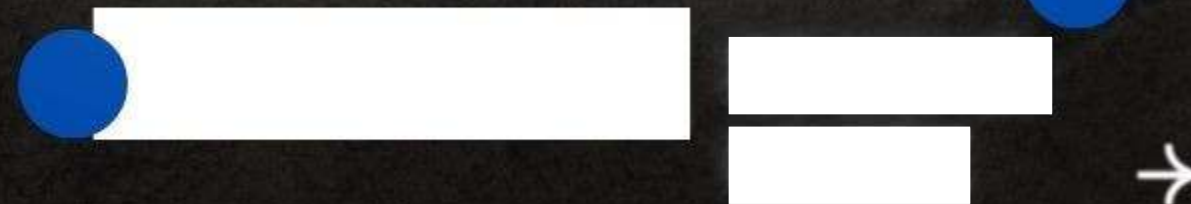


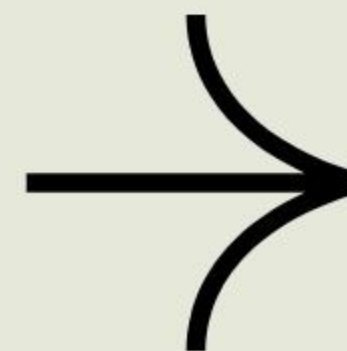
COINTELPRO and Its Enduring Problematic Legacy

THE FBI



# THESIS

Though largely agreed as the “dark” period for the FBI with many constitutional and moral overreaches by the Bureau, the tactics employed during COINTELPRO are still being used by the FBI today to harass and discourage Black activists from using their First Amendment rights.



# WHAT IS THE FBI → \*



## J. EDGAR HOOVER

- Ran the FBI from 1921 (at the age of 26) to his death in 1972 (FOR 48 YEARS!)
- Rebranded the department to "conceal its political ideology."
- Deeply paranoid man who taught his agents to be deeply suspicious
- COINTELPRO did not mark the start of disproportionate surveillance and harassment of Black Americans by the bureau.

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## GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

- 3 -

MEMO FROM J. EDGAR HOOVER TO SACS -  
3/4/68

# GOINTELPRO

## ORIGIN

- Started officially in August 1967 - Expanded in March 1968.
- In its inception, the offices were directed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations."
- The initial memo demanded that agents take an "enthusiastic and imaginative approach" to this new form of counterintelligence.

## GOALS

- Preventing the "coalition of militant black nationalist groups" in order to prevent a "true black revolution"
- Preventing "the rise of a 'messiah; who could unify" the movement
- Preventing these black nationalist groups and leaders "from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to . . . the responsible Negro community . . . the white community, ... [and] the followers of the movement."

# COINTELPRO TACTICS



## → DISRUPT

- Anonymous Letters
- "Leaking" of derogatory information
- Both covert and obvious surveillance

# DISRUPT

53

Dear Mr. B

Look man I guess your old lady  
 doesn't get enough at home or  
 she wouldn't be shucking and  
 jiving with our Black Men in  
 ACTION, you dig? Like all she  
wants to intergrate is the bed room  
and our Black Sisters ain't gonna  
 take no second best from our  
 men. So lay it on her, man -  
 or get her the hell off Newstead.  
 A Soul Sister

1 - Mr. [redacted]  
 1 - [redacted]  
 1 - Field Guidance Folder

SAC, Boston (157-531)

2/8/68

REC 16  
 Director, FBI (100-448006) - 9

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title changed to substitute Racial Intelligence  
 for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

Reurairtel 2/1/68.

The Bureau very much appreciates Boston's suggestion  
 for counterintelligence activity designated to thwart Stokely  
 Carmichael's plan to form a united front of civil rights and  
 black nationalist groups. The exposure of Carmichael's  
 secret machinations might well disrupt his plan.

However, Bureau files show that both the [redacted]

## NOTE:

[redacted] has recently criticized the FBI  
 in editorials [redacted] criticized the Bureau in [redacted] case. Thus, it is not  
 advisable to "leak" details of Carmichael's secret plans to  
 organize a "United Front" to this newspaper as a means of  
 exposing Carmichael and thwarting his plans.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

66 FEB 16 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT



# COINTELPRO TACTICS



## → DISRUPT

- Anonymous Letters
- "Leaking" of derogatory information
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## → DISCREDIT

- Propoganda
  - Disinformation & Fabrication of Evidence
- 

# DISCREDIT



THE PIG IS AFRAID OF BLACK CHILDREN BECAUSE THEY ARE BRAVE WARRIORS

JONCO 950208  
BPCB21.BMP

KING,

In view of your low grade, abnormal personal behavior I will not dignify your name with either a Mr. or a Reverend or a Dr. And, your last name calls to mind only the type of King such as King Henry the VIII and his countless acts of adultery and immoral conduct lower than that of a beast.

King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes. White people in this country have enough frauds of their own but I am sure they don't have one at this time that is anywhere near your equal. You are no clergyman and you know it. I repeat you are a colossal fraud and an evil, vicious one at that. You could not believe in God and act as you do. Clearly you don't believe in any personal moral principles.

King, like all frauds your end is approaching. You could have been our greatest leader. You, even at an early age have turned out to be not a leader but a dissolute, abnormal moral imbecile. We will now have to depend on our older leaders like Wilkins a man of character and thank God we have others like him. But you are done. Your "honorary" degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grim farce) and other awards will not save you. King, I repeat you are done.

No person can overcome facts, not even a fraud like yourself. Lend your sexually psychotic ear to the enclosure. You will find yourself and in all your dirt, filth, evil and moronic talk exposed on the record for all time. I repeat - no person can argue successfully against facts. You are finished. You will find on the record for all time your filthy, dirty, evil companions, male and female giving expression with you to your hideous abnormalities. And some of them to pretend to be ministers of the Gospel. Satan could not do more. What incredible evilness. It is all there on the record, your sexual orgies. Listen to yourself you filthy, abnormal animal. You are on the record. You have been on the record - all your adulterous acts, your sexual orgies extending far into the past. This one is but a tiny sample. You will understand this. Yes, from your various evil playmates on the east coast to and others on the west coast and outside the country you are on the record. King you are done.

The American public, the church organizations that have been helping - Protestant, Catholic and Jews will know you for what you are - an evil, abnormal beast. So will others who have backed you. You are done.

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significance. You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy, abnormal fraudulent self is bared to the nation.

# COINTELPRO TACTICS



## → DISRUPT

- Anonymous Letters
- "Leaking" of derogatory information
- Both covert and obvious surveillance

## → DISCREDIT

- Propoganda
- Disinformation & Fabrication of Evidence

## → DESTROY

- Political Assassinations
- Harassing Arrests
- Informers and Snitch Jackets

# Fauntroy Sweeps Delegate Race

## Alioto Indicted In Bribery

Seattle Jury Charges Illegal Split in Fees

By George Lardner Jr., Washington Post Staff Writer  
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By Ken Pitz—The Washington Post  
Mayor Alioto (foreground) had been a few hours before an indictment charging conspiring to bribe was returned against him.

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At delegate, Fauntroy will not have a vote on the floor, but will have all the other privileges, powers and perquisites of a member of the House, including the right to vote in committee. He will



By Steve Smith—The Washington Post  
Hands clasped in victory, delegate-elect of Cleveland, and Mayor Washington, at Fauntroy rejoices with Carl Stokes, left, headquarters in Manger Hamilton Hotel.

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By Richard L. Lyons, Washington Post Staff Writer  
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Congress enacted an 18-year-old voting law last year after first, less than an hour, but the Supreme Court ruled,

after House passage, Tennessee, Connecticut and Washington followed. All five approved the amendment by wide margins, with little debate.

If the necessary 28 state legislatures approve it in time for the 1972 elections, they will avoid considerable expense and confusion.

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## Viet Tanks Fight Way Out of Laos

By Jack Finkle, Los Angeles Times

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# COINTELPRO...THE END?

- Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI broke into Field office and recovered over 1,000 documents. Two memos contained the word COINTELPRO.
- Church Commission - 15 month investigation
  - Found that "many of the techniques used would be intolerable in a democratic society even if all the targets had been involved in violent activity, but COINTELPRO went far beyond that."
- Reforms!
  - Executive Order 11905
  - Levi Guidelines
    - The FBI will investigate *terrorist acts* not *subversion*.
  - Congressional Oversight
  - 10 Year Term Limit for Director

FRONT PAGE OF WASHINGTON POST -  
3/24/1971

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In another unexpected development, the Department of speech, Pastore stepped sheet

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See AMEND, A1, Col. 1

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Congress enacted an 18-year-old voting law last year, but the Supreme Court ruled, 5 to 4, that the statute was valid only for national elections of the President and Congress. The voting age for state and local elections could be lowered only by constitutional amendment or by state action, the court said.

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# GOINTELPRO...THE END?



FRONT PAGE OF WASHINGTON POST - 3/24/1971

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**FRONT PAGE OF WASHINGTON POST -  
3/24/1971**



# GOINTELPRO2.0

LET'S JUST CALL IT  
TERRORISM



# COINTELPRO 2.0 TACTICS

## → TERRORIST LABELS

- In 2017, an FBI document leaked to the press that revealed that the FBI had internally recognized a new domestic terrorist threat: Black Identity Extremists.
- That Term has since been changed to Racially Motivated Violent Extremism.



## → HARASSING ARRESTS

- Of the more than 300 protestors arrested and charged with federal crimes in summer of 2020 racial justice protests, 90% of them could have been state charges, and of those 90%, 88% came with harsher penalties.



## → INFORMANTS

- Since 2011, more than 15,000 people have served as informants.
- The use of informants and the role they play is disproportionate.



## → DENIALS

- The FBI's party words is that they do not, and have never had, the authority to investigate First Amendment violations, "no matter how abhorrent"
- They also claim they do not have the authority to passively surveil or monitor social media.







The  
Intercept\_

# THE HONEY TRAP

The FBI Used an Undercover Cop With Pink Hair to Spy on Activists and Manufacture Crimes



**FBI sent several informants to Standing Rock protests, court documents show**



**'Intimidation': FBI visits Stillwater woman's home over social media posts, attorney says**



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## THE HONEY TRAP

The FBI Used an Undercover Cop With Pink Hair to Spy on Activists and Manufacture Crimes



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## U.S. Citizen Put on No-Fly List to Pressure Him Into Becoming FBI Informant

Kevin Iraniha, a U.S. citizen, was boarding a flight home to San Diego from Costa Rica this Tuesday with his two brothers and father when he was informed that he is on a no-fly list.

By Shirin Sadeghi, Contributor

Independent TV & Radio Host, ex-BBC & Al Jazeera

Jun 7, 2012, 07:54 PM EDT | Updated Aug 7, 2012

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'1  
0 Red Fawn Fallis's case sheds light on federal law enforcement's surveillance of the water protector movement and generations of indigenous activists.



Will Parrish

December 11 2017, 4:11 p.m.

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## AFTER HIS MOTHER ASKED FOR HELP, FBI TERRORISM STING TARGETS MENTALLY ILL TEEN

She said two FBI informants “groomed” her son. They waited until the day after his 18th birthday to spring their trap.



Murtaza Hussain

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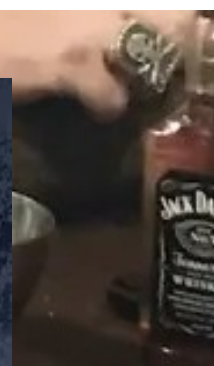
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## THE FBI'S DOUBLE AGENT

The Informant at the Heart of the Gretchen Whitmer Kidnapping Plot Was a Liability. So Federal Agents Shut Him Up.



ral inf  
rt doc

into becoming FBI Informant

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# COINTELPRO 2.0 TACTICS

## → TERRORIST LABELS

- In 2017, an FBI document leaked to the press that revealed that the FBI had internally recognized a new domestic terrorist threat: Black Identity Extremists.
- That Term has since been changed to Racially Motivated Violent Extremism.



## → HARASSING ARRESTS

- Of the more than 300 protestors arrested and charged with federal crimes in summer of 2020 racial justice protests, 90% of them could have been state charges, and of those 90%, 88% came with harsher penalties.



## → INFORMANTS

- Since 2011, more than 15,000 people have served as informants.
- The use of informants and the role they play is disproportionate.



## → DENIALS

- The FBI's party words is that they do not, and have never had, the authority to investigate First Amendment violations, "no matter how abhorrent"
- They also claim they do not have the authority to passively surveil or monitor social media.



# WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

## STATUTORY CHARTER

- First Amendment Protections
- Requiring Factual Predicate for Investigations
  - Removing the category of “assessments”
- Limits and Requirements for Undercover Investigations
- Civil Remedies for Surveillance

## CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

- Investigation and Hearings
- Require Greater Congressional Reporting

QUESTIONS?

