

Chapter 19 Mission Implausible

“Only after reading many pages in the Sovereignty Commission files at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History did I realize that I and others like me were not just foot soldiers in the Civil Rights Movement, but cannon fodder in the Cold War.” SNCC volunteer, Jo Freeman

Why was it impossible for SNCC to meet voter registration goals? Why was there so much infighting? How was secret information leaking out from private meetings to the Sovereignty Commission and FBI? Why were civil rights activists being bullied, bloodied, and even killed?

It would be years before Moses, SNCC and other civil rights volunteers learned some of what they were unknowingly up against in Greenwood, and elsewhere – why there was so much disruption in their own camps and throughout the entire movement.

Many problems, external and internal, were initiated through a secret FBI counterintelligence program – an operation that many activists say continues today – and an operation that has deep roots in the American intelligence community.ⁱ

The existence of COINTELPRO (an acronym for COunter INTELLigence PROgram) came to light in March of 1971, when a group calling themselves the “Citizens' Committee to Investigate the FBI” broke into an FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania, and then provided the press and various members of Congress with secret documents seized from that office, showing the government’s involvement in criminalizing dissent.

While FBI and police harassment were suspected by way of surveillance and infiltration during the 1960s, any talk of secret or dangerous CIA-type activity against domestic dissidents would have been dismissed as paranoid had it not been for the evidence picked up in this raid.ⁱⁱ

Covert operations have been employed against those who speak out throughout FBI history, but the formal COINTELPROs of 1956-1971 were broadly targeted against organizations that were at the time considered politically radical, such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and used methods that actually served to provoke violence and subvert democracy.ⁱⁱⁱ

Within a year of the Pennsylvania break-in, J. Edgar Hoover declared the centralized COINTELPRO over, and all future counterintelligence operations to be handled on a case-by-case basis.

Hoover did not promise that the FBI would stop using COINTELPRO tactics, though, and further documents were revealed through lawsuits filed against the FBI by NBC correspondent Carl Stern and then in 1976 by the “Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities of the United States Senate,” commonly referred to as the “Church Committee” for its chairman, Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

But millions of pages of documents remain unreleased, and many released documents were entirely censored.^{iv}

COINTELPRO developed out of the anti-Communist hysteria of the Cold War years, leading FBI agents into taking actions against groups that had nothing to do with Communism. The Bureau would take actions against individuals and organizations simply because they were critical of government policy.

Taking a look at COINTELPRO operations, historian Howard Zinn found numerous examples of free speech violations in which the FBI targeted people because they opposed U. S. foreign policy or criticized police actions.

Documents assembled by the Church Committee “compel the conclusion that Federal law enforcement officers looked upon themselves as guardians of the status quo,” Zinn wrote. He and others cite the surveillance and harassment of Martin Luther King Jr. as an important example.^v

SNCC, with its proactive philosophy, topped the list of targeted programs under “Negro radicals,” according to attorney Brian Glick, a New York attorney and social justice advocate who has studied COINTELPRO extensively:

When congressional investigations, political trials, and other traditional legal modes of repression failed to counter the growing movements, and even helped to fuel them, the FBI and police moved outside the law. They resorted to the secret and systematic use of fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally protected political activity. Their methods ranged far beyond surveillance, amounting to a home front version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

FBI Headquarters secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was strongly encouraged. Other recommended collaborators included friendly news media, business and foundation executives, and university, church, and trade union officials, as well as such "patriotic" organizations as the American Legion.^{vi}

Glick uncovered a total of 2,370 officially approved COINTELPRO actions that were admitted to the Senate Intelligence Committee, and thousands more have since been uncovered. Glick believes that four main methods were used by the agents: 1) infiltration by agents and informers with the intention to discredit and disrupt; 2) psychological warfare from the outside, using “dirty tricks” to undermine progressive movements; 3) harassment through the legal system, making targets appear to be criminal; and 4) extralegal force and violence including break-ins, vandalism, assaults, and beatings to frighten dissidents and disrupt their movements.^{vii}

The lengthy list of activists coming under attack included Cesar Chavez, Fathers Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, Rev. Jesse Jackson, David Dellinger, officials of the American Friends Service Committee and the National Council of Churches, and other leading pacifists were high on the list, “as were projects directly protected by the First Amendment, such as anti-war teach-ins, progressive bookstores, independent filmmakers, and alternative newspapers and news services.”^{viii}

Glick states that it was COINTELPRO “that enabled the FBI and police to eliminate the leaders of mass movements in the 1960s without undermining the image of the United States as a democracy, complete with free speech and the rule of law.

“Charismatic orators and dynamic organizers were covertly attacked and ‘neutralized’ before their skills could be transferred to others and stable structures established to carry on their work.”

Dr. Martin Luther King was marked “barely a month before his murder, for elimination as a potential ‘messiah’ who could ‘unify and electrify’ the Black movement.”^x

FBI documents would disclose six major official counterintelligence programs, of which three focused on the Civil Rights Movement with top priority given to the "COINTELPRO – Communist Party-USA, with its specific operations conducted on Dr. King, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the NAACP, the National Lawyers Guild, the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, Women's Strike for Peace, the American Friends Service Committee, and the National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy.^x

Dr. King was a target of an elaborate COINTELPRO plot to drive him to suicide and replace him “in his role of the leadership of the Negro people” with conservative Black lawyer Samuel Pierce (later named to President Ronald Reagan's cabinet). Revisionist historians have come to view King's assassination, as well as Malcolm X's, as domestic covert operations.^{xi}

A label of “Black Nationalist Hate Groups,” was the vehicle for the Bureau's all-out assault on Dr. King, SNCC, CORE, the Black Panther Party, the Nation of Islam, "Black Muslims,” and the National Welfare Rights Organization. The Socialist Workers Party and groups supporting or working with Malcolm X and the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam were also identified as targets.

Still others were targeted:

The League of Black Revolutionary Workers, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), the Congress of African People, Black student unions, “and many local Black churches and community organizations struggling for decent living conditions, justice, equality, and empowerment,” Glick wrote.

And then other COINTELPRO operations focused on the destruction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Peace and Freedom Party, the Institute for Policy Studies, and a broad range of anti-war, anti-racist, student, GI, veteran, feminist, lesbian, gay, environmental, Marxist, and anarchist groups.

Also the network of food co-ops, health clinics, child care centers, schools, bookstores, newspapers, community centers, street theaters, rock groups, and communes that formed the infrastructure of the counter-culture.

A Mississippi example of COINTELPRO-Communist Party-USA harassment involved 18 staffers and supporters of *Kudzu*, a pro-left, counter-culture newspaper produced in Jackson. On October 8, 1968, they were attacked and beaten by Jackson deputy sheriffs. The newspaper had already survived a conviction on obscenity charges, the arrest of salespeople, the confiscation of cameras, and even eviction from its offices.

Kudzu was put under direct surveillance by the FBI in 1970. For more than two months FBI agents made daily searches without warrants, according to the coordinator of PEN American Center's Freedom to Write Committee:

On October 24 and 25, Kudzu sponsored a Southern regional conference of the Underground Press Syndicate. The night before the conference the FBI and Jackson detectives searched the Kudzu offices twice. During the search, an FBI agent threatened to kill *Kudzu* staffers. On the morning of October 26, FBI agents again searched the office. That evening local police entered the building, held its eight occupants at gunpoint, produced a bag of marijuana, and then arrested them.... A Kudzu staff member commented, “The FBI used to be fairly sophisticated, but lately they have broken one of our doors, pointed guns in our faces, told us that ‘punks like you don’t have any rights,’ and threatened to shoot us on the street if they see us with our hands in our pockets.”^{xii}

Discovered among these special units was a unique COINTELPRO program focusing on “White Hate Groups,” at least on paper. But Glick and several other researchers argue that COINTELPRO-*white* appeared only to go after violent right-wing groups, and that the FBI actually gave covert aid to the Ku Klux Klan, Minutemen, Nazis, and other racist vigilantes, under the cover of being even-handed.

“These groups received substantial funds, information, and protection – and suffered only token FBI harassment – so long as they directed their violence against COINTELPRO targets,” Glick wrote. “They were not subjected to serious disruption unless they breached this tacit understanding and attacked established business and political leaders.”^{xiii}

Specifically, COINTELPRO documents indicate that some infiltrators discreetly spied for years without calling attention to themselves (like the Soviet *moles* or *sleepers*) while others acted as instigators to disrupt meetings and conventions or social and other contacts.

Agents spread rumors, made accusations, inflamed disagreements, and caused splits, Glick states. They urged divisive proposals, sabotaged activities, overspent scarce resources, stole funds, seduced leaders, exacerbated rivalries, caused jealousy and public embarrassment to groups. They often led activists into unnecessary danger and set them up for prosecution.^{xiv}

One common maneuver, known as placing a “snitch jacket” or “bad jacket” on an activist, damaged the victim’s effectiveness and generated “confusion, distrust, and paranoia.” The maneuver was used to divert time and energy and turn co-workers against one another, even provoking violence. “Jacketing” was often done by “carefully orchestrated series of news releases and newspaper articles prepared by the FBI and ‘cooperative’ reporters.”

An activist could be falsely labeled an informer in “FBI-composed anonymous letters” or in other operations, where the FBI arranged for police to release one member of a group that had been arrested together or to single one out for special treatment, “and then spread the rumor that the beneficiary had cooperated.”

A snitch jacket was used in 1968 against SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) along with a “whispering campaign,” to “tag Carmichael with a CIA label,” according to Glick.^{xv} Comedian Dick Gregory was the target of “covert maneuvers” to get the Mafia to move against Black activists ... and the entire leadership of the Communist Party – USA.^{xvi}

The FBI's "main right-wing beneficiary" was the Ku Klux Klan, Glick and others state. In 1961, the Klan brutalized freedom riders as they arrived in various Southern cities, including Jackson, with "advance information supplied by the FBI." Sovereignty Commission records confirm this practice: The names of civil rights advocates, their complete address, age, and name of employer or school attended were often collected and held in Sovereignty Files, some under the category name, "Freedom Riders Groups and Addresses, Group Numbers and Date Arrived."^{xvii}

"By 1965, some 20 percent of Klan members were on the FBI payroll," many occupying "leadership positions in seven of the fourteen Klan groups across the country."^{xviii}

The Sovereignty Commission often shared files with FBI special agents running the COINTELPROs, according to evidence found in Commission files kept on targets including the Freedom Democratic Party and the Republic of New Afrika (RNA).

One Delta SNCC volunteer believes she was "exposed" no sooner than she arrived on the job. An August 18, 1966 story in the *Jackson Daily News* held that SNCC volunteer Jo Freeman was a "professional agitator" citing "the Burns report" as its major source of information. Five photographs accompanied the story, including one taken on December 3, 1964 of Freeman speaking from the second floor balcony of the administration building on the University of California, Berkeley campus.

When Freeman's SNCC boss saw the editorial, he put Freeman on a bus back to Atlanta. "That thing makes you Klan bait," he told her.

Freeman assumed the FBI was behind her experience in the Delta, even though she did not know about COINTELPRO. "It had all the earmarks of an FBI plant, requiring connections between California and Mississippi. My belief was reinforced when the FBI's COINTELPRO actions against the Civil Rights Movement in general and its persecution of Dr. Martin Luther King in particular were revealed.

"Not until 1997 did I discover that the actual source of the editorial and photos was the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission (MSC), an official state agency of which I was completely unaware in 1966. And only after reading many pages in the MSC files at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History did I realize that I and others like me were not just foot soldiers in the Civil Rights Movement, but cannon fodder in the Cold War."^{xix}

Glick maintains that many important files continue to be withheld, while others have been destroyed.^{xx} In addition, he observes that former COINTELPRO operatives report "the most heinous and embarrassing actions" were never committed to writing:^{xxi}

Officials with broad personal knowledge of COINTELPRO have been silenced, most notably William C. Sullivan, who created the program and ran it throughout the 1960s. Sullivan was killed in an uninvestigated 1977 "hunting accident" shortly after giving extensive information to a grand jury investigating the FBI, but before he could testify publicly. Nevertheless, a great deal has been learned about COINTELPRO.^{xxii}

J. Edgar's 'little white lie'

J. Edgar Hoover, who headed the FBI for most of its early history from 1924 until his death in 1972, most likely had black ancestors from Mississippi – as do many other Mississippi whites of old line families, including Senator Eastland. Millie McGhee, an African-American from McComb, was told as a little girl of her family's links with Hoover, described as "one of the most virulent racists to hold a top government position" in the USA in the 20th century.^{xxiii} McGhee's grandfather sometimes spoke of a "very powerful" man in Washington who was related to the family but did not want the links to be known and passed himself off as white, she wrote in *Secrets Uncovered, J Edgar Hoover - Passing For White?* The man her grandfather spoke of was Hoover, born in 1895, who was "apparently anxious that no one should know of his black origins."

The former teacher contacted a historical genealogist for help in tracing her family's history back over 200 years and learned that Hoover's grandfather and great-grandfather once lived in a segregated black area of Washington, D. C. where they were classified in a census as "colored."

Searching census records of his father's family, Dickerson Naylor Hoover found that both families lived in areas of Washington, D. C. – then a mostly segregated city. "Some of the white Hoover families had blacks living with them, not as servants, but blacks being of the same occupation, such as 'butcher' or 'clerk.' There are also alterations and other oddities in a number of the Hoover family census records, and also in the racial listings which were then included in census records."

McGhee's relatives were "warned of dire consequences" if they spoke publicly of his background; as a little girl, she believed they would be killed if any mention was made of the secret. After writing her book, some Hoover family members contacted McGhee, saying they were not angry about the disclosures, but her own family members were "unhappy over being publicly associated with the late FBI director."

Historian Edward Spannaus backs McGhee's assertions, writing it was "well-known both inside and outside the FBI, that there were rumours about Hoover's possible black ancestry – which were widespread during his long reign. There were also reports that Hoover deployed the FBI to track down who was behind rumours of his black ancestry – just as he did regarding rumours and reports about his homosexuality."^{xxiv}

Writer Gore Vidal, who grew up in Washington, D. C. in the 1930s, told writer Anthony Summers, "When Hoover was becoming famous, it was always said of him – in my family and around the city – that he was mulatto. People said he came from a family that had 'passed.' It was

the word they used for people of black origin who, after generations of inbreeding, have enough white blood to pass themselves off as white. That's what was always said about Hoover."^{xxv}

McGhee, in her search, learned that Hoover's ancestry was a subject of speculation within the FBI, because of his lack of documented heritage that was always required when someone joined the FBI. Wesley Swearingen, a former FBI Special Agent (from 1951 to 1977) and author of the 1995 book *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Exposé*, wrote that a lack of documented evidence on Hoover's background was always viewed as mysterious:

“Because for all the FBI agents, they'd go back and check everything about your family, your relatives, and everything else, to make sure they're squeaky clean ... and here, the Director, and nobody knows really where he came from ... agents would get into the subject of his real tight hair and speculate that maybe there was a little hanky-panky in his family ... and then his facial characteristics were really unusual.”

Ironically, Hoover's remarkable career path would undoubtedly never have been possible, had [he] been known to have had black ancestry in his family background. In the decade of his birth, so-called Jim Crow laws were re-instituted through the South. Under the infamous Democratic Presidency of Woodrow Wilson (when Hoover began his career in the Justice Department), segregation was reinstated throughout the Federal civil service, which had been exempted from Jim Crow laws. And under the prevailing ‘one drop’ rule, any amount of black blood or ancestry would exclude a person from most positions or careers – and certainly from high government positions.^{xxvi}

ⁱ Churchill and Vander Wall write that J. Edgar Hoover was engaged at least as early as 1918 in plans to destroy black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey, head of the UNIA, under the guise of “criminal proceedings” ... [as] “part of the process by which the U.S. national order, in which blacks as an overall population lived under near-total political disenfranchisement, economic prostration, and super-exploitation of the labor by the Euroamerican *status quo*... [that] was intended to be preserved.” Following World War I, blacks had begun to mount the first serious challenge to such circumstances since the Reconstruction period.... “Hoover and his proto-FBI organization, in kind with white vigilante formations, seem to have seen one of their primary missions as keeping blacks “in their place” by what ever repressive means were available.” See Churchill and Vander Wall, 91.

ⁱⁱ Brian Glick, “War at Home: Covert action against U. S. activists and what we can do about it,” (Cambridge: South End Press, 1989), 7. Glick cites Cowan, Paul, Nick Egleson, and Nat Hantoff, “State Secrets: Police Surveillance in American,” (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974).

ⁱⁱⁱ David Kaplan of California's Center for Investigative Reporting called COINTELPRO "the largest known program yet in domestic surveillance." Kaplan observed that "between 1965 and 1975, the FBI opened more than 500,000 intelligence files on more than one million Americans, according to a Congressional report.....Among the Bureau's targets: Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement, anti-Vietnam War Groups, and the underground press."

^{iv} The Church Committee concluded that “covert action programs have been used to disrupt the lawful political activities of individual Americans and groups and to discredit them, using dangerous and degrading tactics which are abhorrent in a free and decent society. Subfindings (a) Although the claimed purposes of these action programs were to protect the national security and to prevent violence, many of the victims were concededly nonviolent, were not controlled by a foreign power, and posed no threat to the national security. (b) The acts taken interfered with the First Amendment rights of citizens. They were explicitly intended to deter citizens from joining groups, "neutralize" those who were already members, and prevent or inhibit the expression of ideas. (c) The tactics used against Americans often risked and sometimes caused serious emotional, economic, or physical damage. Actions were taken which were designed to break up marriages, terminate funding or employment, and encourage gang warfare between violent rival groups. Due process of law forbids the use of such covert tactics, whether the victims are innocent law-abiding citizens or members of groups suspected of involvement in violence. (d) The sustained use of such tactics by the FBI in an attempt to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., violated the law and fundamental human decency.”

^v Letter dated April 30, 2001 from political scientist Howard Zinn, filed as Appendix A to the Plaintiffs’ “Motion for Justice” filed in the Bari/Cherney civil rights suit against the FBI and Oakland Police. The letter is addressed to Dennis Cunningham, lead counsel. Zinn cites David J. Garrow, *The FBI And Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1981); William Turner, *Hoover's FBI* (1971); Joseph Schott, *No Left Turns; The FBI In Peace And War* (1975); Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story* (1951); Sanford Unger, *FBI* (1975); Max Lowenthal, *The FBI* (1950).

^{vi} Glick, 9.

^{vii} Glick, 10. Cites Senate III, Books II, III, and VI of Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, U. S. Senate (94th Cong., 2d Sess. Rep. No. 94-755, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

^{viii} Glick, 11. Glick cites Garrow, David, “The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.” W.W. Norton & Company, 1981; “Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership conference,” Vintage, 1980. Glick’s list of targets and overview of COINTELPRO programs includes the American Friends Service Committee (*The Police Threat to Political Liberty*, Philadelphia, 1979); Amnesty International (*A proposal for a commission of inquiry into the effect of domestic intelligence activities on criminal trials in the United States of America*, London, 1981). He further cites Chomsky, Noam, “Introduction” to *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, Blackstock, ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1976; and U. S. Senate Select committee to Study government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, Books II, III & VI* (94th Cong. 2n Session, Report No. 94-755), Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

^{ix} Glick, 16. Cites Moore, Dhoruba, “Strategies of Repression Against the Black Movement,” *Black Scholar*, May-June, 1981; Shakur, Assata, “Assata: An Autobiography,” Lawrence Hill & Co., 1987; Bukhart, Safiya, “Lest We Forget,” *Black Community News Service*, 1985.

^x The six major COINTELPRO programs (with hundreds of separate operations) were COINTELPRO – Communist Party, USA (CP); COINTELPRO – Social Workers Party (SWP); COINTELPRO – Puerto Rican Independence Movement; COINTELPRO – Black Liberation Movement; COINTELPRO – New Left; COINTELPRO – AIM; and COINTELPRO – White.

^{xi} *Ibid.*, 10. In a letter written by James Earl Ray, he stated “In respect to the MLK homicide, there was never a trial in the case. The government gained control of the attorney representing me, Percy Foreman. Without going into a lot of details, Mr. Foreman maneuvered me into a plea of guilty after he had me sign numerous literary contracts, then signing all of the proceeds over to him under the guise he would use the money to finance a trial in the MLK case. Foreman obtained the plea via various threats: If I didn’t enter the plea, the government would probably try my brother Jerry, for conspiring in the MLK shooting, that my father might be returned to an Iowa prison from where he had escaped in 1926, and that he (Foreman), might not put forth his best efforts in a trial.” Michael Gabriel, “James Earl Ray: The Last Days of Inmate #65477,” (Cat Yoga Publishing, April, 2004).

^{xii} Glick, 62.

^{xiii} *Ibid.*, 13.

^{xiv} *Ibid.*, 41. Among sources Glick cites is Frank Donner, “The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America’s Political Intelligence System,” (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

^{xv} Glick, 43. Cites a letter from FBI Director to Washington Field Office, July 1, 1968; Memorandums from Washington Field Office to FBI Director, July 9, and July 10, 1968. Portions of text are “Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America’s Secret Police,” *National Lawyer’s Guild*, 1982, 58.

^{xvi} Glick, 59. Cites Frank Donner, “The Confessions of an FBI Informer,” *Harper’s* magazine, December 1972, 189-190.

^{xvii} Mississippi Sovereignty Commission files, SCR ID # 2-144-0-1-1-1-1.

^{xviii} Glick, 60. Cites Robert Goldstein, “Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to the Present,” (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1978), 445; Donner, 207-208.

^{xix} Jo Freeman, “At Berkeley in the Sixties: Education of an Activist, 1961-1965,” (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,) 2004, chapter 23, *Freedom Summer*.

^{xx} Glick, 8. Cites Donner, 180.

^{xxi} *Ibid.* Cites statement of retired FBI Special Agent Arthur Murtagh, “U. S. Intelligence Agencies and Activities Domestic Intelligence Programs: Hearings” before the Select Committee on Intelligence, U. S. House of Representatives, Part 3 (94th Cong. 1st Sess., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 1044; Interview with Retired FBI Special Agent Wes Swearingen, June 1979.

^{xxii} Glick, 8-9. Cites Peter Biskind, “Inside the FBI,” *Seven Days*, May 7, 1978, reprinted in “Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America’s Secret Police,” *The National Lawyers Guild*, 1982.

^{xxiii} Edward Spannaus, “The Mysterious Origins of J. Edgar Hoover,” *American Almanac* (online), August, 2000. Cites Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*, 1987, p. 367; Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*, 1991, p. 606; Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover*, 1993, p. 364; Millie L. McGhee *Secrets Uncovered: J. Edgar Hoover—Passing for White?*, (Rancho Cucamonga, California: Allen-Morris, 2000).

^{xxiv} *Ibid.*

^{xxv} Anthony Summers.

^{xxvi} *Ibid.*