J. Edgar Hoover's
Detention Plan

The Politics of Repression in the United States, 1939–1976

one dollar

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THE POLITICS OF REPRESSION

For the past few years the United States intelligence agencies have been a public spectacle. An unending string of sensational stories in the popular press has revealed that the main activities of the guardians of our national security have been surveillance (snooping and collecting dossiers) and counterintelligence (disruption) of constitutionally protected and fully legal political activities.

Spurred into action by an inquisitive corps of journalists and a disgruntled public, Congressional committees and Presidential commissions have taken a more comprehensive look at intelligence "abuses," and some of their findings have been published. These and earlier disclosures have been analyzed in a number of books and scholarly articles.

Prior to 1971 political activists who thought they were being spied on and wiretapped by the government feared to tell anyone lest they be thought "paranoid." Very few of these dared to consider that their organizations were being systematically "neutralized" by the government.

Two events changed all that: One was the burglary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's field office in Media, Pennsylvania, in March of 1971, followed by the publication of many of the stolen documents. This was the first public revelation of the term "COINTELPRO," J. Edgar Hoover's "cryptonym" for his program to derail movements for social change. The second was the publication of the Pentagon Papers beginning in June of 1971, which documented the degree to which the most important government policies were carried out in secret, wilfully deceiving the public.

These disclosures opened the floodgates, and new revelations continue to be made.

Today, seven years later, we have a somewhat different problem. No longer does anyone doubt the scope of government violations of citizens' rights. The task is to analyze the information in order to place these events in proper perspective, to draw the proper lessons from them.

One difficulty is figuring out the political priorities and strategies of those in power. Simply put, who were the government's main enemies, and how were they treated?

Since we know that a spectrum of people ranging from Black and Third World revolutionary organizations to women's rap groups was targeted, the answer does not come easily. The FBI and the other intelligence agencies collected, filed, and disseminated information on millions of individuals and thousands of organizations.

On the other hand we know that the "subjects" of political surveillance were not treated equally. Leaders of the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement were assassinated; women's liberationists weren't. The FBI took pride in jailing as many members of the Revolutionary Action Movement as possible and is still harassing Puerto Rican nationalists; very few anti-war clergy received similar treatment.

Facts of this sort have helped most observers see the general outline of the pattern of repression, but they don't give a detailed picture of the government's main targets and they provide only the most general guide to developments and changes in the priorities for repression.

Another approach is to examine the various listings of "subversives" kept by the Attorney General, the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Internal Revenue Service, or others. Some writers have played the "numbers game," with headlines featuring the thousands of names in a given computer printout.

None of these have been very helpful for our purpose. The Attorney General's list at one time contained nearly 300 organizations, most of them defunct or ineffective by the time they were included. HUAC "cited" thousands, to the delight of the blacklisting agencies. Some of the lists were compiled because of particular vulnerabilities of certain individuals to specific forms of repression — for example

IRS harassment.

We believe a good preliminary survey of the U.S. strategy for repression from 1939 to 1976 can be learned from a careful study of the Emergency Detention Plan. It was a plan undertaken with the approval of the President, under the authority of the Attorney General. After it had been in operation for more than a decade, it was formally approved by Congress in the Emergency Detention Act of 1950 and was on the books for more than 20 years. Even after the Act was repealed in 1971, the FBI continued the program. With minimum effort, the target list for detention could be revived on short notice, even though it has been officially "cancelled."

The purpose of the program was to identify individuals considered most dangerous to the government so that in the event of "national emergency" they could be rounded up by the FBI and placed in designated concentration camps which could be instantly readied to receive them. At its height, the list targeted more than 26,000 individuals. At times those listed were divided into categories according to how subversive they were considered to be. In 1976 the list contained approximately 1,300 names.

Much of the historical background and development of this FBI program is described in the hearings and reports of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (Church Committee); the House Select Committee on Intelligence (Pike Committee); and the House Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice (Kastenmeier Subcommittee). The 1976 report by the General Accounting Office entitled "FBI Domestic Intelligence Operations — Their Purpose And Scope: Issues That Need To Be Resolved" contains a good summary. An excellent popular pamphlet, written long before official documentation was available, is *Concentration Camps USA* by Charles R. Allen, Jr., published in 1966 by the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties and Marzani and Munsell Publishers. "America's

Concentration Camps: the Rumors and the Realities" by William Hedgepeth appeared in the May 28, 1968 issue of *Look*. Many newspaper accounts contain details — the best is probably "FBI Reported to Have Listed Citizens to Detain during Crisis" by John M. Crewdson in the August 3, 1975 *New York Times*.

We believe, however, that this pamphlet is the first political history of the program available to the public. We have used files of a number of individuals who were targeted for emergency detention at various times from World War II to today, obtained from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act. We have agreed to protect their anonymity, but we are grateful for their help. Had they not permitted us access to their FBI files, this pamphlet would not have been possible.

* * * * *

From 1939 to the present the Bureau has maintained a list of individuals to be rounded up and placed in detention camps in the event of a national emergency.

Only a few of the names included on this list have ever been made public. Apparently it doesn't contain a cast of stars like those on Nixon's enemies list. The people in charge of political repression must have believed that celebrities cannot be put in concentration camps without endangering the entire operation. "Prominent persons" were given special review because their arrests "might cause the Bureau some embarrassment," leading to "considerable adverse publicity and criticism of the FBI."

At first there was no statutory backing for such a list of persons or their detention, should it be thought necessary.

In 1939 J. Edgar Hoover said that the General Intelligence Division (GID) of the FBI had "compiled extensive indices of individuals, groups, and organizations engaged in

. . . subversive activities, in espionage activities, or any activities that are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States." He added, "These indexes have been arranged not only alphabetically but also geographically, so that at any time, should we enter into the conflict abroad, we would be able to go into any of these communities and identify individuals and groups who might be a source of grave danger to the security of this country. Their backgrounds and activities are known to the Bureau."

In 1940, Hoover revealed the types of persons singled out for what he then called the "general intelligence index." They included "known espionage agents, known saboteurs, leading members of the Communist Party, and the bund." Hoover's reference to "the bund" really meant the German-American Bund and other pro-Nazi organizations, including the Ku Klux Klan. (In August 1940 a meeting of the Bund and the Klan at Camp Nordland in New Jersey symbolized the merger of U.S. and German fascism.)

The list contained only two classes of people — those to be apprehended in an emergency and those to be watched. It was normally referred to as the custodial detention list until Attorney General Francis Biddle decided to abolish it in 1943. Biddle said the program wasn't legal, but the FBI director did not comply and instead changed the list's name to the Security Index (SI).

In August 1948 the Department of Justice told the FBI that a program was "under consideration for the detention of communists in the event of a national emergency or hostilities between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. through Presidential Directive which would empower the Secretary of War to define a military exclusion area and would provide for the detention of persons by the Bureau of Prisons." The FBI received a portfolio from Justice detailing the plan, which had actually been suggested by the FBI two years earlier.

In 1949, according to an interoffice memo, the FBI

began using IBM punch cards for storage and retrieval of the SI.

At that time the Bureau established its own detention priorities, labeled Detcom (Detention of Communists) and Comsab. The Comsab program dwelt on communists with a potential for sabotage "either because of their training or because of their position relative to vital or strategic installations or industry." The Detcom program targeted "all top functionaries, all key figures, all individuals tabbed under the Comsab program," and "any other individual who, though he does not fall in the above groups, should be given priority arrest because of some peculiar circumstances." The Justice Department was never informed of the existence of these priority detention lists, although they represented what were probably considered the most dangerous left figures in the country.

During the hysteria over Korea, what has become popularly known as the McCarran Act — the Internal Security Act of 1950 — was passed by Congress over President Harry S. Truman's veto. "It is not enough to say that this probably would not be done," Truman said about the detention of dissidents. "The mere fact that it could be done shows clearly how the bill would open a Pandora's box of opportunities for official condemnation of organizations and individuals for perfectly honest opinions. . . . The basic error of these sections is that they move in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief . . . a long step toward totalitarianism."

Thus finally, ten years after the FBI began targeting individuals for detention in an emergency, it received statutory authorization to do so.

Among the provisions of that Act, named after its chief sponsor in the Senate, Pat McCarran, was a section called Title II: the Emergency Detention Act. (Title I, authored by then-Representative Richard Nixon, outlawed the Communist Party; it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme

Court.)

Title II, sponsored by Hubert Humphrey, authorized the Attorney General to apprehend and detain "in such places of detention as may be provided by him . . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage."

In order for the detention to take place, an "internal security emergency" must be declared by the President. The conditions for such an emergency were three: an invasion of the U.S. or its possessions, a declaration of war by Congress, or an "insurrection" within the U.S. in aid of a "foreign enemy."

Two warrants were prepared, one entitled "Master Warrant of Arrest," the other, "Master Search Warrant." The arrest warrant authorized "the arrest of the persons on the attached list . . . to be detained and confined until further order." It could be executed "at any hour of the day or night."

The other authorized confiscation of

> firearms, weapons or implements of war or component parts thereof, ammunition, bombs, explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives, short-wave radio receiving sets, transmitting sets, signal devices, codes or ciphers, cameras, means for promoting biological warfare, radioactive materials, atomic devices, or component parts thereof, propaganda material of the enemy or insurgents, propaganda material which fosters, encourages or promotes the policies, programs or objectives of the enemy or insurgents, printing presses, mimeograph machines, or other reproducing media on which such propaganda aforementioned has been or is being prepared, records, including membership and financial records, of organizations or groups that have

been declared subversive or may hereafter be declared subversive by the Attorney General, cash funds either in currency or coin, promissory notes or checks, securities of any nature, papers, documents, writings, code books, signal books, sketches, photographs, photograph negatives, blue prints, plans, maps, models, instruments, appliances, graphic representations, papers, documents, or books on which there may be invisible writing relating to or concerning any military, naval, or air, post, camp, station or installation or equipment or of any arms, ammunition, implements of war, devices or things used or intended to be used in the combat equipment of the land, naval or air forces of the United States or of any military, naval, or air, post, camp, station or installation, and any and all files, dossiers, records, documents or papers of any kind which relate in any way to the identity, activities or operations of any person who is or may be engaged in espionage or sabotage against the interests of the United States.

The warrants needed only a date and the Attorney General's signature to be activated. They did not really comply with the statute; it required individual arrest warrants, which the FBI said would be too time-consuming, and had no provision at all for searches or confiscation.

At the time of the Act's passage, the SI was said to have 11,930 names, distributed as follows:

Communist Party	11,491
Socialist Workers Party	308
Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico	77
Independent Socialist League	45
Proletarian Party of America	6
Independent Labor League	2
Revolutionary Workers League	1

Hoover had set these standards for inclusion in the SI:

> Individuals whose party membership or affiliation in a revolutionary group has not been proven, but who have committed past acts of violence during strikes, riots, or demonstrations, and, because of anarchist or revolutionary beliefs, are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety and welfare.
>
> * * *
>
> A number of individuals are now carried on the Security Index who were placed thereon several years ago . . . yet concerning whom we have no developed current activity of a subversive nature. These individuals have not been removed from the Security Index in the absence of positive indication of disaffection or cessation of the activities which caused them to be placed on the index. Bearing in mind the instructions of the Communist Party relative to "sleepers" and underground activities . . . we have no assurance that these individuals are not a continued potential threat . . . and, indeed, have strong reason to believe to the contrary.
>
> * * *
>
> Individuals . . . whose association and activities are closely affiliated with individuals or organizations having a definite foreign interest or connection contrary and detrimental to the interests of the United States. Examples are certain employees and associates of Amtorg, Tass News Agency, United Nations, foreign legations, etc.

After the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1951, list had grown to 13,901 names.

By May of 1951, the SI included 15,390 names —

14,000 of them believed to be Communist Party members.

Mere membership in the party did not qualify someone for SI inclusion, though. A separate Communist Index, containing information on all known and suspected members, was established, and by early 1951 it contained a whopping 200,000 names, 42,000 in New York City alone. The FBI kept this sweeping index secret from Justice.

By the end of 1954, the SI hit an all-time high with 26,174 persons designated for detention in case of an internal security emergency. The FBI added many people who were considered dangerous but who didn't fall within the McCarran Act's standards.

The SI consisted of 5x8 cards containing name, date and place of birth, citizenship, occupation, residence, "nationalistic tendencies," file numbers, and organizational affiliation of the subject. Additions and deletions of individuals for the SI had to be passed on at FBI headquarters, and evidence indicates that, at least in some cases, the task was done by Hoover, himself.

Final approval was furnished by Justice except for a period during 1955 when they lacked the manpower and funds to do so.

Therefore, in that same year the FBI decided to revise SI criteria to minimize the inevitable criticism resulting from its dual role in deciding on who should be included on the SI and giving final approval to the names.

The result of this reorganization reduced the Index's size down to 12,870 by 1958.

The cancelled SI cards, after 1955, were kept in field offices, providing a reserve index and serving as a supplementary detention list.

In 1956, the FBI decided to use these cancelled cards for a revision of the Communist Index, which had "grown unwieldy." Justice probably never was advised of the existence of this file. The revision of the Communist Index

(renamed the Reserve Index in 1960) pared names down from 17,783 to 12,784.

By mid-1959, figures indicate another reduction in the number of names on the SI to 11,782.

Three years later, after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the FBI decided to intensify investigations of pro- and anti-Castro groups. The Cuban Missile Crisis precipitated the beginnings of a special Cuban Section of the SI. At that time, there were 11,165 names on the SI itself.

Investigations of rightist and extremist groups also increased in view of the increase in racial conflicts during that period. Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered Hoover to go after the Ku Klux Klan using the same tactics he was using against the Communist Party.

In 1963, as a direct result of the alarm the FBI felt over the fact that Lee Harvey Oswald was not listed on the SI, the factors qualifying subjects for a listing were broadened to include those with any contact with Sino-Soviet-bloc nations or their organizations, persons who had defected or revoked their U.S. citizenship in favor of a Sino-Soviet-bloc country, and even subversives with a history of emotional instability.

The ghetto riots of 1964 caused the FBI to take a harder look at so-called Black extremists, and after two more long, hot summers they became alarmed about urban violence. They also began taking a closer look at the radical student groups.

* * * * *

The forms used by the FBI for their SI subjects, "FD-122," reflect this shift in awareness, providing a guide to the list's political priorities. Each one contained a checklist of political affiliations, and the additions to and deletions from the checklist reveal these changes.

During World War II the checklist categories were Communist, Fascist (Italian), German, and Japanese, plus the ever-present Miscellaneous. After the war, only the Communist category remained. (Communist at that time was a generic term covering all of the Marxist groups.)

In 1951 the form specified Communist, Socialist Workers Party, and Independent Socialist League. (The ISL was carried until 1966, eight years after it had ceased to exist. Apparently the FBI considered its former members to be subversive even after they repudiated Leninism and joined the Socialist Party.)

During these early years the FD-122 form was revised five times. In 1953 the blank added a section on "Key Facility Data" and "Geographical Reference Number" to coordinate with the various military intelligence agencies responsible for security in defense-related industries and strategically important areas.

The Comsab priority listing was dropped in 1960, but Detcom was retained. Other changes were trivial until 1968.

Beginning in 1968, the form included initials representing the following 15 groups: Communist, Workers World Party (WWP), Nation of Islam (NOI), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), Johnson-Forest Group (JFG), Progressive Labor Party (PLP), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNC), Spartacist League (SL), Anarchists (ANA), Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC), Puerto Rican Nationalists (PRN), Proletarian Party of America (PPA), and Black Nationalists (BNA). Still, no right-wing organizations were included. For the first time the form now asked for union affiliation.

In 1968, proposals were introduced in both houses of Congress to tighten power of the federal government to detain dissidents in concentration camps. HUAC came out

with suggestions for using detention centers for Black urban revolutionaries. A Senate bill advocated enlarging the categories of potential detainees. Neither passed.

The following year the form was updated to include the Black Panther Party (BPP) and, for the first time since World War II ended, one ultra-right group, the Minutemen (MIN). The POC had changed its name to American Workers Communist Party (AWC). For the first time, the checklist was alphabetized. In 1971 Anarchists were replaced by New Left (NL).

Forms beginning in 1951 included a space labeled "Tab for Detcom" and "Tab for Comsab." The Comsab label had been deleted from the 1960 form, indicating that that program was probably abolished. Individuals placed on Detcom had automatically included those tabbed for Comsab anyway, although the Detcom category was broader in scope.

Beginning with the 1969 revision, these designations were replaced by the Priority Apprehension Program.

The new Priority I designated top-level leaders of "subversive organizations and anarchist groups"; Priority II was second-level leadership; and Priority III was rank-and-file members and everyone else on the SI. FBI field offices were required to verify home and business addresses for those listed in Priority I every three months and annually for the others.

The FBI has not released figures for Priority I, but in the fall of 1970, there were 10,690 persons in Priority II or III of the SI, due to the expanded intelligence caused by the increased concern with SDS and the New Left.

In the fall of 1971, Congress repealed the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, throwing the FBI into a position where it could be forced to curtail domestic intelligence activity.

Obviously, with the repeal of the Act, the reasoning behind the index's existence was threatened. The FBI was

no longer under the law when it came to maintaining a list of names for detention because the emergency detention itself was outlawed.

However, the Bureau had no intention of destroying their valuable file and appealed to Attorney General John Mitchell for a ruling. He wrote: ". . . The repeal of the . . . Act does not alter or limit the FBI's authority and responsibility to record, file and index information secured. . . . An FBI administrative index compiled and maintained to assist the Bureau in making readily retrievable and available the results of its investigations into subversive activities and related matters is not prohibited by repeal of the Emergency Detention Act."

In other words, the FBI was given permission to keep their files intact. Hoover took Mitchell's cue and changed the name of the Security Index to Administrative Index (ADEX). The Reserve Index was abolished.

The ADEX contained four levels reflecting standards for placing subjects of "security investigations" on the list, now called Categories, in place of the old SI's three Priorities.

According to a memo sent out to all field offices, Category I contained:

1) All national leaders of revolutionary organizations to overthrow the government by violence or "other unconstitutional means" and members of those organizations prone to violence "against the person rather than property" or who have received special training in warfare or sabotage.

2) Revolutionaries prone to violence or terrorism and unaffiliated with any specific organization.

3) "National leaders of black extremist separatist organizations."

4) Anyone qualifying for ADEX who is "employed in or has access to a key facility."

Category II was composed of:

1) "Secondary leadership of revolutionary and black extremist" groups.

2) Active participants of these groups.

3) Unaffiliated persons who have demonstrated "a propensity for violence against property."

Category III targeted:

1) Rank-and-file members within the last 5 years.

2) Leadership in "front" organizations within the last 3 years.

3) Any non-affiliated revolutionary whose ideology makes him "likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to commit acts of espionage or sabotage."

Category IV was made up of all those who didn't fit in I-III but who might influence others to engage in revolutionary acts. This included authors, lecturers, professors, etc., who were not already included in the upper three Categories. ADEX was computerized in 1972.

"The assumption that the ADEX could be used as the basis for detention or other action in an emergency was made clear in the standards for Category III," states the Church Committee Final Report. "However, when these criteria were supplied to the Justice Department in 1972, the Attorney General did not question the fact that the ADEX was more than just an administrative aid for conducting current investigations."

In May of 1972, Hoover died, and almost immediately the ADEX was revised so as not to seem to go around the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act.

The revised ADEX in 1973 trimmed the list by almost two thirds — from 15,259 to 4,786 in the top two priority categories, and eliminated the distinguishing rank from those who remained on the list.

The 1973 ADEX form reflects the ebb of activity by mass organizations. Many targeted groups have been removed from the form and only seven remain, including a general category known as Black Extremist (BEX) and three types of Communists — Pro-Chinese (CMC), Pro-Soviet (CMS), and Trotskyist (CMT). A general category called Foreign Affiliation (FRN) appears along with a specific grouping, Puerto Rican Nationalist (PRN). All other subversives are designated as Revolutionary (REV), which represents an abandonment of the term "New Left." Naturally the Miscellaneous designation remains. Once again, no right-wing groups are included.

As of January 1975, the ADEX was said to contain 1,537 listings. In August of that same year it had dwindled to 1,294.

The Church Committee Final Reports of April 23, 1976 state, "The FBI has recently abolished completely its ADEX, . . . of persons considered 'dangerous now.'" FBI Director Clarence Kelley had told another investigating committee that "Past lists cannot be reconstructed" in a 1975 memorandum.

Both of these statements are false. Kelley was more truthful, as well as more ambiguous, when he wrote in 1977 that the ADEX had been "cancelled as of January 14, 1976" and is "no longer operational." He added, "Due to the moratorium agreement with the Senate leadership none of the material connected with the ADEX had yet been destroyed."

Actually, even were the FBI to destroy all copies of the ADEX cards at Bureau headquarters and in the field offices, it would not be difficult to reconstruct the list. A simple secretarial search of each 100- prefix file (the security investigation code number) would locate the individuals who were formerly included. Agents would be sent out to update the information on these individuals and the plan would be back in business.

* * * * *

It was not a coincidence that 1968, the year that the scope of the Security Index was greatly enlarged, was also the time that other FBI intelligence and counter-intelligence activities were expanded. Two new programs began which were aimed at specific groups — the Key Activist Program and the Black Nationalist Photograph Album.

Key Activists were defined as "individuals in the Students for a Democratic Society and the anti-Vietnam war groups [who] are extremely active and most vocal in their statements denouncing the United States and calling for civil disobedience and other forms of unlawful and disruptive acts."

In May 1968, the FBI got IRS information on these people and in some cases used this and other intelligence as part of COINTELPRO operations.

The Black Nationalist Photograph Album was a list of fewer than 50 prominent, militant Black nationalists who traveled extensively. The picture and biographies were distributed to all field offices so these people could be identified wherever they showed up.

Later a Key Activist Album was started for identifying all on the Key Activist program. This album was used in the same manner as its counterpart for Blacks.

In 1970, the FBI also developed a Key Black Extremist program (KBE) for concentrated investigation and COINTELPRO operations.

The KBE program was just another carefully chosen thread to be woven into the intelligence network. For example, all KBEs were included in Priority I of the SI. They were also put into the Black Nationalist Photograph Album and a handwriting sample sent to the National Security file at FBI headquarters. Travel of all KBEs was monitored and their IRS forms were checked, as were bank accounts, safe

deposit boxes, and other assets.

Another important index compiled in 1967 was that initially called the Rabble Rouser Index. Hoover described this as "an index . . . of racial agitators and individuals who have demonstrated a propensity for fomenting racial discord." Instructions to the field on this index noted: "The fact that an individual is on the Security Index or Reserve Index does not preclude his inclusion on the Rabble Rouser Index." The first index contained no more than 100 names. Foreign travel of these activists was monitored.

According to the Church Committee, "At the same time as the creation of the Rabble Rouser Index, the FBI instituted a COINTELPRO program aimed at disrupting and discrediting black nationalist or black extremist groups and individuals. The Rabble Rouser Index served as a convenient list of primary targets for COINTELPRO activity."

Later in 1967, this index was broadened to persons with "a propensity for fomenting" any disorders affecting "internal security," not solely racial disorder. In March of 1968, the Rabble Rouser Index was renamed the Agitator Index. At that time it contained about 200 names. During 1969 it grew to approximately 700, and on October 29, 1970 there were 1,131 names on the list. In 1971, the index was abolished because of its overlap with the SI.

* * * * *

Throughout the period covered in this pamphlet the great preponderance of political repression has been aimed at organized leftists and at movements of oppressed nationalities.

At vanishing moments, right-wingers were targeted — fascists during World War II, Klansmen and Minutemen more recently. But the general pattern is clear: Marxists of every stripe, Puerto Rican and Black nationalists, and New Leftists

were the FBI's main enemies, and remain so. The rise of each of these movements earned J. Edgar Hoover's hatred — their members were added to his list.

Of course he had other plans for them as well. Disruption and divide-and-rule were his usual methods of "neutralizing" these movements, along with occasional use of violence. But if all else failed, the United States government was prepared to place thousands of its citizens in detention camps — with or without a Congressional mandate.

The government never resorted to this plan, but countless dollars and hours of work were spent in preparation for it. Six detention centers were maintained by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons during the McCarran Act years in stand-by condition: Allenwood, Pennsylvania; El Reno, Oklahoma; Florence and Wickenburg, Arizona; Avon Park, Florida; and Tule Lake (Newell), California.

There is every reason to believe the government was fully prepared to implement its plans. During World War II, 110,000 Japanese on the West Coast were herded into concentration camps; at that time the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the mass arrests, detentions, and property confiscations were legal.

It could happen again.

† † †

A PERSONAL NOTE

Were it not so ominous, I would consider the FBI's decision to include my name on the ADEX comical.

I came to Mississippi as a civil rights activist and journalist in 1971, on the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Shortly after I arrived the FBI in Jackson learned of my presence and opened a file on me.

The file contained detailed and redundant reports on my activities, with about equal shares of fact and fancy -- some informer reports conflict with others.

On March 23, 1974, the day I made a speech on organizing workers in Mississippi to a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild in Atlanta, undercover agent JN T-1 told the FBI that s/he considered me "a threat to the security of this country in the event of a national emergency."

The following month, on April 17, Special Agent Charles Sheppard Jr. filled out an FD-122 form entering my name on the ADEX. My occupation was listed as "Reporter" and an X was typed in the box labeled "(CMT) Communist (Trotskyist)." The slip was initialed by Special Agent in Charge Roy K. Moore and sent by registered mail to Bureau Headquarters, with two copies of a memorandum providing the names of the informers who had spied on me and three copies of a 10-page "LHM" (Letterhead Memorandum) summarizing the Jackson FBI file on me, number 100-2073.

Three days later, Moore sent three copies of an amended page listing some of my political activities in Chicago in the sixties, noting that my father had reported to the FBI about my political beliefs, and quoting another informer who thought I was a Trotskyist.

A reply from Director Clarence Kelley a month later, May 17, said my name was not being included in the ADEX. The memo, apparently prepared by Robert L. Shackelford for the director, sharply rebuked Moore for designating me a

Trotskyist: "The subject's primary association has been with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF)," and therefore the tabbing "cannot be justified."

The memo actually was a critique of the form, noting it was "contrary to instructions set forth in Manual of Instructions, Section 87E, item 12d, page 23," and missing some required information. A number of trivial bureaucratic errors were noted. Sheppard was chided for referring to the index as "Administrative Adex." Shackelford complained that it was redundant "as ADEX is a contraction of Administrative Index." Also, it apparently irked headquarters that they received "two copies" of the form, "not three."

Kelley and Shackelford concluded, "Personnel responsible for the preparation and approval of referenced correspondence should be scored for error of form."

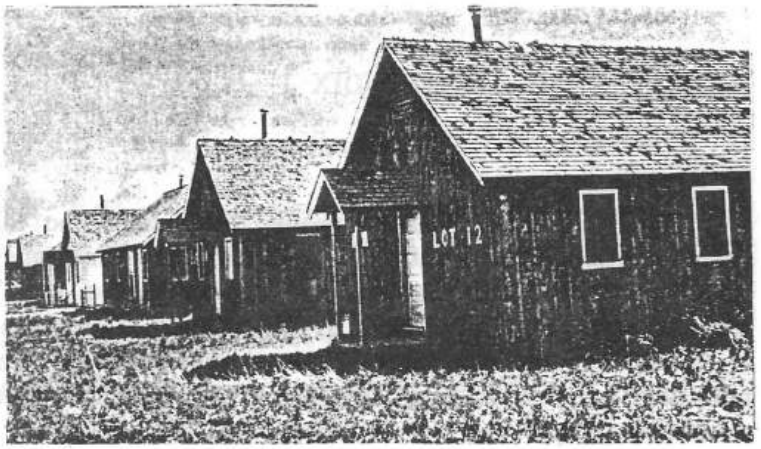
Charlie Sheppard must have had a tough day on May 18.

A friend of mine in Jackson had been on the FBI's lists since December of 1968 -- Agitator Index, Security Index, and Detcom. Sheppard had tried to drop her name from the ADEX in October 1973, because he thought she didn't meet the criterion of "dangerous now," but Kelley, Shackelford, and W. L. Smith said no, keep her on the list because of her SCEF affiliation.

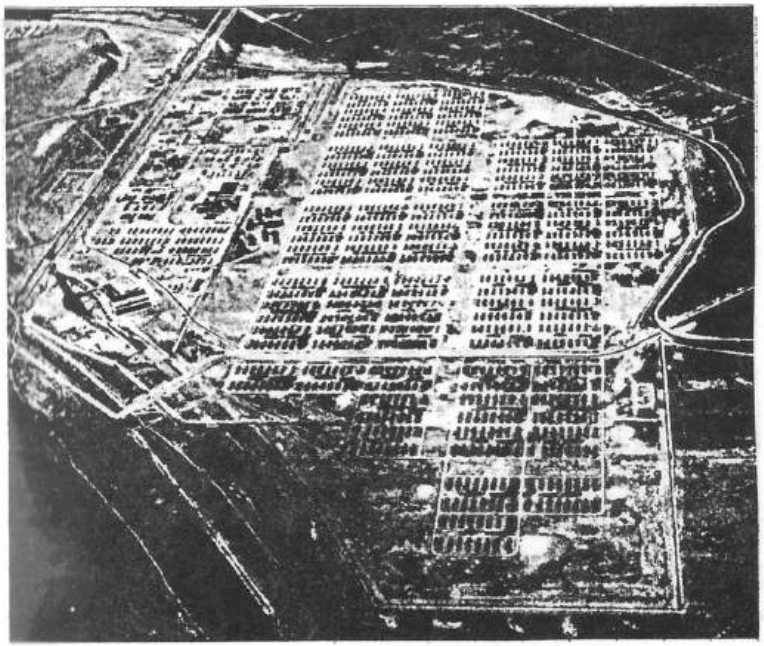
Poor Charlie couldn't win.

Today there are six Mississippians on the ADEX. My name would have been number seven.

Ken Lawrence



During World War II, the "segregation center" at Tule Lake, California, held 22,500 of the incarcerated Issei, Nisei, and Sansei (first-, second-, and third-generation Japanese in the U.S.). It was later one of six locations where McCarran Act camps were established on a stand-by basis. A group of Nisei organized the Committee to Repeal the Emergency Detention Act in 1968. Their campaign succeeded in Congress three years later, but the FBI's plans for detention of "subversives" continued.



APPENDIX 1

The blank arrest warrant needed only dates and the Attorney General's signature to activate the Emergency Detention Plan. This warrant and its companion search warrant were first published by the Church Committee in 1975, but an amazingly accurate approximation was published by Charles Allen in 1966 in the pamphlet *Concentration Camps USA*.

WARRANT

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION:

In pursuance of authority delegated to the Attorney General of the United States by Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, I hereby authorize and direct you and your duly authorized agents to arrest or to cause the arrest of the persons whose names are set forth on the attached list and whom I deem dangerous to the public peace and safety of the United States.

These persons are to be detained and confined until further order.

I further authorize and direct you and your duly authorized agents, upon or subsequent to the arrest of any person set forth on the attached list and without regard to the place where such arrest may be made, to search any and all premises owned, occupied or controlled by such person, as well as any and all premises where such person is, or during the preceding twelve months period has been, employed or engaged in any regular activity, wherein it is believed that there may be found contraband, prohibited articles, or other materials in violation of the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated _____, 19 _____, and as set forth in the Regulations issued pursuant thereto, and to seize and hold any such articles which you may find and make return thereof to the Attorney General.

I further authorize and direct that this warrant may be executed at any hour of the day or night.

By order of the President:

_____
Attorney General

Dated:

APPENDIX 2

Revisions in Security Index (later Administrative Index) forms FD-122 reveal the FBI's shifting targets of political repression. People listed on these were destined for concentration camps in the event of "national emergency."

World War II Form FD-122

FD-122

Bureau of Investig
United States Department of Justice
Detroit, Michigan

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE NO. 100-

Director, FBI

RE: SECURITY MATTER - C

Dear Sir:

It is recommended that a Security Index card be prepared relative to the individual named below:

Name:
Aliases:

Residence Address:

Business Address:

__X__ Native Born _____ Alien _____ Naturalized

__X__ Communist K.F. _____ German _____ Miscellaneous

_____ Fascist (Italian) _____ Japanese _____ _____

Date of Birth _____
Place of Birth _____
Entered U. S. _____ at _____
Naturalized (date) _____
Naturalized (place and Court) _____

Very truly yours,

NBS:WVB
100-

SAC

100 - 1 1
7 DEC 27 1945

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

January 1951 Form FD-122 Revision

STANDARD FORM NO. 64 FD-122 (1-2-51)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-)

DATE:

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-)

SUBJECT: SM - JFG

Card U.T.D. 9-14-54 cts

___ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

Add "JFG"

NATIVE BORN ____ NATURALIZED ____ ALIEN ____

COMMUNIST ____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE ____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) Johnson - Forest Group

TAB FOR DETCOM ____ TAB FOR COMSAB ____ RACE ____ SEX ____

DATE OF BIRTH ____ PLACE OF BIRTH ____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) ____

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Vital Facility List)

RESIDENCE ADDRESS ____

RMS:JBK
REGISTERED

NOT RECORDED
11 SEP 3 1954

SEP 15 1954

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

May 1953 Form FD-122 Revision

STANDARD FORM NO. 64 FD-122 (5-11-53)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-)

DATE:

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-)

Card U.T.D. 2-13-53

SUBJECT: SM-JFG

___ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

NATIVE BORN ____ NATURALIZED ____ ALIEN ____

COMMUNIST ____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE ____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM ____ TAB FOR COMSAB ____ RACE ____ SEX ____

DATE OF BIRTH ____ PLACE OF BIRTH ____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) ____

KEY FACILITY DATA: None
GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE NUMBER ____ RESPONSIBILITY ____

INTERESTED AGENCIES ____ SE 44

RESIDENCE ADDRESS ____

REGISTERED MAIL SEP 20 1955

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

January 1960 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 1-4-60)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-)

SUBJECT: SM - JFG

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only):*

Name		
Aliases		
☐ Native Born	☐ Naturalized	☐ Alien
☐ Communist	☐ Socialist Workers Party	☐ Independent Socialist League
☐ Miscellaneous *(specify)*		
☐ Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address *(show name of employing concern and address)*		
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number 38390		Responsibility Navy
Interested Agencies Navy		
Residence Address		

(2-Bureau (RM)
1-Detroit
(3)
REGISTERED MAIL

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

April 1963 Form FD-122 Revision

(Rev. 4-17-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-)

SUBJECT: SM - JFG

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only):*

Name		
Aliases		
☐ Native Born	☐ Naturalized	☐ Alien
☐ Communist	☐ Socialist Workers Party	☐ Independent Socialist League
☒ Miscellaneous *(specify)* Delete Geographical Reference Number		
☐ Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address *(show name of employing concern and address)*		
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility
Interested Agencies		
Residence Address		

NOT RECORDED
FEB 7 1966

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Detroit
(3)

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

April 1966 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 4-21-66)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-) - C -

SUBJECT: SM - JFG

Cards UTD
Cards Sent

Re:

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name			
Aliases			
☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien			
☐ Communist ☐ Socialist Workers Party ☐ Miscellaneous *(specify)*			
☐ Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race / Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Business Address *(show name of employing concern and address)*			
Key Facility Data: Geographical Reference Number ____ Responsibility ____ Interested Agencies ____			
Residence Address			

REGISTERED MAIL

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Detroit
GH/pws
(3)

54 MAR 8 10

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

February 1968 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 3-21-68)

UNITED STATES G NT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-)

SUBJECT:

Card filed
Cards sent 12/26/68

Re:

☒ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☐ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name			
Aliases		☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien	☐ Delete Detcom
☐ Communist ☐ SWP ☐ JFG ☐ SPL ☐ POC ☐ PPA			
☐ WWP ☐ SDS ☐ PLP ☒ ANA ☐ PRN ☐ BNT			
☐ NOI ☐ RAM ☐ SNC ☐ Miscellaneous *(specify)*			
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race: White	Sex ☐ Male ☒ Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.		Residence Address	
Key Facility Data: Geographical Reference Number ____ Responsibility ____			

REGISTERED MAIL
2 - Bureau
1 - Jackson (1-100-)
DJC:yv

REC-33

EX-113

DEC. 9 1968

57 DEC 20 1968

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

November 1969 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 11-14-69)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI) DATE:

FROM : SAC, JACKSON

SUBJECT:

Re:

☒ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual. ☐ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name

Aliases

☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

Tab ☐ Priority I ☒ Priority II ☐ Priority III

☐ ANA ☐ BPP ☐ MIN ☐ PLP ☐ PRN ☐ SNC ☐ SWP
☐ AWC ☐ COMMUNIST ☐ NOI ☐ PPA ☐ SDS ☐ SPL ☐ WWP
☐ BNT ☐ JFG ☒ Miscellaneous *(Specify)* ___

Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Race: White | Sex: ☒ Male ☐ Female

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. | Residence Address

Key Facility Data

Geographical Reference Number ___ Responsibility ___

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

August 1971 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 8-12-71)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile: 100-) DATE:

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-) (P)

SUBJECT:

SM - NEW LEFT (SCEF)

Re:

Recommend: ☐ SI Card ☒ SI Card changed (specify change only) ☐ Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name

Aliases

☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

Tab ☐ Priority I ☒ Priority II ☐ Priority III

☐ AWC ☐ COMMUNIST ☐ NL ☐ PLP ☐ PRN ☐ SNC ☐ SWP
☐ BNT ☐ JFG ☐ NOI ☐ PPA ☐ SDS ☐ SPL ☐ WWP
☐ BPP ☐ MIN ☒ Miscellaneous *(Specify)* Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Race: White | Sex: ☐ Male ☒ Female

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.: Unknown | Residence Address

Key Facility Data: FD-366 attached.

Geographical Reference Number ___ Responsibility ___

(2)- Bureau (RM)
1 - Jackson
HMR/mae
(3)

JAN 13 1972

DEC 16 1971

RESEARCH SECTION
NEW LEFT

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

November 1971 Form FD-122 Revision

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile 100-) DATE:

FROM: Detroit (100-)

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
4-13-72

SUBJECT: SM-JFG

Re: Bureau letter dated 3/2/72

Recommend: ☐ ADEX Card ☒ ADEX Card changed (specify change only) ☐ Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

ADEX-RECOMMENDATION FOLLOWS

Alias

☐ Native Born
☐ Naturalized
☐ Alien

Tab
☐ Category I
☐ Category II
☐ Category III
☐ Category IV

☐ COMMUNIST ☐ NL ☐ PLP ☐ PRN ☐ SNC ☐ SWP
☐ JFG ☐ NOI ☐ PPA ☐ SDS ☐ SPL ☐ WEP
☐ MIN ☐ Miscellaneous (Specify)

Place of Birth | Race | Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

Residence Address

NOT RECORDED
2 MAR 31 1972

Responsibility

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
CS/lrm
(3)

2 ENCLOSURE

RESEARCH SECTION
SEC.

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

January 1973 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 1-23-73)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile 100-) DATE:

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-)

Cards Sent 00
12/5/73
mas

SUBJECT: SM - CPUSA

Reference:

11/26/73
OK for ADEX
WMC

Recommend: ☒ Inclusion in ADEX (summary attached)*
☒ Removal from ADEX (summary attached)*
☐ Changes in ADEX card (specify change only)
* Abstract required.

Name

Also known as:

☒ Supplemental page attached.

Sex: ☐ Male ☒ Female
Race: ☒ White ☐ Black ☐ Other

Citizenship: ☒ U. S. ☐ Alien - Specify Country

Date of Birth (Month, day, year) | Place of Birth

Residence Address

Employment
Occupation:
Firm & Address:

Type of Activity (Check principal activity only)
☐ (BEX) Black Extremist
☐ (CMC) Communist (pro-Chinese)
☒ (CNS) Communist (pro-Soviet)
☐ (CMT) Communist (Trotskyist)
☐ (FRN) Foreign Affiliation - Specify Country
☐ (PRN) Puerto Rican Nationalist
☐ (REV) Revolutionary
☐ (MSC) Miscellaneous

REC-57
61-110

☐ Tab Special Interest
☐ Espionage
☐ Foreign Government Employee
☐ U. S. Government Employee
☐ Remove Special Interest Tabbing

☐ Place in Unavailable Section OCT 26 1973
☐ Missing
☐ Out of Country
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Remove from Unavailable Section

Key Facility Data (if applicable)
Geographical Reference Number: Responsible Agency:

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Jackson
CS/lrm
(3)

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

March 1974 Form FD-122 Revision

FD-122 (Rev. 3-12-74)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile 100-)

DATE:

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-)

SUBJECT:

Reference: Jackson report of SA

Recommend:
- ☐ Inclusion in ADEX (summary attached)*
- ☒ Removal from ADEX (summary attached)*
- ☐ Changes in ADEX card (specify change only) (Two copies of FD-366 are enclosed for the Bureau)

* Abstract required.

Name

Also known as:

☐ Supplemental page attached.

Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Race: ☐ White ☐ Black ☐ Other

Citizenship: ☐ U. S. ☐ Alien - Specify Country

Date of Birth (Month, day, year)

Place of Birth

Employment

Occupation:

Residence Address

Firm & Address:

Cancelled

JUL 29 1974

Type of Activity (Check principal activity only)
- ☐ (BEX) Black Extremist
- ☐ (CMC) Communist (pro-Chinese)
- ☒ (CMS) Communist (pro-Soviet)
- ☐ (CMT) Communist (Trotskyist)
- ☐ (FRN) Foreign Affiliation - Specify Country
- ☐ (PRN) Puerto Rican Nationalist
- ☐ (REV) Revolutionary
- ☐ (MSC) Miscellaneous

☐ Tab Special Interest
- ☐ Espionage
- ☐ Foreign Government Employee
- ☐ U. S. Government Employee

☐ Remove Special Interest Tabbing

☐ Place in Unavailable Section
- ☐ Missing
- ☐ Out of Country
- ☐ Imprisoned

☐ Remove from Unavailable Section

Key Facility Data (if applicable)

Geographical Reference Number: Responsible Agency:

REC-60 [redacted]-100

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Jackson
CS:bal
(3)

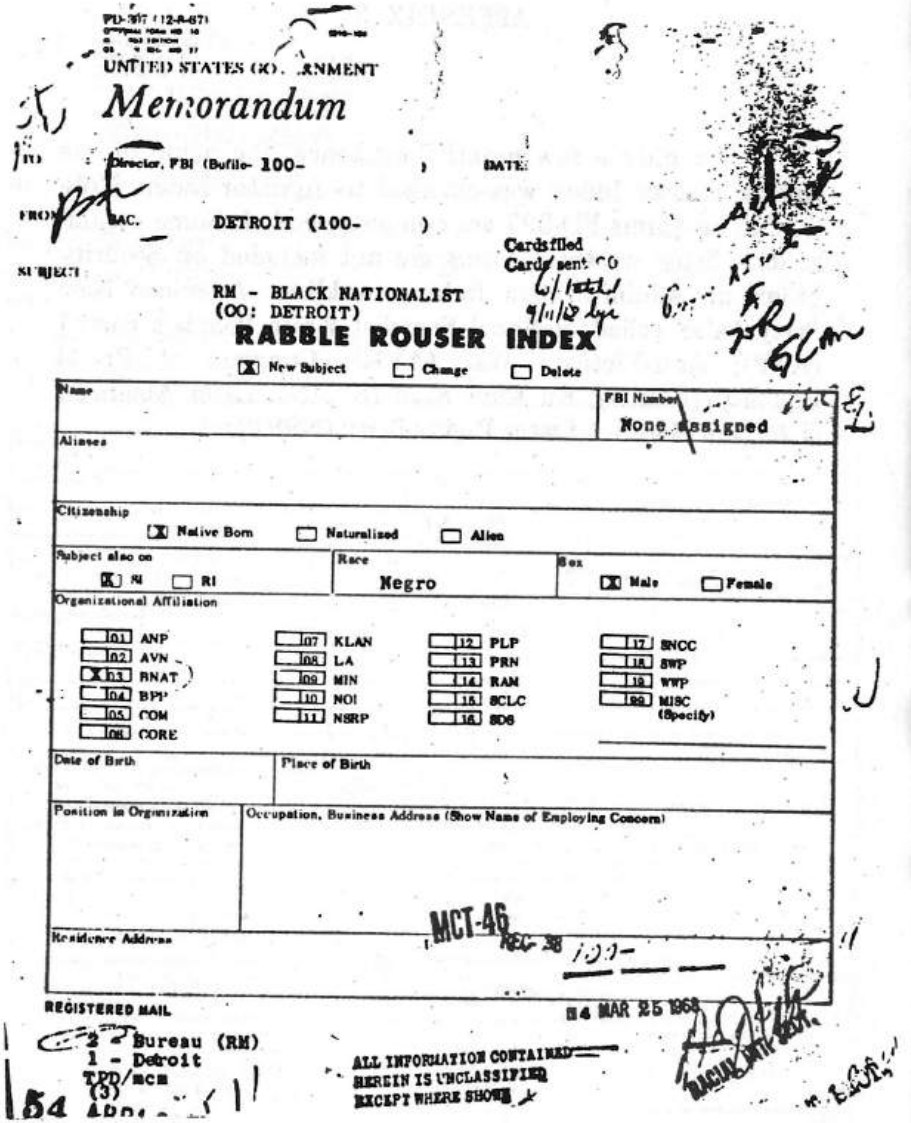
JUL 22 1974

OK to delete from ADEX 7/29/74 RS Court LHB

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]

APPENDIX 3

After only a few months' existence, the name of the Rabble Rouser Index was changed to Agitator Index. Note that these forms FD-397 are computer coded. Some organizations listed on these forms are not included on Security Index or Administrative Index checklists: American Nazi Party [also called National Socialist White People's Party] (ANP); Anti-Vietnam War (AVN); Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Ku Klux Klan (KLAN); Latin American (LA); and National States Rights Party (NSRP).



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-)

SUBJECT:

RM - BLACK NATIONALIST
(OO: DETROIT)

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☒ New Subject ☐ Change ☐ Delete

Name	FBI Number
	None assigned

Aliases

Citizenship: ☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

Subject also on	Race	Sex
☒ SI ☐ RI	Negro	☒ Male ☐ Female

Organizational Affiliation

☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☐ 17 SNCC
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP
☒ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAN	☐ 19 WWP
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC (Specify)
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	
☐ 06 CORE			

Date of Birth | Place of Birth

Position in Organization | Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)

Residence Address

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
TPD/mcm
(3)

Cards filed
Cards sent 00

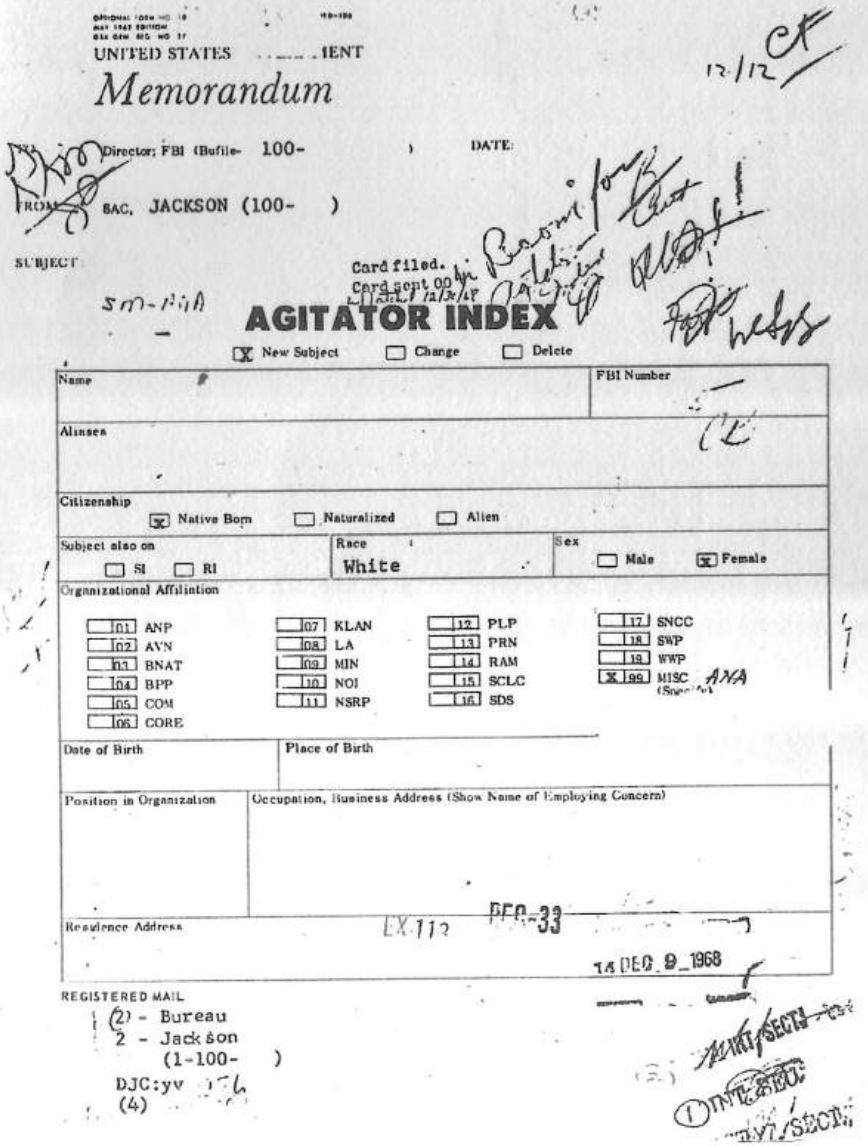
9/11/68 byn

MCT-46
REC-38 100-

24 MAR 25 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]



UNITED STATES ... IENT

Memorandum

12/12

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-) DATE:

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-)

SUBJECT:

Card filed.
Card sent 00 12/12/68

SM-RNA

AGITATOR INDEX

☒ New Subject ☐ Change ☐ Delete

Name	FBI Number

Aliases

Citizenship: ☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

Subject also on	Race	Sex
☐ SI ☐ RI	White	☐ Male ☒ Female

Organizational Affiliation

☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☐ 17 SNCC
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP
☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☒ 99 MISC AKA
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	
☐ 06 CORE			

Date of Birth | Place of Birth

Position in Organization | Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)

Residence Address

EX-113 DEC-33

18 DEC 9 1968

REGISTERED MAIL

(2) - Bureau
2 - Jackson
(1-100-)
DJC:yv
(4)

[Identifying details have been deleted to protect our source's privacy.]