "I am not talking about facts; I am talking about what I want you to do and what I have the power to make you do." In mid-1967 ————— addressed a Black Nationalist group for two hours. During the course of his address he said, "All whites are expendable for the cause of Black Power . . . liberals should be employed for suicide squads."

The authors of the Compendium appear to have been especially interested in persons who participate in demonstrations. The description of one anti-war figure notes that he was arrested for disorderly conduct in 1946 while picketing the United Nations. The same person also was reported as present at a 1966 demonstration in Times Square in New York City. A faculty member at the Free School of New York, who also edits a magazine, is cited for his extensive participation in protests against U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam, and a member of the American Nazi Party is noted as having attended the funeral of Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell in August 1967.

Much of the information published in the Personalities section of the Compendium appears to be petty, private, and unrelated to any legitimate governmental interest. For example, it is difficult to comprehend why Army commanders would need to know that a prominent civil rights leader in a particular locality has four brothers, five sisters, and a widowed mother. Similarly useless reports state that a well known entertainer has a wife and six children, that the divorced wife of a minority group leader seeks no support from her former husband because she shares his championship of the poor, and that sexual maladjustment, flat feet, and torn ligaments were the reasons why two individuals were granted 1-Y classifications by the Selective Service.

The source of financial support for persons known to have incited riots might well be a valid item of intelligence interest. Less clear is the reason why the Army reported that the combined monthly salary of a civil rights activist and his wife was $775, or that another civil rights leader left his job in private industry because a civil rights organization offered him a salary of $12,500 a year. It is even more difficult to perceive why the Compendium should go into the financial status of an outspoken individual with "no direct organizational affiliations." This was done, however, even to the extent of noting that he had unpaid bills and had had his credit card privileges revoked.

While at least 60 of the 243 personalities of interest are well known public figures, there are many curious omissions and inclusions. Thus only one of eight defendants in a nationally publicized conspiracy prosecution is listed. Similarly, many persons active at a local level but unknown nationally are included. For example, the chairman and vice-chairman of a southwestern community's Committee To End the War in Vietnam are given a page each although all that appears to have been known about them was that they were officers of the committee.

Arrests are often reported, but less frequently is anything said about the disposition of the charges.

Coverage of individuals by occupation is very broad. Included are clergymen, teachers, journalists, editors, attorneys, industrialists, a laborer, a construction worker, railroad engineers, a postal clerk, a taxi driver, a chiropractor, a nationally-known doctor, a chemist, an economist, an historian, a playwright, an accountant, an entertainer, professors, a former radio announcer, an athlete, a civilian working for the Department of the Army, a Congressman, executives, and authors.

Most of the persons of interest are involved in race-related activities. Some civil rights activists also oppose the war in Vietnam, but of 243 persons in the domestic section of the Compendium, 193 were said to support or oppose expanded rights for Negroes. All but a few of the rest were involved in the anti-war movement.

The Foreword to Volume I states that the purpose of the Compendium was to provide a reference base for all OACSI publications concerned with dissidence and civil disturbances. According to former analysts at CIAB, the concept originated with William L. Parkinson, Deputy Chief of the Branch, who proposed it during the fall of 1967 as a device to relieve his analysts of a flood of petty inquiries.

The two-volume encyclopedia was designed for both staff and operational use, and was distributed widely. 346 copies of Volume I and 348 copies of Volume II were authorized for distribution to 108 Defense agencies, commands, schools, intelligence groups, other governmental organizations such as the FBI, the CIA, NASA, Secret Service, and the State Department, and eight defense attachés in foreign countries, including the Soviet Union.

The Compendium's existence was first disclosed publicly on February 26, 1970, by the *Chicago Sun-Times*. The disclosure apparently came as a surprise to some of the Army's civilian superiors, and they subsequently ordered it destroyed. In his letter of March 20, 1970, Under Secretary of the Army Thaddeus Beal assured the Chairman that the Compendium was out-of-date and would be "withdrawn" from the field and destroyed. For some reason, however, field units were instructed to carry out the destruction themselves and to submit certificates of destruction instead. At the Counterintelligence Analysis Division this directive was interpreted to permit microfilming of the Compendium before destruction of the office copy was carried out. Thus, as Secretary Froehlke testified, "The destruction of all copies has not yet been assured." [6]

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[6] Hearings, Part I, p. 394. As of August 26, 1970, five months after the orders to destroy the Compendium had been issued, it was reported that Certificates of Destruction had not been received for 50 of 351 copies.

III. Files of the Army Intelligence Command

The most extensive files maintained by the Army on civilian political activity were kept by the U.S. Army Intelligence Command (USAINTC) at Fort Holabird, Md. Created in 1965 by the unification of a number of military inteligence groups formerly assigned to the Continental Armies, the Intelligence Command coordinated the domestic intelligence operations of some 1200 intelligence agents working out of some 300 offices coast to coast. Its chief mission was the conduct of security clearance investigations. It also maintained the Army's Central Records Facility, now called the Investigative Records Repository, and the Defense Department's Central Index of Investigations. These activities were (and remain) housed in a huge sheet metal warehouse at Fort Holabird.[7]

The central core of the Intelligence Command's files is the Investigative Records Repository which contains approximately eight million security clearance, criminal, and counterintelligence dossiers. Around this core, a number of files have been developed specifically to keep track of civilian political activities unrelated, or only indirectly related, to the investigation of persons being considered for security clearances. These satellite files included:

(1) A search file on suspected subversive groups and individuals (sometimes called the "departmental file"),

(2) Cabinets filled with reports on incidents of domestic political activity thought to represent an "incipient" threat to civil order or to military security,

(3) A computerized file of incident reports relating to civil disturbances, demonstrations, meetings, speeches, etc.,

(4) A biographic data file, also computerized, on persons believed to pose a threat to military security or civil order,

(5) A library of domestic intelligence publications, videotapes of demonstrations, photographs of demonstrators, and similar items.

A. THE SUBVERSIVES FILE

The oldest of the satellite files is a collection of dossiers on "persons, wherever located, [who are] considered to constitute a threat to the security and defense of the Government of the United States," and "subversive and other organizations of intelligence interest to the Army, wherever located, and of whatever sponsorship, [which are] considered to constitute a threat to national security."[8] This file is maintained primarily as a search file to facilitate the investigation of persons being considered for security clearances. However, it also has been used to prepare reports on persons suspected of espionage, sabotage, incitement to riot, and subversion of military discipline.

The term "subversives file" is something of a misnomer, as the dossiers primarily relate to individuals and organizations who could not

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[7] The new Defense Investigative Service (DIS) is in the process of taking over many of these activities. A description of the Investigative Records Repository was included in Secretary Froehlke's testimony (Hearings, Part I, pp. 401–404).

[8] Hearings, Part I, p. 402.

fairly be accused of seeking to change the Constitution of the United States by unconstitutional means. Some of the groups included, together with their dossier numbers, are:

Organization and dossier number

American Friends Service Committee, ZB-00-02-00.
Americans for Democratic Action, ZA-00-17-81.
Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, ZB-50-05-27.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, ZA-00-04-02.
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, ZA-00-90-26.
National States Rights Party, ZA-00-90-97.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, ZB-00-87-94.
Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, ZA-02-17-70.
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, ZB-02-18-03.
Women Strike for Peace, ZB-01-36-95.

These and additional organizations included in these files are listed at pages 1736–37 of Part II of the Subcommittee's hearings, and are taken from a news release.

Individuals described in these files have, at least until January of 1971, included some public officials, including Congressmen and Governors. These are the files to which Secretary Froehlke referred when he testified that "There are dossiers within the Army Investigative Records Repository which contain FBI reports and other material which do not meet current Army criteria for retention." [9]

On December 31, 1970, the Repository reported that their files contained the following number of dossiers. [10]

Organization files:

1. Paper, copy	35,000
2. Paper, copy (former CCICF)	60,150
3. Paper, copy 771st MI group	3,000
4. Paper, copy USARF	7,989
5. Microfilm	97,904
Total	211,243

Biographic files:

1. Paper, copy	39,424
2. Microfilm	41,307
Total	80,731

Although these dossiers are not specifically identified in the inventory as part of the subversives file, it would seem that the bulk of them are. To determine how many of them relate to civilian political groups like those listed above, it would be necessary first to subtract all those files relating to groups and individuals in other countries whose activities were or are considered to pose a threat to national security. A second discount would have to be made for various fronts for foreign intelligence agencies, and a third for those domestic organizations which actually seek to change our form of government by unconstitutional means.

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[9] Hearings, Part I, p. 404.
[10] Hearings, Part I, p. 402.

The reports filed in the dossiers originated with a variety of intelligence agencies, including Army, Navy, and Air Force intelligence, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and state and municipal police intelligence units. The chief contributor, however, has always been the FBI. Since 1939, when President Roosevelt first ordered the Bureau to exchange internal security information with the armed forces, military intelligence agencies at all levels of government have been the recipients of reports from other agencies. Where reports were transferred only at the local level, copies usually found their way up through the chain of command. The unification of the 300 stateside offices of the Army's MI groups under a single Intelligence Command in 1965 undoubtedly facilitated the expansion of such files at all levels, but particularly at Fort Holabird.

The key policy questions raised by the continued existence of these files on "subversive and other dissidents" concerns security clearance investigations. Under Executive Order 10450 the Army is charged with investigating the backgrounds of persons being considered for access to military secrets. This has entailed the scrutiny of organizational affiliations for leads to evidence of disloyalty. Thus the investigators have amassed files on certain domestic political groups. There is a serious question, however, as to how much information Army investigators need on a particular group in order to determine that further investigation of one of its members is warranted. Thus Pentagon officials have recently asked whether the Intelligence Command really needs 124 linear feet of dossiers of raw intelligence on the Communist Party U.S.A. in order to carry out its investigations of persons being considered for clearances. They question whether a brief characterization prepared by Justice Department lawyers on the basis of FBI files would not be sufficient. Similarly, others have questioned the number of groups the Army has kept files on. Should its files be limited to those groups with demonstrable ties to foreign governments, or should they include—as they now do—virtually every activist political group in America? Finally, how many federal agencies should maintain raw intelligence files on domestic political activity which essentially duplicate the files of the FBI? These are just some of the problems raised by the Fort Holabird subversives file.

B. NON-COMPUTERIZED INCIDENT FILES

Military intelligence procedures called for the filing of two kinds of reports describing incidents of interest. "Spot reports," which followed a brief six or 14 paragraph format, were intended to provide little more than the essentials of Who? What? When? Where?, and perhaps How? "Agent reports" were the longer, narrative descriptions of an incident, operation, investigation, or debriefing. Both forms were used by agents of the Intelligence Command to report incipient civil disturbances, incidents which might threaten military security, or incidents involving servicemen. In the civil disturbance area, a premium was placed on speed of reporting and Brig. Gen. William H. Blakefield frequently urged his men to "beat the A.P."

Spot reports of demonstrations, meetings, marches, vigils, and other forms of political protest were often telephoned to local MI group offices, drafted into the proper six or 14 paragraph form by duty agents, and then reported up the chain of command via teletype to Fort Holabird. At each level, a copy would be kept for the files. The reports all funneled into the CONUS Intelligence Branch, Operations IV, a section of the Intelligence Command headquarters which was located in a room adjacent to the Investigative Records Repository.[11] At Ops IV, as it was called, intelligence analysts would sort the reports for retransmission to interested agencies and make summaries of the important ones which would later be copied onto key-punch cards for computer storage. Then the reports would be filed chronologically in file cabinets.

Two untypical, but authentic, spot reports are set forth below.[12]

SHORT FORM SPOT REPORT

LC 116th HQ
P 281515Z JUN 68
To: USAINTC
Info: MOW
BT
Unclass
1. 116-8189-643.
2. It has been learned that 28 Jun 68 will supposedly be a day of violent action against Yugoslav installations in the US. Today is known as the day of St. Lazar. Serbian men are supposed to show their manhood today. No further information is known.
3. TPO, FBI.
4. 9-3.
5. None.
6. None.
By AIC 116th HQ.

LONG FORM SPOT REPORT

USAINTC Sr No. 911
1. HQ, 108th MI GP.
2. 108-9058-146.
3. The Crazies.
4. None.
5. 1330 EST, 1 Mar 69, Bellevue Hospital, 467 1st Ave, NYC, and the Staten Island Ferry.
6. None.
7. A group known as "The Crazies", composed of persons in the Youth International Party and another group called "Up Against the Wall," plan to announce their formal "birth" by engaging in the following activities on 1 Mar 69:

    A. First The Crazies plan to enter Bellevue Hospital, located at 467 1st Ave., NYC, with toy guns and steal one of the patients

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[11] This office was eliminated in 1970 and its functions transferred to other elements in the Office of the Director of Investigations, USAINTC.
[12] Hearings, Part I, pp. 241-2.

out of the hospital. The Crazies plan to put a straight jacket on one of their own members, sneak him into Bellevue and then other Crazies with the toy guns plan to enter and steal the patient.

B. After they leave Bellevue, The Crazies plan to travel to the Staten Island Ferry and board the boat which travels between lower NYC and Staten Island. They plan to enter the boat peacefully, i.e., paying their way and not jumping over the rail, and when they get on board they plan to threaten the boat's captain by demanding that he take them to Cuba. When the captain obviously refuses to do so, they plan to rush to one side and threaten to "tip the boat over."

8. Military personnel traveling to NYC often use the Staten Island Ferry.

9. 1750 EST, 27 Feb. 69.

10. Continue liaison with local agencies.

11. NY FBI.

12. B-6.

13. 1510 EST 27 Feb 69—D.A. Berrien, RGN I, 108th MI GP.

14. Additional information concerning this matter will be reported when received.

In addition to spot reports and agent reports, Army intelligence agents also prepared "summaries of information" on particular subjects, such as anti-military activity on college campuses, the Students for a Democratic Society, and incidents of bombing. On a daily and weekly basis, spot reports also were summarized and transmitted via teletype to user agencies around the world. Two of these intelligence summaries are set forth below. The first is a daily intelligence summary taken from the Intelligence Command teletype and republished verbatim by the Army Provost Marshal General's office for use by the military police. It describes anti-war activities prior to the Counter-Inaugural demonstrations in Washington, D.C. on January 20, 1969. A close reading will reveal that Army intelligence had at least one undercover agent inside a commune on DuPont Circle. (Former agents have since revealed that the 116th MI Group actually had two agents assigned to this operation).[13]

<div align="center">DAILY INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY</div>

CID TPMGWASH
PMG LIA REP
P/U/111-0458/19 2019 R Jan. 69/Fouo/Brisentine
Subject: U.S. Army Intelligence Command daily intelligence summary No. 9018.

U.S. Army Intelligence Command, Fort Holabird, Maryland reported the following summary which contains items of intelligence interest reported during the period 2100 hrs, 17 January 1969 to 0900 hrs, 18 January 1969.

<div align="center">SECTION I: PAST EVENTS</div>

Washington, D.C.: Between 0100 and 0130 hrs on 18 January, the selective Service National Headquarters Building was firebombed, causing major damage to the first floor.

San Francisco, Calif.: On 17 January the United California Committee for an Academic Environment (OAE), supported by the Silent Majority Against Revolutionary Tactics (SMART), sponsored a rally to show support for Dr. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, Governor Reagan and Mayor Alioto in their stand against the student strike and the teachers strike.

[13] Hearings, Part I, p. 240.

79-911—72——3

Ted Terreus (Phonetic) and Jim Stram (Phonetic) of the CAE addressed a crowd of approximately 500 persons who carried signs to show their support. During the rally a group of 50 counter-demonstrators carried signs to show their support for the students and the teachers. Trouble ensued when one of the counter-demonstrators hit a rally supporter over the head with his sign. Police arrested the assailant and no further trouble occurred.

Santa Barbara, Calif.: The SDS Chapter at the University of California at Santa Barbara has announced that they will call for a general student strike if James Johnson, an alleged student, is arrested because of speech he recently gave on obscenity. In the text of his speech Johnson allegedly used several four letter words. There is no further information at this time.

SECTION II: FUTURE EVENTS

(Sunday, 19 January—Monday, 20 January 1969)

Washington, D.C.: A. Information has been received that NMC officials and GI's will lead the 19 January parade down Pennsylvania Ave. to the Capitol building. Upon reaching the steps of the Capitol women participants will burn voter-registration cards. Draft cards reportedly will also be burned. Various students will hold a rally at the statue of Gen. Sherman and then join the parade. Upon conclusion of the parade the marchers are invited to attend a counter-inaugural ball, located in a tent, which is to last all night. On 20 January, small groups of demonstrators will leave the tent and proceed along the inaugural route to a position in front of the stands just opposite the north side of Pennsylvania Ave. The demonstrators will attempt to stand five or six deep so as to conceal various individuals carrying signs. The main objective of the demonstrators is reported to be to get the maximum number of signs in view of the main TV cameras located at 15th Street and Pennsylvania Ave. On the arrival of Nixon, the protestors will begin to chant and show their signs.

B. Out-of-town dissidents currently in Washington are being housed in a "commune" at 1827 S Street NW along with "pigasus" and several dogs, who are permitted to move among the persons sleeping on the floor but are not permitted to leave the building for fear of being seen. Four or five unidentified "hippies" announced plans to leave Washington for fear that it will be another Chicago and many of the dissidents have expressed their apprehension about police intervention in their demonstrations. Much dissention exists among the dissidents because they are unable to agree on plans for demonstrations. And efforts to secure a united action between SDS and NMC have been fruitless to date.

The second summary is a weekly intelligence summary for the week of March 11–18, 1968. It became the basis for the case of *Laird* v. *Tatum.*

[USAINTC Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 08–12, Mar. 18, 1968 (Telephone Report)]

WEEKLY INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY, 11–18 MARCH 1968

AIC 116 HQ
AIC CONUS HQ
P-IrI8452 Mar 68
From: CGUSAINTC FTHOLABIRD MD.
To: AOC Pentagon.
Info: EOC, CONARC; CINC; USSTRICOM; CINC, USAREUR; CINC, USAR PAC (Thru 710th MI Det) ; CG, USARSO (Via Registered Mail) ; CG, USARAL (Via Registered Mail) ; CG, AMC (Thru USAINTC LNO) ; CG, ARDCOM (Thru 113th MI GP) CG, USASTRATCOM (Thru 115th MI Gp) ; CG First Army (Thru 109th MI Gp) ; CG, Third Army (Thru 111th MI Gp) ; CG, Fourth Army (Thru 112th MI Gp) ; CG Fifth Army (Thru 113th MI Gp) ; CG, Sixth Army (Thru 115th M Gp) ; CG, XVIII ABM Corps; CG, III Corps (Thru DCSI Fourth Army) ; CG, MDW (Thru 116th MI Gp) ; CG, 1st Army Div (Thru DCSI Fourth Army) ; CG 2d Armd Div (Thru DCSI Fourth Army) ;

CG, 82nd Abn Div (Thru XVIII Abn Corps) ; CG, 5th Inf Div (Thru DCSI Fifth Army) ; PHG, USA ; CG, USARHAW (Thru 710th MI Det) ; CG, Ft. Devens (Thru 108th MI Gp) ; CO, 902d MI Gp (Thru 116th MI Gp) ; CO, 108th MI Gp ; CO, 109th MI Gp ; CO 111th MI Gp ; CO, 112th MI Gp ; CO, 113th MI Gp ; CO, 115th MI Gp ; CO, 116th MI Gp ; CO, 710th MI Det ; Director ANMCC (Pass to DIA element—) ; USAINTC LNO, Pentagon.

Subject : USAINTC weekly intelligence summary number 68–12.

The following summary contains items of intelligence interest for the period 0000 hrs, Monday 11 March 68 to 0000 hrs, Monday 18 March 68 and information concerning significant future events :

SECTION I : THE PAST WEEK

Monday, 11 March 1968:

Hartford, Conn. : Approximately 20 persons picketed outside the U.S. Federal Building. The protestors carried placards denouncing the war in Vietnam and the payment of income tax. The demonstration was sponsored by the Voluntown, Conn., Chapter of the New England Committee for Non-Violent Action.

Tuskegee, Alabama : Stokely Carmichael spoke to a group of about 2000 Tuskegee Institute (TI) students concerning the black power philosophy. He indicated that Negroes should arm themselves for protection against "Whitey," and that they should fight in the United States and not in Vietnam. His speech was followed by a question and answer period. At the end of the session, the crowd dispersed quietly and without incident.

Tuesday, 12 March 1968:

Boston, Mass. : An estimated 85 demonstrators representing the New England Resistance gathered at the gates of the Boston Army Base to protest the induction of Peter Crews. There was one scuffle between protestors and a counter protestor. As a result, extra police were called to the scene. The demonstration terminated without further incident. The demonstrators paraded to the University of Massachusetts in Boston, where another brief demonstration was held. There were no incidents at the latter demonstration.

Buffalo, N.Y. : Demonstrators were observed picketing in front of the Buffalo Afees Station for the second consecutive day. On 11 Mar. there were only 12 pickets, but on 12 Mar. approximately 25–30 demonstrators were observed. These individuals were believed to be members of the SDS from State University of New York at Buffalo.

Wednesday, 13 March 1968:

Brooklyn, N.Y. : About 35 persons participated in a demonstration * * * scheduled induction of Peter Behr. Many of the protestors distributed leaflets and flowers to persons entering the Fort. The demonstration lasted approximately one and one half hours and ended without incident.

Columbia, S.C. : Approximately 200 Negroes from Allen University and Benedict College in Columbia joined a group of about 900 students from South Carolina State College (SCSC) and Claflin College, Orangeburg, S.C., in a demonstration at the State Capitol Building. This protest was a continuance of the demonstration held by SCSC students at Capitol on 7 Mar 68 (reference USAINTC Weekly Summary Number 68–11). About 20 South Carolina state patrolmen equipped with batons, pistols, gas masks and steel helmets were on hand to prevent any violence. Following an unsuccessful attempt by approximately 30 Negro demonstrators to enter the State Capitol, the Orangeburg protestors reboarded thirteen chartered buses and returned to their respective schools. During the demonstration about fifteen Negroes, including James Weston, Sociology Professor at SCSC, were admitted to the Governor's office for a brief conference. There are no details about what took place in his office.

Minneapolis, Minn. : Approximately 25 persons from Eau Claire, Wisconsin demonstrated in front of the Washington Avenue AFEES, after protesting the Selective Service System in general and specifically the pre-induction processing of Steve Smith from Eau Claire. There was no violence. While undergoing processing, Smith took several pictures of AFEES personnel and some rooms in the building. He was also seen taking notes on the induction process.

Madison, Wisconsin: Approximately 50 members of the Community Action Party staged a demonstration at Bascom Hall on the University of Wisconsin Campus. They were picketing a team of recruiters from Boeing Aircraft Company (reference USAINTC Weekly Summary Number 65-11). The entire demonstration was peaceful and there were no incidents.

Los Angeles, Calif.: Approximately 100 members of the resistance staged a peaceful demonstration at the Los Angeles AFEES, in support of Bill Garraway who was scheduled for induction. No incidents were reported, and the demonstrators dispersed peacefully.

San Jose, Calif.: An Anti-Dow Chemical Company demonstration was held in front of the Administration Building at San Jose State College (SJSC). A crowd of about 400-500 persons were present, but approximately 90% of these were spectators or curious onlookers. At 1230 hrs. the demonstrators moved to the Morris Daily Auditorium where they were refused permission to hold a rally. SJSC officials, however permitted the protectors to use the music building for an afternoon rally. The rally received very little support and attendance was light.

Thursday, 14 March 1968:

Memphis, Tenn.: After several days of peaceful marches and meetings, members of the Sanitation Union became involved in an attempt to block trash removal by non-union workers (reference USAINTC Weekly Summary 68-11). The incident resulted in the arrest of about 30 persons on charges of disorderly conduct. Earlier in the day, 6 persons had been arrested by Memphis police for attempting to delay the departure of garbage trucks from the department of sanitation parking lot. To date, there are no indications that an early settlement in the sanitation strike will be reached.

Friday, 15 March 1968:

Philadelphia, Pa.: A. The Philadelphia Chapter of the Women's Strike for Peace sponsored an anti-draft meeting at the First Unitarian Church which attracted an audience of about 200 persons. Conrad Lynn, an author of draft evasion literature, replaced Yale Chaplain William Sloan Coffin as the principal speaker at the meeting. Following question and answer period Robert Edenbaum of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors stated that many Philadelphia lawyers were accepting draft evasion cases. The meeting ended without incident.

B. Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., the founder of the Black Christian Nationalist Movement in Detroit, spoke to an estimated 100 persons at the Emmanuel Methodist Church. Cleage spoke on the topic of black unity and the problems of the ghetto. The meeting was peaceful and police reported no incidents.

Washington, D.C.: David Dellinger of the National Committee to end the war in Vietnam joined two other antiwar speakers in an appearance before a group of about 55 persons who had gathered in Judiciary Square to demonstrate their opposition to the war in Vietnam. The group subsequently marched on the offices of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and picketed outside while a delegation spoke with IRS officials. A spokesman for the delegation indicated that they would refuse to pay that portion of their income tax which went to finance the Vietnam war. After the delegation returned from the peaceful confrontation, the entire group dispersed without incident.

Detroit, Mich.: A group of about 100 persons gathered in front of the Fort Wayne Induction Center to protest the scheduled induction of Tom Nixon, a leader of the Detroit Draft Resistance Committee (DRC). The protestors displayed anti-draft/Vietnam placards and passed out anti-draft literature which had been printed by the socialist workers party. Nixon arrived at the induction center but refused to begin processing and a federal marshal arrested him. There were no further incidents and the demonstrators dispersed quietly.

Chicago, Ill.: Approximately 30 members of the Chicago Area Draft Resistors (CADRE) participated in a peaceful demonstration in front of the Van Buren Street AFEES. The protestors were apparently demonstrating in support of Robert Freestom, an active CADRE member who was scheduled for induction. The demonstrators dispersed without incident and police made no arrests.

Saturday, 16 March 1968:

Providence, R.I.: Vice President Hubert Humphrey arrived at the Sheraton Biltmore and entered the hotel without incident although approximately 75 demonstrators were picketing the entrance. At 1515 hrs. a group of about 1000 students and faculty members from Brown University (BU) Rhode Island School of Design and Pembroke College marched from the BU campus to a park across from the hotel. A petition bearing names of those who would refuse to be drafted was taken into the hotel by a delegation from the group. Of the 537 names reportedly on the petition, about 340 belonged to women students at Pembroke College. At 1625 hrs. the Vice President departed the hotel without incident. A few of the demonstrators remained in the area overnight, but there were no incidents and police made no arrests.

Riverside, Calif.: During the 50th Anniversary Celebration Parade at March Air Force Base, a group of about 30 protestors began a parallel march to protest the war in Vietnam. The protestors wore black arm bands and carried antiwar placards. The anti-war group made no attempt to interfere with the parade and police made no arrests.

Sunday, 17 March 1968:

Washington, D.C.: A. About 21 members of an organization known as Movimiento Insurreccional De Recuperacion Revolucionaria (MIRR) participated in a peaceful demonstration at the White House. The demonstrators carried placards which reflected their support for American policy in Vietnam. (Note: This group was previously reported as the Movement Insurrectional Recooperation-MIR, reference USAINTC Weekly Summary Number 68-11.)

B. Stokley Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), spoke at the Church of the Redeemer in Washington, D.C. to an unknown number of people on black power and the Black United Front, urging all black people to come together. Carmichael ended the speech with words from Rap Brown, "We shall conquer without a doubt". He indicated that March 20 would be International Rap Brown Day (see Wednesday, 20 March 1968). There was no violence and no arrests were made.

Chicago, Ill.: Approximately 300 members of Veterans for Peace and Women for Peace held a peaceful demonstration at the Museum of Science and Industry protesting an exhibit by the U.S. Army. Several demonstrators entered the building in spite of warnings, by museum officials and 6 were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and criminal trespassing. Five of those arrested were juveniles.

Los Angeles, Calif.: Approximately 250-300 Negroes staged a mock trial for a Los Angeles police officer. The incident resulted from the shooting of a Los Angeles Negro by the officer. The demonstration was sponsored by the Los Angeles Student non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panthers and "US". Speakers included Reverend Clayton D. Russell, Head of People's Independent Church, Los Angeles; Ben Waytt, Los Angeles Negro attorney; and Franklin Alexander, Southern California District Representative, Communist Party, USA. The demonstrators passed out "Wanted" posters of the officer, and found him "guilty of first degree murder." The demonstration was peaceful.

Section II : Forecast of Future Events

Monday, 18 March 1968:

Miami, Fla.: A spokesman for the Southern Students Organizing Committee announced plans for a demonstration to be held on the campus of the University of Miami during the morning. According to the spokesman, a group of anti-war/draft supporters will participate in the demonstration.

Baltimore, Md.: Members of the Baltimore Inter-Faith Peace Mission intend to demonstrate at the Baltimore U.S. Post Office to support the four individuals on trial for pouring blood into the records of the Selective Service Board on 27 Oct. 1967.

Monday, 18 March–Tuesday, 19 March 1968:

Philadelphia, Pa.: Members of the Vietnam Week Committee, composed largely of professors and students of the University of Pennsylvania, will conduct a "sleep-in" to protest the scheduled appearance of Dow Chemical Company recruiters on campus. The next day, 19 March, the same organization will sponsor a protest rally on campus.

Tuesday, 19 March-Wednesday, 20 March 1968:

Sacramento, Calif: On 19 Mar. a draft resistance rally has been scheduled on the campus of Sacramento State College for the purpose of attracting support for 5 persons who plan to refuse induction on the following day. The rally will be sponsored by the Sacramento Draft Resistance Union. On 20 Mar. the demonstrators will allegedly attempt to disrupt the induction processing of the 5 individuals at the Selective Service Building. At the present time, there are no indications as to the number of persons who will participate in either demonstration.

Wednesday, 20 March 1968:

New Orleans, La: A spokesman for SNCC has proclaimed that 20 March will be officially designated as "H. Rap Brown Day". According to the spokesman, sympathy demonstrations are scheduled for the following cities: Washington, D.C.; Detroit, Michigan; and, Atlanta, Georgia. At the present time, specific details concerning the number of participants and the exact locations of the demonstrations are unknown.

Thursday, 28 March 1968:

Knoxville, Tenn: An unchartered chapter of the Vietnam Education Committee at the University of Tennessee has scheduled an anti-war demonstration in protest of the appearance of General Lewis Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System.

This command will publish periodic special interest summaries to addresses in addition to the regular weekly summary whenever upcoming events of unusual importance develop within Conus.

<div align="right">Dougherty for Blakefield.</div>

It should be noted that none of the foregoing reports bears a security classification.

Sometime in 1968 the decision was made to computerize the spot reports in 96 separate categories to facilitate attempts at predicting civil disturbances and plotting trends. (This computerized incident file will be discussed below.) In addition, civil disturbance reports were filed in the dossiers of persons who were being or who had been considered for security clearances. Thus files which were supposed to be based on the results of careful investigations were contaminated with frequently inaccurate and misleading information. How many security clearances were unjustly denied as a result of this practice is not known, but the potential for injustice clearly was there.

On March 9, 1970, an order was issued to destroy all spot reports 60 days after their initiation. On June 9, 1970, field units were directed not to submit spot reports on civil disorders until directed to do so by the Director of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations (now the Director of Military Support). In July of 1970, a series of inspections was undertaken to determine the extent of compliance. Disobedience was found to be so great that the Army General Counsel ordered an Inspector General's investigation of the Intelligence Command. As of December 1970, however, spot reports at the Intelligence Command's headquarters still had not been destroyed.

C. COMPUTERIZED INCIDENT FILE

The core of the Intelligence Command's data bank of civil disturbance information was a computerized listing of spot reports. Given the volume of spot reports received (1200 a month in 1969), this file must have constituted one of the most extraordinary chronicles of

EXHIBIT 4

FORT HOLABIRD INCIDENT DATA BANK

THE U.S. ARMY INTELLIGENCE COMMAND

CONUS INTELLIGENCE DATA BANK

INCIDENT REPORT

09 FEB 70

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
IC 5215 CICC	C61	7C	2CC	14 11 69	WASHINGTON	09	P3	

DESCRIPTION [deleted] WAS SEEN AT THE FOLEY HOTEL ON 14
NOV 69/C [deleted] [CC deleted] ARRIVED OR SU-
LLES ATTACHT AT ICCC EST 15 NCV 69 & SENT FOR HER

PERSONS	[last name first name]				VC17			
	[last name first name]				EC28			
	[last name first name]							

ORGANIZATIONS	BLACK PANTHER PARTY		8003					
	MARCH AGAINST DEATH		M004					
	YIPPIES		V017					
	VIETNAM MORATORIUM NCV 69		V020					

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
IC 9C27 CCAC	C61	67	016	07 02 69	WORCHESTER	22	F6	ICCC

DESCRIPTION [deleted] 7C APPEAR AT FOFEREACR CENTER 568 MAIN ST
AT 1CCC HRS 7C AUTOGRAFH COPIES CF HIS BOOK
[title deleted.]

PERSONS	[last name first name]				VC17			

ORGANIZATIONS	YIP			VO17				

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
80 9080 0176	C40	77	100	22 03 69	NEW YORK	23	83	

DESCRIPTION GROUP CF SUPPORTERS CF [deleted deleted deleted]
PLAN TC DEMONSTRATE AT FED COURT HOUSE AT FOLEY SQ
8 BEING TRIED FOR ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON CC AREA

ORGANIZE [last name deleted] VO17

33

THE U S ARMY INTELLIGENCE COMMAND

CONUS INTELLIGENCE DATA BANK

INCIDENT REPORT

CS FLF 7C

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
3C 8142 C543	CC1	7C	6C6	28 08 68	CHICAGO	14	A1	C531

DESCRIPTION [name] WAS ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH DISORDERLY CONDUCT AND RESISTING ARREST

PERSONS [last name, first name]

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
3C 8224 7714	C55	7C	6C6	21 C0 68	CHICAGO	14	82	1CC0

DESCRIPTION FEDERAL COURT HAS DENIED AND REFUSED TO MARCH IN AREA OF CONVENTION

PERSONS [last name, first name]
[last name, first name]
[last name, first name]
[last name, first name]

ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL MOBILIZATION CCP

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
3C 8236 C185	C55	3C	6C6	22 08 68	CHICAGO	14	A1	2CCC

DESCRIPTION VARIOUS PLANS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE WERE REPORTED ON IN DETAIL

PERSONS [last name first name]

ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE A060

IDENTITY	CATEGORY	SOURCE	AREA	DA MN YR	CITY	STATE	EVAL	TIME
3C 8236 C185	C55	3C	6C6	22 08 68	CHICAGO	14	A1	2CCC

DESCRIPTION VARIOUS PLANS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE WERE REPORTED ON IN DETAIL

As can be seen, each entry follows a standard format:

An identifying number (which apparently keys to the original report),

a category number (which corresponds to the 96 basic categories of civil disturbance information listed in the May 2, 1968 collection plan,

An organization number (e.g. for the subject's civil rights group),

And a variety of other numbers identifying the source of the report, the area it came from, the day, month, and year it was produced, the city and state to which it pertained, and evaluation of the reliability of the source and the credibility of the information, and the time of the report.

Each entry also contains a description of the incident (summarized from longer reports), a list of persons involved in the incident coded by their organization, and a list of organizations involved, accompanied by their code numbers. Cryptic descriptions like "various plans and activities of the —————————— Committee were reported on in detail" indicate that the computerized incident file was intended as an index to more extensive records as well as a source of thumbnail sketches of political activity. In all likelihood it was intended as a means of reentering the hard copy files of spot reports, agent reports, and reports from other agencies.

The reports in these five short print-outs are estimates of the probability of violence, the number of persons at a church meeting, the time, flight number, airline, and destination of the individual, the hotel in which he was staying, and the location and number of people at a rally or meeting. The print-outs demonstrate that the Army had the ability to reconstruct the record of an individual's public activities throughout the country, including dates, times, places, other persons involved, along with details of the activities themselves.

The five print-outs produced for the Army General Counsel were probably assembled by directing the computer to produce all spot reports containing a nine-digit "biographic identity" number. Whether this number was intended to be the same as the nine-digit Social Security number (contained in some spot reports on civilians), the eight-digit military service number then being phased out, or some other number is not clear. Whatever the coding scheme, however, the existence of this number meant that the Incident Data File could be used as a source of biographic data independent of the Biographic Data File which shared use of the same computer.

The coding of individuals as individuals and as members of organizations also made it possible for the Intelligence Command to produce lists of members of particular organizations, lists of organizations to which particular individuals belonged, and lists of organizations with overlapping memberships. In addition, the coding of "dossier" numbers gave Fort Holabird's analysts a ready cross-reference to their subversives file.

Why the Intelligence Command thought it needed these capabilities has never been explained. Orders to destroy the file were issued on February 19, 1970. On July 10, 1970, it was discovered that the entire data bank could be reconstituted. Later an "inactive tape" was discovered and ordered destroyed on October 17, 1970. As with the mug books and the Compendium, destruction has not been assured.

D. THE COMPUTERIZED BIOGRAPHIC DATA FILE

Intelligence analysts at Fort Holabird stood astride the flow of civil disturbance and military security incident reports and took from it items of interest pertaining to individuals and organizations. Some of these items were sent off to other intelligence units, such as the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch and the FBI. Others were used to write special reports like the Intelligence Command's massive report and membership catalogue on the Students for a Democratic Society. Still other items were entered in the subversives file or filed in the dossiers of prospective, current, and former security clearance holders.

Many items were coded for computer storage. In his first article, Mr. Pyle described a computer card he had seen in the course of a briefing he had received at Fort Holabird.[16] It bore the name of Arlo Tatum, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, and contained a single notation—that Mr. Tatum had once delivered a speech at the University of Oklahoma on the legal rights of conscientious objectors. Where this card went is not, and probably never will be, known. A former analyst from the Intelligence Command's headquarters has informed the Subcommittee staff that following publication of Mr. Pyle's first article he was ordered by his superiors to remove all items mentioned in the article from the files. It would have been logical, however, for the Tatum card to have gone into the incident data file, for the "Biographic Data File" examined by the Subcommittee staff appears to have been primarily an index to other files.

The print-out examined by the Subcommittee is dated February 9, 1970, and contains 408 pages. Pages 1–28 are missing—apparently torn off for examination by civilian officials in the Pentagon and lost. There are ten entries to each page but the last, so that the total number of persons listed may be estimated at close to 4,078. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

As with the other materials, the persons listed include both the great and the obscure. Included among them are priests, lawyers, singers, comedians, and politicians. There are also relatives of federal officials, including a member of the family of a U.S. Senator. Many Negroes, including state legislators, former federal officials, Urban League and NAACP leaders, and members of the Black Panthers and the Black Muslims also are listed. Other personalities of interest include a variety of anti-war leaders, ranging from members of Senator McCarthy's campaign team to Weathermen. There are Communist leaders and Minutemen. Some persons listed are national figures; others are local workers. Groups represented include CORE, SNCC, SCLC, Chicanos, OEO workers and the American Civil Liberties Union. According to Army officials, one of the missing pages of the print-out included an entry for an airborne general who subscribed to *The Bond*, an "underground" newspaper critical of the military.

The format of each entry can be seen in Exhibit 5 which is a collection of excerpts from the Biographic Data File, "sanitized" to protect the privacy of the persons described.

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[16] "CONUS Intelligence: The Army Watches Civilian Politics." Washington Monthly, January 1970, p. 4.

Exhibit 5

Fort Holabird Biographical Data File

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U S ARMY INTELLIGENCE COMMAND
BIOGRAPHIC DATA FILE

AS OF
C9 FEB 70

	OCCUP	CTRY	ORGA	PCS	TRNG	TRGT	ICECL
REPORT FS E352 C2C DATE C5 C1 67 AREA CF REFCRT PRIMARY AREA LS2ZZ			OCC7 C6		14	61	C
NAME [deleted] COVER OR CCE FCE SEX M RACE						28	
ST ADDRESS ETHNIC						29	
ZIP CODE DOSSIER NATION						CERCG INFC --- CN FILE	
REPORT FS E352 C2E DATE C6 22 68 AREA CF REFCRT 2122Z PRIMARY AREA LS2ZZ	POIS	LS	COS4 C1		14	34	C
NAME [priest] CCE FCE SEX M RACE C						28	A
ST ADDRESS ETHNIC						29	C
ZIP CODE DOSSIER NATION LS						CERCG INFC --- CN FILE	
REPORT FC E112 C22 DATE C4 18 68 AREA CF REFCRT 20CC5 PRIMARY AREA 2CCC5	POIS		COS4 C5			29	C
NAME [lane priest] COVER CCE FCE SEX M RACE C						52	
ST ADDRESS ETHNIC							
ZIP CODE DOSSIER NATION						CERCG INFC --- CN FILE	
REPORT C1 E1C7 C14 DATE 12 13 67 AREA CF REFCRT 212CC PRIMARY AREA 212CC	POIS		IO19			28	
NAME [saudi priest] CCE FCE 24 SEX M RACE C	POIS					28	
ST ADDRESS [extra address] IE ETHNIC						29	
ZIP CODE 212CC DOSSIER NATION						CERCG INFC --- UNKNOWN	
REPORT FS E352 C25 DATE C6 C7 68 AREA CF REFCRT 2122Z PRIMARY AREA USZZZ	POI9		COS4 06		14	34	C
NAME [saudi priest] FATHER CCE FCE SEX M RACE C			SC35 06			28	A
ST ADDRESS ETHNIC						29	C
ZIP CODE DOSSIER NATION LS						CERCG INFC --- CN FILE	

AS CF
CY FEE 7C

										CCCLP	CIMY	CRGA	FCS	IARC	IRGT	ILECL
REPCRT	TS 9147 466	CATE C5 27 69	AFEA CF REFCFT 76544	PRIMARY AREA 76544	MCIC	LS	RC17	C6	12	29	A
NAME	[deleted]		CCE	FCE	SEX M	RACE				61	
ST ACCRESS	[deleted]		ALIAS B CC 1ST EN 66TH ARZAC	ETHNIC					36	
ZIP CCCE	53215 CCSSIER		+ ALIAS ANTI WAR TEACH-IN	NATION				CERCC INFC --- LNKNCWN

REPORT	TA SCE1 C26	CATE 31 1C 68	AREA CF REFCFT 8C2CC	PRIMARY AREA			SC35	C2	29	C
NAME	[deleted] LE	CCE	FCE	SEX E	PACE			28	A
ST ACCRESS	[deleted]		ETHNIC				27	P
ZIP CCCE	8C2CC CCSSIER	NATION				CERCC INFC --- LNKNCWN

REPCRT	27 E1C2 CC4	CATE C4 11 68	AREA CF REFCFT 735C1	PRIMARY AREA 735C1	FCCE	LS	SC14	C6	54
NAME	[deleted] INC	CCE	FCE JF	SEX F	RACE C	SC13
ST ACCRESS	[deleted] ST	ALIAS JETT MARIA	ETHNIC 2
ZIP CCCE	735C1 CCSSIER	NATION LS	CERCC INFC --- CN FILE

REPCRT	TS 5155 CC4	CATE C6 C4 69	AREA CF REFCFT C9633	PRIMARY AREA C9633	MCIC	LS	RC17	C6	12	36	A
NAME	[deleted] BEZEN JCFES	CCE 01 27 45	FCE 22	SEX M	RACE				61
ST ACCRESS		ALIAS FEH ETFY 5EN 1ST ARTY	ETHNIC				29
ZIP CCCE	CCSSIER	NATION LS	CERCC INFC --- LNKNCWN

REPCRT	CS 5336 C28	CATE 11 19 69	AREA CF REFCFT 2CC2Z	PRIMARY AREA			MCC4	C6	29	A
NAME	[deleted] CREE	CCE 05 24 47	FCE	SEX M	RACE			61
ST ACCRESS	[deleted] WATER RD	ALIAS ARRESTEC FENTACN 13NOV	ETHNIC
ZIP CCCE	21461 CCSSIER	NATICN	CERCG INFC --- CN FILE

REPORT	CS 5335 C15	CATE 11 19 69	AREA CF REFCFT 2CC2Z	PRIMARY AREA 2CC2Z			MCC4	C6	29	A
NAME	[deleted] HARRY G	CCE 08 26 49	FCE	SEX M	RACE C			61
ST ACCRESS	[deleted] 1ST ST NJ	ALIAS CISCRCEFLY CCNCUCT	ETHNIC
ZIP CCCE	CE5C1 CCSSIER	NATION	CERCC INFC --- CN FILE

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While some of the categories in the print-out are obvious, others are not. The following analysis makes use of the computer code book and a letter from the Department of Defense dated June 10, 1971. (Hearings, Part II, pp. 1237–38).

Item 1—Report Number—designates the reporting unit, the Julian date of the report, and a control number. Reporting units assigned two-digit designators included MI groups (by regional offices), the FBI, the Office of Naval Investigations (now Naval Investigative Service), the Office of Special Investigations (Air Force), the Defense Intelligence Agency, and CIAB.

The spaces for name, street address, and zip code need no explanation, although from a constitutional and policy perspective it should be asked what the Army was doing keeping track of politically active citizens by their addresses. Of course, once the decision has been made to identify individuals, their names and addresses are the first items sought. Following each name there also is a space for a numerical identifier designating that name. Whether Social Security numbers, military service numbers, or some special numbers were used here is not known. In many cases addresses and zip codes are not present, and in a number of instances the zip code numbers do not correspond to those set forth in the Zip Code Directory. The discrepancies, according to the Defense Department, are due to clerical errors. If so, then the incidence of clerical mistakes in this print-out is relatively high.

The "dossier" designation is only rarely completed. In a sample of 500, only 32 (6%) had a dossier number. In nine cases, there was derogatory information noted as well. The number used here also is a nine-digit code. It refers to another file system of Army dossiers and the number was included when available. This may be the number used in the 8 million dossier collection of the Investigative Records Repository at Fort Holabird, or it may be one assigned to the subversives file.

The "area of report" number is a five-digit number, and in most cases it is the normal zip code number. In some cases alphabetic designations are used either for special cases or when the zip code was unknown. The "primary area" number is a modified zip code to indicate the primary geographic area of operations of the subject.

The "date" is the date of the report. For the most part these were 1968 and 1969 reports, but a number dated back to 1966 and 1967. The earliest entry is a February 1966 report. It is probable that when the system came into operation, reports which had been gathered earlier were put into the computer. In a few cases, more than one entry appears for a single name, but not very often. It is not possible to tell whether this computer gave a key to every spot report mentioning a person, or only to the first one.

"DOB" stands for date of birth. The codes for "POB" (place of birth) cover the entire world, including such exotic places as the Kuria Muria Islands, L'accadive Islands and Qatar. The occupational codes are equally comprehensive. There are 257 separate occupations listed, including barmaid, bartender, railroad brakeman, B-girl, janitor, judge, quarryman, goldsmith, conductor (train), conductor (orchestra), time-keeper, traveler, farmer, financier, cartoonist, chicken farmer, scientist, and union representative. The nine ethnic and racial designations are American Indian, Oriental American, Puerto Rican,

Filipino, Hawaiian, Eskimo, Aleutian, Caucasian and Negro. Types of training include aircraft, arms, language, cultural, Communist party, radio, sabotage, vessels, weapons, and 22 others.

The organizational codes are the most extensive. There are 770 of them, covering almost every organization remotely connected with public affairs and many that were not. As the list below demonstrates, there is an amazing diversity of organizations. They are large and small, national and local, private and governmental, union, street gang, academic, legal, and civic action, establishment and anti-establishment, involved in public issues and not, controversial and staid, known and unknown. The scope of the Army's interest is truly extraordinary, but even more surprising is the fact that this is a list created before the Holabird system was computerized and presumably before the operators had collected any information about such groups and their alleged connection with civil disturbance. Yet all these organizations were given specific codes in apparent anticipation of their appearing regularly in civil disturbance intelligence reports from the field. The mere listing of these organizations by itself connotes no judgment about them, but the fact that they were singled out and given special identification as part of a civil disturbance intelligence program taints each of them with suspicion. The joining of such disparate groups can only serve to infect even the most innocent with the sins, real or presumed, of the most questionable. Following are a selection of the organizations listed in the code book:

American Civil Liberties Union, American Friends Service Committee, American Nazi Party, American Security Council, American Society of Friends, American Veterans Committee, Americans for Constitutional Action, Americans for Democratic Action, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Archie Brown for Supervisor Committee;

Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Bay Area Festival Committee, Blackstone Rangers, Bogalusa Voters League;

California Democratic Council, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Chicago Committee of One Hundred, Chicago Jewish War Veterans, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties;

Clergymen's Committee for Vietnam, Communist Party of China, Council of Federated Organizations, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, Captive Nations, Chicago Based Anti-Open Housing Group;

Double Sex Kings, Foreign Policy Association, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Fund for Republic, Inc., Governor's Commission on Human Rights, God's Children Motorcycle Gang, Hell's Angels of California (National), High School Students for Social Justice;

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers;

John Birch Society, League of Women Voters of the U.S.A., Liberal Party of New York, Liberty Lobby, Life Line Foundation, Inc., Let Freedom Ring Society;

Manion Forum, Mattachine Society, Inc., Minutemen, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Moral Re-Armament, N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., National Association for the Ad-

vancement of Colored People, National Association for the Advancement of White People, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., National Civil Liberties Clearing House, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), National Conference for New Politics, National Council of Churches, National Lawyers Guild, National Review;

National States Rights Party, National Student Association, National Urban League, National Socialist White Peoples Party, National Democratic Women's League, Oakland Committee for Community Improvement, Pacifica Foundation, Philadelphia Committee for a Six Hour Day with Eight Hours Pay, "Peace Corps";

Ramparts, Religious Society of Friends, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, State Human Rights Commissions, Twin Cities Draft Counseling Center;

United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, United World Federalists, Inc., Urban League, US (Ron Karenga's Organization), Value Creation Study Society;

White Citizens Council, Women International Strike for Peace, West Baton Rouge Improvement Association, Young Americans for Freedom, Young Democrats, Young Democrats from the University of Milwaukee.

The coding system for these organizations is different from that used in the subversive file. The following comparison illustrates the difference.

Organization	Dossier number				Computer number
American Friends Service Committee.	ZB	00	02	00	A024
Americans for Democratic Action	ZA	00	17	81	A035
Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam	ZB	50	05	27	C094
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	ZA	00	04	02	N006
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy	ZA	00	90	26	N011
National States Rights Party	ZA	00	90	97	N030

Thus the Intelligence Command had not developed one universal numbering system for its files by the time the computerized holdings were ordered destroyed.

There are six designations for positions in the group—chairman, treasurer, secretary, steering committee, worker and member. The "target interest" can be one of 97 categories including: abduction; arms, theft: arms, traffic, blacklist; defection; civil disturbances, general; demonstrations, peaceful: AFEES, civilian, anti-draft, anti-Vietnam; demonstrations, violent; same categories, espionage; leaders: militant, nonviolent, pacifist; organizations: militant, nonviolent, pacifist; picketing; publications: leaflets, posters, papers (to include distributing); riots; rumors; subversive activities; and sniping.

There are 13 categories of ideology: anti-U.S., Communist party member, Communist inclined, leftist, moderate pro-Castro, pro-Chicom, pro-Soviet; pro-U.S., rightist, ultra-nationalistic, violent action inclined, violent action member.

On the right hand margin of the print-out there is a category entitled "Derogatory Information." The purpose of this section is not to reveal what the derogatory information is, but whether it is "on file," "not on file," or "unknown." Most of the entries say "unknown," but a large number say "on file." Except where descriptive comments else-

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where in the print-out give a clue, it is impossible to determine what the derogatory information might have been. For every person whose name began with H for whom an arrest is noted, there is a corresponding notation that derogatory information is on file. However, within the same group of people, notations of desertion or absence without leave (AWOL) are not accompanied by "derogatory information on file." In many instances, derogatory information is noted where there is no narrative comment at all.

The space following "alias" serves triple duty. In a few cases, it lists an assumed name, and in fewer still, an address. In most instances, however, it contains a four or five word comment stating why the individual is of interest to military intelligence. Out of 3,398 entries in the portion of the print-out examined by the Subcommittee staff, only 943 (28%) included a descriptive comment. The most common notations are to the effect that the individual subscribed to *The Bond* (an underground newspaper critical of the military), had been arrested at the Pentagon, or had been arrested for disorderly conduct. The figures for these entries are as follows:

	Number	Percent
Subscribes to Bond	252	27
Disorderly conduct	122	13
Arrested at Pentagon, Nov. 13, (1969?)	96	10
Arrested at Pentagon, October 1967	56	6

Other common entries note associations with anti-war coffeehouses, participation in anti-war demonstrations, or membership in a servicemen's anti-war association. Possession of allegedly "subversive literature," distribution of anti-war literature, or the signing of a petition sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union also appear to have been activities which brought individuals within the scope of the Biographic Data File.

In a majority of the 943 instances where a comment appears, the activities described related either to the anti-war activities of military personnel or the anti-war/anti-military activities of civilians. In the 2,455 entries (72% of all entries) where no comment appears at all, it is impossible to determine why the individual was listed. In a few instances a military address suggests that the individual was a serviceman, but in most instances the address section is empty or offers no clue. Where those listed are women without military addresses, it seems highly likely that they were civilians.

If the entries in which comments appear truly constitute a representative sample of all entries, then it would seem that the Biographic Data File served in part as a device to monitor "disaffection" and resistance in the Army (RITA). The inclusion of a large number of civilians, however, demonstrates a concern about civil disturbance activity. According to a letter dated September 29, 1967, which is referred to in the preface of the instruction book for the Biographic Data File, the only purpose of the file was to fill a void which had existed during earlier civil disturbance operations. Since this letter predated the March on the Pentagon (October 21, 1967), the "void" may refer to a lack of information about suspected black agitators.

This apparent contradiction, combined with the complete absence of any entries for well-known civil rights, white supremacist, black

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power, or anti-war figures (including Arlo Tatum, the conscientious objector), suggests that the biographic file might have been heavily edited before it was delivered to the Pentagon. This suspicion is encouraged by the following circumstantial evidence:

1. General Blakefield, the commanding general of the Intelligence Command, repeatedly denied the existence of the Biographic Data File and the mug books when asked about them by Army General Counsel Jordan at a Pentagon meeting on January 16, 1970.

2. An intelligence analyst assigned to the CONUS Intelligence Branch, Operations IV, has described to the staff how his superiors directed the concealment of information about the CONUS intelligence operation in January 1970 in anticipation of the Army General Counsel's inquiries.

3. Col. Arthur J. Halligan, Director of Investigations and head of the CONUS intelligence program under General Blakefield, is reported as having flatly denied the existence of the Biographic Data File to the Army General Counsel and to Under Secretary of the Army Beal during their visit to Fort Holabird on February 9, 1970. It was the Intelligence Command's persistent denials that led Robert Jordan, the General Counsel, to direct the production of listings of spot reports on five well-known personalities.

4. On two subsequent occasions it was learned that the Intelligence Command had failed to carry out orders to destroy its computerized files on civilians unaffiliated with the armed forces.

Whatever its original purpose, the Biographic Data File clearly had the potential to serve four purposes. First, it could provide extensive summary information about an individual's political beliefs, associations, and activities, as well as his occupation, training, race, and ethnic origin. Second, it could serve as means of producing lists of dissenters by name, address, organization, position within the organization, and ideology. Third, it could be used as an index to more extensive computerized and non-computerized files on individuals and organizations active in civilian politics. Fourth, it could be used to determine who should, and should not receive security clearances on the basis of frequently inaccurate, unverified, and highly suspect reports originally filed in haste for civil disturbance early warning purposes only.

E. REGIONAL AND LOCAL FILES

The foregoing files constitute only part of the Intelligence Command's holdings on the political and private lives of American citizens. In addition, more than 300 group, region, field and residence offices maintained their own files. Most of these undoubtedly were copies of reports forwarded to Fort Holabird. Others, however, such as the 113th MI Group's files on Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) and Representative Abner J. Mikva (D-Ill.), appear to have remained at the local level.

Defense Department officials have repeatedly stressed that less than five percent of the energies of the Army Intelligence Command was devoted to the CONUS intelligence program. This figure, however, does not account for the fact that each MI group maintained its own CONUS Intelligence Section of full-time domestic intelligence agents. In Washington, D.C., for example, this section was assigned more

than 20 full-time agents, or over 15 percent of the entire group's investigative force. These units, staffed and led by officers and civilians with overseas experience in covert operations, appear to have gone at their work with considerable zeal. The following description of one set of files is taken from a letter received by Congressman Cornelius Gallagher (D-N.J.) in March 1970:

At the present time, the files of the 116th M.I. Group consist of a 5 x 7 card file on several thousand persons in the Washington area. On these cards are a picture of each person, his name and address, occupation, background, a record of political groups with which he has been affiliated, notes on political meetings, rallies, and demonstrations which he has attended, and summaries of his views on political issues.

The Subcommittee also has obtained unclassified portions of the files of the 113th MI Group's Region V Office in Minneapolis, Minnesota. These include a card file on individuals active in the Twin Cities area in the spring of 1968 and a number of photographs taken by plain-clothes Army agents of local anti-war demonstrations. In addition, there are pictures in this file which bear the stamp of the University of Minnesota Department of Police.

The order to destroy these files went out in late June 1970. Throughout the summer and fall numerous inspections were conducted to encourage compliance. Yet as late as November 1970 the National Guard in Minnesota was still listing the 113th MI Group as a source of domestic intelligence information.[17] In his testimony before the Subcommittee, Mr. Pyle illustrated the problem:

Although my information is limited, I am confident that since February 1970 there has been a substantial effort to cut this program back. The effort has been most intense during the last three months following disclosures that the Army was watching elected officials. The Army General Counsel, the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, and their staffs have worked especially hard. But despite their efforts—despite the inspections they have made in the field—they have not been successful in some locations.

For example, during the summer of 1970 a lieutenant at Region V of the 113th Military Intelligence Group in Minneapolis received a large number of files from field and residence offices on personalities and organizations. These files were supposed to be destroyed, but he believed in the program and decided to conceal many of the personality reports. So he hid them in the bottom of a security container.

Only after the activities of the 113th MI Group in Minneapolis became the subject of a nationwide television documentary, did the lieutenant decide to destroy them. At the time of destruction, Mr. Pyle said, the files weighed about 50 pounds. He added: "(t)he same lieutenant . . . went to two residence offices within his region and instructed the residence office commanders that personality files could be hidden inside of organization files. Personalities on whom they were not permitted to keep records, he said, might be described as members of organizations on which they could keep records."[18]

Accordingly, despite the efforts of the Army's higher officials, the complete destruction of the regional and local files of the Intelligence Command cannot be assumed.

[17] Hearings, Part I, p. 102.
[18] Hearings, Part I, p. 150.

IV. FILES OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND

Like the Intelligence Command, the Continental Army Command (CONARC) maintained a nationwide network of computerized and non-computerized files on civilians unassociated with the armed forces. The existence of the computer was first revealed by Morton Kondracke of the *Chicago Sun-Times* on February 27, 1970.[19] On March 12, 1970, the plaintiffs in the *Tatum* case filed a motion in District Court which described CONARC's files in even greater detail. Yet in over nine months of correspondence with the Chairman of the Subcommittee, officials of the Departments of Defense and Army made no mention of these records. Indeed, in his letter to the Chairman dated March 20, 1970, Under Secretary Beal reported that no other intelligence files existed besides those at Fort Holabird and at CIAB.[20] It was not until November 27, 1970, that he finally admitted that "In addition to the data bank at Fort Holabird, data banks have been destroyed at Headquarters, Continental Army and at Headquarters, III Corps, Fort Hood." [21] His letter, however, made no mention of their origins, contents, scope, purposes, or use.

Similarly, Under Secretary of Defense Froehlke shed no light on CONARC's files in his appearance before the Subcommittee. His entire remarks on that agency's operations consisted of a vague reference to one (possibly two) tactical intelligence units whose "methods of collection . . . were less constrained" than those of the Intelligence Command.[22]

Research by the Subcommittee staff has determined that the Continental Army Command, its subordinate continental armies, and their constituent elements have been amassing files on the political activities of civilians and soldiers for decades. The bulk of these files have been stored in the conventional manner: dossiers for organizations and some of the more active individuals; card files for the rest. At CONARC's headquarters the practice, at least until mid-1970, was to make out a card on virtually every person mentioned in the domestic intelligence reports of the FBI. Some of these were kept in manual files; others were transferred to a computer. To conserve space, CONARC also microfilmed portions of its files.

The basic non-computerized file at CONARC's headquarters at Fort Monroe, Virginia, was similar to the subversives file at Fort Holabird. Its primary purpose was to check on the "loyalty" of organization, and individuals and to monitor "disaffection" within stateside Army units. A secondary purpose for the file, however, was to expand the Command's understanding of domestic disturbances. The commanding general of the Continental Army Command actually wears two hats, one as CONARC's chief and the other as head of the U.S. Army Forces Strike Command (ARSTRIKE). The CONARC job is largely that of superintending the administrative problems of the myriad of troop units, installations, and activities for which CONARC

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[19] Hearings, Part II, p. 1640.
[20] Hearings, Part II, p. 1051.
[21] Hearings, Part II, p. 1106.
[22] Hearings, Part I, p. 389. Nor was there any mention of the computers maintained by the Directorate for Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations or by the U.S. Strike Command.

is a holding company. The ARSTRIKE job entails providing ready troop units for immediate deployment at home, as well as abroad, through the joint Army-Air Force Strike Command (USSTRICOM). While the job of providing early warning intelligence on potential riots for ARSTRIKE units was assigned to the Intelligence Command, the Continental Army Command also ran a collection operation of its own. The agents used in this operation came from the Counterintelligence Sections of Military Intelligence Detachments assigned to the G-2 (intelligence) staffs of stateside troop divisions. With little to do but handle unit security and train for possible combat assignments, these agents had considerable time to devote to domestic intelligence activities. The result was an extraordinary collection of non-computerized data banks on political activity in the G-2 offices of most stateside units and installations. At Fort Hood, Texas, and at CONARC headquarters at Fort Monroe, Virginia, large portions of these files were computerized.

A. FORT MONROE DATA BANK

The Fort Monroe data bank, known as the Counterintelligence Records Information System (CRIS), was established in January 1968 and computerized in May 1968. It contained three basic categories of information with a cross-reference capability among them. The categories were incidents, personalities, and organizations. The information itself was stored on magentic discs, with a backup file on magnetic tape. Information for all three files was received from the five continental armies and the Military District of Washington (CONUSAMDW), the Intelligence Command, and the FBI. Each of these three collection systems, in turn, gathered information from state and municipal police departments and the news media. Regular recipients of weekly CRIS reports included the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, CONARC: the Deputy Chiefs of Staff for Intelligence, CONUS armies and the MDW: the Intelligence Command; the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence; and the Commander, Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service. No civilian authorization was ever granted for the establishment of this data bank.

The Subcommittee staff has had the opportunity to examine both the incident and personality files maintained within the Counterintelligence Records Information System. No organizational file has been preserved for the *Tatum* case, possibly because it had not been programed before the order to destroy all computerized records was issued on March 6, 1970.

B. THE COMPUTERIZED INCIDENT FILE

The following analysis of the Fort Monroe incident file is based on computer print-outs covering the period from January 1969 through February 1970. These print-outs appear on a set of microfilm aperture cards loaned to the Subcommittee by the Department of Defense. What has happened to the print-outs for the period May though December 1968 is not known. Nor are any of the computer instruction

books available. Most of the print-outs are marked "For Official Use Only," and hence are unclassified. (Where the classification "Confidential" appears on cover sheets and a few aperture cards, it seems to have been an afterthought, for the inside sheets clearly state that the reports themselves are unclassified).

The CONARC incident file is essentially a collection of weekly or bi-weekly intelligence summaries known as "CRIS Reports." The basic element of these summaries is the spot report, organized in a format similar to that prescribed by the Fort Holabird incident data file instruction book. Each entry gives the location, report number, time, and source of the report, along with an evaluation of reliability of source and content, a characterization of the nature of the incident, a list of the organizations and individuals involved, and a description of what happened. Exhibit 6 sets forth some typical CRIS Reports.

EXHIBIT 6

CRIS INCIDENT REPORTS, NOVEMBER 1969

The scope of these reports is extremely broad. Reports are included from all over the country and describe such events as bombings, television interviews, civil rights marches, anti-war demonstrations, and military courts-martial. For example, the CRIS Report for the week of June 30-July 6, 1969, included reports describing:

A lawsuit filed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Union against the New Jersey State police, taken from press reports. The suit is categorized under "subversive activities." A second report, from an unnamed agency of the New Jersey State government, gives names of the plaintiffs and their attorneys and provides a detailed summary of the case.

A demonstration in Los Angeles protesting the reduction of funds for a New York City OEO neighborhood youth project. The group was composed mostly of young Mexican Americans, but included some Negroes and Caucasians. The source is "agent observation," which probably means that plainclothes agents from the 116th MI Group in Los Angeles were on the scene.

The cancellation of a curfew by the mayor of Waterbury, Connecticut following a meeting with local Negro leaders. The report adds that the three Negro leaders were arrested for breach of the peace. Source: local police; subject: "arrests."

The appearance of six Negro males at a Baltimore, Maryland police headquarters to protest the biting of a young girl by a police dog. The group's demand for an explanation for the use of police dogs is reported, along with a notation that scheduled meeting between the protesters and police officials was cancelled when the protesters failed to appear on time. The report is listed as "meetings/gatherings" and the source is the local police.

A protest by 200 adults and children at City Hall in New Haven, Connecticut, demanding $300,000 for summer help projects. The subject is "meetings/gatherings" and the source is the FBI.

The firebombing of the Wilmington, Delaware home of a Negro employee of the DuPont Corporation. Damage was assessed at $200. Subject: "Firebombs;" source: local police.

Violence in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, precipitated when a Negro security guard attempted to arrest a Negro woman for shoplifting at a supermarket. The police were called in, rocks were thrown, two policemen were injured, and many persons were arrested. Subject: "civil disturbances, general;" source: local police.

A boycott in Waycross, Georgia, organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. A rather lengthy report describes the group's demands, meetings that were held, and the name of the group's leader. The subject is "demonstration, government building;" sources include the FBI, military intelligence, and local police.

All together, thirty-five incidents in various parts of the United States were reported in this one weekly report. So far as the staff has been able to determine, these CRIS reports largely duplicated the weekly intelligence summaries issued by the Intelligence Command.

At the end of each weekly or bi-weekly print-out, there is a statistical breakdown of reports by region and type of incident (e.g. anti-war, anti-military, anti-draft, racial, and miscellaneous). These types of incidents in turn are subdivided into the categories of "violent" and "non-violent." Exhibit 7 is an example of one of these breakdowns.

EXHIBIT 7

TREND BREAKDOWN OF CRIS REPORT, DECEMBER 15, 1969, TO
JANUARY 11, 1970

	ARMIES												ALL ARMIES		
	1ST		3RD		4TH		5TH		6TH		MDW		V	NV	TOTAL
	V	NV	V	NV	V	NV	V	NV	V	NV	V	NV			
TREND							1							1	1
							1							1	1
TREND							1							1	1
ANTIWAR	10				4		3		2					30	30
TREND	1	23	1	1	20		22		17				2	33	45
ANTIMILITARY	7		7		7		5		1				1	26	27
TREND		4		15		3	1	5					1	25	26
ANTIESTABLISHMENT	10		2		1				4					17	17
TREND	1			1		3				5			1	5	6
ANTIDRAFT	2						2		1					5	5
TREND	5		2				2							5	5
RACIAL	4	5	19		13								5	36	41
TREND	1	6	9	5		7	2	11	3	7			1	51	59
TREND	1						1						1		1
TREND						1							1		1
OTHER		26	2	4	8		3		2					43	43
TREND	2	2	2	1	12		1		1				4	11	15
TOTAL		59	5	39	36		13		9				8	156	164
TREND	5	36	13	24	37		3	38	1	34			22	169	191

The difference in the number of reports from the previous week is computed and labeled "trend." Accordingly, the summary appears to be a crude attempt to construct a barometer of political activity throughout the nation. What good this would do in predicting the likelihood of a riot in a particular city is not clear. The predictive value of this kind of analysis also is brought into question by the fact that the report uses a week-to-week time frame and assumes that figures on the frequency of arrests on clashes with police can be converted into predictors of widespread rioting. It would appear that military intelligence put great faith in the gathering of large amounts of information but did little to develop theories concerning its use. It appears to have been data rich and theory poor.

From the beginning of January 1969 through the end of February 1970, analysts in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence at the Continental Army Command selected 4,898 incident reports for computer storage. The sources of these reports were:

Source of reports	Number of reports	Percentage of reports
Army Intelligence Command	1,344	30
Municipal police departments	1,224	27
Federal Bureau of Investigation	941	21
CONARC and other stateside military units and sources	455	10
News media	199	5
Campus police	73	2
State police	52	1
National Guard	36	1
School authorities	35	1
County authorities	22	--
Federal agencies (other than FBI)	16	
City government	12	
Office of Naval Intelligence	7	
Office of Special Investigations (Air Force)	7	
Courts	4	
Miscellaneous	3	
Unknown	4	
Total	4,898	

The names of numerous elected officials appear in the reports. Some of the more prominent include:

President Richard M. Nixon
Vice President Spiro T. Agnew (and in a separate report, Mrs. Agnew)
Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.)
Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.)
Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.)
Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.)
Sen. Robert W. Packwood (R-Ore.)
Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.)
Sen. Wayne Morse (Indep.-Ore.)
Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.)
Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.)
Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N.C.)
Sen. Charles E. Goodell (R-N.Y.)
Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.)
Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.)
Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-Cal.)
Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D-N.Y.)
Rep. Bob Eckhardt (D-Tex.)
Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio)
Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D-Md.)
Rep. George E. Brown, Jr. (D-Cal.)
Elected State officials mentioned include:
Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R-N.Y.)
Gov. Robert E. McNair (D-S.C.)
Gov. Daniel J. Evans (R-Wash.)
Gov. Albert J. Brewer (D-Ala.)

Public appearances by cabinet members, generals, mayors, and state officials also are reported.

In most instances, the officials are mentioned only to describe a meeting or a demonstration. Thus a report on the Subcommittee Chairman mentions that he gave a speech at Statesville, North Carolina in 1970 at which twenty persons picketed without incident. In a few instances what the official said also was reported, but the overall pattern shows no particular interest in the political positions of public figures.

In some instances, however, personal identity numbers were assigned to public officials. For example, a United States Senator was coded 000004890; a U.S. Congressman, 000004595; and a state governor, 000003976. Normally, such numbers were reserved for radical students, militant black power advocates, or civil rights leaders. Nothing in the reports on these officials or in their political reputations suggests why they should have been singled out for special treatment. However, the fact that they were given identity numbers while others were not does not indicate that the reports mentioning other officials could not be recalled. Computers today can be instructed to recall all reports containing a given name or word. Thus reports which mention someone only incidentally could be recovered if that person were later to become a "personality of interest."

According to Defense Department General Counsel J. Fred Buzhardt,[23] the Fort Monroe incident data bank:

> . . . was designed to retrieve civil disturbance information rapidly and generate data and statistics to assist CONARC in the prediction of civil disturbances which might result in the deployment or commitment of federal troops. The attempt to predict possible civil disturbances or incidents related directly to the requirements placed on CONARC to provide Task Forces for deployment and for actual use in civil disturbances in accordance with the Army Civil Disturbance Plan (Garden Plot).

The print-out, however, shows that in practice the collection of civil disturbance information was largely indiscriminate and the reports kept for future reference related more to the activities of individuals and organizations than to the practical reconnaissance needs of Task Force commanders. By and large, the CONARC incident file duplicated the Intelligence Command system.

As for destruction, the Defense Department General Counsel has reported:[24]

> The civil disturbance information in CRIS was stored on four magnetic tapes and discs. They were all destroyed on April 12, 1970, by degaussing, i.e., the information was removed from the discs and tapes by passing them through a magnetic field. No other discs or tapes contained the information which was in the Fort Monroe program. Supporting files consisted of boxes of IBM cards, existing printouts, and the user manuals. These related files were destroyed on April 22, 1970.

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[23] Hearings, Part II, p. 1233.
[24] Hearings, Part II, p. 1233.

C. THE COMPUTERIZED PERSONALITIES FILE

The Subcommittee staff has also examined Volumes 2 through 6 of the "Personalities Edition" of the Counterintelligence Records Information System dated January 26, 1970. (Volume 1 was not included in the print-outs loaned to us by the Justice Department). These five volumes contain 2,269 pages of detailed summaries of the political beliefs and activities of nearly 5,500 persons, in addition to a 99-page index to persons listed.

Exhibit 8 is a series of excerpts from this print-out, "sanitized" to protect the privacy of those mentioned.

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last, first name]	C0000187I	/ /	OHIO	USA	6
			UNIV. OF [deleted]	DATA SOURCE — EBI	6

ETHNIC GROUP	—	RACE	—
RELIGION	—BAPTIST (NOT AMERICAN OR SOUTHERN)	INCOME PER YR	—
LEADER OF	—POPULACE, IN GENERAL	EFFECTIVENESS	—ABOVE AVERAGE
SEX	—MALE	MARITAL STATUS	—MARRIED
ALIAS	—NO	ARREST HISTORY	—MISDEMEANOR
SERVICE STATUS	—CIVILIAN WITH PAST SERVICE	CITIZENSHIP	—NATIVE BORN CITIZEN
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	—SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	—BACHELORS DEGREE
CHARACTER		PICTURE	—NO, NOT PRESENT
OCCUPATION			

ENTRY A ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN
001   CS35803   STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY   OFFICER HOLDER

NARRATIVE—	
[deleted] POST ARTICLE OF [deleted] STATED: SUBJECT AGE THIRTY,	CC0001871
MARRIED, A GRADUATE STUDENT IN PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF	C00001871
[deleted] IS NOW UNDER SUSPENSION FOR TAKING PART IN THE CIA SIT	C00001871
IN. HE HAS BEEN MANAGING THE GRADUATE STUDENT NEWSTAND IN THE	C00001871
UNIVERSITY MEMORIAL CENTER. HE IS TRIM AND ABOVE MEDIUM HEIGHT.	C00001871
HIS BROWN BEARD AND HAIR ARE UNUSALLY TRIM, AND HE HANDLES HIS	CG0001871
JOB IN A COMPETENT AND ORDERLY MANNER. HE WAS BORN IN A LOW IN-	C00001871
COME FAMILY IN [city], NEW JERSEY, WHERE HE HAD AN UNDISTINGUISHE	C00001871
D CAREER IN HIGH SCHOOL AND HE TOOK VERY LITTLE INTEREST IN HIS	C00001871
STUDIES. ON GRADUATION, HE JOINED THE NAVY INSTEAD OF GOING TO	C00001871
COLLEGE AND STAYED IN THE NAVY UNTIL HE WAS 21. HE HAD NO TROU-	C00001871
BLE IN THE NAVY AND ALTHOUGH HE ENCOUNTERED ACTS OF OFFICIAL	C00001871
STUPIDITY OF A KIND THAT MANY PEOPLE FIND IN MILITARY ORGANIZATION	C00001871
S, HE HAD NO SENSE OF BEING PITTED AGAINST A SYSTEM. HE WAS NOT IN-	C00001871
TERESTED IN POLITICAL MATTERS. HE WENT FROM HIS NAVY POST TO	C00001871
THE ETHICAL CONCERNS HE HAD FOUND IN HIS RELIGION. HE WAS INTRIGUE	C00001871
D FOR A WHILE BY EXISTENTIALISM, AND HE BEGAN TO FEEL THAT EACH	C00001871
MAN WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERY OTHER MAN AND THAT PEOPLE HAD TO BE	C00001871
TREATED DIFFERENTY THAN THINGS. TODAY, AT [univ] WHERE HE CAME TO	C00001871
DO HIS GRADUATE WORK, HE BELIEVES THAT HIS ETHICAL VALUES HAVE NOT	C00001871
CHANGED FROM HIS CHURCH DAYS. IT IS MERELY THAT HE NO LONGER	C0C001871
BASES THEM ON THE BIBLE OR DIVINE AUTHORITY, BUT ON PHILISOPHICAL	C00001871
THE VIETNAM WAR. HE CONCLUDED AFTER READING ABOUT THE WAR THAT	C00001871
THE WAR WAS NOT THE FUNDAMENTAL EVIL, BUT ONE IMPORTANT SYMPTON	C00001871
OF A LARGER EVIL WHICH PERVADES "THE WHOLE SYSTEM". HIS DRIFT	C00001871
TOWARDS RADICALISM HAS BEEN STEADY SINCE LAST SUMMER WHEN HE	C00001871
JOINED IN FOUNDING THE SDS CHAPTER. SUBJECT WAS ARRESTED ALONG	C00001871
WITH GOLDBERG AND SOME OTHERS AFTER TALKING TO INDUCTEES AT THE	C00001871
NEW CUSTOMS HOUSE LAST APRIL. SUBJECT INTENDS TO GET HIS PHD	C00001871
AND TO TEACH, BUT HE SAYS HIS LIFE WILL BE DEVOTED TO "RADICALISM".	C00000187I

IN THE COURSE OF THAT LIFE, HE SAYS HE IS PREPARED TO DISREGARD   C00001871   69328
ANY LAW WHICH HE CONSIDERS ILLEGITIMATE.   C00001871   69328

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[last, first name]   C00001987   / /   69221

                                                          DATA SOURCE -   FBI

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-YOUTH, COLLEGE	EFFECTIVENESS	-MINOR	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	-DOCTORS DEGREE	69221
CHARACTER	-	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-C90000 MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS			69221

NARRATIVE-ATTENDED THE BANKS COUNTY WORLD PEACE FAIR HELD AT THE HUGH   C00001987   69226
CARCELLA COMMUNITY CENTER FAIRLESS HILLS PENN HE WAS ONE OF THE   C00001987   69226
SPEAKERS WHO STATED THAT THE US DEPARTMENT PEOPLE IN VIETNAM WERE   C00001987   69221
IN CONTACT WITH THE WELL-TO-DO AND THE COCKTAIL SET AND WERE   C00001987   69226
NOT IN CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE IN VIETNAM HE SAID THAT THE   C00001987   69221
MILITARY OF THAT COUNTRY DID NOT REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM   C00001987   69221
HE FURTHER SAID THAT THE VIETNAM WAR WAS A CIVIL WAR AND HE   C00001987   69221
RAISED THE QUESTION HOW PEOPLE OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY THE US   C00001987   69226
DESERVE NO SUPPORT OR SYMPATHY AND THAT THE US SHOULD IMMEDIATELY   C00001987   69221
TROOPS HAD A TACTIC OF WHOLESALE BURNING OF VILLAGES OF THOSE   C00001987   69226
WITHDRAW FROM SV EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO DOUBT IT WOULD BECOME   C00001987   69226
COMMUNIST   C00001987   69226

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NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[name, known alias]
[current address]
NEW YORK CITY ,NEW YORK
[zip code]

C00001142   / /

					69328
			DATA SOURCE - FBI	69328
				69328
ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE -NEGRO		69328
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR -		69328
LEADER OF	-RACIAL GROUP		EFFECTIVENESS -ABOVE AVERAGE		69328
SEX	-MALE		MARITAL STATUS -		69328
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY -NOT KNOWN		69328
SERVICE STATUS	-		CITIZENSHIP ... -NATIVE BORN CITIZEN		69328
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SELF-EMPLOYED		EDUCATION -		69328
CHARACTER	-		PICTURE -NO, NOT PRESENT		69328
OCCUPATION	-130000 OCCUPATIONS IN WRITING				69328
NARRATIVE	-SUBJ IS CRITICAL OF US GOVT ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGROES WHICH HE			C00001142	69328
	TERMS A POLICY OF GENOCIDE. REPORTED TO BE WRITING SCREEN PLAY			C00001142	69328
	ON THE LIFE OF [alias].			C00001142	69328

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[last, first name]
[current address]
[city]
[zip code]

C00001135 · 10/31/43   ALABAMA   USA

					69221
,ALABAMA				DATA SOURCE - FBI	69221
					69221
ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE -CAUCASIAN		69221
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR -		69221
LEADER OF	-OTHER SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP		EFFECTIVENESS -		69221
SEX	-MALE		MARITAL STATUS -		69221
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY -NOT KNOWN		69221
SERVICE STATUS	-CIVILIAN WITH NO PAST SERVICE		CITIZENSHIP -NATIVE BORN CITIZEN		69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED		EDUCATION -		69221
CHARACTER	-		PICTURE -NO, NOT PRESENT		69221
OCCUPATION	-				69221
NARRATIVE	-ORGANIZED LOVE-IN [date] UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF ACCIDENTAL			C00001135	69221
	ASSEMBLIES OF COSMIC DUST ARRESTED AT LOVE-IN WITH PEACE FOCUS			C00001135	69221
	10 SEP 67 PRESENT AT PEACE DEMONSTRATION AT PENTAGON IN OCT 67			C00001135	69221
	ORGANIZED AND PARTICIPATED IN VARIOUS PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS IN			C00001135	69221
	[city] ALABAMA INCLUDING DEMONSTRATIONS AT [deleted]			C00001135	69221
	UNQUALIFIED DUE TO HIS BEING CLASSIFIED AS A HOMOSEXUAL AMBIVALEN			C00001135	69221

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NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last, first name]	C00001642	/ /			69328

DATA SOURCE - FBI

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69328
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69328
LEADER OF	-	EFFECTIVENESS	-	69328
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69328
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69328
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69328
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SCHCOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	-COLLEGE CREDITS, AMOUNT UNKNOWN	69328
CHARACTER	-	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69328
OCCUPATION	-			69328

NARRATIVE-WRITE LETTER 28 FEB 68 TO FT GORDEN, GA REQUESTING INFO OA	C00001642	69221
ARMY PROGRAM TO TRAIN NG AND POLICE IN RIOT CONTROL. LETTER	C00001642	69221
WAS NOT ACKNOWLEDGED BY FT GORDEN.	C00001642	69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last, first name]	C00001641	06/15/22	MASSACHUSETTS USA		69328

DATA SOURCE - FBI

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69328
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69328
LEADER OF	-	EFFECTIVENESS	-ABOVE AVERAGE	69328
SEX	-FEMALE	MARITAL STATUS	-MARRIED	69328
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69328
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN	69328
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	-	69328
CHARACTER	-MODERATE OR PASSIVE	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69328
OCCUPATION	-			69328

NARRATIVE-HAS WRITTEN A NUMBER OF LETTERS TO US GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,	C00001641	69221
CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICIALS AND TO NEWPAPERS. THE LETTERS ARE	C00001641	69221
GENERALLY VERY CRITICAL OF FEDERAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS BECAUSE	C00001641	69221
OF WHAT SHE CONSIDERS THE FUTILITY OF A CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM	C00001641	69221
AND REFUSAL OF COUNTRIES TO DISARM.	C00001641	69221

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[last first names]   C00001568   / /   69221
[street address]
AUGUSTA   ,GEORGIA   DATA SOURCE -   FBI   69221
30901   69221

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-	EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-	PICTURE	-NO. NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-			69221

NARRATIVE--SINCE 1955, HAS BEEN THE WRITER OF NUMEROUS LETTERS TO VARIOUS   C00001568   69221
           US GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND OR INDIVIDUALS REGARDING ALLEGED WRONGS   C00001568   69221
           INFLICTED ON HIM BY THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE. FBI   C00001568   69221
           INTERVIEWERS CONSIDERED HIM APPARENTLY MENTALLY UNBALANCED.   C00001568   69221

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[last, first name]   C00001495   / /   69221

                                                                    DATA SOURCE -   FBI

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-YOUTH, COLLEGE	EFFECTIVENESS	-ABOVE AVERAGE	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-MILITANT	PICTURE	-NO. NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-			69221

NARRATIVE--ON THE EVENING OF 5 [--]65, A MEETING OF THE INFORMATION   C00001495 69221
           SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE   C00001495 69221
           TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM WAS HELD IN A RESIDENCE HALL LOUNGE AT   C00001495 69221
           COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN NEW YORK CITY. THIS MEETING WAS HELD.   C00001495 69221
           UNDER THE DIRECTION OF [--]

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NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[last, first name]   C000C1141   08/31/39   ALABAMA   USA

US ARMY   DATA SOURCE —

ETHNIC GROUP	—	RACE	—
RELIGION	—	INCOME PER YR	—
LEADER OF	—	EFFECTIVENESS	—
SEX	—MALE	MARITAL STATUS	—MARRIED
ALIAS	—NO	ARREST HISTORY	—NOT KNOWN
SERVICE STATUS	—ACTIVE SERVICE REGULAR	CITIZENSHIP	—NATIVE BORN CITIZEN
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	EDUCATION	—
CHARACTER	—	PICTURE	—NO, NOT PRESENT
OCCUPATION	—		

ENTRY # ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN

001   8S14000   SOKA GAKKAI   OFFICER HOLDER

NARRATIVE—HIS WIFE [first name] REPORTEDLY MEMBER OF SOKA GAKKAI. INVEST   C0000114
REVEALED SHE HAD INADVERTENTLY REGISTERED HER FAMILY AS MEMBERS   C0000114
OF SG WHEN OBTAINING A SOUVENIR SCROLL ON 20 FEB 64 IN JAPAN.   C0000114

[Note: Soka Gakkai is a Japanese religious sect]

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[last, first name]   CC0001077   / /

[city]   .OHIO   DATA SOURCE —   FB

ETHNIC GROUP	—	RACE	—
RELIGION	—OTHER THAN THOSE OF CODE-LIST	INCOME PER YR	—
LEADER OF	—YOUTH, COLLEGE	EFFECTIVENESS	—
SEX	—MALE	MARITAL STATUS	—
ALIAS	—NO	ARREST HISTORY	—NOT KNOWN
SERVICE STATUS	—	CITIZENSHIP	—OTHER
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	—UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	—
CHARACTER	—	PICTURE	—NO, NOT PRESENT
OCCUPATION	—		

ENTRY # ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN

001   8S49000   SANE (COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY)   OFFICER HOLDER

NARRATIVE—MEMBER OF FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH TREASURER OF THE [   ] CIVIL   C00001077
RIGHTS COUNCIL-1964 SIGNED LETTER TO PRESIDENT OHIO STATE UNIV   C00001077
APR 64 REQUESTING HERBERT APTHEKER TO SPEAK ON CAMPUS ACTIVE   C00C01077
IN ANTI-VIETNAM PROTESTS. SPONSOR OF SANE PRESIDENT OF THE   C00001077
[   ] COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS   C00001077

NAME / ADDRESS	PLIN	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT			
[last first middle name] [street address]	C00001171	[deleted]	OHIO	USA		69328
[city] ,OHIO 45241					DATA SOURCE - FBI	69 07 69.3-8

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-CAUCASIAN	69328
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69328
LEADER OF	-POPULACE, IN GENERAL	EFFECTIVENESS	-ABOVE AVERAGE	69328
SEX	-FEMALE	MARITAL STATUS	-MARRIED	69328
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-MISDEMEANOR	69328
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN	69328
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	-COLLEGE CREDITS, AMOUNT UNKNOWN	69328
CHARACTER	-	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69328
OCCUPATION	-090000 MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS			69328

ENTRY #	ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN		
001 JC83452	COMMITTEE TO END THE VIETNAM WAR	OFFICER MCLOER	69328
	NARRATIVE—WIFE OF C00001180. SHE IS A TEACHER AT [deleted] COUNTY SCHOOL	C00001171	69328
	SYSTEM IN [deleted] . ARRESTED IN [city] [date] FOR ASSAULT	C00001171	69328
	AND BATTERY DISMISSED NOV 65 FOR BUILDING CODE VIOLATION FINED	C00001171	69328
	50.00 AND COSTS, VERY ACTIVE IN PEACE ANTI-DRAFT AND ANTI-VIETNAM	C00001171	69328
	ACTIVITIES SINCE EARLY 1960S. RUSSIAN VISITING [city]	C00001171	69328
	WITH SOVIET HEALTH EXHIBIT WAS GUEST IN HER HOME IN MAR 65.	C00001171	69328
	LEADER OF [city] COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.	C00001171	69328
	PARTICIPATED IN MARCH ON WASHINGTON NOV 65 INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF	C00001171	69328
	PROTEST IN DAYTON OHIO IN MAR 66 PEACE RALLY IN NEW YORK CITY	C00001171	69328
	APR 67. CHILDREN ARE [first middle name . DOB] [first	C00001171	69328
	middle name DOB][first middle name DOB][first middle name	C00001171	69328
	DOB][first middle name DOB][first middle name DOB]	C00001171	69328

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[first, first middle name]   C00001061   12/07/44   NEW YORK   USA   69221
[street address]
NEW YORK CITY ,NEW YORK   COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY NY   DATA SOURCE -   FBI   69221
10025   69221
              ETHNIC GROUP   -   RACE   -CAUCASIAN   69221
              RELIGION   -   INCOME PER YR -   69221
              LEADER OF   -YOUTH, COLLEGE   EFFECTIVENESS -   69221
              SEX   -MALE   MARITAL STATUS -   69221
              ALIAS   -NO   ARREST HISTORY -MISDEMEANOR   69221
              SERVICE STATUS   -CIVILIAN-WITH NO PAST SERVICE CITIZENSHIP   -NATIVE BORN CITIZEN   69221
              EMPLOYMENT TYPE -SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE   EDUCATION   -BACHELORS DEGREE   69221
              CHARACTER   -MILITANT   PICTURE   -NO, NOT PRESENT   69221
              OCCUPATION   -090000 MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS   69221
              NARRATIVE--ARRESTED FOR DISORDERLY CONDUCT 5 DEC 67 DURING ANTIDRAFT DEMO IN   C00001061   69221
                        IN NYC   C00001061   69221

NAME / ADDRESS   PLINK   D.O.B   PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT

[first, first middle name]   C00001062   08/20/39   CALIFORNIA   USA   69221
[street address]
BERKELEY   ,CALIFORNIA   LUND SCHOOL SYSTEM-SWEDEN   DATA SOURCE -   FBI   69221
94704   69221
              ETHNIC GROUP   -   RACE   -   69221
              RELIGION   -   INCOME PER YR -   69221
              LEADER OF   -YOUTH, COLLEGE   EFFECTIVENESS -   69221
              SEX   -MALE   MARITAL STATUS -   69221
              ALIAS   -NO   ARREST HISTORY -NOT KNOWN   69221
              SERVICE STATUS   -   CITIZENSHIP   -NATIVE BORN CITIZEN   69221
              EMPLOYMENT TYPE -SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE   EDUCATION   -BACHELORS DEGREE   69221
              CHARACTER   -   PICTURE   -NO, NOT PRESENT   69221
              OCCUPATION   -090000 MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS   69221

       ENTRY & FOREIGN TRAVEL - DATES
                      FROM   TO   COUNTRY   532

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last, first, middle name] [street address]	C00001043	03/18/51	NEW YORK	USA	69221
BRONX, NEW YORK				DATA SOURCE - FBI	69221
10452					69221

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-CAUCASIAN	69221
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-YOUTH, IN GENERAL	EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-MISDEMEANOR	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-CIVILIAN WITH NO PAST SERVICE	CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	-LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	69221
CHARACTER	-MILITANT	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-090000 MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS			69221
	NARRATIVE--ARRESTED 7 DEC 67 FOR DISORDERLY CONDUCT DURING ANTI-DRAFT		C00001043	69221
	DEMONSTRATION IN NYC.		C00001043	69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last, first, middle name]	C00001044	/ /	NEW YORK	USA	69221
				DATA SOURCE - FBI	

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-CAUCASIAN	69221
RELIGION	-JEWISH	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-YOUTH, COLLEGE	EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-MISDEMEANOR	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-CIVILIAN WITH NO PAST SERVICE	CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	EDUCATION	-MASTERS DEGREE	69221

68

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[nationally known person]	C00001123	/ /			69221

				DATA SOURCE -	FBI	
ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE	-CAUCASIAN		69221
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR	-		69221
LEADER OF	-YOUTH, COLLEGE		EFFECTIVENESS	-		69221
SEX	-FEMALE		MARITAL STATUS	-MARRIED		69221
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN		69221
SERVICE STATUS	-		CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN		69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-SELF-EMPLOYED		EDUCATION	-		69221
CHARACTER	-		PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT		69221
OCCUPATION	-150000	OCCUPATIONS IN ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION				69221

ENTRY #	ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN				
001	8206000 EMMA LAZURUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMENS CLUBS			OFFICER HOLDER	69221
	NARRATIVE--AMONG LARGER DONORS CONTRIBUTING $500 DURING A FUND RAISING			C00001123	69221
	DINNER HELD BY THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE ECLC			C00001123	69221
	DEC 15 1962 AT THE AMERICANA HOTEL NYC IN CELEBRATION OF THE			C00001123	69221
	171ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS			C00001123	69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		
[last first middle name]	C00001118	06/07/08	MARYLAND USA		69221
PARIS 00000				DATA SOURCE - FBI	69221

					69221
ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF			EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE		MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-		CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED		EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-MILITANT		PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION					69221
	NARRATIVE--SUBJ HAS A CRIMINAL RECORD AND A REPUTATION AS A SWINDLER HE			C00001118	69221
	REPORTEDLY HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH CHINESE COMMUNIST OFFICIAL			C00001118	69221
	WHO HAD OFFERED APPROX ONE MILLION DOLLARS TO PERSON TO BLOW UP			C00001118	69221
	STATUE OF LIBERTY IN NY WITH ANOTHER MILLION DOLLARS UPON			C00001118	69221
	COMPLETION OF THE JOB, SUBJ IN 59 REPORTED THREAT AGAINST			C00001118	69221
	PRESIDENT EISENHOWER			C00001118	69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[Elast first middle name] COC001491   02/18/43   MISSISSIPPI   USA   69221
[street address]
[city, IN .MISSISSIPPI   DATA SOURCE -   FBI   69221
[zip code]   69221

ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE	-CAUCASIAN	69221
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-		EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE		MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-RESERVE INACTIVE		CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED		EDUCATION	-BACHELORS DEGREE	69221
CHARACTER	-		PICTURE	-NO. NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-				69221

NARRATIVE—SERVED IN US ARMY 4 JUN 64 TO 27 MAY 66. SERVED IN VIETNAM,   C00001491   69221
          2 PURPLE HEARTS. NOW IN STANDBY RESERVE-1968. GRADUATED FROM   C00001491   69221
          RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY IN 1964, BUT LATER   C00001491   69226
          RETURNED HIS DEGREE BECAUSE HE SAID THEY HAD COMMUNIST PARTY   C00001491   69221
          LEADERS TEACHING THERE. AS SELF APPOINTED CHAIRMAN OF THE   C00001491   69221
          AMERICAN VICTORY FORCE, HE HAS ORGANIZED VARIOUS PARADES.   C00001491   69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[Elast first name] COC001487   / /   69221

                              DIAL PRESS   DATA SOURCE -   FBI   69221

ETHNIC GROUP	-		RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-		INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-		EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE		MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO		ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-		CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED		EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-MILITANT		PICTURE	-NO. NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-180000 MANAGERS AND OFFICIALS NEC				69221

NARRATIVE—[first last name] PRESIDENT OF [delta] PRESS. HE PARTICIPATED IN   C00001487   69221
          ANTI-WAR PROTEST DURING SPEECH BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AT   C00001487   69221
          NATIONAL BOOK AWARD CEREMONIES, PHILARMONIC HALL, NEW YORK CITY,   C00001487   69221
          8 MARCH, 1967.   C00001487   69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[Elicit first names]   C00001409   / /   69221

DATA SOURCE —   FBI

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-	.INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-	EFFECTIVENESS	-	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-YES	ARREST HISTORY	-NOT KNOWN	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-OTHER	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-			69221

ALIAS: [deleted]

ENTRY # ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN
001   ON14000   NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE   OFFICER HOLDER   69221

NAME / ADDRESS	PLINK	D.O.B	PLACE OF BIRTH / EMPLOYMENT		

[Elicit first names] [Elicit address]   C00001714   10/01/45   NEW YORK   USA   69221
NEW YORK   ,NEW YORK   DATA SOURCE —   FBI   69221
10025   69221

ETHNIC GROUP	-	RACE	-	69221
RELIGION	-	INCOME PER YR	-	69221
LEADER OF	-ACADEMIC GROUP	EFFECTIVENESS	-AVERAGE	69221
SEX	-MALE	MARITAL STATUS	-	69221
ALIAS	-NO	ARREST HISTORY	-MISDEMEANOR	69221
SERVICE STATUS	-	CITIZENSHIP	-NATIVE BORN CITIZEN	69221
EMPLOYMENT TYPE	-UNKNOWN OR UNEMPLOYED	EDUCATION	-	69221
CHARACTER	-MILITANT	PICTURE	-NO, NOT PRESENT	69221
OCCUPATION	-			69221

ENTRY # ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INFLUENCE THEREIN
001   OS35100   STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY   OFFICER HOLDER   69221
                 ARRESTED 30 APR 68 DURING STUDENT DISTURBANCES AT COLUMBIA   C00001712   69221
                 UNIVERSITY. ARRESTED 18 MAY 68 FOR DISORDERLY CONDUCT WHILE   C00001712   69221
                 PARTICIPATING IN A DEMONSTRATIONS NEAR COLUMBIA U.   C00001712   69221

Each of the more than 7,000 entries in this data file follows the same format. Reading from left to right across the print-out, it calls for: "Name and Address/PLINK #/Date of Birth/Employment/Data Source." "PLINK" is computer shorthand for "personality link" and is expressed by a numerical identifier. According to the Defense Department, it served as a cross-reference to organizational and incident files.[25]

Beneath this line are 17 categories for information, grouped as follows:

Ethnic Group	Race
Religion	Income Per Year
Leader of	Effectiveness
Sex	Marital Status
Alias	Arrest History
Service Status	Citizenship
Employment Type	Education
Character	Picture
Occupation	

Most of these categories are self-explanatory; those that are not appear to have been used for some non-obvious purposes. The Defense Department explained:[26]

. . . Under the entry of "character," codes indicated such characteristics as militancy or lack of militancy and degree of support rendered to the organization. The codes for the "leader of" indicated the economic and social characteristics for a variety of groups. Codes under the data element "effectiveness" indicated the degree of effectiveness of the leadership of the individual being described. The entries under the field "picture" merely indicated whether a picture was available in the source file (or document). There are no records existing to indicate how the various categories were assigned to the above elements. It is known that the categorizations were made by the Army elements designing the system.

This explanation is interesting for several reasons. First, it indicates that the Continental Army Command was using a set of highly subjective criteria to characterize individuals and organizations. Second, it suggests that no documents existed to explain the criteria to the intelligence analysts responsible for making the characterizations. Third, it suggests that the officials who drafted the explanation were unable to find anyone who could explain in any detail just how the analysts went about their job of classifying American citizens according to their "effectiveness" in exercising constitutionally guaranteed rights. In none of the entries examined were all of these categories completed. This was true even in the case of well-known public figures.

Below the 17 categories, there are lines for "Organizational membership," and "Influence therein." Whenever these are completed, they are preceded by "Entry No. ———" and "001" respectively, no matter how many organizations are listed. Whenever an organization is listed, it is accompanied by a seven-digit designator which Army representatives have said is a code number for organizations. It may also identify the individual's role or activity in the organization. The second space in each designator is always a letter which corresponds

[25] Hearings, Part II, p. 1235.
[26] Hearings, Part II, p. 1236.

to the first initial of the group's name. To the far left of each organizational notation is one of two phrases: "Office holder" or "Worker." Rarely is a person listed as a worker.

Below the list of organizations with which the individual is associated is a space for "Narrative" or, in some cases, "Analyst comment." These statements run the gamut from quotations from newspapers to informant's reports.

Persons described in the data bank range from members of clearly peaceful "establishment" groups such as the Unitarian-Universalists, Quakers, American Friends Service Committee, the Society for Ethical Culture, and SANE, to individuals alleged to be connected with the Communist Party, and personnel from Isvestia and the KGB (Soviet Intelligence). Convicted Soviet spies join Nobel prize winners and entries from *Who's Who*.

Activities described vary from peaceful expressions of views to espionage. In most cases, however, the individuals were included solely because they chose to exercise constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech, assembly, and petition. Some are cited for handing out pamphlets, making speeches, attending rallies, subscribing to periodicals, signing political advertisements, advocating voter registration, calling for the reform of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, signing an election petition, and speaking unfavorably of the Army, an officer, or the President. Others are included for opposing the war in Vietnam, participating in sit-ins, sleep-ins, and demonstrations, picketing (in one case of a shoe shop), and writing letters of support to Hanoi.

In a large number of cases, an arrest is noted. Many are for offenses often associated with public protests, such as parading without a permit, loitering, littering, and disorderly conduct. Only a few arrests are for serious offenses, such as drug smuggling, carrying concealed weapons, and the like. Rarely do the summaries note what came of the arrest.

Many entries associate the individual with groups considered by the Army to be Communist Party fronts. In the majority of these cases, there is no evidence that the individual was or is a knowing member actively working to overthrow the government of the United States. On the other hand, volumes 2 and 3 contain a sprinkling of cases in which the individual appears to have been involved in espionage. Typically these are convicted or deported agents whose names are easily recognizable to the informed laymen. A number of individuals are identified as members of the Communist Party, USA. However, there is usually no way to ascertain the credibility of the charge—libelous in some states—because no source is given, or because the allegation was made by an unnamed informant.

In many cases no reason is given for including the individual in CONARC's data bank. Some entries list only a name and address. Others contain internal contradictions, or suggest a good reason why the individual should not be of interest to Army intelligence. In a great many instances, spouses are listed for no apparent reason other

than their choice of marital partner—or former partner. Relatives listed include brothers, sisters, mother, fathers, children (some very young), and in one case a girl friend.

In most cases, it is not possible to determine the original source of the information. However, in about 80 percent of the entries the FBI is cited as the "Data Source." [27] Some of the information appears to have been furnished by confidential informants. In a few instances an FBI file code is cited, but for the most part it is impossible to determine to what extent CONARC developed its own covert sources. Other entries suggest direct agent observation, but do not reveal whose agents did the observing. Only a few of the entries can be attributed to newspaper articles. Some of these date back to the early 1960s. Entries pertaining to a number of prominent persons are taken from *Who's Who*, while arrest information appears to come mainly from police records. One notation reports a building code violation.

Other entries cite no source whatever. This is often true where the reports connect the activities of U.S. citizens with foreign countries such as the Soviet Union, France, Switzerland, and Canada. One anonymous report discloses that the subject wrote to the Soviet Embassy to request information for a school paper. Another notes that a young student exchanged pen-pal correspondence with a teacher in the Soviet Union. Many of the anonymous reports appear to have been gleaned from interviews with employers, employees, friends, or associates. Others seem to have been taken from passport applications, immigration files, and "statements of personal history" filled out by persons applying for security clearances. Under what authority and for what purpose private sources were approached and the records of other federal agencies made available to CONARC is not known.

Finally, at the right-hand margin of almost every line on which there is an entry, a five-digit number appears. In most cases, the number is "69221." Occasionally it is "69328," and in a few cases still another number appears. According to the Defense Department, these numbers indicate the area of operations from which the particular report originated.

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[27] In some instances the data source is indicated by a seven-digit code number followed by "USC," "CON," or "MIC." The seven-digit number identifies the original document; the abbreviations represent the reporting agency.

What purposes this file was intended to serve have not been disclosed, but on its face the print-out does not seem intended to facilitate the civil disturbance mission. It is difficult to imagine how records of an individual's religion, annual income, and marital status would be of use to a task force commander trying to quell a riot or contain a violent demonstration. Perhaps CONARC's analysts hoped through the statistical analysis of seemingly irrelevant data to produce new insights into the nature and causes of civil disorders. The details sought suggest the intent to speed the retrieval of "characterizations" of all "persons of interest" to CONARC but the incompleteness of most entries indicate that the computer was far from replacing the manual files. However, the data base was sufficiently complete that it could have been used to correlate political activists with their organizations and home towns.

Without the computer instruction books and the assistance of persons familiar with the programming of the various files within the CONARC data system, no comprehensive appraisal can be made of these files. However, a few tentative conclusions are possible. First, to our surprise, CONARC's computerization of personality data appears to have gone beyond that of the Intelligence Command, both in numbers of persons monitored and the variety of information recorded. This indicates that CONARC's surveillance of civilians was far more extensive than direct evidence of it would suggest. Second, the categories of information sought and the actual information recorded show that CONARC's data collection far outstripped either Annex B or the DA Civil Disturbance Information Plan. This finding raises the question: Did CONARC expand its surveillance on its own initiative, or were there still other Army-wide directives which have not been made known to us? Third, most of the information contained in the "Personalities Edition of January 26, 1970" bears no reasonable relationship to the Army's missions, but could be used for such unauthorized purposes as libel, slander or blackmail. We have no reason to believe that CONARC's commanders intended to misuse their files, but they clearly had files which were open to unauthorized abuse.

V. Files of the CONUS Armies

As the foregoing summaries indicate, redundancy was a key feature of the Army's domestic intelligence data banks. The armies belonging to the Continental Army Command were no exception. Because little has been said about them, the following fragments of information drawn from a CONARC inventory are included in this report.[28]

A. FIRST ARMY

The domestic intelligence operations of the First U.S. Army focused on New England, the Middle Atlantic states, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. Accordingly, its records largely duplicated those maintained by the 108th and 109th MI Groups of the Intelligence Command. The central data bank, located at Fort George Meade, Md., reported the following quantity of records on military and civilian dissenters:

Organizations cards (5 x 8 inches) : 18 linear feet,
Personality folders : 12 linear feet,
Organization cards (5 x 8 inches) : 18 linear feet,
Personality cards (5 x 8 inches) : 52 linear feet.

By our count, one loosely-packed inch of 5 x 8 file cards contains about 100 separate cards. (A compressed inch will contain 125 or more.) In other words, the First Army reported keeping at least 21,600 cards on organizations (100 x 12 x 18), and 62,400 cards on individuals (100 x 12 x 52). Undoubtedly, more than one card was used to describe some individuals and groups, while some cards were holdovers from earlier decades. Even so, the size of these files is staggering, and would be difficult to believe were it not for the fact that other CONUS armies have reported similarly large holdings.

In addition, First Army headquarters reported approximately 24 linear feet of domestic intelligence publications. These included not only USAINTC's mug books and CIAB's Compendium, but also:

Monthly CONUS intelligence summaries published in booklet form by all CONUS armies and the Military District of Washington.
Air Force (Office of Special Investigations) Counterintelligence Briefs.
Naval Investigative Service counterintelligence reports.
FBI reports collected by the 108th and 109th MI Groups.

Approximately 75 percent of the data recorded in the card files on individuals and organizations was extracted from FBI reports. The remaining 25 percent, according to the First Army, was taken from the news media and "miscellaneous sources." Presumably these ranged from the Intelligence Command's wire service to the First Army's own undercover agents. About 60 percent of the information in the personality and organization folders reportedly came from the FBI and other governmental agencies.

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[28] This inventory, like the foregoing analyses of computer files, contradicts Secretary Froehlke's testimony :

"Such files, as you know, were ordered destroyed in the spring of 1970. Therefore, it is impossible to examine such files to determine to what particular individuals and organizations they related or the specific contents of the files. All the evidence strongly indicates that the files were comprised primarily of voluminous newspaper clippings. They also contained a number of reports from third agencies, both Federal, state and local. To a lesser degree, they also contained the products of direct agent observation reports." Hearings, Part I, p. 389.

B. THIRD ARMY [29]

The Third U.S. Army kept track of military and civilian dissenters in the Southeastern United States. Its headquarters at Fort McPherson, Ga., reported a card file (5 x 8 cards and microfilm cards) on 4,672 persons, 2,220 organizations, and 382 publications. The report omitted any mention of dossiers or publications, but did furnish eight criteria by which the Third Army determined which individuals and organizations merited space in its files.

1. Subjects who aim to, or whose current activities are prejudicial to the best interests of the Army and/or adversely affect military operations.
2. Organizations and individuals who engage in, or lend support of RITA activities to include provision of funds, advice, publications, and legal support.
3. Leaders of anti-ROTC activities at colleges and universities having ROTC programs, to include organizations involved and current activities.
4. Leaders of leftist organizations that conduct dissident activities at/or on military installations, such as distribution of literature and sponsorship of demonstrations.
5. Leaders of organizations whose activities are predicted to interrupt, or adversely affect, Army operations in the event of a civil disturbance which involves military personnel and/ or materiel, to include organizations involved and *modus operandi.*
6. Writers of threatening or "crackpot" letters.
7. Some foreign agencies that have been designated by ACSI, DA, as collectors of intelligence information in the U.S.
8. Organizations that have been cited as subversive by Federal and state investigative bodies.

Given such a broad list, it is easier to understand how Third Army headquarters could find so many individuals and organizations to keep track of in the Southeast.

Similar, but less extensive files, were reported to exist at Fort McClellan, Ala., Fort Jackson, S.C., and Fort Bragg, N.C.

C. FOURTH ARMY

Although few regions of the country have been less troubled by civil disorders than the Southwest, the Fourth Army maintained the most extensive data banks on political dissenters within CONARC. The headquarters file at Fort Sam Houston, for example, reported 90 linear feet of dossiers and 100 linear feet of 3 x 5 inch "locator cards" or organizations and individuals. Since 100 linear feet of 3 x 5 cards equals approximately 120,000 separate cards (100 x 12 x 100), this headquarters file probably qualifies as the largest of its kind in the entire Army.

The purpose of these cards, according to the Fourth Army, was to provide information to command and staff elements of this headquarters and Class I installations concerning

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[29] The Second U.S. Army no longer exists.

(*a*) Individuals and organizations whose activities/statements or affiliations with subversive groups indicate an actual or possible potential for violent confrontation;

(*b*) Or who have indicated support, financial or otherwise, for such groups and individuals.

(*c*) Individuals and organizations which have indicated a desire to or have made actual contact with active duty members of the military for the apparent purpose of influencing such individuals toward dissident activity or disaffection.

Fort Sam Houston, however, was not the only repository of CONUS intelligence files in Texas. Fort Hood, home of three civil disturbance task force headquarters and six ARSTRIKE brigades, maintained both computerized and non-computerized listings of civilian groups and their leaders on both the national and local level. (See section VI, *infra*.)

D. FIFTH ARMY

The Fifth U.S. Army, which has responsibility for much of the Great Plains and Mid-West (minus Ohio), reported approximately 93.6 linear feet of dossiers and approximately 5,000 5 x 8 inch cards on individuals and organizations at its headquarters at Fort Sheridan, Ill. Its inventory did not reveal what files, if any, were maintained by subordinate units, but one example was supplied by Mr. Laurence Lane who testified that the G-2 of the Fifth Mechanized Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colo. maintained a complex filing system:

Card cross-files were maintained on individuals, cities, and organizations. Each card indicated where source material was stored, i.e., spot reports, newspaper clippings, agent reports, etc. Clippings and teletype reports normally were categorized chronologically, whereas agent reports, dossiers, and other developed information were filed by subject.[30]

During the fall of 1969, he added, this system became too burdensome, and was replaced by a tabloid journal in which items of information were logged chronologically as they were received.

E. SIXTH ARMY

For the West Coast and Rocky Mountain states, the Sixth Army reported a headquarters file of only 35 linear feet of dossiers—the equivalent of four-and-a-half four-drawer file cabinets. Its inventory made no mention of the files of its subordinate commands, but included the following justification: "Should troops be deployed to restore stability and order, lack of the information contained in these files would commit the troop commander to a strange area with no knowledge of his opponents or their plans, tactics, strengths, weaknesses, organization or capabilities. This could lead to unnecessary over-reaction due to a lack of knowledge of the situation."

F. MILITARY DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON

The Military District of Washington (MDW) admitted to 90 manila folders on "dissident personalities" and 112 folders on "dissident or-

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Hearings, Part I, p. 326.

ganizations." The files were needed, it said, "to advise the commander, MDW, and contingency units of individuals and organizations which could cause disorders beyond the capability of civil authorities to control. This can be accomplished only through the maintenance of timely and accurate information on prominent dissident individuals and groups."

On the basis of this incomplete inventory, it is possible to draw at least six conclusions. First, each CONUS army and many subordinate installations and units maintained its own distinctive files on dissident and subversive activity. Second, in some instances these files were incredibly large, indicating that a vigorous collection effort had existed over a long period of time. Third, much of the information in these files appears to have been drawn from FBI reports. Fourth, the files of each Army headquarters duplicated to a large extent similar records maintained by MI group headquarters located on the same post. Fifth, at least one subordinate unit, III Corps at Fort Hood, went so far as to computerize its files on national and local dissenters. The existence of this data bank was not uncovered until April 1970 when responses were received to an inventory ordered by the Secretary of the Army.

VI. FORT HOOD COMPUTER

The surprise disclosure of the previously unknown CONARC computer by *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter Morton Kondracke caused the Secretary of the Army to order an Army-wide search to find all computer data banks dealing with the political activities of persons unaffiliated with the Department of the Army. One result of this inventory was the disclosure that III Corps, in conjunction with the G-2 Office at Fort Hood, Texas, had also developed a computerized storage system for civil disturbance intelligence. A copy of Fort Hood's "Alphabetical Roster by Initials (of Organizations)" was sent to the Pentagon sometime in the late spring of 1970, misplaced, and rediscovered in the spring of 1971. It was then sent to the Department of Justice for preservation in connection with the *Tatum* case. In January, 1972, a copy of this print-out was delivered to the Subcommittee for analysis.

Whether there was a computerized incident file and a computerized personality file in addition to the roster of organizations is not known. However, it is known that the computer files, whatever they contained, were supplemented by a manual search file of approximately 1,000 5 x 8 inch cards of some sort.[31]

The organizational roster stored information on civilian political activity by the group's initial, its ideology or type of activity, the names of its leaders, chapters and members, its address (including street addresses), membership size, associated organizations, date of formation, and "card code." The roster carries no security classification and is marked "For Official Use Only."

An excerpt from this organizational file follows:

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[31] The source of this report is the Fourth Army inventory of non-computerized holdings.

79—011—72—6

EXHIBIT 9

FORT HOOD PERSONALITY DATA BANK

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CODE XES	SEQUENCE CODE	TYPE OF ORGAN	NAME OF ORGANIZATION LEADER/CHAPTER/MEMBER	ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION STATE	CITY	MEMBERSHIP SIZE CODE	ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS	DATE OF FORMATION	CAPD CODE
	B0020	E	[delete] DIRECTOR	TN	MEMPHIS		BPP		
	A0010	E	COLL FOR AFRAM PROGR	TX	ARLINGTON UNIV OF TEXAS				
	A0020	E	[delete] PRES	TX					
	A0030	E	[delete] 1STVP	TX					
	A0040	E	[delete] 2NDVP	TX					
	A0050	E	[delete] SY	TX					
	A0010	C	CHICAGO ANTIDRAFT CO	IL	CHICAGO				
	A0010	D	CITIZENS ACTION CONM	MI	DETROIT				
IE	A0010	C	CHI AREA DRFT RESTRS	IL	CHICAGO $19 W NORTH				
IE	A0020	C	[name deleted]	IL	CHICAGO				
IEW	A0010	C	COM AID DEF R WILLUR	MI	DETROIT				
	A0010	D	CONR ACDNC ENVIRONMT	CA	SAN FRANCISCO				
	A0010	C	CAMPUS DRAFT OPPOSTN	CA	BERKELEY UNIVERSITY OF CA				
	A0010	G	CONCERNED ASIAN STUD	CA	SAN FRANCISCO	1			
CUS	A0010	C	THE CAUCUS	IL	CHICAGO UNIV OF CHICAGO				
C	A0010	E	CITYWIDE CITZ ACN CH	MI	DETROIT 7625 LINWOOD				
C	A0020	E	REV [deleted]	MI	DETROIT 7625 LINWOOD				
SF	A0010	B	CCUN AMER SOV FRNSHP	IL	CHICAGO		VFPV CPUSA		
SF	A0020	B	[deleted]	IL	CHICAGO				

ORGAN CODE INITIALS	SEQUENCE CODE	TYPE OF ORGAN	NAME OF ORGANIZATION LEADER/CHAPTER/MEMBER	ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION STATE CITY	MEMBERSHIP SIZE CODE	ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS	DATE OF FORMATION	CARD CODE
NMC	B2021	C	[deleted] S SEC-TRS	TX AUSTIN 2200 GUADALUPE				
NMC	B2022	C	[deleted] FACSP	TX AUSTIN 2200 GUADALUPE				
NMC	B2110	C	NATL MOBIL COMMITTEE	TX EL PASO				
NMC	B2210	C	NATL MOBIL COMMITTEE	TX FT WORTH 5400 ODESSA				
NMC	B2222	C	[deleted]	TX FT NORTH 5400 ODESSA				
NMC	B2410	C	NATL MOBIL COMMITTEE	TX SAN ANTONIO 109 W CURANGO				
NMC	B2420	C	[deleted] CHRMN	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2421	C	[deleted] PST VCHRN	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2422	C	[deleted] 2 2ND VC	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2423	C	[deleted] N SEC	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2424	C	[deleted] 5 TRES	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2425	C	[deleted] PARLIMNTN	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2426	C	[deleted] 3 LIBRARNS	TX SAN ANTONIO				
NMC	B2610	C	NATL MOBIL COMMITTEE	TX HOUSTON 6265 MAIN ST	9	CPUSA SDS		
				MI				
NMCENV	A0020	C	[deleted] S NAT COR	IL CHICAGO		SDS		
NMCENV	A0040	C	[deleted]	IL CHICAGO		SDS		
NMCENV	A0050	C	[deleted] S	IL CHICAGO		CPC GIDO		
NNRA	A0010	E	NAT NEGRO RIFLE ASSC	IL CHICAGO				
NNRA	A0020	E	[deleted]	IL CHICAGO		DDJ GO		
NOI	A0010	E	NATION OF ISLAM	IL CHICAGO 5335 S GREENWOOD ST				
NOI	A0020	E	[deleted] 3 LORI	LC HICAGO				
NOI	A0030	E	[deleted] SECRETARY I	L CHICAGO				
NOI	A0050	E	[deleted]	IL CHICAGO		AKA J ALT		
NOI	A0060	E	[deleted]	IL CHICAGO				
NOI	B0410	E	NATION OF ISLAM	IL E CHICAGO 3731 BUTTERNUT				
NOI	B0420	E	[deleted]	IL E CHICAGO 3731 BUTTERNUT				
NOI	B0430	E	[deleted]	IL E CHICAGO 3731 BUTTERNUT				
NOI	B0910	E	NATION OF ISLAM	MI DETROIT 11529 LINWOOD				
NOI	B0910	E	NATION OF ISLAM	TX EL PASO				
NOI	B0620	E	[deleted]	TX EL PASO				

  ⁕   ⁕   ⁕

| SADIC | A0010 | I | SAN AN DRFT INFO CNT | TX SAN ANTONIO | | WR TADP | | |

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SFP	A0010	I	WOMEN FOR PEACE	IL	CHICAGO		WSP	
WFP	A0020	I	[deleted]	IL	CHICAGO		WSP	
WILPPF	A0020	I	[deleted] PRES	WI	MILWAUKEE			
WILPPF	A0030	I	[deleted] PRES	WI	MILWAUKEE			
WO	A0010	J	WOODLAWN ORGAN	IL	CHICAGO			
WO	A0020	J	[deleted] PRES	IL	CHICAGO			
WO	A0030	J	[deleted] V FOUNDER	IL	CHICAGO			
WP	A0010	A	WE THE PEOPLE	IL	CHICAGO	3	JBS	55
WPP	A0010	A	WHITE PEOPLES PARTY	TX			WPA	68APR
WPP	A0020	A	[deleted]	TX			WPA	
WRAP	A0010	C	WCM RADICAL ACN PROJ	IL	CHICAGO		WLP	
WRL	B0010	I	WARS RESISTERS LG	CA	LOS ANGELES			
WRL	B0110	I	WARS RESISTERS LG	CA	SAN FRANCISCO 833 HAIGHT ST			
WSO	A0010	J	WEST SIDE ORG	IL	CHICAGO 1527 W ROOSEVELT			
WSO	A0020	J	[deleted] CH LEAD	IL	CHICAGO			
WSP	B0010	C	WOMENS STRIKE PEACE	CA	LOS ANGELES 5899 W PICO BLVD			
WSP	B0110	C	WOMENS STRIKE PEACE	IL	CHICAGO 1608 W MADISON			
YAF	B0310	A	YOUNG AMRCNS FREEDOM	TX	AUSTIN			
YAF	B0320	A	[deleted] PRESD	TX	AUSTIN			
YAWF	B0010	C	YUTH AGNST WAR FACSM	IL	CHICAGO			
YAWF	B0020	C	[deleted]	IL	CHICAGO		SDS	
YAWF	B0030	C	[deleted] T CHI CH	IL	CHICAGO			
YAWF	P0510	C	YUTH AGNST WAR FACSM	WI	MILWAUKEE			

In all, 247 organizations and 337 individuals are listed, which makes the roster of organizations appear modest beside the non-computerized file of over 100,000 index cards on individuals maintained at Fort Sam Houston. All of these organizations appear to be located within the six states to which riot units within III Corps could be deployed in case of civil disorder. The states are Texas, Illinois, California, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Tennessee.

Addresses for the most part refer only to the city and state in which the organization or individual is located. However, in many instances, street addresses or post office boxes are entered for individuals as well as groups, giving III Corps the capability of producing computerized lists of dissenters by ideology and organizations in six states.

Organizations are broken down into 12 categories and assigned code letters from A to L denoting the nature of their ideology and activity. Organizations listed in the roster are set forth below by their respective categories. The abbreviations used are taken from column four of the print-out, as are the labels describing the organizations. As is so often the case in these Army files, who decided which groups were "right-wing" or "poverty-agitation" or whatever can not be established. What basis in fact there was for the label also is unknown. But there is evidence, illustrated by the testimony by Ralph Stein quoted on page 83, for example, that the labels were carelessly and arbitrarily assigned. And there can be no question that here, as so often the case, the arbitrary characterization of a group, or the unsubstantiated identification as a person as a member of a "suspect" organization, could be the occasion for serious and unjustified injury to his reputation and livelihood.

A. Political Right

ASSOC WALLACE VOTERS
BREAKTHROUGH
NEGRO ASN FOR PROGRE
NAT SO WHT PLP PTY
NATL YOUTH ALLIANCE
TO RESTR AM IND NOW

TAX REFORMS IMMEDITY
WE THE PEOPLE
WHITE PEOPLES PARTY
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR
 FREEDOM

B. Political Left

AFROAMER HERITAGE AS
COUN AMER SOV FRNSHP
COALTN OPEN CONVENTN
CPUSA
INDPDNT POLITICL ORG
IRANIAN STUDT ASSC
LIBRATN SOCIALST COMM

NEW PARTY OF USA
PEACE FREEDOM PARTY
PROGRESSIVE LBR PRTY
RED UNION
SOCIALIST WRKERS PRTY
YOUNG SOCLST ALLIANC

C. Anti-Establishment

BAY AREA PEC ACT CON
BUS EXEC FOR VN PEAC
BEAVER 55
CHICAGO ANTIDRAFT CO
CHI AREA DRFT RESTRS
CAMPUS DRAFT OPPOSTN
THE CAUCUS
COMM DEFD RTS HS STU
CITZNS FR A FREE CHI

CHI HIS STUD AGST WAR
THE CONSPIRACY
CHI VETS FOR PEACE
CNCRND VETRNS FRM VN
CONSERVATIVE WARLORD
DOW ACTION COMMITTEE
DUBOIS CLUBS OF
 AMERICA
DAL COM PEACE SOL VN

DET DRAFT RESIST COM
DET MOBILIZATION COMM
DRAFT RESIST UNION
EMERG COMM VN RELIEF
H SCHL SDTS AGST WAR
INDUSTRIAL AREAS
  FNDTN (SAUL ALINSKY
  FOUNDER)
INVADERS STREET GANG
IMPERIAL SAINTS
MAJORITY COALITION
  (UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS)
MILW ORGNIZNG COMMIT
NATL ORGAN FOR WOMEN
MILWAUKEE RESISTANCE
MARQTE UNIV CLTN PCE
NATL COMMUNITY UNION
NEW LEFT EDUC PROJEC
NAT MOB COMM END WAR
NEW UNIVERSITY CONF
REVOLUTIONAY CONGNT
RADCL CLTRL ACTN GRP
RADICAL EDUCTN CNTR
RED GUARD
STD ACT COM FOR AFRS

RANCHO OLOMPALI
RADICAL STUDENT UNION
STD ACT COM FOR AFRS
STDNT ACTION COMMITE
SOCLST DISCN CLUB
STDNTS DEMOCTC SOCTY
STDNT MOBLIZTN COMM
STUDENT QUALITY EDUC
SW REGN DFT COUN ASC
TEX COAL AGAINST WAR
TEACHERS FOR DEM SOC
TASK FORCE
THRD WRLD LIBRTN FRNT
US SERVCMNS FUND INC
VIETNAM EDUC COMM
VOTERS FOR PEACE
VIETNAM GI COMMITTEE
VIETNAM MORITORIUM C
WOM RACIAL ACN PROJ
WOMENS STRIKE PEACE
YUTH AGNST WAR FACSM
YOUTH FOR NEW AMERIC
YOUNG PATRIOTS
STDNT MOBLIZTN COMM

D. Civic Action

AFROAMER PATROLMN LG
ADULT CMTY MOVT EQTY
CITIZENS ACTION COMM
COMM ACDMC ENVIRONMT
CIT LEGSLTV ACTN COM
DETROIT CONCIL ORGN
E GARFIELD COMTY ORG
GR MIL CONF REL RACE
GREEN POWER ORGAN
INRCTY DVLPMT LG ML
MAJORITY COALITION
  (UNIVERSITY OF HOUS-
  TON, TEXAS)

MILWAUKEE COMMANDOS
MILW UNDTD CS INT COM
NATL ASN ADV CLRD PL
NEGRO AMER LABOR COU
NEW DETROIT COMMITTE
NEGRO VETS FROM VN
OKLAND COMM CMNTY IM
PARENTS ACT COM F ED
STDNTS ORG AGST RCSM
URBAN LEAGUE

E. Black Nationalist

AFROAMER FOR BLK LIB
AFROAMER FOR BLK PWR
AFROAMER CULTURAL LG
AFROAMER SOCIETY
AFROAMER STUDENT ASN
AFROAMER STUDENT UN
AFROAMER UNITY MOVT
ASSOC OF BLK STUDENT
ANON BLK STUDENTS UN
ASSOC COMMUNITY TEAM
AFRO LEAGUE COL SDTS
BLACK ALTERNATIVE
BLK ACTIVE AND DETER

BLACK ACTION SOCIETY
BLACK LEAGUE
BLK LIBRATN ALLIANCE
BLK LEGION AFRAM ASN
BL LGE OF AA COL STU
BLK LIBRATN COUNCIL
BLACK BERETS
BLACK MILITANTS FR
  DEF
BLACK POWER MOVE-
  MENT
BLACK STUDENT UNION
BLACK CAUCUS

BLK COMM ACTION TEAM
BLACK DISCIPLES
BLACK STUDENT UNION
BLACK UNITED FRONT
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BLACKSTONE RANGERS
BLK STUDENT ASSOCITN
BLK STUDENTS FOR DEF
BLK STUDENTS ORGNZTN
COLL FOR AFRAM PROGR
CITYWIDE CITZ ACN CM
COBRA GP AT UN HOUST
COM ON BETR RACE REL
COM ON THE MVE EQUAL
CNGSS RACIAL EQLITY
CMNITY PATROL CORPS
COAL FOR UN COMM ACT
DEVILS DESCIPLES
DEACONS DEFENSE JUST
ENGLEWOOD ACTION COM

EASTSIDE DISCIPLES
EAST SIDE VOCE
FREEDOM NOW PARTY
14 SONS GROUP
FORUM 66
GARFIELD ORGAN
JOHN BROWN SOCIETY
LGE RVLTNRY BLK WKRS
MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM
MALCOLM X SOCIETY
NAT BLK ANTI WAR UN
NATL BLK ECON DEV CN
NAT NEGRO RIFLE ASC
NATION OF ISLAM
NAT TURNER RANGERS
SF STATE STRIKE COMM
STDNT NONVLNT COOR
SOC PRO LBY INT BL S
VICE LORDS

F. White Separatists

OX—HUNT CLUB
KU KLUX KLAN
NATL STES RGHTS PRTY

OPERATION CRESCENT
OAK CLIFF WHT CIT CO
SW ASSOC BLOCK CLUB

G. Oriental Militants

ASIAN AMER POLIT ALL
CONCERNED ASIAN STUD

FILIP AMER COL ENDVR
SPANISH ACTION COMM

E. Latin-American Militants

AMER GI FORUM
BROWN BERETS
LATIN AMER DEFNC ORG
LGE UNTD LAT AM CITZ
MEX AM STDT CONFRATN

MEX AMER YOUTH ORGTN
NEW ORGN MEX AM SDTS
PROJECT MACHO
YOUNG LORDS

I. Pacifists

AMER FRDS SVC COMM
BERKELEY FREE CHURCH
CNTRL COMM CONSC OBJ
CLGY LMN CNCD ABT VN
COM FOR NONVLNT ACTN
CHICAGO PEACE COUNCL
COMM OF RTRND VOLNTR

LA PEACE ACTION CNCL
NONVIOL TNG ACTN CEN
RESISTANCE
COMM SANE NUC POLICY
USF PEACE FELLOWSHIP
WOMEN FOR PEACE
WARS RESISTERS LG

J. Poverty Agitation

AM FREDM HNGR FOUNDN
OPERATION BREAD-
 BASKET

SO CHRSTN LDRSHP CON
WOODLAWN ORGAN
WEST SIDE ORG

K. RITA (Resistance In The Army)

ARMY TOWN PROJECTS
GI ASSOCIATION
GI DEFENSE ORGAN

SUPPORT OUR SOLDIERS
VETERANS PEACE IN VN

L. Legal Defense

AM CIVIL LIBERTY U   MOVEMENT LEGAL SERV
COM AID DEF R WILLUM

A "sequence code" of one letter and four digits apparently keys each entry to some other records system. Without the computer code books, which were not delivered to the Subcommittee, it is not possible to determine to what each sequence code number refers.

Possibly on the supposition that "dissident" civilians are analogous to the "enemy" in wartime,[32] III Corps attempted to estimate the size of the various groups within its area of operations. The coding scheme was as follows:

Code No.:	Number of persons in group
1	1–50
2	51–100
3	101–500
4	501–1,000
5	1,001–2,500
6	2,501–5,000
7	5,001–10,000
8	10,000–25,000
9	Above 25,000

The Fort Hood data bank on organizations apparently was instituted sometime after III Corps troops were prepositioned outside of Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Neither the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence nor the Continental Army Command's intelligence staff were aware of its existence until they conducted the inventory ordered by Secretary of the Army Resor. On April 25, 1970, Fourth Army reported to CONARC that III Corps and Fort Hood maintained computer tape listing of a limited number of civilian organizations and their leaders at both national and local level. The computerized data, it explained, was maintained to insure the availability of pertinent situational intelligence information, primarily regarding areas of responsibility under "Garden Plot," the civil disturbance contingency plan. It argued that the maintenance of such data was essential to the effective intelligence support of three civil disturbance task force headquarters and six civil disturbance brigades located at Fort Hood. If the data were available only upon deployment of one or more of the riot units, Fourth Army contended, proper assimilation of the information by commanders at all echelons would be precluded. How the riot unit commanders could lawfully make use of the information on civilian organizations, their leaders and members, was not explained.

Fourth Army's justification of the data bank went on to argue that the information pertaining to the Oleo Strut Coffee House in Killen, Tex., was essential because the coffee house supported anti-military activities and had been the scene of numerous rallies and meetings which were not in the best interests of the Army. In addition, the management of the coffee house was alleged to have rendered financial assistance to two "underground" newspapers located in the area. What constitutional or statutory authority Fort Hood intelligence had to investigate the finance of newspapers in Killen was not explained.

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[32] This is a theme that runs through the collection plans which authorized the monitoring. See Appendix.

Compared to the national data banks maintained by the Intelligence Command and CONARC, the Fort Hood operation seems modest. Nonetheless, the independent development of this data bank—particularly in light of the huge files already existing at Fourth Army headquarters—again demonstrates how easy it was for domestic intelligence activities to be initiated without authority from the Department of the Army and without consideration for efficiency or economy.

As with the Fort Holabird files, Army civilians had difficulty assuring the destruction of the Fort Hood data bank. According to DOD General Counsel J. Fred Buzhardt,[33]

... [t]he data bank and computer program on magnetic tape (there were no discs) were ... destroyed on August 15, 1970.

... [T]he printout ... sent to the 4th Army was previously destroyed. It was thought that the printout provided to ACSI, DA, ... had also been destroyed. Although there had never been any written record of the destruction to confirm this, several prior searches had failed to discover the document in question. However, on May 11, 1971, the last remaining printout from Fort Hood was discovered by accident among some files in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, ... The Justice Department has advised that it should be retained for litigation purposes.

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[33] Hearings, Part II, p. 1234.

VII. FILES OF THE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS BRANCH, OACSI

The task of the two major collection agencies (CONARC and USAINTC) was to report and store as much data as they could. Speed and volume were the criteria by which their performances were evaluated. Thus, where they could afford it, they turned to computers.

The Counterintelligence Analysis Branch (CIAB) (now Detachment) in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (OACSI) was a different kind of agency. Its main mission was to produce analyses of matters of counterintelligence interest occurring anywhere in the world. These analyses took the form of threat estimates, organizational studies, briefings, talking papers, fact sheets, and "black book items" for the Pentagon's chief military and civilian officials. CIAB's briefers kept the Under Secretary of the Army, the Army General Counsel, and the Chief of Staff informed of the course of civil disturbances.

To facilitate their research and writing, CIAB's analysts maintained a large microfilm archive called the "Counterintelligence Reference File System." During the fall of 1967 consultants from the Research Analysis Corporation recommended that CIAB undertake an ambitious computer operation which they contended would predict when and how many troops would be needed to put down riots in various cities. The proposal was rejected. Former analysts attribute the rejection to two factors: (1) An unwillingness to accept the information loss that occurs when lengthy reports are compressed and translated into keypunchable categories, and (2) The existence of the microfilm archive which had proven adequate to the task of storing counterintelligence information from overseas. Knowledge that computerization was going on elsewhere, and the realization that CIAB could not afford to duplicate the efforts of others, also may have influenced the decision.

However, CIAB did computerize its index to the microfilm archive, which had been enlarged as early as 1964 to include domestic intelligence records. By early 1970 the archive contained approximately 117,500 documents, of which half or more related to civilian political activity. The index to these documents contained approximately 189,000 entries identifying types of activities and references to 113,250 organizational and 152,000 personality entries. There also were 5,800 index entries which identified reports as being associated with specific topical events, such as riots, *coup d'etats*, elections, or similar happenings. What percentage of these index entries related to domestic political activities is not known, but former analysts recall that the domestic portion of the computerized index was approximately a foot and a half thick. While many entries undoubtedly pertained to the same subject, it is difficult to accept Under Secretary Beal's assurance of March 20, 1970, that CIAB did "not collate information on a broad basis and only has information needed to answer specific questions of concern to the Department of the Army." [34]

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[34] Hearings, Part II, p. 1053.

The index was assembled by the alphabetical ordering of key-punch cards on individuals and organizations. These cards contained a number of descriptive categories, some of which are listed below:

Listing for an Individual:
    Name.
    Alias.
    Sex.
    Date of Birth.
    Numerical code for:
        Organization affiliations (e.g. NMCEWV, Army, etc.).
        Political ideology (communist, non-communist, etc.).
        Location (hemisphere, country, state, etc.).
        Incidents involved in (demonstrations, bombings, etc.).
Listings for an Organization:
    Name.
    Code number for:
        Political ideology.
        Location.
    Incidents involved in.
    Information on:
        Leadership.
        Membership.
        Plans.
        Finances.
        Literature.
        Tactics.
        Affiliations with other groups.

Beside each item of information on the print-out was a citation to the roll and frame of microfilm on which the original report was reproduced. For example, a typical entry might read in part: "DELLINGER, DAVID, . . . CHICAGO CONSPIRACY TRIAL 845/ 332 . . . ." To view the original report the analyst would go to the correct tray of microfilm, select reel 845, put it in the microfilm reader/printer, and crank to frame 332. To get a permanent copy, he would press a button and the machine would make a wet copy of the report.

The coding of the reports was facilitated by the use of a specially abridged version of a standard Intelligence Subject Code. Letter codes were used to sort individuals and organizations by location; numerical codes sorted them by status and beliefs. For example, "HUSX" would indicate "Western hemisphere, United States." "HUSANY" would represent a soldier in New York state. Additional codes sorted individuals by their profession, military service, rank, and political affiliation. For example, the prefix "134" meant "non-Communist," while "135" meant "Communist." The suffix 295 indicated a person, 799 an anti-war group. 134.799, therefore, would denote a non-Communist anti-war group. By the use of such numbers, CIAB produced concise characterizations of the beliefs and affiliations of many individuals and organizations.

No effort was made to keep records on law-abiding citizens separate from those on foreign spies. "Dissidents" and "subversives" were mixed together indiscriminately, and the analysts were given broad discretion to decide who belonged in what category. Mr. Stein testified:[35]

... While no problem ever existed with a self-proclaimed communist, the individual analyst would have to choose a designation arbitrarily in many doubtful cases or where identifying information was lacking. The result? Many persons who are not communists have been so listed in CIAB's data bank.

At the time of my departure from CIAB ... [m]any of the individuals listed were students who merely participated in a meeting or rally sponsored by an organization under surveillance.

To illustrate the kinds of reports stored in CIAB's archive, Mr. Stein cited several hundred FBI background investigations of young people arrested for misdemeanors during the October 1967 March on the Pentagon. "These reports not only listed the details of the offense but also revealed the individual's background, education, schooling, membership in groups, associations, travels, and often contained information on other members of the subect's family as well."[36]

Among the better known persons listed in CIAB's files, he testified, were:[37]

Dr. Martin Luther King	Conrad Lynn
H. Rap Brown	George Lincoln Rockwell
Whitney Young	Bernadine Dohrn
Julius Hobson, Sr.	Rear Adm. Arnold E. True, USN, Ret.
Herbert Aptheker	Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, USA, Ret.
Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil	Brig. Gen. Herbert Holdridge, USA,
Albert Cleage	Ret.
Stokely Carmichael	Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker, USA, Ret.
David Dellinger	Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
Abbie Hoffman	Rev. Jesse Jackson
Thomas Hayden	Hosea Williams
Rennie Davis	William Fauntroy
Cora Weiss	Rufus Mayfield
Dagmar Wilson	Jerry Rubin
Joan Baez	Dr. Benjamin Spock
Arlo Guthrie	Rev. William S. Coffin
Julian Bond	Rev. James Groppi
Arlo Tatum	A. J. Muste
Gus Hall	

Organizations he recalled include:[38]

Right-wing

American Nazi Party (later National Socialist White People's Party)
National Renaissance Party
Ku Klux Klan
United Klans of America
John Birch Society
The Minutemen
Numerous anti-semitic groups

[35] Hearings, Part I, p. 266.
[36] Hearings, Part I, p. 268.
[37] Hearings, Part I, p. 266.
[38] Hearings, Part I, pp. 264-65.

Left-wing and anti-war

Workers World Party
Communist Party, USA
Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist
Socialist Workers Party
Progressive Labor Party
Students for a Democratic Society
Southern Students Organizing Committee
Spartacist League
Young Socialist Alliance
National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam
Student Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam
SANE
Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee
Business Executives Move to End the War in Vietnam
Clergy and Laymen Concerned About the War
National Lawyers Guild
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
The Resistance
The Revolutionary Contingent
Yiddisher Kultur Farband
National Conference for New Politics
Women's Strike for Peace
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Peace and Freedom Party
Urban League
Youth International Party

Racial

Congress of Racial Equality
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Revolutionary Action Movement
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mr. Stein testified that "A few of the groups did sponsor activities designed to hamper the Army in the accomplishment of its lawful mission . . ." But "most of the information collected . . . was not of any value in determining the possibility of civil disturbances. . . ." [39] He emphasized that "the Army collected and received information on many purely local groups which engaged entirely in constitutionally protected activity. Examples include black groups devoted solely to securing better housing, vigil groups in New England which met regularly to light candles and pray for peace, and student organizations interested in increasing the relevancy of their education." [40] Financial information, sexual activities (especially illicit or unconventional), personal beliefs and associations were all reported in great detail." [41]

[39] Hearings, Part I, p. 265.
[40] Hearings, Part I, p. 265.
[41] Hearings, Part I, p. 265.

According to a fact sheet prepared in early 1970, CIAB received documents "from approximately fifty agencies within the U.S. Intelligence Community. . . ." Mr. Stein testified that "approximately 80 percent of the classified information received by CIAB came from the FBI. During my period of service, the FBI obviously made no attempt to screen reports for relevance to the Army mission and so CIAB daily received a veritable flood of information, the major part of which related to totally civilian political activities in which the Army should have no interest." [42]

Another major source of reports was the Intelligence Command. "It often seemed to us," he recalled, ". . . that virtually every public protest meeting was monitored by Army agents, with the results being forwarded to Washington through Baltimore." [43]

In March 1970, Department of the Army officials defended the appropriateness of CIAB's files on civilian activity. "In our view," Under Secretary Beal wrote to the Chairman, "the activities of the Counterintelligence Analysis Division do not involve an invasion of privacy or constitute an improper activity for the Army to perform." [44] Nine months later, however, a team of five CIAD analysts were directed to go through the microfilm archive frame-by-frame and mark inappropriate documents for excision. Then special duty personnel, working in shifts around the clock for 2 weeks, cut out the offending documents. Unfortunately, no report of this purge has been rendered to the Subcommittee, so it is impossible to say how thorough the editors were.

[42] Hearings, Part I, p. 267.
[43] Hearings, Part I, p. 268.
[44] Hearings, Part I, p. 1053.

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VIII. U.S. Strike Command Computer

In addition to foregoing Army data centers, two joint Army-Air Force commands also maintained domestic intelligence files. The commands were the U.S. Strike Command and the Directorate for Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations.

The United States Strike Command (USSTRICOM) was established in 1961 to furnish rapidly deployable, combat-ready forces in an emergency situation anywhere within the United States or overseas. A two-service command (Army and Air Force), USSTRICOM is headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base, Fla., and is commanded by an Army general. Its two major components, the U.S. Army Forces Strike Command (ARSTRIKE) and the U.S. Air Force Strike Command (AFSTRIKE), are headquartered in close proximity: ARSTRIKE at Fort Monroe, Va., and AFSTRIKE at adjacent Langley Air Force Base. ARSTRIKE supplies the troops; AFSTRIKE, the planes. ARSTRIKE's troops come primarily from three units in CONARC's strategic reserve: III Corps at Fort Hood, Tex., XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, N.C., and the Fifth Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Carson, Colo.[45] To facilitate Army cooperation in emergencies, the commanding general of CONARC is also in charge of ARSTRIKE.

USSTRICOM's day-in, day-out emphasis is on welding its Army and Air Force components into quick reaction force. During the late 1960's, this mission included stepped-up efforts to assure rapid deployment of riot trained soldiers in times of civil disorder. To facilitate this effort and to insure military security, USSTRICOM's Director of Intelligence undertook to develop his own computerized files on civilian political activity.

As was the case at Fort Hood, Fort Monroe, and Fort Holabird, the MacDill computer operation was undertaken in late 1967 and early 1968 without civilian authorization of any kind. The unit in charge of the operation was the Counterintelligence and Security Division, Directorate of Intelligence, J-2, USSTRICOM. The primary sources of its information were the U.S. Army Area Monthly Intelligence Summaries, OSI Significant Counterintelligence Briefs, and FBI publications.

At least two computer files were developed: a Counterintelligence Personality File and a Counterintelligence/Publication File. Whether USSTRICOM also maintained an incident data file in addition to its library of Monthly Intelligence Summaries is not known.

Copies of these two print-outs were sent to the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIACI-4) and the Counterintelligence Analysis Branch in Washington as early as April 26, 1968. However, the only portion of these two files made available to the Subcommittee for analysis is a one-page excerpt from the Personality File.

The following is a "sanitized" version of a page from the April 9, 1968, Counterintelligence Personality File of the U.S. Strike Command.

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[45] III Corps, it will be recalled, developed the Fort Hood computer. The Fifth Infantry Division, through the Fifth MI Detachment, was responsible for the unauthorized monitoring of civilian political activities in Colorado Springs, Colo. See Hearings, Part I, pp. 305 ff.

[Last name first name] REVEREND
CLASSIFICATION - CONFIDENTIAL
ORGANIZATION - SMC
REMARKS - CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE AND PRINCIPAL ASSOCIATE OF DR. [deleted].   DOI - 5 APR 67 (TMX 1ST USA)

[Last name first name] PROFESSOR
CLASSIFICATION -
ORGANIZATION - SMC
REMARKS - HOSTED INTERNATIONAL VIEWER PARTY AT HIS HOME WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY 200 PERSONS. HIS HOME IS IN [city]. DURING A RAID OF THE PARTY BY ASSAULTED POLICE OFFICERS, WAS CHARGED WITH AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, RESISTING ARREST, SERVING MINORS ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES, AND CONTRIBUTING TO DELINQUENCY OF MINORS. PARTY IN SUPPORT OF SMC. DOI - 10 APR 67 (TMX-5A)

[Last name first name]
CLASSIFICATION - CONFIDENTIAL
ORGANIZATION - CPUSA
REMARKS - [deleted] HAS SERVED AS THE CPUSA'S LEGAL COUNSEL FOR MANY YEARS. DOI DEC 67 (OSI)

[Last name first name]   CHICAGO
CLASSIFICATION - UNCLASSIFIED
ORGANIZATION - SDS
REMARKS - WHITE MALE. ATTENDED SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION (UNIV. OF CHICAGO 25-30 JUN 67). CONDUCTS A SCHOOL FOR AGITATORS IN CHICAGO. DOI JUL 67 (AA MIS)

[Last name first name]
CLASSIFICATION - UNCLASSIFIED
ORGANIZATION - ACLU
REMARKS - BD OF DIRECTORS/ ACLU DOI / APR 67

[Last name first name] [city]
CLASSIFICATION - CONFIDENTIAL
ORGANIZATION - NSMC
REMARKS - ASSOCIATE DEAN OF STUDENTS [deleted] COLLEGE OF [deleted] UNIVERSITY. PARTICIPATED IN THE NATIONWIDE ACTIVITIES OF THE NSMC DURING THE PERIOD 5-8 NOV 66. DOI 3 JAN (CONARC RPT - 18 MC)

McDILL AIR FORCE BASE DATA BANK

EXHIBIT 10

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From the face of this print-out it would appear that the Strike Command's computer was being used simply to list items of interest to the Command. The absence of special code numbers suggests that it did not also serve as an index to other computerized and non-computerized files. However, it is also possible that the print-out represents an early format and that Strike Command's data bank became more sophisticated as time went by.

The content of the foregoing entries would appear to be largely outside the Army's legitimate informational needs. For example, it is difficult to see how military security or riot operations would be enhanced by knowledge that a particular person is a member of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union or that a college dean opposes the war.

The sources of these reports also are interesting. "TWX 1st USA" indicates that the reporting unit was the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, First Army headquarters, Fort George Meade, Maryland. "TWX" indicates that the report was received by teletype. It thus would appear that Strike Command headquarters was linked with each of the continental armies by a teletype network not unlike the wire service that hooked components of the Army Intelligence Command together in one nationwide grid. If this is true, then it would seem that the Army operated not one, but two internal security wire services in the late 1960s.

Other sources listed on this print-out include the Office of Special Investigations, U.S. Air Force (OSI), a Fourth Army Monthly Intelligence Summary (4AMIS), and a CONARC report.

The dates on the entries indicate that the Strike Command computer may have been one of the earliest to go into operation. Reports cited date back to early 1967, and thus predate even the riots of the summer of 1967 when the CONUS intelligence program received its greatest impetus. On the other hand, reports from early 1967 might have been filed in the computer at a later date. The date of the print-out itself, however, indicates that the computer was in operation before the first vague mission-type order (DoD Directive 3025.12, dated June 8, 1968) was issued by the Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze.

IX. COMPUTERIZED FILES OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR CIVIL DISTURBANCE PLANNING AND OPERATIONS

At no time during the first year of the Subcommittee's investigation did either the Army or the Department of Defense admit that a computer on civilian political activity existed within the Pentagon's domestic war room. Although copies of its print-outs were distributed regularly to the Under Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff, the Assistance Chief of Staff for Intelligence, the Air Force, Navy, and Marines, the first disclosure was not made until July 4, 1971, when the *New York Times* published a story about its inaccuracies.[45]

The Directorate for Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations (DCDPO, now Directorate of Military Support) was created in April 1968 when the Army anticipated that it might have to deploy 10,000 troops in each of 25 cities simultaneously. Accordingly, a 180-man unit was created to command Army operations on the home front. To relieve overcrowding in the Army Operations Center, a new headquarters was carved out of a basement storeroom under the Pentagon's north mall. Completed in July 1969, at a cost of $2.7 million, this domestic war room was equipped with extensive teletype networks to MI group emergency operations centers throughout the country, situation maps, closed circuit television, hot lines, an illuminated switchboard, and a computerized data processing center.

From an unclassified print-out furnished to the Subcommittee by the Department of Defense in January, 1972, it is clear that the Intelligence Branch of the Operations Division of the DCDPO published a computerized survey of recent and expected political protests. The survey included:

(*a*) The specific location of the activity or event.

(*b*) The sponsors (organization and leaders) and number of participants, if known.

(*c*) Narrative remarks describing what transpired (or was expected to transpire).

(*d*) Date of report, source, and (sometimes) an evaluation code. The cover title of this computerized report was "Civil Disturbance Anticipated Activities or Events." The issue of October 15, 1969, was 31 pages long. As the following excerpts show, no demonstration was too peaceful or legal to be included.

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[45] Hearings, Part II, p. 1730.

EXHIBIT 11

DCIPDO PRINTOUT

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ANTICIPATED ACTIVITIES/EVENTS SUMMARY
15 OCT 69

DATE OF REPORT 15039A OCT 69
DATE OF LAST UPDATE 15 OCT 69

DATE	CITY	DTS OF OCCURRENCE	REC SUB NR	INFO CAT	SUMMARY BRIEF
CO	BOULDER	691015		TEACH-IN	A. BOULDER, COLO. CAMPUS AND LOCAL CHURCHES. B. ASSOCIATED STUDENTS, UNIV COLORADO. C. CANVASSING, POETRY READING AND FOLK SINGING. SEMINARS - EVENING, SILENT MARCH FROM COURT HOUSE TO MACKY AUDITORIUM. D. USAINTC 113-9287-637 F-6.
CT	NEW HAVEN	691115		ANTI-WAR DEMO	A. FROM NEW HAVEN TO WASHINGTON B. [name deleted], LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR CVFOAWV C. CONTACTED THE CONN. BUS COMPANY IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESERVE 15 BUSES FOR A TRIP TO WASHINGTON ON 15 NOV 69 TO SUPPORT CVFOAWV ACTIVITIES. D. USAINTC SR 108-9283-72 10 OCT 69 B-2
FL	DELAND	691015		ANTI-WAR DEMO	A. STETSON UNIV, DELAND FLORIDA B. SU PRES AUTHORIZED CANCELLATION CLASSES BETWEEN 1300 AND 1500 15 OCT 69. 3500 STUDENTS C. MEETING, LECTURES AND FILMS WILL BE PRESENTED. CONGRESSMAN DON BRIGLE WILL SPEAK. FACULTY MEMBERS SUPPORTING THE PROGRAM FROM LIBERAL ARTS AND ENGLISH DEPARTMENTS AT STETSON. NO VIOLENCE OR DISTURBANCE EXPECTED. D. 111-9286-110, B-2
IN	HANOVER	691015		ANTI-WAR DEMO	A. HANOVER COLLEGE B. HANOVER COLLEGE MAWV COMMITTEE C. HANOVER COLLEGE (HC) MAWV ORGANIZERS WILL HOLD SOME FESTS FEATURING PROTEST MUSIC THROUGHOUT THE DAY AT A COFFEEHOUSE AND AN EVENING DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGN TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE MAWV. D. 113-9286-618
NJ	NEWARK	691015		UNDETERMINED	A. PRINCETON UNIVERSITY RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

DATE OF REPORT 150354 OCT 69
DATE OF LAST UPDATE 15 OCT 69

STATE	CITY	DTG OF OCCURRENCE	REC SUB NR	INFO CAT	SUMMARY BRIEF
NY	WEST POINT	691015		ANTI-WAR DEMO	A. WEST POINT, NEW YORK B. VASSAR, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT NEW PALTZ UNK NR PERS C. GIRL STUDENTS WILL OFFER SEX TO CADETS WHO SIGN AN ANTI-WAR PETITION. D. USAINTC 108-9276-12
	NEW ENGLAND	691015	01		A. POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS IN 15 OCT MORATORIUM B. FRANCIS W. SERGENT MA GOVERNOR AND KENNETH M CURTIS GOVERNOR OF ME SENATORS KENNEDY AND MCGOVERN OF MA C. FAVORABLE COMMENTS FROM THE POLITICAL SPHERE CONTINUE. THE BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE MA CITY PASSED RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT. SENATORS KENNEDY AND MCGOVERN WILL SPEAK ON THE SUBJECT IN BOSTON. A BIPARTISAN GROUP OF 9 SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN HAVE ENDORSED THE VMD. D. 10 OCT 69 ACSI-CIPC

The format of this report is largely self-explanatory. Each "summary brief" is divided to answer four simple questions:

    A. Where?
    B. Who?
    C. What?
    D. Source? (including date of report and an evaluation of source and information)

Most of the source numbers indicate that the reporting unit was a unit of the Intelligence Command: e.g. the 113th MI Group in Colorado or the 108th MI Group in Connecticut.

Nothing in this print-out suggests that the DCDPO also maintained files on past incidents or the activities of individuals and organizations. However, among the "essential elements of information" listed by the Directorate as necessary to its effective operation early in 1969 were the following: [47]

(1) What are the plans, operations, deployment, tactics, techniques, and capabilities of individuals, groups, or organizations whose efforts are to create civil disturbances?

   •   •   •   •   •   •   •

(3) What are the reactions of minority groups and dissident elements to the effects of changes in Federal, state, or municipal laws, court decisions, referendums, amendments, executive orders, or other directives?
(4) What is the composition of the dissident force, e.g. youth, adult, mixed, unemployed laborers, minority group?
(5) What primary organizations are connected with the disturbance in support, sympathy, or participation roles?
(6) Who are the disturbance leaders of national/local influence and to what degree are they involved in planning, publicizing, organizing or directing?

   •   •   •   •   •   •   •

(8) Where are the dissident forces billeted and assembled?
(9) What are the targets and objectives of the dissident forces?

   •   •   •   •   •   •   •

(11) What weapons/explosives does the dissident force have? Is there an organized sniper element?
(12) What communications equipment does the opposing force have?

The language of this list—and the conception of civil disorders underlying it—would seem to make the amassing of personality and organizational data on "minority groups and dissident elements" imperative. Future demonstrators, according to the DCDPO, are not likely to be loyal Americans exercising constitutional rights, but "dissident forces" that "billet" and "assemble," carry "weapons" and "explosives," contain "an organized sniper element," and coordinate their assaults on "targets and objectives" with communications equipment." Civil disturbance operations thus will be similar to counterinsurgency warfare (or counterinsurgency war games), [48] in which military units

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[47] "DCDPO Essential Elements of Information (EEI)," ca. January 1969, Xerox copy in Subcommittee files.
[48] As General Yarborough is said to have instructed his intelligence staff at the start of the Detroit riots: "Men, get out your counterinsurgency manuals. We have an insurgency on our hands." Hearings, Part I, p. 104. Situation maps in the DCDPO used war game colors: blue crayon for "friendly forces," red for Negro neighborhoods.

will be the "friendly forces" [49] and demonstrators the "opposing forces."

If this list accurately reflects the thinking of DCDPO personnel—and there is every reason to believe that it did—then it would seem reasonable to conclude that the men who ran the domestic war room kept records not unlike those maintained by their counterparts in the computerized war rooms in Saigon. The Subcommittee staff has received no reports that any files at the DCDPO (now DOMS) were destroyed.

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[49] Annex B (Intelligence) to the DA Civil Disturbance Plan dated Feburary 1968 lists military units as the only "friendly forces" in a civil disturbance situation. Hearings, Part II, p. 1121.

X. Comparison of the Data Banks and the Question of Control

In addition to studying the contents of each data bank, we have attempted to compare them to each other in the hope of shedding some light on the question of control. The absence of effective civilian control has been established. By their own admissions, the responsible appointees of the Johnson and Nixon administrations were unaware of the data banks until after January 1970.[50] However, both General Counsel Jordan and Under Secretary Beal have asserted the existence of close military supervision of the Intelligence Command and CIAB by the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence. If so, this supervision should manifest itself in the form of substantial similarities among the data banks. On the other hand, if no central authority effectively coordinated the Army's domestic intelligence operations, that lack of coordination should be reflected by the existence of substantial dissimilarities among the data banks.

Most of the evidence received by the Subcommittee on this question indicates the existence of substantial autonomy for units at the lower echelons of Army intelligence. Accordingly, for this study we have chosen to compare the holdings of the nationwide data banks maintained by CIAB, USAINTC, and CONARC. Because the Army has not made the CIAB index available to us (or to the Justice Department) we have chosen to assume that the contents of the Compendium are indicative of whom CIAB considered sufficiently significant to warrant a place in its archive. To begin the comparison we went through the Personalities section of the Compendium and selected the names of 60 individuals well-known to the public because of the widespread publicity given to their activities. We then examined the Fort Holabird and Fort Monroe print-outs to see how many of these names appeared there, and how the information on each compared.

The results truly surprised us. Only 34 of the famous 60 appeared in the Fort Holabird print-out. Only 27 appeared in the Fort Monroe print-out. Just to double check, we selected the names of 100 well-known Americans from the CONARC computer and searched for them in the Fort Holabird print-out. We found only 22.

Similarly, the CONARC print-out provides space for detailed information on the persons it lists. Yet for some reason—perhaps it was lack of manpower—most of the entries for the 100 prominent persons are surprisingly incomplete. Where the CONARC print-out does contain specific data, such as dates of foreign travel, military service status, or participation in parades, conferences, or organizations, these facts infrequently appear in either the Compendium or the Fort Holabird print-out.

Thus it would seem that each data bank grew independently, with no "close supervision" from a central authority on what to store or not store. Moreover, it appears that none of the agencies paid any attention to the publications or holdings of the others in deciding who or what should be data-banked.

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[50] E.g., see Hearings, Part I, pp. 202, 206–211, and 462.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis represents but a partial view of the Army's files on civilian political activity. As we have taken care to note throughout the report, our analysis has been limited by the fragmentary nature of our information and by the fact that the Departments of the Army and Defense apparently have not preserved one complete copy of each computer file and publication as promised in the *Tatum* case. In addition, the unwillingness of the Defense Department to permit certain intelligence officers to testify has forced us to rely on necessarily vague second-hand explanations and descriptions of what Army intelligence actually was doing.

At the same time, the civilian officials with whom we have dealt over the past two years have encountered great difficulty with their own investigations. Often it appeared that our sources knew more about the data banks than theirs did. In some instances they appear to have been lied to; in other instances they appear to have been victims of the art of "plausible denial"—a technique by which intelligence agencies (and others) admit just enough of the truth to mask an essential falsehood. For example, domestic intelligence specialists in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence denied any knowledge of the Fort Holabird biographic data file when its existence was first disclosed in January 1970. Later they "discovered" the CONARC computer after its existence had been revealed in the press. Still later they uncovered computers at III Corps, USSTRICOM, and the DCDPO. Yet the documents clearly establish copies of the MacDill and CONARC print-outs had been transmitted to the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence as early as 1968. Similarly, the "task group" of intelligence analysts assigned by the ACSI to answer civilian and Congressional inquiries worked in the very room which housed the DCDPO's computer.

The secrecy which surrounds all military intelligence operations also hampered both Executive Branch and Congressional inquiries. The time it has taken to comprehend the structure and *modus operandi* of the Army's intelligence units has cut into our capacity to uncover and examine various files. Similarly, much time has been lost in discussions with Defense Department officials concerning what items may and may not be declassified. Nothing in the Army's own security regulations would appear to justify the classification of any of the documents we have examined, and nothing the Defense Department has said in correspondence with the Chairman in any way can change the plain meaning of those regulations. The key problem here, as with the surveillance in general, is not security, but privacy. In their concern for protecting the privacy of the government, Defense Department officials have continued to classify documents which under the regulations are inherently unclassifiable. Fortunately, it has been possible, through heavy editing and careful paraphrasing, to produce substitutes for the original documents that both preserve their significance and protect the privacy of individuals.

In addition, the lack of time and resources has prevented us from making the same kinds of inquiries of the Navy and Air Force that we have of the Army. There is no question that ONI (now NIS) and

OSI reports were also stored in data banks substantially similar to those maintained by the Army, but it is unlikely that we will ever see their contents.

Most important, unless additional former agents come forward to tell what they know, it is unlikely that we will ever know the extent to which the monitoring and the data banks have been cut back. Shortly after our investigation began key files were classified and short-term agents replaced with career personnel. Personnel regulations were changed to exclude two and three-year volunteers from service as special agents, and current agents were threatened with prosecution if they talked. As a result, military intelligence has become more of a closed society than at any time in its history.

Despite these limitations, however, it is possible to draw a number of conclusions about the nature and scope of the Army's data collection.

First, the files establish that the monitoring was far more extensive than we had imagined. In all, the Army appears to have had over 350 separate records centers containing substantial files on civilian political activity. But more striking than the number of offices with records was the size of some of the records centers. Fourth Army headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., for example, reported the equivalent of over 120,000 file cards on "personalities of interest." It seems likely that the subversives file at Fort Holabird contained even more. CIAB in Washington reported that the computerized index to its microfilm archive contained 113,250 references to organizations and 152,000 references to individuals.

Making estimates on the basis of such fragmentary evidence is always hazardous. Undoubtedly extensive duplication existed and thousands of files were maintained on dead men. Discounting for these factors, however, one can guess that Army intelligence had reasonably current files on the political activities of at least 100,000 civilians unaffiliated with the armed forces.

In addition, of course, the Army could draw upon the security clearance and investigative dossiers of all federal agencies for whatever political and private information they might contain on persons who were, or had once been, affiliated with the federal government. As of December 31, 1970, the Defense Central Index of Investigations alone reported 25 million index cards representing files on individuals and 760,000 cards representing files on organizations and incidents. What separates military intelligence in the United States from its counterparts in totalitarian states, then, is not its capabilities, but its intentions. This is a significant distinction but one which may not wholly reassure many Americans who rely on a government of laws and not of the intentions of men, no matter how honorable.

A second lesson learned from examination of these files is that Army intelligence was not just reconnoitering cities for bivouac sites, approach routes and Black Panther arsenals. It was collecting, disseminating, and storing amounts of data on the private and personal affairs of law-abiding citizens. Comments about the financial affairs, sex lives, and psychiatric histories of persons unaffiliated with the armed forces appear throughout the various records systems.

Third, the files confirm the testimony of former agents that Army intelligence was using a variety of covert means to gather information about politically active groups and individuals. As Secretary Froehlke

noted in his testimony before the Subcommittee, much of the information called for in the collection plans could not be collected in any other way.

Fourth, at least two of the Army's data banks, those of Intelligence Command and of CONARC, had the capacity for cross-reference among organizational, incident and personality files. Without documentation, we cannot know the purpose of such capabilities, or even whether the programmers were simply providing for an unknown future contingency. Whatever the intention of Intelligence Command or of CONARC, their system had the technical capacity to produce correlations among persons, organizations and activities on the basis of frequently incomplete or inaccurate information.

Fifth, the size of the files confirms other reports that the surveillance dates back not to the Newark and Detroit riots of 1967, but to the reestablishment of Army counterintelligence on the eve of the Second World War. These other reports include letters from persons who served in military intelligence in the 1950's, an internal Army history of domestic intelligence activities from 1917 to the present, and an inventory of the Van Deman files supplied to the Subcommittee by a former intelligence analyst.

Sixth, the files examined by the staff confirm the view, advanced by Defense and Army officials at the hearings and in correspondence, that the surveillance was substantially beyond the Army's civil disturbance or military security missions. The files, with few exceptions, bear no demonstrable relationship to real military needs. From the point of view of efficiency and economy alone, there was no reason for their existence.

Finally, the major impression from our long study of these files is their utter uselessness. The collection of this information, and its attendant infringement on the constitutional rights and privacy of American citizens, has sometimes been justified on the grounds of necessity, chiefly that of public safety. Yet, it appears that the vacuum-cleaner approach of collecting all possible information resulted in great masses of data on individuals which was valuable for no legitimate (or even illegitimate) military purpose. These vast collections of fragmentary, incorrect, and irrelevant information—composed of vague conclusions and judgments and of overly detailed descriptions of insignificant facts—could not be considered "intelligence" by any sense of the word. They reflect an unfortunate tendency within the government to react to the problem of civil disturbances by conducting widespread and indiscriminate and duplicative surveillance. The result is a great collection of information which gives the illusion of knowledge, but which hampers the ability of responsible officials to make intelligent decisions. Unfortunately, it appears that the Army intelligence, uncertain of its stateside mission, took refuge in surveillance and dossier-building, and thereby deluded itself into thinking it was "doing something." In fact, it was merely wasting time, money and manpower, and infringing on the rights of the citizens it was supposed to be safeguarding.

The practical question which remains to be considered is how the scope of the Army's domestic intelligence operations can be controlled so as to guarantee that such unnecessary and wasteful data gathering which endangers civilian control of the military, individual rights and personal privacy will not reoccur when the present concern over military surveillance subsides.