

ACIBADEM

MODEL UNITED NATIONS



**COUNTER INTELLIGENCE
PROGRAM (COINTELPRO)**

STUDY GUIDE

ALEYNA BAKAR
YAĞMUR KARATAŞ
İREM BEYZA URALCAN

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL

Distinguished participants and my future family members,

I, as the Presidents of Acibadem University Model United Nations Club and Acibadem University Model United Nations Conference 2020, would like to welcome you all to the very first session of ACUMUN which will be held on 17-20 January 2020. It is more than an honor for me to be able to lead such a precious and professional team under the umbrella of newly-established ACUMUNC as, with its unprecedented campus and well-qualified members, it will be one of the most important entities in MUN community.

In this conference, we prepared highly special committees with very specific procedures which are gathered from not only United Nations bodies but also other governmental bodies. Before stating several details upon our committees, I would like to proudly mention Midnight Crisis system which was simulated by me and my crisis team for the first time in Turkey and spread throughout other conferences. Since our first application of this unique procedure in HPALMUN, we have been supervising the ways to implement it in a better way and hopefully, you will have the chance to experience it. Starting from our committees, we have SOCHUM from our previous conference as being the most demanded committee within our application process. Our committees are all in Harvard Rules of Procedure so you can really experience a high-level academic quality even if it is commonly suggested to beginners and intermediate delegates. What is more, we have expert committee on child rights which is a common and remarkable subject lately, considering latest news upon numerous violations. Apart from them, we have security-based committees with cabinets, councils, secret FBI missions, futuristic councils and of course, world wars. Although it is really hard to define every single of them as having complicated Rules of Procedures, you should believe me on that it will not even resemble to any of your previous experiences. Operations will be more detailed, this simulation would not be separated from its real version, so please check the real functions of your committees before coming to our conference. One more difference from your other experiences, -if you have experienced my crisis committees before when I was an USG, you would definitely know this- you will be experiencing really intense crisis committee with significant number of updates and outcomes of your actions. You will be in need of tackling every single issue detailedly and also simultaneously with other issues. It might seem like it will be hard,

yes but, you will be enjoying the themes very much that you would not like to leave this conference on 20th January.

Apart from the context of the committees, whole committees will be directed in accordance to Harvard Rules of Procedure which is more delegate-centered version that allows the members of the committees to firstly discuss the content of possible resolutions and than write it jointly. Other crisis committees would have several additional procedures that are specific to committee structure. Summing up, we are preparing a conference with the best academic and organizational quality. We will have numerous surprises for you within the conference process.

Do not forget, we are Acıbadem, it is your place, it is where we unite the worlds.

I am really excited to see you all in the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Korhan KARADENİZ

President of ACUMUNC and ACUMUN 20'

LETTER FROM THE UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL

Dear Delegates of COINTELPRO,

I'm thrilled to welcome you to the COINTELPRO, committee of ACUMUN 2020! My name is Aleyna Bakar and I'll be serving you as Academic Team Member during the conference.

Assisting the delegates before the conference is an honour to me. While your mind is fresh, you may desire contact either for a talk or points. In my belief, communication will decrease your stress or fear during the sessions while advancing your knowledge upon the topic. Encouraging delegates to look for information about the general topic of the committee, also most importantly obey the recommendation links. These steps will be your way to a fruitful debate.

To begin with our topic, this guide is accompanied by The Counter Intelligence Program and discussions will be debated over the open agenda. We as the Academic team members aimed to include enough information that you need to understand the agenda. So, I'm hoping for further research from you to be a master in the subject. If you realize something unusual or have an inquiry about anything, feel free to contact me via email.

aleynanurbakar@hotmail.com

Best Regards,
Aleyna BAKAR

I. Introduction

In 1908, a small special agent force was created by the United States government. It was made up of agents formerly working for the Department of Justice (DOJ) or the Treasury Department of the State. A year later, this newly established force was named Bureau of Investigation (BOI) which, after several changes over years, finally became the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935 (hereinafter referred to as the FBI or the Bureau)¹.

The FBI operates in many different areas, all of which serves one main purpose: *to protect the American people and uphold the Constitution of the United States*.² At least this is what the Bureau claims has been their mission since the very beginning. Throughout the 20th century, the FBI drew public attention several times when, as a result of leaked documents and controversial operations, its methods and motives were questioned. The most notable of these incidents was the burglary of an FBI office and the scandalous exposure of documents regarding FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) that followed. After this incident in 1971, COINTELPRO was disbanded, though it is still highly questioned whether the FBI truly terminated similar activities. The activities and the structure of COINTELPRO are the subject of this guide and will be explained thoroughly in later sections.

Notwithstanding different opinions, the FBI does operate in many fields regarding national security, the most prominent ones being the fight against terrorism, cyber security, counterintelligence programs, and organized crime. It is important to remember that the FBI is not a police force of any kind but a national security organization with law enforcement responsibilities that investigates national security threats³. With that in mind, FBI agents do have the authority to make arrests when needed, and the Bureau often cooperates with local police forces when addressing criminal activities.⁴

¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Timeline* | *Federal Bureau of Investigation*. [online] Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/history/timeline>

² Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Mission & Priorities* | *Federal Bureau of Investigation*. [online] Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/about/mission>

³ Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Frequently Asked Questions* | *Federal Bureau of Investigation*. [online] Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/about/faqs>

⁴ *ibid*

Among the twenty directors the FBI had so far, J. Edgar Hoover was by far the strongest figure, directing the Bureau for nearly half a century between 1924 and 1972⁵. This resulted in the Congress passing a law to limit the Director to a single term not exceeding ten years after Hoover's term ended when he died at the age of 77 in 1972⁶. COINTELPRO was one of the many initiatives of Hoover's and was created in 1956 on President Dwight D. Eisenhower's orders.

Counterintelligence is defined as “*secret action taken by a country to prevent another country from discovering its military, industrial, or political secrets*”⁷, but its name did not correctly represent COINTELPRO's actions. Under the COINTELPRO initiative, a vast black propaganda was conducted, and it was not aimed at other governments or foreign spies, but at US-based political and human rights movements. It was initially created against the rising Communist Party of the US, but was later expanded to include many other groups and organizations, e.g., the Black Panther Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Ku Klux Klan⁸. In the mid-1900s, these and many other movements were getting stronger with the public support they gained, and although some were deemed dangerous for legitimate reasons, a large part of these organizations and their activities were legal; hampering them meant going against fundamental rights protected by the First Amendment to the US Constitution—rights such as the freedom of speech and the press, and people's right to assemble peaceably⁹. The government, on the grounds that these “radical” groups were against the existing order and were possibly harmful to the future of the State, squarely overlooked the First Amendment Rights and carried out operations in order to disrupt their activities¹⁰. Agents within the Program used methods such as surveillance, harassment, blackmail, menace, disinformation, violence, and provocation. Moreover, COINTELPRO aimed to discredit leaders in order to undermine entire organizations—often by slander. As might be expected, when

⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Directors, Then and Now* | *Federal Bureau of Investigation*. [online] Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors>

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ Cambridge Dictionary. *COUNTERINTELLIGENCE* | *meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary*. [online] Dictionary.cambridge.org. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/counterintelligence>

⁸ FBI. *COINTELPRO*. [online] Available at: <https://vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro>

⁹ National Constitution Center – The 1st Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. (2019). *The 1st Amendment of the U.S. Constitution*. [online] Available at: <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendments/amendment-i/the-freedom-of-speech-and-of-the-press-clause/interp/114>

¹⁰ Glick, B. (2019). [online] Freedomarchives.org. Available at: <https://www.freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/Black%20Liberation%20Disk/Black%20Power!/SugahData/Government/COINTELPRO.S.pdf>

all these were exposed in the 1970s, the FBI faced a major public outcry. This committee will take place before the exposure of COINTELPRO.

II. Political and Human Rights Movements in the 20th Century

Political and Human Rights Movements in the 20th Century

In the 20th Century, known movements held which had a significant role in society. These movements made the governments establish their civil rights which followed international human rights by. All political movement is a human rights movement. In other words, the human rights movement means social movement. Additionally, a political movement is a social movement in the area of politics. Significance of this connection not only have changed our past but our future. Political movements may be local, regional, national, or international which aims to convince citizens or governments to take action on the matters and concerns which are the centre of the movement. The political and psychosocial dynamics of homophobic hatred are addressed, including the relationship of human rights violations to heterosexism and the insulation of the feminine. Most influential movements in the 20th Era listed below generally.

Beginning of the 20th Century, World War 1 encounter as the first event in 1914. The war reconstructed the racial and political consciousness of a generation of black people, especially those who served in the military. This would shape the activism and daily resistance of black people throughout the postwar period.

The national prohibition act took effect in January 1920.¹¹ For many years people had been struggling to free the United States of being able to make, purchase, or drink alcohol. Women would complain that the men were drinking too much, and it was producing obstacles for their relationships and families, so they wanted drinking banned, and it finally was in 1919. The ban didn't stop the drinking of alcohol, though, people would make their own. They would also sell it to others, it was hidden into the country, but they could also be imprisoned for having it. Prohibition only lasted about 13 years in the United States.

As far as the event's date, The Church Committee documented a history of the FBI training political suppression when agents were charged with rounding up "anarchists, communists, socialists,

¹¹ <https://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/632854/The-Major-Political-and-Social-Movements-of-the-20th-Century/>

reformists and revolutionaries" for removal. The national operations were grown against political and anti-war groups from 1936 through 1976.

In the 20th Century, known movements held which had a significant role in society. These movements made the governments establish their civil rights which followed international human rights by. All political movement is a human rights movement. In other words, the human rights movement means social movement. Additionally, a political movement is a social movement in the area of politics. Significance of this connection not only have changed our past but our future. Political movements may be local, regional, national, or international which aims to convince citizens or governments to take action on the matters and concerns which are the centre of the movement. The political and psychosocial dynamics of homophobic hatred are addressed, including the relationship of human rights violations to heterosexism and the insulation of the feminine. Most influential movements in the 20th Era listed below generally.

Beginning of the 20th Century, World War 1 encounter as the first event in 1914. The war reconstructed the racial and political consciousness of a generation of black individuals, particularly people who served within the military. This would shape the activism and daily resistance of black people throughout the postwar period.

The national prohibition act took result in January 1920. For many years people had been struggling to free the United States of being able to make, purchase, or drink alcohol. Women would complain that the men were drinking an excessive amount of alcohol, and it was producing obstacles for their relationships and families, so they wanted drinking banned, and it finally was in 1919. The ban didn't stop the drinking of alcohol, though, people would make their own. They would also sell it to others, it was hidden into the country, but they could also be imprisoned for having it. Prohibition solely lasted about 13 years within the United States.

As far as the event's date, The Church Committee documented a history of the FBI training political suppression once agents were charged with rounding up "anarchists, communists, socialists, reformists and revolutionaries" for removal. The national operations were grown against political and anti-war groups from 1936 through 1976.¹²

¹² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COINTELPRO>

After many ages of fighting for the freedom to vote, the 19th amendment in the United States Constitution outlawed any United States citizen from being rejected the right to vote based on sex in 18th August 1920.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, child labour was finally reformed. The minimum ages of employment and hours of work for children are governed by federal law in 1938.

In the United States, the biggest movement began in the 1960s with the civil rights movement, including the civil rights of people with disabilities. The landmark 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) prevents discrimination based on disability by employers, public settlements, state and local governments, public and private transit, and in telecommunications. (Between 1960-1990)¹³

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 approved into law which said that a human being can not be restricted from voting because of their race. This occurred in a time where the Civil Rights act was also going quite steadily.

From around 1967, its main concepts were: harmony with nature, community living, musical and artistic expression, etc. These ideas expanded around the world during the 1960s. Hippies had a certain way of behaving and dressing that was a large piece of their culture. They often had a calm type of nature.¹⁴

After many ages of fighting for the freedom to vote, the 19th amendment in the United States Constitution outlawed any United States citizen from being rejected the right to vote based on sex in 18th August 1920.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, child labour was finally reformed. The minimum ages of employment and hours of work for children are governed by federal law in 1938.¹⁵

¹³ <https://adata.org/learn-about-ada>

¹⁴ <https://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/632854/The-Major-Political-and-Social-Movements-of-the-20th-Century/>

¹⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fair_Labor_Standards_Act_of_1938

In the United States, the biggest movement began in the 1960s with the civil rights movement, including the civil rights of people with disabilities. The landmark 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) prevents discrimination based on disability by employers, public settlements, state and local governments, public and private transit, and in telecommunications. (Between 1960-1990)

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 approved into law which said that a human being can not be restricted from voting because of their race. This occurred in a time where the Civil Rights act was also going quite steadily.

From around 1967, its main ideas were: harmony with nature, community living, musical and artistic expression, etc. These ideas expanded around the world during the 1960s. Hippies had a certain way of behaving and dressing that was a large piece of their culture. They often had a calm type of nature.

We will emphasise events concerns Federal Bureau of Investigation throughout the twentieth century, however, the presence of major events can assist you to attach these actions. The COINTELPRO established with the Black Panther Party, nevertheless involved crucial events concerning the United States of America.

FBI records show that COINTELPRO resources targeted groups and individuals that the FBI considered rebellious, including feminist organizations, the Communist Party USA, anti-Vietnam War organizers, activists of the civil rights movement or Black Power movement, ecologist and animal rights organizations, the American Indian Movement (AIM), independence movements, and a variety of organizations that were part of the broader New Left. The program also targeted the Ku Klux Klan in 1964. During the timeline, there are four groups we will stress in this guide which are Black Panther Party, Ku Klux Klan, Socialist Workers Party, and New Left.

1. Black Panther Party (BPP)

This radical political party, established in October 1966, has a controversial history. Their endeavour had an underlying goal which is the continues of the inequality after 1960's approval of equality rights law. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defence is known as the most influential black movement organization of their times. Other critics have described them as more criminal than

political because of their involvement in many fatal firefights with police -caused death, wounding, and suffering. Also, by monitoring the behaviour of officers of the Oakland Police Department, which known as ‘cop watching’, cast doubts on.¹⁶

In 1967, the Mulford Act was passed and signed into law by the governor, establishing strict gun laws that stripped legal ownership of firearms from BPP members and prevented all citizens from carrying firearms in public.

In 1969, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) described the party as ‘the greatest threat to the internal security of the country’. Consequently, they developed a Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to discredit and criminalize the Party by using tactics. Responsibilities of COINTELPRO are the assassination of Fred Hampton -deputy chairman of the national BPP and accusation of assassinating other BPP members.

Oct. 22, 1966 — formation of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The Ten-Point Platform and Program is their founding document which states their ideals and ways of operation.

Ten-point program¹⁷

The original ten points of "What We Want Now!" follow:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the Capitalists of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

¹⁶ https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Panther_Party_for_Self-Defense

¹⁷ <https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/1966/10/15.htm>

9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

Major Events

April 25, 1967 — The Black Panther newspaper appearances with the boldfaced heading “Why was Denzil Dowell Killed” to encourage action over the death of a young black man shot by police in Richmond.¹⁸

May 2, 1967 — Protest a law that will restrict the right to have arms. The law is in response to the Panthers’ armed guards of their neighbourhoods. Gov. Ronald Reagan signs the legislation into law.

Oct. 28, 1967 — Panther Minister of Defense Newton is involved in a shootout with Oakland police after a traffic stop. Officer John Frey is killed. Newton is shot in the abdomen. Tracked to an Oakland hospital, he is arrested and charged with first-degree murder.

April 8, 1968 — 17-year-old Panther treasurer Bobby Hutton is killed by police after a violent confrontation in West Oakland. Panthers maintain that Hutton was shot eight times while unarmed and with his arms raised to surrender.

Sept. 8, 1968 — A jury acquits Newton of murder but convicted him of voluntary manslaughter. He is sentenced to two to 15 years.

Sept. 10, 1968 — Rifle shots are fired into Black Panther national headquarters in Oakland. A poster in the front window, of Newton holding a gun while seated in an African wicker chair, is apparently the target. Two intoxicated off-duty Oakland police officers are blamed for the incident and dismissed from the force.

¹⁸ <https://www.sfchronicle.com/art/article/A-timeline-of-the-rise-and-fall-of-the-Black-9967597.php>

1968 — Activism builds around the notion that Newton is a political prisoner. The “Free Huey” campaign leads to the opening of Black Panther chapters in more than 20 cities. The Free Breakfast for Children program is launched at St. Augustine’s Episcopal Church in Oakland.

Aug. 19, 1969 — Seale is arrested in Berkeley on charges of inciting a riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago a year earlier. At the famous Chicago Seven trial, Seale is bound and gagged after refusing to stop his courtroom outbursts.

Part of the COINTELPRO actions was directed at creating and exploiting existing rivalries between black nationalist factions. One such attempt was to "intensify the degree of animosity" between the Black Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers, a Chicago street gang. They sent an anonymous letter to the Ranger's gang leader claiming that the Panthers were threatening his life, a letter whose purpose was to cause "reprisals" toward Panther leadership. In Southern California, related actions were taken to exacerbate a "gang war" between the Black Panther Party and a black nationalist group called the US Organization. It was affirmed that the FBI had sent a provocative letter to the US Organization in an attempt to increase existing antagonism between the two groups.

COINTELPRO also aimed to destroy the Black Panther Party by targeting the social/community programs they supported, one of the most influential being the Free Breakfast for Children Program. The achievement of the Free Breakfast for Children Program served to "shed light on the government's failure to address child poverty and hunger—pointing to the limits of the nation's War on Poverty". The strength of the Party to organize and provide for children more effectively than the U.S. government led the FBI to examine the program as a means of exposing children to Panther Propaganda. In response to this, as an attempt of disassembling the program, "Police and Federal Agents regularly harassed and intimidated program participants, supporters, and Party workers and sought to scare away donors and organizations that housed the programs like churches and community centres".

Huey P. Newton

Newton became included in activism as a teenager, a populist Louisiana governor who was known for his social reforms. Newton studied law school in California. During this time, he met Bobby Seale, and in 1966 the two established the organization that was to become the Black Panther Party. While black equality was the goal, much of their fundamental focus was on ending police brutality.

Newton served as the party's minister of defence. In 1967 he was convicted of voluntary homicide after a traffic stop ended with the death of a police officer. His arrest sparked protests. Once released, Newton focused on the Panthers' community-based actions, which included free meals for children and health clinics.¹⁹

Bobby Seale

Seale reportedly became politically involved after hearing Malcolm X speak at an assembly in 1962. Later on, he and Newton established the Black Panthers, by adopting Malcolm X's motto "Freedom by any means necessary." Seale became the new party's chairman.²⁰ Seale continued to have legal difficulties even after his imprisonment.

Angela Davis

A philosophy lecturer at the University of California, she taught political education classes for the party and supported its militarism. In the 1960s she became an advocate for black prisoners.

Eldridge Cleaver

Cleaver's early life was spent in reform schools and jails on charges ranging from theft and marijuana possession to assault and rape. He later admitted to committing numerous rapes, which he called "an insurrectionary act" that made him feel like he "was getting revenge." He was jailed in 1958, and during this time he came to express regret for his crimes. He chronicled such doubts along with his views on black separation in a series of essays that would later be published in the memoir *Soul on Ice* (1968). The leading work involved the famous motto "You're either part of the problem or part of the solution." Released from prison in 1966, he soon joined the Black Panthers, becoming their minister of information.

Elaine Brown

A pianist, she began giving piano lessons in the Watts neighbourhood in 1967. Working in the predominantly black area sparked her activism, and in 1968 she participated her first Black Panther

¹⁹<https://www.britannica.com/list/black-panther-party-7-notable-figures?sa=X&ved=2ahUKewitq7NwLLmAhUeE7kGHePRAoYQ9QF6BAgFEAI>

²⁰ <https://www.britannica.com/list/black-panther-party-7-notable-figures>

gathering. She served as editor of The Black Panther newspaper. Besides, founded its free legal-aid program.

Stokely Carmichael

In the 1960s Carmichael was recognised a leader of black nationalism in the United States, and he coined its rallying slogan, “Black Power.” Carmichael advocated nonviolence, and he was a noticeable figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In 1964, he is the one who found a political party in Alabama. When he chose a black panther as the emblem of the party, the image later adopted by the Black Panther Party itself. This made Carmichael honorary prime minister in 1968. In 1969 he moved to Guinea and resigned from the Panthers, denied to their attempt to form “alliances with white radicals.”

Fred Hampton

Hampton death attracted the most attention. The Illinois local was involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) before joining the Black Panthers in 1968. He soon became head of the party’s Chicago section, developing a reputation for allying diverse groups. The 21-year-old Hampton was shot and killed during a police raid; another Panther was also killed in 1969. While law enforcement declared that they had come under attack while serving search permission. Hampton’s death caused public outrage.

As Malcolm X once said racial injustice is “no longer a Negro problem or an American problem but a human problem.”

Seven countries where the Panthers and their supporters looked different than the young, black, American men that we typically associate with the movement: England, India, New Zealand, Algeria, Israel, North Korea, and China.

The Black Panthers also received representative and financial assistance from groups in Germany, Sweden, France, South Africa, Japan, Canada, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Uruguay.

2. Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan is a hate group by pursuing the agenda of the white supremacist, also known as KKK or the Klan. Beliefs and ideas of white supremacy purport the natural superiority of "white". They are divided into 3 distinct groups: First Klan, the group that was founded after the Civil War and lasted until the 1870s; Second Klan, the other began in 1915 and has continued to the present; Third Klan.

The Third Klan, which is currently active, emerged after 1950. Their opposition stressing on the civil rights movement with tempestuous acts such as murder and violence. They had no formal relationships with other Klans, or connection to the second KKK, except for the fact that they copied its terminology and costumes. Beginning in the 1950s, blacks' efforts to improve their lives by bombing houses in transitional neighbourhoods. The white men worked in mining and steel industries, with access to these materials. There were so many bombings of blacks' homes in Birmingham. In some cases, they used physical violence, intimidation, and assassination directly against individuals.²¹

1951- NAACP Florida executive director (Harry Tyson Moore) and his wife are killed in the blast, by a firebomb to their house from the members of the Ku Klux Klan.

1963 - Members of the Ku Klux Klan bomb the predominantly black 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four little girls.

Assassination of NAACP organizer Medgar Evers in Mississippi.

1964 - The Ku Klux Klan firebombs twenty predominantly black churches, and then murders civil rights activists.

1965 - Alabama murder of Viola Liuzzo, who was visiting the state in order to attend a civil rights march. At the time of her murder, Liuzzo was transporting Civil Rights marchers related to the Selma to Montgomery March.

²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ku_Klux_Klan

1966 - Firebombing death of NAACP leader Vernon Dahmer, Sr., 58, in Mississippi.

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, a stronghold of Klan activity, Clarence Triggs was found murdered.

1967 - multiple bombings in Jackson, Mississippi of the residence of a Methodist activist, Robert Kochtitzky, the synagogue and the residence of Rabbi Perry Nussbaum. These were carried out by Klan member Thomas Albert Tarrants III, who was convicted in 1968. Another Klan bombing was averted in Meridian the same year.

3. Socialist Workers Party

A communist party called The Socialist Workers Party supported Leon Trotsky against Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. In 1960s, A factional situation developed in the SWP. SWP leaders saw Cuba as qualitatively different from the Stalinist states. So, they became closer to the International Secretariat of the Fourth International (ISFI). The SWP successfully negotiated a reunification of the ISFI and the International Committee of the Fourth International. Two sections of the ICFI, rejected the merger and turned against the SWP leadership. The most important faction opposing the SWP leadership's new line was the Revolutionary Tendency (RT).²²

The SWP supported each the civil rights movement and therefore the black nationalist movement that grew throughout the Sixties. It significantly praised the militance of black nationalist leader Malcolm X. After his assassination, the SWP had restricted success in forming alliances together with his followers and alternative black nationalists.²³

The party additionally revealed several of Trotsky's works in these years through their publishing house, Pathfinder Press. Not solely were the known writings reprinted, several for the first time since the 1930s, however other more obscure articles and letters were collected and printed for a wider audience than that they had once initial distributed. The growth of the press additionally permit the SWP to host *Intercontinental Press*, the FI magazine that later incorporated with *Inprecor*.²⁴

²² <https://enacademic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/150214>

²³ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Workers_Party_\(United_States\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Workers_Party_(United_States))

²⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intercontinental_Press

4. New Left

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, New Left arose in both western Europe and North America. It was a broad political movement consisting of activists campaigned for a broad range of social issues mainly in the '60s and '70s. The New Left movement was associated with the anti-war college-campus protest movements including Free Speech Movement in the United States. While it's started to grow out of student socialist activism which named Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and inspired by the African American civil rights movement. SDS was the main New Left organization in US. It founded in 1959 and issued its political manifesto, *The Port Huron Statement*, in 1962. The SDS launched the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), however, the SDSers were being displaced by white working-class activists because of their "'movement". Alongside, the Hippies and Yippies arose during the middle '60s which spread all around the world. New Left movements generally avoided traditional forms of political organization in favour of strategies of mass protest, direct action, and civil disobedience. The high point of New Left activism was reached in 1968 as a wave of radical protest swept across the globe. Having the terms in theoretical view, their major contribution was to a process of revision and diversification within Marxism and related doctrines.

Major Events

1950 Mattachine Society is founded in Los Angeles to advocate for homosexual rights.

1955 Bus boycott begins in Montgomery, Alabama

1956 Liberation magazine begins publication.

1957 U.S. Supreme Court overturns Montgomery's bus segregation law;
King forms the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

President Dwight Eisenhower sends troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce desegregation and protect African American children entering a white high school.

Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) is founded.

1960 Black students "sit in" at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, sparking civil disobedience across the South.

Sit-in leaders create the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) is founded.

Kennedy defeats Nixon for the presidency.

1961 Bay of Pigs invasion fails amid nationwide protests.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) sends integrated teams of Freedom Riders into the Deep South.

Women's Strike for Peace organizes a nationwide mothers' protest against nuclear war.

1962 Students for a Democratic Society issues The Port Huron Statement.

White mobs attack U.S. marshals sent to enforce desegregation at the University of Mississippi.

Cuban missile crisis occurs.

1963 Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* is published.

Kennedy calls for "peaceful revolution" in the South

Medgar Evers is assassinated.

March for Jobs and Freedom takes place in Washington, D.C.

Kennedy signs the Limited Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union and convinces the Senate to pass it.

Ku Klux Klan bombs a Birmingham church, killing four African American girls.

Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Lyndon Johnson becomes president.

1964 Malcolm X leaves the Nation of Islam and forms the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Freedom Summer Project brings northern students to Mississippi.

Civil Rights Act outlaws discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, and sex.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) refuses a compromise at the Democratic National Convention.

Free Speech Movement (FSM) begins at the University of California at Berkeley.

1965 Hart-Celler Act (The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965)

Malcolm X is assassinated in Harlem.

Civil rights marchers are beaten in Selma, Alabama

Johnson pressures Congress to pass a voting rights act

U.S. Marines land in Vietnam, beginning a massive buildup of ground troops

"teach-in" on Vietnam at the University of Michigan spreads nationwide

SDS leads a march against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C.

Watts uprising breaks out in Los Angeles.

First large-scale draft card burnings occur in New York.

1966 During a civil rights march in Mississippi, Stokely Carmichael calls for "Black Power."

National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) is organized in Oakland.

1967 During the Spring Mobilization against the War, 200,000 rally in New York and 50,000 in San Francisco.

Summer Black urban rebellions paralyze Detroit and Newark, New Jersey.

One hundred thousand protesters surround the Pentagon to demand an end to the war in Vietnam.

Senator Eugene McCarthy announces his anti war presidential candidacy; Carl Stokes is elected mayor of Cleveland, becoming the first African American mayor of a major city.

1968 Tet Offensive by South Vietnam's National Liberation Front (Vietcong).

Johnson withdraws from the presidential race and announces a halt to the bombing in Vietnam and the beginning of peace negotiations; "blowouts" by Chicano youths occur in Los Angeles high schools.

King is assassinated in Memphis, and 109 cities erupt in violence; student strike occurs at Columbia University.

"Police riot" occurs at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago

Vice President Hubert Humphrey is nominated.

Miss America pageant protest is staged by New York Radical Women.

Nixon narrowly defeats Humphrey; segregationist George Wallace runs third.

1969 Chicano student leaders in California form a movement.

When SDS collapses, one faction forms Weatherman: gay men confront police after a raid on the Stonewall Inn in New York's Greenwich Village.

Gay Liberation Front founded in New York.

Millions participate in the Moratorium against the war.

In the largest antiwar rally to date, 500,000 march on Washington; Native American activists occupy the former federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay.

Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) is founded in New York.

Further Recommends

Once you successfully headed this part, I would recommend you to watch some documentary/video about the the BPP and the New Left. I believe using them as the source of events to see the FBI's actions upon the topic would be efficient.

The Black Panther Party - **The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution** Documentary

New Left - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkXFb1sMa38>

III. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

1. Introduction to FBI

The FBI is an intelligence-driven and threat-oriented national security organization with both intelligence and law enforcement responsibilities. It is the main investigative branch of the U.S. Department of Justice and a full member of the U.S. Intelligence Community. The FBI has the authority and responsibility to investigate specific offenses assigned to it and to provide other law enforcement agencies with cooperative services, such as fingerprint identification, laboratory examinations, and training. The FBI collects, shares and analyzes

intelligence to investigate both its own investigations and its partners, and to better understand and combat US security threats.

2. A Brief History of FBI

The Background

In 1896, the National Bureau of Criminal Identification was established, which provided agencies across the country with information to identify known criminals. The assassination of President Mc William McKinley gave the impression that America was under the threat of anarchists. The Departments of Justice and Labor had been keeping records on anarchists for years, however President Theodore Roosevelt wanted more power to monitor them.

The Justice Department had been tasked with the regulation of interstate trade since 1887, but lacked the staff to do so. In the early 20th century, Oregon made little effort to reduce staff shortage until it became a land scam scandal. President Roosevelt asked Chief Prosecutor Charles Bonaparte to arrange an autonomous investigation service to report only to the Attorney General.

Bonaparte reached out to other agencies including the U.S. Secret Service, for especially personnel investigators. On May 27, 1908, the Congress banned the use of Treasury employees by the Justice Department, feared that the new institution would serve as a secret police force. Again at Roosevelt's urging, Bonaparte moved to organize a formal Bureau of Investigation, which would later have its own staff of special agents.

The Creation

The Bureau of Investigation (BOI) was created on July 26, 1908, after the Congress had adjourned for the summer. Attorney General Bonaparte, using Department of Justice expense funds, hired thirty-four people, including some veterans of the Secret Service, to work for a new investigative agency. Its first "Chief" (the title is now known as "Director") was Stanley Finch. Bonaparte notified the Congress of these actions in December 1908.

The bureau's first official task was visiting and making surveys of the houses of prostitution in order to force the "White Slave Traffic Act," or Mann Act, passed on June 25, 1910. In 1932, the bureau was renamed as the United States Bureau of Investigation. Then it was linked to the Bureau of Prohibition and rechristened the Division of Investigation (DOI) before finally becoming an independent service within the Department of Justice in 1935. In the same year, its name was officially changed from the Division of Investigation to the present-day "Federal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI".

3. Important Figures

Dwight Eisenhower

Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower (October 14, 1890 – March 28, 1969) was an American army general and statesman who served as the 34th president of the United States from 1953 to 1961. During World War II, he was a five-star general in the Army and served as Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Europe. He was responsible for planning and supervising the invasion of North Africa in Operation Torch in 1942–43 and the successful Invasion of Normandy in 1944–45 from the Western Front.

After the war, he served as Army Chief of Staff (1945–1948) and then became the president of Columbia University (1948–1953). In 1951–52, he served as the first Supreme Commander of NATO.

In 1952, Eisenhower entered the presidential race as a Republican to obstruct the isolationist foreign policies of Senator Robert A. Taft, who opposed NATO and wanted no foreign entanglements. He won that election and the 1956 election in landslides, both times defeating Adlai Stevenson II. He became the first Republican to win since Herbert Hoover in 1928. Eisenhower's main goals in office were to contain the spread of communism and reduce federal deficits. In 1953, he threatened to use nuclear weapons until China agreed to peace terms in the Korean War. China did agree and an armistice resulted which remains in effect. His New Look policy of nuclear deterrence prioritized inexpensive nuclear weapons while reducing funding for expensive Army divisions. He continued Harry S. Truman's policy of recognizing the Republic of China as the legitimate government of China, and he won congressional approval of the Formosa Resolution. His administration provided major aid to help the French fight off Vietnamese Communists in the First Indochina War. After the

French left, he gave strong financial support to the new state of South Vietnam. He supported military coups in Iran and Guatemala. During the Suez Crisis of 1956, he condemned the Israeli, British, and French invasion of Egypt, and he forced them to withdraw. He also condemned the Soviet invasion during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 but took no action.

During the Syrian Crisis of 1957 he approved a CIA-MI6 plan to stage fake border incidents as an excuse for the occupation by Syria's pro-Western neighbors. After the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in 1957, he allowed the creation of NASA, which led to the Space Race. He deployed 15,000 soldiers during the 1958 Lebanon crisis. Near the end of his term, he failed to set up a summit meeting with the Soviets when a U.S. spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. He approved the Bay of Pigs invasion, which was left to John F. Kennedy to carry out.

On the domestic front, Eisenhower was a moderate conservative who continued New Deal agencies and expanded Social Security. He covertly opposed Joseph McCarthy and contributed to the end of McCarthyism by openly invoking executive privilege. He signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and sent Army troops to enforce federal court orders which integrated schools in Little Rock, Arkansas. The biggest program was the Interstate Highway System. The National Defense Education Act encouraged the establishment of a strong science education. The two terms saw widespread economic prosperity in 1958, with the exception of a small recession. In his farewell address to the nation, he expressed concern about the dangers of large military spending, particularly open spending and contracts made to state-specific military manufacturers. The momentous assessments of his presidency put him at the top of the American presidents.

Edgar Hoover

J. Edgar Hoover, in full John Edgar Hoover, (born January 1, 1895, Washington, D.C., U.S.—died May 2, 1972, Washington, D.C.), U.S. public official who, as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from 1924 until his death in 1972, built that agency into a highly effective, if occasionally controversial, branch of federal law enforcement.

Hoover studied law at George Washington University at nights; where he received his bachelor's degree in 1916 and his master's degree in law the following year. He joined the Department of Justice in 1917 as a file interpreter, and two years later became the special assistant of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who oversaw the mass recovery and exile of the suspected Bolsheviks (communists) after World War I. In May 1924, he was elected Vice-President of the Research

Bureau (as later called), and seven months later he was approved as a director. Due to the scandals under the management of Warren G. Harding, he found the organization disreputable, rearranged and rebuilt professionally, recruited representatives in merit and developed rigorous methods of staff selection and training. He created a fingerprint file, the largest in the world; a scientific crime detection laboratory; and the FBI National Academy, which selected law enforcement officers from all over the country, was sent to special training.

In the early 1930s the exploits of gangsters in the United States were receiving worldwide publicity. Hoover took advantage of this to publicize the achievements of the FBI in tracking down and capturing well-known criminals. Both the FBI's size and its responsibilities grew steadily under his management. In the late 1930s President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave him the task of investigating both foreign espionage in the United States and the activities of communists and fascists alike. When the Cold War began in the late 1940s, the FBI undertook the intensive surveillance of communists and other left-wing activists in the United States. Hoover's animus toward radicals of every kind led him to aggressively investigate both the Ku Klux Klan and Martin Luther King, Jr., and other black activists in the 1960s. At the same time, he maintained a hands-off policy toward the Mafia, which was allowed to conduct its operations nationwide practically free of FBI scrutiny or interference. Hoover habitually used the FBI's enormous surveillance and information-gathering powers to collect damaging information on politicians throughout the country, and he kept the most scurrilous data under his own personal control. He used his possession of these secret files to maintain himself as the FBI's director and was apparently able to intimidate even sitting presidents by threatening to leak damaging disclosures about them. By the early 1970s he had come under public criticism for his authoritarian administration of the FBI and for his persecution of those he regarded as radicals and subversives. He retained his position, however, until his death at age 77, by which time he had been the FBI's chief for 48 years and had served 8 presidents and 18 attorneys general.

William C. Sullivan

William Cornelius Sullivan was born on May 12, 1912, in Bolton, Massachusetts. He graduated from Hudson High School and held advanced degrees from American University and George Washington University. Besides he held an honorary doctorate from Boston College.

FBI Career Summary

Sullivan joined the FBI early in World War II, when he was dispatched by J. Edgar Hoover on an undercover intelligence mission to Spain. Sullivan returned to FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., and took the first in a series of administrative posts that culminated in a decade as head of the domestic intelligence division, starting in 1961, and a brief tenure as the FBI's third-ranking official behind Hoover, the director, and his longtime confidant, Clyde Tolson. According to his *New York Times* obituary, Sullivan was "the only liberal Democrat ever to break into the top ranks of the bureau."

Cartha DeLoach

Cartha Dekle "Deke" DeLoach (1920 to 2013) was a long-serving FBI employee, agent, and executive between 1942 and 1970. At his retirement, he held the position of deputy associate director, the third-ranking official in the FBI at the time.

DeLoach joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1942 as a clerk in the Identification Division. In 1948 DeLoach replaced John Doherty as FBI's liaison officer to the Central Intelligence Agency. His main source of contact was Sheffield Edwards. According to Mark Riebling (*Wedge*) DeLoach had to persuade Frank Wisner to stop some of the CIA more outlandish operations. Riebling quotes DeLoach as saying: "Guys, you can't do that. Your operation just won't work, it's gonna blow. People suspect you. They know damn well you're not defense. You aren't properly backstopped."

In 1953 J. Edgar Hoover asked DeLoach to join the American Legion to "straighten it out". According to the journalist, Sanford J. Ungar, he took the assignment so seriously that he became national vice-commander of the organization: "DeLoach became chairman of the Legion's national public relations commission in 1958 and in that position and in his other Legion offices over the years, he exercised a great deal of influence over the organization's internal policies as well as its public positions."

Deke DeLoach became friends with Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1950s. It was DeLoach who arranged with Johnson, who was the Senate majority leader, to push through legislation guaranteeing J. Edgar Hoover, a salary for life. DeLoach later recalled: "There was political distrust between the two of them, but they both needed each other." However, he denied that the two men worked together to blackmail politicians. In his book, *Hoover's FBI* (1995), DeLoach argued: "The popular myth,

fostered of late by would-be historians and sensationalists with their eyes on the bestseller list, has it that in his day J. Edgar Hoover all but ran Washington, using dirty tricks to intimidate congressmen and presidents, and phone taps, bugs, and informants to build secret files with which to blackmail lawmakers." According to DeLoach this was not true.

IV. COINTELPRO

As mentioned before, COINTELPRO was created in 1956 by the then Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. Although similar missions are believed to have been carried out long before COINTELPRO, mid-twentieth century was definitely the apex of such incidents owing to the many movements of the time which the government deemed as threats to national security and social order, particularly the socialist movements that were regarded as operations covertly managed by the Soviet Union²⁵. COINTELPRO was merely a collective name chosen for all activities aimed at “neutralizing” dissident groups at a time when this type of FBI activity had become widespread and the Director more paranoid than ever before. The reason why this program survived many presidents with different ideologies was that it allowed all of them to spy on and hamper almost any group or person they thought was threatening²⁶. The FBI simply did not care whether it was fighting leftists, rightists, or people with much different agendas; it was ready to attack any group with opinions conflicting with the government’s—and its own. That being said, COINTELPRO’s initial target was the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), and it carried out its first operations around August 1956²⁷.

In 1919, two years after Russia’s October Revolution, an early version of the CPUSA and one other communist party were founded in the US²⁸. In 1929, these two parties merged under the name “the Communist Party of the United States” and within a decade the CPUSA became the country’s most important leftist organization. Its membership peaked right before the US entered

²⁵ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI’s Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

²⁶ Richard Stockton. (2017). *Domestic Spying, Blackmail, and Murder: Inside the FBI’s COINTELPRO*. [online] Available at: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/cointelpro-fbi/3>

²⁷ Jacobinmag.com. (2016). *The FBI’s Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

²⁸ Communist Party USA. (2016). *About Us*. [online] Available at: <https://www.cpusa.org/about-us/>

the World War 2 in late 1941²⁹. The party claims to have striven for an equal and democratic society under a socialist economic system since its establishment, and today has the motto: “People and Planet Before Profits”³⁰. While being anti-capitalist is enough to be considered a threat by the US government, because of their close relationship and irrefutable link to the Soviet Union, the government could never be sympathetic towards this or any other communist organization. The Socialist Workers Party (founded 1938) and Students for a Democratic Society (founded 1960) were two other prominent leftist organizations. Students for a Democratic Society provided a general direction for the various civil rights movements of the time, which were collectively known as the New Left³¹. The FBI’s COINTELPRO documents regarding socialist organizations later revealed that the government had used all means possible to decrease their influence on public. It is known that between 1960 and 1966, the FBI burglarized some of the offices of the Socialist Workers Party more than ninety times in order to photograph private documents, and this is only the information accessed through what the FBI made public after the COINTELPRO exposure and investigation³². This and similar tactics were very common against the New Left groups³³.

COINTELPRO’s methods to disrupt the activities of and to defame groups and individuals will be clarified here. It is known that the FBI used similar tactics against all of its targets. Therefore, both the socialist groups that have been introduced above and the so-called “black extremists” as well as the Ku Klux Klan that will be discussed later in this section were subject to these methods of mostly psychological, and sometimes physical, attacks:

Surveillance: The FBI monitored many key individuals by appointing agents to get close to and leak information about them, accessing their personal mail, burglarizing houses and offices in order to get hold of documents, and most importantly wiretapping. Martin Luther King Jr. is

²⁹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). *Communist Party of the United States of America* | *political party, United States*. [online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Communist-Party-of-the-United-States-of-America>

³⁰ Communist Party USA. (2019). *Communist Party USA*. [online] Available at: <https://www.cpusa.org/>.

³¹ Global Security. (2019). *The New Left*. [online] Available at: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/usa/history/13-07.htm>

³² Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI’s Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

³³ *ibid*

believed to have 16 wiretaps planted on him at some point during this time³⁴. Some of the FBI's wiretaps were planted with authorization, but many were illegal.

Infiltration and Provocation: The FBI infiltrated groups by employing its agents to become members. These agents then provided information for the Bureau. The agents were the most important part of the COINTELPRO program: In addition to providing valuable information, they were often charged with causing disagreements within groups by calling for more violent actions which served both to defame the group and to increase their likelihood of clashing with the police, by accusing real members of the organizations of being CIA or FBI agents, by spreading fake news of embezzlement within the group or of the leaders of the group plotting to kill and eliminate each other for power, etc. These type of agents are called "agent provocateurs".

Blackmailing: The FBI sent anonymous letters to the members of the groups containing information about the things the Bureau had discovered about their personal lives, often via wiretapping or illegally accessing their mail. The Bureau then threatened to leak this information to the press if the person in question did not submit to their wishes. They allegedly went as far as to ask Martin Luther King Jr. to commit suicide to avoid facing the shame the tapes they had on him would bring. Information regarding COINTELPRO operations concerning Martin Luther King Jr. is given later in this section.

Harassment: Apart from blackmailing, the FBI used mail to harass people in many ways. The mails sent by the FBI were often made to look as if they were from an anonymous supporter of the group, or someone who had information and wanted to warn the recipient. The mails contained false information and directed groups or individuals in the wrong way. They often resulted in people turning against each other and even assaulting others with no real reason. The mails were sometimes with no political content; they simply targeted to cause problems in the recipient's personal life, and as a result, to keep him/her busy and away from the group. The FBI also made false accusations about key individuals and pressed charges in an effort to both defame them and to keep them busy and unable to take action. These false accusations cost a lot of time and money to the organizations.

One of the first and foremost targets of the FBI was black rights advocate Malcolm X. He was born in 1925 in Nebraska to an activist family who supported the separation of the black and

³⁴ Tim Butz. (1976). *COINTELPRO Psychological Warfare and Magnum Justice*. [online] Available at: https://socialhistoryportal.org/sites/default/files/raf/0419760400_0.pdf

white communities to enable black people to establish their own economic and political systems³⁵. Malcolm's family was often harassed by the Ku Klux Klan and he lost a couple of relatives to violence, alongside his father's suspicious death³⁶. Although he was a clever and successful student, he dropped out of school at 15—after a teacher told him he could not be a lawyer because he was black, he explained later³⁷. He went to prison when he was twenty-one years old for robbing the houses of several rich white families with some other friends. Malcolm X's extreme stance on race and politics was evident even back then.

He later claimed he felt freer than ever before in prison, constantly reading books he accessed at the prison library³⁸. In prison, he was introduced to the Nation of Islam (NOI), a religion that took its roots from Islam, but claimed that black people were superior to white people, and white people were evil. At the end, it was more of a racial group far from Islam's teachings. Malcolm joined the NOI and quickly rose to power by impressing the NOI leader Elijah Muhammad with his intelligence and his rhetoric. After leaving prison, he advocated for a separate state for black people, and travelled the country to preach this message³⁹.

He quickly rose to fame, and while he gained the NOI many supporters, he was also heavily criticized by others for his statements that promoted violent action. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, although both preached for African-American rights, never cooperated, and on the contrary publicly criticized each other for their way of approaching the issue. After more than 10 years of working for the NOI, Malcolm X severed his ties with the organization because of its unwillingness to take stronger action and after a series of disagreements with Elijah Muhammad. Soon later, he went to Mecca for the Muslim pilgrimage, and upon learning about Islam's true teachings, embraced a different view⁴⁰. He no longer saw all white people as enemies, but was still confident in his belief that a separate "black state" had to be established and violent action had to be taken where African-American people were attacked or oppressed by others.

³⁵ Natasha Ishak. (2019). *33 Photos Of The Cold-Blooded Murder Of Malcolm X*. [online] Available at: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/malcolm-x-assassination#15>

³⁶ *ibid*

³⁷ *ibid*

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹ *ibid*

⁴⁰ *ibid*

On 21st of February, 1965, Malcolm X was shot 15 times as he took the stage to give a speech at the rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. One of the assassins and two other suspects that were arrested later were NOI members⁴¹. People close to him later stated that Malcolm was expecting that he would be killed soon, and when asked about by whom, he said by the NOI, the FBI, or the both⁴².

It is known now owing to exposed files and letters, that the FBI always monitored Malcolm X. Moreover, a couple of months before the assassination, a letter from the Director Hoover to the FBI's New York Office urged the agents to do something about Malcolm X and the black violence in New York⁴³. Although the FBI's involvement in Malcolm X's assassination was never proved, the fact that many aspects of this incident has never been clarified and his death largely served the Bureau's intentions makes the idea of the FBI being a part of it a strong standing opinion to this day.

Another prominent, and perhaps the most famous target of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations was Martin Luther King Jr. Born in 1929 to a religious family, Martin Luther King followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps and served as the co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta until his death⁴⁴. He studied theology in college and received a doctorate degree from Boston University in 1955⁴⁵. Dr. King had been a civil rights advocate since his teenage years. In 1957, he became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). From 1957 until his death in 1968, he travelled the country, gave over twenty-five hundred speeches, wrote five books and numerous articles⁴⁶. He led many nonviolent demonstrations and always advocated for peaceful solutions to the issues of segregation. He is said to have adopted Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence as the basis of the SCLC's operational techniques while the

⁴¹ *ibid*

⁴² *ibid*

⁴³ *ibid*

⁴⁴ NobelPrize.org. *The Nobel Peace Prize 1964*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1964/king/biographical/>

⁴⁵ NY Times. (1991). *Boston U. Panel Finds Plagiarism by Dr. King*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/11/us/boston-u-panel-finds-plagiarism-by-dr-king.html>

⁴⁶ NobelPrize.org. *The Nobel Peace Prize 1964*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1964/king/biographical/>

organization's ideals were taken from Christianity⁴⁷. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

Although he was arguably the most important public figure in the civil rights movements of the 1960s and was, and still is, a hero to many, some revelations about his private and academic life stained his legacy over the years. In 1991, upon plagiarism charges against Martin Luther King, Boston University appointed a committee to decide whether these charges were true⁴⁸. The Committee concluded that some parts in Dr. King's dissertation for a doctorate degree were in deed plagiarized⁴⁹. Although the degree was not revoked, this caused serious questions regarding Martin Luther King's principles that were supposedly based on honesty and integrity. Another unlikely characteristic of Dr. King came into light after the FBI started wiretapping the hotel rooms he stayed in while travelling the country, upon suspecting around 1955 that Dr. King and/or other members of the SCLC might be linked to communist organizations⁵⁰. What they discovered was that Dr. King was having extramarital affairs during those trips⁵¹. The tape recordings are under seal in the US national archives until 1927, but the memos were recently made available by the FBI⁵². It was widely known that Dr. King had affairs but the extent of his actions as described by the FBI and allegedly evident in the recordings is new information—and one that has the potential to harm his reputation to a much further extent.

It is stated in an exposed FBI document from 1963 that the Bureau thought the civil rights protests were threatening the established order and Dr. King was a radical and had to be stopped⁵³. The FBI's obtaining the abovementioned tapes resulted in one of the history's most famous blackmails. In 1964, a few months before the Nobel Prize ceremony in which Dr. King was going to

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ NY Times. (1991). *Boston U. Panel Finds Plagiarism by Dr. King*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/11/us/boston-u-panel-finds-plagiarism-by-dr-king.html>

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ Business Insider Nederland. (2019). *55 years ago, the FBI tried to blackmail Martin Luther King Jr with a 'suicide' letter. This week, newly discovered documents finally explain the sordid origin of the plan..* [online] Available at: <https://www.businessinsider.nl/fbi-martin-luther-king-report-tapes-orgies-suicide-2019-5/>

⁵¹ Business Insider. (2019). *Sealed FBI audio tapes allege Martin Luther King Jr. had affairs with 40 women, a report claims*. [online] Available at: <https://www.businessinsider.com/fbi-tapes-allege-mlk-watched-rape-2019-5>

⁵² *ibid*

⁵³ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI's Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

receive the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent an anonymous letter to Dr. King's house⁵⁴. However, it did not reach him in time; he learned about it after he came back from Oslo⁵⁵. By that time, his wife had already read the letter that talked about his extramarital affairs and how the sender had evidence and was going to publish it soon if Martin Luther King did not do "the one thing left for [him] to do". Dr. King believed what the sender meant by "the one thing left to do" was for him to commit suicide, and he informed his close friends about it; he also knew that although the letter seemed like it was written by a not-mentally-stable African-American individual, it was from the FBI⁵⁶. By that time, the FBI had made it very clear that it wanted Dr. King gone and had even made allegations to the press regarding his private life, but the public and the media had not cared and the FBI was unable to discredit him⁵⁷. The letter is open to interpretation, some think "the one thing left to do" is actually a call for him to take a step back, but whatever it was, Dr. King did not do so⁵⁸. Moreover, even his wife did not question any further and showed indifference to the letter and its content⁵⁹. Four years later, on 4th of April, 1968, Martin Luther King was in Memphis to support a strike by workers who wanted better and safer working conditions⁶⁰. As he left his hotel room, he was fatally shot by a rifle from across the street⁶¹. His assassin, James Earl Ray, was arrested two months later in London. Ray first confessed the crime but then claimed he was innocent, and kept changing the story⁶². However, his initial confession kept the trial from proceeding and many details never came to light⁶³. Ray was known to be a white supremacist but what exactly made him assassinate Dr.

⁵⁴ Nytimes.com. (2014). *What an Uncensored Letter to M.L.K. Reveals*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/16/magazine/what-an-uncensored-letter-to-mlk-reveals.html>

⁵⁵ ibid

⁵⁶ ibid

⁵⁷ ibid

⁵⁸ ibid

⁵⁹ Richard Stockton. (2016). *Only Human: Four Shortcomings That Reveal Martin Luther King Jr.'s Dark Side*. [online] Available at: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/martin-luther-king-dark-side/2>

⁶⁰ Bill Hutchinson. (2019). *What you need to know about the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.* [online] ABC News. Available at: <https://abcnews.go.com/US/assassination-martin-luther-king-jr/story?id=54095424>

⁶¹ ibid

⁶² Waxman, O. (2018). <https://time.com>. [online] Time. Available at: <https://time.com/5218982/james-earl-ray-martin-luther-king/>

⁶³ ibid

King and how his two suspicious trips months before were funded were never explained⁶⁴. Some believe a group was behind the assassination, but again, due to lack of evidence and a comprehensive investigation, no such claim was proven.

233 out of the 295 operations launched by the FBI under the COINTELPRO initiative against the “black nationalist groups” targeted the Black Panther Party⁶⁵. An FBI memo from 1968 talks about preventing the rise of a “black messiah” that could bring together various black rights defender groups who at the time did not get along⁶⁶. After Dr. King’s death, the FBI had in mind one particular individual—Fred Hampton. 21-year-old Hampton was the chairman of the Illinois chapter of the BPP and the deputy chairman of the national BPP⁶⁷. He was widely regarded as a rising leader in the black rights movement. Most importantly, Hampton was a peacemaker between the African-American and Puerto Rican gangs in Chicago⁶⁸. He was also cooperating with some white-dominated groups⁶⁹. His actions caught the FBI’s attention which was already scared of the emergence of a “black messiah”. The FBI stationed an informant in the Chicago office of the BPP⁷⁰. This informant, William O’Neal, became Hampton’s body guard, and later provided the FBI with the floor plan of the BPP apartment where Hampton stayed⁷¹. The FBI was working together with the Chicago Police Department in an effort to hinder the BPP⁷². Edward Hanrahan, the State’s Attorney for the Cook County, was looking for ways to fight the BPP even more intensely after Hampton’s statements on how Hanrahan was fighting the black youth and not the armed gangs⁷³. On 4th of December, 1969, allegedly to seize weapons they thought were stocked there, the Chicago

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI’s Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

⁶⁶ *ibid*

⁶⁷ Nittle, N. (2019). *Biography of Fred Hampton, Black Panther Party Leader*. [online] ThoughtCo. Available at: <https://www.thoughtco.com/fred-hampton-biography-4582596>

⁶⁸ *ibid*

⁶⁹ *ibid*

⁷⁰ Taylor, F. (2014). *The FBI COINTELPRO Program and the Fred Hampton Assassination*. [online] Huffpost.com. Available at: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-fbi-cointelpro-progra_b_4375527?guccounter=1

⁷¹ *ibid*

⁷² *ibid*

⁷³ Gipson, T. *Black Panther Party True History*. First Edition. Lulu, 2018.

Police raided the BPP apartment with the order of Hanrahan early in the morning when Hampton was sleeping in his bed⁷⁴. The police opened fire and killed Fred Hampton while he was sleeping and a fellow Panther, Mark Clark, who tried to protect him⁷⁵. After the assault, the police claimed the Panthers had opened fire first but it was proven to be not true⁷⁶. It turned out that the police had fired more than 90 times, and the Panthers only once⁷⁷. It was revealed after the exposure of COINTELPRO that O'Neal was an FBI informant and the attack was planned⁷⁸. Among the documents was a copy of the floor plan the police had used to plan the raid with Fred Hampton's bed marked with a red X⁷⁹. The officers had opened fire directly aiming there. After a 13-year-long lawsuit, the connection between the FBI, Hanrahan, and the attack became clear, and the survivors of the assault and the Hampton and Clark families received a total of \$1.85 million settlement⁸⁰. This incident is the FBI's most sensational action that has been exposed so far that targeted a civil rights activist.

One example of how far and absurd the Bureau would go in order to counter its targets' activities happened in 1969. At the time, the government was not providing breakfast to children at schools⁸¹. The BPP started a "breakfast program" in which it served food at schools in underprivileged areas⁸². The FBI, in an attempt to defame the program, prepared colouring books for children with racist images and anonymously sent it to institutions that were donating food to

⁷⁴ Nathaniel, S. (1982). *PLAINTIFFS IN PANTHER SUIT 'KNEW WE WERE RIGHT'*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/11/14/us/plaintiffs-in-panther-suit-knew-we-were-right.html>

⁷⁵ Nittle, N. (2019). *Biography of Fred Hampton, Black Panther Party Leader*. [online] ThoughtCo. Available at: <https://www.thoughtco.com/fred-hampton-biography-4582596>

⁷⁶ Taylor, F. (2014). *The FBI COINTELPRO Program and the Fred Hampton Assassination*. [online] Huffpost.com. Available at: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-fbi-cointelpro-progra_b_4375527?guccounter=1

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ *ibid*

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ Nathaniel, S. (1982). *PLAINTIFFS IN PANTHER SUIT 'KNEW WE WERE RIGHT'*. [online] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/11/14/us/plaintiffs-in-panther-suit-knew-we-were-right.html>

⁸¹ Blakemore, E. (2018). *How the Black Panthers' Breakfast Program Both Inspired and Threatened the Government*. [online] HISTORY. Available at: <https://www.history.com/news/free-school-breakfast-black-panther-party>

⁸² *ibid*

the program, claiming the books were created by the BPP and were handed out to children via the breakfast program⁸³.

Jean Seberg, a famous actress from Iowa, had been an enthusiastic activist since her teenage years⁸⁴. As she advanced in her career, she started making generous donations to activist organizations such as the BPP and its breakfast program⁸⁵. When the FBI noticed her support to the BPP, it started monitoring Seberg, bugged her phones, and read her mail as evidenced by the FBI memos exposed later. From one of her phone conversations, the FBI deduced that Seberg, who was married to a French diplomat at the time, was pregnant with a Black Panther's baby, although no such thing was said in the conversation but only the fact that she was pregnant⁸⁶. The FBI then decided to publicize this news and anonymously passed the information to gossip columnists⁸⁷. Soon, the rumours spread and distressed Seberg so much that she went into premature labour and the baby lost her life two days later⁸⁸. At the funeral, the casket was left open as if to prove that the baby was white and the rumours were false⁸⁹. Seberg committed suicide at the age of 40 after the FBI's plot against her came into light with the exposure of COINTELPRO⁹⁰. Her then husband claimed she was in a fragile mental state since the baby's death, had attempted suicide several times over the years, and the news of the FBI surveillance on her affected her mental health even more adversely⁹¹.

⁸³ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI's Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

⁸⁴ Brumfield, D. (2019). *Cheapened and neutralized: why the FBI destroyed actress Jean Seberg's life*. [online] Medium. Available at: <https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/cheapened-and-neutralized-why-the-fbi-destroyed-actress-jean-sebergs-life-4097d87e8195>

⁸⁵ *ibid*

⁸⁶ *ibid*

⁸⁷ Rawls, W. (1979). *F.B.I. Admits Planting a Rumor To Discredit Jean Seberg in 1970*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/09/15/archives/fbi-admits-planting-a-rumor-to-discredit-jean-seberg-in-1970-former.html>

⁸⁸ Brumfield, D. (2019). *Cheapened and neutralized: why the FBI destroyed actress Jean Seberg's life*. [online] Medium. Available at: <https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/cheapened-and-neutralized-why-the-fbi-destroyed-actress-jean-sebergs-life-4097d87e8195>

⁸⁹ *ibid*

⁹⁰ Rawls, W. (1979). *F.B.I. Admits Planting a Rumor To Discredit Jean Seberg in 1970*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/09/15/archives/fbi-admits-planting-a-rumor-to-discredit-jean-seberg-in-1970-former.html>

⁹¹ *ibid*

On August 17, 1970, Omaha patrolman Larry Minard was killed when an unattended suitcase he was examining exploded⁹². He had found the suitcase inside a vacant building to which he was sent to investigate, upon an anonymous call to the police about a woman screaming⁹³. Six other officers were injured in the bombing⁹⁴. Immediately, two Black Panthers, Ed Poindexter and David Rice (also known as Mondo we Langa) were taken into custody. They had been monitored by the FBI for a long time under the COINTELPRO operation⁹⁵. The examining of the tape recording was done by the FBI's crime laboratory. It would be in favour of the FBI had they been convicted. The voice in the tape recording of the anonymous call, however, did not belong to either Poindexter or Rice⁹⁶. Thinking that this information could lead to the Panthers' release, the FBI withheld the evidence on Director Hoover's order⁹⁷. Chief of the crime lab and an avid supporter of Hoover's, Ivan Willard Conrad gave the orders and took care of the documents⁹⁸. Poindexter and Rice were sentenced to life in prison. After the exposure of COINTELPRO, the FBI's withholding the evidence and more examples of corruption in the crime lab surfaced, and the two Panthers, both of whom had claimed innocence since the beginning, appealed about the tape⁹⁹. However, no result was obtained. Rice died in prison in 2016, and Poindexter is still in prison¹⁰⁰.

Under COINTELPRO, the FBI also launched successful attacks against the Ku Klux Klan. However, it did so only after then President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered it, and there was a

⁹² Richardson Reports. (2018). *FBI leaders led conspiracy to frame Black Panthers in Omaha for policeman's murder*. [online] Available at: <https://richardsonreports.wordpress.com/2018/11/12/fbi-leaders-led-conspiracy-to-frame-black-panthers-in-omaha-for-policemans-murder/>

⁹³ Richardson, M. (2008). *FBI crime lab chief who withheld evidence from Black Panthers in COINTELPRO case also pilfered lab equipment*. [online] OpEdNews. Available at: <https://www.opednews.com/articles/FBI-crime-lab-chief-who-wi-by-Michael-Richardson-080911-131.html>

⁹⁴ Richardson Reports. (2019). *FBI Laboratory Director Ivan Conrad withheld report on policeman's murder*. [online] Available at: <https://richardsonreports.wordpress.com/2019/01/28/fbi-laboratory-director-ivan-conrad-withheld-report-on-policemans-murder/>

⁹⁵ Richardson, M. (2008). *FBI crime lab chief who withheld evidence from Black Panthers in COINTELPRO case also pilfered lab equipment*. [online] OpEdNews. Available at: <https://www.opednews.com/articles/FBI-crime-lab-chief-who-wi-by-Michael-Richardson-080911-131.html>

⁹⁶ *ibid*

⁹⁷ *ibid*

⁹⁸ *ibid*

⁹⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰⁰ The Lincoln Journal Star. (2016). *Mondo we Langa (David Rice) dies after 44 years in prison*. [online] Available at: https://journalstar.com/news/local/mondo-we-langa-david-rice-dies-after-years-in-prison/article_5847641d-405e-54f8-92a3-55de29febf11.html

substantial difference between the operations targeting the black extremists and the New Left, and the white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in terms of the Bureau's enthusiasm to act¹⁰¹. Although the FBI infiltrators within the KKK made up approximately one-fifth of all members, the Bureau was unsuccessful at countering the violence the Klan spread¹⁰². Moreover, the FBI had three times more agents working on "ghetto violence" than on white supremacist groups such as the KKK¹⁰³. Deputy Associate Director of the FBI, James Adams stated in his testimony in 1975 that the KKK's actions was one of the areas where "the law was ineffective", defending the FBI's overwhelmingly illegal actions¹⁰⁴. He stated that the Bureau knew about some of the police departments in some areas, especially in the south, participating in the KKK's actions¹⁰⁵. Further in the same testimony, he also said when the FBI obtained information regarding future KKK actions via its informants, it passed the information to the local police forces¹⁰⁶. Adams' statements are conflicting in that the Bureau knew the police's involvement in violence yet it passed the information to them believing that they were the appropriate authority to deal with it. The FBI's willingness to bend the rules in various other situations but decision to follow them at that time under these circumstances can be interpreted as a sign of its disinterest—or relatively little interest compared to what it has towards the "black extremists" and the New Left—in the KKK violence.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a small group called the "Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI" broke into a Pennsylvania office of the FBI and burglarized more than a thousand documents¹⁰⁷. The documents by themselves did not contain elaborate information about COINTELPRO, but they hinted at something big and scandalous. As public disturbance increased, the senate decided to take action and the United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (widely known as the "Church

¹⁰¹ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI's Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>

¹⁰² Best, E. and Brown, J. (2017). *FBI leadership claimed Bureau was "almost powerless" against KKK, despite making up one-fifth of its membership*. [online] MuckRock. Available at: <https://www.muckrock.com/news/archives/2017/dec/08/fbi-kkk/>

¹⁰³ *ibid*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*

¹⁰⁷ Knox, L., Lipton, B. and Brown, J. (2019). *Remembering the burglary that broke COINTELPRO*. [online] MuckRock. Available at: <https://www.muckrock.com/news/archives/2019/mar/08/fbi-media-anniversary/>

Committee” for its chairman Senator Frank Church) was created. The committee held many hearings and demanded more information be released by the FBI, to which the FBI responded with reluctance, however, at the end it was compelled to do so. The Bureau had to release thousands of pages of classified documents, and a very detailed and extensive government surveillance and harassment on its own citizens surfaced. The public outcry was major. Some of the victims of the harassments and slanders filed suits and received settlements, but of course, at that point, nothing could repay what had been done.

Although the FBI terminated COINTELPRO in 1971, it merely means that one single operation under which the FBI ran its counterintelligence activities did not exist anymore. However, there is nothing standing between the FBI and continuing such activities on an individual basis, and in fact, this is exactly what was stated in the memo that ordered the termination of COINTELPRO. However, it is certain that after such an incident, government officials, the press, and the public all gained awareness regarding government surveillance and how far the FBI as well as other security agencies would go for their interests or out of fear. Nevertheless, today, the FBI is still in a way continuing to manipulate the public opinion; this time on terrorism¹⁰⁸. The aftermath of the exposure of COINTELPRO and in which areas it is related to today is out of the scope of this committee, therefore, will not be shared here. However, it is a crucial part of the modern history, and concerns all citizens living under all governments of the world, therefore, it is highly recommended to do further research on the topic. Moreover, not all COINTELPRO operations can be narrated here, but the disclosed FBI documents are on the FBI’s website and there are many more sources who dwell on the topic that can be found online, many of which are provided in the endnotes of this document.

V. Conclusion

Dear delegates, although we will be giving more detailed information in introduction session; in this committee, there will be not limit for your imagination. In spite of the fact that this rule may make you powerful against the Crisis Team, we will be asking you for establishing lots of detailed operations throughout the committee proceedings. You are FBI agents, therefore, you should be considering secrecy of your plans and actions in order to protect the well-being of your organization in the eyes of American public. Thus, while establishing your operations, you need to consider the ways of doing it without being recognized as a governmental body. You will understand what we mean in the first day and the first crisis, but of course, throughout all conference.

¹⁰⁸ Branko Marcetic. (2016). *The FBI’s Secret War*. [online] Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/fbi-cointelpro-new-left-panthers-muslim-surveillance>