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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

September 28, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

RICHARD CHENEY

FROM:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN

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Attachment



ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO .:

Date:

September 30, 1976

Time:

du: 10/2

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

DOUG BENNETT JACK MARSH

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date:

Saturday, Oct. 2

Time:

10 A.M.

SUBJECT:

Philip Buchen's memo 9/28/76 re: Advisory Committee to the FBI

ACTION REQUESTED:

	For	Necessary	Action
-	TOT	TICCCOOKLY	77077077

For Your Recommendations

Prepare Agenda and Brief

Draft Reply

_x For Your Comments

Draft Remarks

REMARKS:



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Time:

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DUE: Date:

Saturday, Oct. 2

Time:

10 A.M.

SUBJECT:

Philip Buchen's memo 9/28/76 re: Advisory Committee to the FBI

ACTION REQUESTED:

For Necessary Action

For Your Recommendations

Prepare Agenda and Brief

___ Draft Reply

For Your Comments

____ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

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OF TO AD WILLIAM SA

June 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN

I.B. I

SUBJECT:

F.B.I. BURGLARIES

On Thursday, June 24, the New York Times printed an article written by Nicholas Horrock reporting that the Department of Justice is conducting a nationwide investigation of alleged illegal burglaries conducted by the F.B.I. since 1971. The article also contained the following passages:

"... the F.B.I. told the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities and the Ford Administration that it had no record of using burglary in domestic cases after 1966 when the director, the late J. Edgar Hoover, ordered the practice halted.

Clarence M. Kelley, the current director of the bureau, has consistently stated that the practice ended in 1966."

Out of concern that there may have been misrepresentations by the-F.B.I. concerning the scope of previous surreptitious entries and the period for which they were conducted, I have checked the Report of the Select Committee of the Senate To Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities as to the exact information furnished by the F.B.I. This was the same information that was furnished to the White House staff during the course of our coordination of responses by the various agencies to the Select Committee's inquiry.



Attached at TAB A are pertinent quotations from Book II of the final report of the Select Committee.

I have also learned that on July 14, 1975, Clarence Kelley did give a press conference in which he stated there had been no break-ins by the F.B.I. after 1966 except for a few instances related to national security.

The Department of Justice is now investigating additional break-ins which apparently did occur during the 1970's although none has yet been found which occurred after you came into office. current investigations were started in March of this year when additional documents were found in the New York office of the F.B.I. These documents were in a file maintained exclusively by the director of that office who had earlier retired from active service. This investigation is particularly critical because unlike the break-ins learned about previously, the ones being currently investigated fall within a period for which prosecution is not barred by the statute of limitations.

Apart from the possible illegality of the break-ins themselves, the issue is possible intentional failure of people within the Bureau to disclose to their superiors evidence of such acts. Thus, the current investigation of the Department of Justice will also focus on whatever "cover-ups" of material evidence may have occurred that misled Director Kelley and people in the Department of Justice at the time of investigations by Congress into possible illegal activities by the F.B.I.

In order to keep the current investigations from being compromised, I do not think that any comments from the White House are in order. However, insofar as those investigations bear on the integrity of existing personnel within the Bureau, you may want to comment that you expect to be kept informed and that you look to the Director of the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice to take such personnel actions as their findings may require.

Attachments



permitted the FBI to continue to install microphones sub-

ject only to its own "intelligent restraint".73

然,是不是这种的,我们也不是不是不是不是一个,也是是这些人,我们就是这种的,我们就是这种的,我们也是是这种的,我们也是是这种的,也是是这种的,也是是这种的,也是

(4) In several cases, purely political information (such as the reaction of Congress to an Administration's legislative proposal) and purely personal information (such as coverage of the extra-marital social activities of a high-level Executive official under surveillance) was obtained from electronic surveillance and disseminated to the highest levels of the federal government.⁷³

(5) Warrantless break-ins have been conducted by intelligence agencies since World War II. During the 1960's alone, the FBI and CIA conducted hundreds of break-ins, many against American citizens and domestic organizations. In some cases, these break-ins were to install microphones; in other cases, they were to steal such items as membership lists from organizations considered "subversive" by the Bureau.⁷⁵/

(6) The most pervasive surveillance technique has been the informant. In a random sample of domestic intelligence cases, \$3% involved informants and 5% involved electronic surveillance. Informants have been used against peaceful, law-abiding groups; they have collected information about personal and political views and activities. To maintain their credentials in violence-prone groups, informants have involved themselves in violent activity. This phenomenon is well illustrated by an informant in the Klan. He was present at the murder of a civil rights worker in Mississippi and subsequently helped to solve the crime and convict the perpetrators. Earlier, however, while performing duties paid for by the Government, he had previously "beaten people severely, had boarded buses and kicked people, had [gone] into restaurants and beaten them [blacks] with blackjacks, chains, pistols." Although the FBI requires agents to instruct informants that they cannot be involved in violence, it was understood that in the Klan, "he couldn't be an angel and be a good informant."

4. Ignoring the Law

Officials of the intelligence agencies occasionally recognized that certain activities were illegal, but expressed concern only for "flap potential." Even more disturbing was the frequent testimony that the law, and the Constitution were simply ignored. For example, the author of the so-called Huston plan testified:

Question. Was there any person who stated that the activity recommended, which you have previously identified as being

ing the example of purely personal information.

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to C. D. DeLoach, 7/19/66, p. 2.//

General Accounting Office Report on Domestic Intelligence Operations of the FBI, 9/75.

"Mary Jo Cook testimony, 12/2/75, Hearings, Vol. 6. p. 111.

"Gary Rowe deposition, 10/17/75, p. 9.

^{**} Memorandum from Attorney General Brownell to J. Edgar Hoover, 5/20/54.

** See finding on Political Abuse. To protect the privacy of the targeted individual, the Committee has omitted the citation to the memorandum concerning the example of purely personal information.

[&]quot;Special Agent No. 3 deposition, 11/21/75, p. 12.

General White were specifically informed of this surveillance. But the Attorney General received information which came from the thug" and authorized a wiretap of the Congressman's secretary.23a

Furthermore, FBI records disclose that the FBI conducted warrantless microphone surveillances in 1960-1963 directed at a "black separatist group," "black separatist group functionaries" and a "(white) racist organization." ²³⁴ There may have been others for purely domestic intelligence purposes.235

The FBI maintained no "central file or index" to record all microphone surveillances in this period, and FBI records did not distinguish

"bugs" involving trespass.²³⁶
(2) "Black Bag Jobs."—There is no indication that any Attorney General was informed of FBI "black bag" jobs, and a "Do Not File" procedure was designed to preclude outside discovery of the FBI's

use of the technique.

No permanent records were kept for approvals of "black bag jobs," or surreptitious entries conducted for purposes other than installing a "bug." The FBI has described the procedure for authorization of surreptitious entries as requiring the approval of Director Hoover or his Assistant Clyde Tolson. The authorizing memorandum was filed in the Assistant Director's office under a "Do Not File" procedure, and there-

In the course of an investigation, authorized by Attorney General Kennedy, into lobbying efforts on behalf of a foreign country regarding sugar quota legislation, the FBI determined that Congressman Harold D. Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, planned to meet with representatives of a foreign country in a hotel room. (FB1 memorandum, 2/15/61; Memorandum from W. R. Wannall to W. C. Sullivan, 12/22/66.)

At the instruction of Director Hoover, the Bureau installed a microphone in

the hotel room to record this meeting. (FBI memorandum, 2/15/61; Memorandum from D. E. Moore to A. H. Belmont, 2/16/61.) The results of the meeting were subsequently disseminated to the Attorney General. (Memorandum from

J. Edgar Hoover to Attorney General Kennedy, 2/18/61.)

A reviw of this case by FBI officials in 1966 concluded that "our files contain to clear indication that the Attorney General was specifically advised that a microphone surveillance was being utilized..." (Memorandum from Wannall to Sullivan, 12/21/66.) It was noted, however, that on the morning of February 17, 1961—after the microphone was in place but an hour or two before the meeting actually occurred-Director Hoover spoke with Attorney General Kennedy and, according to Hoover's contemporaneous memorandum, advised him that the Cooley meeting was to take place that day and that "we are trying to cover" it. (Memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Messrs. Tolson, Parsons,

Mohr, Belmont, and DeLoach, 2/17/61.)

""According to records compiled by the FBI, there was FBI microphone surveillance of one "black separatist group" in 1960; one "black separatist group" and one "black separatist group functionary" in 1961; two "black separatist groups," one "black separatist group functionary," and one "(white) racist organization" in 1962; and two "black separatist groups" and one "black separatist group functionary," and one "black separatist group functionary," in 1963. (Memorandum from FBI to Select Committee 10/23/75.)

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The Select Committee has determined that the FBI, on at least one occasion, maintained no records of the approval of a microphone surveillance authorized by an Assistant Director. (FBI Memorandum, 1/30/75, Subject: Special Squad at Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22-28/64.)

Si Memorandum from the FBI to the Senate Select Committee, 10/17/75. This memorandum also states that, on the basis of the recollections of agents and a

review of headquarters files, the FBI has "been able to identify" the following number of "surreptitious entries for microphone installations" in "internal security, intelligence, and counterintelligence" investigations: 1960: 49; 1961: 53: 1962: 75; 1963: 79; and the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations: 1960: 49; 1961: 53: 1962: 75; 1963: 79; and the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations" in the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations" in the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations" in the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations" in the following number of such entries "in criminal investigations" in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal investigations in the following number of such entries in criminal inve investigations" (as opposed to intelligence): 1960: 11; 1961: 69; 1962: 106;



after destroyed. In the field office, the Special Agent in Charge maintained a record of approval in his office safe. At the next yearly field office inspection, an Inspector would review these records to ensure that the SAC had secured FBI headquarters approval in conducting surreptitious entires. Upon completion of the review, these records

were destroyed.237

The only internal FBI memorandum found discussing the policy for surreptitious entries confirms that this was the procedure and states that "we do not obtain authorization from outside the Bureau" because the technique was "clearly illegal." The memorandum indicates that "black bag jobs" were used not only "in the espionage field" but also against "subversive elements" not directly connected to espionage activity. It added that the techniques resulted "on numerous occasions" in obtaining the "highly secret and closely guarded" membership and mailing lists of "subversive" groups.²³⁸//
(3) Mail Opening.—The FBI did not seek outside authorization

(3) Mail. Opening.—The FBI did not seek outside authorization when it reinstituted mail opening programs in the fifties and early sixties. Eight programs were conducted for foreign intelligence and counterespionage purposes, and Bureau officials who supervised these programs have testified that legal considerations were simply not

raised at the time.239

Beyond their original purpose, the FBI mail opening programs produced some information of an essentially domestic nature. For example, during this period one program supplied "considerable data" about American citizens who expressed pro-Communist sympathies or made "anti-U.S. statements." ²⁴⁰ Some of the mail-opening byproduct regarding Americans was disseminated to other agencies for law enforcement purposes, with the source disguised.²⁴¹

c. Use of FBI Wiretaps

The authorization for wiretapping issued by President Truman in 1946 allowed the Attorney General to approve wiretaps in the investigation of "subversive activity" to protect the "domestic security." 242

²⁵⁷Memorandum from the FBI to the Senate Select Committee, 9/23/75.
²⁵⁸Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to C. D. DeLeach, 7/19/66. Subject:
"Black Bag" Jobs. Initials on this memorandum indicate that it was prepared by F. J. Baumgardner, an FBI Intelligence Division Section Chief, and approved by J. A. Sizoo, principal deputy to Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan. This memorandum was located in Director Hoover's "Official and Confidential" files, and it appears that the memorandum was shifted from Hoover's "Personal Files" shortly before his death. (Helen Gandy deposition, 11/12, 75 pp. 4-6)

shortly before his death. (Helen Gandy deposition, 11/12.75, pp. 4-6.)

The FBI compiled a list of the "domestic subversive" targets, based "upon recollections of Special Agents who have knowledge of such activities, and review of those files identified by recollection as being targets of surreptitious entries." The list states "at least fourteen domestic subversive targets were the subject of at least 238 entries from 1942 to April 1968. In addition, at least three domestic subversive targets were the subject of numerous entries from October 1952 to June 1966. . . . One white hate group was the target of an entry in March 1966." The Bureau admits that this list is "incomplete." (Memorandum from the FBI to the Senate Select Committee, 9/23/75.)

Deposition of William R. Branigan, Section Chief, FBI Intelligence Division, 10/9/75, pp. 13, 39, 40. Testimony of Assistant Director W. Raymond Wannall, FBI Intelligence Division, 10/24/75, Hearings, vol. 4, pp. 148-49.

Memorandum from San Francisco field office to FBI Headquarters, 3/11/60.
 Memorandum from S. B. Donahoe to W. C. Sullivan, 9/15/61; Memorandum from San Francisco field office to FBI headquarters, 7/25/61.
 Letter from Attorney General Clark to President Trunan, 7/17/46.

believe and none warrant the FBI being used to justify them.517

Several days later, according to a memorandum of the FBI Director, the Attorney General "advised that he had tarked to Senator Long, and that the Senator "said he did not want to get into any national security area." 518 Katzenbach has confirmed that he "would have been concerned" in these circumstances about the Subcommittee's demands for information about "matters of a national security nature" and that

he was "declining to provide such information" to Long. 519

Again in 1966, the FBI took steps to, in the words of Bureau official Cartha DeLoach, "neutralize" the "threat of being embarrassed by the Long Subcommittee." 520 This time the issue involved warrantless electronic surveillance by the FBI, particularly in organized crime matters. DeLoach and another ranking Bureau official visited Senator Long to urge that he issue a statement that "the FBI had never participated in uncontrolled usage of wiretaps or microphones and that FBI usage of such devices had been completely justified in all instances." 521 The Bureau prepared such a statement for Senator Long to release as his own, which apparently was not used. 522 At another meeting with DeLoach, Senator Long agreed to make "a commitment that he would in no way embarrass the FBI." When the Subcommittee's Chief Counsel asked if a Bureau spokesman could appear and "make a simple statement," DeLoach replied that this would "open a Pandora's box, in so far as our enemies in the press were concerned." Senator Long then stated that he would call no FBI witnesses. 523

(2) Director Hoover's Restrictions.—The Director subsequently issued instructions that the number of warrantless wiretaps installed at any one time be cut in half. One of his subordinates speculated that this was done out of a concern that the Subcommittee's "inquiry

might get into the use of that technique by the FBI." 524

In July 1966, after hundreds of FBI "black bag job" operations had been approved over many years, Director Hoover decided to eliminate warrantless surreptitious entries for purposes other than microphone installations.⁵²⁵ In response to an Intelligence Division analysis that such break-ins were an "invaluable technique," although "clearly illegal," Hoover stated that "no more such techniques must be used." 526 Bureau subordinates took Hoover's "no more such tech-

Memorandum from DeLoach to Tolson, 1/21/66.
C. D. Brennan deposition, 9/23/75, p. 42.

10/17/75.)//
/, ⁵²⁹ Hoover note on memorandum from Sullivan to DeLoach, 7/19/66. This memorandum cited as a "prime example" of the utility of a "black bag jobs" a break-in to steal records of three high-ranking Klan officials relating to finances

⁵¹⁷ Hoover Note on-Belmont Memorandum to Tolson, 2/27/65.

⁵¹³ Memorandum from Hoover to Tolson, et al., 3/2/65. ⁵¹⁹ Katzenbach testimony, 12/3/75, Hearings, Vol. 6, pp. 205–206. ⁵²⁰ Memorandum from DeLoach to Tolson. 1/21/66. an Memorandum from DeLoach to Tolson, 1/10/66.

Memorandum from M. A. Jones to Robert Wick, 1/11/66.

[/] ESS According to FBI records and the recollections of Bureau agents, the following number of microphone surveillances involving "surreptitious entry" were installed in "internal security, intelligence, and counterintelligence" investigations: 1964: 80: 1965: 59: 1966: 4; 1967: 0: 1968: 9: 1969: 8: 1970: 15: 1971: 6: 1972: 22: 1973: 18: 1974: 9: 1975: 13. The similar figures for "criminal investigations" in the similar figu tions" (including installations authorized by judicial warrant after 1968) are: 1964: 83; 1965: 41; 1966: 0; 1967: 0; 1968: 0; 1969: 3: 1970: 8: 1971: 7; 1972: 19: 1973: 27; 1974: 22; 1975: 11. (Memorandum from FBI to Select Committee,

niques" language as an injunction against the Bureau's mail opening program as well.527 Apparently, a termination order was issued to field offices by telephone. FBI mail-opening was suspended, although the Bureau continued to seek information from CIA's illegal mail-opening program until its suspension in 1973.

A year and a half before Hoover's cutbacks on wire-tapping, "black bag jobs," and mail-opening, he prohibited the FBI's use of other

covert techniques such as mail covers and trash covers. 528

FBI intelligence officials persisted in requesting authority for "black bag" techniques. In 1967 Director Hoover ordered that "no such recommendations should be submitted." 520 At about this time, Attorney General Ramsey Clark was asked to approve a "breaking and entering" operation and declined to do so. 550 There was an apparently unauthorized surreptitious entry directed at a "domestic subversive target" as late as April, 1968.⁵³/A proposal from the field to resume mail opening for foreign counterintelligence purposes was turned down by FBI officials in 1970.532

7. Accountability and Control

a. The Huston Plan: A Domestic Intelligence Network

In 1970, pressures from the White House and from within the intelligence community led to the formulation of a plan for coordination and expansion of domestic intelligence activity. The so-called "Huston Plan" called for Presidential authorization of illegal intelligence techniques, expanded domestic intelligence collection, and centralized evaluation of domestic intelligence. President Nixon approved the plan and then, five days later, revoked his approval. Despite the revocation of official approval, many major aspects of the plan were implemented, and some techniques which the intelligence community asked for permission to implement had already been underway.

In 1970, there was an intensification of the social tension in America that had provided the impetus in the 1900s for ever-widening domestic intelligence operations. The spring invasion of Cambodia by United States forces triggered the most extensive campus demonstrations and student "strikes" in the history of the war in Southeast Asia. Domestic strife heightened even further when four students were killed by Na-

and membership which "we have been using most effectively to disrupt the

organization."/
*** Wannall, 10/13/75, pp. 45–46. There is to this day no formal order prohibiting FBI mail-opening, although Assistant Director Wannall contended that general FBI Manual instructions now applicable forbid any unlawful technique.

**Bar These techniques were not prohibited by law. Their use was banned in all

cases, including serious criminal investigations and foreign counterintelligence matters. (Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont, 9/30/64.) Mail covers, which may be used to identify from their exteriors certain letters which can then be opened with a judicial warrant, were reinstituted with Justice Department approval in 1971. (Memorandum from Hoover to Mitchell, 7/27/71; Memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Will Wilson to Hoover, 9/31/71.)

Memorandum from Hoover to Tolson and DeLoach, 1/6/67. "Once Mr. Hoover, apparently at the request of the National Security Agency, sought approval to break and enter into a foreign mission at the United Nations to procure cryptographic materials to facilitate decoding of intercepted transmissions. The request was presented with some urgency, rejected and presented again on perhaps several occasions. It was never approved and constituted the only request of that kind." [Statement of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Hearings before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice

and Procedure, (1974).]

Memorandum from FBI to Senate Select Committee, 2/23/75. Memorandum from W. A. Branigan to W. C. Sullivan, 3/31/70.

BIRCHA SAD TO BE SET BY JUSTICE A

Inquiry Into Alleged Since 1971 Could Involve Hundreds of Agents

Investigators Reported Have Delved Into Secret Files in 59 Field Offices

THURSDAY

INE 24, 1976

The following article was written by Nicholas M. Horrock and is based on reporting by him and John M. Crewdson.

Special to The Nam Vools Thomas

127

Press

Friday 10/15/76

3:20 Mr. Schmults:

Nick Horrock wanted to ask a completely 293-3; -background question. He said Clarence Kelley is about to deliver a press statement in a speech in Albuquerque in which he says he has made a decidion that the FBI will not continue to cooperate with the U.S. media because themmedia has been printing inaccuracies. He had called the Bureau to ask if the statement of policy had been cleared with the White House -- if it was FBI (Kelley) policy or W.H. policy, but he can't get an answer. He plans to ask a direct question at a press briefing, but just wanted to talk with you on a background basis.

A. FOROUS A. FORON

To: Dave Gergen

From: Eva Daughtrey

Mr. Buchen said this speech will not be given in this form.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

FOR RELEASE 7:30 P.M., MDT FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1976

STREET AGENT SMITH AND THE NEWS MEDIA

AN ADDRESS

BY

CLARENCE M. KELLEY

DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BEFORE THE

NEW MEXICO PRESS ASSOCIATION

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

OCTOBER 15, 1976





There is an Agent in one of the FBI's southern field offices who answers the telephone something like this:

"This is <u>Street Agent</u> Joe Smith speaking; may I help you?"

His manner is brisk and resolute, and it reveals to the caller much more than just his identity.

We have no Agents officially designated "Street Agents" in the FBI; but the term is often used to identify an Agent who spends most of his working hours pounding the bricks, knocking on doors, interviewing people -- in short, solving crimes.

And that, after all, is at the very heart of what the FBI is all about.

The Street Agent usually has few or no administrative duties, and may not aspire to assume any; he may prefer the more basic challenges of law enforcement. Lord knows, the FBI could not function without him.

And when this Agent, whom I refer to as Joe Smith, identifies himself as a Street Agent, he is, in his own way, affirming his position in the FBI hierarchy -- proudly and unequivocally.

But Street Agent Joe Smith's telephone manner has other important connotations -- if you consider what's been happening to the FBI in the public forum in recent months.

One of the unfortunate things that has happened is, the successes of the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI have been all but ignored amid the tempests of scrutiny and criticism.

Yet Street Agent Joe Smith's efficiency in performing his duties really is the bedrock upon which the FBI's reputation for excellence was built long ago -- and which the FBI still deserves, no matter what anyone says.

In the fiscal year that ended June 30, investigations conducted by him and his colleagues throughout the FBI resulted in 17,544 convictions -- a record high. Their work produced convictions of 1,318 organized crime hoodlums, leaving gaping holes in some syndicates. And they handled cases resulting in 4,610 convictions in the increasingly troublesome area of white collar crime.

Representatives of the news media often ask me if employee morale has suffered in the FBI as a result of all the adverse publicity.

Well, Street Agent Joe Smith may gnash his teeth over a particularly vicious editorial, but he isn't about to retreat into a shell and brood over the unfairness of life.

He doesn't have time.

Street Agent Joe Smith, and others like him, work an average of 10 1/2 hours a day. He may work much longer hours on special cases, such as the LaGuardia Airport bombing in which 28,960 Agent hours were expended during a two-month period.

The average Agent in the FBI is 39 years old and has served 16 1/2 years under two Directors and two Acting Directors.

The FBI in which Street Agent Joe Smith serves today is a different FBI from the one he served in a few years back.

For better or for worse, his current Director is

Clarence M. Kelley. I am a career law enforcement administrator.

I don't pretend to be anything else -- least of all an ingenious

Bureaucrat. I brought to the FBI my own concepts of management

and my own values.

I felt improvements could and should be made in the operations of the FBI. And improvements have in fact been made

Issues are freely discussed within the FBI.

We have instituted many streamlining measures. We have realigned our investigative priorities under our quality-over-quantity policy. We have established executive development programs. We have re-structured our headquarters operations. We have updated our internal inspection procedures. We have conducted and continue to conduct in-depth studies of key programs and operations within the FBI.

But perhaps the most important thing that has happened within the FBI is this: We have achieved a condition in which change and improvement are not only possible, but are encouraged. We are responsive to public attitudes and the changing needs of our society.

And while laboring to accomplish all this, we have cooperated fully with those inquiring into the operations and policies of the FBI, including the members and the staffs of several Congressional committees.

But whatever changes in public attitudes or management policies may occur, some things remain constant for the Street Agent.

He or she is subject to call day or night to investigate any one of the great multitude of Federal crimes over which Congress has given the FBI investigative jurisdiction.



The assignment may be in his own field office, or in some other state, and when he packs he knows he had better take plenty of socks and shirts.

I'm sure you can appreciate the fact that FBI employees do not perceive themselves as a gang of burglars. They do not view themselves as reckless privateers bent on pillaging Americans' great heritage of rights.

And neither do I.

By and large, the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI today have a clear understanding of their mission in our democratic society -- much clearer, I think, than some of our critics.

And so do FBI people up and down the entire administrative structure. They have a firm grasp of the rules by which they must pursue that mission. And they are absolutely certain that it is a <u>vital</u> mission worthy of all the dedication and diligence they devote to it -- a mission worthy of dying for, as Agents Ronald A. Williams and Jack R. Coler did in South Dakota, last year.



And that mission is to strive for a condition of peace and tranquility in our country -- a condition in which Americans can freely exercise their rights and privileges.

Our people know the only way we can truly contribute to that is through the lawful, ethical and efficient handling of the FBI's mandated responsibilities in the areas of crime and national security.

I don't think there is any Agent or executive in the FBI today who doesn't understand that these responsibilities must be fulfilled with the least possible intrusion into the lives of our citizens, including their right of legitimate dissent.

I have made that abundantly clear.

I intend to see to it that all the rules are followed. Certainly that is one of the basic obligations I have to the people of this country as Director of the FBI.

But I also feel an obligation to all the Street Agent Joe Smiths and all the FBI executives who labor honorably and effectively each day in behalf of this great nation.

Someone must speak in their behalf.

You may recall that when I became FBI Director in 1973, one of the policies I instituted was that of openness.

I said we would answer all media inquiries candidly insofar as we are permitted to do so by mandates of law and ethics, and Department of Justice regulations.



I felt this policy would enable us and the news media to convey to the American people an accurate picture of what the FBI does, and by what authority the FBI does it.

It was not an easy policy to implement. The FBI for many years had maintained something less than a wide open stance in its dealings with the news media.

But an open policy had worked well in Kansas City, Missouri, where I had been police chief for 12 years. Never had I misled or put off a reporter. And never had I been victimized by a reporter.

But the news media policy that had worked so well in Kansas City has been something less than a smashing success in Washington, D. C.

And that element of the news media that has come to be known as the "national news media" must bear its fair share of the responsibility for that.

Granted, some skeletons in the FBI's past have come rattling out of the closet -- and we fully expect to be clobbered in the news media when there is credible evidence of wrongdoing.

The question is, do you kill the piano player because he strikes a few sour notes in an otherwise magnificent performance that spans some 50 years?



Who truly loses if the FBI should be utterly discredited? I think the American people would be the losers. The American people also would lose if the national press should become so afflicted with scandal-mania that its credibility is suspect.

Now let me emphasize that I have been most heartened by the objective, common sense treatment of the FBI that has been accorded it by many, many newspapers and other media throughout the nation. I have seen editorials in New Mexico newspapers that have given excellent perspective to our endeavors. And I am most grateful.

But even respected members of the journalism profession have begun to question how the <u>national</u> news media is using its great power and prestige.

The Washington Post's in-house press critic, Charles Seib, says that "an aggravated instinct for the jugular" has developed in the press since Watergate.

Newsweek pointed out last May that some feel the main interest of investigative journalism should be "to explain why government works the way it does -- to enlighten and not just to indict."

Wes Gallagher, recently retired head of Associated Press, gave a very frank address at AP's last annual meeting.



In it he said that the First Amendment is "not a hunting license as some today seem to think." He said it is "a privilege and a right to exercise on behalf of the public." And he warned that "too many readers are beginning to look upon the press as a multivoiced shrew nitpicking through the debris of government decisions for scandals but not solutions."

Fortune magazine noted that "never before has the American press exercised so much power so independently or found itself vested with such prestige and glamour."

But the author said that "thoughtful news executives are deeply concerned about the credibility problem that is being created by the press," in essence by opening its pages to every element with an ax to grind against government or business.

But more to my point here today is this excerpt from the Fortune magazine article:

"In the long run, the greatest danger to the national press is probably posed, not by public unhappiness with its political position, but by the intense feeling among executives, in business and government, about what they see as its systematic distrust of all established institutions.



"There is growing concern among these executives that the new journalism has made it hard for them to make their records and views known to the public on their own terms."

And having managed the FBI with an open stance

And having managed the FBI with an open stance policy since 1973, I can attest to that.

Frankly, the effect it has had on me is, I am more wary.

And though I am committed to the proposition that a government agency has an absolute obligation to account to the people for its activities, my wariness is going to be reflected in the FBI's press policy.

In some instances, when we opened our doors and extended every consideration to certain representatives of the news media, we were nailed to the barn door. We were journalistically bludgeoned -- not by full exposure of all the facts -- but by systematic selection and emphasis of facts, with some heavy handed "interpretation" thrown in.

If the FBI dealt with its sources of information the way certain members of the national news media deal with us, if we were to pick and choose the facts that suited our purpose, we would soon be unable to function effectively. And I wonder if these journalists do not run similar risks.

We don't expect to be stroked every time we do something worthwhile. We know that many members of the media pride themselves as having an adversary relationship with governmental agencies -- but we should be able to expect fair play.

The journalist who tells it like it is, whether we are right or wrong -- and most of them do -- has my deepest respect and my pledge of cooperation.

But if a journalist continually displays an obsession to support his own hostile notions about our agency, or to support a boilerplate editorial policy without regard for objectivity, then he cannot expect to continue to enjoy any sort of productive relationship with us.

It is true that as a government agency we are accountable to the people. We will fulfill that obligation.

But we will <u>not</u> continue to throw open the doors for those who invariably dash us with scalding water.

As Director, I owe it to Street Agent Joe Smith, I owe it to about 20,000 other FBI employees, in fact, I owe it to more than 215 million Americans, not to gratuitously contribute to the destruction of the FBI's credibility.





Credibility is a precious commodity. Without it, the FBI could not effectively fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. And neither could the national news media.

I mentioned the adversary relationship between the news media and governmental agencies. I don't think the FBI has maintained an adversary posture with the national news media. The adversarial relationship has been strictly one-sided. But if there is to be a productive relationship between us, one that will truly benefit our society, there must be mutual respect.

I have always felt there are common bonds between law enforcement and the news media.

Our respective roles in our society were mandated for us in the Constitution and handed down to us by our Founding Fathers.

We are both servants of the American people.

In our fact-gathering, in our seeking for truth, we should have only their best interests at heart. I'm sure you share that belief.

This commonality of purpose is manifested daily by our field offices around the country in their relationships with the vast majority of news media in their areas.



And we are both grateful for, and anxious to preserve, the rapport that exists at the local level. It is a creative, constructive rapport that serves not only to inform the public but to combat crime.

I recently praised a group of journalists for the work many of them and their colleagues had done to expose organized crime hoodlums. Some of your colleagues have died or suffered physical harm because of their efforts against organized crime -- just as some of our Agents have in their official duties.

Thousands of hard-working, dedicated, fair-minded journalists daily go about their mission of digging up the facts and accurately reporting them in a professional manner. They are indispensable to the news-gathering enterprise. They are the foremost ambassadors of truth in our society.

And it is the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI who, in their daily war against crime and terroristic intimidation, help to assure that these journalists will continue to exercise their First Amendment rights in an enlightened democracy -- boldly, and without fear.

And just as I shall continue to respect, support and work in behalf of a vigorous, outspoken press, I will



continue to work in behalf of a viable FBI -- an effective FBI with its credibility alive and well. Insofar as it is within my power, I will not permit that credibility to be destroyed.

I hope you will continue to support us in that effort. Thank you.



SUMMARY OF DIRECTOR KELLEY'S SPEECH,
"STREET AGENT SMITH AND THE NEWS MEDIA,"
TO BE DELIVERED OCTOBER 15, 1976,
TO THE NEW MEXICO PRESS ASSOCIATION
AT ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

Mr. Kelley said the successes of the FBI's "Street Agents" have been "all but ignored amid the tempests of scrutiny and criticism," yet their efficiency "is really the bedrock upon which the FBI's reputation for excellence was built long ago -- and which the FBI still deserves, no matter what anyone says."

Mr. Kelley said the "national" news media must bear its fair share of responsibility for the fact his open stance policy toward the media "has been something less than a smashing success."

He told his press audience he has been "most heartened" by the objective, common sense treatment given the FBI by many, many newspapers and other media throughout the nation. But he pointed out that "even respected members of the journalism profession have begun to question how the <u>national</u> news media is using its great power and prestige."

Noting that the national news media's treatment of the FBI has made him "more wary," he added: "And though I am committed to the proposition that a government agency has an absolute obligation to account to the people for its activities, my wariness is going to be reflected in the FBI's press policy."

In some instances when the FBI opened its doors and extended every consideration to certain representatives of the news media, "we were journalistically bludgeoned -- not by full exposure of all the facts -- but by systematic selection and emphasis of facts, with some heavy handed 'interpretation' thrown in," Mr. Kelley said.

Mr. Kelley said that "if a journalist continually displays an obsession to support his own hostile notions about our agency, or to support a boilerplate editorial policy without regard for objectivity, then he cannot expect to enjoy any sort of productive relationship with us."



He said he will not "gratuitously contribute to the destruction of the FBI's credibility," for without credibility, "the FBI could not effectively fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. And neither could the national news media."

The FBI Director concluded by saying: "Just as I shall continue to respect, support and work in behalf of a vigorous, outspoken press, I will continue to work in behalf of a viable FBI -- an effective FBI with its credibility alive and well. Insofar as it is within my power, I will not permit that credibility to be destroyed."



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He said he will not "gratuitously contribute to the destruction of the FBI's credibility," for without credibility, "the FBI could not effectively fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. And neither could the national news media."

The FBI Director concluded by saying: "Just as I shall continue to respect, support and work in behalf of a vigorous, outspoken press, I will continue to work in behalf of a viable FBI -- an effective FBI with its credibility alive and well. Insofar as it is within my power, I will not permit that credibility to be destroyed."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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STREET AGENT SMITH AND THE NEWS MEDIA

AN ADDRESS

BY

CLARENCE M. KELLEY

DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BEFORE THE

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There is an Agent in one of the FBI's southern field offices who answers the telephone something like this:

"This is <u>Street Agent</u> Joe Smith speaking; may
I help you?"

His manner is brisk and resolute, and it reveals to the caller much more than just his identity.

We have no Agents officially designated "Street Agents" in the FBI; but the term is often used to identify an Agent who spends most of his working hours pounding the bricks, knocking on doors, interviewing people -- in short, solving crimes.

And that, after all, is at the very heart of what the FBI is all about.

The Street Agent usually has few or no administrative duties, and may not aspire to assume any; he may prefer the more basic challenges of law enforcement. Lord knows, the FBI could not function without him.

And when this Agent, whom I refer to as Joe Smith, identifies himself as a Street Agent, he is, in his own way, affirming his position in the FBI hierarchy -- proudly and unequivocally.

But Street Agent Joe Smith's telephone manner has other important connotations -- if you consider what's been happening to the FBI in the public forum in recent months.

One of the unfortunate things that has happened is, the successes of the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI have been all but ignored amid the tempests of scrutiny and criticism.

Yet Street Agent Joe Smith's efficiency in performing his duties really is the bedrock upon which the FBI's reputation for excellence was built long ago -- and which the FBI still deserves, no matter what anyone says.

In the fiscal year that ended June 30, investigations conducted by him and his colleagues throughout the FBI resulted in 17,544 convictions -- a record high. Their work produced convictions of 1,318 organized crime hoodlums, leaving gaping holes in some syndicates. And they handled cases resulting in 4,610 convictions in the increasingly troublesome area of white collar crime.

Representatives of the news media often ask me if employee morale has suffered in the FBI as a result of all the adverse publicity.

Well, Street Agent Joe Smith may gnash his teeth over a particularly vicious editorial, but he isn't about to retreat into a shell and brood over the unfairness of life.

He doesn't have time.

Street Agent Joe Smith, and others like him, work an average of 10 1/2 hours a day. He may work much longer hours on special cases, such as the LaGuardia Airport bombing in which 28,960 Agent hours were expended during a two-month period.

The average Agent in the FBI is 39 years old and has served 16 1/2 years under two Directors and two Acting Directors.

The FBI in which Street Agent Joe Smith serves today is a different FBI from the one he served in a few years back.

For better or for worse, his current Director is

Clarence M. Kelley. I am a career law enforcement administrator.

I don't pretend to be anything else -- least of all an ingenious

Bureaucrat. I brought to the FBI my own concepts of management

and my own values.

I felt improvements could and should be made in the operations of the FBI. And improvements have in fact been made.

Issues are freely discussed within the FBI.

We have instituted many streamlining measures. We have realigned our investigative priorities under our quality-over-quantity policy. We have established executive development programs. We have re-structured our headquarters operations. We have updated our internal inspection procedures. We have conducted and continue to conduct in-depth studies of key programs and operations within the FBI.

But perhaps the most important thing that has happened within the FBI is this: We have achieved a condition in which change and improvement are not only possible, but are encouraged. We are responsive to public attitudes and the changing needs of our society.

And while laboring to accomplish all this, we have cooperated fully with those inquiring into the operations and policies of the FBI, including the members and the staffs of several Congressional committees.

But whatever changes in public attitudes or management policies may occur, some things remain constant for the Street Agent.

He or she is subject to call day or night to investigate any one of the great multitude of Federal crimes over which Congress has given the FBI investigative jurisdiction.

The assignment may be in his own field office, or in some other state, and when he packs he knows he had better take plenty of socks and shirts.

I'm sure you can appreciate the fact that FBI employees do not perceive themselves as a gang of burglars. They do not view themselves as reckless privateers bent on pillaging Americans' great heritage of rights.

And neither do I.

By and large, the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI today have a clear understanding of their mission in our democratic society -- much clearer, I think, than some of our critics.

And so do FBI people up and down the entire administrative structure. They have a firm grasp of the rules by which they must pursue that mission. And they are absolutely certain that it is a <u>vital</u> mission worthy of all the dedication and diligence they devote to it — a mission worthy of dying for, as Agents Ronald A. Williams and Jack R. Coler did in South Dakota, last year.

And that mission is to strive for a condition of peace and tranquility in our country -- a condition in which Americans can freely exercise their rights and privileges.

Our people know the only way we can truly contribute to that is through the lawful, ethical and efficient handling of the FBI's mandated responsibilities in the areas of crime and national security.

I don't think there is any Agent or executive in the FBI today who doesn't understand that these responsibilities must be fulfilled with the least possible intrusion into the lives of our citizens, including their right of legitimate dissent.

I have made that abundantly clear.

I intend to see to it that all the rules are followed. Certainly that is one of the basic obligations I have to the people of this country as Director of the FBI.

But I also feel an obligation to all the Street Agent Joe Smiths and all the FBI executives who labor honorably and effectively each day in behalf of this great nation.

Someone must speak in their behalf.

You may recall that when I became FBI Director in 1973, one of the policies I instituted was that of openness. I said we would answer all media inquiries candidly insofar as we are permitted to do so by mandates of law and ethics, and Department of Justice regulations.

I felt this policy would enable us and the news media to convey to the American people an accurate picture of what the FBI does, and by what authority the FBI does it.

It was not an easy policy to implement. The FBI for many years had maintained something less than a wide open stance in its dealings with the news media.

But an open policy had worked well in Kansas City, Missouri, where I had been police chief for 12 years. Never had I misled or put off a reporter. And never had I been victimized by a reporter.

But the news media policy that had worked so well in Kansas City has been something less than a smashing success in Washington, D. C.

And that element of the news media that has come to be known as the "national news media" must bear its fair share of the responsibility for that.

Granted, some skeletons in the FBI's past have come rattling out of the closet -- and we fully expect to be clobbered in the news media when there is credible evidence of wrongdoing.

The question is, do you kill the piano player because he strikes a few sour notes in an otherwise magnificent performance that spans some 50 years?

Who truly loses if the FBI should be utterly discredited? I think the American people would be the losers. The American people also would lose if the national press should become so afflicted with scandal-mania that its credibility is suspect.

Now let me emphasize that I have been most heartened by the objective, common sense treatment of the FBI that has been accorded it by many, many newspapers and other media throughout the nation. I have seen editorials in New Mexico newspapers that have given excellent perspective to our endeavors. And I am most grateful.

But even respected members of the journalism profession have begun to question how the <u>national</u> news media is using its great power and prestige.

The Washington Post's in-house press critic, Charles Seib, says that "an aggravated instinct for the jugular" has developed in the press since Watergate.

Newsweek pointed out last May that some feel the main interest of investigative journalism should be "to explain why government works the way it does -- to enlighten and not just to indict."

Wes Gallagher, recently retired head of Associated Press, gave a very frank address at AP's last annual meeting.

In it he said that the First Amendment is "not a hunting license as some today seem to think." He said it is "a privilege and a right to exercise on behalf of the public." And he warned that "too many readers are beginning to look upon the press as a multivoiced shrew nitpicking through the debris of government decisions for scandals but not solutions."

Fortune magazine noted that "never before has the American press exercised so much power so independently or found itself vested with such prestige and glamour."

But the author said that "thoughtful news executives are deeply concerned about the credibility problem that is being created by the press," in essence by opening its pages to every element with an ax to grind against government or business.

But more to my point here today is this excerpt from the Fortune magazine article:

"In the long run, the greatest danger to the national press is probably posed, not by public unhappiness with its political position, but by the intense feeling among executives, in business and government, about what they see as its systematic distrust of all established institutions.

"There is growing concern among these executives that the new journalism has made it hard for them to make their records and views known to the public on their own terms."

And having managed the FBI with an open stance policy since 1973, I can attest to that.

Frankly, the effect it has had on me is, I am more wary.

And though I am committed to the proposition that a government agency has an absolute obligation to account to the people for its activities, my wariness is going to be reflected in the FBI's press policy.

In some instances, when we opened our doors and extended every consideration to certain representatives of the news media, we were nailed to the barn door. We were journalistically bludgeoned -- not by <u>full exposure</u> of all the facts -- but by <u>systematic selection and emphasis</u> of facts, with some heavy handed "interpretation" thrown in.

If the FBI dealt with its sources of information the way certain members of the national news media deal with us, if we were to pick and choose the facts that suited our purpose, we would soon be unable to function effectively. And I wonder if these journalists do not run similar risks.

We don't expect to be stroked every time we do something worthwhile. We know that many members of the media pride themselves as having an adversary relationship with governmental agencies -- but we should be able to expect fair play.

The journalist who tells it like it is, whether we are right or wrong -- and most of them do -- has my deepest respect and my pledge of cooperation.

But if a journalist continually displays an obsession to support his own hostile notions about our agency, or to support a boilerplate editorial policy without regard for objectivity, then he cannot expect to continue to enjoy any sort of productive relationship with us.

It is true that as a government agency we are accountable to the people. We will fulfill that obligation.

But we will <u>not</u> continue to throw open the doors for those who invariably dash us with scalding water.

As Director, I owe it to Street Agent Joe Smith, I owe it to about 20,000 other FBI employees, in fact, I owe it to more than 215 million Americans, not to gratuitously contribute to the destruction of the FBI's credibility.

Credibility is a precious commodity. Without it, the FBI could not effectively fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. And neither could the national news media.

I mentioned the adversary relationship between the news media and governmental agencies. I don't think the FBI has maintained an adversary posture with the national news media. The adversarial relationship has been strictly one-sided. But if there is to be a productive relationship between us, one that will truly benefit our society, there must be mutual respect.

I have always felt there are common bonds between law enforcement and the news media.

Our respective roles in our society were mandated for us in the Constitution and handed down to us by our Founding Fathers.

We are both servants of the American people.

In our fact-gathering, in our seeking for truth, we should have only their best interests at heart. I'm sure you share that belief.

This commonality of purpose is manifested daily by our field offices around the country in their relationships with the vast majority of news media in their areas.

And we are both grateful for, and anxious to preserve, the rapport that exists at the local level. It is a creative, constructive rapport that serves not only to inform the public but to combat crime.

I recently praised a group of journalists for the work many of them and their colleagues had done to expose organized crime hoodlums. Some of your colleagues have died or suffered physical harm because of their efforts against organized crime -- just as some of our Agents have in their official duties.

Thousands of hard-working, dedicated, fair-minded journalists daily go about their mission of digging up the facts and accurately reporting them in a professional manner. They are indispensable to the news-gathering enterprise. They are the foremost ambassadors of truth in our society.

And it is the Street Agent Joe Smiths in the FBI who, in their daily war against crime and terroristic intimidation, help to assure that these journalists will continue to exercise their First Amendment rights in an enlightened democracy -- boldly, and without fear.

And just as I shall continue to respect, support and work in behalf of a vigorous, outspoken press, I will



continue to work in behalf of a viable FBI -- an effective FBI with its credibility alive and well. Insofar as it is within my power, I will not permit that credibility to be destroyed.

I hope you will continue to support us in that effort. Thank you.

DECOME SO AFFLICTED WITH SCANDAL MANIA THAT ITS CREDIBILITY IS ABOUT 200,000 OTHER FBI EMPLOYES, IN FACT, I OHE 17 TO MORE THAN 215

POST, 10-16-76 Levi Tells Kelley To Soften Speech Critical of Media

By John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer
FBI Director Clarence M. F

Kelley Attack on Media Is Stifled by White House

the agency.

By Jerry Oppenheimer

Washington Star Staff Writer

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley

have written critical stories about

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