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Description of document: Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files re: The Village Voice newspaper, 1969-1997

Released date: 30-September-2011

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Source of document: Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attn: FOI/PA Request
Record/Information Dissemination Section
170 Marcel Drive
Winchester, VA 22602-4843
Fax: (540) 868-4995/4996/4997
E-mail: foiparequest@ic.fbi.gov

Note: Some records undated

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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 30, 2011

Subject: VILLAGE VOICE
FOIPA No. 1158842- 000

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

- ☐ (b)(1)
☐ (b)(2)
☒ (b)(3) 18 U.S.C. Section 2518

☐ (b)(4)
☐ (b)(5)
☒ (b)(6)

Section 552a

- ☐ (b)(7)(A)
☐ (b)(7)(B)
☒ (b)(7)(C)
☐ (b)(7)(D)
☐ (b)(7)(E)
☐ (b)(7)(F)
☐ (b)(8)
☐ (b)(9)
☐ (d)(5)
☐ (j)(2)
☐ (k)(1)
☐ (k)(2)
☐ (k)(3)
☐ (k)(4)
☐ (k)(5)
☐ (k)(6)
☐ (k)(7)

573 page(s) were reviewed and 299 page(s) are being released.

☒ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

- ☒ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
☒ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☐ In accordance with standard FBI practice, this response neither confirms nor denies the existence of your subject's name on any watch lists.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001. Your appeal must be received by OIP within sixty (60) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", followed by a stylized flourish or number "3".

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

This material is being provided to you at no charge.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 100-HQ-454198 - Section 1
The Village Voice

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-31-2011

~~SECRET~~

Date: 6-10-69

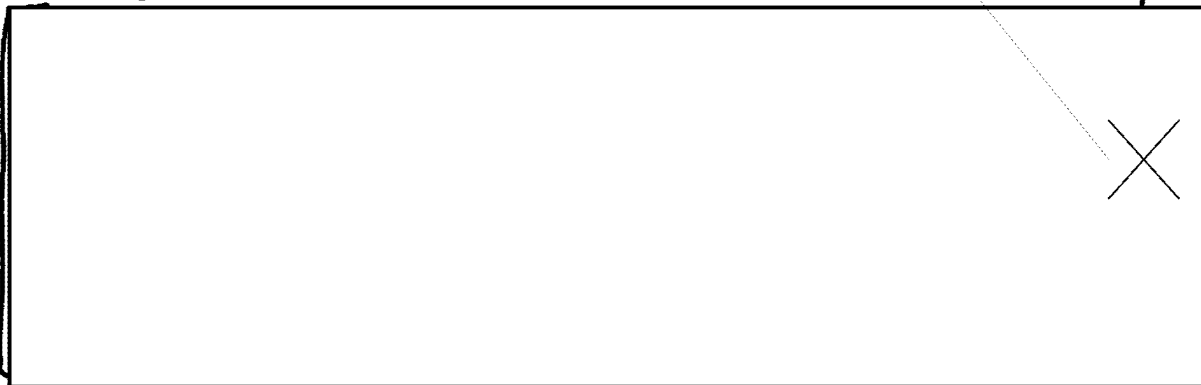
To: Director, FBI

From: Legal Attache, Rome (100-1705) (RUC)

Subject: THE VILLAGE VOICE
Sheridan Square
New York, N.Y. 10014
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
Reference:

(U)

Information set forth in the enclosed memorandum was received
on 5-29-69 from:



b7D

Classified by Source: SECRET

Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

#911368 2/28/00
CLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KP
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/6

MCT-19-91

100-454198

JUN 13 1969

(5) Bureau (Enc- 9)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(2 - New York)

1 - Rome

56 JUL 11 1969

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

INT. SEC.



~~Secret~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 10, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-31-2011

(S)

THE VILLAGE VOICE
Sheridan Square
New York, N.Y. 10014

(U)

The following information was made available
by a confidential source abroad on May 29, 1969: (S)

Communist literature was sent to VASSILIOS
VASSILAKOS, 1 Acheou Street, Athens, Greece, bearing the
return address of "The Village Voice, Sheridan Square,
New York, N.Y. 10014." (S)

(U)

VASSILAKOS is a hard-core Greek communist who
has been exiled to a Greek island in the Aegean Sea by
the present government of Greece for his subversive
activity. (S)

#911368 2/28/00
CLASSIFIED BY SP2ALMKP
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1,6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~Secret~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

PROPERTY OF THE FBI
This report is loaned to
you by the FBI, and neither
it nor its contents are to
be distributed outside the
agency to which loaned.

COPIES DESTROYED
81 FEB 25 1974

454198

1* - 100 -
ENCLOSURE

#91368 2/28/00
CLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KP
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

FBI

Date: 12/10/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Via AIRTEL

Classification: SP1/AG 30

(Priority)

Declassify on: OADR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI *THE VILLAGE VOICE*
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-168228) (C)
SUBJECT: ~~NEW YORK MEDIA PROJECT~~
INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS)Attached hereto are nine copies of and LHM dated as
above entitled New York Media Project.

The sources utilized are as follows:

First Confidential source - [redacted]

Second Confidential source - [redacted]

NYC (SAC contact)

Information concerning New York Media Project is
being furnished to the Bureau in view of involvement by
persons from "New York Times", "Time-Life", and other
publishing concerns. It is felt that this might be of
interest to the White House, in view of recent controversy
with regard to the news media.The notice and leaflet as furnished by first
confidential source are being made exhibits in the NYO case
file.The SAS who observed the demonstration on 11/14/69
were [redacted] and [redacted] in connection with [redacted]The NYO indices contain no information concerning
New York Media Project; Media Mobilization and "Pac-O-Lies",
described in the 11/20/69 issue of "The Village Voice" item
as "the voice of the New York Media Project".2-Bureau (RM) (Encls. 9)
1-New YorkJRN:bip
(4)

ENCLOSURE

REC-6 100-454198-2

13 DEC 12 1969

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

b6
b7C
b7Db6
b7C

NY 100-168228

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The NYO does not have a copy of this publication ("Pac-O-Lies"); efforts will be made to attempt to discretely secure a copy for transmittal to the Bureau under captioned case file.

The individuals mentioned in this LHM who are identifiable, where information is available, are characterized. There is not sufficient background information available to identify and characterize the others mentioned.

b6
b7C

It is noted that one [redacted] Bu 151-3629; NY 151-1823 was subject of an AEC (SCS) investigation, now in closed status. Above individual is possibly identical with [redacted] mentioned in attached LHM.

[redacted] is subject of Bufile 105-176980; NYfile 100-151129. (X)(U)

(U)

Report of JOHN PAGE, Jr., at Mexico City, dated 3/27/68, reflects that [redacted] was listed as passenger # 11, for Flight 465, Cuban Aviation Co., Mexico to Havana, Cuba, 1/5/68. He held passport [redacted] He returned to Mexico from Havana Cuba, January 13, 1968. (X)(U)

The above information is not being included in LHM because [redacted] travel to Cuba was to attend Cultural Conference in January, 1958, as a [redacted] and was not a participant in the Congress. (X)(U)

b6
b7C

Concerning DAVID HALBERSTAM, possibly identical with individual mentioned in this LHM, the following is noted:

Review of NYO files reflects that as of 11/15/66, HALBERSTAM's employment was given as Control Editor at "Harpers Magazine", NYC, and that in 1963 he was employed by the "New York Times" in care of the Foreign Desk, NYC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

NY 100-168228

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NYO files also reflect that HALBERSTAM was formerly the "New York Times" correspondent in Warsaw until he was expelled from the country in December, 1965, for writing articles which the Foreign Ministry of Poland considered sanderous. DAVID HALBERSTAM was also the winner of a Pulitzer Prize for reporting the war in South Vietnam.

DAVID HALBERSTAM [redacted] is the subject of Bu 105-145356; NY 105-76936. File reflects unresolved allegations against [redacted] that while there was no definite information to give indication that [redacted] (c)

b6
b7C

The first confidential source [redacted] has been requested to be on the alert for any further information concerning the members of captioned groups and their activities.

[redacted]
[redacted]
in the NYO) also advised as follows on 11/20/69:

b6
b7C
b7D

Comparable to the small group of persons who control television programming, the literary field, centered in New York City, is also governed by a handful of persons. If a writer disagrees with the social and political philosophy of the controlling group, he is not invited to appear on conversation type radio and television programs.

The source remarked that one [redacted] requested the source to represent black writers at a moratorium demonstration scheduled on November 14, 1969, in NYC. Although not in sympathy with the moratorium, [redacted] knowing he had a prior commitment in Upstate New York on that date.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-168228

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source explained that he agreed to the moratorium appearance to indicate that his beliefs are not in opposition to the literary group. The real reason was to obtain the endorsement of the literary group and the anticipated bookings on radio and television.

The source did not appear at this moratorium.

On 12/9/69, [] advised he has no knowledge of publication by name of "Pac-O-Lies" and could furnish no information relative to New York Media Project. b6 b7C

[] will remain alert for any pertinent information with regard to this matter and furnish same to the NYO.

The attached LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" to adequately protect the confidential sources one and two, of continuing value. If the identity of these sources were revealed this could be injurious to the national security of the US.

Due to the sensitive nature of this matter, no active investigation is being conducted and this case is being placed in a closed status.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

December 10, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York Media Project

The following article appeared in the November 13, 1969 issue of a New York City weekly newspaper "The Village Voice", page 22, in the column "Scenes" by writer Howard Smith:

"Of the many groups that have recently emerged to participate in the November Moratorium, one of the most curious and perhaps most significant in the long run is Media Mobilization, a group of newsmen concerned about media's responsibility in the war and the political role of the communications industry in general. At a noon rally tomorrow (Friday) at the U.N.'s Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, they will abandon their traditional roles of impartial chroniclers to actively demonstrate against the war, demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops in Southeast Asia, and no future Vietnams-anywhere.

"For most of the newsmen, the rally will be the first time they have demonstrated on any issue besides a newspaper strike. Among the chanters and placard-bearers will be men and women from Time, Newsweek, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Scientific American, NET, ABC, NBC, CBS, the Associated Press, the New York Times, the New York Post, the Daily News, and Newsday.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1A3SC

ON 1-12-89

289324

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-454198-2
ENCLOSURE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

New York Media Project

On December 3, 1969, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a group of media writers and personalities in the New York City area were attempting to gather interested people in their profession to meet with them in front of the Time-Life Building, New York City to participate in what they called "Media Mobilization". This activity was to take place at 11:45 a.m. on November 14, 1969 at the Time-Life Building, to be followed at 12:00 noon by a rally in the vicinity of the United Nations Building, East 47th Street and First Avenue, New York City.

This source advised that speakers at the rally include DAVID HALBERSTAM, JULES FEIFFER, JOHN SACK, MARYA MANNES, DAN WATTS.

This confidential source furnished a leaflet advertizing the rally scheduled for Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, accross from the United Nations Building, East 47th Street and First Avenue, New York City, Friday, November 14 at 12:00 noon, which leaflet follows:

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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New York Media Project

"A few of the newsmen who were asked to join in explained that they are anti-war, but oppose the rally for professional reasons, claiming that participation severely compromises the objectivity of reporting about similar events. Since all well-informed reporters must have some political convictions about the news they cover, Media Mobilization's Organizers don't see why they should make pretenses to living in a political vacuum while off the job. Perhaps, they explain, if some of the more perceptive ones had spoken out sooner, the American public would have awakened to the outrages of Vietnam before now.

"Maybe some newsmen see partisanship as a threat to their position of privileged observer. At any rate, a few of the publications whose employees are involved have openly voiced disapproval and fear that the demonstration will tarnish their corporate images of reliable, straight news coverage.

"At an afternoon workshop after the rally, the media people will examine their individual and collective roles in American society and discuss such questions as "Can we-should we-be 'objective'? Are media jobs organized and employees chosen in ways designed to discourage dissent? Can media be changed to serve the needs of the people?" The workshop will begin at 2 p.m. at the Church Center, 44th Street at First Avenue.

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New York Media Project

THE WAR IS OUR BUSINESS



MEDIA MOBILIZATION

Why do the American people know so little about the underlying causes of the Vietnam War -- how it began and why it continues? Why has it taken them so long to recognize that this war is not and has never been in their interest?

We who work in the media know the reason. For more than a decade we have personally seen those who control the mass media distort the news about the war, mis-report it and not report it. These actions have been deliberate. This war has been no "mistake," no tragic "blunder."

We have been silent too long. There have been individual acts of dissent but most of our opposition has been limited to action outside our jobs. It is now apparent that those of us in the communications media who want an immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Vietnam and Southeast Asia are many -- not few. It is time to link up our ideas and our actions at work.

From November 13 through 15, millions will be meeting to discuss their role in the Vietnam War. We in the media must examine our own responsibility -- past, present and future.

JOIN THE MEDIA MOBILIZATION ON FRIDAY, November 14. Join the reporters, writers, editors, secretaries, photographers and production workers of this city who demand

- Immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Vietnam and Southeast Asia
- No more Vietnams -- anywhere.

RALLY -

Meet at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza -- 47th Street and First Avenue

Friday

November 14

12:00 o'clock noon

There will be speakers from magazines, newspapers and other media

Meet with others in our industry for an informal workshop at

The Church Center -- 44th Street & First Avenue

at 2 PM

We'll talk about: Our Job -- The Corporation -- and Vietnam

- 1) How are our jobs organized to discourage dissent?
- 2) Is there "objectivity" in reporting the news?
Is there an uninvolved observer?
- 3) Who works in media -- and who doesn't?
- 4) Can the media be changed to serve the needs of the people?

This action was organized by employees of:

Time Inc.
The New York Times
Newsweek
Esquire
Scholastic

Bantam Books
Random House
McGraw-Hill
Harper & Row
New York Post

Associated Press
CBS
American Heritage
Scientific American

--- and others

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New York Media Project

On December 14, 1969, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed a rally and demonstration which began at 12:00 noon at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, New York City.

The rally was attended by approximately 400 individuals who stood in front of a sound truck parked on the street. Signs carried by demonstrators indicated that various publishing companies and their employees advocate an immediate withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam.

One individual who identified himself as LARRY SELLS (phonetic) a free lance film editor, acted as master of ceremonies. The first speaker introduced was Marya Mannes, described as a free lance writer who praised the vocal minority in the United States, and who characterized "the silent majority" as unamerican and asked what this latter group had done for peace.

The second speaker introduced as Arthur Wang, President of Hill and Wang Publishing Company stated that anti-war protestors are being intimidated by the United States Government and that anyone believing in peace becomes suspect. Wang criticized the deployment of 45,000 military troops into Washington, D. C. to cover the Vietnam Moratorium of November 15, 1969. Wang further stated that the United States Government is dividing the people and that President Nixon "promises peace but produces hate".

The next speaker introduced as, John Sack, author of the book "M Company" criticized the manner in which the American troops in ARVN are being indoctrinated. He claimed that United States troops are being taught that those in ARVN are actually the Viet Cong, and that our troops must kill and destroy in order to protect the world from Communism.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York Media Project

Other speakers introduced were Allan Ravage (phonetic) formerly a writer with "Playboy" magazine; David Halberstam, from "Harpers" magazine; Patricia Arbine (phonetic) from "Look" magazine and Jules Feiffer, cartoonist, all of whom criticized United States involvement in Vietnam claiming that it is not our war; that it cannot be won and that we should stop it now. All of the speakers criticized a speech given by Vice-President Spiro Agnew on November 13, 1969, during which he criticized the major television network news programs for biased reporting.

The demonstration and rally ended at 1:25 p.m.; there were no incidents and arrests.

"The Village Voice" issue of November 20, 1969, page 63, in the column "Scenes" by writer Howard Smith, commented on the rally of November 14, 1969, which stated in part as follows:

"Last week I wrote about media people who oppose the war. Among them are many radicals whose political involvement goes far beyond anti-war protest, ranging from Women's Lib to the Panthers. In the first issue of Pac-O-Lies, a new paper by media people and for media people, they have put together an insider's collection of little horror stories about their struggles with newspaper and network brass. Pac-O-Lies is the voice of the New York Media Project, a group dedicated to making the media "a source of information that directly confronts contemporary and historical reality."

"Sounding like Spiro Agnew but obviously attacking from a left instead of a right angle, the NYMP feels that mass communications are excessively dominated by liberal, Eastern media barons. Among the NYMP's goals are an "end to the lie of

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New York Media Project

objectivity," abolition of white and male supremacist propaganda in the mass media, worker control of the communications industry, and elimination of all forces that use the media to coerce and oppress.

"The Media Project plans to use Pac-O-Lies as a clearing house for ideas, workshop, and rap session notices. Both the group and the paper need contributions of people, news, and as usual money.

The December 2, 1969 issue of "National Review", a weekly magazine edited by William F. Buckley, Jr., contained an article on page 1204, captioned "The Mob and the Media" which stated, in part, as follows:

N.Y.

"The revolutionary Left has also moved into the struggle over the media, organizing the New York Media Project, composed of 'professionals in the communications industry' who are determined to oppose the war not, as in the past, outside their jobs but in their professional capacity. Members have been recruited from Time, Newsweek, Fortune, Look, Esquire, Sports Illustrated, the Associated Press, United Press International, the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, ABC, CBS, National Educational Television, Random House, Mc Graw-Hill, Doubleday, Harper & Row and elsewhere. The New York Media Project, moreover, is not a single-issue protest organization formed to seek an end to the war. 'There must be an end', it proclaims, 'to the conspiracy of silence and all methods that have blacked out and distorted the rebellions and protests of blacks, workers, women, GIs, students, and all Third World liberation movements...We must apply pressure by whatever means we can to open up space in the mass media in which (Black) Panthers can publicly defend themselves, and explain their programs in their

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New York Media Project

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

own words. Media brass will resist our pressure, but we are going to have to be clear among ourselves who and what we're working for, besides our paychecks.' Symptomatic of this increasingly open militancy is the escalated rhetoric of Look, which in its November 18 issue urged immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and, in its December 2, issue, intensifies its attack upon what it now calls the entire 'Nixon-Burger-Mitchell-Thurmond gang.'"

Jules Feiffer

On April 20, 1965, a second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on April 11, 1965, the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) held a fund raising affair at the Square East, 15 West Fourth Street, New York, New York. The theme of the affair was anti-HUAC throughout. One Jules Feiffer had written the "Skits" for the affair.

Who's Who in America, Volumn 35, 1968-1969, two years, reflects that Jules Feiffer is a cartoonist-writer.

A characterization of the NYCAHUAC is attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York Media Project

1.

APPENDIX

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE aka

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

[REDACTED] b6
California, a former member of the Communist Party (CP) b7C
in Los Angeles, California, from 1946 to 1952, who furnished information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1949 to 1952, advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a member of the Los Angeles County CP as of September, 1952.

A second source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA," (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and coordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

A third, fourth and fifth source have advised during March, 1962, that CP members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

A sixth source advised that at an Executive Board meeting of NYCAHUAC held January 7, 1965, a letter from NCAHUAC was read which disclosed that NYCAHUAC is no longer connected in any way with the NCAHUAC.

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New York Media Project

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)

2.

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE aka (CONT'D)

On April 15, 1966, the sixth source advised that the NYCAHUAC was dissolved on December 15, 1965. The sixth source stated that the NYCAHUAC had turned over all abolition work in the New York City area to the NCAHUAC who had established an organization in New York City known as the New York Friends of the NCAHUAC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 3 1970
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Walters ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Soyars ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

NR024 NY PLAIN

8:45 PM URGENT 2-3-70 RDS

TO DIRECTOR

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 168288 3P

The Village Voice

NEW YORK MEDIA PROJECT DEMONSTRATION AT SIXTH AVE, AND FIFTY SECOND ST., NYC FEBRUARY THREE SEVENTY; SUPPORTING BLACK PANTHER TWENTY ONE AND OPPOSING SUBPOENA OF MASS MEDIA INFORMATION (INFO CONCERNING IS).

ON FEBRUARY THREE SEVENTY, SSD, NYCPD ADVISED DEMONSTRATION TO BE HELD TWELVE NOON, INSTANT DATE, BY CAPTIONED GROUP AT CBS BUILDING SIXTH AVE. AND FIFTY SECOND ST., NYC.

ON FEBRUARY THREE SEVENTY SA OF FBI OBSERVED FOLLOWING:
AT APPROXIMATELY TWELVE NOON ABOUT TWENTY PERSONS FORMED PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF ENTRANCE TO CBS BUILDING, ON SIXTY AVE., BETWEEN FIFTY SECOND AND FIFTY THIRD STREETS NYC. THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF DEMONSTRATORS WAS FIFTY INDIVIDUALS. SIGNS OBSERVED READ "RESIST THE SUBPOENAS"; "CBS IS A GOOD GERMAN", WITH A SWASTIKA PAINTED ON THE SIGN. LEAFLETS WERE HANDED OUT, ONE CAPTIONED "FIGHT THE SUBPOENAS" ^{LEU} ~~X~~ MEDIA MOBILIZATION, P.O. BOX SIX FIVE FIVE, RADIO CITY STATION, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ONE ZERO ZERO ONE NINE.

END PAGE ONE

REC-106 100-454798-3
FEB 16 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-25-80 BY SP-3
DB/Ref

100-454798-3
XEROX
FEB 18 1970
1970
ENCLOSURE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-34-1

PAGE TWO

THIS LEAFLET REFLECTED, IN PART, "LAST WEEK IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS PURSUING A MASSIVE AND DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN TO USE WORKERS IN THE MEDIA AS AGENTS OF ITS EFFORT TO CRUSH DISSENT AND OPPOSITION". MEDIA MOBILIZATION WAS DESCRIBED ON THIS LEAFLET AS "A GROUP OF WORKERS FOR THE CITY'S BROADCASTERS AND PUBLISHERS WHO ORIGINALLY GOT TOGETHER TO PROTEST THE MASS MEDIA'S TREATMENT OF NEWS ABOUT VIETNAM AND HAVE CONTINUED TO MEET REGULARLY IN RECOGNITION OF A MUCH WIDER COMMUNITY OF CONCERN". A SECOND LEAFLET HANDED OUT CAPTIONED "MEDIA WORKERS!" CALLING FOR SUPPORT OF THE PANTHERS AND OPPOSING SUPPLYING THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE TAPES OF CBS INTERVIEWS WITH PANTHER LEADERS.

THE DEMONSTRATION ENDED AT ONE FIFTEEN; THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NY LETTER AND LHM DATED DECEMBER TEN SIXTY NINE CAPTIONED NY MEDIA PROJECT; INFO. CONCERNING (IS).

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THE SPECIAL AGENTS WHO OBSERVED THE DEMONSTRATION ARE



b6
b7C

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

FEB 4 1 15 PM '68

FBI

RECEIVED-10120H

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

September 23, 1970

REC-46

EX-117

100-454198-4

b6
b7C

Pikesville, Maryland 21208

Dear Mr. [redacted]

In reply to your letter of September 14th, I
am unable to provide the data you are seeking as information
in the files of this Bureau must be maintained as confidential
in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 24
SEP 23 1970

COMM-FBI

- 1 - New York - Enclosure
- 1 - Baltimore - Enclosure

NOTE: Our files contain no record of correspondent. "The Village Voice" is a weekly newspaper circulated primarily in the Greenwich Village area of New York City. It is well known as a "hippie" newspaper.

FMG:jmb (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2A/KRP

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

58 OCT 2 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

6 23

b6
b7C

PIKESVILLE, MARYLAND 21208

September 14, 1970

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It has been brought to my attention by a reliable source that the list of subscribers to the Village Voice, a liberal newspaper published weekly in New York, has been maintained by either and/or all of the following: the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of Defense, in keeping with the above mentioned organizations effort to cope with the turmoil afflicting our country as of late.

As a subscriber to the Village Voice, this disturbs me very much, and although I have doubts about the validity of the statement, I cannot expel the possibility of its truth. I would therefore appreciate, if, after a thorough investigation by your counsel or staff, that you present me with your conclusions.

If there would be any truth to this statement, I would be compelled to take whatever legal action necessary to purge my name from these lists in one of the most dramatic infringements upon the Bill of Rights in general and the First Amendment in particular.

Thank you for your cooperation.

REC-46 100-454198-4
EX-117
Sincerely,

Z SEP 24 1970

b6
b7C

ack/DML
FMG/jmb
9/23/70

mmh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2ALM/KD

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Tolson	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Sullivan	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Mohr	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. DeLoach	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Brennan	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Village Voice

31 SEP 24 1970

EXP. PROC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/9/00 BY SP2A/MK

ST 102

40

*ack. nml
JBT: ajh
9/29/70
ENCLOSURE*

Del (inactive) REC-57

Mailing List
9-29-70
Change Noted

Del chg

100-454198-5

SEP 24 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

nml (2)

SAC, NEW YORK

3/2/71

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

pk
"VILLAGE VOICE"
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

The Bureau is conducting a survey of a representative number of New Left type underground newspapers across the Nation. In order that this survey be complete, it will be necessary for your office to submit a copy of each issue of the above publication to the Bureau. You should begin sending a copy of each issue printed after 3/4/71. In the event the captioned publication is no longer being published in your territory, advise the Bureau by routing slip.

The above publication should be submitted to the Bureau by routing slip marked "Attention: New Left Section, 9th and D Building, Room 922." You should continue to submit issues of the above publication in this manner until advised otherwise. You should set forth information on the initial routing slip as to the estimated number of issues this publication regularly prints.

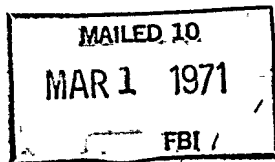
RJS:jlm
(4)

NOTE:

By memorandum dated 2/24/71, [REDACTED] to Mr. C. D. Brennan, captioned "New Left Movement, Underground Publications, Internal Security - Miscellaneous," a survey of this type of publication was approved. At the present time we do not receive copies of the above paper on a regular basis. The office of origin is instructed to submit copies of the paper in order to fulfill the needs of our survey.

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



EX-117

REC-89

100-454198-6

5 MAR 2 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SPAN/KP

W. J. Brennan
61 MAR 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Dear Mr. Hoover,

It is a radical paper, very anti-American and its policy is pro- leftist.

in particular should be investigated. He is a radical and should be on your list of those who are at all times carefully watched. He operates out of an office at 25 Fifth Avenue. Please watch this man [redacted]

You are doing a terrific job, especially with that crowd of Nuns, Priests, ex-nuns, and dissident priests. You will win your case. I am sorry that the BuggsBunny Nun with the buck teeth, Jogges-Egan was released from jail. She is an ugly Dog.

Best of luck at all times,

Sincerely yours,

NOT RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP6

54 MAR 1 1971

357 FEB 4 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-359477

September 29, 1970

ST 102

REC-57

100-454198-5

Honorable Joseph D. Tydings
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator:

Your communication of September 23rd enclosing
a copy of a letter from Mr. [redacted] of Pikesville, Mary-
land, has been received.

[redacted] directed the same request to me to which
I responded on September 23rd. I informed him that I was unable to
furnish the data he was seeking since information contained in the
files of this Bureau must be maintained as confidential in accordance
with regulations of the Department of Justice.

As you requested, the copy of his letter is being
returned.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

MAILED 24

SEP 29 1970

COMM-FBI

Enclosure

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

NOTE: Bufiles disclose prior cordial contacts with Senator Tydings
(D-Maryland). [redacted] is not identifiable except in connection with
his letter to the Director dated 9/14/70. "The Village Voice" is a
weekly newspaper circulated primarily in the Greenwich Village area
of New York City. It is a well-known "hippie" paper. Salutation and
complimentary closing per prior correspondence.

JBT:ajh (5)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

September 23, 1970

*Ty
M*

United States Senate

end

RE: Mr.

b6
b7C

Respectfully referred to:

Congressional Liaison
The FBI
Washington, D. C.

Because of the desire of this office to be responsive to all inquiries and communications, your consideration of the attached is requested. Your findings and views, in duplicate form, along with return of the enclosure, will be appreciated by

100-454198

JDT:TS

Please respond ATTN:TS

for [unclear]
Joseph D. Fydings
(D-Md.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATT:EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION)

DATE: 10/30/73

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (80-217)

SUBJECT:

VILLAGE VOICE
MISCELLANEOUS INFO

On 10/29/73, [redacted] for "Village Voice", 80 University Place, New York, N.Y., contacted SA [redacted] at the NYO twice. Village Voice is a Greenwich Village-oriented "liberal weekly" - the description is the newspaper's own. b6 b7C

[redacted] in a sly seemingly friendly approach, and after referring to what he described as the (FBI's) "new approach to the press" sought answers to questions like:

"What is Division V?"

"What would 'payments to informers' mean?"

"What does SOG mean?"

"How can I reach the minutes to an FBI meeting which took place on 9/10-11/70, and concerned the policy toward the New Left?"

[redacted] was cagey and obscure. He was told that although good relations with the media are desired the FBI and it's agents are still bound to keep certain matters confidential and, that answers to his carefully guarded questions could not be any broader than the questions were narrow and limited. b6 b7C

[redacted] was invited to confer with the FBI if he had an article or book he was researching. He was further advised that he could feel free to contact the External Affairs Division at FBIHQ if he so desired. He seemed sincere in his thanks for the offer.

[redacted] appears identical with [redacted] (Bufiles 105-191887, 151-2217) reportedly an active SDS officer while at the University of Chicago in 1963-1965

2-Bureau
1-New York

REC-30 100-454198-
EX-117
#911368 3/9/70
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2AN/KP

15 NOV 2 1973

RJO:dcj
56 NOV 8 1973



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RESEARCH SECTION

NY 80-217

and later. [redacted] he has written for the "Village Voice" and other publications receiving world wide circulation. He has written critically of the FBI, e.g. "The people's panel: An arm of the FBI", a long article under his by-line which appeared in the "Village Voice" on 7/29/71 and was critical of Federal grand jury hearings into New Left Activities. [redacted] entitled, [redacted]

b6
b7C

The above is for the information of the Bureau. It would appear from the wording of [redacted] questions that he is basing his questions on some kind of inside FBI documentary material and that he is preparing a critical writing of some kind.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 9/16/71

FROM : T. E. Bishop

Tolson _____
Felt _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Cleveland _____
Ponder _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT

[REDACTED] "ESQUIRE" MAGAZINE
AND "THE VILLAGE VOICE" NEWSPAPER
NEW YORK CITY

b6
b7c

The above-captioned individual telephoned Bishop's office on the morning of 9/16/71 and, after ascertaining Bishop's name and title, identified himself as [REDACTED] "Esquire" Magazine and "The Village Voice" newspaper, a New York City underground newspaper. He said he was considering writing a story on the organization known as the "Friends of the FBI" and wished to know what the FBI's connection with it was. He was emphatically advised that the FBI has no connection whatsoever with this organization and it was formed without the knowledge and consent of the FBI.

[REDACTED] then brought up the question of public relations functions of the FBI. He was informed that the FBI does not have a public relations office or public information office and was told that this function is performed by the Department of Justice's Public Information Office for all agencies within the Department of Justice. He then attempted to secure information from Bishop as to how much money was spent by the FBI in informing the public of FBI activities, but no information was given to him.

[REDACTED] asked if the FBI had a movie about its activities which is shown to groups upon request. He was told that we have a movie of approximately 20 minutes duration entitled "The FBI" which is loaned to school groups, civic groups, etc., upon their request, which details information about the FBI's activities and jurisdiction. He then requested that he "as a journalist" be given a private showing of this film. He was advised that the FBI had neither the time nor the manpower to hold private showings of this or any other film for the thousands of "so-called journalists" in the country. The conversation with him was then terminated.

RECOMMENDATION

None. For information.

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY 5224WLP

100-454198-
168 SEP 21 1971
11 SEP 20 1971
CRIME RESEARCH IN
ORIGINAL FILE

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

June 25, 1971

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

100-454198-
Honorable Edward I. Koch
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman:

I have received your letter dated June 17, 1971, in which you requested additional information in regard to the matter described in the article from the June 3, 1971, issue of "The Village Voice."

For your information, the entire article as it pertains to the actions of FBI personnel involved is misleading in that it alleges harassment by them. As I have previously advised you, the Special Agents referred to in the article were acting strictly within the limits of their legitimate authority. There was no harassment on their part in this investigation. In addition, the [REDACTED] were not, as was alleged in the article, advised that it was illegal to photograph FBI Agents. Since the article mentions that there is a judicial action pending in regard to this matter, I feel that it would not be appropriate for me to comment further.

b6
b7C

Your letter of June 17, 1971, is indeed appreciated.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 22

JUN 25 1971

FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Beaver _____
Telo, Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JHK:dw
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2AUN/K

53 JUL 6 1971

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-465546-9

EDWARD I. KOCH
17TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

DAVID W. BROWN
COUNSEL

COMMITTEE ON
BANKING AND CURRENCY

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

June 17, 1971

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Blumenthal, C.D. ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Dalbey ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Walters ☒
Mr. Soyars ☒
Mr. Beaver ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

1134

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I very much appreciate receiving your response
to my letter of June 8.

Since writing to you, more of my constituents
have requested that I complain to you of the alleged
activities of the FBI in the matter described in the
Village Voice. I was pleased to learn from your
letter that, "The article, as it pertains to the
actions of the Special Agents mentioned is inaccurate."
It would be very helpful to me in responding to my
constituents if you would detail the inaccuracies.

Thank you so much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch

EIK:ajp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/00 BY SP2AMK

CORRESPONDENCE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-465546-9

JUN 21 1971

JUN 21 1971

5- June

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. Beaver

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/8/71

SAC, NEW YORK (100-

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SM - M

SECURITY MATTER - MISC.

3. THE VILLAGE VOICE

Re New York letter, captioned as above, dated 5/11/71.

Enclosed is a copy of an article appearing in the Village Voice, 6/3/71, written by NAT HENTOFF, captioned "John Lindsay: Mayor of Prague?", in which he indicates that three film makers, STEVEN FISCHLER, JOEL SUCHER and HOWARD BLATT, are among the plaintiffs in a suit that has been filed in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

The attached is being furnished for your information.

100-454198-

b6
b7C

NOT RECORDED

152 JUL 7 1971

REC-24

100-465546-3

100-465546

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York

DLH:rec
(3)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/9/00 BY SP2AMK

JUN 13 1971

NEW YORK

62 JUL 8 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-465546-3
EXP-PROC
ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-465546-3
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

the village VOICE, June 3, 1971

Hentoff**John Lindsay:
Mayor of Prague?**

Some months ago, I heard from a group of film-makers. They wanted to make a movie about secret surveillance and civil liberties. I gave them whatever leads and contacts I had—journalists with knowledge of the subject, lawyers who

are deeply involved in Bill of Rights work, etc. In the process of trying to shoot the picture, these film-makers have learned a great deal about what it's like to exercise civil liberties in John Lindsay's New York. What follows is not quite material for Costa-Gavras, but then again it

might be if he's interested in exploring pre-"2" and pre-"Confession" models in a democracy whose constitutional base is being eroded.

Three of the film-makers—Steven Weisler Joel Sacher, and Howard Blat—are among the plaintiffs in a suit that has been filed in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York. The case has been brought by the Law Commune in conjunction with the National Lawyers Guild, the New York Civil

Liberties Union, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and the Emergency Civil Liberties Union. The defendants include the city's secret police: the Special Services Division (formerly known as the Bureau of Special Services). Among the other defendants are Police Commissioner John J. Murphy and the Mayor, John Lindsay. The latter is the one who has been most widely criticized in the court papers—he is the "chief of the government's police in New York," John Lindsay is the ultimate responsible for the city's secret police. One of his creations, New York has had a special court of police since the Municipal Bureau was founded in 1912. But what they do is not for his responsibility.

I shall return to the suit—and some of the remarkable revelations in the court papers—next week. Much of this column is concerned with a report by the Pacific Street Film Collective (the film-makers mentioned above) on their experiences while trying to use their First Amendment rights in the City of New York. To my knowledge, the carefully drawn letter from which I shall quote has been sent to at least two reporters on daily newspapers. Each of these journalists, I expect, has considerable space restrictions and perhaps restrictions from editors as well. (Like: "What's so important about this story?")

In my judgment, this report, because of the specificity of its detail, may well be the most useful column I'll have printed this year. We are not living in Prague; but unless a lot of people get involved in preventing the coming of a post-constitutional America, it is far from impossible that these film-makers, this winter, and some of you may yet wind up in an explicitly political wing of the Tombs.

The letter:

"We are a group of film-makers living communally in Brooklyn. We are currently involved in the production of a film dealing with the issue of surveillance and constitutional rights. In the course of filming we have been systematically harassed by both agents of the New York City Police Department's Bureau of Special Services (BOSS), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The following events have occurred since the beginning of the production:

"On two occasions, during the course of production, we were in-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/9/00 BY SP2AMK

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Village Voice
6/3/71
page 19
column 1

John Lindsay:
Mayor of Prague?

Date: 6/3/71

Edition:

Author: NAT HENTOFF

Editor:

b6
b7C

or SM-M

Classification: 100-

Submitting Office: New York

☐ Being Investigated

JUN 16 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-478498-3

ed in the filming of location
ers, specifically, a team of
Special Services Headquarters at
Hudson Street, and FBI
Headquarters at 111 Street and
Third Avenue. On March 24, 1971,
we were filming with a hand-held
camera (for which no permit is
needed) in the vicinity of 325
Hudson Street. We were filming
from a black Volkswagen
belonging to one of our members,
but registered to the member's
mother.

The next morning on March
25, 1971, this member's family
was visited by Detective Sergeant
John Finnegan, and Detective
John Pritchard. Both identified
themselves as detectives, but
they did not state which
division they were from. They
gained access into this house by
stating that a black Volkswagen
had been seen in the vicinity of
an accident.

The father of this member,
who is a middle-class businessman
and has had no previous
dealings with the police, was con-
fused and distraught. He stated
that the car belonged to his son,
who lived elsewhere. He offered
to call him. It was at this time we
spoke (on the phone) to these two
detectives. They asked this
member, Howard, what he was

doing 'filming' around a police in-
surrection. Howard replied that he
was doing nothing illegal. He
asked the detective to explain his
story of the accident. The detec-
tive said he would handle that
later, but first he would like to
speak to us today. He implied
that if we did not cooperate, he
could further harass Howard's
family. He did not at this time
give our address.

Howard and I met him at
111 Street and Broadway, at 2
p.m. A precautionary meas-
ure was taken by our lawyer,
who viewed the proceedings from
a vantage point directly across
the street. As an extra precaution,
Howard and I were of our group,
who filmed the incident. The
detective showed up on time
and began interrogating Howard
at length. They asked what type
of film we intended to make; what
part of the film had been held;
whether it revealed his 'tranny,'
and whether he belonged to any
sort of political organizations, like
BOSS.

Howard said nothing. The de-
tectives made no mention of the
'accident.' (Which the black
Volkswagen had been 'in the
vicinity of.'—N.H.)

One detective, John Pritchard,
seeing his camera, grabbed
Steve, who was filming, and
shoved him into a car (Plymouth,
license No. 222QP), and said that
he was under arrest for filming
'without a permit.' Before our
lawyer could intercede, both de-
tectives had spirited Steve away

to the 14th Precinct on West 35th
Street. The detectives identified
themselves to the captain of the
precinct as members of 'internal
security' (Bureau of Special Ser-
vices). They proceeded to inter-
rogate this member along the
same lines as Howard—asking if
he was a member of any political
organizations. They stated to him
that if he admitted to being a
Weatherman, they would get a
promotion. Steve refused to an-
swer. They then systematically
went through his wallet and pos-
sessions, writing down all the
names, addresses, and phone
numbers that they could find." (Emphasis mine—N.H.) I ask
John Lindsay what he would have
done, as a Congressman, if one of
his 17th C. D. constituents had
been so treated by police. And I
ask him why he is silent now and
why he has never acknowledged
the routine, daily violations of the
Constitution by the New York
secret police for whom he is
responsible as mayor of the city.
Do you remember, John, when
you were called "the Congress-
man from the Constitution?"

To return to the letter:

"After approximately 45
minutes, they received a phone
call from a 'Captain Schaefer.'
Steve was released after this
phone call.

"During the next few days, sev-
eral administration officials in the
NYU Institute of Film and TV
received phone calls from this De-
tective Finnegan. (During Steve's

Continued on page 34

"On March 28, 1971, we were
followed to the film laboratory
where we developed our film by a
light blue 1967 Chevrolet station
wagon, license No. 1553 YV, car-
rying three men.

"On April 29, 1971, we filmed a
location shot at 69th Street and
Third Avenue, outside the build-
ing that houses FBI Head-
quarters. Since we were utilizing
a tripod, we had a valid filming
permit (permit no. 340, issued by
the City of New York, Economic
Development Administration, De-
partment of Commerce and In-
dustry).

"The next day, April 30, 1971,
Howard's parents were again
visited. This time by two FBI
agents—William Sicks and Henry
Rask. They asked the same sort
of questions: what kind of film
was being made, who were the

film-makers. They stated to How-
ard's parents that it was 'illegal'
to photograph FBI agents. (We at
no time saw, less filmed FBI
agents. Our camera was set up on
the sidewalk filming the build-
ing.)"

(By the way, is it illegal to film
FBI or BOSS or any other such
agents? If so, according to what
statute, and is that statute
challengeable constitutionally?—N.H.)

"They also stated that 'Russian
spies would pay plenty for photos
of FBI agents.' They went on
to say, in a very intimidating
manner to Howard's parents that
if we (the film-makers) did not
get in touch with them immedi-
ately, they would 'come looking
for us.'

"With this in mind, we arranged
another meeting. The meeting
was to take place in the Volks-
wagen, parked on Waverly Place,
between University Place and
Greene Street, opposite NYU's
Main Building. The time was set
for 1 p.m., Friday, April 30, 1971.
To our surprise, FBI agent
William Sicks showed up with De-
tective John Finnegan. Both at-
tempted to interrogate Howard
again as to the nature of the film.
Howard refused to answer. Both
men left after 20 minutes.

"About an hour later, agent
Sicks, accompanied now by
another FBI agent, visited our
home in Brooklyn. Two members
of our group were at home at that
time. The agents first proceeded
to interrogate all our neighbors,
including our landlord who lives
one floor above us. Following
these acts, they attempted to gain

Page Thirty-four

Mentoff

Continued from page 19

search, the detective had found
an NYU Student ID card.) These
calls asked for more information
concerning the kind of film we
were making. These administra-
tion officials refused to answer
the questions. Our lawyer also
received the same type of phone
call from the same detective.

entrance into our house by pounding on our door and shouting for the next 45 minutes. They remained outside our house, sitting in a light blue Plymouth sedan, license No. YJ 2703, for the next two hours. They then attempted to call us on the phone.

The members in the house picked up the phone once, refused to speak, and hung up. The phone rang continually for the next 20 minutes, though we refused to pick it up. Finally the agents left.

"Interestingly enough, we found out from the neighbors that FBI agents were discreetly making 'inquiries' about us at about the same time that Howard's parents were being visited by agents of the Bureau of Special Services.

"We have committed no crime. Our intentions as film-makers are to further bring to the surface the illegal methods used by both federal and local agencies in keeping surveillance on private citizens. Too long have these agencies held the opinion that they are above the public's scrutiny. Interestingly, this same Detective John Finnegan has been seen photographing demonstrators at just about all the peaceful anti-war

rallies that have taken place in this city in the past several years. Although he identifies himself as a member of this city's police force, he has been seen on numerous occasions working with police forces in such far-flung places as Fort Dix, New Jersey, Washington, D. C., Chicago, and New Haven—all during times of anti-war demonstrations in these particular places. We have seen dozens of affidavits from members of organizations who state that they have been harassed by this Detective Finnegan, as well as by other members of BOSS. One example is Veterans and Reservists Against the War—several of whose members were recipients of harassment and intimidation by this particular detective.

"We have amassed a large collection of affidavits, tapes, film, and photographs to substantiate the claims we make in this

We hope to incorporate all this information in the film we are making. Our only reason for writing this letter is to arouse a public concern as to the functioning of these local police 'Red Squads.' We feel that the publication of this letter is our best safeguard against reprisals by these authorities which we feel may come in the form of arrests or raids on our premises on some false pretext. If one looks back over the activities of these 'investigative' agencies—activities which have been given much publicity in the past few months—our fears will not seem groundless."

The letter from the Pacific Street Film Collective was signed by Francis Freedland, Howard Blatt, Steven Fischler, and Joel Sucher. Their film is still being made, and if you have any information on surveillance in this city by secret police, please contact Steven Fischler, Pacific Street Film Collective, P. O. Box 141, Brooklyn, New York 11217. (I would greatly appreciate your sending a copy of whatever information or leads you have to me at: The Voice.)

In the May 27 New York Times, David Burnham refers to Inspector Anthony V. Bouza, commander of the City Police Department's Planning Division, and for eight years previously, a member of the department's intelligence arm. Bouza, the Times notes, "has written that even in the pre-computer era the city police had more than a million cards in its files." Last week, the Inspector said he was concerned that "with the unrestricted collection of information now possible . . . we might be a great deal closer to 1984 than the 13 years on the calendar."

I ask John Lindsay to recognize that this problem is more fundamentally serious than any other over which he has real control. The people of Prague are not now suffering economic hardship. But would you like to be a citizen of Prague, John? If not, why are you silent at the actions of those—under your command—who operate as if New York City is Prague?

I'm sure you won't answer this, but I hope Gabe Pressman and some of the City Hall newspaper reporters will ask the question.

—Nat Hentoff

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 243-HQ-18 - Section 1
The Village Voice

INBOX.17 (#3495)

TEXT:

VZCZCWFO032

PP HQ

DE WF #0032 2791931

ZNY SSSSS

P 061931Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

ATTN: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87

EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE
IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO:WFO.

~~THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET".~~

RE 10/5/87 TELCALL FROM SSA [REDACTED] TO WFO.

REFERENCED TELCALL REQUESTED WFO TO INFORM FBIHQ OF WFO'S
PLANNED CHRONOLOGY OF INVESTIGATION IN CAPTIONED MATTER.

THE FIRST INTERVIEW TO BE CONDUCTED IS THAT OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN MIAMI, FLORIDA. [REDACTED]

IS THE PERSON MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

22 MAY 03 1988

✓ 1-4257

PAGE TWO DE WF 0032 ~~S E C R E T~~

MIAMI. [] ALSO TALKED TO A NUMBER OF REPORTERS WHO HAD
POSSESSION OF THE "LEAKED" MEMO, AND [] SPECIFICALLY RELATED
TO DOJ/OPR THAT SHE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY []

[] THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A COPY OF
THE MEMO FROM []

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b7C

DOJ/OPR HAS ALREADY INTERVIEWED []
WHO AUTHORED THE MEMO, AND [] FOR
THE S.D. OF FLORIDA. WFO DOES NOT ANTICIPATE INTERVIEWS OF THESE
INDIVIDUALS PROVIDING ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, BUT THESE
INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE INTERVIEWED AS THE ONLY RECORD OF THE PRIOR
INTERVIEWS ARE HANDWRITTEN NOTES IN POSSESSION OF DOJ/OPR.

THE MEMO WAS SENT BY U.S. ATTORNEY [] TO DEPUTY
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL [] OF THE DOJ CRIMINAL
DIVISION. [] NEEDS TO BE INTERVIEWED CONCERNING HIS ACTIONS
WITH THE MEMO, AND HIS KNOWLEDGE OF [] RELATIONSHIP WITH
DOJ.

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[] SENT A COPY OF THE MEMO TO ASSISTANT ATTORNEY

[] OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (OLA). []

S E C R E T

PAGE THREE DE WF 0032 ~~S E C R E T~~

NEEDS TO BE INTERVIEWED CONCERNING HIS ACTIONS WITH THE MEMO, AS WELL AS HIS KNOWLEDGE OF [REDACTED] RELATIONSHIP WITH DOJ.

DOJ/OPR'S INQUIRY REFLECTS THAT [REDACTED] WAS A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] COMMUNICATIONS

BETWEEN THE TWO LOGICALLY INFER THE POSSIBILITY THAT [REDACTED] MAY HAVE RECEIVED A COPY OF THE MEMO FROM [REDACTED] NEEDS TO BE INTERVIEWED AS A SUBJECT, AND [REDACTED] ALSO NEEDS TO BE INTERVIEWED. BEFORE INTERVIEWING [REDACTED] NEEDS TO RENDER A LEGAL OPINION AS TO WHETHER [REDACTED] PASSING THE MEMO TO [REDACTED] WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF THE IIPA IF IT IN FACT OCCURRED. IF [REDACTED] POSSESSES A SECURITY CLEARANCE AND WAS AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, IT IS UNCERTAIN IF 50 U.S.C. SECTION 421 WOULD BE VIOLATED BY THE TRANSMITTAL TO HIM OF THE MEMO.

WFO IS OF THE OPINION THAT [REDACTED]

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THE [REDACTED] THAT

[REDACTED] SHOULD BE

INTERVIEWED AS TO THIS STATEMENT. THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY FIRST

~~S E C R E T~~

PAGE FOUR DE WF 00 ~~SECRET~~

AMENDMENT PROBLEM AS HE HAS ALREADY DIVULGED HIS SOURCE TO AN
AGENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

WFO WILL ALSO INTERVIEW

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C BY ~~GLS~~; DECL ~~ON~~ OADR.

BT

#0032

NNNN

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP**

TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	
	243	5222			233	5012		
	243	5222			231	3012		
					233	5012		
	242	4266						
	243	5200			231	3149		
	242	4445			233	5155		
	242	4250			231	3823		
	242	4252			233	5030		
	242	4266			231	3012		
					231	3028		
	242	4249						
	242	4253			243	5222		
	242	4253			243	5222		
	233	5170						
	242	4239			233	5121		Administrative Unit (CID)
	242	4253			245	3634		Legal Counsel
	242	4239			245	7441		OLIA
	242	4445			244	6248		Reading Room
	242	4253			111	4336		Records Branch
	243	5200			241	3505		Language Services Unit
	242	4266			122	5991		Special File Room
	243	5200			232	4648		Mr. McMahon
	243	5200						
	242	4239						
	242	4253						
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-22-2011 BY 60324 UC BAW/DK/RYS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Call Me | <input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> See Me | <input type="checkbox"/> Note & Return |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action | <input type="checkbox"/> Record & Return |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Initial | <input type="checkbox"/> See Reverse Side |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry | |

FROM

TERRORISM SECTION
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Remarks:

SEE REVERSE SIDE

Room

5214

TL #

243

Index

Date

11/16

FBI/DOJ

[REDACTED]

THE ATTACHED DOCUMENTS WERE PART OF
A PACKAGE THAT DOJ SENT OVER HERE WITH AN
OFFICIAL REQUEST FOR INVESTIGATION. THE TITLE
OF THE CASE IS:

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION (UOCI) IN THE APRIL 14, 1987
EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED
"CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY
WAAS.

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Thanks [REDACTED]

Costa I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-98 BY SP4-BTA-MUB
391426

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Please note this is not
addressed to FBI, should
we keep — should it be
an enclosure to something?

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-98 BY SP4-BJA-UCB

39/426

AIRTEL

SECRET

9/14/87

Acting Director, FBI

SAC, Washington Field Office

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN
THE APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE VILLAGE VOICE
ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA)

Referral/Consult

Pursuant to a request from DOJ, WFO is requested to
immediately institute an appropriate IIPA investigation. Prior to
conducting any interviews, WFO case Agent should telephonically
contact [redacted] to assist in
setting up the necessary interviews.

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Enclosures

SECRET
Classified by G-3
Declassify on: OADR

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Ms. [redacted]

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Referral/Consult

Now: dad (6)

Note: This communication requests WFO to immediately institute an
UDCI/IIPA investigation concerning information disclosed in the
April 14, 1987, issue of the Village Voice, wherein the identity of a
CIA employee was divulged.

Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Off. Cong. &
Public Affs. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Off. Liaison &
Int. Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

MAIL ROOM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

DE-314

5-6-98
CLASSIFIED BY: SP4-BJA-MLB
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1

#39426

16 SEP 23 1987

1-4257

INBOX.37 (#5863)

TEXT:

VZCZCWFO010

RR HQ

DE WF #0010 3150012

ZNY SSSSS

R 110012Z NOV 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI ROUTINE

BT

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION: SA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ON THE APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION OF THEE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVERAGE-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); 00:WFO

ALL REFERENCES, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

REFERENCE BUREAU TELETYPE DATED NOVEMBER 6, 1987

[REDACTED] DOJ OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, ON

~~SECRET~~

NOVEMBER 10, 1987, CONCURRED IN AFFORDING [REDACTED] 11/24/87

DECLASSIFIED BY 594-BJA-MCB
ON 5-6-98
391426

22 MAY 03 1988

PAGE TWO DE WF 0010 ~~S E C R E T~~

OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION WHEN INTERVIEWED, AS
SET FORTH IN REFERENCED BUREAU TELETYPE. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THIS WEEK. WFO HAS SET UP AN APPOINTMENT TO
INTERVIEW [REDACTED] ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1987.

~~S E C R E T~~ CLASSIFIED BY: ~~G-3~~; DECLASSIFIED ON: . OADR

BT

#0010

NNNN

FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 DOCUMENT

INBOX.23 (#4973)

TEXT:

VZCZCWFO001

RR HQ MM

DE WF #0001 2830016

ZNY SSSSS

R 100016Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

PRIORITY

FBI, MIAMI

PRIORITY

BT

~~SECRET~~

ATTN: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87,
EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED"
BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);

OO: WFO

THIS ~~ENTIRE~~ COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~"

RE 9/14/87, AIRTEL FROM THE BUREAU TO WFO; 10/12/87, TT FROM
THE BUREAU TO MIAMI AND RECEIVING OFFICES; WFO TELCAL OF SSA

[REDACTED] TO MIAMI SSA [REDACTED]

AS SET FORTH IN REFERENCED COMMUNICATIONS, WFO IS CURRENTLY

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98
#391426

Exec AD Adm	
Exec AD Inv	
Exec AD LES	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Crim. Inv.	
Ident.	
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Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Off. Cong. & Public Aff.	
Rec. Mgmt.	
Tech. Serv.	
Training	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

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27 MAY 12 1988

1-5200

PAGE TWO DE WF 0001 S E C R ~~E~~ T

CONDUCTING AN INVESTIGATION AT THE REQUEST OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE INTO THE UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE TO THE MEDIA OF THE MEMORANDUM DATED 5/14/86, WRITTEN BY [REDACTED] OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA, MIAMI, FLORIDA. THIS MEMO SUMMERIZES INFORMATION THE MIAMI DIVISION OF THE U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE HAS GATHERED CONCERNING [REDACTED] REGARDING THE [REDACTED] A LIMITED INQUIRY INTO THIS MATTER HAS ALREADY BEEN CONDUCTED BY THE U.S. DOJ, OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (OPR). DOJ/OPR HAS CONDUCTED A NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO WRITTEN RECORD OF THE DOJ/OPR INVESTIGATION OTHER THAN A PILE OF HANDWRITTEN NOTES.

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THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS NEED TO BE INTERVIEWED AT MIAMI:

[REDACTED] THE MEMO; [REDACTED] WHO SENT A COPY OF THE MEMO TO DOJ IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AND [REDACTED] WHO FIELDDED CALLS FROM THE MEDIA AFTER THE MEMO WAS LEAKED TO THE MEDIA. [REDACTED] ALSO ALLEGEDLY WAS TOLD BY A REPORTER FOR THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" THAT HE RECEIVED A COPY OF THE MEMO FROM [REDACTED] SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

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PAGE THREE DE WF 0001 ~~S E C R E T~~

S E C R E T

REFERENCED 10/2/87 BUREAU TT ADVISED THAT ALL INTERVIEWS
WILL BE CONDUCTED BY WFO CASE AGENTS. SAS [REDACTED] AND

[REDACTED] WILL ARRIVE IN MIAMI ON TUESDAY, 10/13/87, AT
12:30 P.M. TO INTERVIEW [REDACTED] TUESDAY AFTERNOON. [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED] WILL BE INTERVIEWED WEDNESDAY 10/14/87, AND WFO AGENTS
WILL RETURN TO WFO THURSDAY, 10/15/87.

~~S E C R E T~~

CLASSIFIED BY: ~~Q-3~~,

DECLASSIFY ON: ~~OADR~~

BT

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FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 DOCUMENT

INBOX.9 (#6353)

TEXT:
VZCZCWFO023

PP HQ

DE WF #0023 2891902

ZNY SSSSS

P 161902Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

ATTN: [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87
EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP
CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT
(IIPA); OO:WFO.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET".

INVESTIGATION AT WFO REFLECTS THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUB-COMMITTEE,

[REDACTED] IT IS NOTED THAT THIS CLEARANCE CAME

ABOUT AS A RESULT OF A SPIN INVESTIGATION (WFO FILE #161-17937).

~~SECRET~~

10/21/81

Approved ablygraph for [REDACTED]

WILL RESEARCH T-50 Re Document Access.

74 MAY 18 1988

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

Exec AD Adm.	_____
Exec AD Inv.	_____
Exec AD LES	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal	_____
Off. Liaison	_____
Public Aff.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Serv.	_____
Training	_____
Off. Liaison	_____
Int. Affs.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

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PAGE TWO DE WF 0023 ~~S E C R E T~~

ASSUMING THAT THE "LEAKED" COSTA ONE MEMO WAS GIVEN TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] QUESTIONS

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ARISE AS TO THE APPLICABILITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA) TO THIS TRANSMITTAL BY [REDACTED] TO

[REDACTED]
WFO NOTES THAT THE IIPA, 50 U.S.C. SECTION 421 PROHIBITS THE
DISCLOSING OF INFORMATION IDENTIFYING COVERT AGENTS "TO ANY
INDIVIDUAL NOT AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION". AS

[REDACTED] WFO IS

UNSURE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS A VIOLATION OF THIS STATUTE. FBIHQ IS REQUESTED TO
INQUIRE LEGAL COUNSEL DIVISION FOR ITS OPINION, AND PROVIDE WFO
WITH AN OPINION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT [REDACTED] COULD BE
PROSECUTED UNDER IIPA ASSUMING THAT [REDACTED] DID IN FACT GIVE
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION TO [REDACTED] WHILE [REDACTED] HELD A "TOP
SECRET" SECURITY CLEARANCE.

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C BY ~~G-3~~; ~~DECL~~ ON OADR.

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1 2

NOVEMBER 6, 1987

~~SECRET~~

ROUTINE

FM DIRECTOR, FBI

TO FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO) (243-3) ROUTINE

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE," ENTITLED "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); 00 WFO

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

REFERENCE BUREAU TELETYPE TO WFO DATED OCTOBER 23, 1987, AND
FBIHQ TELCAL TO SSA [REDACTED] WFO, NOVEMBER 6, 1987.

THIS COMMUNICATION CONFIRMS FBIHQ AUTHORITY GRANTED IN
REFERENCED TELCAL AUTHORIZING WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE CASE AGENTS
TO AFFORD [REDACTED]
THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION REGARDING HIS
POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN THE LEAK OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
DISCLOSED IN CAPTIONED ARTICLE.

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1 - MR. MENDENHALL
1 - MR. [REDACTED]
1 - MS. [REDACTED]

DWL:PSJ (4)

11/6/87

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SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MB
ON 5-7-98

391426

243-18-5

NOV 18 1987

203273

22 MAY 25 1988

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATION MESSAGE FORM

2

CONTINUATION SHEET

WFO SHOULD NOTE THAT THIS QUESTION MAY BE POSED TO [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED] ONLY AFTER HAVING SECURED THE CONCURRENCE OF THE
18 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

16 DUE TO THE SENSITIVE NATURE OF THIS INVESTIGATION WFO IS
14 REQUESTED TO CONTINUE ITS EXCELLENT REPORTING OF INTERVIEWS AS
THEY OCCUR.

C BY G-~~3~~ DECL~~ON~~: OADR.

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DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

~~SECRET~~

NOTE: THIS COMMUNICATION AUTHORIZES WFO TO REQUEST
TO TAKE A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION CONCERNING THE LEAK OF CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION. BY MEMORANDUM DATED SEPTEMBER 3, 1987, ASSISTANT
DIRECTOR CLARKE AUTHORIZED THIS INVESTIGATIVE TECHNIQUE.

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- E -

Memorandum



Exec AD Adm. _____
 Exec AD Inv. _____
 Exec AD LES _____
 Asst. Dir.:
 Adm. Servs. _____
 Crim. Inv. _____
 Ident. _____
 Insp. _____
 Intell. _____
 Lab. _____
 Legal Coun. _____
 Off. Cong. & Public Affs. _____
 Rec. Mgnt. _____
 Tech. Servs. _____
 Training _____
 Telephone Rm. _____
 Director's Sec'y _____

To : Mr. Clarke

Date 11/3/87

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From :

Subject : UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
IN THE APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE,"
ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
 OO: WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO)

PURPOSE: To request Assistant Director authority to approach

Washington, D.C., and

Miami, Florida, and offer them the opportunity to take a polygraph examination regarding allegations that one and/or the other may have been responsible for captioned leak.

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RECOMMENDATION: That Assistant Director authority be granted for WFO Case Agents to afford and the opportunity to take a polygraph examination.

APPROVED:

Director _____	Adm. Servs. _____	Off. of Cong. & Public Affs. _____
Exec AD-Adm. _____	Crim. Inv. _____	Off. of Lia. _____
Exec AD-Inv. _____	Ident. _____	& Intl. Affs. _____
Exec AD-LES _____	Inspection _____	Rec Mgnt. _____
	Intell. _____	Tech. Servs. _____
	Laboratory _____	Training _____
	Legal Coun. _____	

DETAILS: The current focus of the FBI and Department of Justice (DOJ)/Office of Professional Responsibility (OPR) investigation regarding the captioned leak investigation is focused on DAAC

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According to Murray Waas, who authored the article wherein the identities of two Central Intelligence Agency employees were disclosed, he received the information for his article from

- 1 - Mr. Clarke
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]

DWL:dad (10)

- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Ms. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]

NOV 13 1987

32 JUN 6 1988.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-7-98 BY SP4-BJA-MLB
 # 391426

Memorandum from [] to Mr. Clarke

RE: UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
IN THE APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE,"
ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
OO: WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO)

The second focus of this investigation is centered on [] as a result of information provided by DOJ/OPR, which indicates that [] "has no credibility, and leaked information concerning the Iran-Contra Affair to a Federal Public Defender." It is known that [] had access to the unlocked files of [] [] Miami, Florida, who authored the memorandum from which all of the disclosed information was obtained.

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In anticipation of an interview of [] by WFO Special Agents during the week of November 2, 1987, [] [] OPR/DOJ, was contacted on October 21, 1987, regarding a proposal to afford [] and [] a polygraph examination as it relates to this investigation. Mr. [] advised that absent any major objections from the Attorney General, this opportunity should be afforded to both.

FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 DOCUMENT

INBOX.21 (#7922)

15 Dec 87 04 01
FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION

Exec AD-Adm.	
Exec AD-Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Crim. Inv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Off. Liaison	
Rec. Mgmt.	
Tech. Serv.	
Training	
Off. Liaison	
Int. Affs.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

TEXT:

VZCZEWFO005

OO HQ

DE WF #0005 3490028

ZNY SSSSS

O 150028Z DEC 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI IMMEDIATE

BT

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

ATTENTION: [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE APRIL
14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE", ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-
UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS: INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION
ACT (IIPA): OO:WFO.

b6
b7C

~~ALL~~ MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION CONTAINED
IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" UNLESS OTHERWISE
NOTED.

243-18-7

REFERENCE DECEMBER 14, 1987 TELCALL FROM WFO TO [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

DEC 29 1987

27 JUN 9 1983

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-87
#391426

PAGE TWO DE WF 0005 S E C R E T

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHEN
ASKED WHEN HE FIRST SAW THE [REDACTED] COSTA I MEMO. [REDACTED] STATED
THAT HE DID NOT RECALL. AND HE WOULD NOT DISCUSS THE ISSUE AS
ANYTHING HE DID CONCERNING THE MEMO WOULD FALL UNDER THE SCOPE OF
CONGRESSIONAL PRIVILEGE. [REDACTED] SAID THAT CONGRESS HAD MANY
PROBLEMS GETTING INFORMATION FROM DOJ AND THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE
IN DOJ AND THE FBI WITH AN AXE TO GRIND. [REDACTED] ALSO FEELS THAT
THERE ARE THOSE ON [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THEN ADMITTED THAT HE RECEIVED THE MEMO IN OCTOBER,
NOVEMBER, OR DECEMBER OF 1986. [REDACTED] WOULD NOT IDENTIFY THE
SENDER OF THE MEMO, REFUSING TO COMMENT ON HIS SOURCES. [REDACTED]
DID NOT DENY THAT HIS SOURCE WAS A DOJ EMPLOYEE. [REDACTED] ALSO
STATED THAT HE CONSIDERS HIS SOURCE TO BE THE EQUIVALENT OF A
WHISTLEBLOWER. [REDACTED] DOES NOT RECALL TELLING THE NATIONAL LAW
JOURNAL THAT HE RECEIVED THE MEMO FROM ADMINISTRATION SOURCES.
HE STATED THAT HIS SOURCE TOLD HIM THAT THE MEMO WAS NOT
CLASSIFIED AND HAD NO NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
CONTAINED WITHIN.

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PAGE THREE DE WF 0005 ~~S E C R E T~~

[] ADMITTED PASSING THE MEMO ON TO HIS SUPERIOR. TO
INNCLUDE BOTH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND STAFF.

b6
b7C

WHEN ASKED IF HE GAVE A COPY OF THE MEMO TO THE MEDIA,
[] STATED THAT HE WOULD RATHER NOT COMMENT. DISTRIBUTING
COPIES WOULD BE INCLUDED AS PART OF HIS ROLE OF WORKING FOR
CONGRESS AND HE WOULD NOT COMMENT ON THIS. WHEN CONFRONTED WITH
THE STATEMENTS OF [] AND [] CONCERNING [] BEING THE
SOURCE OF THE LEAK, [] REFUSED COMMENT. [] DENIED
HAVING ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE MINI MASS-MAILING.

[] STATED THAT BEFORE HE WOULD DIVULGE THE SOURCE OF
THE MEMO, OR TELL TO WHOM HE PASSED THE MEMO, HE WOULD NEED TO
SEE A SENATE RESOLUTION WAIVING THE CONGRESSIONAL PRIVILEGE.

WFO INTENDS TO EXPEDITIOUSLY INTERVIEW [] FORMER
[] AFTER THIS. WFO WILL CONSULT WITH
FBIHQ REGARDING DOJ/OPR'S INQUIRY INTO []

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b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

IT IS NOTED THAT DURING THE INTERVIEW, [] WAS RATHER
NERVOUS. WHEN [] WAS CONFRONTED WITH THE ALLEGATION THAT
HE LEAKED THE MEMO TO THE MEDIA, HE APPEARED TO REACT IN A
NERVOUS FASHION. HE DID NOT DENY LEAKING THE MEMO, BUT INSTEAD

PAGE FOUR DE WF 0005 ~~SECRET~~

SAID NO COMMENT. IN CONTRAST TO COMING OUT WITH A MATTER OF FACT
DENIAL CONCERNING HAVING KNOWLEDGE OF THEE MINI-MEMO MAILING.

ALSO ADVISED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THAT THERE WAS A
PROSECUTABLE VIOLATION OF THE LAWS BECAUSE NO ONE KNOWINGLY
DISCLOSED CLASSIFIED INFORMATION SINCE IT WAS THOUGHT THAT THE
MEMO WAS NOT CLASSIFIED.

b6
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~~SECRET~~ CLASSIFIED BY: ~~G-3~~ DECLASSIFIED ON: OADR.

BT

#0005

NNNN

INBOX.7 (#8304)

TEXT:

V7CZCWF0058

PP HQ

DE WF #0058 3492351

7NY SSSSS

P 152351Z DEC 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3(P)(C-3)

TO DIRECTOR PRIORITY

BT

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO:WFO

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~."

RE 12-14-87 WFO TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU.

ON 12-14-87, [REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED BY WFO.

[REDACTED] WAS FORMERLY [REDACTED]

AND WAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE IS VAGUELY FAMILIAR WITH THE

[REDACTED] COSTA I MEMO BUT HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY SPECIFIC DETAILS

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98

391426

27 JUN 8 1988

Exec AD Adm.	
Exec AD Inv.	
Exec AD LES	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Crim. Inv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Off. Cong. & Public Aff.	
Rec. Mgmt.	
Tech. Serv.	
Training	
Off. of Liaison & Int. Aff.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

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b6
b7C

PAGE TWO DE WF 0058 ~~SECRET~~

AS THIS WAS NOT SOMETHING HE PERSONALLY BECAME INVOLVED IN. HE DOES NOT HAVE ANY KNOWLEDGE OF HOW [] ACQUIRED THE MEMO AND ADVISED THAT [] HAD MANY CONTACTS IN DOJ; ALTHOUGH [] [] WAS THE []

[] ADVISED THAT THERE WERE NO RESTRICTIONS ON STAFF TALKING TO THE PRESS; AND MOST STAFFERS RECEIVED MANY TELEPHONE CALLS FROM THE MEDIA EVERYDAY. [] DID SPECULATE THAT

[] MORE LIKELY TO HAVE CONTACT WITH THE "WASHINGTON TIMES" RATHER THAN THE "VILLAGE VOICE" OR THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" DUE TO THEIR POLITICAL/IDEALOGICAL ORIENTATION.

~~SECRET~~ C BY ~~63~~; DECL ~~ON~~ OADR
RT

#0058

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INBOX.15 (#8903)

TEXT:

VZCZCWFO012

RR HQ

DE WF #0012 2721922

ZNY 66666

R 291922Z SEPT87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3)(P)(C-3)

TO (ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI) ROUTINE

ATTN: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87
EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP
CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS: INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT
(IIPA); OO:WFO.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET".

RE 9/14/87 AIRTEL FROM THE BUREAU TO WFO.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU, ON 9/29/87 WFO CASE AGENT

SA [REDACTED] AND SA [REDACTED] MET WITH [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (OPR), U.S.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MCB
ON 5-6-88
391426

27 JUN 10 1988

1-4257

Exec AD Adm.	_____
Exec AD Inv.	_____
Exec AD LES	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Off. Cong. & Public Affs.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Servs.	_____
Training	_____
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y.	_____

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SEP 30 1987

PAGE TWO DE WF 0012 ~~S E C R E T~~

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DOJ).

[] ADVISED THE AGENTS THAT THE "LEAKED" DOCUMENT WHICH THE INQUIRY WAS TO FOCUS ON WAS A PROSECUTORIAL MEMORANDUM DATED 14 MAY 1986 []

[] TWO POTENTIAL SUBJECTS WHO HAVE EMERGED FROM THE DOJ/OPR INQUIRY ARE []

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[] REITERATED THE FACT THAT THIS IS A CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION. AND [] FURTHER ADVISED THAT SHOULD THE NEED ARISE, A FEDERAL GRAND JURY WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE. []

[] ADVISED THAT DUE TO THE NATURE OF THIS PARTICULAR INVESTIGATION, ALL INVESTIGATIVE STEPS MUST BE METHODICALLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY PRE-PLANNED. [] DOJ/OPR WILL BE THE DOJ CONTACT PERSON FOR THE WFO CASE AGENT. DOJ/OPR WILL HANDLE THE INVESTIGATION RATHER THAN DOJ CRIMINAL DIVISION INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION.

THERE ARE NO WRITTEN REPORTS OF ANY INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED BY

~~S E C R E T~~

PAGE THREE DE WF 0012 ~~S E C R E T~~

DOJ/OPR. THE INDIVIDUAL WITH THE MOST KNOWLEDGE OF THE DOJ/OPR
INQUIRY IS [REDACTED] WHO WILL NOT RETURN TO WASHINGTON, D.C.
UNTIL LATE FRIDAY, OCT. 2, 1987. AT THIS TIME WFO WILL CONTACT
[REDACTED] TO REVIEW THE DOJ/OPR INQUIRY. WFO WILL ENSURE THAT ALL
INVESTIGATION IS CONDUCTED IN CONSULTATION WITH DOJ/OPR AND
FBIHQ WILL BE KEPT INFORMED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

C BY ~~3~~: ~~DECL~~ ON OADR.

BT

#0012

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TEXTY DOES NOT EXIST
CANNOT FIND THE FORM

INBOX.11 (#6355)

TO: HQ1 @ EMH1

FROM: WFO @ EMH1

SUBJECT: 289/0024 PRIORITY

DATE: 16 OCT 87 19:15:38 GMT

CC: *ma*

TEXT:
VZCZCWF0024

PP HQ

DE WF #0024 2891904

ZNY SSSSS

P 161904Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

ATTN: SSA TERRORISM SECTION

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/13/87

EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" 12 OCT 27 1987

BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);

OO:WFO.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET".

RE 10/9/87 TT FROM WFO TO THE BUREAU.

ON 10/13/87 TO 10/15/87 WFO SA'S TRAVELED TO MIAMI TO

CONDUCT INTERVIEWS AS SET FORTH IN REFERENCED TT. THE FOLLOWING

IS A SUMMARY OF THE INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED.

WAS INTERVIEWED AND ADVISED

Exec AD Adm.	_____
Exec AD Inv.	_____
Exec AD LES	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Off. Cong. & Public Affs.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Serv.	_____
Training	_____
Off. of the Inspector General	_____
Int. Affs.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

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243-10-10

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97 JUN 8 1988

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

SECRET

PAGE TWO DE WF 0024 S E C R E T

THAT IN APRIL, 1986, AFTER [REDACTED] RETURNED FROM COSTA RICA, [REDACTED] INSTRUCTED [REDACTED] TO PREPARE A MEMO SUMMARIZING HIS INVESTIGATION. THIS MEMO WAS WRITTEN AND REVISED SEVERAL TIMES. THE FINAL DRAFT, DATED 5/14/86, WAS THEN SENT TO [REDACTED] BY COVER LETTER DATED 6/3/86. [REDACTED] SENT THE MEMO TO [REDACTED] BECAUSE [REDACTED] HAD PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO THE INVESTIGATION AS THE INVESTIGATION PERTAINED IN PART TO ALLEGATIONS OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF A U.S. AMBASSADOR. SHORTLY AFTER THE MEMO WAS SENT TO DOJ IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ITS CONTENTS WERE LEAKED TO THE MEDIA, SPECIFICALLY [REDACTED] OF THE "WASHINGTON TIMES".

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[REDACTED] DID NOT HAVE ANY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LEAK TO THE MEDIA, AND RECEIVED ALL HIS KNOWLEDGE FROM HIS STAFF.

[REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED AS SHE HAD ACCESS TO THE FINAL VERSION OF THE MEMO. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SHE WOULD HAVE TYPED THE COVER LETTER, BUT SHE HAS NO INDEPENDENT RECOLLECTION OF THE MEMO.

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[REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED ON 10/14/87.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SOON AFTER THE MEMO WAS SENT TO WASHINGTON,

S E C R E T

PAGE THREE DE WF 0024 S E C R E T

D.C. ON 6/3/87, SHE RECEIVED A CALL FROM [] OF THE "WASHINGTON TIMES" WHO TOLD HER ABOUT THE MEMO AND THAT HE HAD A CONTACT ON THE "HILL". TWO OR THREE OTHER REPORTERS ALSO CALLED HER CONCERNING THE MEMO. THIS LEAK SHE REFERS TO AS THE FIRST LEAK. IN 1987 THERE APPEARED LEAK #2. SHE RECEIVED TWO CALLS IN ONE DAY, ONE FROM THE "CHICAGO TRIBUNE" AND ONE FROM [] OF DOJ. [] CALLED AND TOLD HER THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A CALL FROM [] OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" WHO HAD A COPY OF THE MEMO. AFTER TALKING TO [] TO A REPORTER FOR THE "CHICAGO TRIBUNE". THIS REPORTER MADE IT PLAIN THAT HE HAD AN ACTUAL COPY OF THE MEMO AS HE REFERRED TO THE DISCREPANCY IN INITIALS. [] BACK AND [] SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN A MINI MASS MAILING OF THE MEMO IN PLAIN BROWN ENVELOPES.

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b6
b7C

[] RECALLS TALKING TO [] OF DOJ/OPR, BUT DOES NOT RECALL TELLING [] THAT SHE TALKED TO [] OF THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" AND THAT [] TOLD HER THAT HE RECEIVED THE MEMO FROM [] DOES NOT DENY THAT SHE TOLD THIS TO [] BUT RATHER DOES NOT RECALL MAKING THE STATEMENT.

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S E C R E T

PAGE FOUR DE WF 0024 S E C ~~R~~ E T

[] SPECULATED THAT THE FIRST LEAK CAME FROM WASHINGTON, D.C. [] BELIEVES THAT THE TIMING OF THE SENDING OF THE MEMO TO D.C. FOLLOWED BY THE LEAK TO A WASHINGTON REPORTER SHORTLY THEREAFTER SHOWS THAT THE LEAK WAS IN D.C.

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[] BELIEVES THAT THE SECOND LEAK CAME FROM [] [] OF THE MIAMI OFFICE OF THE U.S. ATTORNEY. [] HAS NO CREDIBILITY, AND LEAKED INFORMATION CONCERNING THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR TO A FEDERAL PUBLIC DEFENDER, [] WHO WAS VERY CLOSE TO [] FIRST CAME UP WITH THE STORY ON THE ANOTHER LEAK CONCERNING THE ALLEGED DIRECTIVE TO [] TO SLOW DOWN THE INVESTIGATION, AND [] BELIEVES THAT HE MAY HAVE COME UP WITH THIS STORY THE SAME WAY. IT IS NOTED THAT DOJ/OPR DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT [] IS THE LEAK IN THIS CASE, AND DOJ/OPR IS CURRENTLY LOOKING AT [] IN A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT MATTERS.

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[] WAS ALSO INTERVIEWED. [] PROVIDED THE DATES OF ALL THE DRAFTS, BUT HAD NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LEAK. [] FELT THAT [] WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LEAK DUE TO [] AND HIS DESIRE TO

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S E C ~~R~~ E T

PAGE FIVE DE WF 0024 S E C ~~X~~ E T

"GET BACK" AT THE OFFICE.

[] WAS INTERVIEWED AS HE MADE REVISIONS TO THE DRAFTS OF THE MEMO AND HAD A COPY OF THE MEMO. [] HAD NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LEAK.

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[] WAS INTERVIEWED AS HE HAD ACCESS TO THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE MEMO AND FIELDING SOME CALLS FROM THE MEDIA. [] HAD NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE LEAK.

WFO PROPOSES TO INTERVIEW []

[] WHO RECEIVED THE MEMO IN D.C. INFORMATION DEVELOPED BY DOJ/OPR REFLECTS THAT THE MEMO THEN WENT TO DOJ OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (OLA) TO [] WFO WILL INTERVIEW [] AFTER [] AND CONTINUE TO LOGICALLY FOLLOW THE WASHINGTON ROUTE THE MEMO FOLLOWED. WFO WILL ALSO INTERVIEW [] OF DOJ TO DETERMINE WHAT HE WAS TOLD BY THE VARIOUS MEDIA PEOPLE AND CONFIRM THAT THE PLAIN BROWN ENVELOPES BORE D.C. POSTMARKS. AFTER THESE INTERVIEWS, WFO WILL CONSULT WITH FBIHQ AND DOJ/OPR BEFORE CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS OF []

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[] AND []

AS SET FORTH ABOVE, ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED IN MIAMI

S E C ~~X~~ E T

PAGE SIX DE WF 0024 S E C R E T

THAT THE MEMO MAY HAVE BEEN LEAKED IN MIAMI BY [REDACTED] WFO

FEELS THAT BOTH [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] NEED

TO BE INTERVIEWED. WFO INTENDS TO OBTAIN DOJ/OPR'S OPINION ON

THESE INTERVIEWS DUE TO DOJ/OPR'S CURRENT INVESTIGATION OF

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[REDACTED]
C BY G-3, ~~DECL~~ ON OADR.

S E C R E T

BT

#0024

NNNN

-->

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☐ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 10/5/87

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI
 ATTN: [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3)(P)(C-3)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF
 CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
 4/14/87 EDITION OF THE ~~VILLAGE VOICE~~
 ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED"
 BY MURRAY WAAS;
 INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
 OO:WFO

SECRET

b6
b7C

~~This entire communication is classified "SECRET".~~

Re 9/14/87 airtel to WFO from the Bureau.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one (1) copy of a memo dated
 5/14/86 entitled, "Costa I".

On 10/2/87, [REDACTED] DOJ/OPR
 provided a copy of the "leaked" 21 page memo dated 5/14/86
 entitled, "Costa I". A copy of this memo is enclosed for the
 information of the Bureau.

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b7C

FBIHQ is requested to coordinate this investigation
 with the Office of Independent Counsel [REDACTED] WFO
 believes that the Independent Counsel is already aware of the
 existence of this investigation, and FBIHQ is requested to
 maintain liaison with the Independent Counsel during the course
 of this investigation in order to ensure that all parties are
 kept apprised of all relevant information on a timely basis.

SECRET
 CLASSIFIED BY: E-3
 DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

2-Bureau (Enc. 1) ENCLOSURE
 2-Washington Field Office
 EWM:tlg
 (4)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-NLB
 ON 5-6-98

Approved: [Signature]

Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

Per

b6
b7C

1-5200

95 JUN 2

ETHICS TO CONF ACT)

RECEIVED

OCT 28 2 00 AM '87

TERRORISM

FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 SECTION, CID

FBI

INBOX.1 (#9941)

TEXT: SSF

VZCZCWFOZ24

CLASS

SRC'D

SM

RECA

BP H2

DE WF #0024 2992351

ZNY SSSSS

P 262351Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

BT

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MUB
ON 10-26-87

ATTN SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

#391426

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87,
EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY
MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);

OO:WFO

THIS COMMUNICATION IS ~~CLASSIFIED~~ "SECRET" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

ON 10/26/87, WFO SA'S INTERVIEWED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CRIMINAL DIVISION.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT IN THE SPRING OF 1986, HE HAD BEEN IN

CONTACT WITH MIAMI U.S. ATTORNEY [REDACTED] CONCERNING MIAMI

INVESTIGATION INTO ALLEGATIONS OF AN ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

b6
b7C

32 JUL 7

1-5200

PAGE TWO DE WF 0024 S E C R E T

[] ON 6/4/87, [] RECEIVED A COPY OF THE
COSTA I MEMO FROM [] FILE
INDICATES THAT COPY OF THE MEMO WAS HAND CARRIED TO []
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (OLA) ON 6/13/86. THIS WOULD NOT
HAVE BEEN A ROUTINE DISSEMINATION BUT RATHER WOULD HAVE BEEN SENT
AS A RESULT OF A REQUEST FROM OLA.

b6
b7C

[] DOES NOT HAVE ANY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF WHO "LEAKED"
THE MEMO. HE HAS TALKED TO MURRAY WAAS OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ON
A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS AND [] HAS TOLD [] THAT [] WAS
THE LEAK OF THE MEMO.

b6
b7C

INVESTIGATION AT WFO IS CONTINUING, AND []

[] IS SCHEDULED TO BE INTERVIEWED ON 10/28/87.

CLASSIFIED BY: ~~G-3~~; ~~DECLASSIFY~~ ON: OADR

SECRET

BT

#0024

NNNN

SSP
CLASS
SRC'D MLB
SER MLB
REC

RECEIVED
TELETYPE
UNIT

24 OCT 87 08 24

INBOX.10 (#8453)

TEXT:

VZCZCWFO014

PP HQ

DE WF #0014 2961817

ZNY SSSSS

P 231817Z OCT 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

ATTN: [REDACTED]

TERRORISM SECTION

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87

EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED"

BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);

OO:WFO.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET".

RE 10/22/87 TELCALL FROM [REDACTED] TO WFO.

ON 10/20/87, [REDACTED] OFFICE OF

PUBLIC AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WAS INTERVIEWED. THE

RESULTS OF THIS INTERVIEW ARE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

[REDACTED] FIRST FOUND OUT ABOUT THE "LEAKED" MEMO WHEN HE WAS

~~SECRET~~ 10 NOV 4 1987

1 132 JUL 7 1988

Exec AD Adm.	
Exec AD Inv.	
Exec AD LES	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Crim. Inv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Off. Cong. &	
Public Affs.	
Rec. Mgnt.	
Tech. Servs.	
Training	
Off. Liaison &	
Int. Affs.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y.	

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✓ 1-5200

PAGE TWO DE WF 0014 S E C R E T

CONTACTED ON 3/24/87 BY [REDACTED] OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE", WHO INDICATED THAT THE MEMO WAS IN THE HANDS OF THE MEDIA. BEFORE THE ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED, [REDACTED] INQUIRED OF [REDACTED] IF HE COULD USE THE NAMES OF THE SOURCES IN THE MEMO.

[REDACTED] CONVERSATION WITH [REDACTED] ON 4/9/87 [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT THE LEAK WAS FROM [REDACTED]

ON 4/30/87, THE SAME DAY THAT [REDACTED] OF MIAMI ALLEGEDLY TOLD [REDACTED] OF DOJ/OPR THAT [REDACTED] OF THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" TOLD HER THAT HE HAD BEEN GIVEN A COPY OF THE MEMO BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TALKED TO [REDACTED] NOTES REFLECT THAT [REDACTED] TALKED TO HIM ABOUT [REDACTED] OF THE "S.F. EXAMINER", AND ALSO IN [REDACTED] NOTES IS THE NOTATION THAT [REDACTED] HAD THE MEMO IN 6/86.

ON 5/5/87, [REDACTED] TALKED TO [REDACTED] WHO ASKED [REDACTED] HOW [REDACTED] GOT A COPY OF THE MEMO IN THE SUMMER OF 86. [REDACTED] ALSO WANTED TO KNOW IF ANYONE IN OLA HAD COMMUNICATIONS WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALSO ADVISED THAT ON 4/11/87 [REDACTED] OF THE

[REDACTED] TOLD [REDACTED] THAT HE HAD A COPY OF THE MEMO IN

S E C R E T

PAGE THREE DE WF 0014 ~~S E C R E T~~

11/86 AND RAN A STORY AT THAT TIME. [REDACTED] IS ATTEMPTING TO
LOCATE THIS STORY AND WILL PROVIDE WFO WITH A COPY OF IT.

INVESTIGATION AT WFO IS CONTINUING, AND AT THIS TIME
INTERVIEWS ARE SCHEDULED FOR 10/27/87 WITH [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] AND ON [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C BY G-3; DECL ON OADR. ~~S E C R E T~~

BT

#0014

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INBOX.5 (#10226) SSP

TEXT:

CLASS

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PP HQ

RECEIVED
TELETYPE
31 OCT 87 10 20
FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION

Exempt from
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DE WF #0065 3022352

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FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR FBI PRIORITY

BT

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION: [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION OF "VILLAGE VOICE," ENTITLED, "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED," BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO:WASHINGTON FIELD.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET."

ON OCTOBER 28, 1987, WASHINGTON FIELD SPECIAL AGENTS

INTERVIEWED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE DOES NOT RECALL EVER SEEING THE
COSTA I MEMO AND KNOWS NOTHING OF THE LEAK OF THE MEMO. [REDACTED]

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17 NOV 9 1987

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DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MUB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

[REDACTED] HANDLED

THE MATTERS DEALING WITH NICARAGUA AND [REDACTED] IS THE ONE WHO WOULD BE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE MATTER.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE IS AWARE THAT [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] ARE CLOSE PERSONAL ASSOCIATES AND [REDACTED] WAS THE CONTACT POINT ON THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT

THE MEMO WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED FOR RELEASE TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE. [REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED THAT IN THE TWO YEARS THAT HE HAS KNOWN [REDACTED] HE HAS NEVER KNOWN [REDACTED] TO MAKE ANY UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURES TO THE HILL OR THE MEDIA.

[REDACTED] SPECULATED THAT THE LEAK MAY HAVE COME OUT OF THE CRIMINAL DIVISION, AS IN HIS EXPERIENCE, MOST OF THE LEAKS THAT COME OUT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE COME OUT OF THE CRIMINAL DIVISION.

ONE OTHER PERSON IN OLA WHO MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF THIS MATTER IS [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] APPEARED TO THE AGENTS TO BE RATHER NERVOUS DURING THE INTERVIEW, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE NAME OF [REDACTED] CAME UP.

S E C R ~~A~~ T

PAGE THREE DE WF 0065 ~~SECRET~~

WASHINGTON FIELD PROPOSES TO CONTINUE THIS INVESTIGATION IN
THE FOLLOWING ORDER:

AFTER CONSULTING WITH DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/OFFICE OF
PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (DOJ/OPR) AND SECURING APPROVAL TO
POLYGRAPH, WASHINGTON FIELD WILL INTERVIEW [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IF [REDACTED] REFUSES TO COOPERATE OR
BE POLYGRAPHED, WASHINGTON FIELD WILL RECOMMEND TO THE BUREAU
THAT THEY REQUEST DOJ/OPR TO INSTITUTE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
PROCEEDING AND COMPEL [REDACTED] TO TAKE A POLYGRAPH.

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AFTER INTERVIEWING [REDACTED] WASHINGTON FIELD WOULD LIKE TO
INTERVIEW [REDACTED] AND
[REDACTED] IF

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THE BUREAU CONCURS, IT IS REQUESTED THAT THE BUREAU OBTAIN THE
PREREQUISITE AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT THESE INTERVIEWS. THE PURPOSE
OF THE INTERVIEWS IS TO HAVE [REDACTED] CONFIRM THE STATEMENTS
THEY HAVE ALREADY MADE TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE EMPLOYEES THAT
[REDACTED] IS THE SOURCE OF THE LEAK OF THE MEMO TO THE MEDIA.

AFTER THE ABOVE INTERVIEWS, WASHINGTON FIELD PROPOSES TO
INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

PAGE FOUR DE WF 0065 S ~~C~~ R E T.

WASHINGTON FIELD WOULD LIKE TO HOLD IN ABEYANCE ALL
INTERVIEWS OF [REDACTED] OR
ANY OTHER INVESTIGATION IN MIAMI UNTIL THE ABOVE INVESTIGATION IN
WASHINGTON, D. C., IS COMPLETE. THE MIAMI ASPECT HAS MANY
PERIPHERAL PROBLEMS AND WASHINGTON FIELD DOES NOT WANT THESE
PROBLEMS TO INTERFERE WITH THE REST OF THE INVESTIGATION.

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C BY G-3 ~~DECL~~ OADR.

BT

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OCTOBER 23, 1987

S E C R E T

ROUTINE

FM ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

TO FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO) (243-3) (C-3) ROUTINE

BT

S E C R E T

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE

APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA

COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES

PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO: WFO

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET" ~~IN ITS ENTIRETY~~.

REFERENCE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU OCTOBER 16, 1987.

PURSUANT TO THE REQUEST ARTICULATED IN REFERENCED TELETYPE,
THE QUESTION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT AS IT RELATES TO THE ALLEGED TRANSMISSION OF
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO FBIHQ LEGAL

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1 - MR
1 - MR
1 - MS

DWL:PSJ (4)

10/23/87 5200 4650

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SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

12 NOV 3 1987

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS CENTER0452-
OCT 25 198797 AUG 4 1988
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2

COUNCIL DIVISION, AND [REDACTED] OPR-DOJ,
FOR REVIEW. WFO WILL BE EXPEDITIOUSLY ADVISED OF THE LEGAL
INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. WFO SHOULD
NOTE HOWEVER THAT THIS ISSUE DOES NOT RELATE TO ANY FURTHER
DISSEMINATION, ALLEGEDLY ON THE PART OF [REDACTED] TO INDIVIDUALS
NOT HAVING LAWFUL ACCESS TO THE CLASSIFIED MATERIALS.

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IN CONSIDERATION OF PRIOR CONVERSATION BETWEEN FBIHQ AND WFO
CONCERNING THE AVENUES TO BE EXPLORED IN THIS INVESTIGATION, THE
SUBJECT OF REQUESTING [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

UPON THE SECURING OF NECESSARY APPROVALS AT FBIHQ, WFO WILL BE
APPROPRIATELY ADVISED.

C BY G-3 ~~DECL ON~~ OADR.

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SECRET

NOTE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARE THE FOCUS OF AN IIPA VIOLATION WHEREIN INFORMATION FROM A CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM AUTHORIZED BY ASSISTANT UNITED STATES ATTORNEY [REDACTED] MIAMI, FLORIDA WAS RELEASED TO A NUMBER OF MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES. INCLUDED IN THE "LEAKED" INFORMATION WAS THE IDENTITIES OF TWO CIA AGENTS. THIS COMMUNICATION RESPONDS TO AN INQUIRY FROM WFO AS TO THE LEGALITY OR ILLEGALITY OF THE TRANSMITTAL OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BETWEEN TWO PEOPLE, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] INFORMATION IS ALSO PROVIDED WFO REGARDING A PROPOSAL TO OFFER [REDACTED] A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION.

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1 3
OCTOBER 2, 1987

~~SECRET~~

ROUTINE

FM ACTING DIRECTOR FBI
TO FBI LOS ANGELES ROUTINE
FBI MIAMI ROUTINE
FBI NEW YORK ROUTINE
FBI SAN FRANCISCO ROUTINE
FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (234-E) (C-E) ROUTINE

ATTENTION: SSA [REDACTED]

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF, CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); 00: WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO)

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

REFERENCE CONFERENCE AT FBIHQ BETWEEN SSA [REDACTED]
DOMESTIC TERRORISM UNIT, AND SSA [REDACTED] WFO,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1987.

1 - MR.
1 - MR.

WL:PSJ (3)

10/2/87

4257

4650

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR
743-18-16
OCT 14 1987
01582mm

147
22 SEP 13 1988

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATION MESSAGE FORM

PAGE 2

CONTINUATION SHEET

▶ START HERE

BY LETTER DATED AUGUST 12, 1987, [REDACTED]

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20 [REDACTED] OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (OPR),
18 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, REQUESTED AN FBI
16 INVESTIGATION INTO THE UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
14 INFORMATION RELATING TO INFORMATION CONTAINED IN CAPTIONED
12 ARTICLE, WHICH DIVULGED THE IDENTITIES OF TWO CENTRAL
10 INTELLIGENCE AGENCY EMPLOYEES, IN VIOLATION OF TITLE 50,
UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 426(4). THE APPARENT SOURCE OF THE
INFORMATION DIVULGED IN THE "VOLTAGE VOICE" ARTICLE, AND LATER IN
THE "LOS ANGELES TIMES" AND "NEWSWEEK", IS 21 PAGE PROSECUTORIAL
MEMORANDUM, DATED MAY 14, 1986, [REDACTED]

8 REPORT THE RESULTS OF AN INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY THE FBI
AND THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE NEUTRALITY ACT AND ARMS
6 EXPORT CONTROL ACT VIOLATIONS INVOLVING [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CIVILIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

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4 A REVIEW OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, OPR INVESTIGATION, INTO
THIS DISCLOSURE REVEALS THAT THE [REDACTED] MEMO WAS ALLEGEDLY
2 STOLEN FROM THE UNLOCKED FILES [REDACTED] PROBABLY
SOMETIME IN THE SUMMER 1986. OF A MORE PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE

DO NOT TYPE PAST THIS LINE

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATION MESSAGE FORM

PAGE

3

CONTINUATION SHEET

▶ START HERE

FACT THAT THE CURRENT FOCUS OF THE DOJ/OPR INVESTIGATION IS
CENTERED ON A HIGH PLACED EMPLOYEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WHO IS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A
NEWLY CREATED, HIGHLY SENSITIVE POSITION WITH ANOTHER
GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY.

missed → DUE TO THE SENSITIVE NATURE OF THIS INVESTIGATION, WFO CO-
CASE AGENTS [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] HAVE BEEN
INSTRUCTED BY FBIHQ TO CONDUCT ALL INTERVIEWS IN THIS
INVESTIGATION, SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY SAC, WFO.

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ACCORDINGLY, WFO SHOULD ENSURE THAT ALL TRAVEL IS
COORDINATED WITH THE SAC OF THE RESPECTIVE DIVISION WHEREIN
INTERVIEWS ARE TO BE CONDUCTED.

~~BY 6-31~~ DECL ON: OADR.

BT

DO NOT TYPE PAST THIS LINE

~~SECRET~~

NOTE: THIS TELETYPE AUTHORIZES WFO CASE AGENTS [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] TO TRAVEL TO MIAMI, LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO
AND NEW YORK TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS REGARDING AN INVESTIGATION
FOCUSED ON [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] WHO IS BELIEVED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE UNAUTHORIZED
DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, TO WIT: THE IDENTITIES OF
TWO CIA AGENTS.

~~SECRET~~

SSP

CLASS _____
SRC'D _____
SER NLS
REC _____

INBOX.17 (#6022)

TEXT:

NVZCZCWF0035

PP HQ

DE WF #0035 3422020

ZNY SSSSS

P 082020Z DEC 87

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (P) (C-3)

TO DIRECTOR FBI PRIORITY

BT

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MUB
ON 5-6-98

#391426

ATTENTION: [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987, EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE," ENTITLED, "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED." BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO: WASHINGTON FIELD.

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THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET."

RE TELEPHONE CALL FROM WASHINGTON FIELD TO THE BUREAU.

[REDACTED] DECEMBER 7, 1987.

WAS

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INTERVIEWED ON DECEMBER 7, 1987, BY WASHINGTON FIELD AGENT.

[REDACTED] DENIED GIVING [REDACTED] A COPY OF THE [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

138250

161-20072-1

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Director's Sec'y	

161-20072-1

PAGE TWO DE WF 0035 ~~SECRET~~

COSTA I MEMORANDUM. [] REFUSED TO TAKE A POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION STATING THAT HE DID NOT WANT ANYTHING TO INTERFERE WITH HIS [] DID ADVISE THAT HE SAW A COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM ON [] DESK IN NOVEMBER, 1986, OR DECEMBER, 1986. HE DID NOT ASK [] WHERE [] OBTAINED THE MEMORANDUM.

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[] STATED THAT HE FIRST OBTAINED THE MEMORANDUM IN JUNE, 1986, OR JULY, 1986, DIRECTLY FROM UNITED STATES ATTORNEY [] WAS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AND MADE COPIES OF THE MEMORANDUM AND GAVE ONE TO [] IT IS NOTED THAT SUBSEQUENT TO THIS INTERVIEW, WASHINGTON FIELD RECONTACTED UNITED STATES ATTORNEY [] [] STATED THAT HE WAS NOT IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AT THIS TIME AND THE ONLY PERSON AT DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HE GAVE A COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM TO WAS [] WHO ORIGINALLY WAS SENT THE MEMORANDUM.

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[] ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE MEMORANDUM WAS OFFICIALLY SENT TO THE CONGRESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, AS WELL AS THE IRAN CONTRA COMMITTEES. HOWEVER, AN INTERVIEW OF []

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PAGE THREE DE WF 0035 ~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] ATTORNEY, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS. ON SAME DATE, REFLECTS THAT THE MEMORANDUM WAS NEVER SENT TO CONGRESS.

PER REFERENCED TELEPHONE CALL, WASHINGTON FIELD WILL INTERVIEW [REDACTED] EXPEDITIOUSLY AND THEN WILL CONSULT WITH DOJ/OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES (OPR) CONCERNING OPR CONDUCTING AN ADMINISTRATIVE INQUIRY INTO [REDACTED] ACTIVITIES.

C BY G-3 ~~DECL~~ ~~QADR~~.

BT

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INBOX.6 (#9021)

TEXT:

SSP.

VZCZCWFO043

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RR HQ

SER

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DE WF #0043 0150010

ZNY SSSSS

R 160010Z JAN 88

FM FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (243-3) (C-3) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI ROUTINE

BT

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE APRIL

14, 1987 EDITION OF VILLAGE VOICE, ENTITLED "CONTRA-COVER-UP

CONFIRMED" BY ~~MURRAY WASS~~; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT

(IIPA); 00:WFO

~~ENTIRE~~ COMMUNICATION CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~.

RE WFO INVESTIGATIVE REPORT, DATED 12/19/87.

ON JANUARY 14, 1988, [REDACTED] DEPARTMENT OF

JUSTICE/OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY TELEPHONICALLY

CONTACTED WFO AND ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

Exec AD Adm	_____
Exec AD Inv	_____
Exec AD LES	_____
Asst Dir:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Off. Cong. & Public Affs	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Servs.	_____
Training	_____
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-7-98
#391426

2 FEB 1 1988

SEP 16 1988

PAGE TWO DE WF 0043 S E ~~C~~R E T

DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/OFFICE OF
PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER.

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CLASSIFIED BY: ~~G-3~~; DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

BT

#0043

NNNN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WFO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 12/29/87	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/13/87.- 12/19/87
TITLE OF CASE <u>UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87 EDITION OF VILLAGE VOICE ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS</u> <i>DC</i>		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY tlg
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA) <i>b6 b7C</i>	

REFERENCES: 9/14/87 Bureau airtel to WFO; 12/23/87 Bureau teletype to WFO.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE: WFO is providing FBIHQ with two (2) extra copies of this report for dissemination to DOJ/OPR as set forth in referenced 12/23/87 Bureau teletype.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-7-98 BY SP4-BJA-MLB
#391426

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
								PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		17 JAN 14 1988	DE-308
(4) Bureau (Attn: SSA [REDACTED] Terrorism Section) 2-Washington Field Office (243-3) (Squad C-3)		<i>b6 b7C</i>	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By	53 JAN 31 1989				

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COVER PAGE

FBI/DOJ

1/1/88
 DOJ
 2 CC OF REPORT HAND CARRIED TO
 1-5200

REFERRED TO HQ PER OGA LETTER DATED
03-28-2011UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

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Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

WASHINGTON FIELD

Date:

12/29/87

Field Office File #:

243-3

Bureau File #:

Title:

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION IN THE 4/14/87 EDITION OF
VILLAGE VOICE ENTITLED, "CONTRA COVER-UP
CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS

Character:

INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA)

Synopsis:

See attached...

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-12-2011 BY 60324 UC BAW/SAB/RYS~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~~~5-9-98
CLASSIFIED BY: SP4-BJA-MB
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1
391476~~~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~SYNOPSIS

[REDACTED]

The Village Voice article identified as its source a May 14, 1986 memorandum [REDACTED] to the U.S. Attorney in Miami, [REDACTED] hereinafter referred to as the Costa I memo.

WFO agents interviewed [REDACTED] as well as [REDACTED] in Miami. [REDACTED] advised that the memo was sent to DOJ in Washington, D.C. by letter dated June 3, 1986, and the memo was leaked soon after. The memo was sent by [REDACTED] to [REDACTED]

Criminal Division. [REDACTED] who handles most media contacts for Miami, advised that soon after the memo was sent to Washington, D.C. she received a telephone call from [REDACTED] of the Washington Times. [REDACTED] spoke to [REDACTED] as if he knew of the existence of this memo. In 1987 [REDACTED] was again contacted by various members of the media. At this time it was clear that the actual memo was in the hands of the media due to questions asked about initials and dates.

Through interview of [REDACTED] it was determined that the Costa I memo was received at DOJ June 4, 1986. It was handcarried to [REDACTED] Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA) on June 13, 1986.

[REDACTED] was contacted by numerous members of the media concerning the [REDACTED] of the Village Voice told [REDACTED] that he had a copy of the memo and the leak was [REDACTED] on [REDACTED] had also told this to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he first

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saw the Costa I memo in June or July, 1986 [redacted] was in Washington, D.C. [redacted] a copy of the memo. [redacted]

[redacted] saw a copy of the memo on the desk of [redacted] in November or December 1986. [redacted] denied giving a copy of the memo to [redacted] and declined to undergo a polygraph examination concerning the matter. After the interview of [redacted] was recontacted and denied giving [redacted] a copy of the memo. [redacted] also provided the interviewing agents with [redacted] relating to these matters. In a deposition dated September 27, 1987 [redacted] is asked how he got a copy of the [redacted] memo, and [redacted] states he got it from [redacted] who received it from [redacted] and does not mention [redacted]

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[redacted] admitted to having received the memo in late 1986 but declined to say from whom he got the memo or to whom he gave it, citing Legislative Privilege.

On December 15, 1987 the status of the investigation to date was presented to DOJ/OPR.

-P-

~~SECRET~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS-FD-302'S

~~SECRET~~

PAGE #

5, 32
8
9
11
13
16
20
22
26
28
31, 33
34
38
REVIEW OF RECORDS.....	40

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 10/20/87

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[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed in his office and provided the following information:

After [redacted] returned from Costa Rica in the spring of 1986, [redacted] asked [redacted] to write a memo summarizing [redacted] investigation. [redacted] had traveled to Costa Rica to investigate allegations of gun running, violations of the Neutrality Act, and possible assassination attempts on the life of the U.S. Ambassador. The initial draft of the memorandum was written on April 28, 1986. [redacted] felt that this initial draft was not complete, and [redacted] told [redacted] to add more detail. The memorandum went through a few more drafts and then in the middle of May a draft went to five (5) people. These people were, AUSA [redacted] AUSA [redacted] Executive AUSA [redacted] AUSA [redacted] and U.S. Attorney [redacted]. These five individuals held a meeting concerning this memo and then one more draft of the memorandum was written to incorporate the changes that resulted from this meeting. [redacted] then sent a copy of this final draft of the memorandum to the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) in Washington, D.C. with a cover letter dated June 3, 1986. The memorandum was sent to the attention of [redacted] of the Criminal Division. [redacted] advised that the memorandum was signed by [redacted] for [redacted] in that [redacted] wanted the memo out and did not want to wait for [redacted] to sign the memo as the memo had been around the office for a long period of time.

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[redacted] advised that in the middle of May, 1986, DOJ had been in contact with Miami concerning the allegations about the alleged assassination attempt of the U.S. Ambassador. In addition, at this same time a number of newspaper articles had appeared stating that the Miami U.S. Attorney's Office was not conducting any investigation concerning gun running or neutrality matters. In order to keep Washington informed of what Miami was doing, [redacted] sent the memorandum to Washington. [redacted] sent

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Investigation on 10/13/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and [redacted] by [redacted] EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/15/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [redacted]

Page -2-

the memo on his own initiative, and other than the assassination allegations, Washington had not previously inquired about any of the specific allegations that the memo dealt with. Prior to [redacted] sending the memo to Washington, no one in the DOJ had been informed about the matters raised in footnote #9 which raised the possibility of [redacted] being paid by the National Security Council (NSC).

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[redacted] advised that to the best of his knowledge the only people with copies of the final draft were himself, maybe [redacted] and one copy would have been in [redacted] chronological file which is maintained by his secretary.

[redacted] advised that the memo was marked "SENSITIVE" because it concerned an ongoing investigation. [redacted] intended the sensitive to mean that the memo was sensitive to the DOJ, and [redacted] never intended the memo to be marked sensitive in a national security classification sense. [redacted] advised that he did not give the memo any national security type classification as he was not aware that he could classify a document. [redacted] reiterated that he viewed this document as an internal document only, and never intended the document to leave the DOJ.

To the best of [redacted] knowledge, the first leak to the media of the memo occurred not long after June 3, 1986 when a copy of the memo was sent to Washington, D.C. [redacted] did not have any first hand knowledge of this leak as his Executive Assistant United States Attorney [redacted] fielded the phone calls from the press.

The next leak occurred in 1987. [redacted] advised that shortly after the memorandum appeared in the Village Voice article, he was informed that a number of newspapers had received a copy of the memo in a mass mailing. [redacted] is not positive as to who told him, but he believes that he was told that the memorandums were sent in plain brown envelopes with D.C. postmarks.

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[redacted] advised that he did not leak this memo to the media and does not have any specific knowledge as to who did. It is [redacted] opinion that the leaks came out of Washington, D.C. [redacted] believes this because of the timing of the first leak, and also because almost all of the media personnel who received the memo were Washington, D.C. based reporters. [redacted] further advised that if the memo had been leaked in Miami, the Miami Herald would surely have been one of the first to print the story. [redacted] also advised that there came a point in time when a second copy of the memo was sent to the DOJ in Washington, D.C. [redacted] received a call from Washington that the DOJ could

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [REDACTED] Page -3*-

not find the first memo. This call occurred sometime after the first leak but before the second leak. [REDACTED] advised that a second copy of this memo was sent up to Washington, D.C., but he does not remember who from Washington, D.C. requested the memo. [REDACTED] further advised that copies of this memo were only sent to the DOJ, and no other agency received a copy. The only other agency that might have received a copy of the memo in Miami was the FBI Field Office in Miami but [REDACTED] is not sure.

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[REDACTED] advised that he has not had a problem with media leaks in Miami. To the best of his knowledge the only problems with leaking of sensitive information to the media have been in Washington, D.C. [REDACTED] advised that he recalls disclosures to the media of general types of things, but does not recall even Washington, D.C. leaking entire documents.

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[REDACTED] advised that he has not talked to anyone in Washington, D.C. concerning the leak of this memo as due to a number of other allegations against him he has been attempting to keep an arms length distance from anyone connected with the Iran-Contra Affair.

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 10/20/871

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
Florida, was interviewed at her place of employment and provided the following information:

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[redacted] advised that she does not recall any specifics concerning [redacted] Costa I memorandum. If the memo was sent to Washington, D.C. with a cover letter from the U.S. Attorney, [redacted] in all probability would have typed the cover letter. However, [redacted] does not have any recollection of typing the cover letter. [redacted] advised that a copy of the letter and the memo would have been placed in the chronological file. This file is not kept under lock and key, but [redacted] has never seen anyone besides herself use the file. If someone wants something from the file [redacted] goes into the file to find it.

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[redacted] further advised that no one has ever made any inquiries to her concerning the memo. [redacted] does not recall any one ever asking to see the memo or the cover letter. [redacted] further advised that she does not have any knowledge of any special file devoted to matters relating to the Iran-Contra affair.

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[redacted] advised that she has been employed by the [redacted]
[redacted]

Investigation on 10/13/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and
by [redacted] *EWM* EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/15/87
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 10/20/87

1

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Miami, Florida, was interviewed at his place of employment and provided the following information:

[redacted] advised that he has been employed in the [redacted]
[redacted] He is currently the [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was instructed to write the so called Costa I memorandum to inform the U.S. Attorney of the status of [redacted] investigation into various allegations. [redacted] advised that he never had a copy of the final draft of the memorandum, and does not know for sure who had copies. [redacted] assumes that final copies of the memorandum would have been kept by [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he did not leak this memo to the media, and does not know who leaked the memo. [redacted] speculation is that the memo was leaked from Washington, D.C. [redacted] bases his speculation mainly on the fact that Washington, D.C. is a very political place and information is leaked to the media on many occasions. [redacted] further advised that he does not think that anyone in Miami would have leaked the memo in that Miami has not had a problem with information being leaked to the press. Miami has had a problem with an [redacted] by the name of [redacted] but [redacted] advised that he does not think that [redacted] would have leaked this memo in that [redacted] had too many of his own problems and further did not have access to this memorandum.

[redacted] recalls that he had heard that the media received copies of this memorandum in plain brown envelopes.

Investigation on 10/14/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and [redacted]
by [redacted] EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/15/87
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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [] Page -2*-

[] could not recall whether or not he heard this from Executive Assistant U.S. Attorney [] or from someone in the press. [] recalls receiving a number of calls from different individuals in the media and that when the story broke the U.S. Attorney's Office in Miami received calls from reporters all over the United States. [] advised that he does not recall anyone from the media ever telling him how the media got copies of the memo.

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[] advised that the name [] sounds familiar, but [] does not recall where he has heard this name.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 10/20/87

1

[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed
at his place of employment and provided the following
information:

[redacted] is an AUSA who [redacted] to the
U.S. Attorney. He has been with the U.S. Attorney's Office in
Miami since [redacted] Previous to this he was with the
[redacted]

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[redacted] advised that he had access to each draft of the
Costa I memorandum written by [redacted] He first became
involved after the initial draft of the memo was written in
April, 1986. This initial draft was given to [redacted] for his
comments and revisions. A second and third draft were also
revised and the fourth version of the memo was the final version.

[redacted] advised that he has kept a copy of this final version of
the memo. To the best of his knowledge the original of this
final version was sent to the Department of Justice (DOJ).
Copies of the final version were kept by [redacted] and
[redacted] advised that he does not know if anyone else in the
U.S. Attorney's Office kept a copy of this final version. [redacted]
advised that the Miami Office of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation (FBI) probably got a copy of the memo.

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[redacted] advised that he did not leak this memorandum to
the media, and does not have any knowledge of who did. [redacted]
advised that he heard from AUSA [redacted] that the mass
mailings were from the District of Columbia as the postmarks on
the envelopes were D.C. postmarks. [redacted] advised that he
personally did not speak to anyone in the media concerning the
leak of the memo. He heard from [redacted] that the Washington
Times received a copy of the memo as did the Village Voice.
[redacted] recalls [redacted] telling him something about the San
Francisco Examiner, but does not recall [redacted] telling him

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Investigation on 10/14/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and
by [redacted] *sum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/15/87
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agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [] Page -2*-

anything about a reporter by the name of [] further
advised that he has heard the name [] but does not recall
who [] is.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 10/28/87

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Florida, was interviewed in his office regarding any information he may have about the unauthorized disclosure of a memorandum authored by him. [redacted] was apprised of the official identity of the interviewing agents and the purpose for the interview. He thereafter provided the following information:

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[redacted] stated initially that he would only consent to an interview on the record and would require that a court reporter or transcriber be present in order to make a record of the interview. [redacted] indicated that he had been interviewed a number of times regarding this matter and wanted to make sure there was no misunderstanding about his involvement regarding the memo which had been the subject of a disclosure. The interviewing agents provided explanation to [redacted] regarding the background of the investigation and he thereafter advised that he would consent to interview, however, if he subsequently felt it necessary, he would terminate the interview and require that a court reporter be present.

For background information, [redacted] advised that he had been involved in the prosecution of [redacted] [redacted] was convicted and thereafter provided unsubstantiated allegations regarding a threat on the life of the U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica. [redacted] subsequently flunked a polygraph regarding these allegations. Following the polygraph of [redacted] there was a lapse of time and then U.S. Attorney [redacted] received a phone call which indicated that five mercenaries in jail in Costa Rica were implicated by [redacted] in the alleged assassination threat.

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[redacted] had done a chart setting forth in visual terms connections that he had been able to discern in the investigation involving [redacted]. He displayed this chart to certain members of the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica during a briefing to those personnel.

Investigation on 10/14/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and
by [redacted] *mm* MCS:tlg Date dictated 10/21/87
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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [] Page -2-

According to [] investigation ultimately determined that the allegation regarding the assassination of U.S. Ambassador TAMBS to Costa Rica was disproven. However, there was some evidence of certain neutrality violations.

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[] advised that the investigation had become fairly complicated by then and U.S. Attorney [] requested [] to do a memo detailing the investigation. On April 28, 1986 [] provided [] with a draft memo, but [] determined that it was not detailed enough. This draft was reviewed by Special Agent [] FBI Miami, who had been involved in the investigation also. On May 14, 1986, [] did a finished copy of the April 28th draft. On May 15, 1986, changes were made to the May 14th original memo. This resulted in a May 20th draft. The May 20th draft was subsequently finished as a May 22, 1986 final copy. On June 4, 1986, USA [] signed this memo out of the U.S. Attorney's Office. The final copy of the memo to be signed out of the U.S. Attorney's Office had been reviewed in various stages by [] and [] in addition to USA []. [] noted that [] and [] are all Assistant U.S. Attorneys.

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Prior to the memo being signed out by [] had indicated to [] that the memo should be classified SECRET. However, it was ultimately signed out of the office with a SENSITIVE marking and was not officially classified SECRET. [] advised that the memo should have been classified SECRET due to the fact that it contained names of Central Intelligence Agency employees.

[] advised that he has very thick roughdraft files regarding his investigation and upon which the Costa I memo was based. These files were kept in a box in his office and were not secured. In December, 1986, the file was put into a filing cabinet. Sometime prior to the time the file was put in the filing cabinet, someone removed material from the file. [] further noted that in March or April, 1987, someone slipped underneath the door of his office some of his original handwritten work product in this investigation. He noted that there was a handwritten original footnote regarding notes of activities at the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica and statements from witnesses which he, [] had written in May, 1986 and had not seen for some time. [] feels that someone deliberately pulled his handwritten notes from the work file.

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[] believes that [] is responsible for the theft of his notes although [] said he has no proof. He indicated that [] has been in [] work area in the past and [] believes that [] has been responsible for other leaks.

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[REDACTED] noted that [REDACTED] is a close associate to [REDACTED] a Federal public defender close to Senator KERRY. [REDACTED] noted that during the [REDACTED] investigation and trial [REDACTED] seemed to be very familiar with the direction of the U.S. Attorney's Office and [REDACTED] thought that [REDACTED] must be operating on some inside information. [REDACTED] also indicated that [REDACTED] had been interviewed by Miami television channel 10 news reporter Ms. [REDACTED] regarding the Costa I memo information. It was apparent to [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] was very familiar with the memo even prior to the interview and he felt that [REDACTED] must have had access to it. It was [REDACTED] opinion that [REDACTED] had prior knowledge of the memo before its disclosure.

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[REDACTED] advised that he did not leak the Costa I memo to the press nor does he know who did other than suspecting [REDACTED] as mentioned above. [REDACTED] advised that he has heard the name [REDACTED] but he does not know who the individual is. [REDACTED] has also heard that the Department of Justice may have leaked the memo to Republican Congressmen in order to disprove allegations made by Senator KERRY.

[REDACTED] provided to the interviewing agents a copy of a chronology of the Costa I matters. Attached thereto are copies of various handwritten notes that [REDACTED] has made regarding developments as they unfolded.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 10/19/87

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[redacted]
[redacted]
interviewed in her office and provided the following information:

[redacted]
traveled to Costa Rica in the Spring of 1986 to investigate allegations of gun running and violations of the Neutrality Act. After his return from Costa Rica, in approximately April, 1986, he was told to summarize the results of his investigation in writing. The memorandum that [redacted] wrote went through several revisions. [redacted] advised that she was not involved in any of the revisions, but rather [redacted] was responsible for many of the revisions. It was [redacted] understanding that this memorandum was originally for in office use only. The memo was not prepared in order to advise the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C. of the investigation, but rather was sent to Washington as an afterthought. [redacted] recalls that the memorandum was sent to Washington, D.C. in early June, 1986.

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[redacted] advised that her first contact with the media over the memo was soon after the memorandum went to Washington, D.C. She received a number of calls from the media and the reporters spoke as if they knew of the existence of this memorandum. [redacted] recalled that the first reporter she spoke to was [redacted] of the Washington Times. [redacted] related to [redacted] that he had a "contact on the Hill". In addition to [redacted] received calls from two or three other reporters. [redacted] could not recall which reporters called her. [redacted] advised that this period of receiving calls from the media was not dragged out, but rather there was a lot of interest for a short period of time.

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[redacted] advised that originally she assumed that the reporters had a copy of the memorandum. [redacted] now feels that at this time the reporters did not actually have a copy of the memorandum, but only knew of its existence. [redacted] bases this

Investigation on 10/14/87 at Miami, Florida File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and [redacted]
by [redacted] *tlm* EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/16/87
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~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] assumption on the difference on the way these reporters acted versus the way the reporters acted in 1987 when it was definite that the reporters actually had received copies of the actual memorandum. [REDACTED] now assumes that in this first leak, some of the contents of the memorandum were disclosed by someone who had the memo. The second leak of the memorandum to the press occurred in 1987. [REDACTED] recalls receiving two telephone calls in one day. One call was from a reporter of the Chicago Tribune and the other call was from [REDACTED] of the Department of Justice. [REDACTED] returned [REDACTED] call first and [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that he had been called by [REDACTED] the Village Voice. [REDACTED] had called the Department of Justice (DOJ) and advised the DOJ that he had a copy of the memorandum. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] told him that [REDACTED] intended to publish the memorandum. [REDACTED] wanted to know if there were problems with the memo and [REDACTED] also wanted to know what was in the memorandum.

After talking to [REDACTED] then talked to a reporter from the Chicago Tribune, [REDACTED]. This reporter from the Chicago Tribune advised that he had a copy of the memo and had received it in the mail. [REDACTED] was positive that this reporter actually had a copy of the memo as he was referring to the fact that the [REDACTED] initialed the memo out over [REDACTED] name.

After talking to this reporter for the Chicago Tribune [REDACTED] called [REDACTED] back. [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that there had evidently been a many mass mailing of this memorandum to the press in plain brown envelopes. Subsequent to this [REDACTED] received many calls from the media. [REDACTED] does not recall exactly which reporters called, and could not provide any details of her subsequent contacts with the media. [REDACTED] did advise that it appeared as if the Miami Herald did not have a copy of the memorandum at this time as the Miami Herald did not come out with the story for another couple of days.

[REDACTED] advised that she believes that although the media had a copy of the memorandum, the media did not have a copy of the June 3, 1987 cover letter. [REDACTED] believes this because many of the questions from the reporters concerned the discrepancy in dates in the memorandum. The memorandum was dated May 14, 1986, but a footnote refers to a civil complaint filed May 30, 1986 in Miami. This discrepancy in dates was clarified in the June 3, 1987 cover letter.

[REDACTED] further advised that between the first and second leak it was necessary to send the Department of Justice (DOJ) in Washington, D.C. another copy of the memorandum. [REDACTED] does not recall the exact time frame, and does not know

who from the DOJ requested it, but does recall that the DOJ could not find their copy of the memorandum and requested that Miami send them a second copy. [] advised that this second copy of the memorandum was sent to the DOJ in Washington, D.C.

[] remembers calling [] of the DOJ, Office of Professional Responsibility (OPR). [] does not recall telling [] that she had talked to a reporter [] of the San Francisco Examiner or that [] allegedly told [] that he had received a copy of the memorandum from [] of the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee. [] did not deny making this statement to [] but rather indicated that she could not recall it. [] advised that the incident very well could have happened because after she started receiving numerous inquiries from the media she started asking different reporters how they received copies of the memorandum. She was interviewed by [] on April 14, 1987 and thus the incident would have been fresh in her mind on April 30, 1987.

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[] further advised that a short period of time later she talked to [] again and [] then told [] who [] was. [] advised that she did not disclose or leak the memorandum to the media although she did later confirm the existence of the memorandum to the media. [] also advised that she does not know who leaked the memorandum to the media.

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It is [] belief that the first leak came from the DOJ in Washington, D.C. She feels that the DOJ early on wanted to disapprove the allegations of gun running, and the memorandum did in fact do this. She feels that only part of the memorandum was leaked as part of the memorandum (specifically the [] would cause problems for the administration and thus the entire memorandum was not leaked.

[] believes that the second leak came from a Miami [] by the name of [] [] credibility was definitely in question over the incident surrounding [] assertion that [] [] received a telephone call from Attorney General (AG) EDWIN MEESE wherein MEESE allegedly told [] to slow down the investigation. [] has a close relationship with a Federal Public Defender by the name of [] who was a close associate of Senator KERRY. [] the Village Voice, first came up with the story that someone in the United States Attorney's Office had overheard this telephone call from [] Since [] also came up with the story on the memorandum, [] feels that it is possible that [] also leaked the story on the memorandum. [] further advised that it appeared as if a chain of disclosure existed from [] to []

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [REDACTED] Page -4*-

[REDACTED] to KERRY. Since this chain of disclosure was also utilized in the other leaks, [REDACTED] feels that this was also a possibility in the leak of the memorandum. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] office was not locked and [REDACTED] could have gotten a copy of the memorandum. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is still an [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 11/9/87

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed
in his office and provided the following information:

In the spring of 1986 [redacted] had numerous conversations with [redacted] Southern District of Florida, Miami, Florida, concerning Miami's investigation of allegations relating to the alleged assassination attempt on the life of [redacted] had been instructed by his superior, [redacted] to keep abreast of these matters. In approximately May, 1986, [redacted] wrote a memo to [redacted] that contained a number of questions that [redacted] wished answered. This was about the same time that numerous hearings were held on matters associated with Nicaragua, and the Miami case was the topic of some of the briefings that went on, on the Hill.

According to the notations in [redacted] file, the Costa I Memo was received in his office on 6/4/86. The cover letter from [redacted] has a handwritten notation that indicates that a copy of the memo was handcarried to [redacted] on 6/13/86. [redacted] advised that this would not have been a routine dissemination and the memo must have been requested by the Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA). [redacted] advised that he does not recall the specific request however. [redacted] did advise that the current OLA is more aggressive than other offices have been in the past.

[redacted] further advised that he later received a telephone call from [redacted] on April 8, 1987. [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that the media had the memo and [redacted] needed to see the memo in order to adequately respond to the media inquiries.

Investigation on 10/26/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

SA [redacted] and [redacted]
by [redacted] *tlm* EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/26/87
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~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] advised that he does not have any personal knowledge of how the memo was obtained by the media. [REDACTED] does not recall meeting with anyone on the Hill concerning the memo.

[REDACTED] advised that he has talked to reporter [REDACTED] of the Village Voice on numerous occasions. Most of those conversations have centered around the investigation of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] possible involvement in a South African matter. [REDACTED] also wrote an article about the relationship between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Sub-Committee. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] was the leak of the memo.

[REDACTED] advised that he has not had any conversations with [REDACTED] concerning these matters. [REDACTED] further advised

[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 10/29/87

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed in his office and provided the following information:

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[redacted] keeps a chronological notebook of his conversations with the media and after consulting this notebook, [redacted] advised that he first became involved in the leak of the Costa I memo on March 24, 1987. On March 24, 1987, [redacted] of the Village Voice called [redacted] and advised that he [redacted] had talked to U.S. Attorney [redacted] of Miami. [redacted] told [redacted] that he had spent two weeks in Miami and [redacted] advised [redacted] that another news organization allegedly had a copy of the prosecutive memo. At the time [redacted] gave [redacted] a local telephone number of [redacted]

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The next entry in [redacted] notebook is March 25, 1987 wherein he received a telephone call from [redacted] [redacted] is involved in the production of the news magazine West 57 Street. In this conversation [redacted] mentioned U.S. Attorney [redacted] and Assistant U.S. Attorney (AUSA) [redacted] but [redacted] did not indicate that she had a copy of the memo.

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Also on March 25, 1987, [redacted] talked to Executive AUSA [redacted] who advised [redacted] that she knew about [redacted] as [redacted] and a news crew had been in Miami conducting interviews of individuals associated with the investigation in Miami.

On March 25, 1987, [redacted] also talked to a reporter from the Wall Street Journal in New York, New York. This [redacted] wanted to know about the memo. [redacted] did not give any indication that he had a copy of the memo, but rather seemed to be following up on a Village Voice article.

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Investigation on 10/20/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

SAs [redacted] and [redacted] by [redacted] *sum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 10/20/87
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talked with a reporter from the Boston Globe, and neither the Boston Globe nor [redacted] indicated that they had an actual copy of the memo.

On March 27, 1987, [redacted] also talked to [redacted] of the Criminal Division in order to find out for himself what was in this memorandum.

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On March 30, 1987 [redacted] notebook reflects that he received another inquiry from the Wall Street Journal.

On April 6, 1987, [redacted] advised that he received a telephone call from [redacted] of the Washington Post. [redacted] indicated that Congressman HUGHES was intending on calling [redacted] before his committee.

Also on April 6, 1987 [redacted] received a telephone call from [redacted] of the Village Voice. [redacted] was a conference call and the [redacted] of the article, [redacted] was also on the telephone line. [redacted] advised that the Village Voice had copies of the prosecutive memorandum. [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that [redacted] had previously told the National Law Journal about the memo in an interview. The purpose of [redacted] calling [redacted] was to inquire as to whether or not the Village Voice could use some of the names in the memo. Two of the names brought up were [redacted] also brought up the discrepancy in dates, the discrepancy being the memo was dated 5/14/86 with a footnote referring to a law suit that was filed on 5/30/86. [redacted] question to [redacted] concerning this was, "Why was the memo back dated?". [redacted] has in his notes that [redacted] was calling from New York with a call back telephone number of [redacted]

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On April 7, 1987, [redacted] had several telephone calls with [redacted] advised [redacted] that if at all possible [redacted] name should not be publicized. On this date [redacted] called [redacted] back and told him not to use the names of any of the sources. Also on April 7, 1987, according to [redacted] notebook, he had a telephone conversation with [redacted] asked [redacted] a number of questions concerning the memo and [redacted] feels that at this time, [redacted] also had a copy of the memo. On this date, [redacted] also attempted to get an actual copy of the memo to read for himself.

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[redacted] notebook reflects that on April 8, 1987, he gave copies of the memo to FBI Headquarters and the Department of Justice Command Center.

On April 9, 1987, [redacted] received another telephone call from [redacted] of the Village Voice. [redacted]

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that the Los Angeles Times also had a copy of the memo and the Los Angeles Times did not get their copy of this memo from [redacted] but rather got it from another source. [redacted] told [redacted] that he [redacted] gave a copy of the memo to [redacted] at this point told [redacted] that the leak was from [redacted] or [redacted] Staff. [redacted] also asked [redacted] if the memo was given to the HILL by the Department of Justice, and also asked [redacted] if the Department of Justice gave a copy of the memo to [redacted]

On April 11, 1987, [redacted] was called by reporter [redacted] of the Washington Times. [redacted] wanted to know why [redacted] was getting so much attention when [redacted] said that he ran a story in November, 1986 and at that time [redacted] had copy of the memo.

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[redacted] notebook further reflects that on April 13, 1987, [redacted] talked to [redacted] of the U.S. Attorney's Office in Miami, Florida concerning the leak of this memo.

On April 14, 1987, [redacted] of the Washington Times called [redacted] back concerning the memo. The only item in [redacted] notes concerns [redacted] advising [redacted] that [redacted] was very close to the Senate Committee.

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On April 14, 1987, [redacted] was called by [redacted] [redacted] mentioned a number of companies that were under investigation concerning the Iran-Contra Affair. [redacted] believes that the names of these companies were in the memo and [redacted] possibly had a copy of the memo at this time.

On April 14, 1987, [redacted] again talked to [redacted] in Miami. At this time, [redacted] advised that the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Professional Responsibility (DOJ/OPR) was in Miami conducting interviews concerning the memo.

On April 30, 1987, [redacted] again talked to [redacted] At this time [redacted] related to [redacted] that she had heard a rumor that a number of copies of this memo had been sent to the press. [redacted] also mentioned [redacted] of the San Francisco Examiner and [redacted] of the Miami Herald. [redacted] also mentioned [redacted] [redacted] notes reflect that [redacted] told him that [redacted] had the memo in June, 1986. From [redacted] notes [redacted] assumes that [redacted] got this information from [redacted] of the San Francisco Examiner. Also in [redacted] notes is a notation that [redacted] called [redacted] later that same day and left a call back telephone number of [redacted]

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On May 5, 1987, [redacted] notes reflect that he received a telephone call from [redacted] [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [] Page -4*-

may not be a reporter for the San Francisco Examiner, but rather uses the San Francisco Examiner for credibility and in reality works for the Pacific News Service at telephone number [] [] asked [] how [] got a copy of the memo in the summer of 1986. [] also asked [] if anyone in the DOJ, Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA), had communications with [] [] advised that these are the only notes he has concerning this telephone call.

[] advised that he does not have any knowledge of how this memo got into the hands of the media. He does not have any personal knowledge of any mass mailing of the memo to the media in plain brown envelopes. He recalls being told by someone that the media had received a mass mailing, but [] does not remember whether he was told this by a reporter or possibly [] [] advised that he does not recall anything being said about District of Columbia postmarks on the plain brown envelopes.

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[] further advised that he never received any inquiries from anyone on the Hill concerning the memo or its contents.

[] advised that after being told by [] of the Washington Times that [] ran a story in November, 1986, [] had his news service people go back to November, 1986 and they did in fact retrieve a newspaper article concerning this matter. [] advised that he will provide a copy of this newspaper article to the interviewing agent when he finds it.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

FD-302

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 11/17/87

1

[redacted]
Department of Justice, [redacted]
[redacted] Building, Washington, D.C., telephone number
[redacted], was interviewed in his office and provided the
following information:

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During the time frame in question, [redacted] advised that the OLA had been receiving requests on a continuing basis from the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee concerning all matters that related to Nicaragua and Central America. [redacted] advised that the DOJ had consistently refused to provide much information to Congress concerning any ongoing investigations. [redacted] described the relations with the Senate Foreign Sub-Committee as a "slow dance" as the Sub-Committee was continually asking for information and the DOJ OLA was continually resisting divulging any information on open investigations. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was the individual who dealt directly with the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee.

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[redacted] further advised that he does not recall seeing the [redacted] Costa I memo itself. [redacted] advised that the memo in all probability went directly to [redacted] further advised that he does not have any recollection of the leak of the memo itself and does not recall having any conversations with anyone concerning the leak. [redacted] advised that he has no knowledge of who might possibly have leaked the memorandum.

[redacted] advised that in addition to [redacted] the only other person in the OLA who might have some knowledge concerning this memo would be [redacted] in OLA. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was working on Central American matters and may have had access to the memo or might possibly have knowledge concerning the leak thereof.

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[redacted] advised that the individual on the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee who dealt with DOJ/OLA was [redacted] advised

Investigation on 10/28/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SAC [redacted] and [redacted] EWM:tlg Date dictated 11/2/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he has never heard of the [REDACTED] of the Village Voice. [REDACTED] advised that the OIA has not had a problem with leaks to the media. [REDACTED] advised that in the two years that he has known [REDACTED] he has never known [REDACTED] to make any unauthorized disclosures to either the media or anyone on the Hill. [REDACTED] advised that disclosing this memorandum or the context thereof would be an unauthorized disclosure as his office does not disclose any matters concerning open investigations. [REDACTED] volunteered that if the memo came from the DOJ it probably came from the Criminal Division as the Criminal Division of the DOJ seems to have more leaks than any other division. [REDACTED] advised that this is just his feeling, and he does not have any information on any particular person.

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[REDACTED] advised that he does not know why [REDACTED] left the employ of the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee. [REDACTED] advised that he recalls that there was a change of political power. Senators LUGAR and HELMS vied for the chairmanship of the committee, and when HELMS won HELMS probably asked [REDACTED] to go as [REDACTED] of Senator LUGAR.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/21/87

1

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] was interviewed in his office and provided the following information:

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[redacted] has been the [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] first became involved with the Iran-Contra controversy on May 6, 1986 when he attended a meeting which was attended by representatives from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of Justice. This meeting was held to discuss allegations that had been received from [redacted] concerning drugs and gun running. [redacted] advised that nothing of substance came from this meeting. Subsequently, [redacted] began coordinating with [redacted] concerning the investigations that [redacted] office was pursuing into related matters.

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[redacted] advised that he first saw the [redacted] Costa I memo in June or July of 1986. [redacted] was at the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C. and personally handed a copy of the memo to [redacted] advised that [redacted] made additional copies of the memo on a photocopy machine in the Department of Justice. Subsequent to this, [redacted] also received a copy of the memo from the Criminal Division through regular Department of Justice channels. [redacted] advised that he did not give any significance to the memo at the time and filed it in his safe.

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Investigation on 12/7/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

SA [redacted] and
by SA [redacted] *sum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/9/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~SECRET~~

FD-302a

Continuation of interview of []

Page -2-

As concerns other individuals in the Office of Legislative Affairs who may have had access to this memo, [] advised that [] also probably had access to the memo.

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[] advised that in dealing with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he usually dealt with the committee's [] advised that he first met [] during this time period. [] denied ever giving a copy of the [] Costa I memorandum. [] volunteered that he knew that [] had a copy of the memo in either November or December, 1986 as [] saw a copy of the memo on [] desk. [] advised that one day in November or December, 1986 he stopped in [] office and saw the memo on [] desk. [] did not inquire of [] as to where [] received the memo.

[] stated that he believes that both the House and Senate Intelligence Committees received a copy of the memo in November, 1986. [] is not sure of the exact date but believed it was shortly after the Attorney General's public conference in November or December of 1986 concerning the Iran-Contra Affair. [] advised that he saw the memo on [] desk after the time period in which the Intelligence Committees received a copy of the memo.

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At this point in the interview [] called [] into his office and directed her to attempt to determine what documents were sent to the Congressional Intelligence Committees by the Department of Justice. [] then left [] office.

[] advised that the Department of Justice generally gave Congress "everything under the sun". [] then advised that he knows that the [] Costa I memo went over to Congress in January or February of 1987. The memo went over to Congress as part of many documents that went to the Iran-Contra Congressional Committee. [] also believes that the committee publicly published this document as one of the many documents it published.

At this point in the interview [] advised [] that the first delivery of documents to the Intelligence Committees was on December 13, 1986. With this new information [] stated that he did not recall if he saw the memo on [] desk before or after December 13, 1986.

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[] advised that he never received any inquiries from the media concerning the [] Costa I memorandum. [] also advised that he did not have any information as to

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [redacted]

Page -3*-

whether or not [redacted] gave a copy of the memo to anyone in the media. As to where [redacted] received his copy of the memo, [redacted] advised that he did not know and further added that [redacted] probably would not tell anyone where he got his copy of the memo from as staffers on the Hill are very protective of their sources. [redacted] also volunteered that many times people on the Hill receive documents in the mail from anonymous sources.

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[redacted] volunteered that [redacted] has recently been [redacted] [redacted] also raised the issue of what security clearance, if any, [redacted] held. [redacted] stated that if [redacted] held a security clearance it would probably not be a criminal violation to turn over the memo to him. If [redacted] in turn gave the memo to the media then this would probably be a criminal violation.

[redacted] also volunteered that he believes that [redacted] gave out many copies of this memorandum to authorized people in the Department of Justice in the hopes that someone would leak the memo. [redacted] pointed out to the people that he gave the memo to that it contained no federal grand jury material. Leaking the memo to the media would be to [redacted] benefit as the memo showed that [redacted] was in fact conducting investigations into the Iran-Contra matters at a time when the media was attempting to show that [redacted] was trying to stall any investigation.

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When offered the opportunity to undergo a polygraph examination concerning this matter, [redacted] refused to do so. [redacted] advised that he was refusing [redacted]

[redacted] provided the agents with his notebook of material concerning this matter. The interviewing agent photocopied the matter and returned the notebook to [redacted] on the same date.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/21/871b6
b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Department of Justice
Main Building, 10th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington,
D.C., telephone number [redacted] was interviewed in her
office and provided the following information:

[redacted] has been with the Office of Legislative Affairs since May, 1986. [redacted] first saw the [redacted] Costa I memorandum in December, 1986 or January/February, 1987 when she was collecting documents in the Iran-Contra Affair. [redacted] has talked to [redacted] of the Criminal Division and both [redacted] and [redacted] feel that the [redacted] Costa I memorandum was not sent to the Congressional Intelligence Committees. The Department of Justice received a letter from the Intelligence Committees on December 10, 1986. On December 13, 1986, the Department of Justice sent to Congress a large amount of material that related to the weekend investigation of the Attorney General and to the Iran-Contra Affair. [redacted] advised that she does not think the memo was sent in this material. [redacted] further advised that she is not sure if the memo ever officially was sent to Congress.

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[redacted] advised that she did not usually deal with [redacted] as he usually dealt with [redacted] was the [redacted] who handled contacts with U.S. Senate.

Two other people in the Office of Legislative Affairs who might have knowledge concerning this matter are [redacted] and [redacted]

Investigation on 12/7/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SA [redacted] and [redacted] *Sum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/9/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/21/871

Subsequent to the interview of [redacted] Special Agent (SA) [redacted] telephonically contacted U.S. Attorney [redacted] in Miami, Florida. SA [redacted] had previously interviewed [redacted] in Miami concerning the [redacted] Costa I memorandum. [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that he was not in Washington, D.C. during the time period of June/July, 1986. [redacted] further advised that he never made copies of the [redacted] Costa I memorandum and never handed them out to anyone in the U.S. Department of Justice. The only person in the U.S. Department of Justice who received the [redacted] Costa I memorandum was [redacted] [redacted] of the Criminal Division who received the memo when [redacted] office first sent the memo to the Department of Justice in June, 1986.

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b7C

Investigation on 12/7/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SA [redacted] *gum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/9/87

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

FD-302

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/21/87

1

[redacted] U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Legislative Affairs, telephonically contacted the interviewing agent. [redacted] advised that her research to date indicates that the Department of Justice officially sent three different versions of the [redacted] Costa I memorandum to Congress. This was done on July 10, 1987 and was sent to the Iran-Contra Committee. [redacted] advised that she will attempt to obtain these different versions of the [redacted] memorandum and will re-contact the interviewing agent when she finds them.

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Investigation on 12/9/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SA [redacted] *rum* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/9/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 12/28/87

1

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[redacted] residence address [redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] was
interviewed at his residence and provided the following
information:

From [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] was advised by the interviewing agents that
this investigation concerned a memorandum written by [redacted]
[redacted] termed the Costa
I Memorandum. When asked when [redacted] first saw the memo,
[redacted] replied that one he did not recall, and two he desired to
close the discussion. [redacted] advised that this matter involves
legislative privilege as [redacted] worked for the Legislative
Branch and was involved in investigating actions undertaken by
the Executive Branch. [redacted] advised that anything he did on
the sub-committee was privileged from disclosure to the Executive
Branch.

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[redacted] did advise that the sub-committee encountered
many problems in getting information from the United States
Department of Justice (DOJ). [redacted] himself ran into many
obstacles in attempting to get information and there are still
people in the DOJ and FBI who have an axe to grind. [redacted] also

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At this time [redacted] stated that there is no
prosecutable violation concerning this memorandum as no one
knowingly disclosed any classified information. The memo did not
contain any markings indicating that it contained classified
National Security information. [redacted] advised that he had a

Investigation on 12/14/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

SA [redacted] and
by SA [redacted] *MM* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/15/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

security clearance which was granted by an agency that he does not recall.

[REDACTED] admitted receiving the [REDACTED] Costa I memorandum and stated that it could have been either October, November or December of 1986. When confronted with the National Law Journal article which states that [REDACTED] told the National Law Journal that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he does not recall telling this to the National Law Journal. When asked if [REDACTED] received the memorandum from someone in the DOJ, [REDACTED] advised that he would not comment on this due to the legislative privilege. [REDACTED] also advised that he would not comment on his sources as he considers them to be protected under the whistle-blower laws.

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[REDACTED] did advise that he was told by his source that the information was not classified. The individual who gave [REDACTED] the memo told him that there was no national security information contained within the memorandum.

[REDACTED] advised that he did pass the memorandum onto his superiors. His superiors included actual members of Congress and their staff. [REDACTED] advised that he does not know if all of the staff members hold a security clearance.

When asked if he gave a copy of the memorandum to any member of the media, [REDACTED] advised that he would rather not comment on this. This would entail getting into what his role was in working for Congress and this is protected by legislative privilege. When specifically asked if he gave a copy of the memorandum to [REDACTED] of the San Francisco Examiner [REDACTED] advised that he would not comment on that. When specifically asked if he gave a copy of the memorandum to [REDACTED] of the Village Voice, [REDACTED] advised that he would not comment on [REDACTED] other than to say that he would not take WAAS' word for anything.

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[REDACTED] advised that his superior on the sub-committee was [REDACTED] who was the [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is no longer on the Hill but still lives in the Washington Metropolitan area.

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When asked if [REDACTED] had a fifth amendment problem with answering the interviewing agent's questions, [REDACTED] advised that he did not have a problem but was refusing to comment due to the Congressional privilege. [REDACTED] further advised that in order to waive this privilege there would need to be a resolution of the full Senate. [REDACTED] stated that he would need direction from the Senate to tell the interviewing agents

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FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [REDACTED] Page -3*-

where he got the memo from and to whom he gave it.

[REDACTED] did specifically deny that he was responsible for the mass mailings and advised that he does not know who was responsible for the mass mailings of the memo.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/28/87

1

[redacted]
[redacted]
20006, telephone number [redacted] residence address [redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed at his office and provided the following information:

In 1986 [redacted] was the [redacted]
[redacted] As such he was [redacted]
[redacted] immediate supervisor. [redacted] advised that he does not know how [redacted] acquired the [redacted] Costa I memorandum. [redacted] advised that [redacted] had many contacts in the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) although the main liaison in the DOJ for the U.S. Senate was [redacted]
[redacted] advised that he has no knowledge of the relationship between [redacted] and [redacted]

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[redacted] further advised that he does not have any knowledge of whether or not [redacted] gave a copy of the memorandum to the media. There were no restrictions on any of the staff people speaking to the press and most staff members received many calls from the media everyday. [redacted] further advised that although they have procedures on how to deal with classified information, there were no procedures for the handling of unclassified material.

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[redacted]
[redacted] memorandum to anyone in particular, it would probably not be [redacted] from the San Francisco Examiner or [redacted] from the Village Voice as [redacted] oriented with these papers. [redacted] was more oriented towards the Washington Times.

[redacted] advised that by way of background during this

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Investigation on 12/14/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SA [redacted] *tlm* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/15/87
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FD-302a

Continuation of interview of [] Page -2*-

time period the committee was conducting an investigation into the Iran-Contra Affair. There was a small war between Senator KERRY's staff and Senator LUGAR's staff. [] was often placed in the role of referee and tried to conduct the investigation in a professional manner. [] became the target of much discontent within KERRY's staff and Senator KERRY thought that Senator LUGAR's staff was in line with the DOJ in refusing to provide information to the sub-committee. [] did advise that in approximately December, 1986 all the information that was uncovered by Senator LUGAR's staff was turned over to Senator KERRY's staff.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~Date of transcription 12/28/871

SA [redacted] reviewed the material provided by [redacted] DOJ/OLA. Included in this material is a deposition of [redacted] dated September 28, 1987. In this disposition [redacted] states that he saw the [redacted] memo on the desk of [redacted] in late November or December of 1986.

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In the deposition [redacted] is asked how he got a copy of the [redacted] memo. [redacted] replies that he believes a copy was sent down to [redacted] by [redacted]. No mention is made of [redacted].

Investigation on 12/15/87 at Washington, D.C. File # 243-3

by SA [redacted] *EWM* EWM:tlg Date dictated 12/16/87
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b7C~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

TRANSMIT VIA

☐ Teletype SRC'D
☐ Facsimile SER
☐ AIRTEL REC

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLASSIFIED
☐ UNCLAS 4/13/88
Date _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON-METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE
(243-3) (C) (C-3)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION IN THE APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION
OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
OO:WMFO

SECRET

ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "SECRET" UNLESS
OTHERWISE NOTED.

b6
b7C

Reference San Francisco airtel dated 3/8/88.

For the information of San Francisco, investigation in
captioned matter led [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DOJ Office of Professional Responsibility declined
prosecution or further action and advised that the FBI should
close its case.

San Francisco should RUC its file. 243 1 21

SECRET
CLASSIFIED BY: 8501
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~SECRET~~

2-Bureau
2-San Francisco (243-1)
1-Washington-Metropolitan Field Office
EWM:tlg
(5)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-7-98
391476

Approved: [Signature] Transmitted _____ Per _____
(Number) (Time)

1-D
16 APR 03 1989

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/8/88

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (243-1) (P)

SUBJECT: UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF
 CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
 APRIL 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE
 VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-UP
 CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
 IIPA;
 OO: WFO

This entire communication is classified as "~~Secret~~".

Re Acting Director teletype to San Francisco, et al dated
 10/2/87.

To date, San Francisco has received no additional
 communications re instant matter other than opening explanatory
 teletype.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

Advise San Francisco if any investigation is outstanding
 in this division.

~~SECRET~~

Classified by (C-3)
 Declassify on OADR

② - Bureau
 2 - WFO (243-3) (P)
 1 - San Francisco
 WRG/jw
 (5)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MUB
 ON 5-7-98

#391426

MAR 10 1988

4-21-

Approved: *RUH/K*

Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

Per *[Signature]*b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

SF (243-1)
WRG/jw

LEADS

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.: Advise San Francisco if any investigation is outstanding in this division.

~~SECRET~~
2*

1

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~

4/12/88

Director, FBI

SAC, San Francisco (243-1)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF ~~CLASSIFIED~~ INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED
"CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
IIPA;
OO: WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its
entirety.

Reference San Francisco airtel March 8, 1988.

For the information of San Francisco, no investigation
is outstanding in San Francisco and this matter has been closed.

NOTE:

Above to San Francisco.

MAILED

APR 13 1988

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MLB
ON 5-7-98
39246

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: 4808
Declassify on: OADR

Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Off. Cong. & _____
Public Affs. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Off. Liaison & _____
Int. Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

MAIL ROOM

13 MAY 17 1988

FBI

SSE

CLASS
SPO'D
SER
REC

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 12/5/89

1 TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
 2 FROM : SAC, WMFO (243-3) (RUC)
 3 SUBJECT: UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
 4 INFORMATION IN THE APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION
 5 OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE", ENTITLED "CONTRA
 6 COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
 INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
 OO:FBIHQ

7 Enclosed for FBIHQ is rough draft of a letter to
 8 DOJ/OPR.

9 On December 1, 1989, SA [redacted] WMFO,
 10 former case agent in captioned matter, was telephonically
 11 contacted by [redacted] U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Office of
 12 Professional Responsibility, telephone number [redacted]
 13 [redacted] advised that his office had been contacted by [redacted]
 14 [redacted] office, who wanted DOJ/OPR to provide some material
 15 on the case. *243-18-24*

16 [redacted] advised that he knew that [redacted] had

17 WMFO requests that FBIHQ respond to DOJ/OPR. The
 18 enclosed rough draft letter provides the information known to
 19 WMFO during the investigation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-4-98 BY SP4-BJA-MLB

391426

20 ②-Bureau
 21 2-WMFO

EWM:ase
 (4)

1 cc to DOJ.

12/12/89.

Approved: *[Signature]*

Transmitted

(Number) (Time)

Per

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP**

(Rev. 4/30/90)

TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7176	THE DIRECTOR		231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
					231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7142	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7110	MR. [REDACTED]				
	235	7116	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	MISS [REDACTED]
					231	3012	MS. [REDACTED]
	233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	MRS. [REDACTED]
	213	7159	MR. [REDACTED]				
	211	5829	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3149	MR. [REDACTED]
	152	Academy	MR. [REDACTED]	✓	243	5222	MR. [REDACTED]
	245	7427	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5155	MR. [REDACTED]
	232	4026	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3028	MR. [REDACTED]
	241	3090	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5030	MR. [REDACTED]
	234	6012	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3042	MR. [REDACTED]
	213	7125	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3823	MR. [REDACTED]
	342	11255	MR. [REDACTED]				
					235	7150	CAREER BOARD
					244	6437	INFORMATION DESK
	245	7240	MR. [REDACTED]		152	1B327	MAILROOM
	245	7222	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6248	READING ROOM
	245	7443	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5129	RMPU
					233	5045	SIOC
	233	5078	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6247	TELETYPE ROOM

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-98 BY SP4-BJA/HCB

5/14/90

M _____ Room _____ TL _____

*This turned up in my mail
I don't need it, just
final "white paper LHM"
description).*

Not my description!

b6
b7C

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me <input type="checkbox"/> See Me <input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action <input type="checkbox"/> Initial <input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info. <input type="checkbox"/> Note & Return <input type="checkbox"/> Record & Return <input type="checkbox"/> See Reverse Side	FROM [REDACTED] CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION Room 5012 TL # 233 Phone [REDACTED] Date 9/3 FBI/DOJ
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**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP**

TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7176	The Director		243	5222	Mr. [Redacted]
					243	5222	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7142	Mr. [Redacted]				
	235	7110	Mr. [Redacted]		243	5226	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7116	Mr. [Redacted]		243	5431	Mr. [Redacted]
					243	5438	Mr. [Redacted]
	341	11255	Identification Division		243	5200	Mr. [Redacted]
	152	Academy	Training Division		243	5437	Mr. [Redacted]
	234	6012	Admin. Services Division		243	5438	Mr. [Redacted]
	211	5829	Records Management Division		243	5223	Mr. [Redacted]
	232	4026	Intelligence Division				
	241	3090	Laboratory Division		243	5222	Mrs. [Redacted]
	213	7159	Technical Services Division		243	5222	Mrs. [Redacted]
	245	7427	Legal Counsel Division				
	213	7125	Inspection Division		231	3028	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7116	Congressional Affairs		231	3149	Mr. [Redacted]
	245	7441	OLIA		233	5155	Mr. [Redacted]
					233	5030	Mr. [Redacted]
	233	5012	Mr. [Redacted]		231	3823	Mr. [Redacted]
	231	3012	Mr. [Redacted]		231	3042	Mr. [Redacted]
	231	3012	Mr. [Redacted]		233	5078	Special Assistants
	233	5012	Mr. [Redacted]				
					233	5121	Administrative Unit
					244	6248	Reading Room
	152	1B327	Mail Room		232	4648	Mr. [Redacted]

b6
b7C

PLS ATTACH THIS ATTACHED R/S
→ MEMO TO YOUR DOCUMENT -

THX.

[Signature]

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info.
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Note & Return
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action	<input type="checkbox"/> Record & Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Initial	<input type="checkbox"/> See Reverse Side
<input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	<input type="checkbox"/> For approval

FROM

COUNTERTERRORISM SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-98 BY SP4-DJA-MD
#391426

Room	TL #	Phone	Date <u>8/29/90</u>
------	------	-------	---------------------

FBI/DOJ

(Rev. 5/15/90)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP

TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7176	THE DIRECTOR		231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
					231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7142	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7116	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3149	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7110	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3823	MR. [REDACTED]
					243	5222	MR. [REDACTED]
	233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5155	MR. [REDACTED]
	213	7159	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3028	MR. [REDACTED]
	211	5829	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5030	MR. [REDACTED]
	152	ACADEMY	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3042	MR. [REDACTED]
	245	7427	MR. [REDACTED]				
	232	4012	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5078	MR. [REDACTED]
	241	3090	MR. [REDACTED]				
	234	6012	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	[REDACTED]
	213	7125	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3012	[REDACTED]
	341	11255	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5012	[REDACTED]
					235	7150	CAREER BOARD
					152	1B327	MAIL ROOM
	245	7240	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6248	READING ROOM
	245	7222	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5129	RMPU (ATTN:)
	245	7443	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6247	TELETYPE ROOM

b6
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to status of my request
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-8-98 BY SP4-BJA-44B

391426

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info.	FROM	
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Response	WILLIAM M. BAKER	
<input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action	<input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Addendum	ASSISTANT DIRECTOR	
<input type="checkbox"/> Initial	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Approval	CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION	
<input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	<input type="checkbox"/> Status/Facts	Room	TL#
		5012	233
			Date

FBI/DOJ

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP**

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39/426

FBI/DOJ

Memorandum

SECRET



Status
of "white
paper LHM"
that I will
show to
[redacted]
+ retain?

To : Mr. Robert S. Mueller, III
Assistant to the Attorney General

From : William M. Baker
Assistant Director
Criminal Investigative Division

Subject: [redacted]
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Date 8/3/90

This communication is classified "Secret" in its
~~entirety~~.

As a follow-up to the conversation you had with [redacted]
concerning [redacted]

[redacted] provide you the following background
information:

By letter dated 8/12/87 followed by a report dated
9/1/87, [redacted] Office of
Professional Responsibility (OPR), Department of Justice (DOJ),
requested an FBI investigation of the unauthorized disclosure of
the identities of two Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) employees
in the 4/14/87, edition of the Village Voice.

According to [redacted] the predicate of the "leaked"
information was a 21-page memorandum dated 4/14/86 [redacted]

[redacted]
Neutrality Act and Arms Export Control Act violations [redacted]

[redacted]
dated 7/7/87, DOJ/OPR instituted an investigation into the
"leak," which disclosed that a rough draft copy of the memorandum
was apparently stolen from the unlocked files in [redacted]
office, probably during the summer of 1986.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-ALB
ON 5-1-98

391426

Classified by: G-3
Declassify on: OADR

1 - Mr. Baker
1 - Mr. O'Hara
1 - Mr. [redacted]
NJG:cod (5)

(CONTINUED - OVER)

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Robert S. Mueller, III,

memo, and the only person at DOJ to whom he gave a copy of the memo was [redacted] It was also determined from [redacted] DOJ, that copies of the [redacted] memo were never sent to Congress.

On 12/16/87, the facts of this matter were discussed with Deputy Counsel [redacted] and Assistant Counsel [redacted] OPR, DOJ. After being apprised of the facts in this matter, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that they would decline prosecution of [redacted] inasmuch as there was "no reasonable likelihood of proving criminality" on the part of [redacted]

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On 1/14/88, Assistant Counsel [redacted] advised that [redacted] had declined to be interviewed or polygraphed by DOJ/OPR, [redacted] Subsequent to his [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]
INFORMATION CONCERNING POSSIBLE VIOLATION
OF THE INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIAP)

- I. CHRONOLOGY b6
b7c
- II. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (USDS) NOTIFICATION
- III. PRIVACY ACT ISSUES RELATING TO ADDITIONAL USDS
NOTIFICATION
- IV. [REDACTED] AS THE
SOURCE OF THE COSTA 1 MEMO LEAK

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-BJA-MUB
ON 5-7-98
391426

~~SECRET~~
Classified by G-3
Declassify on: OADR

REFERRED TO HQ PER OGA LETTER DATED
03-28-2011

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]
INFORMATION CONCERNING

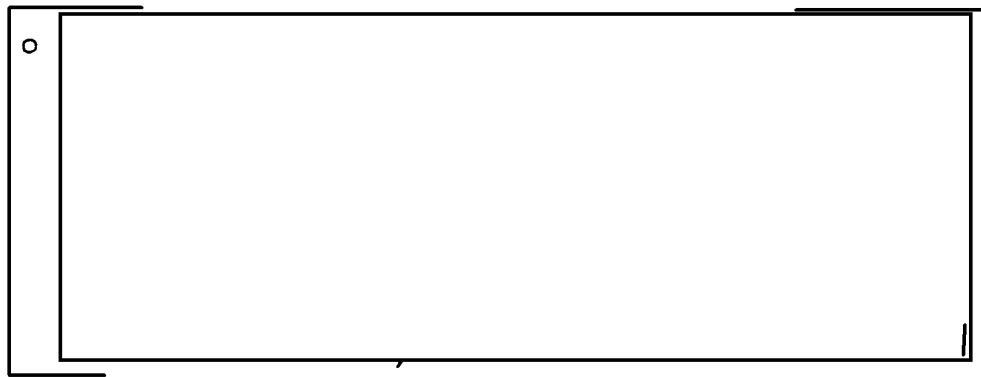
b6
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This communication is classified SECRET in its
entirety.

I. CHRONOLOGY

Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE



- o The Village Voice article identified as its source
a May 14, 1986, memorandum written [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] to the
[REDACTED]
hereinafter referred to as the Costa I memo.
- o DOJ referred the CIA letter to the Office of
Professional Responsibility (OPR), DOJ, because it
dealt, in part, with the alleged unauthorized
disclosure of official information contained in a
law enforcement record which originated in the
office of the USA for the Southern District of
Florida (SDF), a matter DOJ/OPR had been
investigating into since April 1987.
- o DOJ/OPR's inquiry disclosed a copy of the Costa 1
memo may have been stolen from unlocked files
in [REDACTED] during the summer of
1986. DOJ also determined that, on June 3, 1986,
[REDACTED] sent a copy of the Costa 1 memo
to [REDACTED]

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Enclosure

~~SECRET~~
Classified by G-3
Declassify on: OADR

5-8-96
CLASSIFIED BY: SP4-BJA-MLB
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1
391426

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] DOJ. Copies of the memo were handcarried to [redacted] Office of Legislative Affairs (OLA) on June 13, 1986, due to a large number of congressional inquiries regarding the Iran-Contra affair.

- o The focus of the DOJ/OPR investigation centered on

[redacted]

[redacted] and had access to the Costa 1 memo.

- o DOJ/OPR based it's focus upon [redacted] as the source of the leaked Costa 1 memo for the following reasons:

(1)

[redacted]

(2)

[redacted] for the San Francisco Runner, advised the Miami USA's office he had received a copy of the Costa 1 memo from [redacted]

(3)

A memo from [redacted] to then [redacted] [redacted] in which Bergquist asserts that DOJ should "bend over backwards" to provide [redacted] any and all information to rebut anticipated "sensational accusations" by [redacted] regarding the Iran-Contra affair.

(4)

[redacted] the Village Voice reporter, stated that [redacted] had asked [redacted] to see if he could "dig up any derogatory information regarding the [redacted]

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~~SECRET~~

- o By letter dated August 12, 1987, [redacted] OPR, DOJ, requested an FBI investigation into the unauthorized disclosure of the identities of two CIA employees in the April 14, 1989, edition of the Village Voice.
- o Upon receipt of DOJ/OPR's August 12, 1987 letter, an FBI investigation into possible unauthorized disclosures of classified information and violation of the IIPA was instituted by Washington Metropolitan Field Office (WMFO).
- o On October 13-14, 1987, agents interviewed employees of the USA's office in the SDF. Interviews determined the Costa 1 memo may have been removed from [redacted] in late 1986 or early 1987. [redacted] was developed as a suspect in removing the memo from [redacted]
[redacted]
- o Prior to June 3, 1986, the Costa 1 memo was misclassified "Sensitive" by the USA's office, Miami. The memo should have been classified "Secret" because it contained names of CIA employees.
- o By cover letter dated June 3, 1986, [redacted] sent a copy of the Costa 1 memo to [redacted] Criminal Division, DOJ.
- o Shortly after the Costa 1 memo was sent to DOJ, [redacted] received a media inquiry from [redacted] of the Washington Times who stated he knew of the existence of the memo through a "contact on the hill." [redacted] also received calls from other reporters concerning the memo.
- o In March 1987 numerous press inquiries were received at DOJ and the USA's office in Miami, indicating that copies of the Costa 1 memo had been mailed to various reporters.

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~~SECRET~~

- o On April 9, 1987, Village Voice reporter [redacted]

- o On April 11, 1987, reporter [redacted] the Washington Times advised [redacted]

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- o On December 7, 1987, [redacted] was interviewed and stated he first saw the Costa 1 memo in June or July 1986. [redacted] stated [redacted] personally handed him a copy at the DOJ in Washington, D.C. [redacted] advised that in dealing with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he usually dealt with the committee's [redacted]

[redacted] advised that the DOJ generally gave Congress "everything under the sun." [redacted] advised he knew the Costa 1 memo went to Congress as part of many documents turned over to the Iran-Contra Congressional Committee.

[redacted] denied giving a copy of the memo to [redacted] however, he stated he did recall seeing a copy of the memo on [redacted] desk in November or December 1986. [redacted] stated he did not inquire of [redacted] as to how he got the memo. [redacted] stated he did not know when [redacted] got his copy of the Costa 1 memo.

[redacted] volunteered that many times people on the "Hill" receive documents in the mail from anonymous sources.

[redacted] stated that since [redacted] had a security clearance it would probably not be a criminal violation to turn the memo over to him.

[redacted] was offered the opportunity to undergo a polygraph examination regarding the leak but refused to take same. [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- o On December 7, 1987, []
[] DOJ, OLA, stated she first saw the Costa 1 memo when she was collecting documents in the Iran-Contra Affair. []
[] felt that the Costa 1 memo was never officially sent to Congress.
- o On December 7, 1987, [] was recontacted and denied being in Washington, D.C., during the time period June/July 1986. []
[] advised he never made copies of the memo and never handed them out to anyone in the DOJ.
- o On December 14, 1987, [] was interviewed by the FBI. Initially [] advised that he would not discuss the issue, as anything he did concerning the Costa 1 memo would fall under the scope of congressional privilege. [] did admit that he received the memo in October, November, or December 1986, but would not identify the individual from whom he received the memo, nor would he deny that his source of the memo was a DOJ employee.
- o [] stated that the individual who provided him the memorandum had told him that the memorandum was not classified and had no national security information contained within. When asked if he gave a copy of the memorandum to the media, he stated that he would rather not comment. [] noted that distributing copies of the memorandum would be included as part of his role in working for Congress. [] refused to comment when told that reporters who had previously printed this story identified him as the source of the leak.
- o On December 16, 1987, the facts of this matter were discussed with [] and [] OPR, DOJ. After being apprised of the facts in this matter, []

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

III. PRIVACY ACT ISSUES RELATING TO ADDITIONAL USDS NOTIFICATION

- o On August 14, 1990, [redacted] Legal Research Unit, Legal Counsel Division, recommended against any further dissemination of information relating to [redacted] and the IIPA leak investigation. [redacted] stated that absent any new request from USDS, it was his belief that additional disclosure would violate provisions contained in The Privacy Act of 1974, T.5 U.S.C. Section 552a.

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- o [redacted] noted that in response to an October 24, 1989, request from USDS to the White House Security Office regarding [redacted] the FBI furnished numerous summary memoranda to USDS on January 11, 1990. The summary memoranda noted [redacted] was the focus of an FBI criminal investigation regarding unauthorized disclosure of classified information.

USDS was advised criminal prosecution of subject was declined by OPR/DOJ, in concert with an opinion rendered by [redacted]

[redacted] DOJ. The basis for the declination was "no reasonable likelihood of proving criminality." USDS was also advised via FBI memoranda that DOJ began an administrative inquiry regarding the alleged actions of Mr [redacted] however, that inquiry was closed in view of the fact that [redacted] employment.

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- o [redacted] stated his recommendation against further dissemination was made in consultation with [redacted] of the Information and Privacy Acts Litigation Unit, Legal Counsel Division.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

IV. IMPEDIMENTS TO NAMING [REDACTED] AS THE
SOURCE OF THE Costa 1 MEMO LEAK

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- o Neither DOJ/OPR or FBI investigators ever interviewed reporters to confirm [REDACTED] as their source for the Costa 1 memorandum.
- o No investigation was ever done to eliminate [REDACTED] as the source of the leaked document.
- o The Costa 1 memo was misclassified as "Sensitive" rather than "Secret."
- o Even if [REDACTED] could be shown to have given the Costa 1 memo to [REDACTED] it would have to be proven he knew [REDACTED] was going to leak it, in order to sustain a violation of the IIPA. Beforehand knowledge of the leak is necessary because [REDACTED] had a security clearance.
- o Prosecution was declined by DOJ due to "no reasonable likelihood of proving criminality."
- o [REDACTED] will justify his failure to take a polygraph [REDACTED]

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b7C

(Revised 11/7/89)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP

TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7162	THE DIRECTOR		231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
					233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7142	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3012	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7110	MR. [REDACTED]				
	235	7116	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3028	MR. [REDACTED]
					231	3149	MR. [REDACTED]
					233	5155	MR. [REDACTED]
	235	7222	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5030	MR. [REDACTED]
	213	7159	MR. [REDACTED]		243	5222	MR. [REDACTED]
	233	5012	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3823	MR. [REDACTED]
	245	7427	MR. [REDACTED]		231	3042	MR. [REDACTED]
	241	3090	MR. [REDACTED]				
	213	7125	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5078	MR. [REDACTED]
	232	4012	MR. [REDACTED]		245	7240	MR. [REDACTED]
	152	ACAD	MR. [REDACTED]		235	7110	CAREER BOARD
	211	5829	MR. [REDACTED]		233	5129	RMPU (ATTN:)
	234	6012	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6248	READING ROOM
	341	11255	MR. [REDACTED]		244	6247	TELETYPE ROOM
					152	1B327	MAIL ROOM
	233	5012	MS. [REDACTED]		245	7443	MR. [REDACTED]
	231	3012	MS. [REDACTED]		214	7176	DIRECTOR'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT
	233	5012	MRS. [REDACTED]				(ATTN:)

REMARKS:

were you looking for this?

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-7-98 BY SP4-BJA-MCB
391426

- ☐ Call Me
- ☐ See Me
- ☐ Approp. Action
- ☐ Initial
- ☐ Per Inquiry

- ☐ For Your Info.
- ☐ Prepare Response
- ☐ Prepare Addendum
- ☐ For Your Approval
- ☐ Status/Facts

FROM

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Room

5012

TL#
233

Phone

Date

FBI/DOJ

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP**

TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7176	The Director	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	243	5222	Mr. [Redacted]
					243	5222	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7142	Mr. [Redacted]				
	235	7110	Mr. [Redacted]		243	5226	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7116	Mr. [Redacted]		243	5431	Mr. [Redacted]
					243	5438	Mr. [Redacted]
	341	11255	Identification Division		243	5200	Mr. [Redacted]
	152	Academy	Training Division		243	5437	Mr. [Redacted]
	234	6012	Admin. Services Division		243	5438	Mr. [Redacted]
	211	5829	Records Management Division		243	5223	Mr. [Redacted]
	232	4026	Intelligence Division				
	241	3090	Laboratory Division		243	5222	Mrs. [Redacted]
	213	7159	Technical Services Division		243	5222	Mrs. [Redacted]
	245	7427	Legal Counsel Division				
	213	7125	Inspection Division		231	3028	Mr. [Redacted]
	235	7116	Congressional Affairs		231	3149	Mr. [Redacted]
	245	7441	OLIA		233	5155	Mr. [Redacted]
					233	5030	Mr. [Redacted]
	233	5012	Mr. [Redacted]		231	3823	Mr. [Redacted]
	231	3012	Mr. [Redacted]		231	3042	Mr. [Redacted]
	231	3012	Mr. [Redacted]		233	5078	Special Assistants
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	233	5012	Mr. [Redacted]				
					233	5121	Administrative Unit
					244	6248	Reading Room
					232	4648	Mr. [Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-7-98 BY SP4-BJA-ALB

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I don't know if [Redacted] ever
received the original of this in that
his initials are not on this. I have
not heard what of anything he/you
want to do with
this. Should we
just send it to file?

b6
b7C

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info.
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Note & Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action	<input type="checkbox"/> Record & Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Initial	<input type="checkbox"/> See Reverse Side
<input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	<input type="checkbox"/> For approval

FROM
COUNTERTERRORISM SECTION

Room 5222	TL # 243	Phone 	Date 2/21
--------------	-------------	-----------	--------------

[REDACTED]

INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-7-99 BY SP9-BJA-MLB

This is the file you
wanted regarding [REDACTED]
I'm having the Bureau file
pulled. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

(Rev. 10/18/89)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP

TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	234	7162	THE DIRECTOR		233	5012	MS.
					233	5012	MRS.
	235	7142	MR. [redacted]				
	235	7110	MR. [redacted]		231	3149	MR.
	235	7116	MR. [redacted]		243	5222	MR.
					233	5155	MR.
					231	3028	MR.
	235	7222	MR. [redacted]		233	5030	MR.
	233	5012	MR. [redacted]		231	3042	MR.
	213	7159	MR. [redacted]		231	3823	MR.
	152	Academy	MR. [redacted]				
	245	7427	MR. [redacted]		233	5078	MR.
	232	4026	MR. [redacted]		233	5078	MR.
	241	3090	MR. [redacted]				
	234	6012	MR. [redacted]		233	5121	ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT
	211	5829	MR. [redacted]		152	1B327	MAIL ROOM
	213	7125	MR. [redacted]		244	6248	READING ROOM (FOR AUTOPEN)
	341	11255	MR. [redacted]		244	6247	TELETYPE ROOM
					245	7240	MR. [redacted] - OCA
	231	3012	MR. [redacted]		245	7443	MR. [redacted]
	231	3012	MR. [redacted]				
	233	5012	MR. [redacted]		245	7452	OLIA - DLU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-7-98 BY SP4-BJA-MJP

REMARKS:

[redacted]

I think we need to resolve
w/ DOG - doesn't look like anything
substantial will occur unless
we make it happen & I don't
think we should miss the
opportunity presented here.
What do we need to go to State-
CIA with this?

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info.	FROM	NICHOLAS J. O'HARA CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION		
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Response	Room:	5012	TL#	233
<input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action	<input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Addendum	Phone	[redacted]	Date	2/21
<input type="checkbox"/> Initial	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Approval				
<input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	<input type="checkbox"/> Status/Facts				

FBI/DOJ

Memorandum

SECRET



REFERRED TO HQ PER OGA LETTER DATED 03-28-2011

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 04-12-2011 BY 60324 UC BAW/SAB/BYS

To : Mr. Baker

Date 12/14/89

From :

Subject : INFORMATION CONCERNING

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-12-2011 BY 60324 UC BAW/SAB/BYS~~

Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Off. Cong. & Public Affs. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

b6
b7C

This communication is classified "Secret" in its entirety.

PURPOSE: To advise the Assistant Director that

FBI investigation entitled "Unauthorized Disclosure of Classified Information in the April 14, 1987, edition of the Village Voice entitled "Contra cover-up confirmed" by Murray Waas; Intelligence Identities Protection Act."

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

APPROVED: _____
Director _____
Dep. Dir. _____
ADD-Adm. _____
ADD-Inv. _____
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Cong. Affs. Off. _____
Off. of EEO _____
Off. of Liaison & Int. Affs. _____
Off. of Public Affs. _____

Referral/Consult

NOG

SECRET
Classified by E-3
Declassify on: OADR

1 - Mr. Baker
1 - Mr. _____
1 - Mr. _____

b6
b7C

DWL:tlc (4)

5-7-98
CLASSIFIED BY: SP4-BJA-MB
REASON: 1.5 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1
391426

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

Memorandum from [redacted] William M. Baker
Re: [redacted]
Information Concerning

Referral/Consult

[redacted] was interviewed on 12/7/87, by the FBI and denied giving [redacted] a copy of the [redacted] memo, but did disclose that he observed a copy of the memo on [redacted] desk in either November or December of 1986. [redacted] stated that he did not ask [redacted] where [redacted] had obtained the document, but noted that he thought that the memo had been officially sent to the Congressional Intelligence Committee and the Iran-Contra Committees. [redacted] also advised that he first obtained the memo in either June or July of 1986, directly from [redacted] who was at the DOJ and made copies of the memo, one of which he gave to [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum from [] to William M. Baker
Re: []
Information Concerning

b6
b7C

[] refused to take a polygraph examination regarding this matter, []
[]

Subsequent to the interview of [] USA [] was telephonically contacted by the FBI regarding [] statement and advised that he had not been in Washington, D.C., in June or July, 1986, he had not xeroxed copies of the original memo, and the only person at DOJ to whom he gave a copy of the memo was [] It was also determined from [] DOJ, that copies of the [] memo were never sent to Congress.

b6
b7C

Due to apparent inconsistencies in the [] statement, in concert with the fact that [] was scheduled to undergo [] the facts of this matter were provided to [] OPR, DOJ, who immediately orally provided this information to Mr. [] Additionally, [] SPIN Unit, also provided this information to Mr. [] after consultations with Section Chief []

Subsequent to the interview of [] on 12/7/87, in which a number of inconsistencies were noted and [] refused to take a polygraph examination, [] was located and interviewed on 12/14/87. Initially [] advised that he would not discuss the issue, as anything he did concerning the "Costa 1" memo would fall under the scope of congressional privilege (the Costa 1 memorandum is the document written by [] Miami, Florida, from which the identities of the two CIA employees were obtained). However, [] did admit that he received the memorandum in October, November, or December of 1986, but would not identify the individual from whom he received the memorandum, nor would he deny that his source of the memorandum was a DOJ employee. [] stated that the individual who provided him the memorandum had told him that the memorandum was not classified and had no national security information contained within. When asked if he gave a copy of the memorandum to the media, he stated that he would rather not comment. He noted that distributing copies of the memorandum would be included as part of his role in working for Congress, but again refused to comment when told that reporters who had previously printed this story had identified []
[]

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

Memorandum from [] to William M. Baker
Re: []
Information Concerning []

On 12/16/87, the facts of this matter were discussed with Deputy Counsel [] and Assistant Counsel [] OPR, DOJ. After being apprised of the facts in this matter, [] and [] advised that they would decline prosecution of [] inasmuch as there was "no reasonable likelihood of proving criminality" on the part of []

b6
b7C

On 1/14/88, Assistant Counsel [] advised that [] had declined to be interviewed or polygraphed by DOJ/OPR, []
[]

While unconfirmed, it is believed by both DOJ/OPR and FBIHQ personnel that []
[]

This information is being brought to your attention inasmuch as [] currently holds a [] in the [] and [] This office is aware of some sensitive matters being handled by the FBI.

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 73

Page 11 ~ Referral/Direct
Page 12 ~ Referral/Direct
Page 13 ~ Referral/Direct
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Page 49 ~ Duplicate
Page 50 ~ Duplicate
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Page 52 ~ b6, b7C
Page 53 ~ b6, b7C
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Page 56 ~ b6, b7C
Page 57 ~ b6, b7C

Page 58 ~ b6, b7C
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Page 147 ~ b6, b7C
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Page 157 ~ Duplicate serial x4
Page 158 ~ Duplicate serial x4
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Page 180 ~ b6, b7C
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Page 196 ~ b6, b7C
Page 197 ~ b6, b7C
Page 198 ~ b6, b7C
Page 199 ~ b6, b7C
Page 200 ~ b6, b7C
Page 201 ~ Duplicate
Page 202 ~ Duplicate
Page 203 ~ Duplicate

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 243-NY-1 - Section 1
The Village Voice

TO: LA @ EMH1, MM @ EMH2, NY @ EMH1,
SF @ EMH1, WF @ EMH1

FROM: HQ2 @ EMH2

SUBJECT: 276/0295 ROUTINE

DATE: 4 OCT 87 07:59:59 GMT

CC:

TEXT:
VZCZCHQ0295

RR LA MM NY SF WF

DE HQ #0295 2760136

ZNY SSSSS

R 022112Z OCT 87

FM ACTING DIRECTOR FBI

TO FBI LOS ANGELES ROUTINE

FBI MIAMI ROUTINE

FBI NEW YORK ROUTINE

FBI SAN FRANCISCO ROUTINE

FBI WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (234-3) (C-3) ROUTINE

ATTENTION: SSA [REDACTED]

BT

~~SECRET~~

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS; INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES
PROTECTION ACT (IIPA); OO: WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO)

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

REFERENCE CONFERENCE AT FBIHQ BETWEEN SSA [REDACTED]

DOMESTIC TERRORISM UNIT, AND SSA [REDACTED], WFO,

b6
b7C

② ac
43
Dead
276-1-1
JTF

OPEN (REOPEN)	DATE
ORIGIN	DATE
REF	DATE

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 04 1987	

b6
b7C

6-298 1305/144 66
4-23-88 11-9-88 2-22-88

PAGE TWO DE HQ 0295 S-FAC R ~~B~~ T
SEPTEMBER 30, 1987.

BY LETTER DATED AUGUST 12, 1987, [REDACTED]

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b7C

COUNSEL, OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (OPR), UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, REQUESTED AN FBI INVESTIGATION INTO THE UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION RELATING TO INFORMATION CONTAINED IN CAPTIONED ARTICLE, WHICH DIVULGED THE IDENTITIES OF TWO CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY EMPLOYEES, IN VIOLATION OF TITLE 50, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 426(4). THE APPARENT SOURCE OF THE INFORMATION DIVULGED IN THE "VOLTAGE VOICE" ARTICLE, AND LATER IN THE "LOS ANGELES TIMES" AND "NEWSWEEK", IS 21 PAGE PROSECUTORIAL MEMORANDUM, DATED MAY 14, 1986, WRITTEN BY ASSISTANT UNITED STATES ATTORNEY [REDACTED] MIAMI, FLORIDA, TO REPORT THE RESULTS OF AN INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY THE FBI AND THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE NEUTRALITY ACT AND ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT VIOLATIONS INVOLVING [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] [REDACTED] DBA CIVILIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

b6
b7C

A REVIEW OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, OPR INVESTIGATION, INTO THIS DISCLOSURE REVEALS THAT THE [REDACTED] MEMO WAS ALLEGEDLY STOLEN FROM THE UNLOCKED FILES IN MR. [REDACTED] OFFICE, PROBABLY

PAGE THREE DE HQ 0295 ~~SECRET~~

SOMETIME IN THE SUMMER 1986. OF A MORE PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE FACT THAT THE CURRENT FOCUS OF THE DOJ/OPR INVESTIGATION IS CENTERED ON A HIGH PLACED EMPLOYEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WHO IS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A NEWLY CREATED, HIGHLY SENSITIVE POSITION WITH ANOTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY.

DUE TO THE SENSITIVE NATURE OF THIS INVESTIGATION, WFO CO-CASE AGENTS [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED BY FBIHQ TO CONDUCT ALL INTERVIEWS IN THIS INVESTIGATION, SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY SAC, WFO.

b6
b7c

ACCORDINGLY, WFO SHOULD ENSURE THAT ALL TRAVEL IS COORDINATED WITH THE SAC OF THE RESPECTIVE DIVISION WHEREIN INTERVIEWS ARE TO BE CONDUCTED.

~~C BY G-3: DECE ON: GADR.~~

BT

#0295

NNNN

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 243-SF-1 - Section 1
The Village Voice

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/8/88

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (243-1) (P)

SUBJECT: UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE
VOICE" ENTITLED "CONTRA COVER-UP
CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
IIPA;
OO: WFO

This entire communication is classified as "Secret".

Re Acting Director teletype to San Francisco, et al dated
10/2/87.

To date, San Francisco has received no additional
communications re instant matter other than opening explanatory
teletype.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

Advise San Francisco if any investigation is outstanding
in this division.

~~SECRET~~

~~Classified by (G-3)
Declassify on OADR~~

2 - Bureau
2 - WFO (243-3) (P)
① - San Francisco

WRG/jw
(5) *gw*

243-1
K

Approved: _____ Transmitted _____ Per _____
(Number) (Time)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

U.S. GPO: 1987 - 181-486

243-1-2

~~SECRET~~

SF (243-1)
WRG/jw

LEADS

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.: Advise San Francisco if any investigation is outstanding in this division.

~~SECRET~~

2*

TRANSMIT VIA: AIRTELCLASSIFICATION: SECRETDATE: 4/12/88

FROM: Director, FBI

TO: SAC, San Francisco (243-1)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN THE
APRIL 1987 EDITION OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED
"CONTRA COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
IIPA;
OO: WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE

This communication is classified "SECRET" in its
entirety.

Reference San Francisco airtel March 8, 1988.

For the information of San Francisco, no investigation
is outstanding in San Francisco and this matter has been closed.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC BAW/SAB/RYS
ON 03-31-2011

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: 4808
Declassify on: QADR

[Handwritten signature]

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 15 1988	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

[Handwritten signature]

243-1-3

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

4/13/88

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: SSA [REDACTED] TERRORISM SECTION

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON-METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE
(243-3) (C) (C-3)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION IN THE APRIL 14, 1987 EDITION
OF THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ENTITLED, "CONTRA
COVER-UP CONFIRMED" BY MURRAY WAAS;
INTELLIGENCE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT (IIPA);
OO:WMFO

~~SECRET~~

ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "SECRET" UNLESS
OTHERWISE NOTED.

Reference San Francisco airtel dated 3/8/88.

For the information of San Francisco, investigation in
captioned matter led to Deputy Assistant Attorney General KENNETH
P. BERGQUIST, DOJ, Office of Legislative Affairs. After being

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and advised that the FBI should
close its case.

b6
b7C

San Francisco should RUC its file.

~~SECRET~~
CLASSIFIED BY: 8501
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~SECRET~~

2-Bureau
② San Francisco (243-1)
1-Washington-Metropolitan Field Office
EWM:tlg
(5)

4-26-88 780

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 22 1988	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

243-1-4

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 3

Page 4 ~ Duplicate 243-NY-1

Page 5 ~ Duplicate 243-NY-1

Page 6 ~ Duplicate 243-NY-1

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 65-HQ-75958 - Section 1
The Village Voice

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Director

TO : Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: FEB 17

FROM : Richard L. Thornburgh
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by The Village
Voice, on or about February 11, 1976

The Washington Star and the Washington Post of February 12, 1976 carried front-page stories regarding the publication by the New York City tabloid known as The Village Voice of allegedly classified information. Press reports indicate that the disclosure may have originated with the Pike Committee.

In order to determine whether any action by the Department of Justice is necessary, you are requested to conduct a preliminary inquiry along the following lines.

1. The date and identity of the article or articles disclosing the classified information. (Furnish this Division with a copy of the 24-page Village Voice supplement).
2. Specific statements in the article which are considered classified and whether the data was properly classified.
3. Whether the classified data disclosed is accurate.
4. Whether the data came from a specific document and, if so, the origin of the document and the name of the individual responsible for the security of the classified data disclosed.

#91368 3/14/00
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/00 BY SP2AM/KC

EXP-PROC.
FEB 13 1976

CH 41

FEB 18 1976



5010-110

56 MAR 10 1976 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5. The extent of official dissemination of the data.
6. Whether the data has been the subject of prior official releases.
7. Whether prior clearance for publication or release of the information was sought from proper authorities.
8. Whether the material or portions thereof or enough background data has been published officially or in the press to make an educated speculation on the matter possible.
9. Whether the data can be declassified for the purpose of prosecution and, if so, the name of the person competent to testify concerning the classification.
10. Whether declassification had been decided upon prior to the publication or release of the data.
11. What effect the disclosure of the classified data could have on the national defense.

In addition to the above questions, you should, through appropriate liaison channels, determine the particulars of the reported agreement among the White House, the CIA, and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of classified materials furnished by the Executive Branch to the Committee. Obtain copies of any written agreements and conduct necessary interviews of persons having knowledge of any such agreement in order that the Department may have complete information regarding its terms.

This limited inquiry should be handled expeditiously and the results furnished promptly to this Division.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 2/17/76

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Precedence)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: INTD, CI-3 SECTION)

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT 2/11/76
ESP - X

Endosed for the Bureau are three copies of
"The Village Voice", volume XXI #7, dated Monday,
February 16, 1976, with a 24 page supplement entitled
"THE CIA REPORT THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T WANT YOU TO READ."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/00 BY SP2AUMYR

REC-65

FEB 19 1976

ENCLOSURE

- ② - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
1 - New York by memo to AG

HRL:jir
(4)

1-ENCL TO WFO 2/25/76
1-ENCL TO AAG

1-4947-H RLM/bv

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

3/8

FBI

Date: 2/20/76

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: INTD, CI-3)

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION
OF ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION BY "THE
VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT 2/11/76
ESP-X

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of "The Village Voice", volume XXI # 8, dated Monday, February 23, 1976 with a ten page special section entitled, "How Ford, Kissinger, and the CIA Obstructed the House Probe."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/00 BY SP2AUM/KW

EX-110

REC-11

FEB 23 1976

3- Bureau (Encls.
(1-INTD, CI-3)
1- New York
HRL:kwp
(5)

ENCLOSURE (RM)

Original sent
to Mr. [unclear]
by [unclear]
[unclear]

5-110
FIVE

Approved: 53 MAR 5 1976 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ENCLOSED TO BUREAU (1)

NY FILE

Enclosed is a copy of "The Village Voice", dated
Monday, 2/23/76.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

65-5958-3

X
Airtel

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6
b7c

To: SACS, WFO
New York (Enclosures - 4)

2/20/76

From: Director, FBI

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE VILLAGE VOICE
ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE - X

Enclosed for New York and WFO are two copies each of a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, U. S. Department of Justice, which sets forth investigation requested in captioned matter. Also enclosed, is one copy each of the 2/12/76 "Washington Post" and "Washington Star" articles referred to in enclosed memorandum.

SAC, New York, Internal Security Division has been requested telephonically on 2/17/76 to immediately have copies obtained of The Village Voice for pertinent period and furnish to Bureau. WFO will be furnished a copy when they are received by Bureau.

Bureau is presently attempting through liaison channels to determine the particulars regarding any agreements between the White House, the CIA, and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of classified materials furnished by the Executive Branch to the Pike Committee. WFO will be kept advised regarding results of these liaison contacts.

WFO is being designated office of origin in this matter.

Enclosures - 4

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plgn. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

RLM:ddc doc
(12)

NOTE:

On 2/17/76, the Bureau received a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, requesting preliminary inquiry be conducted by the FBI regarding the publication X

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

GPO : 1975 O - 594-123

X

Airtel to WFO and New York
Re: Disclosure and Publication of
Allegedly Classified Information
by The Village Voice on or about
February 11, 1976

NOTE CONTINUED:

by the New York City tabloid known as The Village Voice of allegedly classified information in possession of the Pike Committee. The Assistant Attorney General requested this inquiry in order to determine whether any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. X

The memorandum sets forth 11 questions to be answered regarding the identification and classification of the information appearing in the material published by The Village Voice. Information was also requested regarding particulars of any oral or written agreements between the White House and CIA and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of the classified material furnished by the Executive Branch to the Pike Committee.

1 - Mr. [Redacted]
1 - Mr. [Redacted]
1 - Mr. [Redacted]

March 2, 1976

1 - Mr. [Redacted]
1 - Mr. [Redacted]

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

Director, FBI

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE VILLAGE
VOICE, ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/16/00 BY SP4/KP

Reference is made to the memorandum from this Bureau dated February 25, 1976, which enclosed at your request a copy of the February 16, 1976, edition of The Village Voice which contained alleged classified information from the Pike Committee report.

Enclosed herewith for your information is a copy of the February 23, 1976, edition of The Village Voice which contains additional information alleged to be also from the Pike Committee report.

Enclosure

1 - WFO (Enclosure)

RLM:ddc

(9)

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO:

Enclosed for WFO is one copy of The Village Voice, 2/23/76 edition. The Bureau will continue to keep you apprised of any needed investigation in this matter.

NOTE:

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
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Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

On 2/17/76, the Bureau received a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, requesting a preliminary inquiry be conducted into captioned matter. In addition to setting forth specific steps to be followed in this inquiry, the Assistant Attorney General requested a copy of The Village Voice paper wherein appeared the allegedly classified information from the Pike Committee report. A copy of the 2/16/76 edition of The Village Voice, which contained the information requested by the Assistant Attorney General, as well as the status of our implementation of the inquiry requested, was furnished to the Assistant Attorney General by letter 2/25/76.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

55 MAR 5 1976

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAD

X

Assistant Attorney General

NOTE CONTINUED:

This memorandum is for the purpose of furnishing to the Assistant Attorney General a copy of the 2/23/76 Village Voice which contains additional information alleged to be also from the Pike Committee report. This information is captioned "How Kissinger, the White House, and the CIA Obstructed the Investigation." This is a ten-page supplement and relates to the first part of the Pike report "The Select Committee's Oversight Experience." It reports on the many obstacles the Committee encountered in obtaining the needed information from the various agencies involved. The second part of the Committee's report captioned "The Select Committee's Investigative Record" appeared in the 2/16/76 edition of The Village Voice.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. _____
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Spec. Inv. _____
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Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

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TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 2/27/76

FROM : Legal Counsel *JM*

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE "VILLAGE
VOICE" ON OR ABOUT 2/11/76
ESPIONAGE - X

The Intelligence Division requested Legal Counsel Division determine what agreements existed between the Executive Branch and the House Select Committee concerning the handling of classified material by that Committee. This request was prompted by a memorandum from Richard Thornburgh, Assistant Attorney General Criminal Division, requesting a certain investigation be conducted relative to captioned matter which pertained to the leak of classified information by the House Select Committee. Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/00 BY SP2ACM/KP

According to Rex Lee, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, and [redacted] on Intelligence Coordination, there are no other agreements with the House Select Committee concerning this matter. *EX-111*

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. [redacted] Encs. (2)
1 - Mr. [redacted] - Encs. (2)
1 - Mr. [redacted] - Encs. (2)
1 - Mr. [redacted] Encs. (2)

PVD:lad
(6)

2 ENCLOSURES

47 56 MAR 15 1976

Five

MAR 9 1976

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr
1 - Mr
1 - Mr

[Redacted]

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
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Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO : Mr. [Redacted]

DATE: 3/12/76

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(U) FROM : [Redacted]

REFERRED TO HQ PER LETTER DATED 03-28-2011

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY THE VILLAGE VOICE ON OR ABOUT
FEBRUARY 11, 1976

(U)

At the request of the CI-3 Section, Special Agent

[Redacted] contacted [Redacted]
[Redacted] and Administrative Services

Staff, Office of Management and Finance, Department of Justice, concerning SI and TK clearances for Departmental personnel who will be involved in handling results of the above investigation. Mr. [Redacted] was specifically asked whether Mr. [Redacted] and other Criminal Division personnel involved in this matter possessed SI as well as TK. Mr. [Redacted] advised the writer that it would be appreciated if the writer would contact Mr. [Redacted] directly concerning the above matter. The writer then contacted Mr. [Redacted] pointing out that this Bureau is currently in possession of material, the handling of which requires SI and TK clearances on the part of the handling personnel. [Redacted] advised that he possessed SI but did not have TK and would contact Mr. [Redacted] concerning any clearances he or other Departmental personnel would need to handle above matter. Mr. [Redacted] was requested to advise the writer when the necessary clearances were obtained. MAR 15 1976

Mr. [Redacted] subsequently contacted the writer and advised that Mr. [Redacted] possessed SI but not TK clearance in view of which Mr. [Redacted] recommended to [Redacted] that he and others involved with him in this matter obtain SI and TK. Mr. [Redacted] advised that such requests

BPM:emj
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/14/00 BY SP2ALM/SP

CLASSIFIED BY 72 TCI/16
DECLASSIFY ON: [Redacted]

CONTINUED - OVER

ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

84 MAR 22 1976

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b7c

Memorandum [redacted]
Re: Disclosure and Publication of
Allegedly Classified Information
by The Village Voice on or About
February 11, 1976

~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

would be made to him through Mr. Richard Thornburgh, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, upon receipt of which Mr. [redacted] will make the necessary arrangements

[redacted] (S)

(U) [redacted] subsequently recontacted the writer and requested that all SI and TK material in this matter be addressed to Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, and directed to the attention of, and hand carried to, [redacted] Criminal Division, Room 200, Federal Triangle Building.

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ACTION:

For information and referral to CI-3 Section.

X-2-
X

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

The Attorney General

March 12, 1976

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS
INVESTIGATION - LEAK OF PIKE
COMMITTEE MATERIAL TO VILLAGE
VOICE

On March 3, 1976, Mr. [redacted] retired FBI Agent who has been named to direct the investigation by the House Ethics Committee regarding the leak of the Pike Committee report, contacted a representative of this Bureau. Mr. [redacted] advised that he has acquired 12 retired FBI employees for the investigative staff of the House Ethics Committee. Mr. [redacted] also advised that at this moment they have no need for any personnel from the FBI; however, [redacted] may at a later time find a need for FBI assistance and, therefore, he is not going to withdraw his request of the Attorney General.

According to [redacted] a Washington, D. C., law firm was approached for the post of Legal Counsel to the Committee but turned it down, and [redacted] has now engaged the services of an Atlanta, Georgia, law firm for this purpose.

On March 4, 1976, United Press International reported that [redacted] stated that the panel had decided not to use the FBI in its investigation of the leak and publication by a newspaper of a secret intelligence report. [redacted] told reporters the panel had decided to hire ten investigators and three lawyers in addition to [redacted] who will direct the investigation. [redacted] reportedly stated that the FBI was "one option but our present intention is to do it without calling on the Department of Justice to loan us the FBI. We want people who are accountable to us alone."

The above is being furnished for your information.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
1 - Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division

Assoc. Dir. _____
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Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.:
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
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Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____

Telephone Rm.
Director's Sec'y

(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/00 BY SP8R/KP

NOT RECORDED

48 MAR 10 1976

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

X

The Attorney General

NOTE:

On 2/17/76, the Bureau received a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, captioned "Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly Classified Information by The Village Voice, on or About February 11, 1976." This memorandum requested that a preliminary inquiry be conducted in order to determine whether any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. The memorandum set forth specific information desired in this preliminary inquiry.

While the information contained in this letter is not directly related to the preliminary inquiry requested of this Bureau by the Attorney General, it does relate to another ongoing investigation into the same matter and therefore is being brought to the Attorney General's attention for information purposes only. X

X

- 2 -

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

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Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

Attention: Mr. [redacted]

Internal Security Section

Director, FBI

March 17, 1976

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DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE," ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

This is in response to your memorandum dated
February 13, 1976, requesting that this Bureau conduct
a preliminary inquiry regarding captioned matter.

Enclosed is material classified "TALENT-KEYHOLE-
COMINT" which should be handled only by persons cleared
for such classification.

On February 23, 1976, a representative of our
Liaison Section contacted the Department of Defense (DOD)
furnishing them with a copy of the February 16, 1976, edition
of the New York City tabloid Village Voice wherein appeared
the allegedly classified information from the Pike Committee
report. A request was made that they review this material to
identify any classified information appearing therein which
originated within their files and to respond to every item
noted by answering the questions set forth in your memorandum.

In response to this request, Mr. [redacted]

directed that the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) act as the
focal point in drawing together comments regarding review of
the published material from the National Security Agency (NSA),
the Services and other appropriate DOD elements.

Enclosure

Assoc. Dir.

Dep. AD Adm.

Dep. AD Inv.

Asst. Dir.:

Admin.

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Ext. Affairs

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Spec. Inv.

Training

Telephone Rm.

Director's Sec'y

1 - WFO

ATTACHED DOCUMENT CONTAINS CODEWORD AND
TALENT-KEYHOLE-COMINT MATERIAL

SEE NOTE FOR
SAC, WFO PAGE 2

HANDLE VIA TALENT-KEYHOLE-COMINT CHANNELS SEE NOTE PAGE 2

THIS CORRESPONDENCE MAY BE DOWNGRADED TO
CONFIDENTIAL - HANDLE VIA TALENT-KEYHOLE-COMINT
CHANNELS UPON REMOVAL OF THE ATTACHMENTS

Classified by [redacted] 6080 on 4/1/76
Exempt from GDS, Category Number 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

65-7575

CONFIDENTIAL

~~TOP SECRET~~

Assistant Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

On March 1, 1976, the Defense Department furnished this Bureau a report containing the results of their review of The Village Voice material specifying that the report should be handled via Talent-Keyhole-Comint channels. (C)

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(U) On March 11, 1976, Departmental Attorney [redacted] telephonically advised that all material to be handled by the above channel should be hand carried to Mr. [redacted] Internal Security Section, Criminal Division, Department of Justice. U

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO:

Copy is furnished for information only. U

NOTE:

Attached document classified by Department of Defense was received as enclosure with letter dated 3/1/76 from [redacted] Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. U

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Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, by memorandum dated 2/13/76, requested that this Bureau conduct a preliminary inquiry into captioned matter in order to determine whether any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. U

The Assistant Attorney General's memorandum set forth eleven questions to be answered regarding the identification and classification of the information appearing in the material published by The Village Voice. U

This memorandum is to furnish to Mr. Thornburgh material obtained from the Department of Defense which sets forth their review of the material published by The Village Voice as well as their response to the eleven questions. U

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Assistant Attorney General

This material will be hand carried to Mr. [redacted]
[redacted] Internal Security Section, per instructions
from Departmental Attorney [redacted]

~~SECRET~~
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APPROVED: Comp. Syst. Laboratory

Asso. Dir. Ext. Affairs. Legal Coun.

Dep. AD Adm. Gen. Inv. Plan. & Eval.

Dep. AD Inv. *for* Ident. Rec. Mgmt.

Asst. Dir.: Inspection. Spec. Inv.

Admin. Intel. *for* Training.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 3/18/76

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Dep. AD Inv. _____
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Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

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TO :

(U) FROM :

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE," ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE - X

PURPOSE: The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that Bureau file 65-75958, captioned as above, be placed in the Special File Room in that material received from the Department of Defense (DOD) on 3/1/76 and classified "Top Secret, Handle Via Talent-Keyhole-Comint Channels" is being placed in this file.

CURRENT BUREAU POLICY: That classified material should at all times be afforded security measures commensurate to the classification shown on the material.

RECOMMENDATIONS: That this file be maintained in the Special File Room and that access to the document from the DOD, classified "Talent-Keyhole" (TK) should be restricted to those individuals having clearance for TK material.

DETAILS: In connection with investigation being conducted in captioned matter, the DOD on 3/1/76 furnished a report to this Bureau classified "Top Secret, Handle Via Talent-Keyhole-Comint Channels." This report will be filed in Bureau file 65-75958 captioned as above. Because of the classification of this document, it is being recommended that this file be maintained in the Special File Room where access to the TK classified material can be controlled and made available only to those individuals who are cleared for such classification.

RLM:ddc/dlc
(3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 5019
Exempt from GDS Category Number 2
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CLASSIFIED BY 16080
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

SEP 11 1978

84 APR 29 1976



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 65-75958-1

REFERRED TO HQ PER OGA LETTER DATED 03-28-2011

1 - Mr. [REDACTED] b6
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] b7C Per FBI
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

~~SECRET~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 18, 1976

Director, FBI

REC-100

Q91138 3/14/80
CLASSIFIED BY: SP2ALM/KP
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1
"All classified info per OGA letter
of 3/4/80."

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE," ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

Reference is made to the memorandum of this Bureau
dated February 25, 1976, which advised you of the action we
were taking to institute the preliminary inquiry you requested
in your memorandum of February 13, 1976.

This memorandum is to apprise you of the results of
these inquiries to date and to enclose copies of material
obtained. The three enclosures attached hereto are described
below.

A review of the allegedly classified material appear-
ing in the February 16, 1976, edition of The Village Voice was
made by a representative of this Bureau for the purpose of
identifying classified material originating from our files.
Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum dated March 2, 1976, classi-
fied "Secret," which identifies a disclosed item of classified
information which originated within our files.

-Referral/Consult

Classified by
Exempt from
Date of Declassification

MAILED 6

MAR 18 1976

FBI

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Director Sec'y _____

RLM:ddc
(8)

~~SECRET~~ MATERIAL ATTACHED

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

84 MAR 29 1976

GPO : 1975 O - 534-123

S. M. [Signature]

Assistant Attorney General

Referral/Consult

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Our Legal Counsel Division also made inquiries regarding the reported agreement and determined through [redacted]

[redacted] that the only agreement between the Executive Branch and the Pike Committee concerning classified material is based upon the letter from former CIA Director Colby to Chairman Pike dated September 30, 1975. According to [redacted] the Committee's concurrence with the conditions stated in the Colby letter were set forth in a hearing on October 1, 1975, of the House Select Committee. A copy of the pertinent portions of this hearing and of Mr. Colby's letter are enclosed herewith. 11

According to [redacted] Civil Division, [redacted] there are no other agreements existing with the House Select Committee concerning this matter.

- 2 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~SECRET~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Attorney General

We are presently maintaining contact with several other government agencies which have been requested to review the published material appearing in The Village Voice and the results of their review will be promptly sent to you when received by this Bureau. *u*

Enclosures - 3

1 - WFO (Enclosures - 3)

SEE NOTE FOR SAC, WFO

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO:

One copy of this letter along with three enclosures being furnished for information only. You will be advised in the event any investigation is needed. *u*

NOTE:

By memorandum dated 2/13/76, Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, requested the FBI to conduct a preliminary inquiry regarding captioned matter to enable the Department to determine if any action is needed regarding the publication by the New York City tabloid known as The Village Voice of allegedly classified information in possession of the Pike Committee. *u*

The memorandum set forth 11 questions to be answered relating to the identification and classification of the information appearing in the matter published by The Village Voice. Information was also requested regarding the particulars of any oral or written agreements between the White House, the CIA and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of the classified material furnished by the Executive Branch to the Pike Committee. *u*

This memorandum is to furnish the Department with the results of inquiries conducted to date. *u*

All information obtained as a result of this preliminary inquiry is being furnished promptly by memorandum to the Attorney General when received. *u*

Agents mentioned in memorandum as having contacted CIA 2/23/76 were SAs [redacted] Liaison Section, and [redacted]

CI-3.

APPROVED:

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____

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~~SECRET~~

Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by "The Village
Voice," on or about February 11, 1976

3. Whether the classified data disclosed is accurate.

The identities (titles) of these three foreign counter-intelligence programs as published are accurate.

4. Whether the data came from a specific document and, if so, the origin of the document and the name of the individual responsible for the security of the classified data disclosed.

As indicated in "The Village Voice" article, the existence of the three classified counterintelligence programs above was revealed to staff investigators of the House Select Committee on Intelligence (HSC) at a briefing held at the Intelligence Division of the FBI on August 22, 1975. At this time the HSC members were advised the titles of the three foreign counterintelligence programs had been classified "Secret" by the Attorney General. ~~(S)~~

(U)

Information relating to the three classified counterintelligence programs was initially set forth by the Attorney General in letters directed to Senator Frank Church, with a copy to Senator John Tower; Senator James O. Eastland, with a copy to Senator Roman L. Hruska; and to Congressman Don Edwards, with a copy furnished to Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, all dated May 17, 1975, and all classified "Secret." This letter states it is classified "Secret" "because we have been advised that disclosure of references to the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Yugoslavian and Cuban operations could damage our relations in those areas." Subsequently, on May 23, 1975, the Attorney General issued a press release describing five newly-discovered FBI counterintelligence programs. This release described "Three foreign intelligence programs classified, 'Secret,'" without mentioning the programs by title. ~~(S)~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by "The Village
Voice," on or about February 11, 1976

5. The extent of official dissemination of the data.

The identities of the three programs have not been publicized to date. Dissemination has been made by the FBI to the Department of Justice and, to our knowledge, by the Department of Justice only as noted above. The identities of the three programs were furnished to Central Intelligence Agency in January, 1976. (S)

6. Whether the data has been the subject of prior official releases.

As indicated, the identities of these three programs have not been publicized although they have been referred to in a press release dated May 23, 1975, only as "three foreign intelligence programs." (U) (S)

7. Whether prior clearance for publication or release of the information was sought from proper authorities.

The FBI received no request for prior clearance for publication or release of the classified titles of the three programs.

8. Whether the material or portions thereof or enough background data has been published officially or in the press to make an educated speculation on the matter possible.

We have no knowledge of any information published officially or appearing in the press which would make an educated speculation regarding the identity of the three foreign counterintelligence programs possible. (U) (S)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by "The Village
Voice," on or about February 11, 1976

9. Whether the data can be declassified for the purpose of prosecution and, if so, the name of the person competent to testify concerning the classification.

A decision relating to declassification should be made by the Attorney General or his designee, possibly if necessary after consultations with the White House and/or the Department of State. The Attorney General or his designee is competent to testify concerning the classification.

10. Whether declassification had been decided upon prior to the publication or release of the data.

As indicated above, the information disclosed was originally classified on or about May 17, 1975, while "The Village Voice" publicized the classified information in a supplement to its issue dated February 16, 1976.

11. What effect the disclosure of the classified data could have on the national defense.

It is noted the Attorney General, in his classified letters to members of Congress dated May 17, 1975, indicated the information was classified "because we have been advised that disclosure of the Mexican, Cuban, Yugoslavian and Puerto Rican operations could damage our relations in those areas."

(U)

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. [REDACTED]

DATE: 3/2/76

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMA-
TION BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE," ON
OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

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Director Sec'y _____

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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This is to set forth our suggested response to a request by the Criminal Division of the Department for detailed information relating to classified FBI information disclosed by "The Village Voice" in its 2/16/76 supplement which incorporated portions of the House Select Committee on Intelligence Activities (HSC) suppressed report. U

By memorandum dated 2/13/76, Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburg, Criminal Division, made reference to the publication by "The Village Voice" of the HSC suppressed report. Thornburg, in his memorandum, requested this Bureau solicit other agencies and to furnish information relating to FBI classified material that was disclosed in "The Village Voice." He indicated this inquiry was necessary to determine if any action by the Department of Justice is necessary. U

Memorandum from Mr. [REDACTED] dated 1/21/76, captioned "Houstudy," advised that appropriate components of FBIHQ had been solicited and only one instance was determined where classified material appeared in the Draft Final Report of the HSC. [This occurred in the identification of three of our foreign counterintelligence programs by title, it being noted the names of these programs had been classified "Secret" by the Attorney General.]

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Enclosure

CONTINUED - OVER

1 - 62-116009 (Cointelpro)
1 - 62-116464 (Houstudy)

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

DR:lfj
(10)

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 6980
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

SEP 11 1978

Updated by 1259
on 10/26/78

#91368 3/14/00
CLASSIFIED BY: SP8AMW
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1

Let to [REDACTED] W [REDACTED]
1 [REDACTED] W [REDACTED]
REM: [REDACTED] 2-11-76

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. [REDACTED]
Re: Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by "The Village
Voice," on or about February 11, 1976

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Information regarding the appearance of this classified material relating to the counterintelligence programs was furnished to Mr. [REDACTED] on 1/20/76, it being noted he was coordinating the intelligence community's response to this report. U

Attached is a copy of a write-up responding to the 11 areas of inquiry mentioned in Mr. Thornburg's memorandum, as pertains to the one instance of classified information which appeared in the HSC report which was disclosed by "The Village Voice." U

ACTION:

If approved, this memorandum and its attachment should be referred to the CI-3 Section of the Intelligence Division so the information in the attachment may be referred, with information furnished by other intelligence agencies, to the Criminal Division of the Department in response to the Department's request for this preliminary inquiry. U



DR pvd

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[Handwritten signature]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

#94368 3/14/00
CLASSIFIED BY: SP2ALM/KP
REASON: 1.5 (C, d)
DECLASSIFY ON: X 1.6

March 2, 1976

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE," ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

(U)

The following relates to classified information originating with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which was disclosed in a 24-page supplement of "The Village Voice," a weekly New York City newspaper, edition dated February 16, 1976:

1. The date and identity of the article or articles disclosing the classified information.

The classified information appears on page 91 of the 24-page supplement of "The Village Voice," edition of February 16, 1976, column 3, lines 2-4. (S)

2. Specific statements in the article which are considered classified and whether the data was properly classified.

The specific statement in the article which was classified "Secret" by the Attorney General, Exempt from GDS, Category Number 3, Date of Declassification Indefinite, relates to three foreign counter-intelligence programs conducted by the FBI which are described in the article as . . . "Operation Border Coverage (1961), the Cuban program (1961) and the Yugoslav program (1969)." It is understood that the titles of these three programs were classified "Secret" by the Attorney General on or about May 17, 1975, after he consulted with the White House and/or the Secretary of State. No information has been developed indicating the above data was not properly classified. (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

Classified by 5736

Exempt from GDS, Category Number 3

Date of Declassification Indefinite

CLASSIFIED BY 6080
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
SEP 11 1978
L33

6080 - 10

X

Assistant Attorney General

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO:

Enclosed for WFO is one copy of The Village Voice, 2/16/76 edition. You will be kept apprised of any needed investigation in this matter.

NOTE:

On 2/17/76, the Bureau received a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, requesting preliminary inquiry be conducted by the FBI regarding the publication by the New York City tabloid known as The Village Voice of allegedly classified information in possession of the Pike Committee. The Assistant Attorney General requested this inquiry in order to determine whether any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. He also requested that a copy of The Village Voice wherein appeared the alleged classified information be obtained and furnished to his office. X

The memorandum sets forth 11 questions to be answered regarding the identification and classification of the information appearing in the material published by The Village Voice. Information was also requested regarding particulars of any oral or written agreements between the White House and CIA and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of the classified material furnished by the Executive Branch to the Pike Committee.

This memorandum is to advise the Assistant Attorney General regarding status of our inquiry to date and to furnish him with the requested copy of The Village Voice. X

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO :

Mr. [REDACTED]

DATE:

3/8/76

b6

b7C

FROM :

[REDACTED]

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUBJECT:

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY THE VILLAGE VOICE, ON OR ABOUT
FEBRUARY 11, 1976

On 3/3/76, Mr. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland,

advised Special Agent [REDACTED] that
in accordance with attached copy of 2/23/76 Department
of Defense (DOD) letter, Defense Intelligence Agency
would provide overall DOD response (including NSA) to
FBI concerning captioned matter. (S)(U)

b6

b7C

ACTION:

Refer to CI-3 Section. u

Enclosure

BPM:emj
(4)

#911368 7/25/00
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2AUMKP
ON 7/25/00

65-75958-10X

#911368 3/14/00
CLASSIFIED BY: SP2AUMKP
REASON: 5 (C)
EX-111

EX-111
REC-38

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~TOP SECRET~~

47
63 MAR 24 1976

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr [redacted]

FROM : [redacted] *ssm/mnd*

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE VILLAGE
VOICE, ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

1 - Mr. [redacted]

1 - Mr. [redacted]

DATE: 3/25/76

1 - Mr. [redacted]

1 - Mr. [redacted]

1 - Mr. [redacted]

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____

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PURPOSE: The purpose of this memorandum is to advise concern-
ing a TV appearance by [redacted] Saturday,
3/20/76, Channel 26, WETA TV, as a guest on a program called
"Behind the Lines" hosted by [redacted]

SYNOPSIS: On 3/20/76, [redacted] was a guest
on the TV program "Behind the Lines" hosted by [redacted]
and aired at 5:30 p.m. on Channel 26, WETA TV. [redacted] was the
only guest and among the topics discussed was the leak of the
Pike Committee report and subsequent publication by The Village
Voice on 2/16/76. [redacted] expressed himself regarding what moti-
vated him to release the report, some of the events which have
resulted from the leak, his feelings concerning classified
material and the reaction of the public and media to the release
of this report.

b6
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RECOMMENDATIONS: None. For information.

APPROVED: _____	Comp. Syst. _____	Laboratory _____
Assoc. Dir. _____	Ext. Affairs _____	Legal Coun. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____	Gen. Inv. _____	Plan. & Eval. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____	Ident. _____	Spec. Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____	Inspection _____	Training _____
Admin. _____	Intell. _____	

DETAILS: On 3/20/76, [redacted] was a guest on
the TV program "Behind the Lines" hosted by [redacted]
and aired at 5:30 p.m. on Channel 26, WETA TV. Mr [redacted] was
the only guest and among the topics discussed was the leak of
the Pike Committee report and subsequent publication by The
Village Voice.

b6
b7C

[redacted] made the following comments during his inter-
view. In making the Pike Committee report available for publica-
tion, his original motivation was not monetary. He wanted to have
a book published concerning the only copy of a rare report, and
he realized that money would be generated from such a book. If
he waived any royalties, he did not want all the money accrued to

RLM:ddc dde
(6) EX-104

REC-70

CONTINUED -

APR 5 1976
OVER

84



5010-108

1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Memorandum to Mr. [redacted]
Re: Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by The Village
Voice, on or About February 11, 1976

b6
b7C

go solely to the publisher. He therefore decided that any money obtained should go to support the purpose for which he was releasing the report, freedom of the press. He then decided to give any monies to the "Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press" whose purpose it is to raise money to defend journalists in First Amendment cases. He originally thought this was a good idea but it has turned out to be a bad idea only because so many of his colleagues did not understand his reasoning. u

[redacted] was questioned as to what has been produced as a result of all the controversy over the Pike report. He responded that in light of an election year, the White House is now putting pressure on Congress to find out who leaked the report. The White House is also attempting to present President Ford as being security conscious and Congress as "leaky." There has also been an attempt by Congress to plug its leaks and place responsibility for the Pike report leak. According to [redacted] Watergate destroyed the media's traditional acceptance that classified information was so classified because it was in the interest of national security. Watergate taught the media as well as the American people that words like national security could be used by President Nixon and the Justice Department to do such things as the attempt to block the investigation of the Ellsberg break in. The word "secret" was being used to hide personal secrets of government officials and not something that was in the interest of national security. Because of this, public confidence has been shaken in government officials right up to the President. u

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b7C

With respect to the reaction of the public and the media to the release of the Pike report, [redacted] felt that the public is overly concerned with what a reporter does rather than what he writes or reports. With respect to the reaction of his colleagues, he felt that he was caught in the middle of a rivalry between the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post" in that the Times had a copy of the Pike report and the Post did not. Because of this, the Post was somewhat vindictive in their editorials about him. u

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

BY LIAISON

#91368 7/25/00
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2AUM/KP
ON 7/25/00

Date: April 6, 1976

To: Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense for Intelligence

Attention:

From: Clarence M. Kelley, Director

Subject: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE VILLAGE
VOICE, ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

Reference is made to your memorandum regarding
captioned matter dated March 1, 1976, which included as an
enclosure a Department of Defense (DOD) report pertaining to
a review of the material which appeared in the February 16,
1976, edition of The Village Voice alleged to be from the
Pike Committee report.

It was noted upon receipt of this report that, per
your instructions, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) acted
as the focal point in drawing together comments from the
National Security Agency (NSA), the Services, as well as other
appropriate DOD elements.

This report was forwarded to the Assistant Attorney
General (AAG), Criminal Division, who had initially requested
the information. Upon reviewing this report, the AAG noted
that in almost every instance the response to whether a classi-
fied item could be declassified for purposes of prosecution was
that it would have to be made in consultation with other agencies
in the intelligence community and probably foreign governments.

The AAG advised this Bureau that in order to reach a
decision regarding any prosecution in this matter, it will be
necessary to have definite answers regarding declassification
of the items mentioned in the above DOD report. Accordingly,
it would be appreciated if you could arrange for the necessary
steps to be taken at this time to furnish this Bureau with more
definite answers regarding declassification of the items set
out in your report.

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

GPO : 1975 O - 544-126

#91368 3/14/00
CLASSIFIED BY SP2AUM/KP
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 1

Classified by SP2AUM/KP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm.:	_____
Comp. Syst.:	_____
Ext. Affairs:	_____
Files & Com.:	_____
Gen. Inv.:	_____
Ident.:	_____
Inspection:	_____
Intell.:	_____
Laboratory:	_____
Legal Coun.:	_____
Plan. & Eval.:	_____
Spec. Inv.:	_____
Training:	_____
Telephone Rm.:	_____
Director Sec'y:	_____

RLM:ddc
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense for Intelligence ~~SECRET~~

The AAG also requested that it be brought to your attention that in any litigation regarding this matter, the source documents from which these classified items were taken may be turned over to defense attorneys and their consultants or experts in pretrial discovery pursuant to an appropriate protective order. u

While it is not necessary to have a determination as to declassification of the entire source documents at this moment, the AAG desired that you be made aware of this, and to determine any objections you might have should this occur. u

NOTE:

Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh, by memorandum dated 2/13/76, requested that this Bureau conduct a preliminary inquiry into captioned matter in order to determine whether any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. u

The AAG's memorandum set forth 11 questions to be answered regarding the identification and classification of the information appearing in the material published by The Village Voice. u

Through our Liaison Section, contacts were made with the appropriate representatives of other government agencies from whose files the information printed by The Village Voice conceivably originated. These agencies were requested to review the material for any classified information appearing therein and to respond to each item noted by answering the 11 questions set forth in the AAG's memorandum. u

On 3/1/76, the Defense Department furnished this Bureau a report containing the results of their review of The Village Voice material. This report was submitted to the AAG by letter dated 3/17/76. By letter dated 3/23/76, he requested that the DOD be recontacted for the purpose of obtaining more definite answers regarding declassification of the items set forth in their report necessary to reach any prosecutive decision. u

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3

~~SECRET~~

Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense for Intelligence

NOTE CONTINUED:

The AAG also requested that the DOD, as well as other government agencies making reviews of the material published by The Village Voice, be made cognizant of the fact that in any litigation resulting in this matter, the source documents from which classified items were taken may be turned over to defense attorneys and their consultants and experts in pretrial discovery pursuant to an appropriate protective order. The AAG desired to determine at this point any objections the various agencies might have should this situation occur.

APPROVED:	Comp. Syst.....	Laboratory.....
Assoc. Dir.....	Ext. Affairs.....	Legal Coun.....
Dep. AD Adm.....	Gen. Inv.....	Plan. & Eval.....
Dep. AD Inv.....	Ident.....	Rec. Mgmt.....
Asst. Dir.:	Inspection.....	Spec. Inv.....
Adm.....	Intell.....	Training.....

1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.

b6
b7c

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

April 15, 1976

Director

65-75758-14

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE," ON OR ABOUT
FEBRUARY 11, 1976

Reference is made to your memoranda dated
February 13, 1976, and March 23, 1976, captioned as
above.

Enclosed analyses dated March 17, 1976,
classified "Secret" were prepared by the Department
of State regarding that portion of the Pike Committee
Report published by "The Village Voice," which they
considered classified material originating from their
files. Also included in these analyses is their response
to the 11 questions which were set out in your memo-
randum dated February 13, 1976.

By memorandum dated April 6, 1976, the
Department of Defense (DOD) was advised of your comments
concerning the necessity of having more definite answers
regarding declassification with respect to the material
set out in their analyses dated March 1, 1976.

In addition to furnishing this Bureau with
more definite answers, the DOD was asked whether they
would have any objections to furnishing the source
documents from which the classified items mentioned in
their analyses were taken, to defense attorneys and their
consultants or experts in pre-trial discovery pursuant
to an appropriate protective order.

Through our Liaison Section we are presently
contacting other agencies who have previously furnished
reports or analyses in this matter, or who are in the
process of doing so, to ascertain any objections they
might have in furnishing source documents in any pre-trial
discovery proceedings.

Enclosures (7)

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

SAC, WFO SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

1 - WFO

RLM:aan

(8)

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director _____

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO:

Copy being furnished for information only. u

NOTE:

Assistant Attorney General (AAG) Richard L. Thornburgh by memorandum dated 2/13/76, requested that this Bureau conduct a preliminary inquiry into captioned matter in order to determine if any action is necessary by the Department of Justice. The AAG's memorandum requested information regarding the identification and classification of the information appearing in the material published by "The Village Voice" and set forth 11 questions to be answered in this regard. u

This memorandum is to furnish material to the AAG obtained from the Department of State which sets forth their analyses of the material published by "The Village Voice" as well as their response to the 11 questions. u

By memorandum dated 3/23/76, the AAG requested that the Department of Defense be recontacted for more specific answers regarding declassification of the items set out in their analyses. This was done by memorandum dated 4/6/76. u

The AAG also requested that it be pointed out to interested agencies that in any litigation, the source documents from which these classified items were taken may be turned over to defense attorneys and their consultants or experts in pre-trial discovery pursuant to an appropriate protective order. The AAG stated that while it is not necessary to have a determination as to declassification of the entire source documents at this time, the interested agencies should be advised of this u

NOTE CONTINUED - PAGE 3

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE CONTINUED:

possibility and whether they would have any objections. The DOD was apprised of the information regarding furnishing the source documents in the above-mentioned memoranda directed to them and other agencies who have been contacted previously in this investigation are being recontacted through our Liaison Section to determine any objections they might have. Delay in submitting State Department material was incurred due to necessity of having to have them recontacted to obtain more legible copies of Sections B & C of their analyses. u

APPROVED:	Comp. Syst.....	Laboratory.....
Assoc. Dir.....	Ext. Affairs.....	Legal Coun.....
Dep. AD Adm.....	Gen. Inv.....	Plan. & Eval.....
Dep. AD Inv.....	Ident.....	Rec. Mgmt.....
Asst. Dir.:	Inspection.....	Spec. Inv.....
Admin.....	Intell.....	Training.....

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 23, 1976

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b7c

FROM : *RT* Richard L. Thornburgh
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE," ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

Reference is made to your memorandum of March 17, 1976, captioned as above.

The materials enclosed with your memorandum contained analyses of those portions of the Pike Committee Report published in the Voice which the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Intelligence considered to be classified, and responses to the 11 questions submitted to the Bureau in my memorandum of February 13. The Defense Department report indicated in almost every instance that, in response to Question 9, any decision to declassify for purposes of prosecution would have to be made in consultation with other agencies in the intelligence community and possibly foreign governments.

As you know, in order to reach a prosecutive decision, it is necessary for the Department to have definite answers with regard to declassification of the items in question. Accordingly, it would be appreciated if the Bureau would recontact the Department of Defense in this regard so that Defense may consult with the necessary components of the intelligence community or of any foreign governments having an interest in these matters.

In addition to obtaining definite answers with regard to declassification, it should also be pointed out to interested agencies that in any litigation the source documents from which these classified items were taken may be turned over to defense attorneys and their consultants or experts in pretrial discovery pursuant to an appropriate protective order. While it is not necessary to have a



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EXP. PROC.
34 MAR 24 1976

EX-115 REC-52 65-75958-14

14 MAR 24 1976

FIVE

ADDENDUM INTELLIGENCE DIVISION (CI-3) ^{RLM} RLM:ddc 6/9/76

The Intelligence Division, by memorandum dated 2/13/76, received authorization from the Assistant Attorney General, (AAG), Criminal Division, to conduct a preliminary inquiry into captioned matter. The AAG set forth specific information to be obtained in this preliminary inquiry. He furnished specific questions for which answers were to be obtained regarding the identification and classification of the information published by the "Village Voice." He instructed that through appropriate liaison channels we determine the particulars of any agreement among the White House, the CIA, and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of classified materials furnished by the Executive Branch to the Committee. u

The investigation conducted by this Bureau to date has been limited to that requested by the AAG and has been handled at Headquarters through our Liaison Agents. WFO, however, has been kept apprised of all pertinent developments. u

[redacted] was contacted this date and advised of the contact by [redacted]. He stated that the Department would authorize an interview of [redacted] by this Bureau. u b6 b7C

WFO [redacted] was telephonically furnished the information contained herein and instructed to have two Agents knowledgeable of this case immediately contact and interview [redacted]. u

Alexandria Division [redacted] was telephonically contacted, briefly advised regarding this matter, and the circumstances surrounding WFO conducting the [redacted] interview at Arlington, Virginia. u

FBIHQ files contain no pertinent information identifiable with [redacted]. u

Two/SSM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

FROM :

DATE: 6-9-76

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Serv. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Fin. & Pers. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY THE "VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR ABOUT
FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE - X

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the details concerning a telephone call received by SA [REDACTED]

DETAILS:

At approximately 8:15 a. m. this date, [REDACTED] contacted the Press Services Office, FBIHQ, and advised that she had information concerning the release of the report of the Pike Committee [REDACTED] and its subsequent publication in the "Village Voice" newspaper. [REDACTED] contact was at the "Village Voice" and [REDACTED]

The Intelligence Division has been advised of the above information.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

APPROVED: [REDACTED]
Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Serv. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Fin. & Pers. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
(Attention: SAs [REDACTED])

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
WPH:nb (4)

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 2

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



FBI/DOJ

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976

[REDACTED]

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of money. Shortly after the story broke in "The Village Voice" and it became known that there was a financial consideration involved [REDACTED] that "The Village Voice" had agreed to donate \$31,000 to the Committee. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7D

[REDACTED] in contact with "The Village Voice." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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16

See Serial
44-1116, p. 4
last page

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b7D

b6
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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Five

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE FOR SAC, WFO ONLY:

To allow the Department sufficient time to interpose any objections to interview of [] conduct no interviews prior to 6/21/76. u

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b7D

NOTE:



The Assistant Attorney General (AAG), by memorandum dated 2/13/76, to this Bureau, had previously authorized a preliminary inquiry into captioned matter. The AAG furnished specific questions for which answers were to be obtained regarding the identification and classification of the information published by "The Village Voice." He instructed that through appropriate liaison channels we determine the particulars of any agreement among the White House, the CIA and the Pike Committee with regard to the use and disposition of classified materials furnished by the Executive Branch to the Committee. u

To date we have limited our investigation to the scope set out by the AAG and it has been handled at Headquarters through our liaison Agents. Because of the AAG's instructions, Mr. [] of the Department, was contacted to obtain authority to interview [] Mr. [] authorized this interview and WFO was instructed to have two Agents knowledgeable of this case immediately contact and interview [] b2

SEE NOTE CONTINUED PAGE THREE

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE CONTINUED:

Upon being interviewed [redacted] in essence stated that she is the [redacted] "The Village Voice" had agreed to donate \$31,000 to the Committee in connection with the publication of the Pike Committee Report. Because of adverse publicity the Committee ultimately refused to accept this money. [redacted] did not know how [redacted] had obtained the Pike Report. [redacted] reportedly placed [redacted] in contact with a [redacted] named [redacted] (phonetic) who in turn placed [redacted] in contact with "The Village Voice." It was not known if the Committee had ever actually had possession of a copy of the Pike Report. u

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This memorandum is to furnish the results of that interview to the Department. It will be hand carried to Mr. [redacted] who will be orally advised that we will not interview [redacted] prior to 6/21/76. u

APPROVED: _____	Ext. Affairs.....	Laboratory.....
Assoc. Dir.....	Fin. & Pers.....	Legal Coun.....
Dep. AD Adm.....	Gen. Inv.....	Plan. & Eval.....
Dep. AD Inv.....	Ident.....	Rec. Mgmt.....
Asst. Dir.: _____	Inspection.....	Spec. Inv.....
Adm. Serv.....	Intell.....	Training.....

F B I

Date: 6/10/76

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (65-12208)(P)

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE-X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/00 BY SP2AUM/4P

Re Bureau telephone call 6/9/76.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above.Interviewing Agents were SAs [redacted] and
[redacted]Bureau is requested to obtain permission of the
Department for WFO to interview [redacted]

EX-115

REC-89

②-Bureau (Enc. 5)
1-WFO

JES:smv
(3)

17 JUN 22 1976

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 6/11/76

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

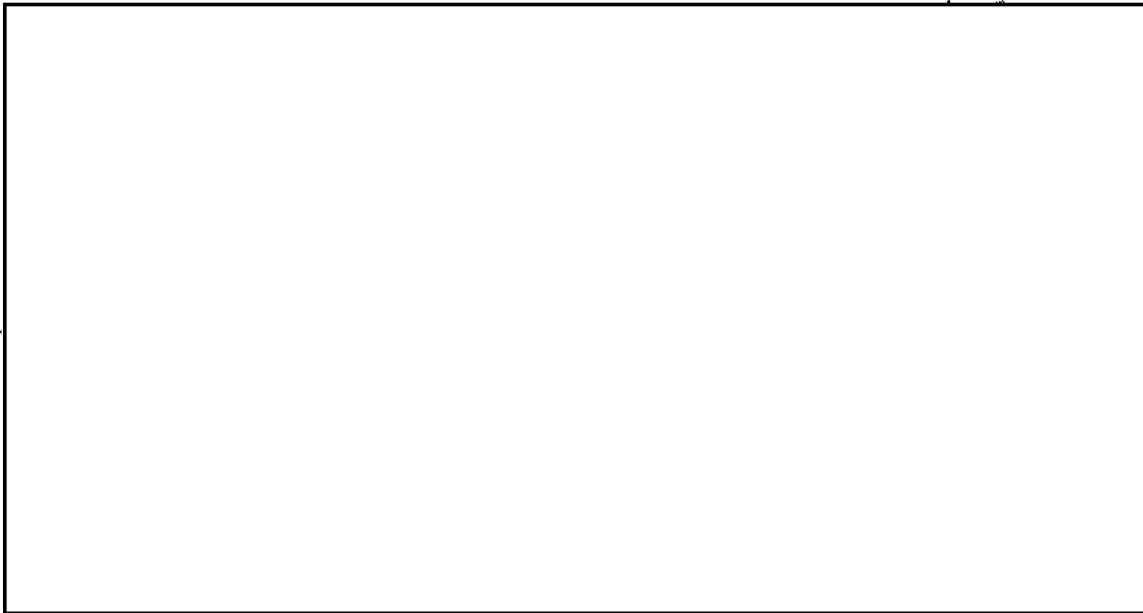
Via AIRTEL _____
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: *NES/* SAC, WFO (65-12208) (P)

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE-X

Re WFO airtel LHM dated 6/10/76. *u*



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b7D

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876

②-Bureau
1-WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/00 BY SP2AMK/P

JES:smv
(3)

65-75958

Approved: *NES/* _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/23/76

FROM : SAC, WFO (65-12208)(P)

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE" ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE-X

Re WFO airtel dated 7/8/76. U

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a LHM
dated and captioned as above. U

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/00 BY SP2AUMKP

ST 109

REC 121 65- 1

20 b6
b7c

②-Bureau (Enc. 5)
1-WFO

JES:smv
(3)

24 JUL 27 1976



1cc to AAG/CRIM Div. - ISS by R/S
3 T's to Rm. 4049 RLMC/P.S. 8/10/76

5010-110
53 AUG 17 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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7/26/76

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HOUSTUDY

PURPOSE: To advise of CIA request for permission to mention during Congressional hearing FBI inquiry of Pike Committee Report leak to newsmen [redacted] and our response to CIA that we prefer they do not volunteer such information.

DETAILS: House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (Ethics Committee) has been conducting public hearings to determine source of leak which resulted in [redacted] CBS news commentator, providing "The Village Voice," New York City tabloid, information from House Intelligence Committee (Pike Committee) Report. On 7/21/76, [redacted] CIA, telephonically advised [redacted] HOUSTUDY Project, that [redacted] of CIA Review Staff and [redacted] Central Intelligence, are to testify week of 7/25/76 at public hearings of Ethics Committee.

From questions already asked of other witnesses, it is anticipated [redacted] will be asked if CIA investigated the leak to [redacted]. They intend to reply that CIA did not as it is not provided for in its charter; but would like to ask a statement to the effect that the FBI has conducted such investigation. [redacted] sought Bureau approval for this. On 7/23/76, [redacted] telephoned [redacted] and expanded request by stating that the question which may be put to him or to [redacted] may be of a general nature, such as "Did anyone in the Executive Branch investigate this matter?"; or, "Do you know of anyone who investigated this matter?" In answer to such a general question, Bolton desired to be able to respond to the effect that the FBI has conducted investigation in this matter.

62-116464

NOT RECORDED

46 76 1 376

1. - 65-75258 (Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly Classified Information by "The Village Voice," on or about 2/11/76)

STP:ddc
(10)

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

84 AUG 17 1976

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to [redacted]
Re: HQUSTUDY

Pursuant to Department letter 2/13/76, 'Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly Classified Information by 'The Village Voice,' on or about 2/11/76," we have been conducting a preliminary inquiry in this matter along lines specified by the Department. After conferring with Messrs. [redacted]

[redacted] it was decided that CIA be told that we would prefer that mention of FBI not be volunteered by [redacted]

[redacted] However, if questioned specifically as to any FBI investigation or if asked such general questions as indicated above, we would have no objection to the following reply: "It is our understanding that the FBI, at the instructions of the Department of Justice, initiated a preliminary inquiry into this matter in February, 1976." U

The foregoing was telephonically passed by [redacted] [redacted] absence, on 7/23/76. The desired reply in quotes immediately above was read to [redacted] who reread it back for accuracy. He expressed agreement with the handling of the matter in this manner and expressed appreciation for our cooperation.

ACTION: None. For information. U

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F B I

Date:

11/3/76

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (65-12208) (C)

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE" ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE-X

Re WFO airtels and LHMs dated 6/10/76 and 7/23/76. u

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above. u

WFO is placing this matter in a closed status. It
will be reopened if the Bureau desires further action. u

Interview of [redacted] conducted by SAs [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] Interview of [redacted] was conducted
by SA [redacted] u

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EX-112

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- ② - Bureau (Enc. 5)
1 - WFO

JES:jst
(3)

3/15/00 SP2AUM/KP

Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Dissimination of LHM
1 - AHG (ISS) - handwritten
3 - Rm 4049

1 cc to Rm 4049

11/4/76



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 3, 1976

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976
ESPIONAGE - X

On October 28, 1976 [redacted]

[redacted] United States Department of Justice, was
interviewed, at which time he furnished the following:

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[redacted] Subsequent to agreeing
to interview by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
he had second thoughts about such an interview and felt
it might possibly violate what could have been a privileged
relationship between him and his employer. He acknowledged
that the matter of the Reporters Committee's connection
with [redacted] and [redacted] part in furnishing the
House Intelligence Committee report to the Village Voice
had never been a matter of consultation between him and his
employer, i.e., members of the Executive Committee of the
Reporters Committee, but he felt that he should either
refrain from comment or give the Committee an opportunity
to waive the matter of privileged communication. After
further discussion, [redacted] agreed to entertain questions
of the interviewing agents and reply to those which he did
not deem the answers to be the result of privileged
communications.

The RCFPP is funded by contributions from major
members of the news media but its general financial position
could generally be described as a disaster.

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[redacted] has no earthly idea who gave the House
Intelligence Committee reports to [redacted] and is not aware
that it was ever suggested that anybody at the Committee was

1cc to AMG - TSS (handwritten) AMJ.

3cc to RM 4049

11/4/76

PS.



3/15/00

SP2AUN/KP

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY "THE VILLAGE VOICE" ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY 11, 1976.

in possession of such knowledge. He cannot now recall the specifics but does recall that public statements issued by the Committee at the time were pretty much in accord with what was understood by the Committee staff. Insofar as he knew, no member of the staff was ever consulted about Schorr's action either before or after it happened. [redacted] has no firsthand knowledge but believes [redacted] at the Reporters Committee was probably [redacted] and member of Executive Committee of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. He has no knowledge of whether the RCFFP ever had custody of the House Intelligence Committee report prior to the time the Village Voice received it.

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[redacted] preferred not to answer questions pertaining to any connection between the RCFFP/Village Voice/[redacted] and any financial consideration which was to accrue to the Reporters Committee as a result of [redacted] action.

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On October 29, 1976, [redacted]

[redacted] furnished the following:

[redacted]
employees. The RCFFP is funded by private sources in the news media and is a non-profit, tax exempt organization. Fifty percent or better of the funds received by the RCFFP came from individual contributions of \$10 or less. [redacted] left the RCFFP because he considered it bankrupt of leadership, because of [redacted] action in giving the House Intelligence Committee report to the Village Voice and the indication that the RCFFP was involved and because at the time of his resignation he considered the RCFFP as a three ring circus without a circus master.

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[redacted] has no real firsthand information which he can now recall. He does recall that when the news of [redacted] action in giving the House Intelligence Committee report to the Village Voice was publicized the newspapers flooded the RCFFP with inquiries about the relationship of the RCFFP with [redacted] and the Village Voice.

u

1 - Mr
1 - Mr
1 - Mr

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Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division
Attention: Richard L. Thornburgh
Director, FBI

November 2, 1976

~~SECRET~~

DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF
ALLEGEDLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY THE VILLAGE VOICE, ON OR ABOUT
FEBRUARY 11, 1976

#911368 / 3/15/00
CLASSIFIED BY: SP2ALM/KP
REASON: 1.5 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: X1

Reference is made to your memorandum dated
March 23, 1976, captioned as above requesting that the
Department of Defense (DOD) be recontacted for the pur-
pose of obtaining more specific answers regarding
declassification of the items mentioned in their report
of March 1, 1976. U

You also requested that the DOD and other
concerned agencies be advised that the source documents
from which any classified items originated could possibly
be subject to any pretrial discovery, and therefore it
should be determined if these agencies would have any
objection to furnishing these documents should this occur.

The DOD was recontacted by memorandum dated
April 6, 1976, and requested to furnish the additional
information. As you will recall, the Defense Intelligence
Agency (DIA), upon instructions from the Assistant Secretary
of Defense, acted as the focal point in drawing together
comments from the National Security Agency (NSA), the
Services and other appropriate DOD elements in preparing
the report furnished by DOD dated March 1, 1976. (S)(u)

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from the Office
of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Intelligence) dated
September 17, 1976, responding to our request for further
clarification regarding declassification.

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Serv. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Fin. & Pers. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Phone Rm. _____
or Sec'y _____

RLMcL:ddcdlc

(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

Classified by: 257
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

88/1/4
10/1/76

~~SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

~~SECRET~~

Through our Liaison Section, other concerned agencies were also apprised regarding the possibility of source documents being made part of any pretrial discovery proceedings. U

Mr. William C. Jones, III, Director of Intelligence Liaison, U. S. Department of State (USDS), advised that the USDS would object to furnishing the source documents should this occur.

Of the agencies which were contacted at the outset of this inquiry and requested to review the material published by The Village Voice, the National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have yet to furnish any results reflecting their review of the material. U

Mr. [REDACTED] advised our liaison officer on October 6, 1976, that the NSC has responded through other channels to similar questions to those contained in your memorandum to this Bureau dated February 13, 1976, also captioned as above, and therefore they do not intend to make any reply to this request.

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Through our liaison with the CIA, we have been given to understand that by letter dated October 7, 1976, directed to you, they have indicated their position with respect to your request for information regarding the material published by The Village Voice. U

The interviews which you authorized with several persons associated with the Reporter's Committee for Freedom of the Press have been completed and the results will be promptly furnished to you. U

Enclosure

~~SECRET~~

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE:

The AAG, Criminal Division, by memorandum dated 3/23/76 requested that the DOD be recontacted, as shown above, regarding a report dated 3/1/76 they had submitted concerning their analysis of the allegedly classified material from the Pike Committee report published by The Village Voice. U

The DOD, after considerable time, did respond by letter dated 9/17/76 advising that they would defer any further efforts toward declassifying specific material until this case reaches a point where prosecution is likely.

The NSC and the CIA, who have yet to furnish us any results of their review of the published material, were also recontacted to determine their intentions. The results of these contacts are set out above. U

Several months ago, WFO Agents had interviewed, at her request, an employee of the Reporter's Committee for Freedom of the Press who furnished limited information

as well as the Committee's role in connection with the Pike Committee report being published by The Village Voice. This employee furnished the names of two other persons associated with the Committee who would be willing to talk to the FBI concerning this matter. U

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No further investigation remains outstanding U
to be conducted by this Bureau other than the interviews above.

APPROVED
ASST. ATT.
CIVIL DIV.
DATE
BY

FOR THE

RECORDS

DATE

BY

DATE

BY

DATE

BY

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. [REDACTED]

FROM : [REDACTED] *8m*

SUBJECT: DISCLOSURE AND PUBLICATION OF ALLEGEDLY
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY "THE VILLAGE
VOICE" ON OR ABOUT 2/11/76
ESPIONAGE - X

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Serv. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Fin. & Pers. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

PURPOSE:

To advise regarding the Department's opinion regarding any further investigation or prosecution concerning captioned matter. *u*

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information. *u*

DETAILS:

On 2/17/76, the Assistant Attorney General (AAG), Criminal Division, by memorandum, requested that the FBI conduct a preliminary inquiry regarding the publication by "The Village Voice," a New York City tabloid, of allegedly classified information contained in the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence Activities (HSCIA), also known as the Pike Committee. A copy of the Pike Committee's report had reportedly been furnished to "The Village Voice" by [REDACTED]

All investigation requested by the AAG in the 2/17/76 memorandum, as well as all subsequent communications, was completed and furnished to the Department. *u*

Enclosure
RL:CL:bmf
(8)

#911368 3/15/80
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/80 BY SP2ALMKP

CONTINUED - OVER



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI/DOJ

Memorandum to Mr. [REDACTED]

Re: Disclosure and Publication of Allegedly
Classified Information by "The Village
Voice" on or About 2/11/76

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By memorandum dated 5/18/77 (copy attached hereto), the AAG advised that in his opinion there is no reasonable chance for successful prosecution in this matter for any violation of the espionage laws, and therefore, no further investigation by the FBI is desired in this matter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 99

Page 13 ~

Congressional Documents

Page 14 ~

Congressional Documents

Page 15 ~

Congressional Documents

Page 16 ~

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Page 17 ~

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Page 18 ~

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Page 19 ~

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Page 20 ~

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Page 21 ~

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Page 24 ~

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Page 25 ~

Congressional Documents

Page 26 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 27 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 32 ~ b6, b7C

Page 48 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 54 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 55 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 56 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 57 ~ Referral/Direct

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Page 149 ~ b6, b7C
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Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 9A-NY-186561 - Section 1
The Village Voice

NOTE: Hand print names legibly; handwriting satisfactory for remainder.

Indices: ☒ Negative ☐ See below

Subject's name and aliases

Character of case

EXTORTION

Complainant ☐ Protect Source

Complaint received

☐ Personal ☒ Telephonic Date 8/22/89 Time 3:15pm

Complainant's address and telephone number

Village Voice, 842 Broadway, NY, NY

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Summit, NJ 07901

Subject's Description	Race	Sex	Height	Hair	Build	Birth date and Birthplace
	Age	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Weight	Eyes	Complexion	Social Security Number
	Scars, marks or other data					

Facts of complaint

Complainant (C) advised an envelope postmarked Newark, NJ, 8/15/89 was received at his office, addressed as follows: "Village Voice, 842 Broadway, New York, NY, Attention: [redacted] (Playing With Hell). Return address appears as: [redacted] Summit, NJ, 07901.) Envelope contained a four-page letter stating threats of death, violence, abusive language on behalf of subject's religion.

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C advised [redacted] is particularly concerned regarding the threats due to the nature of the news article which appeared in the Village Voice and the fact that this letter also contained the subject's name. Generally, most letters of this nature are sent anonymously.

C was advised to secure the envelope and letter, and it should be handled as little as possible. C requested that he be recontacted as soon as possible so as to determine a course of action.

2 - (9- new)
1 - 66-7079A

(C-15) DATE 8/22/89
SUPERVISOR
PI EFFECTIVE

OPEN OR REOPEN CASE
ORIGIN 9A-NY
SECURITY NY
PI EFFECTIVE

9A-NY-186561-1

Do not write in this space.

SEARCHED	SERIALIZED
INDEXED	FILED
AUG 22 1989	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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(A-3)

(Complaint received by)

BLOCK STAMP

Title

4 (File No.

9A-nf-18656

[illegible]

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9A-nu-186561-1a

Field File No. 9A-NY-186561-1A1

Serial # of Originating Document: _____

OO and File No. 9A-NY-186561

Date Received: _____

From _____

(Name of Contributor)

VILLAGE VOICE

(Address of Contributor)

842 BROADWAY, New York, NY

(City and State)

By SA _____

(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6(e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure ☐ Yes ☒ No

Title:

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM
EXT. (A)
(OO: NY)

Reference: _____
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☐ Original notes re interview of _____

Copy Article "WHO IS
LISTENING TO LOUI'S FARRA KHAN?"

- VILLAGE

VOICE, Aug. 15, 1989.

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b6
b7C

Date September 6, 1989

Title and Character of Case

VILLAGE VOICE- VICTIM
EXTORTION (A)
(OO:NY)

b6
b7C

Date Property Acquired
August 28, 1989

Source From Which Property Acquired
Village Voice

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit

VAULT SELF TOP OF 69
Bulky Room

Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same

To Be Returned

See Serial

Agent Submitting Property or Exhibit

Evidence

Agent Assigned Case

☐ Yes ☒ No

☐ Yes ☒ No Grand Jury Property - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6(e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

☐ Yes ☒ No Property to be Forfeited to the Government

Description of Property or Exhibit

ONE CELL

One plastic envelope containing a white envelope 3 1/2" X 6 1/2" postmarked August 15, 1989, Newark, New Jersey.

One plastic envelope containing two pieces of white notepaper with red inked handwriting, 8 1/2 X 11" in length.

see 1A-4
For Valuable and/or Narcotics Evidence Only

Evidence Bag Seal # _____

Signature of Two
Special Agents
Verifying and Sealing
Bag Contents _____

SEMIANNUAL INVENTORY CERTIFICATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION OF PROPERTY (Initial and Date)

Field File # 9A-NY- 186561

1B1

OO: New York

EVIDENCE (PACKAGE COPY)

BLOCK STAMP

SEP - 6 - 1989

RECEIVED

CHAIN OF CUSTODY

[illegible]

Item No.

Remarks

Field File No. 9A-NY-186561-1A2

Serial # of Originating Document _____

OO and File No. 9A-NY-186561

Date Received _____

From _____

(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

By _____

SA

(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6(e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure ☐ Yes ☒ No

Title: _____

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM
EXT. (A)
(OO:NY)

Reference: _____

(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☐ Original notes re interview of _____

Copies of Threatening
Letter and Envelope Addressed
to Village Voice Newspaper

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b7C

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY 94-NY-186561-1A2

b6
b7c

With the kind of Bullshit
That you wrote About
My SAVIOR AND Christ
Minister FARRAKHAN, I will
Personally Put your Fuckin
ASS To Death! You WANT
Hell? you got it. you WANT
WAR! well you got it.
The 47th chapter of the
Quran IS - Muhammad. It is Als
known as WAR!
I will Put AN END To your
Damn Life with The

Help of my God (Allah) -
for ATTACKING FARRAKHAN
AND THE NATION OF

ISLAM. THIS AIN'T
FARRAKHAN'S WORDS,

THESE ARE MY WORDS

COME GET ME

MOTHER FUCKER!

I'M RIGHT HERE WAITING

FOR YOU AND THE

F.B.I. TO COME

And get ~~ME~~!

I understand why
~~you~~ wrote that dumb
shit. But I want you
to know that there is a
price to pay for everything
and you will pay for
this kind of lying shit
with your god damn
LIFE!

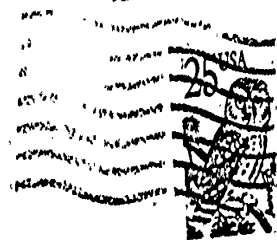
AND THAT IS A
PROMISE!

YOU DAMN DIRTY, LOWDOWN,
DEVIL! WHY DON'T YOU
STAND FACE TO FACE
WITH ME OR ANY (FOI)
YOU WON'T STAND UP LIKE A
MAN TO THE FOI BECAUSE
WE WILL TURN
YOUR ASS
INTO A GOD DAMN
MOUSE!

MAY ALLAH
DESTROY YOU

b6
b7C

Summit, NJ. 07901



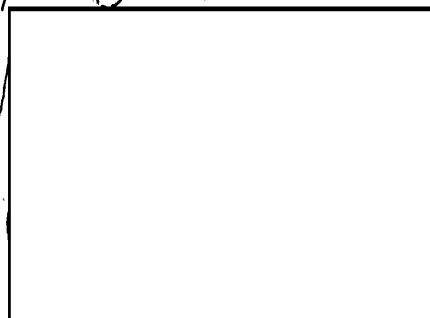
b6
b7C

Summit, N.J. 07901

The Village Voice

842 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y.

Attn



0003

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Field File No. 9A-NY-186561-1A3

Serial # of Originating Document

OO and File No. 9A-NY-186561

Date Received 8/28/89

From _____
(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

By SA _____
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6(e), Federal Rules
of Criminal Procedure ☐ Yes ☒ No

Title: _____

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM;

- VICTIM;

EXTORTION (A)
(OO:NY)

Reference _____
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☒ Original notes re interview of

_____, 8/28/89

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PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT
NY 9A-NV-186561-193

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[redacted]
Village Voice 842 Broadway N.Y. N.Y.
(212) 460-1452 [redacted]

[redacted] article published
August 13, 1989 "Who is listening
to Louis Farrakhan... and how did
he become the big man on campus?"
Negative to Farrakhan & followers;
influenced black community.

U.S. Mail letter received office
Village Voice, envelope postmarked
Newark, New Jersey, dated Aug. 15, 1989.
Return Name & address was

[redacted]
Summit, N.J. 07901. 2 page letter
written red ink. Threatened life.

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[redacted] Signed By [redacted]
People at "Voice" concerned. Notified
Summit, N.J. P.D. [redacted]
Knows group involved. organization
called FRUIT OF ISLAM. Live house
in Summit, N.J. Group follows Louis
Farrakhan, capable of violence.

[redacted]
concerned & wanted [redacted] contact
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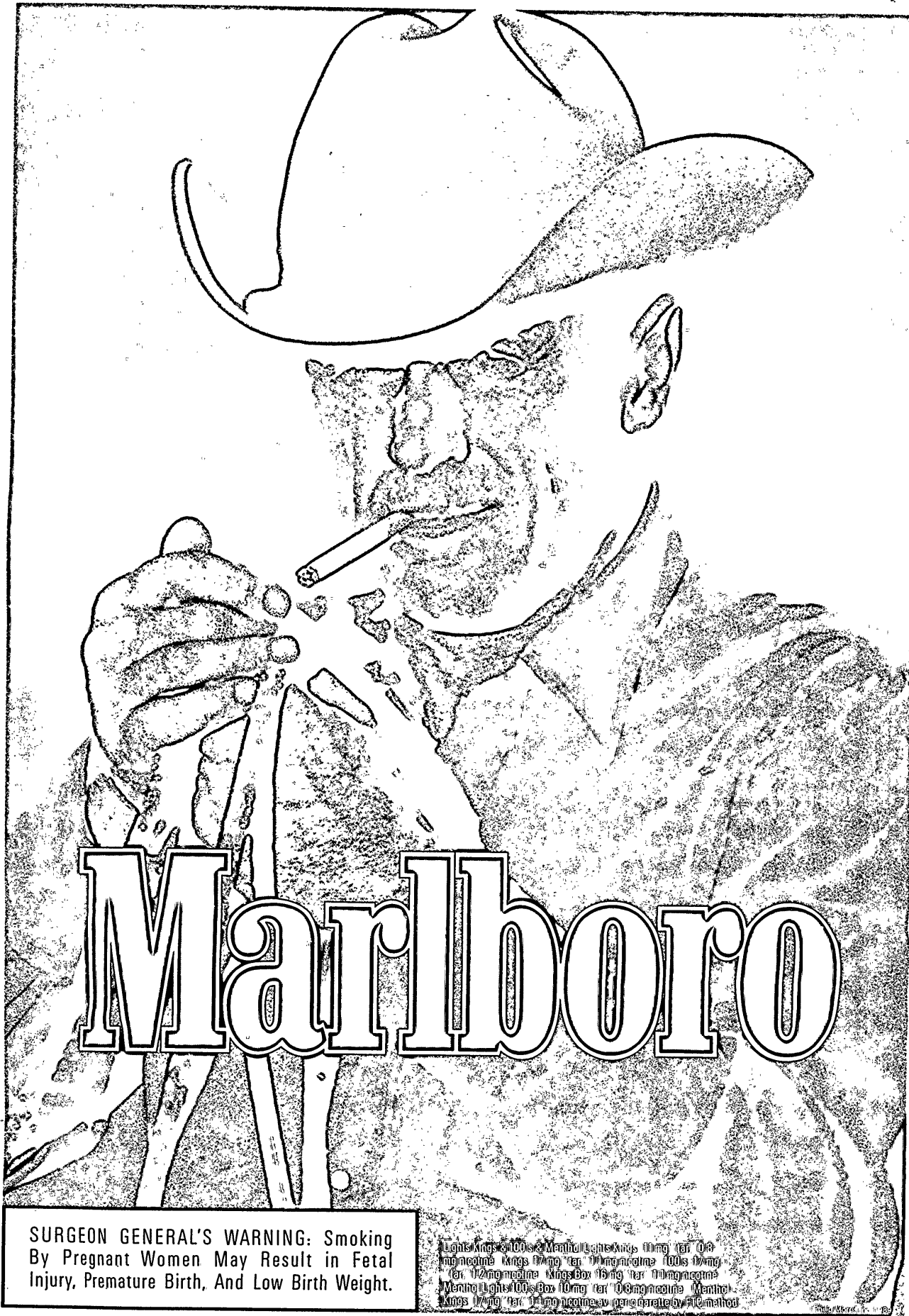
Who Is Listening to Louis Farrakhan?

*...and How Did
He Become
Big Man on
Campus?*

BY PLAYTHELL BENJAMIN (P.23)



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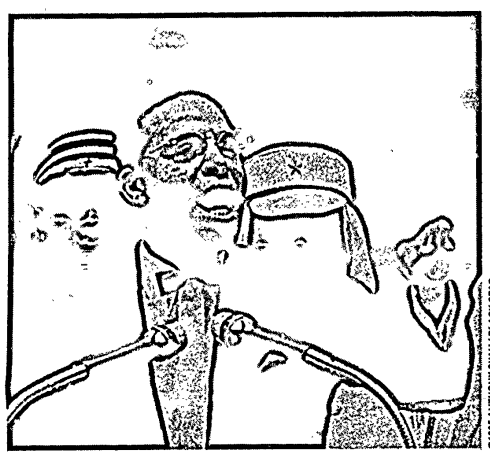
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THE ATTITUDE IS THE MESSAGE

*Louis
Farrakhan
Pursues
the Middle
Class*



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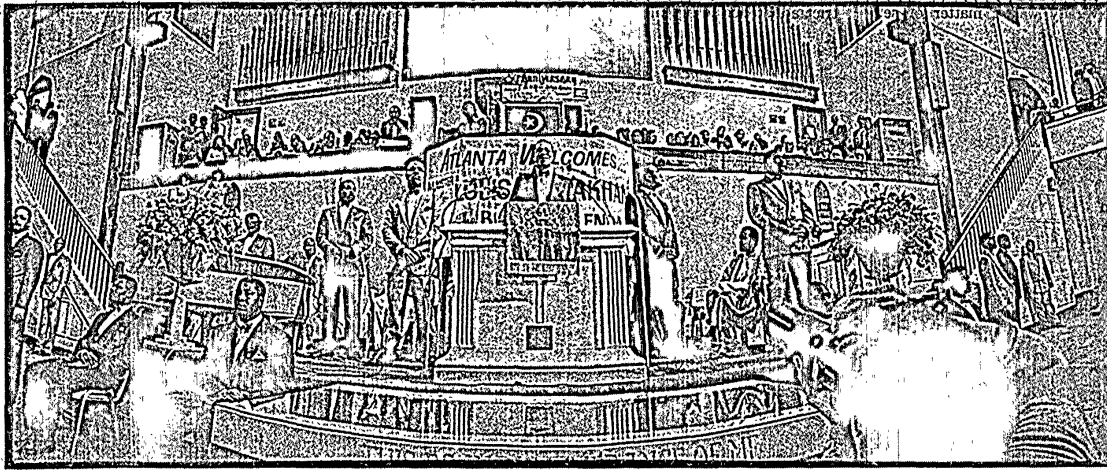
CITIZEN ANTHONY SUAU / BLACK STAR

AS THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE TROOPERS and U. Mass police waved the bus away from the entrance to the campus center, the final stop on the Springfield-to-Amherst line, it was clear that something was going on. Those passengers who insisted upon proceeding were required to walk the rest of the way. Outside the Fine Arts Center—a massive unpainted concrete monument to the triumph of cost accounting in modern architecture—the streets were cluttered with mobile TV units from Boston. The klieg lights and the clusters of electronic cables, sprawled over the sidewalks like giant earthworms chillin' out on the cold pavement, gave the event the aura of a movie premiere.

It was showtime at U. Mass, but with the main attraction, a black fundamentalist Muslim imam, the crowd—divided into antagonistic factions of pro-Zionist Jews, Palestinian sympathizers, African Americans, and assorted others—wasn't cheering. The night air was filled with the babble of rancorous rhetoric as each group loudly denounced the sins of its

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

BY PLAYTHELL BENJAMIN



FARRAKHAN'S SPEECHES ARE PART DOUBLESPEAK, PART BLACK NATIONALIST SLOGANEERING, PART ISLAMIC DOGMA, PART FREE-FORM RAP.

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

adversaries. Whenever Louis Farrakhan is on the scene you can bet your bottom dollar the joint will be jumpin', and on this night the joint was really jumpin'. In the 20 years that I have been trudging up to Amherst, I have never witnessed anything like the scene outside the Arts Center on February 2. It was a situation in which passion threatened to nullify reason and the anatomy of a riot was clearly visible.

Queuing up to enter the auditorium was like walking a gauntlet of inquisitors,

all hell-bent on exorcising an evil spirit from the life of the campus. The largest and loudest contingent of protesters was composed of Jews, among them extremist elements with a reputation for initiating violence, like the Jewish Defense League. The homicidal inclinations of some in this faction were evidenced by their chants of "Who do we want? ... Farrakhan! ... How do we want him? ... Dead!" To the largely black crowd entering the building this was an outrage, and several young black men issued a challenge to their JDL tormenters, daring

them to cross the police barriers. One black gridiron type warned, "I sure hope nobody don't fuck around and say the N-word ... cause I'ma havta jump over that horse and break my foot off in their ass!" That the situation did not degenerate into a full-blown riot says more for the efficiency of the security forces than the self-restraint of the impassioned mob.

Having learned from bitter experience that the traffic control surrounding a Farrakhan speech, which includes a body search of everyone entering the hall, requires about two and a half hours to

complete, I was in no hurry to get in line. In the meantime and in between time, I strolled around and rapped with the student body: white, black, and other. From these impromptu conversations several themes emerged that spoke volumes about why Farrakhan was here—the nature of his appeal to black students. The question most often asked by white students was, "Why are they bringing him here now? We have had enough racial problems on this campus and now things have cooled out." Black students viewed the matter differently. For them, the

WHAT THE MINISTER SAID

THE IMAGE of Louis Farrakhan as a violence-prone fanatic is largely a consequence of his affection for provocative public oratory. A close analysis of Farrakhan's oratorical style reveals a cavalier disregard for the nuances of language and an inflammatory rhetoric that supplies grist for the mills of a competitive, sensationalistic, and sometimes racist establishment press. Some of his statements seem explicitly calculated to provoke an avalanche of criticism, statements so outrageous as to be indefensible. The Milton Coleman affair, in which Farrakhan disagreed with the news judgment of a black reporter who wrote in *The Washington Post* that Jesse Jackson referred to New York as "Hymietown," is a case in point. Farrakhan's response came in a radio broadcast. He proclaimed, "I say but we're gonna make an example of Milton Coleman! One day soon we will punish you with death." Although Farrakhan tried to disown this particular threat, it is typical of the reckless rhetoric that has led the American public to view him as a murderous madman. Still, it sometimes seems that the mere mention of the minister's name brings out the media's worst impulses. For instance, on October 9, 1988, hysterical journalists quoted Farrakhan vowing to "kill and dismember" Iwanaw Brawley's attackers. Many fearsome inferences were drawn by news commentators, but in fact Farrakhan's words had been flagrantly misrepresented.

The occasion was Farrakhan's speech to the Nation of Islam's annual Savior's Day convocation in Chicago. Calling forward Iwanaw Brawley, who was on the dais dressed in the white gown (but not the headgear) of a Muslim woman, Farrakhan put his arm around her shoulders. After denouncing the grand jury conclusion that her case was a fraud, he

asked white America, rhetorically, "You want us to love you? Then do justice." Farrakhan declared, "Well it's all right now! Cause she's ours, and we're hers." The audience rose to its feet in tumultuous applause, with the men, all members of the Fruit of Islam, raising clenched fists in the air. Farrakhan repeated, "It's all right now—because every one of these black men will kill concrete if they put their hands on this Muslim woman!" As the decibel level of the throng rose, Farrakhan shouted, "While the law of justice is in your hands you better use it. Because I swear, no I promise. I affirm in the name of Almighty God Allah that He will, if I obey His law, if I keep His commandments, if I follow His messenger. He's gonna make me a power in America and throughout the world! And I will remember you for what you have done." The applause continued to build and he was forced into a prolonged pause until it subsided enough for him to continue, "I will proclaim like Moses, an eye for an eye—a tooth for a tooth and a life for a life. You rape my daughter, I will kill ya, and dismember your body and feed it to the bowl of the air."

It was this last sentence that was presented, after editorial manipulation over the air. In its original form it is hardly radical. In fact, it succinctly expresses the feelings of every father I know, including myself. The net result of this mass abdication of journalistic ethics was to convince millions of white Americans and some blacks that Farrakhan was about to lead some secret black army against white men who were declared innocent in an exhaustive grand jury investigation.

There is hardly a mention of Farrakhan in the white press that doesn't remind us that this is the guy who said, "Hitler was a great man." The quote is always quickly followed by a hail of in-

vective, yet any objective analysis would reveal it as a vicious misrepresentation at best. In the context of an argument against "confusing greatness"—i.e., wealth, power, and public adulation—with righteousness, Farrakhan offered this example: "Adolf Hitler was a great man but wicked." Even a dimwit can see that this statement was not intended as a celebration of Hitler, but as a repudiation.

These willful misrepresentations by the press have sparked a reciprocal antagonism between Farrakhan and the Jewish community, one that has grown increasingly rancorous over the last few years. This seriously endangers the alliance against racism and reaction that rests largely upon the remaining goodwill between African Americans and American Jews.

Perhaps the worst example of the hyperbole that too often passes for reportage comes from the *New York Post*. In a column on Farrakhan's visit to New York in May 1988, headlined "Farrakhan's Orgy of Hate," *Post* writer Doug Peiden offered an explanation of how Farrakhan decided on May 22, as the date of his speech: "He chose Shavuoth, the Jewish feast of weeks, to make his speech; perhaps guided by Josef F. Mengele, who knew the Jewish holidays and reserved them for his largest death camp selections." It is a curious allegation to level at a man whom nobody has accused of committing a single act of violence against Jews, or of advocating such acts.

One can only speculate on the reasons why so much time and energy are wasted savaging Farrakhan, especially when there are white fascist paramilitary organizations running around the country dedicated to the physical extermination of their many enemies, most prominently American Jews. Groups like the

Order, the Covenant, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Aryan Brotherhood imagine sinister manipulations by international Jewry as being the root of the world's problems. As James Coates writes in *Armed and Dangerous*, "The common thread linking these ardently violent people together is a belief that the U.S. government has been taken over by a conspiracy of Jewish bankers and nebulous other dark forces who plan to bleed the country dry, then bring a nuclear attack down upon the withered shell. This final attack is what the Bible calls Armageddon." These groups disseminate their message via computer, modems, cable TV, radio shows, and literature distributed copiously at secret meetings all over the country. It is abundantly clear that, compared to anti-Semitic white groups, the Nation of Islam represents little more than a public nuisance.

Farrakhan's criticism of the Jews is fundamentally theological, growing out of his ethnocentric interpretations of the Bible and the Koran. In his attempt to reverse biblical imagery in order to create a symbology that makes black Americans the chosen people of God, Farrakhan has attacked the legitimacy of Judaic theology. It was in this context that he called Judaism "a gutter religion." And though Farrakhan has tried to distance himself from that statement, it's still his, clearly recorded for all to hear.

Obviously Jews, whatever their political persuasion, cannot accept Farrakhan's view. And it is not unreasonable for Jews, who have voted for black politicians twice as often as other whites, to expect African American politicians and other leaders of black opinion to declare where they stand on this issue. But Louis Farrakhan's wayward theology doesn't give commentators the right to twist his words as they please. —P.B.

ELIJAH, MALCOLM, AND LOUIS

THE NATION OF ISLAM was founded over a half century ago by Elijah Poole, a small chestnut-brown man from Georgia who changed his name to Elijah Muhammad. Declaring himself a prophet sent to salvage the "lost found nation of so-called Negroes" in the wilderness of North America, Elijah claimed he was visited by God/Allah in the person of Master W. D. Fard Muhammad, a Turk with a shadowy history who looks like a southern European in the pictures I've seen. It was W. D. Muhammad who "revealed the truth" to Elijah: white folks are devils who are evil by nature; the black man is the original seed; America is doomed and will soon suffer the wrath of Allah. black Americans are the chosen people spoken of in the Bible and they must separate from the whites in order to avoid the punishment of God. Hence, in Muslim theology, it was blasphemy to integrate with the evil whites who had brought us only "slavery, suffering, and death." This is why the Nation of Islam opposed the integrationist aims of the civil rights movement. (For a thorough analysis of the NOI's theology, see C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America*.)

In order to understand the ready appeal of Elijah Muhammad's message, one need only consider the state of black America at the time of his appearance. In the 1930s almost half the U.S. had apartheid laws denying African Americans the vote and relegating them to separate and unequal facilities, and the rest of the nation engaged in such practices without benefit of law. It was six on the one hand and a half a dozen on the other—de facto and de jure. Lynching, the practice of publicly crucifying blacks in a carnival-like atmosphere, was still a commonplace of American life, and with all its legal aplomb and lobbying ability the NAACP was unable to secure the passage of a federal antilynching bill. Afro-Americans were routinely insulted by racist representations of black characters in movies, radio, vaudeville, news papers, popular magazines, textbooks and the imagery of commercial products from pancakes and bathroom cleansers to liver-lipped lawn jockeys. So when Elijah Muhammad announced that "the white man is the devil," the truth of the statement seemed obvious to many African Americans.

It must also be remembered that Elijah Muhammad made his appearance during the Great Depression, so his message of "We must do for self" had a ready appeal to black Americans, the last hired and first fired, who already enjoyed a long history of cooperative economics. A small, barely articulate man with a high-pitched voice, Mr. Muhammad delivered his message of divine grace with a steely resolve whose eloquence lay in its simple conviction and apparent truth. While not personally charismatic, Elijah Muhammad put together an organization that had many of the fundamental requirements a movement needs to survive and grow: a comprehensive ideology, power-packed slogans and symbols that can express complex ideas in simple terms for mass consumption, fundraising ability, means of propaganda dissemination, devoted followers who are willing to proselytize and recruit in person, and a clearly visible enemy. However, in order to flourish a movement also needs charismatic evangelists—great orators who can excite, inspire, and convert large numbers of people. It is these powerful verbal exhorters who must take the message to the masses and no social movement in history has been successful without them.



Elijah Muhammad: steely resolve, simple conviction



Malcolm X: indifferent to fashion



Farrakhan: skilled at show business

This is why Malcolm X was so important to the rapid growth of the Nation of Islam in the early '60s. Tall and physically impressive, Malcolm spoke with a voice that seemed to embody both the rage of the black masses and the wrath of Allah. When I first heard him speak at the Lancaster Avenue mosque in West Philadelphia in 1962, it was the closest thing an avowed atheist could experience to a religious conversion. As the spokesman for the West Philadelphia Young Republicans League, I was the least likely convert in the house. But I had not then, nor have I ever, heard an orator who could convey a feeling of righteous indignation in the face of injustice with the power and passion of Malcolm X. His speech rocked my world and I was born again as a black militant. Over the years I have discovered that my conversion to a militant black nationalist vision through the preachments of Malcolm was not unique. It is a vital part of the political, spiritual, and intellectual evolution of many of the best and brightest African Americans of my generation.

Malcolm X understood well his role as the national representative of the honorable Elijah Muhammad. In his public statements he regularly paid homage to Elijah Muhammad, whom he referred to as "The Messenger," the source of all his wisdom. On many occasions I witnessed Malcolm publicly compare Elijah Muhammad to Moses and the original Is-

lamic prophet, Muhammad Ibn Abdullah, the founder of Islam. But Malcolm and Elijah eventually came to a parting of ways over Mr. Muhammad's hypocrisy about sexual relations with several of his female supplicants, a matter Malcolm discusses candidly in his autobiography. Malcolm X was silenced and relieved of his ministerial duties by Elijah for announcing, "The chickens have finally come home to roost." When President Kennedy was assassinated, Malcolm struck out on his own.

First organizing Muslim Mosque, Inc. in 1964, Malcolm quickly recognized the need for a purely secular political organization and founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity, modeled on the Organization of African Unity. In his capacity as the leader of the OAAU, Malcolm X traveled to Africa and made powerful contacts. He was planning to bring the African-American question before the United Nations and accuse the U.S. government of human rights violations, a brilliant though not original idea. (The black communist lawyer, William L. Patterson had already prepared a detailed brief, which was published in book form as *We Charge Genocide*.) But Malcolm X was brutally murdered, gunned down at one of his Sunday afternoon rallies at the Audubon Ballroom in Washington Heights. And it appears that his dream of bringing the African-American question before the UN died

with him.

Over the past two decades a myth has grown up that Louis Farrakhan is an extension or clone of Malcolm X. The persistence of this notion reflects the antihistorical attitude that Harold Cruse warned us infects the American vision. From our meeting in 1962 until his untimely death in 1965, I saw Malcolm X speak scores of times. I also conducted several radio interviews with him on a black talk show broadcast over WDAS radio in Philadelphia. I remember Malcolm as a person who projected a genuine humility before the people he sought to serve. His single-minded devotion to the struggle made him indifferent to things like fashion and the accoutrements of show business. When he was the most sought-after speaker in the nation I would often see him with frayed lapels and missing buttons. Malcolm was an activist who was rapidly learning the art of politics and forming new alliances. And, most important, Malcolm X was an honest man who called out injustice wherever he found it, even if it was in the racial dogma of his religion or the bedchambers of the prophet that raised him. Malcolm was indifferent to personal danger and his love for black people was omnipresent, especially when he was talking about dancing to Count Basie's band or listening to Lady Day.

In contrast, Farrakhan is a preening peacock, always impeccably dressed and skilled in the techniques of show business. He is so full of himself that his posture before audiences of people he seeks to lead is often distant and reeks with a pugnacious arrogance. While he refers to himself in communications as "the national representative of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad," Malcolm's old title, Farrakhan also claims that he was called by God to lead, a claim Malcolm never made. When confronted with the evidence of Elijah Muhammad's philandering, he offered public apologies that were often ludicrous. And most of all, Farrakhan has not grown intellectually or politically over the years. He is still spouting a line on race and religion that Malcolm X was in the process of rejecting after his pilgrimage to Mecca over a quarter century ago. Hence the similarities between Malcolm and Farrakhan are confined to their roles as charismatic evangelists and the fact that for many years Farrakhan imitated Malcolm's oratorical style (it was like listening to John Coltrane play the saxophone and then hearing David Liebman). When Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, Farrakhan, despite his unquestioned loyalty and charisma, was passed over for leadership of the Nation. As the messenger, Elijah handpicked his son, Wallace, to succeed him. According to NOI sources, Farrakhan was unhappy with the choice because Wallace had supported Malcolm X against his father. But then, one cannot argue with divine wisdom, can one? Wallace, a low-key and uncharismatic man, set about dismantling the NOI. He sold off the organization's assets and rejected his father's ideas on race and religion. I heard Wallace say in many public speeches during the late '70s that Elijah Muhammad never believed his own theology, but thought it was a good thing for black Americans at their stage of development. Wallace is now the leader of an orthodox Muslim order called simply the Community of Al Islam in the West. In the late '70s and the '80s, Farrakhan built on the remnants of the old organization to resurrect the Nation and restore Elijah Muhammad's theology. I predict that his following will continue to grow as long as significant numbers of African Americans continue to despair over their future in America. —P.B.

right to invite Minister Farrakhan to speak at the university was a matter of self-determination, a core cultural value with deep roots in African-American history.

It is abundantly clear from their observable style, temperament, and appetite for sensual pleasures that most black students reject the repressive puritanical code advocated by Louis Farrakhan. Hence, most are constitutionally unsuited for membership in the Nation of Islam, of which Farrakhan is chief minister. This explains why the increased demand for his presence on college campuses does not appear to be accompanied by any dramatic growth in the ranks of the organization itself. Most of the black students I talked to didn't know much about Farrakhan, and had never heard him speak, even on a recording. They came out to hear him because they had observed elements in the white community attempting to deny Farrakhan his right to a forum, thus denying them their right to intellectual freedom. An excellent example of the kind of anti-Farrakhan hysteria that inspired black students to mobilize behind him was provided by Leonard Zakim of B'nai B'rith, who told an earlier campus "open forum on race relations": Farrakhan is "the most notorious anti-Semite of this century." The students preferred to believe the hip-hop crew, Public Enemy, who admonished them not to make up their minds about Farrakhan "until you hear the man," and warned, "Don't believe the hype."

PERHAPS NO PUBLIC FIGURE in America today inspires as much fear and suspicion as Louis Farrakhan, pretender to the role of premier leader of Afro-America. The Louis Farrakhan purveyed in the media is an unshaded character, consistently hateful and hated. Yet Farrakhan has a following, and it may well be growing. His portrayal by the media as a dangerous black lunatic [see sidebar, "What the Minister Said"] is viewed by many African Americans as nothing more than character assassination, a ritual murder by ideological adversaries who want to destroy Farrakhan's credibility and silence him as an effective voice in the struggle for black survival. In fact, as the level of press hostility increases, so does the level of support Farrakhan receives from African Americans—many routinely disregard all criticism of black leaders emanating from the white media.

Farrakhan as he presents himself—the Farrakhan perceived by many if not most African Americans—is quite different from the media horror show. He projects independence and self-assurance, he actively fights the drug trade in black communities, and he at least talks about economic development for African Americans. Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam are now attracting middle-class followers, a departure from the church's traditional base in the urban working class. The question is: Why is Louis Farrakhan a national leader when his national media image could hardly be worse?

Historically, the Nation of Islam has recruited largely from the urban working class, offering a vision of progress through moral cleanliness and cooperative economic enterprise. Like Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, which had its heyday in the '20s, it builds on a tradition of African-American self-determination that dates to the 18th century and includes religious denominations, abolitionist organizations, cultural institutions, and a wide variety of business enterprises. As Harold Cruse points out in *Plural but Equal*, demographic changes had a profound impact on the rise of these two most prominent 20th century nationalist movements. By 1930, 18.7 per cent of the nation's urban black population was concentrated in the northern industrial centers of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Detroit; in New York and Chicago, the increase since 1910 had been 260 per cent and 430 per cent respectively. It was largely economic motives that prompted this migration, motives that

the NAACP, and its progeny, with their strict adherence to a philosophy of non-economic liberalism, failed to address. And so it is no surprise that both the UNIA and the Nation of Islam, founded in Detroit in 1932 by Elijah Muhammad, had their greatest success in the northern industrial centers.

But Farrakhan understands that there's only so far he can go with a membership rooted in the lumpenproletariat and working poor. In order to realize his vision of an independent, self-supporting African-American nation, he must attract African-Americans with skills and resources. To help broaden his base, he has begun to ecumenicize. At a 1988 speech at Manhattan Community College, for instance, he appeared with the Reverend Robert Castle, a white Christian cleric from St. Mary's Church on 126th Street, who announced, "It is an honor to be on the same stage with Minister Farrakhan," and later added, "I live right across the street from the precinct but I feel much safer here." Farrakhan has also taken pains to clarify his relationship to Judaism. At U. Mass he was cheered when he told the Jewish community, "I wish you life," a striking contrast to the JDL's calls for his death outside the auditorium. He reported that "several highly placed rabbis" had told him in his own home that

"they knew Israel was wrong," but that as an outsider Jesse Jackson had no right to criticize the Jewish state. He also challenged the accusation that he had praised Adolf Hitler: "How dare you say that I love Hitler! How dare you say I love a man who hated blacks!"

Farrakhan has enjoyed some success among educated middle-class African Americans: in the wake of the economic setbacks and racial hostility experienced by millions of African Americans in the Reagan era, blacks of every class are disillusioned with the American dream. A recent Urban League report shows the gap between white and black family incomes has widened dramatically over the last 10 years, with blacks' median family income barely half of whites'. Under Elijah Muhammad, the Nation developed service enterprises centered around the urban mosques, but never entered such lucrative fields as middle-level retailing, wholesaling, manufacturing, insurance, and investment. Farrakhan's promise to lead African Americans into these promised lands broadened his following among upscale black Americans, especially after he unveiled his so-called "Power Program" at Madison Square Garden in 1985. And the fate of this program has cost him. When I conducted a random poll of friends and associates who had

attended his Madison Square Garden speech but skipped more recent appearances, they all gave the same reason: they had lost faith in Farrakhan as an apostle of economic salvation. And after interviewing several businessmen who had dealt with the NOI under his leadership, I understand why. On the one hand, I heard a fantastic fish story, a comedy of errors whose major theme was managerial incompetence. On the other, I heard a sad tale of innocence and naiveté in the predatory world of the capitalist market.

First the fish story. A few years ago the Nation of Islam was importing fish from Peru in an attempt to capture black inner-city consumers. The New York organization was headed by Louis Farrakhan, then minister of the mosque. A young man with a business background, whom we will call Rachid, was a member of Farrakhan's mosque at the time and recalls, "[Farrakhan] had no idea how to manage a business and would not allow brothers with business skills to take charge and run the show. Instead, he placed his assistant ministers in positions of authority." In order to get the product to potential customers, Rachid said, Farrakhan organized the Fish Force, which was composed of mosque members "who were expected to quit their jobs and sell

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27

"She loves my cooking. And she drinks Johnnie Walker."

Good taste is always an asset.

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25
fish full time. They worked on straight commission and often could not make ends meet well enough to pay their bills. Instead of grabbing up available storefronts near the new mosque on 125th Street—the same stores now occupied by the Koreans—Farrakhan decided it would be more effective if the members of the force carried the fish to the customers. So we would trudge around with two shopping bags full of frozen fish.

"Since our market was the black community, especially the projects because of the population density, I tried to tell them it was a mistake to package the fish in 10-pound parcels because most people in our market don't own freezers with sufficient space to store this quantity of meat, but my advice was ignored." As a result, the Fish Force quickly degenerated into a fish farce: "We were running around in the projects busting open packages of frozen fish against the wall trying to make five-pound packages on the spot. It was a real mess out there." The salesmen were put in an impossible position: "We were expected to work a full shift on the Fish Force, but only the assistant ministers, who did very little work, received a base salary. This created conflict in the households of brothers who had quit their jobs and could not meet their financial responsibilities. Some families actually broke up over this issue." (Brother Wali, editor of the NOI's *Final Call*, responded to these charges: "I don't know whether these are FBI agents planted to disrupt the mosque or what. We have no comment.")

It took some doing to find anyone who has actually seen and touched a "power product," the fruit of Minister Farrakhan's manufacturing venture. But after a considerable search I located a Harvard-trained, successful African-American retailer in Washington, D.C. in a predominantly black city like Washington, one would assume these products would sell. This has not been the case, at least not in the experience of this black businessman.

"Farrakhan's organization understands very little about the science of marketing," he said. "First, they choose to go with cosmetic preparations as a start-up product. Then they expect to market it with virtually no advertising. The problem is that consumers of hair-care products and other cosmetics are very brand-loyal, and they are not about to switch just because Farrakhan thinks that they should—plus, the big cosmetics companies have reserved shelf space in all the major retail chains.

"On top of that, Farrakhan has alienated the Jews, and they control much of the wholesaling sector of the economy," the retailer said. "Without their participation there is little chance of distributing a product in the major markets. Frankly, I'm having a hard time moving the product." By contrast, Fashion Fair, a cosmetic line for black folk produced by the Johnson empire, is making millions. Through his "Ebony Fashion Fairs," a 25-year tradition, John Harold Johnson's business has set the standard of elegance for *femmes noires* internationally. The difference is that Johnson, founder and publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet*, is an astute businessman who understands the African-American market.

The Fish Force is now defunct. Power Products are rarely if ever seen in the black community except on tables from which they're peddled after Farrakhan's speeches—and in full-page ads featuring Public Enemy's Chuck D. in *The Final Call*. Power Products spokesman Roger Moore claims, "We're doing fine. We have no major wholesalers, but we have an army of black people out pushing our products," but there's no question that lack of commercial success has stymied the NOI's bid to organize the black middle class. But its courtship of the black middle class of the future continues at a hot pace, as Farrakhan concentrates on recruiting black college students. Students

are much more emotional in their response to Farrakhan than their parents. Requiring no evidence of accomplishment, they're willing to settle for rhetorical exhibitionism. In an effort to understand this appeal, I have visited three predominantly white campuses where Farrakhan has appeared over the past 18 months: the University of Pennsylvania, a prestigious private academy; Manhattan Community College, an inner-city junior college; and U. Mass, a major public university. At all three I was impressed by how skillfully Farrakhan exploits America's blatant racism in the distribution of economic benefits when he speaks to black students, a group whose personal experience in their supposedly enlightened academic environment makes them highly conscious of racial discrimination.

FARRAKHAN'S U. MASS speech was the inaugural event in the monthlong celebration of African-American history on the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts. The evening was sponsored by a consortium of six student organizations: Black Agenda, Afrik-Am, Phi Beta Sigma, Distinguished Visitors Program, Minority Graduate Association, and the Black Mass Communications Project. A tersely worded blurb in the program told us exactly where the students' heads were at: "The 1980s and the '90s represents a major challenge for Black students. Seeds planted by committed '60s activists are now coming to fruition, as their children come of age and enter college. The Black students of the '80s and '90s must reject the selfishness and individualism of the 'Me Generation' and confront serious life issues. Why are you going to college? What is your purpose in life? How will you benefit your people?"

These were serious young people who had given black empowerment on campus a lot of thought. Their printed program is a remarkable document that analyzes the problems of the black student community within the larger white university structure and actually proposes a solution, including a blueprint for a new student organization. When A. Anthony Gee, a student "spokesperson of the Black Agenda," took the podium to welcome the audience, he stated the goal of African-American history month as "erasing the slave mentality of blacks, and the assumptions of white supremacy." Following a short documentary film of powerful Afrocentric images, Gee read a poem by Haki R. Madhubuti, a/k/a Don L. Lee.

The images of black men parading by in Madhubuti's poem reflected the posture adopted by the black male students. It is a puritanical and somewhat chauvinistic ideal of manhood that celebrates the dedicated ascetic nation builder, reflecting the black nationalist sentiments of the activist students. The male students were dressed in the conservative authority suits favored by the Nation of Islam. But the female students were dressed like flygirls, with lots of leg showing and clinging frocks accentuating the lush proportions of their curvaceous derrieres. I mean the sisters righteously let their hair down and were ragged out to the max. Their style was the antithesis of the Muslim ideal of the veiled and covered woman. This was but one of a panoply of contradictory images that made the ambience of the affair one of ambiguity. Contradiction was everywhere: in the conflicting styles of the male and female students, in a film that accompanied images of jazz musicians with a disco soundtrack, and most dramatically in the decision to pay a religious circuit exhorter \$17,000 to expound on weighty secular questions that a local community of outstanding black scholars would gladly have addressed for a pittance.

Farrakhan's entrance was preceded by a short speech from the honorable Oumarou G. Youssoufou, UN representative

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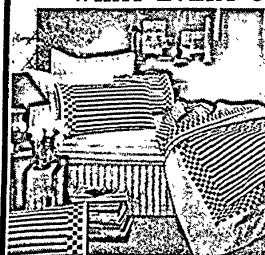
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of the African Unity Mission. Youssoufou congratulated the students for organizing the celebration and informed them that he had read African history in French and English and found both versions out to lunch. Then Youssoufou announced that he was a Christian! This was somewhat of an embarrassment, because in the history of the world according to Farrakhan, the true religion of the black man is Islam, and all racially and culturally conscious black men have returned to Islam. In the real world, of course, neither proposition is true.

When Farrakhan took the podium he was greeted with a rousing ovation from the mostly black audience. Fifty-six years old, a handsome pecan-tan complexioned man of above-average height, with a texture of hair my grandmother used to call "nice nappy," Farrakhan has the studied elegance of a seasoned performer. On this occasion he was dressed to the height of fashion in a GQ sort of way. While his taste in attire is little conservative for my taste, a guy behind me exclaimed, "Yo! Homeboy is as clean as the Board of Health!" On stage he moves with the ease of an Apollo Theater MC and speaks with the elocution of an accomplished actor. Watching him, one sometimes gets the impression that the play is the thing after all. Farrakhan's love of performance recalls another well-known fundamentalist exhorter, Jimmy Swaggart. A cousin to both country star Mickey Gilley and that venerable cherry-picker Jerry Lee Lewis, Swaggart himself wanted to be a singing piano man.

Farrakhan the musician initially harbored highbrow ambitions. I once saw a videotape of him on the old Ted Mack *Amateur Hour*. Unless my ear failed me, it is the Paganini variations he is performing on the violin. The variations require virtuoso technique, yet Farrakhan was in his early teens at the time and his performance was *bravissimo*. Farrakhan is mum about why he abandoned his desire for a career as a concert violinist, but given the rampant racism and cultural chauvinism white promoters, conductors, and musicians displayed toward black classical musicians of Farrakhan's generation, it is easy to imagine a thousand horrors he might have endured. In his quest to embrace the canon of European art music and make magic in front of a full symphony orchestra, Farrakhan had chosen a path in life that was almost certain to lead to heartbreak. Consider the experience of Ron Carter, one of the premier bass violinists in the world. Like Wynton Marsalis, Hubert Laws, Richard Davis, et al., Carter was trained in the European classical repertoire, with degrees from the Eastman and Manhattan schools of music. Yet he told William Raspberry in the *Daily News*: "In 1967 Leopold Stokowski told me that he wanted me but whites were not ready to see a black man in a symphony orchestra." After many such slights, Carter concentrated on a career in African-American classical music, jazz. He recently recorded an album of Bach's compositions for the double bass violin.

Eventually Farrakhan turned to nightclub performance. Billing himself as "The Charmer," he sang calypso songs and love ballads. But the crowning achievement of his musical career came with the early-'60s black nationalist anthem "The White Man's Heaven Is the Black Man's Hell," which he wrote, sang, and accompanied on violin. It is apparent from the lush brooding sound he coaxes from his instrument on this record that years after he had surrendered his ambitions for a career as a classical musician, he retained the virtuoso's touch. The fashion in which he claims center stage, even now, as the "national representative of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad," demonstrates that he has also retained the showman's flash. At the Fine Arts Center, he strode onstage flanked by the usual complement of fierce and fearless-looking warriors of the Fruit of Islam, the internal security officers of the Nation of

Islam, who stand their ground with a stony resolve that makes the beefeaters at Buckingham Palace look like nervous nellys. But dramatic as his entrance was, it was almost staid compared with many I've witnessed in the black community, where he is introduced by a professional announcer who claims, "He's prettier than Muhammad Ali and can sing better than Michael Jackson."

The star attraction held forth for three and a half hours, his speech an eccentric concoction of fact and fancy that was part Orwellian doublespeak, part black nationalist sloganeering, part fundamentalist Islamic dogma, and part postmodernist free-form African-American rap. Farrakhan is always happy to dabble in history, often offering grandiloquent philosophical speculations on the meaning and destiny of world civilization. But on this occasion he was actually invited to lecture on African-American history. As a former history professor in the W. E. B. DuBois Department of African-American Studies at this very university, I welcomed the opportunity to examine the minister's ideas on the subject and consider whether they represented any advance over the level of discussion 20 years ago, when the DuBois department was established.

Since I am not in the habit of preaching sermons, I am always fascinated when I hear of a preacher lecturing on history. It didn't take long to recognize that Farrakhan's view of the discipline was radically different from mine. For me, history combines the rigor and science of scholarly research with the art of storytelling. But Farrakhan is one of those who appears to believe history literally means "his story." That is, history is whatever the storyteller wishes it to be, for whatever reasons the narrator deems important, which are often religious or ideological. This approach is suitable for creating fiction, not determining facts. Hence, the final product is myth, not history. And one of the principal characteristics of mythmakers, of whatever stripe, is their cavalier attitude toward political, economic, and sociological details.

Farrakhan's speech was as contradictory as the rest of the evening. His topic was "Black Inferiority: Is It a Myth or Reality?" He had concluded from experience that, "Many whites will say yes. Well, when I get through with you tonight you will never say that again." Yet at another point in his oration he informed us that "as we are now, we are unfit to enter a new world reality," and declared to white America, "You have reduced us to the level of animals!" Early on he thanked "the founding fathers for guaranteeing us freedom of speech," never mentioning that amid all the fat-mouthing about "inalienable rights," several of the founders were practicing the worst form of tyranny against African Americans: chattel slavery. Farrakhan argued that the right to freedom of speech was the founders' way of "expressing confidence in the intelligence of the American people." Then he assured us that the United States was settled by "the dregs of Europe." He praised "the beauty of learning" and denounced the American love of sports, which he called, "a national sickness" (you can tell he was one of those dudes who sat around practicing the violin all day and never played any ball). But Farrakhan later told the students, "Do your own research, don't just listen to your professors." He assured them that "professors are only masters of rote learning, they can't teach you to think," then screamed at the professors in the audience, "Don't tell me you know what you're doing! It's insanity masked in a Ph.D. degree." After doing his level best to subvert the authority of professors, Farrakhan told the university administration: "I thank you for this security because this is a strange place. We live in a world where people don't respect people in high places, people in authority."

As Farrakhan rambled on, sometimes stumbling over the truth and carrying on

as though nothing of importance had happened, it eventually became clear that he was simply throwing a laundry list of issues out at the audience. He denounced "racism, sexism, and materialism," but it was hard to take this repudiation seriously. After all, Farrakhan still faithfully adheres to Elijah Muhammad's teaching that all whites are "devils," who are "evil by nature." He also believes, like all Muslim men, that women should be covered from head to toe whenever they leave the house. He lives in Elijah Muhammad's palatial Hyde Park mansion and often brags about driving a Mercedes Benz. Farrakhan's real attitude toward the liberation of women was revealed when he chastised women for wearing the "freakish clothes those designers create for you" and defended the white male's right to forbid white women from dating black men. Farrakhan's hypocrisy is perhaps best exemplified in his denunciation on this occasion of black men "frying their hair," and his recent proclamation at the Saviors Day convocation—the premiere annual event at the NOI—that silktop Al Sharpton, the Conkolene Kid, was the "baddest brother on the East Coast."

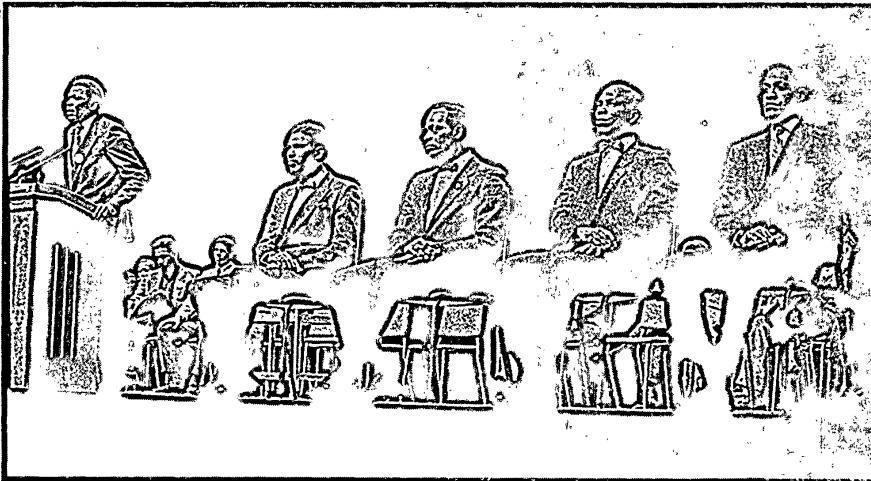
The most disappointing thing about Farrakhan's presentation was that he squandered so many ready opportunities to clarify some critical issues. After all, he had the attention of almost 4000 students for three and a half hours. No professor on campus will enjoy a similar opportunity this year. Yet instead of enlightenment, the students were offered sectarian preachment and conflicting advice on their goals and direction in life. Profound problems like the export of the American manufacturing sector overseas by the multinational corporations, and the tactics African Americans should adopt to attack the forces limiting their life chances, were given a sophomoric analysis that could only serve to compound the students' confusion.

ALL IN ALL, it was a typical Farrakhan performance: a strange cacophony of self-serving rhetoric, megalomaniacal egotripping, bad political advice, ambiguous pedagogic prescriptions, self-righteous sermonizing, Islamic zealotry, and caustic denunciations of the sins of American society. As usual, it provided none of the answers students were hoping for. So why do they still fight to invite him to their campuses? I can see three basic reasons. At schools where most of the black students are from the inner city, the drug crisis is devastating their neighborhoods and making civilized life impossible. As student government president Laura Saunders described it at Manhattan Community College last year, "There is a chemical warfare going on in the black community. Women and children are being gunned down because of this plague." And as Saunders also asserted, "The real war against drugs is not being waged by the police but by the community activists willing to risk their lives to confront them—like the Muslims."

Farrakhan is at his best—excoriating—drugs. The crisis requires a variety of approaches, including sermonizing and action on the community level, and these are activities to which Farrakhan's organization is well suited. Many of the brothers who join the Nation are ex-street people and are hip to what's happening. Their efforts to curb the crack trade in Washington, D.C.—a barrage of education plus neighborhood patrols apprehending dealers in the act—should be applauded. In a remarkable moment of candor at Manhattan Community College, Minister Farrakhan said he understood the temptation to get high: "I used to smoke a little reefer myself. I didn't drop down from heaven, I came through hell like everybody else!" And he had the perspective to conclude his discussion by reminding us that "the police catch the little men, but there are some very dignified men in business suits who run the drug business."

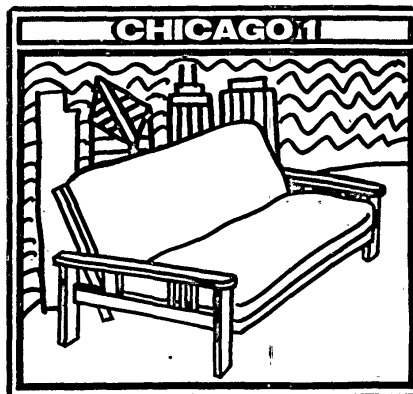
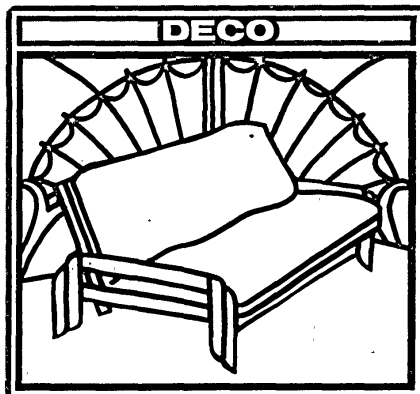
Also crucial to the NOI's success

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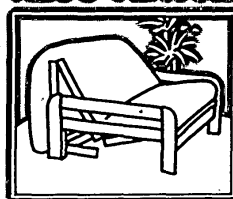
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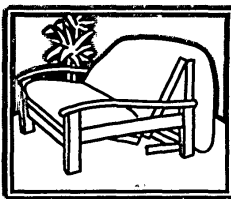
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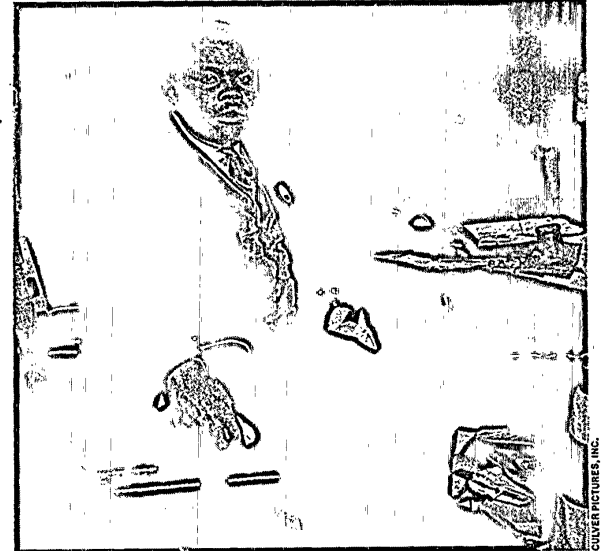
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CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE
among college students has been a rising tide of discrimination and racist aggression on campus. At U. Mass, the pattern has included both physical attacks on black students and the elevation of right-wing whites to critical posts in the student government. The school's conservative-controlled student senate went so far as to defund *Drum Magazine: The Black Literary Experience at Amherst*, six-time winner of the prestigious Columbia Scholastic Press Association Medalist Award, after nearly two decades of quarterly publication. University Chancellor Joseph Duffy was so dismayed by this arbitrary exercise of power that he personally found money to restore publication.

At Penn, a combination of racist incidents and cultural chauvinism has created an atmosphere in which Farrakhan could flourish. One student told me: "I was never an activist or anything, but a series of racist events on this campus last year forced me to get involved. Somebody

heard their parents denounce the evils of affirmative action, which they view as discrimination against whites. They have no sense of history and know nothing about the civil rights movement."

The response of black students to this white reaction is a heightened sense of racial solidarity and a turn toward black nationalist politics—specifically to what black Harvard government professor Martin Kilson, wringing his hands over the attempt of black Princeton students to bring Farrakhan there, has called the minister's "ethnocentric black populism." Farrakhan's increasing ubiquity on white college campuses in the Northeast isn't fortuitous, either—there does appear to be organized effort on his behalf. In April of 1988, Boston University hosted approximately 350 black student leaders at a conference entitled "Empowerment for Survival: Mobilizing for the Twenty-First Century—Building a Black Student Congress." Reports indicate that this was a largely pro-Farrakhan gathering, its most



UNLIKE FARRAKHAN, MARCUS GARVEY PRAISED AFRICAN AMERICANS' PRIDE

painted *nigger* on a gym locker and it took the university weeks to remove it, and a black student was beaten by a white football player because he didn't talk and act 'black enough,' in the opinion of the white guy." A talented painter in Penn's graduate program was discouraged from following in the tradition of Henry Ossawa Tanner, Augusta Savage, Charles White, Romare Bearden, Jacob Lawrence, et al., a tradition now over a century old. "Critiques usually concentrate on questions of technique," he told me. "But with me—the discussion always centered around my subject matter. Finally one of my professors came right out and told me that 'blacks have no significance in the art world; so you are wasting your time painting black subjects.'" Another professor commented, "Blacks are a hostile race and I don't see that in your work." Yet another speculated, "Perhaps the reason blacks have not contributed more to the graphic arts is because their talents lay in singing and dancing."

As post-'60s children who inherited a revolution in black consciousness, the present generation of Afro-American students has high expectations of the university. But their aspirations have run head-on into the agenda of white students of the New Right and their cocomplicitors among the faculty. U. Mass professor Michael Thelwell identifies the New Right students as "products of the Reagan era. Most undergraduates now on campus came of age under the Reagan administration and they have always

visible organizer a since-graduated Penn student named Conrad X. Tillard. Tillard, who physically resembles Farrakhan, was the moving force behind the minister's campus visit in 1988. A source attending the conference told me: "He showed up surrounded by nonstudents who dressed and acted like members of the Nation of Islam. All Tillard wanted to talk about was how we should support Minister Farrakhan's program. He acted like he was Farrakhan's personal representative." Presumably, the creation of the African-American Student Congress also established a pro-Farrakhan network.

Yet the question remains: why don't black students turn to learned Afro-American professors for answers to their most pressing questions? After all, many of these professors were themselves student activists, particularly at U. Mass, where such major '60s figures as Mike Thelwell, Bill Strickland, John Bracey, and Julius Lester now teach. But black professors, like all professors, are creatures of the book, and many black students evidently prefer a style of discourse typified by the "dynamic orality" of Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan. This is a style rooted in the oratorical tradition of the black church, that most influential of all African-American institutions. But for all his flair as a performer, it is also a style that Farrakhan has yet to fully master.

For two centuries African Americans were forbidden by law from learning to

read. Refusing to surrender to this attempt to crush their spirits, black folk kept their souls intact by creating a rich and varied oral literature that reached its apotheosis in the sermon. As an oratorical art form, the Afro-American sermon prizes a poetic conception of language, promotes a heroic, optimistic idea of human possibility, and employs a dramatic style of presentation that generates such emotional power it seems capable of summoning the spirit of God. At its best the sermon takes the form of an inspired philosophical exegesis on a profound theological or secular question, with the moral lessons clearly articulated in a recurring theme. And since the presentation is usually improvised, the speaker, like a good jazz soloist, can return to the main theme whenever he chooses.

This is the tradition that informs and shapes the oratory of Martin Luther King, Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks, and William Gray, all ordained ministers in the black church. In contrast, the oratory of Louis Farrakhan is characterized by banal, stilted prose, a chronic pessimism that is sometimes nihilistic, and an often incoherent presentation. Only the dramatic flair remains. But the sad truth is that this may be all Farrakhan needs to retain his popularity. Contemporary African-American students are postmodern media babies, with a collective consciousness shaped by primetime television, bad movies, and rap. Like all American youth, they are programmed to succumb to the spectacle of performance—hence their fatal attraction to Farrakhan.

Political theorist Guy Debord offers insight into this phenomenon in *Society of the Spectacle*: "The spectacle presents itself as something enormously positive, indisputable and inaccessible. It says nothing more than 'That which appears is good, that which is good appears.' The attitude which it demands in principle is passive acceptance, which in fact it already obtained by its manner of appearing without reply." At the speeches I attended the students were provided no opportunity to ask questions of Farrakhan. Furthermore, the black students I talked to afterward expressed no desire to investigate what lay behind the self-assured image of power and certainty he projects from the podium. If they did they might well discover what Gertrude Stein found out about Oakland: "There's no there there." The students' willingness to accept Farrakhan at face value suggests that they seek not enlightenment but catharsis. As one black professor said, "They just want to see somebody black get up and sass white folks."

IN NUMEROUS SPEECHES, Farrakhan has argued that African Americans constitute a captive nation that will one day sever its ties to white Americans in a cataclysmic upheaval, then take its place in the family of independent states. The critical questions for those who would live under his rule are: What kind of society does he envision? And what type of leadership model would he choose?

Farrakhan, who told his U. Mass audience that he was ordained to lead by an "unseen power," favors a theocracy, an Islamic state based on Koranic law. The only example of such a state in the world today is Iran. During the Algerian Revolution against French colonialism, Franz Fanon, the black psychiatrist and premier theorist of the FLN, argued that the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in the 20th century would be a return to "primitive medievalism." Thus far, events in Iran have verified Fanon's prophecy—most recently in the case of Salman Rushdie. So far, Farrakhan has failed to comment publicly on the Ayatollah Khomeini's call for Rushdie's death.

But we can surmise something of his attitude toward those who disagree with him from his U. Mass comments on those who attended a recent black leadership conference to which he was not invited: "If they were manure they couldn't even draw flies." Even more telling is his fam-

ous denunciation of black Washington Post reporter Milton Coleman: "One day soon we will punish you with death!"

It is such behavior that inspires many observers to conclude that Farrakhan aspires to become an American ayatollah. But most of the middle-class blacks Farrakhan courts so assiduously prefer the position of 19th century African-American orator, editor, abolitionist, and social critic Frederick Douglass: "I know of no group of men who are so wise and just that they can be trusted with control over the rights of other men." Though he regularly praises Marcus Garvey, it seems that Farrakhan hasn't carefully studied the UNIA founder's work. When Garvey first visited the U.S. in 1915, he offered this assessment of African Americans: "I have traveled a good deal through many countries, and from my observations and study, I unhesitatingly and unreservedly [sic] say that the American Negro is the peer of all Negroes, the most progressive and foremost unit in the expansive chain of scattered Ethiopia." After a lengthy tour of American cities, Garvey said he had witnessed African Americans owning and managing "banks, stores, cafes, restaurants, theaters and real-estate agencies that fill my heart with joy to realize... that at one center of Negrodom, at least, the people of the race have sufficient pride to do things for themselves." Unfortunately, Farrakhan has yet to learn what Garvey knew three quarters of a century ago. He will never enjoy a following like Jesse Jackson's because the majority of African Americans are profoundly optimistic—especially those skilled African Americans whose time, expertise, and money would be so useful to the NOI. Their heroic optimism is revealed in a wide variety of folk forms: the B'rer Rabbit stories, the John Henry legend, spirituals and the blues, even the best rap.

In news reports about Farrakhan, one key question is almost never asked: What is it about American society that continues to produce nationalist movements among each generation of African Americans? After all, these movements signify mass alienation from the American body politic, and disillusionment about the promise of the American dream. Farrakhan, like Marcus Garvey and Elijah Muhammed, is a product of the African experience in America; and just as Mormonism, which denies blacks the priesthood, is a product of American racial ideology, it should surprise no one that the black ordeal in the U.S. has produced at least one theology that holds "the white man is the devil."

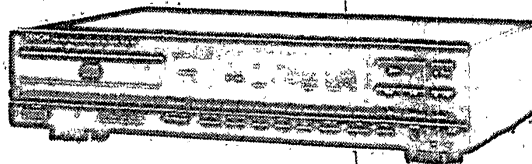
I believe there is a legitimate role for Minister Farrakhan to play in African-American affairs. By training and temperament, he is best suited for the role of moral teacher: chastising the sinful and slovenly, rebuking the trifling parent or profligate spouse, railing against licentiousness, and threatening criminals with swift retribution on earth and hellfire in the hereafter. Minister Farrakhan is damn good at that, and the Lord knows there are many lost souls out here who are in dire need of such instruction.

But by talent and temperament Louis Farrakhan is a preacher, not a political leader, for he views the world through a dogmatic theological prism that reveals issues only in stark contrasts of black and white. Hence he lacks the flexibility for compromise which is essential to the political process. Since my visit to Manhattan Community College last year, I have listened to many speeches by and interviews with the minister. I have tried to find there some comprehensive plan for the development of black America, a plan that would justify Farrakhan's claim to leadership. But the more I searched, the

more the minister's plan resembled the emperor's new clothes. Instead of a blueprint for black progress, I have been subjected to many hours of impassioned rhetoric and moral preachment, uninspired by poetic metaphor and unenlightened by rigorous thought.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO: FILE # 9A-NY-185561 DATE: 8/24/89
FROM: SA [REDACTED] (JTF-1)
SUBJECT: MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION [] Personal meeting
with [REDACTED] [X] Telephone
of Village Voice Newspaper [] Secure telephone
on 8/24/89 at 11:15 AM Tel. No. [REDACTED]
date time

b6
b7C

Summary: Discussion REGARDING A COM-
PLAINT MADE BY [REDACTED] OF THREATS
AGAINST Village Voice, AND AUTHOR BY
[REDACTED] NEW
JERSEY. [REDACTED] ADVISED OF EXPLICIT
THREATS OF VIOLENCE BY [REDACTED]
AFTER HIS NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED
ARTICLE [REDACTED]
WHICH [REDACTED] FOUND OFFENSIVE TO HIS
RELIGION.

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2

Action Required/Taken: APPOINTMENT SET TO PICK
UP ORIGINAL LETTER & ENVELOPE 8/25/89.
INTERVIEW [REDACTED] FURTHER AT Village Voice
OFFICES.

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copies:

- 1 - 9A-NY-186561
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9A-NY-186561

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AUG 24 1989	
FBI - NEW YORK	

2

Indices Search Slip
FD-160 (Rev. 4-29-87)

To: Office Services Manager

Date

Requested by

SA

Squad

JTF-1

Extension

3194

File No.

9A-NY-186561

Subject

FRUITS OF ISLAM

Social Security Account #

b6
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Aliases

Address

Birth Date

Birthplace

Race

Sex

☐ Male
☐ Female

☐ Exact Spelling

☐ All References

☐ Main Security Case Files Only

☒ Security References Only

☐ Main Criminal Case Files Only

☐ Criminal References Only

☐ Main Security (If no Main, list all Security References)

☐ Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Criminal References)

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SEP 01 1989

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File & Serial Number

Remarks

File & Serial Number

Remarks

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2/57

105-30342*

5/58

30340-1*

12/58

174-2170-I-58

6/75

Comp FRUIT OF ISLAM

100A-182995-1503

8/87

Consolidated by

Date

Reviewed by

Date

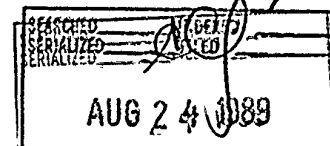
File Review Symbols

I - Identical

NI - Not identical

? - Not identifiable

U - Unavailable reference



AUG 24 1989

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P.1
SMH

9A-NY-186561-7

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SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 19 1988	
FBI - NEW YORK	
SMH	

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 9/11/89

[redacted] "Village Voice" weekly newspaper, 842 Broadway, New York, New York, telephone number (212) 460-1452, was advised of the identities of Special Agent [redacted] of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and [redacted] New York City Police Department, and the nature of the interview. [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] advised that the "Village Voice" published an article on August 15, 1989, [redacted] entitled, "Who is listening to LOUIS FARRAKHAN...and how did he become big man on campus?" The article was a negative commentary on FARRAKHAN and his influence in the Black community. On August 22, 1989, a letter, which had been transmitted through the U.S. Mail, was received at the office of the "Village Voice" at 842 Broadway, New York, New York. The envelope was postmarked "Newark, New Jersey," and dated "August 15, 1989." The return address on the envelope was listed as [redacted] Summit, New Jersey 07901. Inside the envelope was a two-page letter, written in red ink, which threatened the life of [redacted] because of the negative comments regarding LOUIS FARRAKHAN in the "Village Voice" article. The letter was signed [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that personnel at the "Village Voice" were concerned about the threatening nature of the letter. [redacted] notified the Summit, New Jersey Police Department of the letter and the individual who allegedly authored it. A [redacted] of the Summit, New Jersey Police Department told [redacted] that [redacted] was a member of the Fruit of Islam Organization. The members of the organization, including [redacted] lived in a house in Summit, New Jersey. [redacted] further told [redacted] that the Fruit of Islam Organization follows the teaching of LOUIS FARRAKHAN. Members of the group may be capable of violence.

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[redacted] advised that the [redacted] of the "Village Voice," [redacted] was concerned about the threatening nature of the letter and the possibility of violence by [redacted] and his organization. [redacted] was advised to contact the FBI regarding the threatening letter. [redacted] provided the FBI with the original envelope and letter allegedly sent by [redacted]

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Investigation on 8/28/89 at New York, New York File # 9A-NY-186561

by SA [redacted] ech Date dictated 9/5/89

9A-NY-186561

Continuation of FD-302 of , On 8/28/89, Page 2

stated that, unfortunately, the envelope and letter had been handled by numerous employees of the "Village Voice." stated he would cooperate with the FBI in any manner in their investigation.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/5/90

TO: SAC II (9A-NY-186561)
FROM: SSA [REDACTED] JTF-1/C-19
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
VILLAGE VOICE-VICTIM;
EXT;
OO:NY

b6
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It is requested that captioned case be reassigned due to the
extended leave of the case agent.

*Reassign
3/2/90 gmc*

JJC:gt
(1)

9A-NY-186561-

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④
HC

[REDACTED]

9-NY-186561
SGH/hs

1

The following investigation was conducted on January 11, 1989, at New York, New York, by Special Agent (SA) [redacted]

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[redacted] SUMMIT NEW JERSEY POLICE DEPARTMENT was telephonically contacted and advised the following:

A local record check regarding [redacted] revealed no criminal record. [redacted] stated he knew of [redacted] and his association with the LOUIS FARRAKHAN ORGANIZATION - FRUIT OF ISLAM. [redacted] resides at [redacted] Summit, New Jersey. [redacted] resides in a tenement building, which houses six other families. [redacted] was questioned regarding the threatening letter sent to the VILLAGE VOICE and [redacted] told [redacted] he had no intention of physically harming [redacted] but merely wanted to express his anger at the article, which negatively depicted the leader of the FRUIT OF ISLAM, LOUIS FARRAKHAN. [redacted] does not even know how to contact [redacted] directly.

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[redacted] advised [redacted] appears to be rational, and has a wife. There has never been any trouble from [redacted] or his family in the Summit area. [redacted] does not believe there are other members of the FRUIT OF ISLAM residing in the Summit, New Jersey area.

9A-NY-186561-9

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FEB 13 1990
FBI - NEW YORK

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

DATE: 2/13/90

TO : SAC, NEWARK

FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK (9A-NY-186561) (P) (JTF-1)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
VILLAGE VOICE-VICTIM;
[REDACTED] VICTIM;
EXTORTION (A)
(OO: NY)

b6
b7C

For information of Newark Division, above captioned subject, [REDACTED] Summit, New Jersey (NJ), sent a letter to the VILLAGE VOICE NEWSPAPER, attention of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The letter vilified [REDACTED] for writing an article which was critical of LOUIS FARRAKHAN. [REDACTED] also reproached the VILLAGE VOICE for publishing the article. The letter contained explicit death threats against [REDACTED] and personnel of the VILLAGE VOICE.

It is believed that [REDACTED] is a member of the Fruit of Islam, which is led by LOUIS FARRAKHAN, the extremist Muslim leader. FARRAKHAN and his group advocate violence as a means of accomplishing particular goals.

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The New York Office (NYO) has conducted a local criminal check of [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] Summit, New Jersey Police Department, Summit, NJ, the town in which [REDACTED] resides with his wife. No derogatory information was revealed. Also [REDACTED] Summit Police Dept., interviewed [REDACTED] regarding the above letter. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] he is not a violent individual, but needed to vent his anger against the individuals responsible for the article against FARRAKHAN.

No FBI interview of [REDACTED] is contemplated at this time. No other material of a threatening nature has been received by [REDACTED] or the VILLAGE VOICE from [REDACTED] or his organization.

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2-Newark
1-New York

SGH/sac
(4)

sec

(Handwritten signature)

9A-NY-186561

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 13 1990	
FBI - NEW YORK	

(Handwritten initials)

9A-NY-186561

LEADS

NEWARK DIVISION

AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. Conduct indices check on subject
[redacted] Summit, New Jersey and
the organization, Fruit of Islam, and provide results to the NYO.

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CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/8/90

1 TO : ADIC, NEW YORK (9A-NY-186561) (JFT-1)
 2 FROM : ACTING SAC, NEWARK (9A-NY-186561) (RUC) (C-10/TTF)
 3 SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM;
 [REDACTED] - VICTIM;
 EXTORTION (A)
 (OO: NY)

b6
 b7C

7 Re: New York airtel to Newark, dated 2/13/90.
 8 New York Office requested Newark Division to
 9 conduct indices check on subject [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] Summit, New Jersey.

10 Newark indices checks regarding captioned subject were
 11 negative. Several references regarding FRUIT OF ISLAM are
 12 contained in Newark indices. Caption subject's name was not
 13 mentioned in any of the FRUIT OF ISLAM references.

14 Newark considers this matter RUC'd.

17 2-New York
 18 1-Newark
 19 JGP/lmr
 20 (3)
 21

A-NY-186561

MAR 27 1990

b6
 b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Transmitted

(Number) 1 (Time) 15Per [Signature]

Memorandum



To : SAC, DIV II, (9A-NY-186561) (c)

Date 12/2/90

From : SA [redacted]

(c-19)

b6
b7C

Subject :

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM;
EXTORTION;
OO:NY

Writer has kept in telephonic contact with

~~victim~~

[redacted]

, victims

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

~~has~~ advised that

[redacted]

has not received

any further threats.

[redacted]

Summit New Jersey Police

b6
b7C

Department interviewed ~~the~~ subject [redacted] and
found him to be a rational individual with a wife.

[redacted]

has no arrest record.

Due to above facts, writer suggests this case
be closed administratively.

9A-114-186561-12

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIAL	FILED
DEC 2 1990	

OSM
CLOSE ON THIS

12/2/90
4 5 6



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 3

Page 55 ~ b6, b7C

Page 57 ~ b6, b7C

Page 58 ~ b6, b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) file 9A-NY-257447 - Section 1
The Village Voice

(03/31/95)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 02/07/1996

To: SAC DIVISION II

From: SA [REDACTED]

C-30

Approved By: [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Drafted By: [REDACTED]

File Number(s): 9A-NY-NEW (Pending)

Title: UNSUB;

[REDACTED] VICTIM

EXTORTION-THREATENING COMMUNICATION

OO:NY

Synopsis: Recommend that a case be opened, captioned as above and assigned to the writer.

Details: On 2/6/96, the owner of the VILLAGE VOICE contacted the New York Office and reported that the office had been the victim of a bomb threat by mail.

The letter, addressed to Mr. [REDACTED] of the VILLAGE VOICE, was received via the U.S. mail at the office located at 36 Cooper Square, New York, NY. [REDACTED] the above address appear on the masthead of the VILLAGE VOICE. The letter was forwarded via intra-office mail to the VILLAGE VOICE office at 667 Madison Ave., where it was opened by [REDACTED] immediately brought the letter to the attention of [REDACTED] who contacted the NYO.

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b7C

The letter contains threats to kill [REDACTED] to place bombs at the VILLAGE VOICE offices and to mail letter bombs to the VILLAGE VOICE. The letter also contains numerous anti semitic statements. The letter is post marked 1/31/96 in New York, and bears the return address of the Italian-American Anti Defamation League, President Street, Brooklyn, NY. New York indices contain no references to the above organization. There is no telephone listing for this organization in 212 or 718 area code.

1
OPEN (OR REOPEN)
ORIGIN [REDACTED]
SSA [REDACTED]
CASE 9A-NY-
14-14-96
2-7-96
C-30
Roter Rec 2/14/96

9A-NY-257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 07 1996	
[REDACTED]	

b6
b7C

(03/31/95)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

To: SAC DIVISION II From: SA [redacted]
Re: 9A-NY-NEW, 02/07/1996

b6
b7C

On 2/6/96 the VILLAGE VOICE received a telephonic bomb threat, that caused the offices at 36 Cooper St. to be evacuated. The New York City Police Department Bomb Squad Responded, but no bomb was found. The NYPD has opened a case on this telephone threat, with [redacted] 9th Precinct, assigned. The writer will maintain contact with [redacted] throughout the investigation.

Also on 2/6/96 the writer spoke to [redacted] [redacted] the Hartz Mt group, the company that owns the VILLAGE VOICE. [redacted] said that he did not believe that anyone at the VILLAGE VOICE was in imminent danger. The VILLAGE VOICE does not X-ray any mail, and [redacted] declined the writers offer to provide information on detection of mail bombs.

b6
b7C

On 2/7/96 the writer received the threat letter from [redacted] The letter will be sent to the lab for latent fingerprint and handwriting examination. A prosecutive opinion from the US Attorneys Office, Southern District of New York, is forthcoming.

THE HARTZ MOUNTAIN CORPORATION
400 PLAZA DRIVE, SECAUCUS, N.J. 07094-3688



b6

b7C



Special Agent

Federal Bureau of Investigation

26 Federal Plaza C30

New York, New York 10278

Via: Messenger

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS SLIP FROM EXHIBIT

NY

1A /

257447

171

Universal File Case Number 9ANY 257447

Field Office Acquiring Evidence _____

Serial # of Originating Document _____

Date Received 3/30/96

From
(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

(City and State)

By _____
(Name of Special Agent)

b6
b7C

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☐ No

Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant
to Rule 6 (e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

☐ Yes ☐ No

Title: UNSUB
 - UIC
EXT
JO:NY

Reference: _____
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☐ Original notes re interview of

MATHEMAIL REC BY



THE VILLAGE VOICE

36 COOPER SQUARE

NEW YORK -

N.Y.



b6

b7C

GREENWICH VILLAGE





THE HARTZ MOUNTAIN CORPORATION, 400 PLAZA DRIVE, SECAUCUS, NEW JERSEY 07094-3688 TEL. 201/271-4800

Via: Messenger

March 18, 1996

[Redacted]

Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10278

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Meade:

Enclosed is an original piece of hate mail sent to [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Very truly yours,

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

LJM:ag

Big nosed, Jew Bastard!

Only in this Socialistic Country. Can a Bastard like you get away with your evil toilet paper journal get away with what you are pedaling. No wonder Hitler Cleaned some of your ilk out of this world. I always hated Party Int Crop - I read about your scandal with Party Int Supplies. Every war has been over Jews but Christians have died for them. - while you Jew bastards run to Canada. Die a horrible death you son of an ugly Jew bitch. Why are all Jews, ugly and smell very badly - you & Niggers.

An Italian Beauty.

1A2

Universal File Case Number 9A NY 257447

Field Office Acquiring Evidence _____

Serial # of Originating Document _____

Date Received 3/7/96From [redacted]
(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

(City and State)

By _____
(Name of Special Agent)To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☐ NoReceipt Given ☐ Yes ☐ NoGrand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant
to Rule 6 (e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure☐ Yes ☐ NoTitle: UNSUB
VILLAGE VOICE - VICT
EXTRACTION
OO: NYReference: _____
(Communication Enclosing Material)Description: ☐ Original notes re interview ofRESULTS OF [redacted]
[redacted]

b3

Please

FD-340 (Rev. 7-29-92)

Universal Case File Number 9A NY 252447-1A3

Field Office Acquiring Evidence NY

Serial # of Originating Document _____

Date Received 6/3/97

From LAB
(Name of Contributor)

(Address of Contributor)

(City and State)

By _____
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt Given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)

Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

☐ Yes ☒ No

Title: UNSUB

VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM
EXTORTION
DDNY

Reference: See V. 1007
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description: ☐ Original notes re interview of

ORIGINAL LETTERS

AINING

envelope should be

b6
b7C

re envelope remove
please liner on flap.
and secure to the
envelope.

Caution: The
appears in the
indicate that 1
been opened.

60306071 D/L FT EW

60306071



WED 11

Q3
T13

Investigative Division, New York, New York

Italian Cntr. Ref
Riverside Street
Brooklyn,
N.Y.

non white semito.

also known in the meantime of non that detestable.
letter code.

N

(03/31/95)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 02/26/1996

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

Attn: LAB DIV/ECC

b6
b7C

From: ADIC, NEW YORK

C-30

Contact: SA [REDACTED]

Approved By: [REDACTED]

Drafted By: [REDACTED] rm

File Number(s): 9A-NY-257447 (Pending)

Title: UNSUB;
LEONARD STERN-VICTIM;
THE VILLAGE VOICE-VICTIM;
EXTORTION-THREATENING LETTERS
OO:NY

Synopsis: Request for latent print exam.

Enclosures: Enclosed for the lab are the following

A) Legal sized envelope postmarked New York, NY, 01/31/96, addressed to Attn: [REDACTED] The Village Voice, 36 Cooper Square, N.Y. N.Y. 10003.

b6
b7C

B) One sheet of white notebook paper with blue lines and blue ink writing, beginning "Hey you dirty filthy, devious Jew Animal".

C) One legal sizes envelope postmarked North Jersey, NJ, 9 FEB 1996, addressed to Hartz Mountain, [REDACTED] 400 Plaza Dr. Secaucus, NJ 07094.

D) One sheet of white bond paper with the letterhead Charles Grillo Real Estate Management with blue ink writing begining Dear Mr [REDACTED]

9A-NY-257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 26 1996	
FBI - NEW YORK	

(03/31/95)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

To: DIRECTOR, FBI From: ADIC, NEW YORK
Re: 9A-NY-0000000, 02/12/1996

Details: [REDACTED] Hartz Mountain and The Village Voice, contacted the NYO when he received the enclosed threatening letters. Additionally, the Village Voice has received telephone bomb threats on 2/6/96 and 2/23/96.

b6
b7C

LEADS:

Set Lead 1:

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

At Laboratory Division/ Latent fingerprint Section

1. Examine the enclosed items for latent fingerprints.
2. Compare the items for identical prints.
3. Retain any latent prints developed on the enclosed evidence for comparison with prints to be submitted by New York, should a subject be identified.

♦♦

(I)

Hey you dirty filthy, devious Jew
Animal. You from a race of physical cretins.
We have conceived a very viable plan
to enter your filthy Jew building and place
a small but very powerful powerful
bomb. We expect to place this small
but powerful explosive as close as possible
to your office. This will be effected
in the near future. If perchance you,
subhuman Jew, are not in your office we
will pursue the agenda to at least put
you in a wheelchair ~~from~~ permanently.

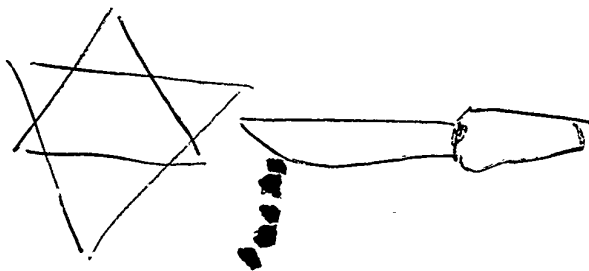
We will never give up on this effort.
You despised Jew. No notification will be
made as to when this bomb will be
set ~~off~~ off.

- see back - subhuman Jew -

Jews - The ~~most~~ despised living ~~objects~~
in the history of mankind.

II

I called up a slimy Jew ~~with~~ with the
same ~~as your~~ name as yours on 35th st.
It was a remote chance that it would be
you. However I made that dirty Jew
who answered the phone, sorry that he
did. My ~~former~~ friends and I will
periodically harass you vile kikes.



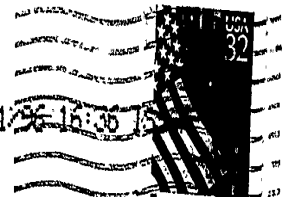
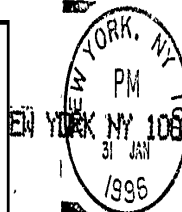
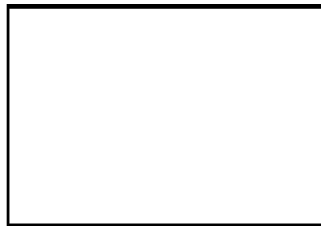
We hear that when you Jews go into
water you polute it. You kinky
haired, thick lipped, hooked nose animals.
You all belong in a zoo. You rat like
non white semites.

also beware - in the meantime. of non ~~the~~ detectable
letter bombs.

b6

b7C

att.
≡



The Village Voice
36 Cooper Square
N.Y. N.Y. 10003



Italian Anti-Defamation League
President Street,
Brooklyn,
N.Y.

[REDACTED]
WESTFIELD, NEW JERSEY 07090
(201) 654-3717

2/8/96

Hantz Mountain

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
400 Plaza Dr.

Secaucus NJ 07094

Dear Mr [REDACTED] -

Not only will I never buy
a Hantz Mountain product again but
the Village Voice is forever "verboten"
in my home.

Your prejudice against Italian/
Americans is obvious so I'm
sure you no longer want the
money from a greasy wop such as
I.

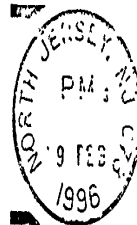
May you live a very short life.

b6
b7C



b6
b7C

WESTFIELD, N.J. 07090-2827



Flarte Mountain



b6
b7C

400 Plaza Dr.

Secaucus NJ

07096

VILLAGE VOICE

JANUARY 9 1996

In recognition of his tasteless remarks directed at gays, blacks and Hispanics, and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, State Senate majority leader **Joseph Bruno** takes home this year's **What Else Would You Expect From a Greasy Wop?** award. In one broadside, the powerful Republican derided Silver's aggressive style as "Lower East Side gutter politics"—Upstate shorthand for "dirty Jew."

On another occasion, Bruno moved to strip domestic partnership health care coverage for Senate workers, saying the state should not subsidize "abnormal" gay lifestyles. Railing against welfare programs earlier this year, the Brunswick basher noted, "It's the blacks, the Hispanics . . . that got their hands out. They are the ones fighting for welfare."

For his efforts, the Wacko committee is sending Bruno a first edition of *The Turner Diaries* for his reading pleasure. Honorable mention in this category goes to Al D'Amato for his

stirring imitation of Judge Lance Ito, though the Republican pol lost points for his Senate apology. —BASTONE

Q

R

B

9h M 257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 26 1996	
FBI — NEW YORK	

RUNNIN' SCARED

Wops, Guineas, and Dagos

*Bill Fugazy and the art
of Ethnic Cleansing*

When it comes to fan mail, nothing tops the letter that once derided *Runnin'* as a "Mozzarella cheese-eating, self-hating goombah." The missive—which included other witty references to meatballs, olive oil, and such—was prompted by some story we wrote about a wiseguy. As we remember it (the handwritten note, sadly, has been misplaced), the writer promised some type of boycott in retaliation for our sins against Italian Americans. In fact, it seems you cannot write a story these days that criticizes an Italian or mentions the M (five-letter word synonymous with mob, outfit, La Cosa Nostra, Black Hand, the office, etc.) without being accused of bigotry or threatened with financial ruin.

Heck, when we wrote a lengthy story in September 1993 about the M's continuing influence in New York, the *Voice* received a letter from the Washington-based National Italian American Foundation claiming we defamed 23 million Americans. The group pointed out that our "most blatant" transgression was the "accusation that the San Gennaro festival, one which spotlights the proud culture of the Italian American community, is 'brought to you by the mob.' What evidence do you have to support that assertion?"

More often than not, the man responsible for defending the country's downtrodden Italian community is WILLIAM FUGAZY, New York's self-appointed ethnic avenger. When he is not walking the beat, Fugazy, 71, works as a lobbyist, cultivating politicians, law enforcement officials, and gossip columnists alike.

The *Voice's* WAYNE BARRETT, a non-Italian pal of this column, in 1993 reported extensively on Fugazy's tangled and tawdry business affairs, dealings that have apparently caught the attention of federal prosecutors. Last July, Barrett wrote that investigators had obtained extensive records from Fugazy's Madison Avenue office and had subpoenaed other records from businessman JOHN KLUGE, a longtime Fugazy foe.

The *Voice* stories exposed Fugazy as

a bankrupt filmfare man, so it came as no surprise last week when Fugazy finally tried to strike back. Pointing to an item in our annual Wacko awards, the Fugazy-led National Ethnic Coalition of Organizations (NECO) announced a boycott of Hartz Mountain, the pet-supply giant run by *Voice* owner LEONARD STERN.

The offending Wacko—the What Else Would You Expect From a Greasy Wop? award—went to State Senator JOSEPH BRUNO in recognition of a series of ugly slurs uttered by the upstate Republican against gays, blacks and Hispanics, and Assembly speaker SHELDON SILVER. Fugazy and NECO have yet to criticize Bruno's bashing. (In retrospect, the sarcastic "Greasy Wop" reference may have been a bit

harsh. Perhaps either "Dumb Dago" or "Graceless Guinea"—with their alliterative shine—would have sufficed.)

Postgossip columnist NEAL TRAVIS breathlessly reported last Thursday on the economic havoc about to befall Hartz at the hands of Fugazy's supposed coalition of 220 ethnic groups, including the aforementioned National Italian American Foundation and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). But spokesperson MYRNA SHINBAUM said the ADL was "unequivocally not a part of a coalition to boycott Hartz Mountain," though the group was "concerned" about the *Voice's* "use of an ethnic slur."

As the *Voice* went to press Friday (due to Monday's MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. holiday), Fugazy operatives were busy trying to round up names for their boycott petition. Fugazy supporters include state attorney general DENNIS VACCO, Brooklyn District Attorney CHARLES HYNES, and state senator CATHERINE ABATE, to whose side Fugazy once rallied when the *Times*—correctly, it should be noted—identified the Manhattan po's father as a member of the Luchese organized crime family. Deciding to join Fugazy's jihad was AL SHARPTON, usually not one to pass up a boycott of any ethnic

Contributor: William Bastone
Research: Marcus Wohlsen

VILLAGE VOICE

JANUARY 23 1996

W

The Scarlet Letter

Handwritten mark: a circle with an 'X' and an arrow pointing to it.

9A NY 257447-4

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 26 1996	
FBI — NEW YORK	



COALITION OF ITALO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS, INC.

February 23, 1996

[Redacted]
Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10278

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

We have been advised by Mr. [Redacted] of Hartz Mountain that they received a threat from an outfit called the Italian Anti-Defamation League.

Mr. [Redacted] indicated that this organization was perhaps associated with us. We do not know this organization, and it's quite apparent that it is a fraudulent letter, as what organization would threaten to bomb someone using their real name?

We would welcome any inquiry the FBI would like to make concerning this, and we wholly and completely disavow any organization that threatens violence, no matter what the cause may be.

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature Block]

b6
b7C

WDF:dr
Enclosures

cc: [Redacted]

An Information Conduit to 180 Italian-American Organizations
"America" - A Beautiful Italian Name
Members & Participating Organizations Representing Over 1,500,000 Family Members

555 Madison Avenue, 12th Floor, New York, NY 10022 • (212) 755-1492 • FAX (212) 755-3762

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Robert J. Strohl

Executive Director
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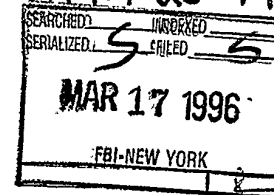
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Hon. Guy J. Vellella



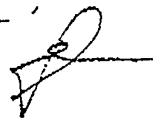
FROM THE DESK OF

2/20/86

b6
b7C



Any information you
may be able to help with, on
both the threats to me personally
and the ~~last~~ evacuation of the
Voice would be appreciated.

A handwritten signature or initials.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Special Agent

26 Federal Plaza
New York, NY 10278

b6
b7C

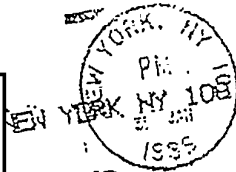
TOTAL P. 01

we have conceived a very viable plan
to enter your filthy Jew building and place
a small but very powerful powerful
bomb. We expect to place this small
but powerful explosive as close as possible
to your office. This will be effected
in the near future. If perchance you,
subhuman Jew, are not in your office we
will pursue the agenda to at least put
you in a wheelchair ~~from~~ permanently.
We will never give up on this effort.
You despised Jew, No notification will be
made as to when this bomb will be
set off. - see back - subhuman Jew

b6
b7c

A.A.P.

The Large Voice
36 Cooper Square
N.Y.N.Y. 10003



b6
b7C

Postage paid by addressee

Post-it™ Fax Note		Date	# of Pages
To		2/12	3
Co		From	
Phone #		Co	
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		Fax #	

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Italian Anti-Defamation League
President Street,
Brooklyn,
N.Y.

b6
b7C

2018 JUL 12

10 10 1000 00:00

RED APPLE EXEC OFF

PAGE 02

- 1 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 2/26/96

[redacted] was interviewed at her place of employment, the Village Voice, 36 Cooper Square, NY, NY. She then provided the following information:

On friday 2/23/96 at about 2:00pm [redacted] was working the switchboard at the Voice. A call came in, she didnt notice the line. [redacted] didnt remember the exact words of the caller, but in summary the caller said: There's going to be an explosion at 4:00. No need to leave at 4:30. When the caller hung up [redacted] notified [redacted] said the caller sounded like an older man, he spoke slowly and clearly, and didn't have a recognizable accent. She said that he didnt sound like a typical New Yorker.

b6
b7C

At about 2:50pm that day another call was received by [redacted] This caller sounded younger and talked faster than the first. He said "the guy who called before is crazy, the real bomb goes off thursday at 2:00pm." She also reported this call to [redacted]

9A-NY-257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 07 1996	
FBI-NEW YORK	

VV3021.

Investigation on 2/26/96 at new York, NyFile # 9A-NY-257447by SA [redacted] rm [redacted] Date dictated 2/26/96b6
b7C

9A-NY-257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 27 1996	
FBI — NEW YORK	

-8

- 1 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 3/7/96

SA [] gave the attached Subpoena for a
[] to the New York Office SO-6 front office for
[] was advised by SO-6 that the
Subpoena was served on 2/27/96. The results of the Subpoena
where received on 3/7/96. []
[] are placed in the 1-A section.

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9A-M-257447-9

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 17 1996	
FBI-NEW YORK	

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V13622.

Investigation on 3/7/96 at New York, NYFile # 9A-NY-257447by SA [] rm Date dictated 3/7/96

BILL FUGAZY RAISES HIS VOICE

What's behind **Bill Fugazy's** shrill assault on *The Village Voice*? More than Fugazy lets on, if some sources are to be believed. In the past month, the loopy limousine tycoon and his National Ethnic Coalition of



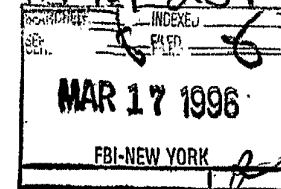
Bill Fugazy:
Limousine conservative

NEW YORK MARCH 4, 1996

Organizations have mounted a vituperative campaign against the beleaguered weekly, accusing it of disseminating ethnic slurs. On Thursday, NECO and Fugazy are holding a press conference calling for a boycott of *Voice* owner **Leonard Stern's** Hartz Mountain—and, ludicrously, to announce the filing of a hate-crimes complaint against the weekly. Fugazy's attack was ostensibly prompted by an article on State Senator **Joe Bruno**, written by fellow Italian-American **Bill Bastone**, that awarded Bruno "The 'What-Would-You-Expect-From-a-Greasy-Wop' Award"—an intentionally crude, turn-the-tables satire of Bruno's perceived anti-black and anti-gay sentiments. Not surprisingly, *Voice* insiders speculate that Fugazy's counterattack may have more to do with his ego than with ethnic victimization. From 1993 to 1995, the *Voice's* **Wayne Barrett** lambasted Fugazy in a series of articles pointing out his history of corruption and fraud while much of the New York press was touting him as a hero. The articles stemmed from a 1990 federal racketeering conviction for mail, wire, bankruptcy, and securities fraud, and called for further legal attention to

Fugazy's scams. As it happens, the NECO attorney leading the charge against the *Voice*, **Dom Amorosa**, is the very same one who represented Fugazy while he was being investigated for tax evasion by the U.S. Attor-

ney's office in 1995—an investigation prompted in part by the *Voice* articles. Despite apologies by *Voice* president **David Schneiderman**, editor-in-chief **Karen Durbin** remains adamant. "I am disgusted," she says. "The *Voice* apologizes for nothing." Fugazy declined to comment.





FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: ADIC, New York (C-30)

Date: 3/16/96

FBI File No. 9A-NY-257447

Lab No. 60306071 D FT

b6
b7C

Reference: Communication dated February 26, 1996

Your No. 9A-NY-257447

Re: UNSUB:
[REDACTED] VICTIM;
THE VILLAGE VOICE-VICTIM;
EXTORTION-THREATENING LETTERS

OO: New York

Specimens received: March 6, 1996

The FBI Laboratory has received the evidence which you sent for examination. The case has been assigned to Examiner [REDACTED] who may be contacted at [REDACTED] or through his/her supervisor at [REDACTED]. Please notify the Examiner immediately if any changes occur in the status of this case, such as court deadlines, dismissal of charges, guilty pleas, or other special circumstances.

In order to alert Laboratory Division personnel to the presence of potentially infectious human biological material, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's Bloodborne Pathogen Standard must be followed. This standard* requires that biohazard warning labels be affixed to any container which may contain human blood or other human biological material. Additionally, please notify the FBI Laboratory immediately should any information be developed which indicates that the suspect(s) or victim(s) are known to be infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) or the Hepatitis B virus.

*29 CFR 1910.1030 (g) (1) (i) (A)

9A-NY-257447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 28 1996	
[REDACTED]	

b6
b7C

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 03/12/1996

To: SAC DIVISION II

From: SA [REDACTED]

C-30

Contact: SA [REDACTED]

Approved By: [REDACTED]

Drafted By: [REDACTED]

rm

File Number(s): 9A-NY-257447 (Pending)

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b7C

Title: UNSUB: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] VICTIM

THE VILLAGE VOICE-VICTIM

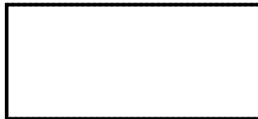
EXTORTION-THREATENING LETTERS

OO:NY

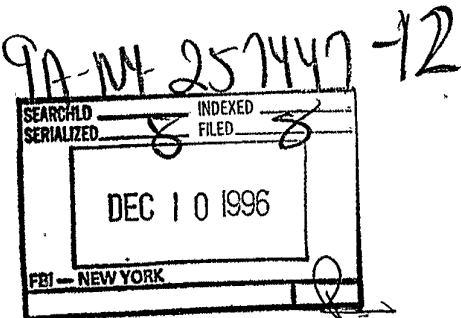
Synopsis: Request for payment from case funds of attached bill .

Details: [REDACTED] and The Village Voice, which [REDACTED]
have recently been the victims of bomb threats by US MAIL and by
telephone.

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b3



♦♦
UPLOADED
WITH/TEXT _____
WITH/OUT TEXT _____
BY 81 _____
DATE 12/10/96



(12/31/1995)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 03/12/1997

To: New York

Attn: SAC II

From: New York
C-30

Approved By: [REDACTED]

Drafted By: [REDACTED]rm

Case ID #: 9A-NY-257447 (Pending)

Title: UNSUB;
[REDACTED] VICTIM;
EXTORTION-THREATENING LETTERS
OO:NY

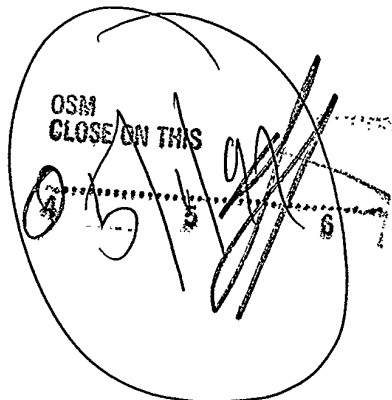
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Synopsis: Recommendation to close case.

Details: It is recommended that the above captioned case be closed, as all logical leads have been exhausted. There have been no further threats to [REDACTED] or to the Vilage Voice.

♦♦

UPLOADED
WITH/TEXT _____
WITH/OUT TEXT _____
BY SM _____
DATE 5/1/97 _____



9A-NY-257447-13

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 28 1997	
FBI-NEW YORK	

Noted Dec 5-1-97



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: ADIC, New York (C-30) (P)

Date: May 23, 1997

FBI File No. 9A-NY-257447

Lab No. 60306071 D/L FT EW
LC #M-2022

Reference: Communication dated February 26, 1996

Your No.

Re: UNSUB;
[redacted] - VICTIM;
THE VILLAGE VOICE - VICTIM;
EXTORTION-THREATENING LETTERS

b6
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Specimens received: March 6, 1996

Specimens:
Two envelopes, Q1 and Q3
Letter, Q2
Sheet of paper, Q4

The listed Q specimens are further described in a separate report.

The specimens were examined and six latent fingerprints of value were developed on Q2 and Q4.

The latent prints on Q2 were compared, insofar as comparable areas permit, with the latent prints on Q4, but no identification was effected.

Automated latent fingerprint searches were conducted but no identification was effected.

The specimens are enclosed.

Enc. (4)

9A NY 257447 - 14

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 03 1997	
FBI-NEW YORK	

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 96

Page 13 ~ b3

Page 14 ~ b3

Page 15 ~ b3

Page 16 ~ b3

Page 17 ~ b3

Page 18 ~ b3

Page 19 ~ b3

Page 20 ~ b3

Page 21 ~ b3

Page 22 ~ b3

Page 23 ~ b3

Page 24 ~ b3

Page 25 ~ b3

Page 26 ~ b3

Page 27 ~ b3

Page 28 ~ b3

Page 29 ~ b3

Page 30 ~ b3

Page 31 ~ b3

Page 32 ~ b3

Page 33 ~ b3

Page 34 ~ b3

Page 35 ~ b3

Page 36 ~ b3

Page 37 ~ b3

Page 38 ~ b3

Page 39 ~ b3

Page 40 ~ b3

Page 41 ~ b3

Page 42 ~ b3

Page 43 ~ b3

Page 44 ~ b3

Page 45 ~ b3

Page 46 ~ b3

Page 47 ~ b3

Page 48 ~ b3

Page 49 ~ b3

Page 50 ~ b3

Page 51 ~ b3

Page 52 ~ b3

Page 53 ~ b3

Page 54 ~ b3

Page 55 ~ b3

Page 56 ~ b3

Page 57 ~ b3
Page 58 ~ b3
Page 59 ~ b3
Page 60 ~ b3
Page 61 ~ b3
Page 62 ~ b3
Page 63 ~ b3
Page 64 ~ b3
Page 65 ~ b3
Page 66 ~ b3
Page 67 ~ b3
Page 68 ~ b3
Page 69 ~ b3
Page 70 ~ b3
Page 71 ~ b3
Page 72 ~ b3
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Page 99 ~ b3
Page 100 ~ b3
Page 101 ~ b3
Page 102 ~ b3
Page 103 ~ b3
Page 125 ~ b3
Page 126 ~ b3
Page 130 ~ b3
Page 131 ~ b3

