

Commentary: Juan Mari Bras, Jimmie Durham, Elaine Brown, Maria Serna, Phil Ochs

CIA Mercenaries: Prepare to Invade Portugal

FACFI: U.S. Pushes National ID Cards

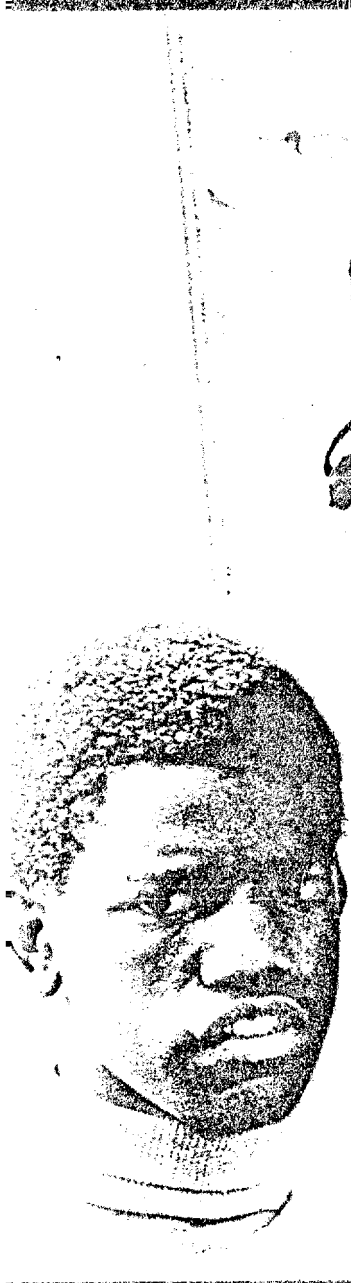
Spring 1976

Vol. 3, Issue 1

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COUNTERSPY

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate



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From Our Readers

Your magazine is fantastic!!! I'm so impressed! Keep up the fabulous work.
J.J.
California

Vol. 2, Issue 4 of *CounterSpy* is outstanding. It's hard to put down in words how this helps to raise morale. Just knowing that people like you are right in the middle of the action against the system makes us want to fight harder against injustice.

I think one of our main goals should be to really know and love each other as friends and to always struggle against all forms of injustice — sexism, racism — etc.

The one thing that irks me is that I'm 56 years old and probably won't live to see the big changes that are coming — but you never know.

Viva la Revolucion!
J. Robinett
Tucson, AZ

The only thing wrong with your publication is that it doesn't come out often enough. If we can help you in any way we would be pleased to do so.

R. Auler
Okauchec, WI

(The possibility of publishing CounterSpy bi-monthly is under consideration. —Ed.)

I hope you are having fun killing off american security agents and intelligence officers. But just remember what happens to traitors in this nation, retribution will come someday. I don't think the First Amendment to Our Nations Constitution covers acts of traitorism and accomplice to murder. Yes gentlemen murder, because you are wholly and completely responsible for the death of C.I.A. Agent Richard Welch. I have written both to the President and Secretary of State and complained loudly about your traitorous little Rag. I pray the FBI shuts you modern Benedict Arnolds down. I fully support the CIA and always will so jam your magazine up your ass sideways.

F. Astrip
Cleveland, Ohio

Congratulations on your latest. The new *CounterSpy* is much improved in appearance, readability, and every other way. Feel proud of what you've done, and keep up the good work.

Robert Friedman
New York, N.Y.

I just received your latest issue of *CounterSpy*. You're continuing to do a fantastic job.

One thing I would like to mention, for the record. Your list of alleged CIA people taken from the *Last Post* is inaccurate. First of all, the Station Chief Cleavland C. Cram (one "m") as revealed by our C.B.C. program "The Fifth Estate," broadcast on January 9, 1974 (starring Bart, Victor, Braden, Winstow and others). Others published in your list are two FBI liaison officers (Marion is the FBI chief in Ottawa), an IRS guy, a DEA guy and a real State Department guy. I think you ought to check these things out from your end before publishing names of "CIA in Canada" which are less than accurate.

Keep up the good work.

James R. Dubro
Ontario, Canada

As a student of American political assassinations, it has become increasingly clear to me that our intelligence agencies have reached a stage in power that threatens the very premise on which this country was founded.

I believe that it is every American's duty to become fully aware of the activities of these agencies, and to demand not only an investigation into these activities, but also a re-evaluation of these agencies' roles in our society so that they can be rebuilt into serving a proper role in our society.

I believe that the majority of the people in this country do not fully realize the extent of the dangers involved in allowing these agencies free reign of power. And I sincerely hope that a mandate from the people of this country will bring these agencies under the control to which they rightfully belong: the people.

M. Bedford
Austin, TX

We need more *sincere* and *honest* people as are the authors of *CounterSpy* articles. The letter to the Editor signed Anonymous (in the Winter 1976 issue) claiming to be a Viet Nam and World War II Veteran *proves* to be a letter concocted by sick twisted Nazi-type minds. My husband is a decorated World War II Veteran and he *praises* *CounterSpy* for publishing with great courage, facts that we, the taxpayers, have a right to know. I don't need their nazi brand of fascism! I am 51 and I say "Abolish the CIA!" We don't need them and the taxpayers cannot afford them.

D. Tank
Sheboygan, WI

Your efforts are to be commended highly!! Congratulations. Do persevere, do continue the struggle! I enclose a copy of the Wisconsin Assassination Information Bureau's newsletter, the Monitor. Is essentially a collective effort that, money allowing, would indeed be a monthly effort. It is not for lack of material that we've not published since mid-February.

W. Romberg
Milwaukee, WI

I just learned about your work from the March issue of "The Progressive". Please send me your quarterly journal beginning with the January 1976 issue.

I am a typesetter by profession, however, I am very much interested in politics, domestic as well as international. Being 55 years old, I know the history of my country very well, and I am certain that I can learn a lot from your publication and profit by it. And so I think it a *must* reading to learn what is going on in your country and the tentacles which extend across the Atlantic to Europe, and here especially to West Germany!!!

F. Jaeger
West Germany

We encourage readers to write to *CounterSpy* about the magazine, the CIA, your local police, right-wing activity, or any other issues of the intelligence community. We appreciate your support as well as your criticisms. Write: *CounterSpy*, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

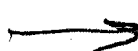
COUNTERSPY

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

Should the practice
of Spydrom become universal,
farewell to all
domestic confidence and happiness.
The London Times
Christmas 1859

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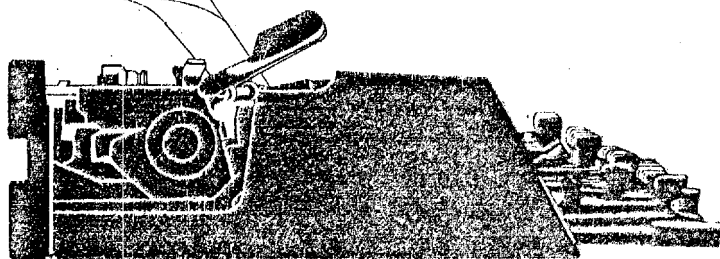
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CounterSpy welcomes criticism you may have. Through reader input many important changes in the journal have and will continue to be made.

COMMENT

After the cake and laughter of a birthday celebration, we often pursue solitude to evaluate and learn from our life experience. Two hundred years old this year, America must trace its lifetime too; crimes of genocide in its global effort to police the world; institutionalized racial and sexual discrimination still exploding throughout the land; planned structural unemployment rising; crimes committed by the highest officials and the universal erosion of confidence in America on its birthday. But the people of this land must swallow a more difficult pill: our liberal democratic traditions are no longer a match for the anti-democratic sentiment gaining momentum among our nation's rulers.

This bitter lesson is best revealed in the current Congressional move to achieve what Richard Nixon only dreamed of — the legalization of illegality. The results of the Congressional investigation into the abuse of power in the intelligence agencies are unfortunate; there will be only more wiretaps, more covert wars, more secrets and more spies. This is a natural result of an inquiry plagued by lack of concern for the repression of non-white Americans, a stubborn unwillingness to explore current abuses, and a timid strategy for revealing those of the past. Even if there was no pre-meditated plan to avoid the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the result is the same — a cover-up. Not only does this cover-up hide past skeletons; it builds a larger closet for new ones!

None of the recommendations now before our representatives in Congress advocate outlawing those government crimes, nor will they strengthen the current, but mild laws.

Instead, they recommend that for the first time in America's lifetime, the illegal actions of government be sanctioned by statute. Legalizing covert action will make a criminal out of every cop, and a cop out of every criminal. (*CounterSpy* is preparing an indepth analysis of Congressional actions and will publish it in our next issue.)

In addition to legalizing the illegal, there is yet another development. You will notice many times in this issue of *CounterSpy*, the dramatic increase in privately-organized and privately-controlled repression: Monopoly funded right-wing armies; private national intelligence networks; corporate covert action; and merchant-engineered identity systems. They are all examples of business as usual, repression as usual.

These lessons have been known to the Third World and poor of our land for many years; they are victims living in a state of constant government criminality. They have resisted for as long as they have been repressed — 200 long years. *CounterSpy* presents commentaries from Third World leaders who have gained the highest respect for their consistent and courageous struggle against the forces of repression. We also present some of our late friend's last words on the world and repression. Phil Ochs was a dear friend of ours who fell victim to the inhumanity of these times.

Their words should motivate and guide our bicentennial reflections.

“The Panthers were dangerous . . . ideas of freedom are always dangerous to oppressive forces.”

Elaine Brown Black Panther Party

Recently new reports have indicated that through the Church Committee's so-called investigation of domestic intelligence activity, particularly the COINTELPRO activities by the FBI, the Black Panther Party was targeted for destruction by the FBI. More FBI activity was directed against the Black Panther Party than any other organization (or individual), according to these reports. There are several serious problems with these reports, however, that must be pointed out if we, the Black and oppressed people of this country, are to learn anything from such accounts. More importantly, we have to understand why such activities were promoted and realize that they still are today.

The reports reflect that the FBI essentially did little more to Black organizations than cash in on natural divisiveness in the Black community or as one report said, “. . . let nature take its course”. The first thing we need to recognize is the falseness of this idea, of the encouraging of rival “gangs” to fight one another. We can recognize its falseness by definition alone: that the Black Panther Party is or ever has been a gang; that Black organizations rival — for what?; that all the FBI did was set up situations.

We can get back to some of the specifics of these reports after analyzing why all this activity went on. J. Edgar Hoover, queen of every policeman's ball, was constantly trying to propagandize that no one could escape his network of “G-men”, but the Black Panther party, flagrantly and openly advocated human rights over legal injustices and repression. It became an insult to Hoover. The Party truly did become dangerous to Hoover, as media attention grew. The media was bent on building us up and wiping us out. It was out of the media's constant need to sensationalize that the true ideas the Party wanted to put forward came out: the right to bear arms (the Party's police patrols); the right to eat (breakfast programs); and the need to join electoral politics (running on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket), etc.

The Party was also dangerous because it grew up and came to life in the midst of the ghetto uprisings in Watts, Detroit, Philadelphia, and other cities. The Party synthesized and put into programmatic form, the feelings of anger and frustration demonstrated throughout the country in the middle and late sixties. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X had just been assassinated after they had gotten together and transformed by having dismissed the tactic of non-violence and the ideology of racism. Unorganized violence had blown up the country's centers of industry, but had been put down with the gun and the poverty program. All seemed well by 1966-67 when the Party began, despite the fiery speeches of the Stokely Carmichaels and the unrest on campuses of rich kids gone wrong.

The danger of the Black Panther Party emerged at the historic point when, the unorganized and disenfranchised began to identify with the Party's Ten-Point Platform and Program. The tenth point summed up what poor people, working people

of all colors understood and expressed in many ways: “We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and * people's community control of modern technology (* added in 1972). Black Panther Party chapters sprung up everywhere — in 32 cities in one year. The panthers were dangerous — to the power elite — because ideas of freedom, when spread, are always dangerous to oppressive forces. Among those forces was J. Edgar et al, who knew it was too insulting, too embarrassing for their image, to allow the Black Panther Party to continue. By 1968, Hoover had declared that the Black Panther Party was the single most dangerous threat to internal security, only two years after its birth. Armed with more money from the American government, he thought it would be easy then to wipe the Party off the face of the earth. The year 1969 saw this overt program at its height — raids on homes and offices, rampant arrests, and assassinations.

The Party became more dangerous as it began to develop more services and programs, later called Survival programs, which concretely demonstrated, more than any rally, speech, or newspaper, the contradictions in an over-developed, rich country that could not and would not provide for its citizens.

In Los Angeles, California at this time a so-called Black cultural nationalist organization called United Slaves, sprung into action at the heels of the Watts uprising. It was headed by a Ronald Everett to be called “Maulana Ron Karenga”, a magna cum laude graduate of UCLA who had just rid himself of a white wife and a British accent. Everyone was re-grouping from Watts, trying to establish unity in the Black community. Karenga shaved the heads and minds of a few Blacks from the opposite side of town from Watts, gave them some dollars and guns and sent them out. They were to take charge of all the local Black groups through an umbrella organization called the Black Congress. Karenga's troops were feared by other Blacks as the most militant and the most “Black”. Within one year, Karenga had everyone who was developing any consciousness, thinking about how good it was to be Black and forgetting even the memory of Watts; all this for a corporation-sponsored dark-down strutter's parade called the “Watts Festival”.

People were still hungry, unemployed, poor, living in indecent housing, and suffering from inadequate education. The Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party came into being around that same time (late 1967), headed by a native of Los Angeles's Black ghetto. Apprentice “Bunchy” Carter, who was a former leader of L.A.'s 2,000-strong Slausons gang and a former inmate of Soledad prison. Letters were not sent, but attacks on Party members were made, by two entities — the police and Karenga. Karenga finally ordered the deaths of Jon Huggins and Bunchy Carter over the issue of whether UCLA Black Student union members should work with the campus Brown Berets and SDS or remain isolated in a Karenga-produced Black Studies Program.

It is my belief now, as it was then, that Karenga works for and with the FBI.

There are many long stories to tell, and they will be told, of the inconsistent and outright phony reports from the Church Committee — cover-ups in themselves. However, we can logically begin to examine one concept and draw certain generalities: If the FBI, by rearranging facts or by some working form of the art of illusion, is only indirectly responsible for certain events, and was working against *all* “Black militant” organizations, how do we reasonably explain that reports indicate the FBI supposedly tried to divide the Black Panther Party from all other organizations, but not other organizations from each other? Or that Karenga, for example, is responsible for four killings of Panther members, according to reports, but the Black Panther Party is not responsible for

any deaths of United Slaves' members? Why is it that this sort of confrontation never took place between the P. Stone Nation and the Black Panther Party, even though letters were sent, or between the Panther Party and the Nation of Islam or SNCC? The question can be logically answered. It was felt our Party was the most dangerous. The FBI sought, bought and paid for willing Black agents to help in our destruction, as they master-minded and contrived the raid and following assassinations of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Let us look at the Eldridge Cleaver business for a minute. I was part of what was purported to be a Progressive American Delegation to Korea, which had been put together by Cleaver in 1970. At the end of three months, after visiting not only Korea, but China, Vietnam, Moscow and Algeria, Eldridge Cleaver had personally threatened my life because I would not agree on phony ideological points that the Party was a "breakfast for children organization". According to Cleaver, there needed to be more killing, more arbitrary violence, the Party was moving to the right, etc. There were no letters — as the Church Committee purports to document — no misunderstandings on the level of leadership. Cleaver simply would have us go out to get killed for the purpose of media attention (while he safely sat in Algeria). He had no other program and frankly, it sounded piggish — violence without reason where we'd all get killed and he could describe to history the meaning of our deaths. For three months we argued. I was to kill and get killed, or just get killed. Today, it's all out — the closet door opened: Cleaver denounces Cuba, China, African liberation struggles and joins hands with Kissinger and Uncle Sam. All of this because the FBI sent notes? It is my belief that Cleaver too was as much a part of COINTELPRO then as now, as Karenga, as Roy Innis.

Why then, this new propaganda? Why this whitewashing of investigations, as we've seen in the past with Watergate, the Warren Commission, and others? The Black Panther Party stands today as much of a threat as before. There was never any question that the Black Panther Party, as one entity, could survive confrontation with any police agency, much less many agencies. (We even survived in Los Angeles in December 1969 when we were attacked by 300 regular LAPD and SWAT members). That idea was only intensified by the establishment media: Panthers versus pigs. Our task has been, and still is, to spread the word, the good news as the old folks would say, that we can win over oppression and exploitation; that life in the U.S. is not what life can and ought to be, but rather an experience where the basic requirements for living and breathing must be available to every person, and where peace and freedom will prevail; that if we unite all our forces, after we identify ourselves, we can put up the real battle to win, in the name of humanity and human progress; that with our victory will come a new day for people all over the world who suffer under the monster of U.S. imperialism. Then humankind can get on with the business of discovering our true and harmonious relationship with the rest of nature. This is our message, this is the word we wish to spread, and will spread with our very lives on the line. And this is what makes us dangerous.

Today Party members are regularly arrested for no good cause; followed and watched by FBI agents (the FBI, I have discovered, comes weekly to my apartment building to collect license numbers from the parking lot manager of visitors' cars); great discrepancies are occurring in our bank accounts these days; our programs are being jeopardized by police harassment of participants and workers; and a few weeks ago 15 or more police cars came to our National Headquarters office in Oakland, California at 3:00 a.m. to serve a warrant on a Party member for a failure to appear in court on a misdemeanor solicitation charge in Sacramento. Before being forced

into exile. Huey P. Newton's car was tampered with several times, his apartment was the subject of a phony robbery by three Blacks with pistols that had silencers (which are difficult for "non-police" to acquire), a contract was put out on his life by so-called Black businessmen, unknown assailants shot at him several times, and finally, he was falsely charged with murder. It has not stopped. They will continue.

We who truly hunger for freedom must not be sidetracked. Millions and millions of Blacks have died in this country at the hands of various forms of oppression; millions of people have no means of support, no place to live, no food to eat. The government program to maintain these oppressive, murderous conditions is far larger than COINTELPRO or other activity bent on destruction of one organization. It is this larger program of destruction we must halt; it is the architects of *this* program we must stop. We must transform our lives, our government, and our society completely and thoroughly. The members of the Black Panther Party stand as ready today as ten years ago; serve the people through our various Survival Programs today as ten years ago; live every day of our lives today as ten years ago to overcome all obstacles to our total liberation by any means necessary. And we will lay down our lives today as we have over these ten years to make these issues clear, for we know when the people understand, when the masses of oppressed American people take up guns, then, in the words of Huey P. Newton, "... serious business will begin to happen".

Black Panther Party
Copyright May, 1976

"Indian people are asked to celebrate 200 years of murderous oppression. It is a gross insult."

Jimmie Durham Indian Treaty Council

"The Department of Justice, through the FBI, has waged a blind and ineffective reign of terror against the Indians, on and off the Pine Ridge reservation, using every method it employed against the Black Panthers, ranging from wiretapping and frame-ups to ambushes and assassinations. Confrontations such as the occupation of the Wounded Knee vicinity in 1973, and other desperate attempts by the Indians to focus world attention on their grievances and plight, have been part of a struggle in which the FBI and its instrument, the false government of Richard Wilson and his U.S. government-financed storm troop units of "Goon Squads", continue to arrest, beat up, and murder many Sioux patriots.

"At the root of this American government-supported violence and intimidation against the Sioux is an unspoken, but very real, government determination not to lose control to the Indians of the increasingly valuable Indian lands and natural resources, including water, mineral and timber rights. The American government for a decade has spoken of 'giving' self-determination to the Indian tribes, but no meaningful step has been taken in this direction, nor will it be taken as long

as Indians own any land or natural resources. More and more, American industry and finance covet these resources, anxious to acquire them on their terms. National policy dictates, through the Senate and House Interior Committees of Congress, the Office of Management and Budget, the White House itself, and the Department of the Interior, that the government be in a controlling position to make these Indian assets available to the white private sector on terms satisfactory to the whites. Under such conditions, fraudulent governments like that of Wilson at Pine Ridge must be sustained as willing accomplices of the U.S. government and the whites, even if only to lease out Indian-owned grazing land to South Dakota white ranchers at criminally low rates that cheat and defraud the individual Indian owners. This situation, rampant at Pine Ridge, reflects the wholesale exploitation of the Indian peoples, which still keeps them oppressed, powerless, and in the throes of poverty.

"Nevertheless, despite the terror and the efforts of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice, as well as of Congress, to ignore the dictatorship and killings at Pine Ridge, and the continued suffering of the Sioux people under an exploiting, colonialist government, the struggle goes on, inspired by the examples of the Sioux patriots of the past who fought and died for their people. The Sioux liberation movement, composed of Sioux people of all ages, men and women, youths and elders, holy men and modern-day warriors, is sustained by right and justice. Blood being shed by the Sioux patriots today will not be in vain. History and the future are on their side."*

That statement was not written by a member of the American Indian Movement or any other group of people the FBI calls "radicals". It was written by a well-respected author, historian and editor of *American Heritage* magazine, Alvin Josephy, Jr. The National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee, and many other organizations not normally stamped with "leftist" or any such label, have petitioned the U.S. government to cease its persecution of Indian people.

Yet, the terror perpetrated by the BIA, FBI, CIA, Justice Department, and who-knows-what other piece of government continues. Aren't we exaggerating or being rhetorical when we speak of U.S. government terror in 1976? The American people are taught that political repression and terror go on only in other countries, especially in the countries of the "enemy".

Look at what is going here. During the Wounded Knee trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means early in 1974, I was working out of the AIM National Office in St. Paul where the trial was going on. The government's prosecuting attorney, in a moment of calculated candor, let slip that there were two FBI agents inside the highest echelons of AIM, and that we would be very surprised if we knew who they were. Later, Doug Durham, who had been head of AIM security and right hand man to Dennis Banks at the time, was exposed as an FBI agent provocateur. Once while Durham and I were in the office together he informed me that he was about to make a three-week trip to Guatemala and Costa Rica in his private plane, "to take some guys fishing". At that time I was doing international work, contacting Indian organizations in Latin America. Later we learned that AIM was on the CIA's list of organizations to disrupt through operation CHAOS. I began to wonder about Doug Durham's CIA connections. Many other people began remembering odd things about Durham, and two AIM members now in prison for an alleged murder have accused him of framing them. Their story is believable.

Of course, the entire incident of Durham's exposure, coupled with the prosecutor's words, made each person in AIM suspicious of everyone else. In fact, *many* FBI informers and agents

in AIM have been exposed over the past three years. During the Wounded Knee trials the FBI admitted to using more than 20 people as informers around Wounded Knee. All of this is just to harass and persecute an organization that is fighting for the *legal rights* of American Indians.

But that sort of harassment has come to be expected and even accepted in the U.S., and it is small potatoes compared to the real harassment Indian people face — today, in 1976, last year, and every year of our history with the U.S. government.

The Pine Ridge Reservation, where Wounded Knee village is located, has a population of about 12,000. During the Wounded Knee liberation/occupation, there were never more than 360 people inside the village at any one time. In the three years since then, almost 400 Indian people have been killed, and many more have been beaten and/or jailed, for little or no reason. The FBI has maintained a continuous force there of over 100 agents with tanks, helicopters and automatic weapons. They break into people's houses with no warrants of any kind, and they abuse them and harass them. The FBI is an invasion force of killers. There are lawless even by the racist standards of law of their government.

Since Wounded Knee, Russell Means, a leader of AIM, has been shot 3 times, beaten and jailed many times, and has been in constant trials on trumped-up charges meant to keep him out of action by the government's own admission. Every other Indian leader in the country has the same history. Except those who have been killed outright, such as Richard Oakes, Pedro Bissonette, Buddy Lamont, Jimmy Little, Joe Stuntz, Byron DeSersa, Anna Mae Aquash, and many others.

I could recount stories of atrocities page after page; police assassinations, illegal imprisonment, torture, theft of land and resources, etc.

It must be understood however, that the oppression coming down on our heads is not because the FBI and CIA are "out of control" or "overreaching their mandates". The government of this country and the multinational corporations that control it *want to kill us off*, one way or another. That is not an exaggeration.

The lands that they have shoved us onto — the present reservations — were thought to be the barren, useless areas of the country. As it turned out those lands are rich in oil, timber, coal, copper, uranium, gold, and other necessary resources. As long as Indian people insist on the right to be Indian, and to control those lands and resources, we will have to fight those companies that want to steal them — and for that long the government will continue its policy of genocide against us.

Someone recently asked me why there is such incredible neglect of Indians in this country. My response is, "We would welcome neglect." The government is not neglecting us — more than 75 percent of all Indians suffer from malnutrition. More than 75 percent of all Indians have no jobs. Average annual income of an Indian family is less than \$3,000. One out of every three Indian infants die during the first month after birth. The average life time of an Indian man is less than 44 years (compared to 67 years for the rest of the U.S.) etc., etc.

Such desperate and degrading conditions, in the world's richest country, obviously cannot come from "neglect". It is genocide. It is part of the same government policy under which we have suffered since the beginning of this country.

The U.S. was founded on the genocide of one people and the enslavement of another. U.S. imperialism began at that founding.

This year Ford and his gang intend to hold a "celebration" of the Bicentennial in Philadelphia on the 4th of July. It is a gross insult. Indian people are asked to celebrate 200 years of murderous oppression. But we are going to be in Philadelphia

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on July 4, to demonstrate against our oppression and Ford's insult. We will be there along side Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Chicanos, Philipinos, and oppressed white people. All of those who have histories of oppression by the U.S. similar to ours.

None of them have ever benefitted from the government's treatment of Indians. Their tax dollars go for bullets to kill Indian people. They are as ripped off as we are.

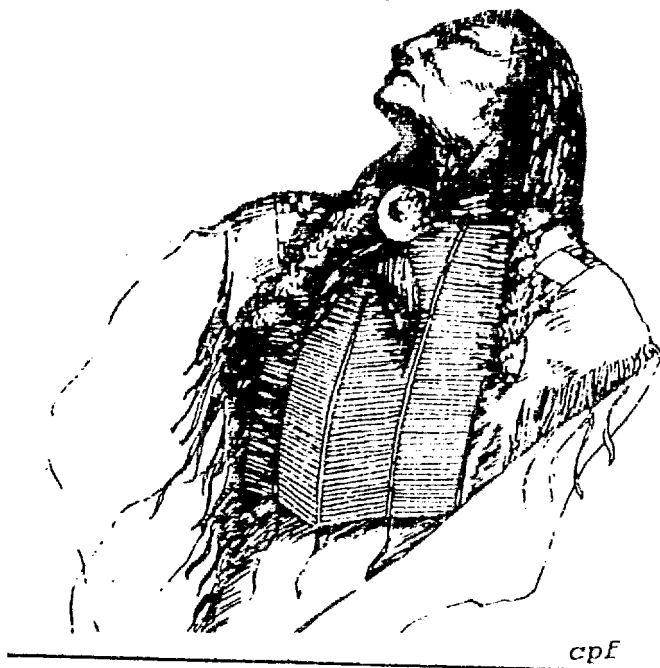
Only those large companies — only the rich — benefit from our oppression.

We look back now to the first large deliberate massacre of Indians by white settlers; the murder of Metacom (King Philip) and the Wampanoag people in 1676. We look at our great victory over Custer's army in 1876. In 1776 nothing of interest happened. A new government was formed which did not even consider us as fellow human beings.

In 1976 we are fighting for our lives, land and liberty. The more the government oppresses us the more strong is our determination.

In 2076 we will celebrate the freedom we will have won.

**Used with permission from the author.*



“They cannot paralyze this party.”

Juan Mari Bras Puerto Rican Socialist Party

The present moment is a crucial point in the new struggle for liberation in our country. The intensity of the moment affects all of us who are involved in the great drama of Puerto Rico: both friends and enemies of the people struggling for independence and socialism.

This is no time for mistakes or mystifications. We have put our cards on the table. We fool no one. The things we say have a clear significance and we will always live up to the expectations of our convictions. Recently, we had the opportunity of

explaining our position to North American congresspeople who came to San Juan to celebrate public hearings on the so-called "Compact of Permanent Union Between the United States and Puerto Rico." These were our words to them:

"We are the only growing force in our country. The continued acts of harassment and persecution by the CIA, FBI, the intelligence division of the armed forces and the repressive agencies of the colonial regime towards us have been useless. The persecution unleashed by police agencies against the patriotic movement, the workers' movement and the student movement in Puerto Rico will continue to be useless."

"This homeland — the only one we have — will be free, sovereign and independent. Whatever the cost may be, you can rest assured that the independence of Puerto Rico is an inevitable reality. We want peace, but we are not afraid of war. If the price of peace means to resign ourselves to lose our homeland through the imperialists' voracity, we are not interested in that kind of peace."

The congresspeople present knew that with each and every word we spoke, that we fully understood their significance and took full responsibility for the consequences. We were not speaking in the name of one individual. This makes an enormous difference. Our voice was raised on behalf of a great movement which has reached historical proportions and has been embodied in a great Party.

The key to everything lies in an objective fact which is the premise of our warning: we are the only growing force in this country. Imperialist fanaticism intends to break that premise no matter what. They have spared no resources nor do they take into consideration any moral values. Imperialism is an irrational force and its voracity knows no limits nor does it allow them to consider the consequences of any action. This is why their self-destructive nature increases with the decline of their strength. This is so in a historical perspective but that process is characterized by an increase in violence. The wounded monster attacks with such vehemence that it seems to have become stronger when, in reality, it has become weaker.

This is happening in Puerto Rico today. Within the last few days the symptoms of imperialist desperation have surfaced. The assassination of our loved and unforgettable Chagui is not an isolated act of some alienated individual. The same hands that manipulate the repressive acts aimed at preventing the rebellion of our people, are the same that pulled the strings of the murderer who committed the felony.

The four Puerto Rican socialists who were captured in connection with explosives is part of that great operation gruesomely synchronized to an itinerary that has been meticulously executed. We are not going to comment on the facts of this case at this time. We will do it at the proper time and before the proper forums. We can only say that the four comrades who have been arrested and accused have the recognition, and the militant solidarity and support of the Party in every respect.

The Puerto Rican people have united despite political differences to offer their solidarity and manifest their outrage with respect to the horrible crime committed against my son. We will never forget that sincere support. We have been deeply touched and strengthened in our conviction that our people maintain a level of sensibility and a sense of justice that transcends all their passing confusions and prejudices.

To convince this noble people of the need and possibility of winning our independence and building socialism is our first priority. We would like to do it in peace. We have no doubt that the struggle for independence and socialism can benefit from intelligent debate, rational discussion of ideas, and confrontation if ideological alternatives carried out before the masses of the Puerto Rican people. Independence and socialism are the only valuable alternatives to the deep crisis that

affects Puerto Rico. But, in order to present all the alternatives to our people, there must be a climate of true peace and equal opportunities. Ours is the revolutionary alternative. We propose, without any ambiguity, the necessity and possibility of a radical transformation. We maintain that it is necessary for the people to organize their forces in order to enforce their rights in the face of any attempt to stifle their collective will when said will becomes fully realized. We will never give up the right to organize that force.

What we are willing to guarantee, on our part, is that the election campaign develop in a peaceful atmosphere this year as long as this is the commitment and practice of all parties involved in the campaign. But for that to happen, it is necessary that we put an immediate end to the siege and aggression, the persecution and conspiracy aimed against the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, its leaders and members.

We propose that the leaders of the colonial parties put all their cards on the table. We invite our fraternal Puerto Rican Independence Party to join us in demanding a complete clean-up in the present political climate in the country.

In order to accomplish this, it is necessary that all the responsible leadership in the country make a commitment, to the people of Puerto Rico, with respect to basic principles and measures to be taken.

We must begin by demanding that the FBI and the CIA, etc. put an immediate stop to their anti-socialist and anti-independence acts in Puerto Rico.

The terrorist bands of the right, organized by Yankee intelligence and supported by a PNP faction, must be dismantled.

The criminal and corrupt elements that operate within the Police Department of Puerto Rico, must be cleaned out. Even Police Superintendent Astol Calero has admitted the existence of a so-called death squadron within the said Department. That criminal gang must be broken up immediately.

The same opportunities that the colonial capitalist parties have with respect to the electoral campaign must be guaranteed, without any stratagems or hypocrisies, for the independence parties so that they can take their messages and political ideology to the people.

If the leadership of the country agrees to provide that political climate, they can count on the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to scrupulously meet the terms of that commitment. The right of our people to hear, discuss, reflect and make their political decisions in peace will then be guaranteed.

Ignoring this proposal made by the Puerto Rican socialists and continuing the repressive plan and brutal conspiracy against the independence and socialist movements is tantamount to submerging the country to a state of war. The imperialists, with the active and passive support of the colonial parties, deal us heavy blows, including murdering and arresting many of us. They cannot, however, paralyze this Party which is prepared — after seventeen years of arduous struggle — not only to guarantee the continuity of the struggle, but also to escalate and transform that struggle qualitatively with the greatest speed possible.

Whatever the outcome, we socialists will act firmly and serenely, each of us meeting the task that is clearly defined, no matter which form of struggle we must take on in the immediate future. In the meantime, we will continue to work towards the goals we have set, vigilant of the situation at every moment, and ready to put into action a contingency plan when the need arises.

Juan Mari Bras is the Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Chagui, his eldest son, was murdered in San Juan in April, 1976. The following was re-printed from Claridad, April 4, 1976.

“*Intelligence operations turned out to be a war . . .*”

Maria Serna Crusade for Justice

The Crusade for Justice, since its founding by Rudolpho “Corky” Gonzales in 1966, has provided much of the direction and philosophy of the Chicano Movement. It has used its resources, energies, and influence as a Chicano organization to educate people on all oppressive issues, to politicize them, and to enlist them in a movement struggle for human rights.

In the process, political corruption and injustice have been exposed, and public figures and established officials and institutions, particularly politicians, police and media, have come under attack for their vicious, racist practices. Through the Crusade newspaper, *El Gallo*, and other forms of protest (including taking over City Council meetings), police assault, murder and crime have been widely publicized and the police involved have been named.

Because of its progressive direction, the Crusade has built organized efforts throughout the country, particularly in the Southwest, as well as strong solidarity bonds with other Third World Liberation movements. It is evident that this organization poses a threat to the oppressive society and to its capitalist rulers who are desperately trying to eliminate our leadership.

Last September 14, 1975, *The Denver Post*, reported the Crusade for Justice was among groups in Colorado that were infiltrated or placed under surveillance by “army intelligence,” in the ‘60’s. The article further disclosed that the Army shared their “intelligence” information with the Denver Police Department, and, according to sources, it was not uncommon for Army intelligence officers to take assignments from Denver police after assignment requests had been channeled through the state’s Army division headquarters.

None of the police assaults against leaders and supporters of the Crusade for Justice can therefore be misconstrued as spontaneous confrontations, as the police and media have often attempted to make the public believe. A repressive trend is clear:

The Centro of the Crusade for Justice, a multi-room facility in the heart of Denver, was bought by the Chicano community in 1968. As such, the premises of the Crusade are private property. It is in this facility that the organization has conducted its community meetings and organizing affairs. It is in this facility, also, that various forms of cultural talent have been developed and performed for the community. It is in this facility that the Crusade for Justice sponsored annual youth conferences in the late 60’s during which various political issues were addressed, among them education and the Vietnam war. The positions these youth took in their communities showed strong political awareness. Across the country Chicano students staged walk-outs in protest against racist teachers and irrelevant teaching materials and curricula.

One such walk-out occurred in Denver at West High School. The community, among them Crusade for Justice leaders and supporters, turned out to rally in support of the students. The police turned out to riot against the community. Denver police had just returned from a national conference on “riot-control” and had planned to make the community their practice target. Many Crusade and student leaders were arrested and later

Quitted after T.V. films showed it was a police riot. Prior to the trials, a Denver newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain News*, put out an editorial saying that Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice leadership should be gotten "rid of." This was in March, 1969.

In May, 1969, Denver police attacked about 10 or 12 young Chicanos in the Crusade parking lot, some of whom had just returned from a trip to California. Claiming they had come to investigate a fight, 20 police — with several dogs, shot guns and mace — followed the traditional practice of assaulting the youth then charging them with disturbance, resistance, and interference. (During the police-provoked confrontation two or three police cars had their windows shattered and all the police incurred some injuries from fists, bottles and bricks). Among those arrested was Ernesto Vigil, the first Chicano in the Southwest to refuse induction into the armed forces.

The Crusade had made strong ties with other Chicano leaders such as Cesar Chavez' farm workers' movement as well as with Reis Tijerina and other members of the Alianza who were struggling for land grants rights in New Mexico. The Black and Brown Berets, particularly active in the Southwest and the Crusade maintained close communications. Solidarity with other Third World movements grew after the Crusade joined the Poor People's March on Washington D.C. in 1968.

With the Chicano Movement gaining national unity, police repression and surveillance on Chicano activists extended across state lines. The intelligence network was determined to break up the threat that was building. Crusade leaders and the developing young leadership found themselves in continual confrontation and often facing trumped-up charges or charges stemming from resistance to unprovoked arrest. Activists from New Mexico were being picked up in Denver on charges after they had been in the city only a short while, and without provocation. One Alianza member, Baltasar Martinez, had been in Denver only two weeks before a police bulletin credited him for the bombing of Denver school buses. After he was proven innocent, the police claimed the accusation against him had been a result of "mistaken identity." Meanwhile, the media took the opportunity to discredit both the Crusade and the Alianza Movement.

When Crusade for Justice members and supporters attended the 1970 National Chicano Moratorium against the War in Los Angeles, California — a moratorium born at a Crusade conference workshop — it came as no surprise that the dozens injured and arrested following a police-provoked riot included 27 Movement activists from Colorado, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales among them. The activists were stopped in a flat-bed truck that had offered them a ride out of the riot area and made to lie on the ground with guns at their heads. They were held for robbery and "carrying 'a' concealed weapon" (which was found under the seat of the truck). Later, charges of "crossing state lines to incite a riot" were pursued. Meanwhile Colorado and California intelligence did their homework, alerting the Denver press. The arrests and charges were sensationalized back home. Someone other than the police had to be blamed for the three murders and riot stemming from this police confrontation.

Charges were later dropped against everyone except Corky Gonzales and Alberto Gurule, an activist who at the time was running for Governor under the Crusade-founded Colorado La Raza Unida Party. The trials acquitted Gurule but ended in a hung jury for Corky Gonzales. He was later retried and convicted of the concealed weapons charge, for which he served 40 days in jail after losing his appeal.

La Raza Unida Party had made an encouraging impact on local and state elections, in spite of all the yellow journalism which followed the California arrests and trials. Yet, the Cru-

sade for Justice and Raza Unida Party continued under heavy police attack in Denver. In the dawn hours following the November 4, 1970 elections, the Denver police raided the facilities of the Crusade for Justice, which was now housing the State La Raza Unida offices as well as Escuela Tlatelolco, the Crusade-founded Chicano alternative Movement school.

Five youth staying at the premises were held with guns to their heads while police rampaged through the building busting down doors, going through the closets, offices, school rooms, curio shop and bookstore and art gallery, destroying what they could. (They did not allow the youth to call the administrators who had keys.) To justify the illegal entry, during which over \$800 in tapes, films, Crusade and school files were stolen, from various offices, police reported to the press that they had found two shotguns in the building.

At a press interview, Corky contrasted this particular police attack with what had been happening to the Black Panthers — the police creating hysteria and paranoia to justify their murders. Published in *El Gallo*, this same interview recounted the break-and-enter laws and other repressive laws that were aimed at stopping political movements rather than "crime," in a growing fascist, police state.

Recently, it has been exposed how the government was busy at this time disrupting different Chicano organizations like the Berets and the Chicano Moratorium Committee in Denver, as well as other Chicano Movement organizations across the country, by use of agent-provocateurs. Yet to be disclosed are the full intelligence operations being used to attempt to destroy the Crusade for Justice, although since the early 70's we have witnessed and lost lives to their disruptive tactics.

Police have taken advantage of every routine call to provoke confrontations, confrontations for which they later blame activists and which the establishment media then use to fuel their propaganda campaign. Some incidents have even been reported of police assaulting Chicanos who were not affiliated with the Movement but who were told by police they were "getting even with Corky." The attacks have become more widespread as activists gain control of recreation parks and community centers.

Intelligence operations have turned out to be a domestic war, a war that gained force in 1973. It was during 1973 that the strategy to tie up the Crusade leadership and activists in courts was stepped up. In an attempt to curtail our efforts and misdirect our resources, the judicial system was used against over one hundred Crusade activists and supporters. Out of all these cases, there was only one conviction.

On March 17, 1973 police used a jay-walking citation to provoke people leaving a birthday celebration at an apartment complex next to the Crusade for Justice facilities. Before the night was over, Luis Junior Martinez was dead, Ernesto Vigil was shot in the back, dozens of other Chicanos were arrested and four other men were brutalized. Needless to say, it was the injured and brutalized who were charged with "assault of police officers."

The confrontation brought in over a hundred police including the bomb squad, which was coincidentally there when an explosion ripped off the roof and wall of one of the apartments. The media "found no wrongdoing on the part of police." The subsequent trials proved different; all but one of the defendants, including Ernesto Vigil, whose jury took 30 seconds to render a not-guilty verdict, were acquitted.

Our own information sources attributed the confrontation to police effort to gain entry into the apartment complex, where, according to "undercover information", the Crusade was storing arms for shipment to Wounded Knee. The only arms found in the apartments were legally owned by the residents of those apartments, although the media reported that over a hundred

hand guns, rifles, etc. were found. No such inventory of weapons was ever presented in the trials and police inventory lists accounted for less than 20; officials could not account for the discrepancy. Again the media was used to justify police aggression.

Following the March 1973 defendants' trials, the police had to stage a quick come-back. A grand jury indictment was brought against another Crusade supporter, Gary Garrison, charging him with attempted bombing of a paint store. The bomb had been found undetonated inside a paper bag which prosecutors alleged had Gary's fingerprint on it. The news media boldly printed the fact that Gary was a member of the Crusade for Justice before it even printed his name. After months of hearings and a trial that ended last August, Gary Garrison was acquitted.

One month following this acquittal Antonio Quintana and Juan Haro, a long-time activist in the Crusade, were arrested and charged with attempted murder, theft, attempted arson, and conspiracy to commit all three in an alleged aborted plot to dynamite police substations. The news media reported that this attempt was to have been an act of protest against the holding of the International Police Chiefs' Association Conference in Denver the week beginning September 13. The arrests took place the day after thousands of Chicanos turned out for a Crusade-coordinated protest march and rally commemorating Chicano Liberation Day, September 16.

During preliminary hearings for Haro and Quintana, agents of the ATF, FBI, CBI, and various other police units admitted to surveilling Crusade members and supporters for several months, and, that in fact, the main object of their surveillance were the leaders of the Crusade for Justice. Evidence largely rests on testimony by detectives, an agent-provocateur named Jose Cordova, Jr. (a known perjurer, attempted murderer — exposed by defense attorneys — and drug addict), who, according to detectives, had infiltrated into the top ranks of the organization and was feeding into an intelligence network established since mid '75.

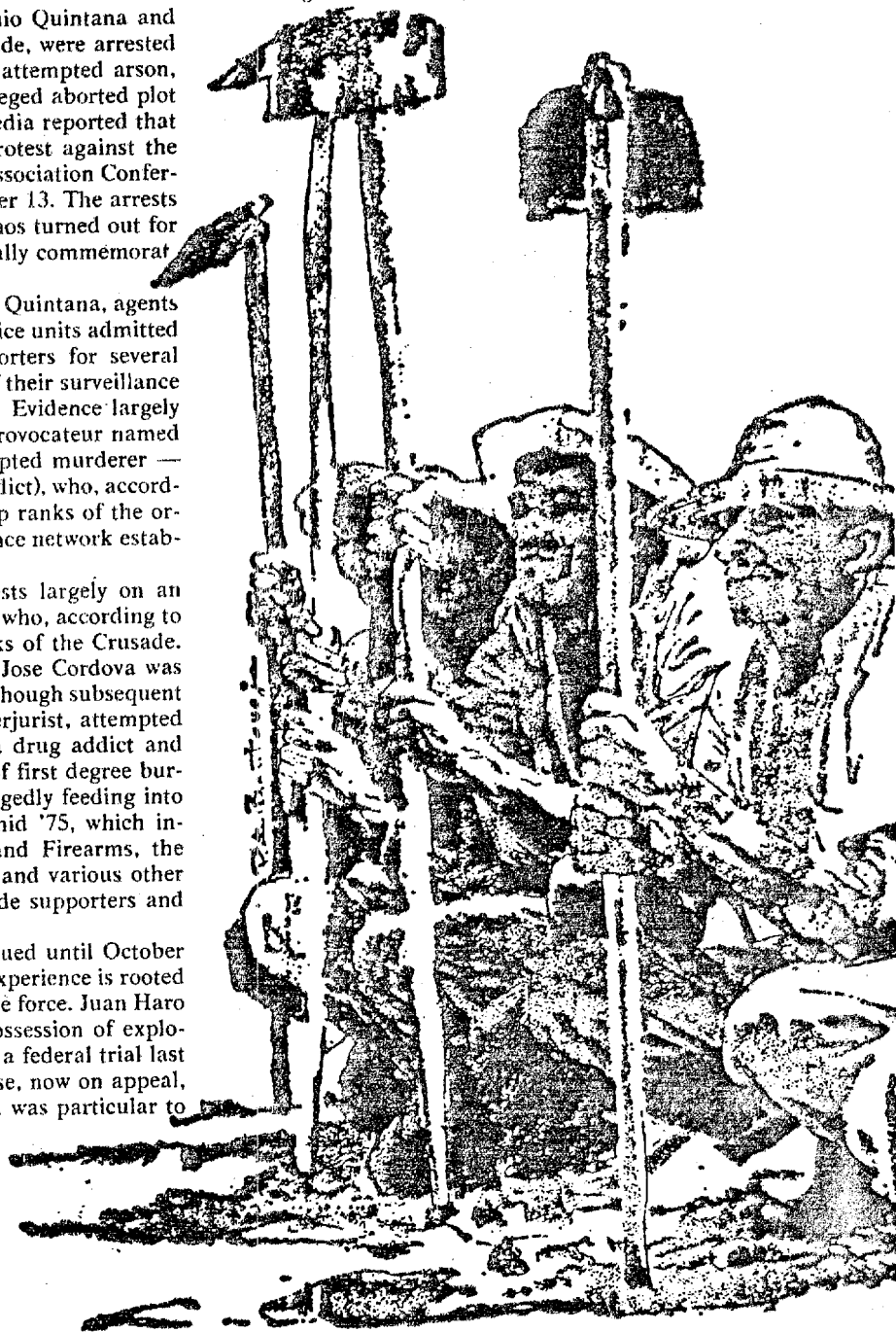
Evidence against Haro and Quintana rests largely on an agent-provocateur named Jose Cordova, Jr., who, according to the police, had infiltrated into the top ranks of the Crusade. In fact, prior to the September 17 arrests, Jose Cordova was unknown to people involved in the Crusade, though subsequent investigation has revealed he is a known perjurer, attempted murderer (exposed by defense attorneys), a drug addict and convicted felon who is now facing charges of first degree burglary in Jefferson County. Cordova was allegedly feeding into an intelligence network established since mid '75, which included the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the FBI, the Colorado Bureau of Investigation and various other police units charged with surveilling Crusade supporters and members, and particularly the leaders.

The Haro-Quintana trial has been continued until October 6, 1976, before a conservative judge whose experience is rooted in the District Attorney's office and the police force. Juan Haro also faces a six-year sentence for illegal possession of explosives on the basis of Cordova's testimony in a federal trial last January. It should be noted that in that case, now on appeal, a federal agent introduced evidence he said was particular to

the case, but which turned out to have been previously used in another trial in Kansas involving the American Indian Movement. Our solidarity with AIM is also a known subject of investigation. And they dare to charge political activists with 'conspiracy.'

As a Third World organization, we anticipate an escalated campaign against the Crusade for Justice. Our organization is being used not only to justify resources being expended to destroy political movements and develop the growing police state, but as a target of national intelligence operations, sanctioned in the halls of Congress by representatives like Larry McDonald (R-Ga.).

Maria Serna is a member of the Crusade for Justice, one of the largest Chicano organizations in this country.



“As the U.S. government slips down, the total outrageousness of it all, forces people forward.”

Phil Ochs

Phil Ochs wrote music which reflected and reported the movement for social change in this country. His songs were lifted from the pages of the daily newspapers and Phil sang them at countless rallies as both education and entertainment for the assembled demonstrators. Active in the civil rights and antiwar movements, Phil developed an interest in liberation struggles around the world. He was invited to Allende's Chile where he sang to workers and miners with Chilean Folk-singer Victor Jara. Following the coup in Chile, Phil organized an anti-Junta rally at Madison Square Garden and persuaded Bob Dylan to perform along with Pete Seeger and Arlo Guthrie. In recent years Phil became increasingly depressed over personal and political problems and in April, he ended his own life at the end of a rope. What follows is an excerpt from a taped conversation between Phil and a friend, Chip Berlet, a radical journalist in Washington, D.C. who recorded Phil's analysis of political events shortly after Nixon's resignation.

Around the world America's image is deteriorating steadily, because of the erosion caused by neo-fascism and neo-colonialism. The Third World becomes increasingly aware of how much they have been exploited and so they are fighting against tremendous odds to find some form of government that is going to allow them to control their own destiny. What you are seeing is a shifting: coup after coup, either the regular military fighting it out, normal power sources or, (historically) it is engineered by America or Europe or Israel or Japan, whoever is starting to get economic interest there.

With every decade that passes they are getting hipper, more organized, more knowledgeable and more powerful. And the West gets weaker. The final story is not the destruction of the West but the time when the West realizes that they can't keep on playing that old ball game of owning the world. They have to give it up, they have to make their terms, have to rebuild their economies on a smaller and more healthy level.

The actual downfall of Nixon was a political education for the country because the presidency had been mystified so much over the years. It's very important historically that Nixon came along in these times; it's almost like it was planned. He had so many corrupt facets to his life that you couldn't get a better fall guy to represent the corruption of neo-fascist corporate capitalism — which is the stage we are going through right now. He was almost destined to come into power, and destined to fall from power.

Another key point is that for the first time, the working class became involved with the movement in the same kind of protest. Blue-collar workers in general were very disillusioned with Nixon and the oil companies. There was a general disenchantment.

Also, there was a clear difference between the impeachment and the Vietnamese war because in any wartime, no matter how criminal the war is, you are still open to charges of "treason." People are fighting and dying "over there". In this case, there was so much information that came out about Nixon's corruption that charges of treason were meaningless to the working class.

Jerry Ford is almost as bad as Nixon politically. They are both neo-fascist. Nixon has been in the forefront, making deals, and had been an amateur, while Ford had been in the background playing the legislative game, calmly and correctly from his viewpoint. He has no charisma, no leadership ability, no looks, and no personality. He almost doesn't exist as a presidential figure.

But it is important to study Ford's background, to look at his voting record, to see what he stands for and to realize how dangerous a man he is. In some cases he is to the right of Nixon, on the Vietnam war for example.

The current apathy is different than the 1950's. The people are subdued, they have a feeling of oppression and a feeling of danger that, they could be hurt, killed or jailed by the police or the government. But they do know there is something drastically wrong with this country. They do know we have gone through a criminal war. They do know we have a criminal president. But they feel paralyzed.

They're not interested. They're living out in the countryside in Vermont or they're eating vegetables and avoiding meat as their political statement. Speaking intellectually, they potentially could come back at any point when they felt a resurgence of power or importance.

One reason there are no leaders coming forth is straight fear. The selective assassination of the 'domestic Phoenix program' that went on in America, and still has not been made public, leads everyone in their subconscious to say, "Well, I better not say anything because I might get killed." Nobody, but nobody, is going to get in our way.

Kent State cut out the student movement by and large. In the same way, they moved in on the Panthers and terrified the Black community. Very selective and very clever terrorism.

So, you have to be careful.

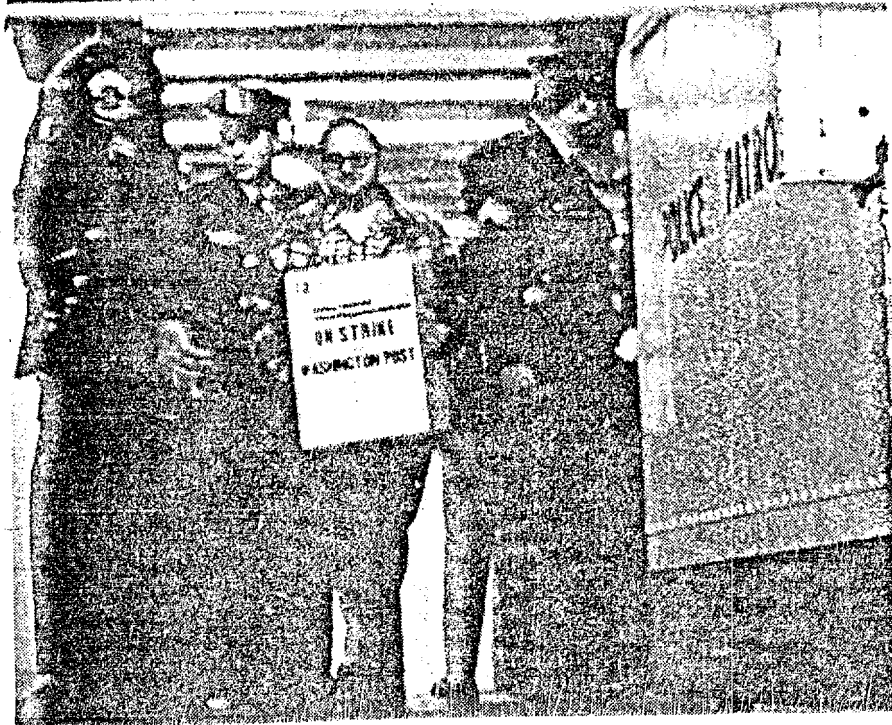
It is still dangerous in terms of contemporary people. If suddenly, for example, someone's picture was on every front page, was a revolutionary leader, and was on everybody's wall, that would be a way of marking that person for death.

As the U.S. government slips down, its image of power starts to diminish, and the total outrageousness of the situation forces people forward, who normally wouldn't do anything.

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TRENDS



A Washington Post striker led away by Washington Metropolitan police.

Labor Spies Inc.

Private police have moved in on workplaces across the country to spy on workers with the tools of advanced technology. Unlike the Pinkerton agents of the 30's, today's labor spies are equipped with TV cameras, lie detectors, and eavesdropping and wiretapping devices.

Employers' drive to learn more about those on the payroll has built up an expanding private security industry. The four largest security corporations have enjoyed booming profits in the past few years which they have reinvested in further expansion.

Wackenhut, the third largest but fastest growing firm, now has offices employing more than 14,000 people from Alaska to Brazil to Belgium. It was founded by George R. Wackenhut, a former FBI agent, and three other ex-FBI operatives. It has expanded rapidly into the Caribbean and Latin America, and in 1973 overseas operations alone brought in an additional \$6.9 million in revenues. Its high growth rate is mostly due to its aggressive acquisition of smaller security firms.

As the multinational security firms have professionalized, their corporate customers have changed priorities too.

They are now willing to pump profits into sophisticated security branches to fight the highly-publicized worldwide threat of terrorism.

Among those wealthy customers is Katherine Graham, publisher and owner of the *Washington Post*. Graham, who is quoted as saying, "I want a Pulitzer Prize in management," is clearly eligible for the prize in union busting. Before the anticipated pressmen's strike last fall (which continues today), Graham made arrangements for help from Wackenhut, Inc.

A few weeks before the strike, *Post* employees were issued red ID cards which they were required to show on entering or leaving the elevator of the *Post* building. This was to assure that floors were clear of certain workers.

Once the strike and boycott were in full gear, management hired more than a hundred Wackenhut agents to follow and intimidate the strikers.

Some strikers think it was a Wackenhut behind the wheel of a car that tried to run them over. Others think it was Wackenhut behind window-smashing campaigns.

Whatever they were actually doing, there is no doubt that their skills, employed by Graham, paid off. She undoubtedly knew of their whereabouts

and of many of their plans. Other employers are using surveillance tactics to prevent and stifle organizing efforts.

A regional office of the California Agricultural Labor Relationships Board charged the Teamsters Union and the E & J Gallo winery, last winter, with using "massive surveillance" to interfere with the farm workers union representation election held at Gallo on September 10.

At the time of the election, the UFW charged that Gallo, in collusion with the Teamsters, had systematically followed UFW organizers and photographed them while they talked to workers about the upcoming elections.

Fred Ross, UFW director of organizing, described the company's tactics: "At Gallo's Snelling Ranch, I went door to door in the company housing. Each door I knocked on, a guard would take a picture of me talking to the worker." Ross added that, although the ALRB had ordered Gallo to stop this intimidation, the company continued right up to the election.

The board's office also charged Gallo with illegally firing two pro-UFW employees for their union views.

The Bakery and Confectionary Workers International is also resisting surveillance. A fight is being waged to reinstate a supervisor at Russell Stover Candy Inc., Washington, D.C., after he challenged his boss's surveillance orders as illegal.

University of Wisconsin students working at the student center in Madison fell victim to hired labor spies last fall. Their battle has been largely unsuccessful though, and the unknown spies still circulate their workplace and enforce the speed-up policies declared by management last year.

Presently, private security agencies are free to continue their rampant investigations without fear of discovery because there are simply no regulations for the gun-toting agents and guards.

In Washington, D.C. alone, there are 187 such agencies employing former employees of the CIA, NSA, Interpol, FBI, and local police detective squads.

According to U.S. government statistics there were a total of 290,000 regularly-employed private guards and detectives nationwide back in 1969 (some estimates placed that figure as high as 800,000).

Today, in New York City, there are an estimated 40,000 private guards compared to 30,000 municipal policemen and in some places, such as Wall St., rent-a-cops outnumber the regular police by a factor of ten to one.

More CIA Recruits

A new recruitment strategy adopted last fall has increased student applications to the CIA this year by 30 per cent — almost 10 per cent higher than the general increase in applications for all Civil Service jobs.

Capitalizing on the tight job market for 1976 graduates, the CIA has shifted its focus from small minority colleges to large public universities and dressed up its pitch with full-page advertising in campus newspapers, and personal appearances by former CIA Director William Colby on the college lecture circuit. (See "Stump Bill Colby" p. 90.)

The new approach was met with mixed reaction. Some colleges organized demonstrations against the CIA recruitment; others refused on-campus interviews entirely.

F.W.M. Janney, CIA director of personnel, told a *New York Times* reporter, "Generally, we conduct interviews on campus unless we have reason to believe it would cause some embarrassment to the university or ourselves." He added that the students are asking harder questions about the agency's policies during the interviews.

While the increase in applications has made the Agency generally more selective in filling its 1,100 positions, there are concerted efforts to hire more minority personnel with moderate success to date.

"We've had some better luck in our effort with Hispanics," Dr. Janney noted.

A CIA minority hiring conference, held in Washington last October, drew more than 60 career counselors from 23 universities, including the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, UCLA, UW-Madison, Michigan State at East Lansing and the University of Berkeley. Representatives, whose social security numbers were requested by the CIA for background checks, came to Langley to talk with CIA officials about employment opportunities for students.

The following is the CIA's "Guest List". Did the CIA pay the way for your representative to visit?

University of California, Berkeley
Ms. Jane Adams
Mr. Willard Eng
University of California, Los Angeles
Mr. Winston Doby
Mr. Charles Sundberg
University of California, San Diego
Dr. Raymond Dye
Mr. Fred Henderson
Ms. Rena Reno

Howard University
Mrs. Pearl Bailey
Mr. Samuel Hall
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle
Mr. Raymond Dalton
Mr. Weyman L. Edwards
Mr. Roger L. Pulliam
University of Illinois, Medical Center
Ms. Carol A. Cottrell
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Mr. Anthony G. Dew
Ms. Sandra F. Norris
Mr. Paul E. Parker
Indiana University
Mr. Horacio Lewis
Mr. George Taliaferro
Iowa State University
Dr. Marcia Donnerstein
Ms. Augustine Wright
University of Kansas
Mr. Tony Espinosa
Ms. Helen Kimball
Dr. Richard Lee
University of Maryland
Mrs. Laura Gardner
Mr. Hugh Warner
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Dr. Harold P. Folwer
University of Michigan, Dearborn
Mr. Robert B. Vokac
Dr. Joseph M. Wright
University of Michigan, Flint
Mr. John H. McCrae
Dr. M.J. Roberston

Michigan State University
Ms. Clare Duncan
Mr. Gumecindo Salas
Mr. Carl Taylor
University of Minnesota
Ms. Jeanne Lupton
Mr. Frank B. Wilderson
Ms. Lillian Williams
University of New York
Mr. Dean Harrison
Mr. Hans J. Hillerbrand
Ms. Norma S. Rees
University of North Carolina
Mr. Joe M. Galloway
Mr. H.B. Renwick
Mr. Carl W. Smith
Ohio State University
Dr. William J. Holloway
Pennsylvania State University
Mr. Jeff W. Garis
Mr. John Johnson
University of Washington
Mr. William L. Baker
Mr. Herman McKinney
University of Wisconsin, Madison
Mr. Merritt Norvell
Mr. L.H. Ritcherson
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Dr. Helen Batchelor
Mr. Roy Evans
Mr. Kirby Stanat
Ms. Mary Wada



Stump Colby

Former CIA Director William E. Colby was not fired for his crimes in Vietnam or Chile. He is getting a \$25,000 per year retirement pay, two book contracts, and a lucrative lecture tour to assure that he continues to carry on the CIA's policy of "plausible denial" against the American public.

It's important to stump Colby when he speaks in your community. We offer the following tools to do so:

Mr. Colby elicits sympathy by having acted as a lightning rod for Congressional criticism of the CIA. Some contend that Mr. Colby has been a "scapegoat". But, a "scapegoat" is an innocent person who is wrongly punished, and Mr. Colby is guilty of countless crimes.

Colby played a key role in the CIA secret war in Laos; Operation Phoenix; and the destabilization of the democratic government of Chile. These CIA operations could not have occurred without the systematic deception of the American people and Congress. Colby's speaking is only a continuation of this CIA policy.

Phoenix was conceived, financed and directed by the CIA. CIA Chief William Colby was its architect. He oversaw the creation of mercenary teams, the founding of a vast and brutal secret police force, the construction of a nationwide network of interrogation centers and finally devised Phoenix to coordinate and provide a legal cover for the growing campaign of mass murder and political imprisonment.

Michael Drosnin, *New Times*,
August 22, 1975

Torture was the standard operating procedure of Phoenix, "Everybody who was there accepted torture as routine" (Robt. F. Gould, Colby's legal advisor in Saigon) . . . I never knew an individual to be detained as a "Viet Cong" suspect who ever lived through an interrogation . . ." (K. Barton Osborn, former agent handler for Phoenix). Phoenix operative were required to "neutralize" a minimum number of Vietnam citizens per month. In 1969 it was 1,800. By 1972 it was 2,000 per month. Phoenix operatives were stimulated by rewards ranging from \$300 to \$11,000 per victim.

Ask Mr. Colby about his Phoenix operation in South East Asia.

Don't let him lie! Mr. Colby recently told the *Washington Star* (March 7, 1976), "I don't lie . . . Sometimes I refuse to give information, sometimes I keep a secret; but never lie." Occasionally though, Mr. Colby stumped and accidentally lies to the American people, as he did at a question and answer session



at American University on March 8, 1976.

Mr. Colby: "the CIA has never assassinated anybody."

Question: "How do you define assassination?"

Mr. Colby: "Killing. Killing people — deliberate killing of people."

Last August, Mr. Colby *did* admit that the CIA killed people. In the *New Times* interview with Michael Drosnin in August 1975, Mr. Colby said the following:

Drosnin: "I've been told by Americans and Vietnamese directly involved, that under Phoenix VC were routinely targeted and executed."

Mr. Colby: "Killed, not executed . . ."

In July 1969, the CIA began a coordinated program of penetration deception, and bribery targeted at the Chilean military. This program lasted four years and expanded after September 1970. According to the Senate Intelligence Committee Report of December 18, 1975 called *Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973*,

"By September 1971, a network of agents was in place and the station (in Chile) was receiving almost daily reports of new coup plotting. At the same time, and in parallel, the Station and the Headquarters discussed a "deception operation" designed to alert Chilean officers to real or purported Chilean involvement in the Chilean army. The Station/Headquarters dialogue over the use of the intelligence network paralleled the discussion of the deception operation. In November, the Station suggested

that the ultimate objective of the military penetration program was a military coup.

But when asked about the CIA's activities in Chile in this time period Mr. Colby states, "For six weeks (Sept.-Oct. 1970) out of those ten years (1964-1974) we looked into the possibility of stirring up the military. From then on we had nothing more to do with the military."

Ask Mr. Colby about the CIA's "military penetration" operation in Chile.

According to the Nuremberg principles, crimes against humanity, murder, extermination and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population are punishable war crimes. The UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights prohibit the application of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment. Article 3 of the Geneva Convention, reads in part, "Persons taking no active part in the hostilities; (e.g. civilians) . . . shall in all circumstances be treated humanely . . . To this end the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons, (a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment, and torture . . . (c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment . . ."

Ask Mr. Colby if he is a war criminal.

Ask Mr. Colby if he is guilty. Ask Mr. Colby why he drags the CIA's bag of covert crimes behind him wherever he goes.

LEAA Opens Criminal Records



A prospective employer or insurance investigator can now secure criminal histories and conviction records under a new policy making all federally financed criminal information systems accessible for non-law enforcement purposes.

In May 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, (LEAA) issued regulations restricting release of information only to news media or for employment or government licensing purposes, unless local or state laws specifically allowed otherwise. Within a year, however, the restrictions were lifted. According to an LEAA spokesman: "... Criminal history record information relating to the offense for which an individual is currently within the criminal justice system may be disseminated without limitation."

The LEAA announced that it is modifying the regulations in order "to strike a balance between the public's right to know such information with the individual's right to privacy." Others are not so sure whether such delicate decisions should be left up to the LEAA.

The new policy began April 19, 1976.

Court OKs Police Set Ups for Dope

On April 27, 1976, the Supreme Court approved, 5 to 3, the federal Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) practice of supplying suspected drug dealers with heroin and setting them up for arrest.

Five of the eight justices agree that there had been no due-process violation when an undercover agent of the DEA twice arranged for a suspect to sell heroin to another government agent and then furnished the drugs that were sold.

The decision sustained the conviction of Charles Hampton of St. Louis, who had contended that the government should be prohibited from prosecuting suspects to whom it had supplied contraband.

William H. Rehnquist went further to say that the government's complicity in crime, no matter how outrageous, could never serve as a defense for a suspect who was predisposed to commit the crime.

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Books

The FBI: Past, Present . . . and Future

FBI, by Sanford Ungar. Atlantic-Little Brown and Company, 682 pages.

If you want to write a "balanced" book on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, you have to make it long. Sanford Ungar attempted that book, and recently presented us with *FBI*, which is almost 700 pages long. For almost two years the FBI opened itself to Ungar; Director Clarence Kelley cooperated and directed other personnel to do the same.

What emerges is a book describing all facets of the Bureau. The intelligence functions of the Bureau, however, stand alone—a part of the Bureau's activities that has served no legitimate purpose. There is no way to *balance* the burglaries, mail opening, surveillance, and counter-intelligence programs (COINTELPROs) with efficient crime labs, solved bank robberies and car thefts, and dedicated agents.

Four years after his death, the spirit of J. Edgar Hoover remains a force in the Bureau.

Over his almost 40-year tenure as director, Hoover engrained himself into the rules, practices, and attitudes of the FBI. Thus, Hoover-trained people are still spread throughout the Bureau, in the field offices and in the "Seat of Government", as the FBI's Washington headquarters is called.

Reinforcing the spirit of Hoover within the Bureau is a reluctance by the current director to repudiate the activities of COINTELPRO. His motives for this are unclear. Do they stem from a desire to sustain morale within the Bureau? From fear of the remaining Hoover lieutenants? Or from a conviction that these activities were actually within the bounds of what was expected of the Bureau by the American people?

Whatever the reason, it is clear that the mechanisms and the personnel for future COINTELPROs remain in place. The Bureau has 169 million fingerprint cards (it is fond of pointing out that if stacked on top of each other the cards would be 108 times as high as the Em-

pire State Building); 6½ million investigative files, and 58 million cards in its general index. There are 8000 FBI agents in the field. Internal security and counterintelligence matters account for 25% of the Bureau's resources, and the Intelligence Division is now so overstuffed that some supervisors are busy barely one-third of each day.

The attitudes of Bureau personnel are also appropriate for future COINTELPROs. Agents would do it all again. As one agent put it in an interview with Ungar:

"Kelley said it won't be done anymore, but I can assure you that it will, informally if not in an official program." Many agents in security work, he said, would not hesitate to try to have the subjects of their investigations fired from their jobs or evicted from their homes, as was sometimes arranged under COINTELPRO. He added that "if I, as a case agent, have an extremist, I would probably do anything I can to put him in jail. If I have to buy information or read his mail sometimes in order to accomplish that, I would do it. I would conduct a neighborhood investigation just to dis-

credit him, and tell his neighbors about the groups he was affiliated with." This kind of unofficial activity, he explained, might be widely known within a field office where it goes on, but would rarely be documented on paper and therefore could not be proved from the Bureau files.

All that stands between the intelligence bureaucracy and future excesses is the possibility that the American people will realize that the machinery is still all there. Once again the warning of Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone in 1924 should be heeded:

"[the FBI] is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with their conduct and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish."

Susan Kaplan
Associate, Domestic Security Project
Center for National Security Studies



INFORMATION DIGEST

110901

NOVEMBER 9, 1973

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Congressional Aide Spies on Left

LARRY McDONALD
GEORGIA

This information is controlled
under Executive Order 11652
and is exempt from release
under E.O. 11652, paragraph 1b
and 1c.

For the past seven years, a secret right-wing newsletter called *Information Digest* has been delivering some of the most sophisticated analytical reports on the American Left to such subscribers as the FBI, CIA, and the National Security Agency. The *Digest* reports may be only one toe of a right-wing campaign of spying, massive dossier compiling, information trading, blacklisting, subversion of civil liberties, wiretapping, bugging, plots against progressive leaders, illegal suppression of legitimate dissent, infiltration of government agencies, and crime of all proportions.

The New York Assembly's Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis recently released an investigative report on a secret "right-wing newsletter" used by the New York State Police to compile dossiers on over one million politicians, political activists, lawyers, writers and show business personalities. The report on the newsletter, *Information Digest*, stated clearly that the mimeographed *Digest* was received by over 40 subscribers and "was the string that held together a network of hidden informants whose information was recorded by police departments throughout the nation without the individual involved knowing the process and without independent checking by the police as to the validity and source of this derogatory information." (emphasis added). But there, the New York inquiry stopped.

A brief investigation by *CounterSpy* now confirms the worst fears contained in the New York report: the information was received and used by the FBI, CIA and the National Security Agency (NSA). *Information Digest* could be just the tip of a rightist iceberg of spying, massive dossier compiling and information trading, blacklisting, subversion of civil liberties, invasion of privacy, plots against progressive leaders, illegal suppression of legitimate dissent, infiltration of government agencies, and crime of all proportions. Experts consulted by *CounterSpy* including Frank Donner, of the ACLU Political Surveillance Project and Wes McCune, veteran analyst of America's right wing, were astounded by the sophistication and depth of *Information Digest*. Donner believes *Information Digest* demonstrates that the private, abundantly financed right-wing elements have better information on liberals and radicals than that normally processed by the government. McCune, who edits *Group Research Report*, a newsletter on the right-wing, was disturbed. Left-leaning lawyers who have examined *Information Digest* believe that, due to misuse of the data, much of the past seven-year history of the movement may have to be challenged and rewritten. All who have become involved with analyzing *Information Digest* believe it indicates that the right-wing privately maintained files that rival those of the FBI.

The Authors and Their Many Faces

The authors of the *Information Digest* are S. Louise Rees and John Rees, better known to the Washington, D.C. Left community as Sheila O'Connor and John Seeley.

The two initially came to Washington around Mayday, 1971, having established Left contacts through Abbie Hoffman during the Woodstock music festival. John and Sheila — offhandedly associated with several groups of street people called the "Crazies" and the "New York Motherfuckers" — covered themselves by including their names in the *Information Digest* in connection with Mayday and other anti-war activities from 1969-1971. Why anyone would believe that the pair could possibly belong to the "youth culture" is now a mystery. But they became familiar characters in Washington. Sheila, a huge woman, overweight, is at least six feet tall with a large frame,

small facial features, fair skin, dark eyes and long dark hair which she usually wore in a braid; she always dressed in dark, unobtrusive clothing, often jeans and a sweatshirt. John, also overweight and about Sheila's height, had dark hair, wore glasses, and spoke with a British accent. He explained variously that he was from Wales or Surrey, England. He usually wore dark sloppy clothes and often masqueraded as a priest, complete with clerical collar, which fooled no one, but in those days, who cared?

In July, 1971, the couple opened up a "collective" bookstore at 1247 20th St. NW which incorporated a long wall of bookshelves, a series of tables for newspapers, magazines and pamphlets and a section for a Gestetner Mimeograph. A small loft in back was used as a meetingplace and office. The storefront was given a dual name: The Red House — eight blocks from the White House and New Foundations — the former to provide movement connections, the latter to give a cloak of respectability for John, the "priest".

The Red House never succeeded as a bookstore, and its real purpose remained obscure, even to people who worked with Sheila and John. Two letters, drafted mainly by John, went out from the group; one requested five-copy subscriptions to the entire underground press; the other offered to a large number of foreign embassies in Washington, daily delivery of *Peoples World*, *Daily World*, *the Guardian*, *the Liberated Guardian* and other socialist papers for a weekly fee of four dollars. The first letter successfully established a flow of geographically and politically diverse alternative papers. The second, which also requested that the embassy "advise us as the means you consider most appropriate for increasing the contacts between your country and the tendencies we represent", never brought any response.

The only other stock was odd items from RPM Distributing Co., then a new local venture, and booklets from Times Change Press. The Red House continued as a one-man operation, 20 hours a week from September to December, after which it officially closed, obviously having lost its value to the D.C. police who rented and paid for it directly.

Towards the end of the summer of 1971, John and Sheila stopped participating in the Red House to become involved in prison work through the Institute for Policy Studies, where Sheila later obtained a job. After failing to assemble an umbrella organization called "Washington Connections", the couple created CCERL (Coordinating Center for Education in Repression and the Law).

A house at 1616 Longfellow Street in Northwest Washington became the headquarters for CCERL, which originally operated from the loft at the Red House bookstore. CCERL purported to combat police repression, illegal surveillance of protest groups, grand juries and political trials as well as to promote prisoner rights and the abolition of capital punishment. Ironically, CCERL is listed in *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove*, the latest progressive analysis of U.S. police published in 1975 by the Berkeley-based Center for Research on Criminal Justice. It now appears that CCERL was actually organized to collect information from such anti-repression groups as the Center for Research on Criminal Justice. A paid request for information recently mailed to the new box number for CCERL (PO Box 35, College Park, Md. 20740) yielded no response, nor was the request returned with "Addressee Unknown."

In September 1972, on the recommendation of a Howard University law student, Sheila was hired as a part-time coordinator of the local office of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Sheila immediately took over the preparation of the Guild newsletter which she changed drastically in format and

content, conspicuously citing names, statements, and meeting places at every available opportunity. (Naively, it was thought at the time that the additional "content" was the result of "new input" and "new energy".) Coincidentally, the new format also had definite similarities to the *Information Digest*, which John and Sheila were covertly mailing to the police, including large-type centered headlines and an occasional splash of dry sarcasm.

During the year and a half in the Guild office, Sheila coordinated several efforts with community groups, including the People's Tribunal (which sponsored hearings to investigate police brutality and particularly the murder of a 16-year-old youth during a police stake-out); the Police Brutality Panel, a coalition for handling police brutality complaints; and a panel to investigate a plan by the Council of Government (COG) to set up a large spy network with LEAA funding. Out of the COG investigation, Sheila helped expose the Justice Department's Operation SEARCH (a project to integrate all government computers), during the NLG's National Executive Board meeting in Washington in October 1972. She was elected to the local executive board in January 1973 and later to the National Executive Board in June 1973.

As office coordinator, Sheila was very efficient, taking notes at all meetings, organizing membership, donor, dues and sustainer lists — all of which were typed and disseminated to concerned members inside the Guild, and obviously, as we now know, to a select group outside. In retrospect, it is clear to Guild leaders that she also efficiently miscoordinated events, like the January 1973 citizen hearings called by Congressman John Conyers and 45 citizen groups to investigate the workings of the criminal justice system.

As the Guild contact, Sheila was assigned to organize the program for the second day of hearings. In the eleventh hour it was discovered she had done nothing to prepare the program. On being criticized by the main organizer, Sheila threatened to sue him and that "she would get his ass." The organizer, a prominent local community person, had to be dissuaded from making a public statement that she was an agent and had purposely attempted to sabotage the hearings.

Another example of disruptive behavior was reported from the publicity committee of the National Lawyers Guild Convention in February 1973. On at least three separate occasions during the convention, Sheila and John confronted press people (escorted by authorized Guild members), challenging their credentials and security. In the middle of a session, Sheila and John, who always sat on the aisle or in the back, would jump up, Sheila screaming at the reporter or photographer: "How do we know you're not a pig?" Sheila would get into loud, heated arguments and once attempted to physically assault a photographer. In the process, of course, not only were meetings disrupted, but tenuous relationships with the conservative Austin, Texas media were effectively destroyed.

Sheila and John would periodically disappear for days at a time during their stay in Washington. The last time they were actually seen was on the June 16, 1973 march to the Watergate by 10,000 citizens protesting Nixon's crimes.

Bad memories abound now. The pistol that unsuspectingly dropped from Sheila's purse one day in the Guild office. The rent-a-car, stolen in the name of the Guild chairperson. The guns and possible wiretap equipment found when a curious roommate at the Longfellow house broke into John and Sheila's bedroom, which remained locked during the day and bolted from inside at night. That same woman pulled from her bed and beaten one night later by John on a rampage. All these memories point out one fact: John Seeley and Sheila

O'Connor, a/k/a Rees, were agent provocateurs.

From the report by the Oversight Office we have learned that John has had a long career as a "spook". There is concrete information linking him as a paid informant with the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department and, according to the report, he told the D.C. M.P.D. that he had also worked with the police departments in Houston, on the West Coast, in Maryland, in New Jersey and in New York State. He once offered his expertise in intelligence gathering on the Left to the Wackenhut Corporation, a private security service in Florida, which also manufactures surveillance equipment. George Wackenhut, contacted by legislative investigators, says John was checked out and found to be a "kook", but their report also says that good authority indicates he was paid for intelligence services rendered.

According to a former roommate, John would often travel to other cities to visit Movement people. Each time, she got reports that things became very agitated and problems always followed his visits. No one outside his roommates saw John very often, and even they did not know him very well. Little is known about him, though the legislative investigators did turn up an additional tidbit, that John Herbert Rees was an orderly in a Massachusetts nursing home before becoming a beneficiary of the will of Grace Metalious, author of *Peyton Place*. He maintained a mystique, brushing off any questions with intimations that he was into "heavy" things and survived by various illegal hustles.

Sheila seems to have ties with a range of federal and state intelligence agencies including the FBI, New York State Police, Maryland State Police and the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police. We now know that she worked for the old House Internal Security Committee which became notorious for its defamatory withhunts against legitimate dissent.

A Spy in Congress

Sheila is currently an employee of Congressman Larry P. (for Patton; he claims to be related to General George Patton) McDonald, Democrat from Georgia. Born in Atlanta in 1935, McDonald graduated from Darlington School in Rome, Ga. and completed premedical training at Davidson College, N.C., after which he went on to receive his doctor of medicine degree from Emory University School of Medicine in 1957. He served four years in the Navy as a physician and flight surgeon, then did his residency at Grady Memorial Hospital followed by three years of postgraduate training in urology at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He is a member of the Independent Methodist Church, various medical associations, Rotary, National Historical Society, the Atlanta Astronomy Club, and proudly proclaims he is the youngest member of the National Council of the John Birch Society.

When McDonald first came to Congress as a freshman representative he spent most of his time lobbying to be placed on the House Internal Security Committee, but instead Congress decided to abolish the committee.² Since at least April of 1975, McDonald has been regularly placing highly derogatory — not to mention false — information on dissenters and anyone else he doesn't like in the *Congressional Record*. (Unfortunately a Congressman can say anything on the floor of Congress without fear of being sued for slander or libel even though the information is obviously not so.) It is now obvious that most of his information came from the *Information Digest*, prepared by his employee, Sheila, or S. Louise Rees, as she appears on the most recent Clerk of the House report.

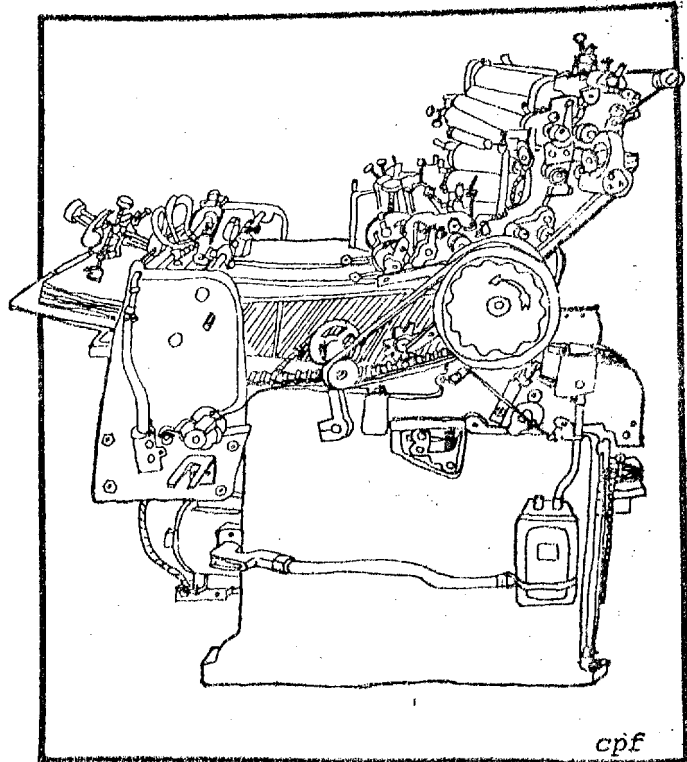
Some of the same information has also appeared in columns of right-wing commentators.

McDonald had an extremely well-funded 1972 campaign. His district, predominately white and rural to semi-rural, includes Cobb City near Marietta, the home of McDonald Douglas plants, and Floyd City near Rome, Ga., a leading center of John Birch Society activism. But the most disturbing information *CounterSpy* has received on McDonald is not his association with the JBS or *Information Digest*. His name has repeatedly surfaced in rumors widely circulating among the black leadership of this country that he was involved in meetings to raise money to assassinate Martin Luther King, Jr. *CounterSpy* cannot confirm these rumors — although we do understand that the Justice Department is aware of them and may have investigated — nor do we necessarily believe them. But their circulation by responsible leaders warrants investigation by proper authorities including the Congress of the United States.

McDonald is divorced. The exact reasons are unknown but the Capital Hill grapevine has it that he has some sexual problems centered around his extreme versions of patriotism. His wife was awarded the divorce, custody of the children, their home and furnishings and \$1,000 per month alimony plus child support. During his 1972 campaign, he was briefly jailed for failing to make alimony payments. McDonald now is also being sued for \$3.5 million by a widow who claims he illegally prescribed Laetrile as a cure for her husband's cancer. The highly controversial drug is banned by the FDA, but McDonald has been prescribing it for years.

McDonald's frequent tirades in the *Congressional Record* against those he believes are "communists" have primarily been designed to whip up a new red scare a la the McCarthyism of the 1950s. He has delivered detailed reports on a broad range of New Left, Third World, consumer, environmental, peace and justice and even paramilitary right-wing organizations and events, including: the National Council of Churches; the November 1975 Teach-In at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; the Center for National Security Studies; the American Civil Liberties Union; the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, publishers of *CounterSpy*; NACLA; the Movement for a Free Philippines; the Crusade for Justice; the Rockefeller Foundation grant awarded to well-known leftist leaders; the Communist Party USA; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Peoples Bicentennial Commission; the National Caucus of Labor Committees; Trotskyite and Maoist sects such as Youth Against War and Fascism, Revolutionary Union and the October League (copies of apparent internal OL Central Committee papers were reprinted from the *Intelligence Digest*). McDonald seems to be singularly concerned with the National Lawyers Guild, however, as was the *Intelligence Digest*. Recently, he has also reported extensively on planning for the July 4th mobilization in Philadelphia by a coalition of Third World and Left organizations.

So far his demagoguery has not impressed the majority of Congress, but it is carrying on the mission of the John Birch Society — to influence the hearts and minds of Americans and eventually achieve political power by mobilizing a dedicated minority of anti-communists. The JBS, a predominantly secret society of 80,000 of America's ruling and middle classes, believes in the conspiracy theory of history: nearly everyone to the left of its founder, retired Massachusetts candy manufacturer Richard Welch, is a member of the "Communist conspiracy" or fellow travellers. The organization, founded in Indianapolis in 1958, operates at the grass roots level through front groups and inside other organizations across



the country under a zealous, disciplined and thoroughly indoctrinated cadre of organizers. In fact, it is organized like a "vanguard party" of the right wing.³ Larry McDonald is, in effect, a member of the "Central Committee." And a part of their propaganda machine.

The information in his "Remarks" to Congress, while far from totally accurate, nevertheless, is the product of a highly sophisticated intelligence operation. The same can be said for the *Information Digest*. This is not just the work of some "right-wing kooks" but of trained professionals.

Information Digest was produced under the aegis of a New York corporation called National Goals, Inc., begun by John Rees in 1968. According to the incorporation papers, one corporate purpose of the company was: "(To) provide an investigative service for various branches of government, State, Federal, and local and to prepare memoranda, reports, books, pamphlets and bulletins with respect thereto."

The Police Connection

After December 1974, *Digest* was sent to subscribers from Post Office Box 13144, Baltimore, Md., the mailing address of a mysterious C.I.R. Associates. Neither the legislative investigation nor *CounterSpy* has been able to discover more about C.I.R. Associates. The post office box was authorized to John and Louise Reese (and John O'Connors⁴ as well as John Norpel, until June, 1974, research director of Senator James Eastland's Senate Internal Security Committee. E.M. Hamm, the chief postal inspector in New York City, told the Oversight Office: "A now-retired postal inspector assisted the Maryland State Police in obtaining Post Office Box 13144. The assistance was in response to a December 1974 request from a Maryland State Police officer indicating that a Post Office box was needed by the law enforcement agency. They were further told 'If you desire additional

information concerning the post office box, you should contact Captain G.R. Grant, Maryland State Police Headquarters." Grant denied that the Maryland State Police "had rented" Post office box 13144, but has repeatedly refused to explain the circumstances of how the box was rented or used. On one occasion, Grant told the legislative investigators that the conclusion by postal authorities "was no doubt a product of inferences drawn . . . from the circumstances prevailing at the time the box was rented." According to the report:

"Norpel, now living in California, said he left intelligence work in June 1974 and knew nothing about *Information Digest*, except that John Rees runs it, and that the only reason his name appeared on the publication is that Rees let him use the P.O. Box for his personal use. But Norpel says he went to California in July, 1974 and cannot explain why his name was on a Maryland P.O. Box opened in December, 1974 except to say, 'You can put anybody's name on a mailbox. I had nothing to do with that.'

"At one point, Norpel's wife told the legislative investigators that 'friends' had told her to refer any questions about Norpel or the Reeses or the House committee to Otto Otepka, a former State Department official.⁵

"Norpel said that Rees was important not only to his committee and D.C. police but to the federal government: "The information which he brought before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was always right on the mark. It provided background leads for the Venceremos Brigade hearings

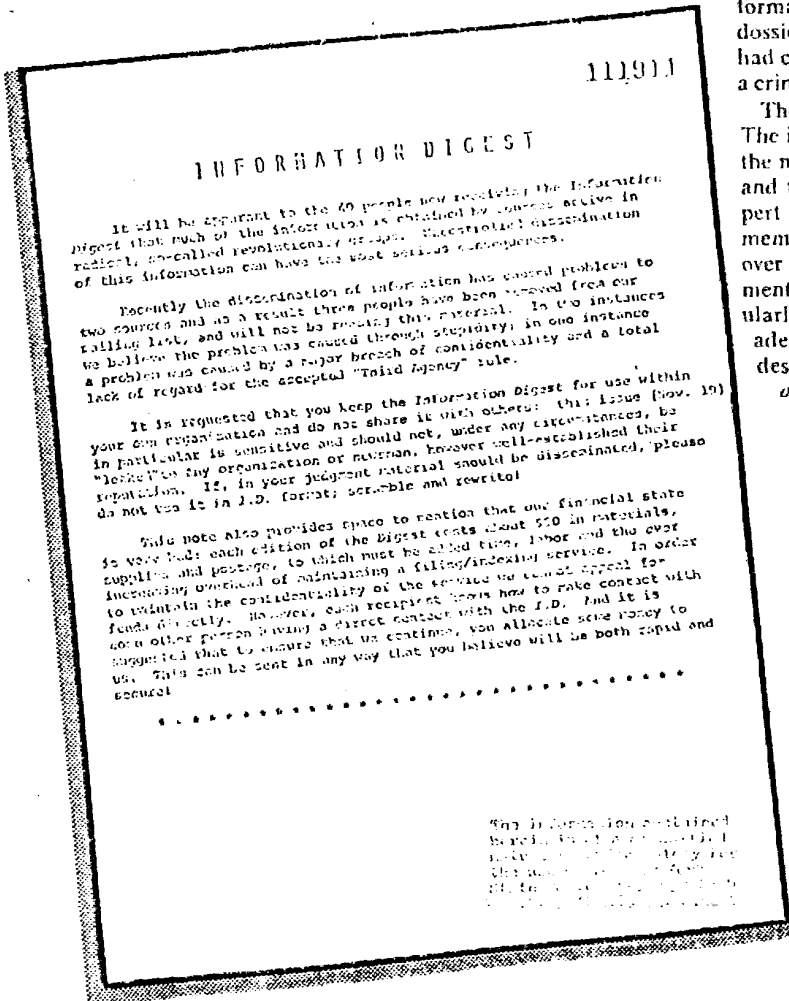
and on the so-called Left. Rees's information was invaluable to the intelligence community . . . I don't think Rees got his information from federal agencies. It was my impression that the federal intelligence community was more dependent on him than he was on them."

A case in point: Rees invited D.C. police to bug the Red House and the Longfellow Street house, a frequent meeting place for Guild legal people and Mayday activists. There has been no evidence of bugging at Longfellow Street, yet.

In the fall of 1975, the internal affairs division of the D.C. police and the U.S. Attorney's office began an investigation into possible illegal break-ins and electronic surveillance by the MPD's intelligence division. An internal affairs officer, an Assistant U.S. Attorney and an FBI agent interviewed Rees in a Washington motel room under the condition that they not ask Rees his present address, present activities or present work for any government agencies. Otherwise, his whereabouts have been unknown. Neither the legislative investigators nor *CounterSpy* have been able to track him.

Information Digest appears to have formed an underground link between willing and gullible police departments throughout the nation. According to the legislative report: "Many law enforcement officials say that Rees convinced police departments of his importance by tantalizing them with stories of violent plots and by taking information from one department and telling another one what he had just learned." The raw, unevaluated, editorialized and frequently derogatory information was used, according to the report, "to develop dossiers on thousands of patriotic and decent Americans who had committed no crime and were not suspected of committing a crime."

The police are not the only source, if they are a source at all. The information was also collected from publications, such as the newspapers amassed by the Red House bookstore; gossip; and the infiltration of various organizations. At least one expert contacted by *CounterSpy* believes that many younger members of the extreme right have infiltrated the New Left over the past few years to serve as informers for the government and perhaps for right-wing groups. They may be particularly active in the sects where dogmatic politics provide an adequate cover for rightists pretending to be leftists. This will deserve further analysis. It is further apparent that *Information Digest* was not only receiving information from government sources but also may have had its own agents in various organizations. One particular report in *Information Digest* indicates that the San Diego Convention Coalition, a consortium of protest groups planning for the 1972 Republican "Convention" then to be held in San Diego had been infiltrated by *Information Digest* sources."



For example, *Information Digest* had access to the internal documents of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, including letters from the 1966-67 period, notes from steering committees and background information on New York City-based VVAW leaders. Not all the VVAW information was accurate, especially its analysis of Communist Party influence within the group. They were, however, able to develop insight and understanding of the sectarian questions that finally split VVAW into two separate groups. While some of this information could have been obtained through public sources, *Information Digest* was somehow able to obtain discussion papers and agenda items for VVAW National Steering Committee Meetings prior to the meetings taking place. This information clearly came through the use of internal sources.

The "Third Agency" Rule

It is also obvious that *Information Digest* was particularly sensitive about its sources. The November 19, 1971 issue contained a lengthy dissertation revealing some of the inner workings of *Information Digest* finances, extent of circulation and the use to which it was put by its subscribers:

It will be apparent to the 40 people now receiving the Information Digest that much of the information is obtained by sources active in radical, so-called revolutionary groups. Uncontrolled dissemination of this information can have the most serious consequences.

Recently the dissemination of information has caused problems to two sources and as a result three people have been removed from our mailing list, and will not be reading this material. In two instances we believe the problem was caused through stupidity; in one instance a problem was caused by a major breach of confidentiality and a total lack of regard for the accepted "Third Agency" rule.⁶

It is requested that you keep the Information Digest for use within your own organization and do not share it with others: this issue (Nov. 19) in particular is sensitive and should not, under any circumstances, be leaked to any organization or newsman, however well-established their reputation. If, in your judgement, material should be disseminated, please do not use it in I.D. format; scramble and rewrite!

CounterSpy has learned that *Information Digest* material was not just sent to police departments around the country nor is its use only for a John Birch Society "red scare". Both the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency have also received this information. Copies of a derogatory and inaccurate report on *CounterSpy* co-editor Winslow Peck from *Information Digest* appeared in his NSA file released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). NSA attributed the information falsely accusing Mr. Peck of LSD usage during a particular event to a "private source". Other copies of *Information Digest* have appeared in CIA files released under the FOIA to other individuals. This has prompted the speculation by some experts that even though this was the product of the extreme right the *Information Digest* may have been sanctioned or in part financed by the massive illegal CIA domestic spying operation, CHAOS. (Interestingly, while Sheila worked in the National Lawyers Guild office, she sometimes signed correspondence "In chaos and struggle.")

Right Wing Files

The *Information Digest* also was probably circulated in other private rightist circles. John Rees is reported by the New York Assembly investigators to have edited between 1969 and 1970 the "National Laymen's Digest," a publication of the Church League of America, based in Wheaton, Ill., a Chicago suburb.

The CLA is a job blacklisting operation which claims to have "over 7,000,000 cross-indexed cards on individuals, organizations, publications and movements which have been attempting the destruction of the United States by way of internal subversion." It was the CLA that put out a 70-page pamphlet on the communist threat of the National Lawyers Guild, which merely expands the *Information Digest* coverage of the 1973 Guild Convention in Austin, Texas.

The Institute for American Democracy reported in an article on the CLA's blacklisting operations that CLA had notified their customers that they will receive a publication called *Information Digest* from a "shadowy outfit called National Goals, Inc."⁷ — the same "outfit" incorporated in New York by John Rees in 1968.⁸

In addition, the Wackenhut Agency, which has strong ties to the JBS, maintains files on thousands of Americans. Rees once worked for Wackenhut. And the JBS itself published, for profit, the *Biographical Dictionary of the Left* with dossiers on individuals and organizations similar to that found in *Information Digest*. *CounterSpy* has also heard that the International Association of Chiefs of Police may have received *Information Digest* and used the information to notify employers of activity in their plants and shops.

Obviously, the investigation of *Information Digest* has only just begun. Already it is clear that the constitutional right of millions of Americans has been violated by an enormous subculture of right-wing extremists, who have the potential to sabotage progressive organizations with impunity. Those who have produced *Information Digest* are extremely dangerous people.

There are several immediate concerns raised by *Information Digest* besides full investigation of those involved. The questions which should be asked by any investigation include:

(1) How widespread is the practice of laundering stolen information through government agencies and Congressional offices? *Information Digest* often reported from stolen information. Second, Congress should decide whether it is legal or proper for a Congressman to countenance the stealing of information by republishing it in the *Congressional Record*, as Larry McDonald has done.

(2) Has *Information Digest* been used as a blacklist? Several lawyers who have examined some 2,000 pages of the *Information Digest* believe that the information could have been used to keep prospective law students out of certain law schools because of their ties to unpopular causes or the National Lawyers Guild. It is interesting that one *Information Digest* report on Sally Quinn, linking her to Algerian communists, was circulated shortly before she was fired from CBS as a TV broadcaster.

(3) Has *Information Digest* and its reprinting in official government reports and the *Congressional Record* amounted to massive violations of privacy? What privacy laws have been broken? Who is liable?

(4) A serious legal question has been raised by the Oversight Office report. Before the appearance of *Information Digest* it has been assumed by most defense lawyers that the term "confidential informant" referred to an individual. But the report indicates that the New York State Police considered *Information Digest* such a "confidential informant". Many lawyers question the legality of this designation, and wonder in how many court cases over the past few years have the "confidential informants" of police departments been publications of questionable reliability and bias.

These are the questions which should be asked by official investigation. But *CounterSpy* is somewhat skeptical that Congress will undertake such an investigation considering the

record of such investigations in the past.

Most notable was that investigation in 1933 into an actual attempt to make a fascist puppet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Major General Smedley Darlington Butler, one of the most remarkable generals in American history, uncovered the plot. A veteran of 35 years in the Marine Corps and twice a recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, he had finally decided that "war was a racket."

His reputation for patriotism, integrity and dedication to democracy coupled with his proclivity to speak the truth as he saw it, irrespective of official policy, made him a seemingly perfect front for the men who hated Roosevelt. They were people with determination, who, if it were possible to replace the President, sought to manipulate him through the person of an American Mussolini. Their short-sightedness prevented their realizing that Butler was obviously the wrong choice for the job.

The McCormack-Dirkstein House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing dealt with how Butler was approached by representatives of the arch-conservative American Liberty League — some of whose members are believed to be connected to the JBS today — who tried to persuade him to lead an army of veterans in demonstration against Roosevelt's silver standard. Butler quickly concluded that the silver standard controversy was being used as a subterfuge to lead veterans against Washington for truly sinister purposes. Upon discovering the full dimensions of the subterfuge, Butler went to Washington and blew the conspiracy wide open.

The *Philadelphia Record* and the *New York Post* said, under the headline "\$3,000,000 Bid for Fascist Army Bared": "Major General Smedley D. Butler revealed today that he has been asked by a group of wealthy New York brokers to lead a fascist movement to set up a dictatorship in the United States."

The group that approached him was the American Liberty League, which had brokerage head Grayson M.P. Murphy as its treasurer and Robert S. Clark as one of its financiers. One member of the National Executive Committee was John W. Davis, writer of pro-gold standard speeches. Its contributors included representatives of the Morgan, Du Pont, Rocke-

feller, Pew and Mellon interests. Directors of the League included Al Smith and John J. Raskob. The League later formed affiliations with pro-fascist, anti-labor and anti-semitic organizations.

It astonished Butler that former New York Governor Al Smith, who had lost the 1928 presidential race to Republican Hoover could be involved in a fascist plot backed by wealthy men. But the "happy warrior", who had grown up on New York's East Side, had traded his brown derby for a black one. He was now a business associate of the powerful Du Pont family, who had cultivated him through Du Pont official John J. Raskob, former chairman of the Democratic Party. Under their influence, Smith had grown more and more politically conservative following his defeat.

The Du Ponts owned a controlling interest in the Remington Arms Co. from which arms were to be supplied to Butler's invasion army of 500,000 men, many of which were to be recruited through the American Legion.

Chairman McCormack was himself a Legionnaire and the revelations of the plot implicating Legion officials might have been painful to him, but Butler also knew that McCormack was a determined foe of Nazi propaganda and a staunch supporter of New Deal measures. Butler counted on his indignation over the conspiracy to bring about a full-scale investigation by the Congress and the Department of Justice. But after a superficial investigation during which many of the principals involved refuted the testimony of Butler and others, the matter was dropped.

In 1964, Speaker of the House John W. McCormack recalled the plot in his speech before the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, warning against right-wing extremists in the Barry Goldwater camp. The conspiracy inspired the novel *Seven Days in May*, made into a successful film, which portrayed a fascist plot by high-placed American conspirators to capture the White House and establish a military dictatorship under the pretext of saving the nation from communism. Few of the millions of Americans who read the novel or saw the film suspected that it was a solid basis in fact.⁹

Those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rees may also be the same John Rees listed as a Lithuanian refugee born Vladas Hrikavicius who toured the country for the right-wing American Opinion Speakers Bureau, (February 19, 1964, p. 89) denouncing the "communist hordes who forced him to flee Lithuania by Ox-cart."

2. See "Dawn of a new day: Requiem for HISC/HUAC" by Sylvia E. Crane, *CounterSpy* Vol. 2, Issue 3, Spring/Summer 1975 for an analysis of the years of HISC/HUAC operations.

3. Read *The Radical Right* by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, Random House, New York, 1967; and William Turner's *Power on the Right*, Ramparts Press.

4. This is an alias used by John Rees Seeley, and not the policeman John O'Connor, who for a time infiltrated the VVAW for the D.C. MPD's Intelligence Division. O'Connor quit his undercover work when he became convinced that VVAW was engaged in legitimate dissent and that his spying activities were not justified police work.

5. Otepka has consistently been involved in the red-baiting of HISC and HUAC. (See: "The Trials of an Executive Witness," *Rally Magazine*, November, 1966, and "One Man Against the Establishment," *Christian Crusade*, January-February 1968.)

6. This rule demands that when information is transferred to a new consumer the original source, if different from the current source, be protected.

7. *Homefront*, Institute for American Democracy, March, 1969.

8. National Goals Incorporated was started by John Rees shortly after his work for Church League of America terminated.

9. Jules Archer, *The Plot to Seize the White House*, Hawthorn Books, Inc., New York, 1973.



The February 16, 1935, edition of the *Philadelphia Record*.

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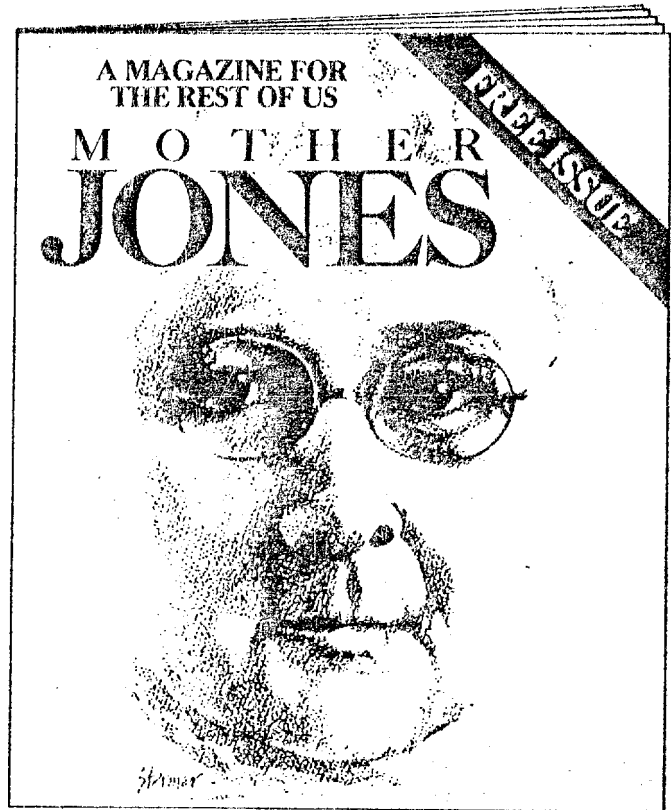
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COINTELPRO

Psychological Warfare and Magnum Justice

“Manipulating police and rival political factions like markers on a monopoly gameboard, the FBI “neutralized” the Black Panther Party in the most brutal sense of the word.”

Tim Butz

For 15 years the Federal Bureau of Investigation managed a coordinated program of infiltration, disruption, and black propaganda that was mandated and controlled by the highest officials of the Bureau. Known as the Counterintelligence Program, or COINTELPRO in FBI Newspeak, these operations combined the most vicious aspects of psychological warfare and officially sanctioned vigilante terrorism against dissidents and non-whites who challenged the policies of the American government.

In its wake, the COINTELPRO actions of the FBI shattered many lives. Jobs were lost, homes broken up, reputations ruined, organizations crippled and decimated, and people were killed. For Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, Mark Clark

and Fred Hampton, COINTELPRO was more than a psychological warfare operation against them and the Black Panther Party; it was a death warrant to have them killed without making the direct connection to the Bureau itself.

Seven general areas of counterintelligence operations have been described publicly by the FBI, but evidence produced in court trials and Congressional investigations indicate that other areas also existed. Although the FBI is quick to claim to the press that the COINTELPRO was abolished in 1971, they are just as quick to admit quietly to their friends that they have abandoned only a consolidated program and not the tactics of counterintelligence.

COINTELPRO as an exercise in psychological warfare can





best be understood by comparing its stated purpose with the military, Psy-War purpose. According to internal FBI memoranda, the Counterintelligence Program was designed to "expose, disrupt, and neutralize" targeted groups through the use of rumors, lies, half truths and government "front" organizations. COINTELPRO could be termed a "dis-information" program.

Psychological warfare is similarly defined by the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the official DoD *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*: psychological warfare is the "planned use of propaganda and other measures designed to influence the opinions, emotions, attitude, and behavior of enemy, neutral, or friendly groups in support of cur-

rent policy and aims." A look at the major components of COINTELPRO show that it is compatible with this definition of the psychological warfare.

The use of rumors, lies, and half truths is commonly called "black propaganda operations," and is a well established custom within the intelligence community. The FBI used black propaganda, which was a national choice of tactics given the goal of COINTELPRO to neutralize the opposition by manufacturing or exploiting weaknesses. The U.S. Army teaches students at the Army Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg that "... vulnerabilities can best be exploited by means of black propaganda ... and (it) requires great care and secrecy ..."

Great care and secrecy were the watch words of COINTELPRO. Had it not been for the burglary of the FBI Resident Agency office in Media, Pa., on March 8, 1971, the existence of COINTELPRO may have never been uncovered. In that burglary, internal FBI memos were stolen and later released to the press. An analysis of the documents showed that 45 percent of the FBI memos dealt with criminal activities, 1 percent with organized crime, 14 percent with draft and military resistance to the Vietnam War, and 40 percent with other political activities. Among the political activities documents were several relating to the Counterintelligence Program. An order to terminate COINTELPRO came within six weeks of the burglary, shortly after the documents were released to the press.

NBC reporter Carl Stern read the Media Papers and, sensing an important story, he filed a Freedom of Information request for the documents authorizing the program. After a two-year legal battle, the FBI released some of the documents to Stern. Stern's attorney, Ronald Plessar, pursued the matter and finally forced the Bureau to release a second series of documents. From Plessar and Stern's work came the first flood of information on COINTELPRO.

Since the first documents released to Stern and Plessar on December 7, 1973, there have been two major lawsuits focused on COINTELPRO. One suit has been brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and various government officials. The second suit was brought by the survivors of the December 4, 1969 raid on a Black Panther Party apartment and the relatives of two men killed in the raid, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. The recent House and Senate intelligence investigations revealed a mass of previously unknown facts around the FBI and COINTELPRO. From these major sources, it is possible to see how COINTELPRO developed as a psychological warfare activity.

How COINTELPRO Began

The first FBI counterintelligence operation was initiated in 1956 and targeted against the Community Party-USA (CP-USA). According to former Attorney General Saxbe, the effort was justified by a "prevailing view in Congress and the American people that the Federal Government should take appropriate steps against domestic subversion." Perhaps the real reason was J. Edgar Hoover's personal dissatisfaction and frustration with the failure of the government to imprison communists. The Smith Act, designed to destroy the CP-USA and the Socialist Workers Party, had failed in its goals. Of 141 people indicted under the Smith Act, only 29 ever served time in prison. When the Supreme Court ruled in 1957 that advocacy of a doctrine or "evil intent" was still covered by the First Amendment, the Smith Act lost its main thrust. It became clear to Hoover that other steps had to be taken.

It was easy for the FBI to develop information for a CP-USA COINTELPRO: of an estimated 8,500 members, 1,500 of them were FBI informants and provided a wealth of information on Party structure, finances, and the personal lives of the membership. Hoover finally had to order his agents not to recruit any more informants unless they were in "the highest policy making levels" of the Party. On August 28, 1956, the CP-USA began.

One "high level" informant was a Security Officer in the Central Committee of the CP-USA. According to former FBI agent Jack Levine, the Security Officer was responsible for discrediting loyal Party members and granting clearances to others who were actually FBI plants. This tactic was one of many the Justice Department later admitted was a COINTEL-

PRO action.

On October 12, 1961, the FBI turned its sights on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). According to a memo signed by Hoover, the SWP's sins included their support of "Castro's Cuba", integration, and their sponsoring socialist candidates in local and national elections.

The next target group became those the Bureau termed "White Hate Groups." Seventeen Ku Klux Klan chapters were targeted for COINTELPRO operations under a memorandum that included a subtle note of apology. As if to say that the problem might simply be a few bad apples in the barrel, Hoover wrote: "Often these groups act without the approval of the Klan organization or membership" when conducting attacks on civil rights workers and Blacks.

With the expansion of the civil rights movement and the emergence of nationalism among Blacks, Hoover ordered the FBI to target "Black Nationalist - Hate Groups" for counterintelligence disruption. In an August 25, 1967, memo, Hoover outlined the goals of the newest COINTELPRO: "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters . . ."

Six months later, on February 29, 1968, Hoover expanded the Bureau's position on the COINTELPRO-Black Nationalist program with a memo that outlined five specific goals:

- (1) Prevent coalitions of Black groups;
- (2) Prevent the rise of a Black "messiah", such as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and Elijah Muhammad;
- (3) Prevent violence;
- (4) Prevent Black groups and leaders "from gaining respectability";
- (5) Prevent the long-range growth of Black groups, especially in their recruitment of youth.

A few weeks after Hoover's memo, one of his major adversaries was eliminated. Dr. Martin Luther King, the subject of a seven-year Bureau campaign of wiretapping and harassment, was killed by a sniper in a Memphis hotel. King had changed his hotel after the FBI planted a story in the local press that he was living in a Holiday Inn rather than in a local Black-owned hotel. Deliberate or not, the FBI set Dr. King up for his assassination.

In May, 1968, the FBI began a fifth domestic counterintelligence effort, this time targeted against the predominately white New Left. The goals were the same: the use of propaganda and other disruptive measures to neutralize an FBI enemy.

Each of the Counterintelligence Programs operated along the same basic lines. At each participating field office (not all offices were involved with every program), a counterintelligence coordinator was selected and charged with supervision of the program locally. It was the coordinator's job to identify potential weaknesses within the target grouping and devise the proper technique to create the desired disruption or neutralization.

Recommendations for counterintelligence actions were then prepared with descriptions of the target group, the action to be taken, and desired results. This letter was then sent to FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., where they were either approved or rejected. The official primarily responsible for COINTELPRO was William Sullivan, who in 1961 became the Assistant Director in charge of the Intelligence Division, and his deputy, Charles D. Brennan.

The field office coordinators also provided Sullivan and Brennan with quarterly status reports on the progress of COINTELPRO activities in their areas. These reports broke

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COINTELPRO information into four areas: actions pending, actions in progress, actions completed and their results, and miscellaneous information.

This structure and reporting system provided a simple but efficient bureaucratic mechanism for strict control over the program. Headquarters constantly warned field offices to avoid any form of counterintelligence activity without specific authorization from Washington. Under this system of reports, proposals, and evaluation, 3,247 counterintelligence actions were considered and 2,370 were conducted.

In his testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Deputy Associate Director James B. Adams stated that COINTELPRO actions "were not designed for the purpose of harassment of an individual . . . they were designed to disrupt groups." In order to conduct the disruptions, the FBI used the oldest psy-war tactic, the manipulation of information.

Spreading Black Propaganda

The most popular tactic was the manufacturing of false and anonymous information and distributing it in such a way as to create or aggravate tension. This tactic accounted for a full 40 percent of all FBI COINTELPRO actions. On one occasion, the Bureau decided to disseminate false information to members of the Oakland, Ca., chapter of the Black Panther Party by fabricating an anonymous "leak" within the Oakland or San Francisco Police departments. The purpose of the false leak was to make the Panthers think that the leadership was stealing Party funds, that wiretaps were installed in places where none existed, that loyal members were informants, and other lies designed to promote factionalism.

The tactic of framing Party members as informers was not limited to the Panthers. The FBI used that tactic against both the Communist Party and the New Left.

A variation of this tactic was often used to split Black and White movement groups from cooperating and coalescing. In 1969, the FBI used an informant, in the Black United Front of Washington, D.C., to make false money demands from the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In a manufactured letter, the FBI demanded the "Mobe" post a high cash bond to insure that Washington's black community would not be harmed by the demonstration. That action succeeded in creating tension between the Mobilization committee and the Black United Front and diverting energy from building the largest anti-war demonstration of the 1960's.

Such black propaganda was also used to create friction between the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party. Selected informants within the Illinois Chapter of the Panthers were instructed to create a dynamic, through the use of lies, that would stop the Panthers and SDS from working in a political coalition.

Organizations can sometimes be crippled by the use of a Counterintelligence technique against a key individual. In St. Louis, the FBI attempted to stop a white woman who was working with a predominately Black neighborhood group. In order to neutralize her, the Bureau sent an anonymous letter to the woman's husband alleging infidelity and adultery. The letter was written in street language and purported to be from "some Black sisters"; it complained that the woman was sleeping with "their" men.

The second most popular tactic used in COINTELPRO was the dissemination of confidential and semi-public information to friendly sources within the media. As the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence points out, the FBI for years had developed a media liaison program that allowed

them to use their own contacts and as active agents in distributing FBI black propaganda.

The purpose of this type of action was to embarrass (and therefore affect the political power of) key movement activists. The most notorious examples of this were in connection with the Bureau's attempts to discredit and even blackmail Dr. Martin Luther King through the use of tapes made of Dr. King's private life. At one point, Senate investigators found that the FBI had gone so far as to even suggest to Dr. King that he should commit suicide several weeks before he was to travel to Stockholm and receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Official FBI records show that this blackmail/black propaganda operation was used by the FBI in 20 percent of all COINTELPRO actions.

Information was also provided to local authorities and other Federal agencies in hopes of having people arrested or harassed. The FBI used this tactic in 1967 to have black leaders in one unidentified town arrested and re-arrested on minor local charges until they could no longer meet bail. The FBI then congratulated itself because there were no riots in the town that summer.

The FBI went to Washington, D.C. building officials on another occasion and requested that they check a local private school run by the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims). The FBI had hoped that the building inspectors would find enough violations of the building code to have the school closed down. While they did not succeed in that goal, they were pleased by an added side benefit; through the housing inspectors they obtained the names and backgrounds of all the parents and students at the school.

In 1968, as the New Mobilization Committee and other anti-war forces were planning to demonstrate at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the FBI sought to neutralize one of the Mobe's key figures, Dr. Sidney Peck. In Dr. Peck's case, the FBI went to the Internal Revenue Service and asked them to perform an audit on his tax returns. IRS, of course, found nothing out of order, but it did create a major drain on the time that Dr. Peck could devote to his work on behalf of the Mobe.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party often found that this tactic was used against them, particularly Party members who happened to work as teachers. Dr. Morris Starsky, an untenured faculty member at Arizona State University, and Maude Wilkerson, a school teacher in Washington, D.C., both lost their jobs as a result of the FBI contacting the state or local educational authorities.

It was the tactic of using local authorities to do the dirty work the FBI was unable to do itself, that led to raids on the homes and offices of the Black Panthers, including the Dec. 4, 1969 raid that resulted in the shootings of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton.

All the information that the FBI could collect from its informants, and all the government and private sector agencies and institutions that they could use were called into action for COINTELPRO. Members of the SWP and CP-USA lost jobs because of their political affiliation, a right guaranteed under the First Amendment. Black activists and New Left leaders were slurred in leaflets and in the media without justification or attribution to the FBI. Families and friendships were split as the FBI sought to manipulate people through the most powerful weapon — information, or more correctly in this case, lies, rumors, and innuendoes. If the FBI judged that a person was of importance to a group on the FBI's laundry list of targets, it would then mount a COINTELPRO action against him or her.

FBI agents even interfered with the judicial and political



FBI: Crooks with Badges

Although not officially listed as counter-intelligence activities, the FBI has engaged in criminal actions in the name of national security. In their operations against the Socialist Workers Party, the FBI engaged in 92 burglaries of SWP New York offices in the period of 1960 - 1966, or an average of one burglary every six and a half weeks.

Other criminal actions included mail theft and mail opening and the use of electronic surveillance without court authorization (16 separate bugs and wiretaps against Dr. Martin Luther King alone).

So far, no Bureau official or Special Agent has been indicted for the activities.

process when they so desired. FBI agents visited candidates and red-baited campaign workers who did not conform to the FBI's concept of an acceptable American. Judges and grand jury foremen were shown confidential reports on an "off the record" basis in hopes of affecting their decisions in legal matters. No institution, the press, the electoral process and the legal system were immune from manipulation by the FBI. John Edgar Hoover declared himself the political censor of America, and the counterintelligence program was his vehicle for silenc-

ing the thoughts and individuals that he opposed. COINTELPRO brings to mind the famous statement by an American infantry officer in Vietnam . . . "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

The FBI has admitted that its informants were told to deliberately perform acts of disruption, but it denies that such activity is synonymous with the use of agent provocateurs.

Phony Organizations

Another counterintelligence tactic was the use of "notionals", or political organizations manufactured by the FBI to serve as front groups within both right and left wing circles. Attorney General Saxbe claimed that this tactic was used only against Ku Klux Klan type organizations, but public statements and news reports contradict his claim.

At least one Ku Klux Klan "klavern" was established by the Bureau and composed entirely of FBI informants. This klavern was supposed to attract both unorganized and potential KKK adherents as well as members of other Klaverns who were dissatisfied with other Klan groups. It was hoped that the use of notional klaverns would eventually create a situation where large number of United Klans of America members would leave and drain the strength of the group.

It is believed by many Bureau critics that as many as six phony "Mao-ist" groups were set up by the FBI in its COINTELPRO-New Left activities. Only two have been definitely identified, and the FBI refuses to comment on the possibility that others were created.

In New Orleans, FBI husband-wife team Jill and Gi Schafer were paid \$10,000 per year for their services, which included the founding of the Red Star Collective. The Schafers used the Red Star Collective as a base for a wide range of activities, including a trip to China for Jill.

Gi Schafer used his credentials to visit Paris and attend a meeting between anti-war activists and representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. He later went to Wounded Knee during the 71 day confrontation between Oglala Sioux and the U.S. government. He was asked to leave because Wounded Knee support people began to suspect him of being an agent.

The Red Star Cadre was another notional group established by the FBI in Tampa, Florida. Informant Joseph Burton was responsible for establishing the group after he had attempted to infiltrate the United Electrical Workers. Using FBI money, Burton opened a junk shop that became a center for Movement activity in the Tampa Bay area.

FBI Provoked Violence

Psychological warfare is generally considered to be a non-violent activity. Anthropologist Margaret Mead has defined psy-war as one of the "forms of conflict in which the killing of people is not sanctioned." While it is true that the COINTELPRO actions were not violent in their own, the results of FBI COINTELPRO actions were sometimes very violent, especially against Blacks.

FBI informant Gary Thomas Rowe was a participant in COINTELPRO activities against the Ku Klux Klan. On two separate occasions, he was told by his Bureau supervisors to participate in beatings of civil rights workers in Alabama. The Bureau justified the action by telling Rowe that it was necessary for him to build and maintain his cover within the Klan.

Rowe once informed the FBI seven days in advance that the Klan would attack Blacks at a county fair. The FBI did not intervene to prevent the beatings from occurring. On a second occasion, Rowe gave three weeks notice that "Freedom Riders"

arriving in Birmingham would be greeted by local Klan members who had police assurances that they could beat the civil rights workers for 15 minutes before they would be stopped. Again, the FBI did nothing to intervene even though they were aware of potential civil rights violations and that local authorities were a part of the conspiracy.

Rowe's actions were not directly linked to any COINTELPRO request, but they are an indirect result of the program. Had Rowe not been participating in COINTELPRO actions, he would not have needed to maintain the deep cover that he did. It is hard to believe that other FBI informants involved with the Klan did not experience similar situations where the FBI told them to improve their credibility at the expense of civil rights workers and Blacks.

Psy-war As Magnum Justice

The FBI was fully cognizant of the potential for violence as a consequence of the counterintelligence program. In the case of the Black Panther Party (BPP), it appears that violence was the desired result of COINTELPRO actions. By provoking confrontations between the Panthers and either the police or other political groups, the Bureau was able to "neutralize" the Panthers without direct complicity — a standard intelligence technique known as the use of a "cut out" (third party) or "maintaining plausible denial."

Even the Senate Select Committee, in their special COINTELPRO report, had to admit that such activities "involved risk of serious bodily injury or death to the targets." It is not just risk, it is fact, that members of the Black Panther Party found violence was integral to COINTELPRO actions against them; psy-war took on the characteristic of Magnum Justice towards the Black Panther Party.

Manipulating police and rival political factions like markers on a Monopoly gameboard, the FBI used their psychological warfare techniques to "neutralize" the Black Panthers in the most brutal sense of the word. Documentation presented to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and as evidence in a civil suit over the death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark show that the Bureau's approach to the Panthers was one of being at war. Even the Senate Select Committee investigators felt that the tone of COINTELPRO memos relating to Blacks and the New Left were worthy of comment. Minority counsel Curtis Smothers told the senators:

"The rhetoric of the Bureau — as these programs advanced from the initial program relating to the Communist Party, USA to the ultimate programs of Black Nationalist and New Left — became tougher and tougher, and what began as efforts to disrupt — the word used for the Communist Party, and in the case of the Klan, some indication that they genuinely were looking after violence and not simply to destroy the groups — became in the case of the Black Nationalist and New Left . . . the most extreme rhetoric of a plan to destroy political protest groups that you could imagine. . . ."

Provoking violence through psy-war and "cut-outs" can be documented in three separate operations around the Black Panther Party. One was the attempt by the Bureau to intensify the factional differences between the Panthers and the United Slaves (US). The second was the attempts to pit the Blackstone Rangers, a Chicago street gang, against the Panthers; the third case called for an FBI-instigated raid on the Chicago Panther headquarters that led to the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

On November 25, 1968, a Sullivan/Hoover memo was sent to FBI field offices participating in the COINTELPRO-Black Nationalist program. It stated in part:

"For the information of recipient offices a serious struggle is taking place between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the

US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals.

"In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissention in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP" (emphasis added)

To continue sharpening the rift between BPP and US, Sullivan ordered each participating field office to submit biweekly suggestion letters to the Bureau on the Panthers.

Soon, the streets of San Diego and Los Angeles were the site of new leaflets designed to heighten the tension between the two groups. Whether Sullivan welcomed this increase in tension and hoped that some Panther would die, is yet to be proved. What is known is that the Los Angeles Police Department liaison with the FBI, William Hynes, was directing the actions of an undercover informant named Louis Tackwood. Tackwood claimed, in his book, *The Glasshouse Tapes*, that he was acting as a liaison between the police and US, and that the LAPD armed the United Slaves.

At the time of the FBI memos about aggravating tension between the two Black groups, the Black Student Union at UCLA was preparing for the election of a new president. Ron Karanga, head of US, was supporting one of his loyalists. Black Panthers Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were advocating a delay in the election until other candidates could be found. The Carter-Huggins position was gaining within the Union when a meeting was called for January 17, 1969.

At the meeting the US position suffered a setback. As the students began to leave the dining room in Campbell Hall, members of US pulled out guns and shot the two young Panthers.

While it cannot be proved that any law enforcement officer actually *ordered* the killing, the fact remains that the FBI knew they were fueling a fire when they increased tension between US and the Panthers through their subtle methods of psy-war. The FBI realized part of its goals with the death of Carter and Huggins: Two potential leaders of the Panthers were "neutralized" before they reached *their* goals, and the work of the Panthers was set back by their loss.

As Paul Jacobs pointed out recently in the *Los Angeles Times*, "morally the FBI must share the responsibility for his (Carter's) death, for the bureau now admits that it fomented dissension and fierce fighting between US and the Black Panthers."

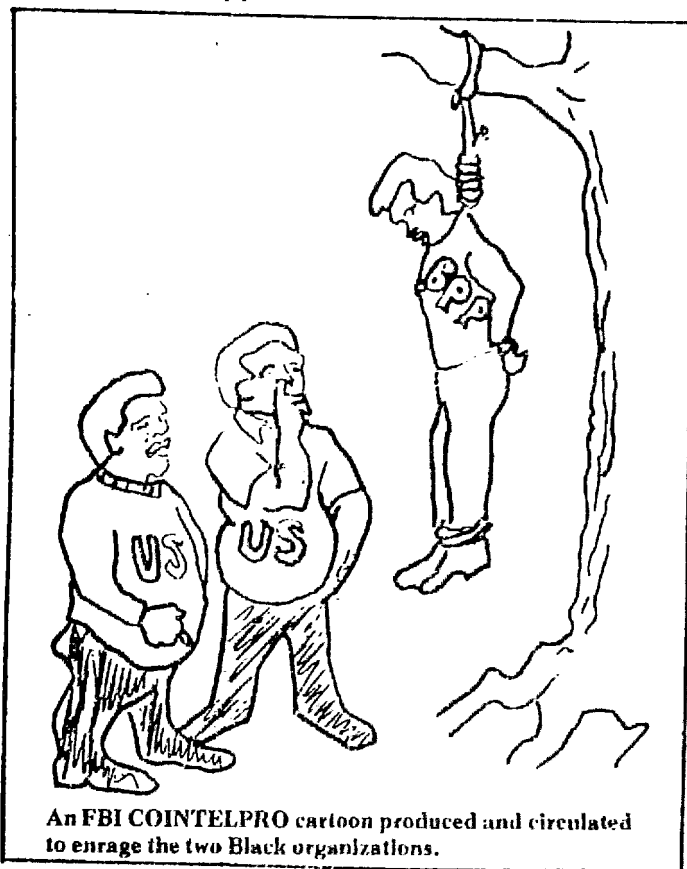
The aggravation of tension between the Panthers and US did not stop when Carter and Huggins were murdered. Eight months and one day after their death, the San Diego Field Office sent a memo to Washington that stated:

"Shootings, beatings, and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of this unrest is directly attributable to this program."

Anti-Panther Program "Revised"

After San Diego Panther Clifford Bell was shot to death, the San Diego Field Office told Washington that it was considering revising its black propaganda and suggested "a new cartoon (be) considered in the hopes that it will assist in the continuance of the rift between the Panthers and US." Sullivan and Hoover approved the idea. The FBI had derogatory wall posters printed and plastered up around the ghetto.

The same tactic, pitting Black against Black, was attempted by the FBI in Chicago. When Fred Hampton and the Chicago Panthers began to talk with street gangs about common goals



An FBI COINTELPRO cartoon produced and circulated to enrage the two Black organizations.

and work, the FBI moved swiftly to prevent one of Hoover's greatest fears, the coalition of militant Black organizations. To keep distance between the two groups, the Chicago Field Office suggested that tensions between the Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers be further aggravated through a bit of black propaganda. On January 30, 1969, Sullivan authorized the Chicago office to send the following anonymous letter to Ranger leader Jeff Fort:

Brother Jeff,

I've spent some time with some Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and their's supposed to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther, or a Ranger, just Black. From what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not black people. I think you ought to know what they're up to, I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again.

A black brother you don't know

When Chicago suggested the letter on January 13, 1969, they noted that, for the Rangers, "violent type activity, shooting and the like, are second nature." The Chicago office recommended against using the tactic in reverse (a fake Ranger letter to the Panthers) because the Panthers were not considered to be as violent as the Rangers. The intent of this memo is clear: if the letter went to the Rangers, people may be shot; if it went to the Panthers, the desired results may not have been realized. In any event, the tactic failed to get Fred Hampton killed, so another technique was used to neutralize the Panthers in Chicago.

The FBI managed to place an informant within the Panther organization named William O'Neal. O'Neal worked his way through the organization and was finally assigned the job of bodyguard to Hampton, who was the Illinois State Chairman. O'Neal's activities were monitored and directed by his case

officer, FBI Special Agent Roy Mitchell, the COINTELPRO coordinator for the Chicago office.

Between March and December, 1969, police conducted 16 raids against Panther offices and apartments in over ten cities. Three of those raids occurred in Chicago, including the one that led to the deaths of Hampton and Clark. The chronology of events leading to that final raid is complex, but several major events stand out:

June 4, 1969: FBI Special Agent In Charge of the Chicago Field Office, Marlin Johnson, leads a raid on the Chicago Panther Office. Before entering the offices, the FBI announced their intention and meets no resistance. Money and lists of contributors are seized, eight Panthers arrested. All charges are later dropped.

July 16, 1969: Chicago Police and two Panthers are involved in a shoot-out. One Panther is killed, the second arrested. Charges are later dropped.

July 31, 1969: A second police-Panther shoot-out. Five policemen wounded, three Panthers arrested. All charges later dropped.

October 16, 1969: A second raid on the Panther headquarters leads to the arrest of six Panthers for attempted murder. All charges were later dropped.

November 13, 1969: Another shoot-out between the police and the Panthers leaves two policemen and one Panther dead. The dead Panther, Spurgeon Jake Winters, is alleged to have fired the first shot.

On November 21, 1969, the FBI approached the Chicago police and suggested another raid on the Panther headquarters. Informant O'Neal told his case officer that there was a stockpile of weapons in the apartment-headquarters at 2337 West Monroe St.; and although the information indicated that the weapons were all legally obtained, the police planned a raid for November 25th. On November 23rd the raid was cancelled when O'Neal reported that the weapons had been removed because the Panthers had heard of the impending raid.

On December 1, the FBI contacted the Special Prosecutions Office of the Illinois State Attorney and informed them that the weapons had been returned. On December 2, a raid was planned for the evening of the 3rd, to be led by State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. Sgt. Daniel Groth of the Chicago Police Department was in charge of the 14 officers assigned to the raid.

Groth and Hanrahan decided to raid the house at 8:00 p.m. on December 3. When they learned that the apartment would be empty, they changed their time to 4:45 a.m. on December 4. Had the raid occurred during the Panther absence, the illegal weapons the police claimed were inside the apartment could have been confiscated without confrontation.

In planning for the attack, Groth and Hanrahan armed their men with a Thompson sub-machine gun, an automatic carbine, five shotguns, .38 specials and .357 magnums. No provisions were made for outside lighting, tear-gas, or even prior surveillance of the building.

At the appointed hour, they struck; 98 shots were fired, only one from a Panther weapon. As ballistics would later show, it was impossible for the first shot to have been fired by Mark Clark. During the course of the firing, the bullets fired into Hampton's bed shook the mattress as Deborah Johnson tried to cover Hampton's body. Hampton never had a chance that evening; an independent autopsy later revealed a large quantity of barbiturates in his stomach. Hampton was not a drug user.

Currently, the families of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the survivors of the December 4th raid are suing the Federal, Illinois State, and Chicago authorities in a \$47 million "wrongful death" suit. A massive amount of information has

been turned over to the plaintiffs, most of which remains under a court-ordered seal. Some of the information that has come out in court has been very damaging, especially an FBI map of the Panther apartment with Hampton's bed marked with an X.

As with Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, the FBI's COINTELPRO must shoulder the blame for the death of Clark and Hampton. The raid was not an accident; the targeting of Hampton was deliberate because he had the potential for being something Hoover greatly feared, a Black "messiah". Hampton was a "danger" because he had begun to forge alliances between the Panthers and poor Appalachian White and Puerto Ricans. Such dangers had to be countered by the Bureau, and COINTELPRO provided the most effective vehicle for doing so. As former Attorney General Saxbe pointed out, the COINTELPRO tactic of advising local police of intelligence in hopes of fomenting an arrest was a common and perfectly legal tactic, notwithstanding an effective "neutralization" tactic.

Current Counterintelligence

On April 28, 1971, just six weeks after the Media break-in, J. Edgar Hoover ordered the FBI to terminate COINTELPRO for security reasons. In a carefully worded order to the field offices, Hoover made it clear that the FBI was not abandoning the use of psychological warfare tactics; all that was affected by the order was the reporting and supervision system established by Sullivan. In that order, Hoover instructed his agents that:

"In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis."

Under these new guidelines, a Special Agent who desired to disrupt the activities of, for example, Women's Strike for Peace would submit his ideas to Sullivan under the regular routing system for all reports on Women's Strike. By changing the reporting system, the FBI was able to state truthfully that the Counterintelligence Programs had been abolished and even produce the appropriate memos to support their claims, and still have the option of using the techniques and tactics when they so desired.

There have yet to be any exposures of continued use of counterintelligence techniques other than a few statements by Joseph Burton, who claims he was involved with COINTELPRO type disruptions right up to the time he quit the FBI in 1974.

Los Angeles Times reporter Narda Zaccino reported on Sept. 22, 1975, that an FBI official had admitted to her that counterintelligence activities were continuing, but the official refused to divulge the name applied to counterintelligence activities.

Investigators for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence had slightly more luck than Zaccino. In the course of their work, they were able to identify the title applied to current counterintelligence efforts — *intensive investigations*. If they discovered more than a name, they did not reveal it during the course of public hearings, other than official explanations for the need to continue such work.

The shortcomings of Congressional oversight over the FBI became obvious when FBI Director Clarence Kelley appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee last winter. During his appearance to ask for continued FBI funding, Kelley told the Senators that a large number of Soviet bloc intelligence officers were operating within the United States. Kelley asked the Committee to approve a budget that contained authorization for \$4,350,000 for counterintelligence activities. Under that authorization, the FBI would increase its counterintelligence staff by 250 people.

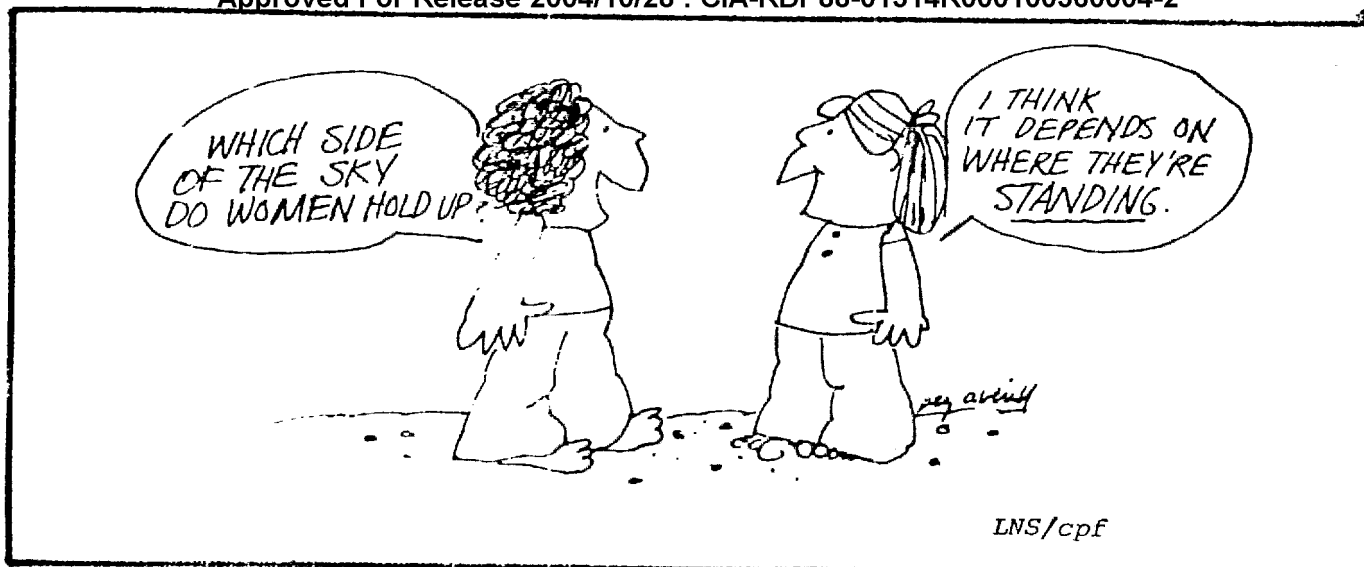
Kelley did not volunteer any information about "intensive investigations" or any other aspect of domestic counterintelligence. Not one Senator had the courage to confront Kelley on this, or to probe him with questions on how the over \$4.3 million would be spent. The Appropriations Committee kept Mr. Kelley before them for the shortest possible time and said nothing to challenge his statements, just as they did with Hoover when he was Director.

When the first COINTELPRO was established, the threat of domestic communism was used to justify the program. Today, the government is touting a new enemy, a new rationale for repression, just as they used the Red Scare of the 1950's. That new threat, of course, is terrorism.

There are many other questions that the American people must face. We would be a naive people if we really believed that the worst of these abuses of power have concluded. Call it psywar or COINTELPRO, the fact remains that the FBI's war against those labeled political enemies, continues today. Judging from the recent events on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the viciousness that the FBI once displayed against the Panthers has now been re-focused on the American Indian Movement. Who's next after AIM?

See Elaine Brown's commentary on the Senate Committee's reports on COINTELPRO's goal to destroy the Black Panther Party (page 3).





Women's Liberation—A Subversive Act?

For the first time, there is documentation that the FBI has watched both liberal and radical women's groups since the beginnings of the women's liberation movement in 1969. According to the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, J. Edgar Hoover saw a threat of subversion in women demonstrating and organizing around their sexual oppression and struggles for equality.

The FBI began its file labelled, "Women's Liberation Movement," in early 1969 at the request of the New York City FBI office. At that time, according to a memo from the New York office to then Director J. Edgar Hoover, the Women's Liberation Movement was "not an organization as such but rather a cause and philosophy." A "reliable" informant advised that there were no formal headquarters or officers on a local or national basis, and that necessary financial needs were met by the individuals within the separate groups. The memo stated that the philosophy of the Women's Liberation Movement was complete equality in all facets of the socio-political and economic life of all women.

Although it believed there was no nationwide women's organization, the FBI requested its field offices across the country to spy on women. The FBI justified its operations by describing some groups as exhibiting "an affiliation with and/or sympathy for several organizations of investigative interest to this Bureau: namely, the Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party, The Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Vencermemos Brigade, and the Socialist Workers Party." According to the sexist analysis of FBI Assistant Director James Adams: there were New Left groups "that were believed to be infiltrating and attempting to exert control over" the women's liberation movement.

... what you have here is the set up of our investigative activity. We had New York, which was the office of origin of the investigation. You have other offices that were checking to determine what influence there was. In addition, in New York—to the New York office, lay the fact that interwoven with the Women's Liberation Movement goal for equal rights for women, there was an advocacy certainly of militancy and violence in achieving their goals. . . .

The "militancy" and "violence" in the movement of which Adams speaks is painstakingly chronicled in some 30 pages of

informers' reports—minus names, and presumably "security information"—all from the year 1969.

The FBI divided the feminist movement into two groups, radicals and liberals. From the New York memo:

The liberal group preaches the necessity of doing away with male chauvinism and the complete equality of women, but they feel that this should be done within the framework of existing institutions. The basic difference between them and the radical group is that the radicals state that male chauvinism is a direct result of "the establishment" and existing institutions and that these must be torn down before women will have their equality. (Informant) stated that in the New York area the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell (WITCHES) is a radical group active for Women's Liberation. Another group which is an offshoot of the WITCHES in the New York area is the Red Stockings and they are considered to have split off from the WITCHES because of a more radical approach to the problem. Another group believed to be forming in the NY area is the "Molly Maguires."

The informant in the memo also pointed out that few of the women "have had political backgrounds."

An informant's account of the WITCH protest of a New York Bridal Show appears in an FBI report dated 7/2/69, with generous quotes from WIN Magazine (2/15/69). The following report went to three military intelligence units as well as the FBI headquarters under the heading: Women's Liberation Movement, Information Concerning — MISC:

"Here comes the slaves, off to their graves," the WITCHES sang, to the tune of the traditional wedding march. Then the picketers — both men and women — stood in a circle and pledged themselves to each other, but without the traditional promise to obey.

Audience keeps calm.

A few minutes later, several WITCHES who manage to sneak past the guards let loose 100 white mice in the Felt Forum before the bridal show began. But the girls in the audience, instead of screaming and panicking seemed sorry for the mice and tried to gather them up so they wouldn't be stepped on.

(Name deleted), a former child actress who helped organize the demonstration and who took part in the picketing of the

Miss America Pageant last September in Atlantic City, said the protest was aimed at "the commerciality of the Bridal Fair and the institution of marriage as it exists in this culture to de-humanize both parties — but especially, to oppress women." (Name deleted) on (date deleted) 1969, furnished information to the effect that (name deleted) was in the forefront of the principal organizers of WITCHES and was very instrumental in its success."

Informants were not just limited to "radical" women's groups. The Senate report documents investigations of the Baltimore Women's Liberation Movement, which the FBI described as a "group therapy session." The memo continued in its description:

Along with this, they (the women) wanted a purpose and that was to free women from the hum-drum existence of being only a wife and mother. They wanted equal opportunities that men have in work and in society. They wanted their husbands to share in the housework and in rearing their children. They also wanted to go out and work in whatever kind of jobs they wanted and not be discriminated against as women. (Included in the file is a leaflet describing a publication of the Baltimore women, "Women: A Journal of Liberation."

An FBI analysis of the group, which was sent to FBI headquarters, and again, to three military agencies concluded that the Baltimore women had nothing to do with violence, subversion, or extremism, but still, "We will continue to follow and report the activities of the Women's Liberation Movement.

In a news release the staff of "Women" charge the FBI with gross violation of their rights: "Our phones have been tapped, our mail has been opened, we've been followed, our houses have been watched, and our groups have been infiltrated."

Although COINTELPRO nominally terminated in 1971, the documents do not reveal when surveillance of the Women's Liberation Movement ended, and there is every indication that the spying continues under a different name to keep a running list of names of women in leadership. An exchange between Senator Frank Church and James Adams at the Senate Select Committee hearings reinforces the contention that women would remain a target of the intelligence community:

Church: *Apparently the Women's Liberation Movement is no longer under suspicion by the FBI and the case has been closed. What happens when the case is closed? Are those women's names still left in the files? Are they forevermore contained?*

Adams: *Yes.*

Church: *In the System?*

Adams: *Yes.*

In earlier testimony, Adams explained why the case was closed: "... I don't think anyone is going to dominate or control (the Women's Liberation Movement). That is a very independent group."

The Baltimore Women's Liberation Movement was one of many women's groups under surveillance across the country, including "an inactive Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) group . . . indicated as a campus organization at University of Missouri at Kansas City (UMKC); however, no campus or other significant activities were reported by sources from 4/20/70 to October, 1970. No WLM group identified elsewhere or on college campuses at Columbia, Missouri, and Lawrence, Kansas."

The women from Baltimore conclude:

We see this as part of the general pattern of harassment pursued by government law enforcement agencies to intimidate women's groups throughout the United States. We've every reason to believe this surveillance is continuing against organized movements for social change all over the country.

In fact, the Senate report exposes the use of women, as tools of the government to spy not only on women but other social change organizations. Mary Jo Cook is a typical paid multi-purpose informant. While in the employ of the FBI to collect information on the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and its Attica Defense Committee, Mary Jo helped organize a conference and rally for International Women's Day; she participated in a consciousness-raising group with VVAW women; she took two courses at a Women's Studies School; she was the telephone contact for the Mildred Prim Defense Committee and one of the telephone contacts for Sisters of Sappho, a local lesbian organization. According to her testimony before the Senate Select Committee, over a 1½ year period she was able to turn over information on as many as 1,000 people connected with the VVAW/WSO alone:

. . . I was to be, you know — they used words like, "Be a voice of reason, be a big sister, be sort of a guiding force in the organization and keep things calm, cool, and collected." That sounded like a legitimate thing to do, so I agreed to work for the FBI. . . .

I was to go to meetings, write up reports, or phone in reports on what happened, who was there, in some way to try to totally identify the background of every person there, what their relationships were, who they were living with, who they were sleeping with, to try to get some sense of the local structure and the local relationships among the people in the organization.

In a statement to the Senate Committee, Mary Jo makes a righteous apology for her involvement in the "big sister" program.

In my family, being a sister is a serious and loving commitment to other human beings. I make this commitment to VVAW/WSO unaware that the FBI had no intentions of honoring it. The more I understood and defined VVAW/WSO as a process, the more I became aware that the FBI's response to this process was inimical. I became confused and then alarmed that a real involvement in the democratic process was not regarded as a positive thing. I resigned from the FBI in November 1974 certain that VVAW/WSO was a legitimate and valid organization. This resignation was a matter of moral principles and patriotic duty."

Those who knew Mary Jo question whether she was, in fact, so naive and not a conscious informant. They agree with her observation: "A 1984 female Big Brother is a monstrous violation of my identity as a sister."

Battle Hymn of Senate Bill One

Mine eyes have seen the horror of the coming of a bill,
It would trample every freedom, it's against the people's will,
It would jail all the workers who are struggling to be free,
We won't let S-1 through!

S-1 would jail the Indians, it would jail the poor and blacks,
It would execute our heroes, it would put them to the axe,
It would keep us all from talking of the truth that makes us free,
We won't let S-1 through!

Chorus:

We will stop this fascist monster,
The ghost of Nixon will not rule us,
We will stop it on the Hill, and we will stop it in the streets,
We won't let S-1 through!

Premiered at the National Lawyers Guild Convention, Houston, Texas, February 15, 1976. According to national and international copyright regulations, these songs may be used only for the total defeat of Senate Bill One. All other use is strictly prohibited. Recording rights are under the control of the Midwest Regional Tabernacle Choir. STOP S-1!

FACFI:

U.S. Pushes National ID Card

A national identification card, as well as 53 other "proposed solutions" to the problems of false identification, illegal immigration, drug smuggling, fugitives, welfare abuse and check fraud are under debate by the Federal Advisory Committee on False Identification (FACFI). The national ID Card proposal lost this year's round mainly because FACFI couldn't find the state or federal authority to do it yet, the "problem" wasn't great enough, and admittedly "public acceptance would be a massive educational job."

A voluntary authority of about 80 men, FACFI is politically homogeneous; controversies rage over practical issues such as cost effectiveness and public tolerance, but there is no dispute over civil liberty or constitutional violations. FACFI's chairman is David Muchow, a trial lawyer from the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. Its secretary is Emil Schroeder, a high-ranking FBI official. Membership includes representatives from most of the likely government agencies, such as the DEA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FBI, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), as well as a couple of unidentified individuals representing the CIA. (See *FACFI* List)

Representing private interests are the Burns International Investigative Bureau, American Express Co., Sears Roebuck & Co., and some public spirited groups such as the National Sheriffs' Association, the International Association of Police Chiefs, and Interpol, the international private police force operating out of the U.S. Treasury Department.

FACFI has met more than a dozen times in the past year to pour over bulging packets of proposals. Comments, arguments for and against, actions necessary to implementation, and legal questions are presented for each proposal before a final vote. Some proposals are generally acceptable, others generally rejected (these include all proposals to "take no action"), and still others are controversial. The National ID Card proposal, fell into this last category. The proposal went something like this:

"This solution proposes that we use all of the technology we currently possess to make one document that is a foolproof verification of identity and only that. The document would contain only information which could be used to verify the personal identity of the bearer. Furthermore, no non-identity information would be maintained in any files, kept for the purposes of renewing or updating the card.

"The card could be issued by the state or federal government or by some *independent agency*. One interesting suggestion is that the U.S. Postal Service, with its universally available offices, relative independence from law enforcement, communications resources, and strict regulation under Federal law, act as the issuing agency for the national identity document.

"The major technical problem in such a scheme would appear to be the verification of identity of an applicant for such a secure document. It is proposed that the standards for source documents for the National ID card, be the same as for a U.S. passport (which requires data on the bearer's political sentiments). The card would require renewal after a maximum of five years. The fees charged for original application and renewal should cover the costs involved."

"Application for such a card is seen as purely voluntary; most people would probably get the card as an aid to cashing checks. An *insurance program could be set up* to indemnify fraud losses resulting when ID card was used and properly recorded on the check or other instrument; this would provide a positive incentive to use the card, rather than a less secure document, as a primary identifier. Further incentive to obtain the card would be set up if *the Federal government would accept only the card* for verification of identity in applying for privileges, benefits, or government employment." (*voluntary?*)

"Actions required: Draft the appropriate Federal or Model State Legislation." (*emphasis added throughout*)

The national ID Card procedure is common to many police states, most notably, the Republic of South Africa, where black citizens must obey "pass laws" by showing sophisticated identity cards to police wherever they go. The card must be carried at all times; it is imprinted with the bearer's personal background data and photograph. Riots and demonstrations protesting these laws have continued over the years in South Africa. In South Vietnam, under the Thieu regime, ID cards were useful under the CIA's assassination operation, the "Phoenix Program".

All the proposals that FACFI *did* recommend were steps in the direction of national ID cards. They have also recommended they be re-chartered for another year to guarantee that the push for national ID cards persists.

The Alien ID Card will be complete with photographs, fingerprints and "encrypted personal information" which could *technically* carry the bearer's entire criminal history, family background, political sentiments, as well as identity data. In about a year, the U.S. Department of Agriculture will begin using the same ID cards for food stamp users. The proposal for uniform ID standards for welfare users suggests "that official identity documents be required for all family members at the time of welfare applications."

Lambtex
John E. Walsh
2212 Walnut Ave.
Rockford, Illinois



06-21-52

396-87-3893

RTO 67RT-WSH773-100987

John Walsh
signature



State driver's licenses, acknowledged to be today's most significant ID would now include a photograph and would be cross-indexed to all states; individuals would no longer be able to apply for more than one license.

FACFI members intent on locking up false identity offenders were much in favor of delaying the release of an individual on bail or parole, long enough to enable the authorities to ascertain whether or not the arrested person is using a false ID; or is a fugitive. This proposal, of course, is potentially unconstitutional.

The proposal that got the most laughs was one to use television and radio to assist in apprehension of fugitives. It involved getting the police together with TV producers (an already familiar pair that has coordinated over 35 cop shows for American viewers) to prepare "guest shots" of real cops talking about crime prevention and describing fugitives. Some members commented that, "this has already been tried on a program called *"Your FBI"* and failed. Others thought it would be dangerous to encourage citizens to become amateur detectives.

Other favorable proposals were: a national clearinghouse for false ID information; closing access to vital statistics records; stricter ID standards for social security applicants; and an international conference on false identification to begin international standardization of identity!

Their object is clearly not to tackle major crimes—certainly not organized crime or white-collar crime—but to attack poor people, undocumented workers, welfare recipients, social security beneficiaries and food stamp users. Perhaps the forces of "law and order" represented in FACFI hope that they can play on fear to gain public acceptance of one of the greatest tools of government oppression—a national ID card.

Check the *Federal Register* for the next FACFI meeting. The public is invited.

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American Express Company

Mr. Andrew F. Phelan
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District of Columbia, Dept. of Human Resources

Mr. John H. Crandall, Chief
Continued on p. 37

TIP

Terrorist Information Project

Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000100360004-2

Backlash to Indian Sovereignty

A white backlash against Indian claims to sovereignty has been organized into a 12-state coalition to promote the interests of wealthy agribusinessmen, ranchers and commercial fishermen living on or near Indian reservations in the west and mid-west. Calling itself the Interstate Congress on Civil Rights and Responsibilities, the group of right-wingers—all closely linked with John Birch, Klan and Posse Comitatus forces in their states—gathered in Salt Lake City, Utah in February under the slogan: "Constitutional rights of all Americans must supercede treaty rights of some Americans."

"We're organizing whatever is necessary to preserve our rights as citizens living close to reservations," said Mayor Hollis Hullinger of Roosevelt, Utah, whose community is embroiled in a legal battle with the Ute tribe over a new tribal law and order code covering non-Indians living within the reservation's borders.

The Interstate Congress, according to its statement of purpose, seeks to apply "all state and local laws within all reservations and to all tribes and tribal members" in order "to insure that all citizens of this country shall achieve equal rights and bear equal responsibilities under the law." Disclaiming any but egalitarian concerns, one Congress member insisted: "We're not a bunch of Indian haters. We're just interested in preventing discrimination."

"We will resist these foreign and alien governments taking jurisdiction over non-Indians who have no voice," said Floyd Ingraham, city attorney for the Flathead reservation community of Ronan, Montana and a member of Montanans Against Discrimination (MAD). "It's not hard to see what mischief can be worked by tribal councils over people who have no representation."

The Congress contends they "are just trying to prevent tribal governments from extending their jurisdiction over

original treaty lands which were opened to homesteading in 1905." The systematic loss of Indian life and livelihood — not to mention Indian rights as sovereign nations — are camouflaged by the Congress, whose members have accumulated huge fortunes by expropriating and exploiting Indian lands and resources. Rather than leave Indian country (as Indian custom would dictate to dissident factions within its borders) Congress members are mustering their forces and fortunes there to rob Indian people of the last remnants of sovereignty, their land base and legal rights under treaty.

The issue: A Frenchman in America does not have the same rights as s/he would in France. An American in Canada does not have the same rights s/he would in the United States. Why should a non-Indian have the same rights in Indian Country, especially when it is these very same civil libertarians who were the vigilantes at Wounded Knee in 1890 and the direct descendants of the soldiers at the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890?

The resolution adopted by the Congress demands, in the absence of full state jurisdiction imposed by Public Law 280 (and incidentally, Senate Bill

"That Indian Reservations shall not be enlarged by boundary changes, by grants, by the power of eminent domain, or by any other means.

"That the jurisdiction of tribal governments over non-members of the tribe, who have no vote or voice in tribal government, should be prohibited.

"That members of Indian tribes should not have the right to participate in non-tribal governments unless they are subject to the laws and responsibilities of that non-tribal government.

"That grants of public funds to any group of people based upon their race and denial of public funds to other groups because of their race must be prohibited."

"The purpose of the organization is to destroy Indian reservations," according to a South Dakota Indian Legal Services attorney, who has fought the local Civil Liberties for South Dakotans, Inc. in two different jurisdictional cases. "They just feel that Indian reservations are no good, no help to anyone, not even the Indians."

While reservations are not officially opposed, Congress national chairman Jack Freeman of Faith, S.D., shrewdly upholds the course of termination, whereby a tribe loses its federal treaty status, and all rights to the land, resources, and to self-government are bought off for a pittance.

"We believe (our congressmen) should think in terms of termination — and a lot of Indians are beginning to believe this because it will be both of economic and social benefit — not immediately but maybe 10 or 15 years in the future."

The states represented in the coalition have assembled a "substantial legal

Questions abound from a wide political spectrum,
demanding to know the facts!

Who are the National Caucus of Labor Committees?

A thorough analysis of the NCLC/US Labor Party has been prepared by the Terrorist Information Project (TIP) of the Fifth Estate, compiling years of study by NCLC-watchers in Europe and America.

For the NCLC/USLP pamphlet, write: TIP, PO
Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044. \$1.00

<i>FACTI continued from p. 35</i>	Immigration and Naturalization Service	Metropolitan Board of Trade	Sears, Roebuck & Company
Drug Enforcement Administration	Mr. Ronald J. Grill	Mr. Leonard Kolodny	Mr. Paul B. Chapman
Mr. John W. Starke	Chief, Systems Planning Staff	Manager, Retail Bureau	National Security Manager
Special Agent	Office of Planning & Evaluation	Metropolitan Police Dept. Washington, D.C.	Securities Exchange Commission
Domestic Investigations Div.	Mr. E.G. Webster	Lt. Kenneth V. Moreland	Mr. Ira H. Pearce
Federal Aviation Administration	Program Manager, ADIT System	Criminal Investigation Div.	Division of Enforcement
Mr. Donald Wiseman	Office of the Deputy Commissioner	National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.	Security Interbank Card Association
Special Agent	Mr. Kellog Wittick	Mr. David P. Parina	Mr. Robert J. Scully
Office of Investigation and Security	Staff Investigator General	Research Analyst	Assistant Vice President
Fed. Bureau of Investigation	Investigations Fraud Unit	Dept. of Regulatory Policy and Procedure	Selective Service System
Mr. Emil L. Schroeder	Insurance Information Institute	Mr. Frank J. Wilson	Mr. Peter T. Straub
Florida Highway Patrol	Mr. Frederick D. Watkins	Senior Vice President	General Counsel
Lt. J.S. McKinnon	Chairman	Regulation	Social Security Administration
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Giant Food, Inc.	Intelligence Division	Counsel	Mr. Thomas Campbell
Mr. Thomas Knighten	International Association of Chiefs of Police	Economic Crime Project	Chief, Security Branch
General Credit Manager	Mr. James A.F. Kelley	Mr. Nathaniel E. Kossack	U.S. Postal Service
Health Education and Welfare Division of Vital Statistics	Assistant Director	Director	Mr. Allen O. Pepper
Mr. Loren Chancellor	Research Division	Economic Crime Project	Virginia State Department of Health
Registration Methods Branch Chief	Interpol	National Notary Association	Mr. Deane Huxtable
Mr. George Gay	Mr. Louis B. Sims	Mr. Raymond C. Rothman	State Registrar Vital Statistics
Health Education and Welfare Office of Policy Control	Chief	President	Ward, William J.
Social & Rehabilitation Service	Law Enforcement Assistance Administration	Ms. Mimi Sells	Chief, Technical Security Division
Mr. Laurence J. Love	Mr. Joseph T. Kochanski	Senior Administrative Asst.	U.S. Coast Guard Hdqtrs.
Attorney	Department of Justice	National Sheriffs' Association	Williams, Carl B.
Senior Legal Advisor	Individuals	Mr. Truman H.L. Walrod	Robert B. Carlesen & Associates, Inc.
Office of Policy Control	Garlan, Joseph V.	Director of Public Affairs	West Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics
Mr. Donald M. Thayer	Lea, Douglas (ACLU)	New York Department of Motor Vehicles	Mr. Jack Pawley
Director, Office of Policy Control	Matson, John E.	Mr. Robert J. Langling	County Clerk
		Director	
		Department of Investigations	

battery", according to Freeman and "plan to incorporate so that we can enter federal courts to seek redress on any grievances." More likely the legal assault will be toward disestablishing existing reservations and crippling an emerging movement to restore previously disbanded tribes.

A Colorado attorney warned: "They're really organized up there in Washington; they're viciously trying to abrogate treaty rights."

The strength of the civil liberties offensive is yet to be seen. Their demand for "state jurisdiction" has definite backing from state officials like Utah Assistant Attorney General Wright Volker, who attended the founding conference, and South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow, who more than once has tried illegally to move in to restore "law and order" on the Pine Ridge reservation.

The federal government takes two steps back for every step forward in treaty negotiations with traditional

Indian leaders. Yet neither silent nor strong-arm opposition has softened the defiant voice of traditional Indian people, whose identity and sovereignty are tied to the land. Legal battles to secure their land rights, water rights, fishing rights, mineral rights and human rights by treaty and law are being waged day after day in the courts.

The Lakota Nation refuses to sell the sacred Black Hills for any amount of money. Not only do the chiefs disdain the government's bargain price — \$17.5 million (the declared value of the land at the time of the taking) plus \$85 million in back rent — but they demand:

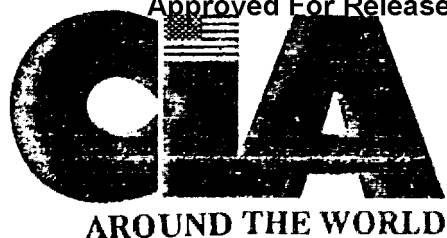
"If the U.S. Government wants to lease the Black Hills we can talk about it, but any lease must be agreed to by three-fourths majority of the full blood male Indians in accordance with the Treaty of 1868.

"No offset. The U.S. Government killed all the game, including the buffalo, deer, elk.

and its citizens have been trespassing in the Black Hills. For all the resources (gold, timber, rocks, minerals, water, etc.) stolen from 1804 til now the U.S. Government owes us half of the value of all these stolen resources."

Under the new tribal government of Al Trimble, the Lakota Treaty Council has been acknowledged as the traditional governing body on the Pine Ridge Reservation, with sole jurisdiction on treaty questions. Their vanguard fight for recognition of the 1868 Sioux Treaty — waged amidst the terrorism of the U.S. government and its puppet Dick Wilson — directly challenges the fraudulent claims of the Interstate Congress for Civil Rights and Responsibilities. The tag of "civil rights" is no cloud for the historical issue at hand: white man's greed for control of Indian lands.

States represented in the Interstate Congress are: Utah, Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, Arizona, California, Idaho, Washington, Minnesota and Wyoming.



More CIA in Africa

In an informative article on April 2, 1976, Liberacion, in Paris, published the names of the current CIA operatives in Africa. The article analysed the role of the CIA in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Senegal with an examination of the methodologies the CIA used in psychological manipulation of events through its assets in African governments and the media. Listed were:

Algeria

Edward R.M. Kane, *Chief of Station*
Richard R. Haythorn
Terrance B. Rhodes

Burundi

David Harper, *Chief of Station*
Richard Greene
Joseph Pierce

Cameroun

Jeff Corydon, *Chief of Station*
Michael Berger
Gerald L. Brunson

David R. Lewandowski

Central African Republic

William L. Moseby

Ivory Coast

Martin J. Bergin, Jr., *Chief of Station*
Gordon J. Hopman
Pressley D. East
Andrew R. Turco, Jr.

Dahomey

Montgomery Rogers, *Chief of Station*

Ethiopia

Eugene L. Jeffers, Jr., *Chief of Station*
Mathew E. Monezewski
Sheldon W. Benz
Roy C. Bigler
Felix Maladoskie
Carl L. Moss
Raymond Strahm
Kenneth Walters

Ghana

Jarrel H. Richardson, *Chief of Station*
James Dudley Haase
William R. Stanley
Clyde A. Brown
Earl T. Eason
Paul A. Pena

Conakry

Dwight S. Burgess, *Chief of Station*
Charles E. Chowning
Anthony W. Malesic

Kenya

William J. Clair
Frank D. Durtey
James J. McGilvray
David J. Grottenhaler

Liberia

Edward J. Carrol III

74 persons were mentioned as being in the telecommunications section of the CIA station.

Mali

Terrance Kauffers
Gerald G. Lindsay

Morocco

John C. Beam, *(former Chief of Station in Burundi)*

Lyle A. Ditmer
Ronald J. Gagat
Gilbert D. Giles
Michael B. Grandy
Edward Urquhart

Nigeria

David Zimmerman, *Chief of Station*

Richard E. Plues
Alfred Capelli
Charles A. Jones

Somalia

David P. Hunt, *Chief of Station*

Peter J. Kersira, Jr.
Fiederic Scarbrough
Gerald Zapoli

Sudan

Ralph T. Brown
William T. Cutcheon

Tanzania

Sheldon D. Seltzer

Chad

Philip H. Ringdahl, *Chief of Station*

CIA in Zaire

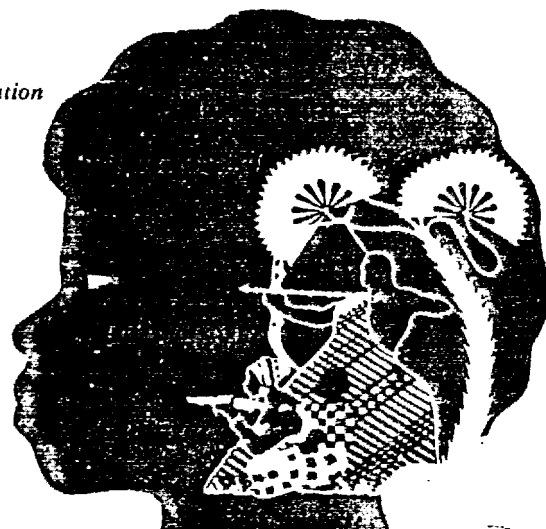
The CIA has groomed its relations with Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in order to establish a strong base in Kinshasa from which to coordinate other CIA operations in the Sub-saharan area. In the sixties, the CIA was instrumental in placing Mobutu's regime in power. Zaire was a strong base for the CIA during the war in Angola.

In our Winter 1976 issue we listed the names of six CIA personnel in Kinshasa that Philip Agee, acting in solidarity with African people's struggles for self-determination, released to the MPLA last January.

The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, on March 13 and 27, revealed how the CIA station in Kinshasa expanded during the period of the CIA's support for the FNLA and UNITA in Angola. The Panthers exposed more CIA personnel acting in Zaire, mainly those in the telecommunications staff.

Robert W. Carmen
Peter W. Comar
Wilfred Gagnon
William Harner
Richard J. Harrison
Martin R. McFarlan
David S. Markey
Thomas T. Mix
Nick E. Unger
Nancy Buss*
Vickie Vigor*

**not with telecommunications staff, but CIA.*



Approved For Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000100360004-2
 Red Weekly, the organ of the International Marxist Group in London revealed on March 4, 1976 that the CIA had been in the CIA London station since earlier exposes of CIA activity.

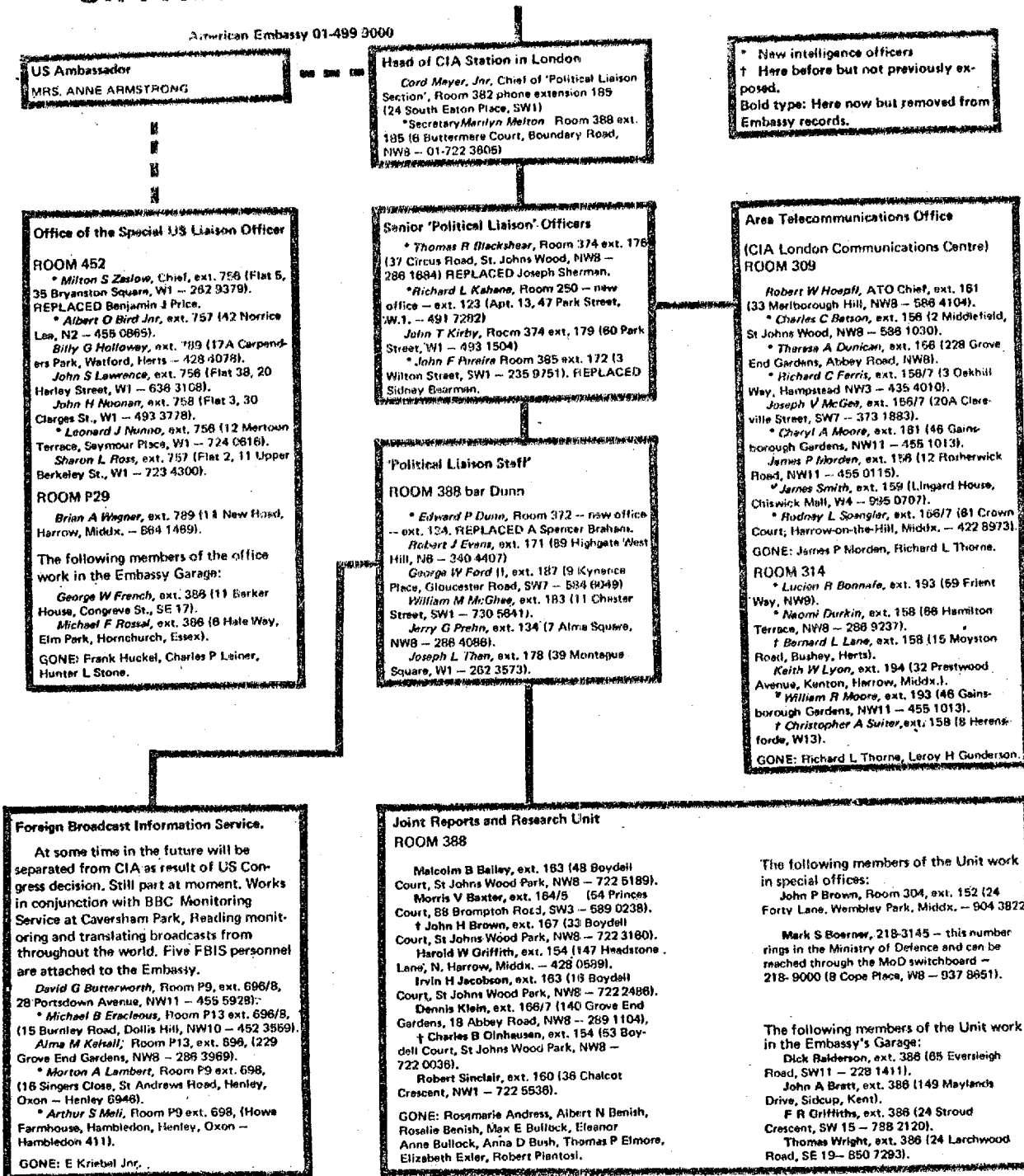
According to sources in the Embassy there, the chief of the secret office (SUSLO) of the National Security Agency and at least four top officers of the CIA have been replaced. Half of the top-secret communications staff have been moved out and an attempt was made to mask the existence of a special intelligence team. They also revealed that the CIA still maintained over 60 employees at the Embassy.

CounterSpy will explore CIA operations in Britain more thoroughly in future issues, especially the activities of CIA Station Chief Cord Meyer, Jr. and the CIA's relationship to journalists, military circles and politicians.

This is the description of the CIA headquarters from the Red Weekly:

CIA HEADQUARTERS, LANGLEY, VIRGINIA

American Embassy 01-499 3000



ELP

“ a CIA program to recruit Portuguese immigrants in Massachusetts was headed by the Chappaquiddick D.A. ”

Mercenaries Prepare to Invade Portugal

Carl Michael
and Julie Brooks

The 10,000-man "Army for the Liberation of Portugal" (ELP), consisting of right-wing mercenaries from around the world, is prepared to invade Portugal from its base in southern Spain, if the future Portuguese government does not appease Western interests.

ELP is the military arm of General Antonio de Spínola's Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP). ELP's objective is "to liberate Portugal from Marxism through the use of political assassination, selective terrorism, sabotage, and psychological warfare."

The MDLP was formed after Spínola's attempt to remove the Armed Forces Movement from power in Portugal in September 28, 1974. On that day Spínola gave the cue for the neo-Salazarists right wing to come out of hiding. The rally was announced for the "silent majority" to show its support for Spínola.² In the course of time, however, it became clear that the proponents of a return to Salazarism were using the rally as a cover to precipitate an armed putsch.

Information received by the security service of the armed forces indicated that arms were being stockpiled in Lisbon,³ ready to be distributed to demonstrators, and that groups of agitators intended to exploit the rally and foment an atmosphere of chaos and terror, thus giving the president of the republic a pretext for declaring a state of emergency and assuming total power. Despite this information, the army apparently made no move, and Spínola's attempted coup failed.

The lack of support for Spínola that day, destroyed even larger plans for the fall of 1974. A meeting, to consolidate Spínola's power in Portugal and instigate a military coup in Angola at the same time, took place in Portugal only a week before the September rally in Lisbon.⁴ The United Party of Angola (UPA, the only white party in Angola), elements of UNITA, right-wing Portuguese army units in Angola and the famous professional mercenary, "Mad" Mike Hoare, met with

Spínola in Portugal to plan for a simultaneous Angolan coup. The plan, on the African end, fell through as well, when the Portuguese could not come up with the half million dollars for Michael Hoare. Hoare, leading mercenary in the Congo in the early 60s and at this time, was working out of South Africa.

ELP was first revealed in March 1975 when Col. Corvacho, then chief of staff of the military region of northern Portugal, gave a press conference to announce the arrest of 13 ELP members. At that press conference, Corvacho gave the code-names "Castor" and "Morgan" as being two ELP leaders,⁵ and added that ELP possessed two pirate radio stations in Spain near the Portuguese border. At this time, no one had connected Spínola's MDLP to its military branch, ELP.

Clearly unhappy with Col. Corvacho's revelations and communist tendencies, ELP successfully ousted him later. He was replaced by a right-wing general who took over law enforcement tasks in the north, ELP's stronghold in Portugal.

ELP was founded in September 1974, only a month after Spínola's defeat at a meeting in Paris. Present were Manuel Vinhas, Manuel Bulhosa, Martin Soares, and a certain Zoio, a Portuguese arms manufacturer.

Soares was a lawyer for such diverse clients as two American-Portuguese companies and the Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party (MRPP). MRPP adopts labels such as "maoist" but has aroused suspicion among many journalists because of its heavily financed western-style public relations campaign and its consistent attacks on the Portuguese communists. When Soares died in a car accident last year, his life insurance policy paid out a large sum of money which went to MRPP.

Bulhosa is a friend of a secret agent-journalist from France, named Dominique De Roux.⁶ Bulhosa works with Sonap, a Portuguese company, and with the French-Portuguese Bank⁷

President, Spínola, and a Directorate likely to consist of Costa Dias, Dias De Lima, Santos E. Castro, and Alpoim Calvao. Costa Dias was a minister under Caetano and is considered to be head of this Directorate. Dias De Lima was the civilian head of Spínola's staff before Sept. 28, 1974. Santos E. Castro, a former lieutenant/colonel in the Portuguese army, was FNLA's chief of staff.²⁰

Alpoim Calvao, former Frigate Commander and head of the Naval police, declares himself to be "one of the three officials that direct MDLP", but denies any relation with ELP.²¹ What is certain, is that ELP and MDLP together form one single right-wing terrorist organization, within which ELP is specifically the military branch.

“Seven people were killed in the intensified violence that has plagued the Portuguese Left since last summer.”

There have been numerous reports of ELP bombings in Portugal and the Azores.²² On April 22, 1976, two Cubans were killed and four Portuguese citizens were seriously injured when a bomb exploded in the Cuban Embassy in Lisbon. That bombing was associated with other pre-election violence that has been directed at leftist political parties throughout Portugal. Before the legislative elections were held April 25, seven people were killed in the intensified violence that has plagued the Portuguese Left since last summer. The Left groups in Portugal immediately accused ELP-MDLP of planting the bomb.²³

Recent information indicated that ELP troops are under the command of Canto Cabuce and his "technical assistant" Jean Schramme. Cabuce, a former Portuguese lieutenant, left Portugal after Sept. 28, 1974, passing through Angola and South Africa, before arriving in Spain.²⁴ In Spain, he was joined by Schramme, a Belgian mercenary who has previously sold his services in the Congo, Katanga, Biafra, and Angola.²⁵

Schramme was once found guilty by a Belgian court for killing one of his mercenary aides while commanding Moise Tshombe's Belgian Congo special police forces in the early sixties. Phillip Saint Germain wrote a book about Schramme — a rightist work. As of August 1975, Schramme was working for a publishing firm, with U.S. Connections, in Madrid.²⁶

Other important Portuguese officials related to MDLP-ELP are: Goncalves Rapazote, former Minister of Interior under Caetano; Galvao De Melo, former Air Force Chief of Staff and, at present, a deputy for the conservative Center Social Democrat Party (CDS) which was another big winner in the April elections, doubling their share of the vote from 7.6% last year to 16% this year and clearly winning an important role in the future government; Costa Campos, former paratrooper lieutenant colonel; Sanchez Osorio, former commander and also founder of the Christian Democratic Party; Alves Cardoso, former commando captain and Secret Police agent in Guinea; and Georges Mourais, former major.²⁷

The strength of ELP-MDLP has fluctuated with the evolution of political events in Portugal and Angola. After March 11, 1975 ELP directed approximately 800 armed men.²⁸ In the autumn of 1975 the estimate was just under 2,000. This past winter, ELP was able to field two battalions which fought with the FNLA and UNITA in the siege of Sa da Bandeira in Angola.²⁹ No doubt, a number of these troops have returned

to Portugal or to the ELP-MDLP bases in Spain. A recent estimate put their strength at between 10,000 and 15,000 armed men.

The source of ELP's weapons is not yet entirely clear. There is one reliable source, however, who claims Portuguese fishing ships docked in San Diego, and other California ports, are loaded up with newly manufactured M-16s and plastic explosives. Fishermen there claimed the arms were "for our brothers in Angola". It is speculated that arms were obtained at the Marine Corps Recruiting Depot (MCRD) in San Diego in the same way that the right-wing Secret Army Organization (SAO) in that city, as well as right-wing groups across the Mexican border, obtained arms from sources at that depot.³⁰ The same source claims that organized crime is involved with the fishing ships.

ELP-MDLP bases are distributed according to their objectives. As one member said, "For the North, there's no problem. It's already ours. But Lisbon . . . Lisbon will be a martyred city. We have to do away with those (communists) who have sold Portugal to imperialism."³¹ Therefore, ELP-MDLP has concentrated most of its strength on the Spanish border toward the central and southern area of Portugal and on bases at Salvaterra del Mino, Verin, Ayamonte, Tuy, and Salamanca.

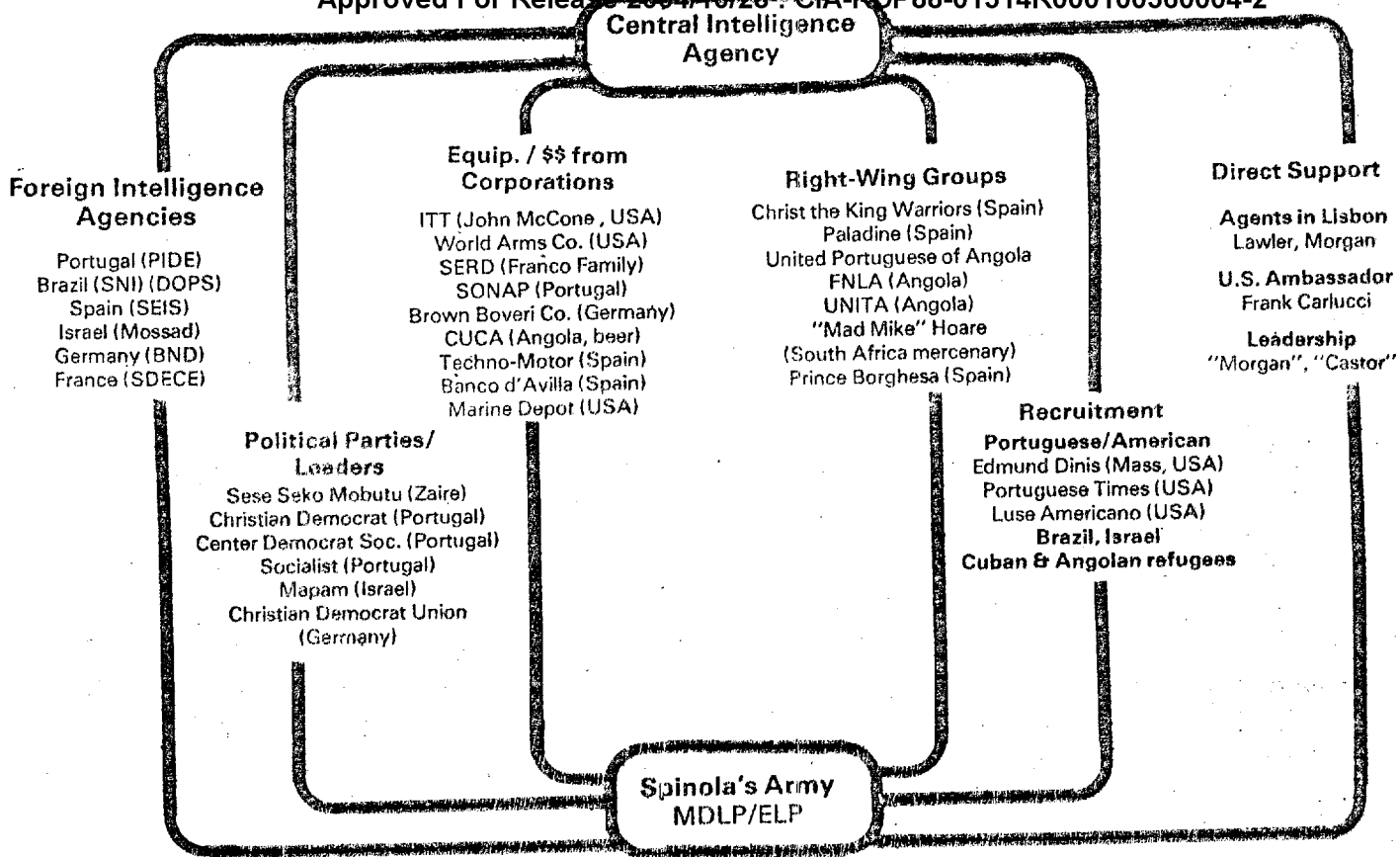
A training camp seems to have been established on the farm of Samuel Lupi, a famous Portuguese toreador (unidentified in photo). He managed to rent his farm in Olivenca for twice the normal value of any Olivenca farm on the Portuguese border. Nearby, in Talavera le Real, Lupi's friend, Gregorio Moreno Pidal (unidentified in photo), owns a farm which has a common side with the military base where Spínola landed after fleeing Portugal on March 11, 1975.³²

Corporations Support ELP

Of course, the activities of ELP-MDLP would be impossible without implicit support of the Spanish government and important commercial financing. Most of the civilians already mentioned are directors of different banks and companies in Europe or Africa. Many of these companies are related to, or are subsidiaries of, a financial empire controlled by Portugal's counterpart to Rockefeller, Antonio Champalimaud.³³ He is considered to be the "brain" behind the military coup of March 11, 1975.³⁴ Vice Admiral Rosa Coutinho considers Champalimaud to be the boss of Spínola himself, and the person who would have benefitted most from a neo-colonialist solution to Portugal's African wars.³⁵

Spanish involvement with ELP-MDLP reflects in many ways Spain's own troubles — a reactionary archaic government upheld by its uncontrollable right-wing extremists. Here we find old Nazis such as the Fascist International (Aginter Press and Paladin), and modern Spanish businessmen. The ELP-MDLP link with the Spanish secret police is Garcia Rodriguez who works with the Special Information and Security Services (SEIS).

"Morgan," one of the ELP-MDLP leaders mentioned by Col. Corvacho in his press conference, is none other than Yves Guillou (alias Guerin Seyrac), a former OAS officer, a former director of Aginter Press, and a former adjunct to Pierre La-Guillarde who was the liaison agent between Caetano's PIDE and the French secret police, SDECE.³⁶ The other agent, "Castor", is Huges Castor Franklin who travels with a Guatemalan passport, but is an American citizen named Jay S. Sablonsky, also known as Joe Vincente Pepper, or J.S.³⁷ "Castor" is employed by the Madrid company, Tecno-Motor. Tecno-Motor, along with Mariano S.A., are companies owned by Mariano Sanchez Covisa, the head of "Christ the King



Warriors" in Spain, a fanatical Catholic right-wing group with connections to SEIS.³⁸

These two Covisa companies are tied financially to Banco d'Avila, where such well-known fascists as Prince Borghese and former Nazis Otto Skorzeny and Herzogs Von Valencia held important interests. Skorzeny is the head of the terrorist organization Paladine, which acted as intermediary between ELP-MDLP and the American company Worldarmco, noted for its CIA connections in Phil Agee's *CIA Diary*, which assisted in the shipment of an important quantity of "Skorpion" pistol-machine-guns.³⁹ Other equipment for ELP-MDLP was

“ELP owns an airplane which has been used to drop phosphorous bombs over Portugal causing numerous forest fires.”

also bought through Sanchez Covisa's companies. The two radio stations, mentioned earlier, were bought through the Spanish Society for Radio Diffusion (SERD), which belongs to the family of Franco. ELP-MDLP also owns an airplane, an AT-6, number 985-f, which has been used to drop phosphorous bombs over Portugal, causing numerous forest fires to ruin that year's turpentine crop.⁴⁰

American Tactical Options

Spain obviously has immediate interest in seeing Portugal return to an authoritarian form of government. Though this cannot be said for all of Europe, it is nonetheless true for

America. For American security-managers, the sooner the Spinola group is back in power, the better. Kissinger's three options in Portugal are:

- 1) *Destabilization*: repeat the Chile policy used against Allende.
- 2) *Isolation*: isolate Portugal, as the U.S. is doing now to Cuba.
- 3) *Suggestion*: apply political pressure through normal diplomatic channels.⁴¹

Though many American analysts say Kissinger had adopted option two, Kissinger has been actively applying option one since he sent Frank Charles Carlucci III, to Lisbon in January 1975.

Portugal, rather quickly, received the new American ambassador on January 20, 1975. Upon Carlucci's arrival one of the first questions asked by reporters was whether his embassy was in the hands of the CIA. He denied that it was. His predecessor, Stuart Nash Scott, removed after only a year in the post, had advocated aid as a way of showing support for Portuguese Democracy. Carlucci said one of his major tasks would be to put this aid into concrete form.⁴²

On Nov. 27, 1974, Carlucci told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee considering his nomination as ambassador to Portugal, that the CIA was not intervening in Portuguese affairs. Carlucci's statement was the first, by a Ford administration official, unequivocally denying reports from Lisbon that a CIA covert operation, involving "100 agents", was under way in Portugal to counter Communist activity there. The statement was in response to allegations of CIA activity raised by Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), who had asked to testify before the Senate body at the last minute. Harrington read a statement that there had been "a major policy dispute" over Portugal in the administration, resulting in the dismissal

of Ambassador Stuart Nash Scott. Harrington included a *New York Times* article (Oct. 21, 1974), quoting Brigadier General Carvalho as saying that the CIA was a grave problem for the Portuguese leadership and an Associated Press story alleging there were "more than 100 CIA agents" active in Portugal.⁴¹

A close examination of Carlucci's team demonstrates the fact that Kissinger has Destabilization plans drawn up. Chief of Station for the CIA in Lisbon is John S. Morgan who served

“ITT provided a right-wing commando unit with electronic listening devices.”

in Brazil (1966-1969) and Uruguay (1970-1973). The CIA's second in command in Lisbon is James N. Lawler who specializes in rigging elections as he did in Chile (1962-1964) and Brazil (1964-1967).⁴²

Option No. 1 was obviously activated in Brazil between 1965 and 1969 when Carlucci was Political Officer in Rio de Janeiro, directing Morgan and Lawler. At that time, Carlucci made many friends such as Carlos Lacerda, a Brazilian governor and instigator of the overthrow of Goulart, and Golberry Do Couto E. Silva, the founder of the National Information Service (SNI) — Brazil's CIA.⁴³ These friends continue to work directly with Carlucci. Over 80 agents of the SNI have arrived in Lisbon accompanied by Celso Telles, former director, in Rio, of the Department of Social and Public Order (DOPS), Brazil's FBI.⁴⁴

Lacerda, who officially employs Spinoia in his publishing house in Brazil, serves as a link between the French SDECE, the Spanish SEIS, and Spinoia.⁴⁵ Lacerda has also been implicated in organizing the March 11, 1975 coup with the help of Georges Bidault, former OAS and ODESA-Spinoia liaison, as well as in the overthrow of Goulart in Brazil. With such friends, Carlucci can permit himself to say as he did in *Cam-bio 16*, "I don't have any information on ELP and we don't aid them . . . I don't know anything about them."⁴⁶

Last August, Carlucci made several visits to the U.S. base at Torrejon near Madrid to "consult with doctors." From what sickness was he suffering that he consulted with none other than Spinoia and Lacerda?⁴⁷ Did Carlucci give Spinoia a list of friends and places to visit? After meeting with Sanchez Covisa and Sanchez Osorio in Madrid at the "Le Provençal" restaurant, Spinoia flew to Bonn to meet with Hert F.J. Strauss, head of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and a representative of the Brown Boveri Company. From there Spinoia went to Paris to the Sheraton Hotel and met with members of ELP, Dias De Lima, Freitas Do Amaral (head of Portuguese CDS), and Manuel Allegre of the Portuguese Socialist Party.⁴⁸ From there he traveled with Carlucci's old friend, Golberry Do Couto E. Silva, to Switzerland to meet with John McCone (boss of ITT and former director of the CIA) in the offices of the Brown Boveri Company.⁴⁹

After the McCone-Spinoia meeting in August, ITT announced on September 4, 1975, it was cutting off all funds to its Portuguese subsidiaries because it "no longer had effective control of Portuguese operations." ITT protested the worker committees and said Portugal's nationalized banks were "dragging their feet in providing credit".


ITT spent \$3.5 million to cover salaries and operating expenses for its electronics factories which employed 7,000 workers. They continued to operate with internal finance, but

there were big layoffs at Standard Electric, the biggest electric company of all.

International monopolies guaranteed Spinoia \$250 million to finance MDLP. Among them were Joseph Abs, Hitler's former banker; Franz Joseph Strauss; Jorge Jardim, the man who owned almost "half of Mozambique" and organized a mercenary army in Mozambique; Mariano Felici, an Italian arms merchant; and various Portuguese officers in exile.⁵²

A former Portuguese military policeman, expelled from service after Nov. 25, 1975, reported that ITT provided a right-wing commando unit with electronic listening devices capable of monitoring all telecommunications from abroad as well as inside Portugal. The commando unit was the core of that re-established center-right authority, which won gains in the recent elections and for which western strategists have their fingers crossed. The source also said that the ITT equipment, earmarked for the commandos only, and possibly ITT technicians to install it, began arriving in Portugal in late August 1975.

On April 8, 1976, Spinoia was expelled from Switzerland for continuing his world-wide activities to gain support for MDLP-ELP. Swiss authorities had permitted him to stay so long as he ceased the campaign for support. After Spinoia publicly stated that he had been in Dusseldorf in April trying to buy arms for the MDLP-ELP attempt to seize power,⁵³ the Swiss officials began an investigation and discovered that Spinoia was deeply tied to the MDLP-ELP plots. Spinoia has spent most of his time, since his second coup attempt failed in March of 1975, campaigning for more support for his attempted coups.

For now, the MDLP-ELP supporters in the CIA and in the big western corporations have chosen to exercise their interests through the electoral system in Portugal, but the MDLP-ELP is still financially sturdy, ideologically well-motivated, trained, and waiting. If the Portuguese and European right and American foreign policy makers are pleased with the coalition of moderate/conservative parties reestablishing itself as the new Portuguese government, MDLP-ELP will be on reserve. If, however, the developing regime backfires economically or politically, that confederation will clearly take action and MDLP-ELP will put its forces in gear. 

Carl Michael is a CounterSpy correspondent based in Paris, France.

Footnotes

1. *Le Monde*, March 25, 1975
2. *The Church and Revolution*: Portugal, International Documentation on the Contemporary Church, No. 1, 1975, Europe: Churches in their Environment, Via S. Maria dell'Anima 30,00186 Rome, Italy
3. *ibid.*
4. Reliable Source, U.S. Government
5. *ibid.*, 1.
6. *CounterSpy* will tell you more about De Roux in coming issues. He has arrived in Portugal a day before each right-wing attempted coup.
7. Banco Pinto-Sotto-Major is believed to be the French-Portuguese Bank that is connected to the Portuguese financier, Antonio Chauplimaud. This bank set up a special fund in 1975 to help destabilize the already poor Portuguese economy. The large number of Portuguese emigrants in France were urged to put their funds in a special account that "would not go back to Portugal to aid the 'communist' government there." (Normally the emigrants send their money back to Portugal for their families to use and previously this resulted in the favorable

balance of payments of the country vis-a-vis France.)

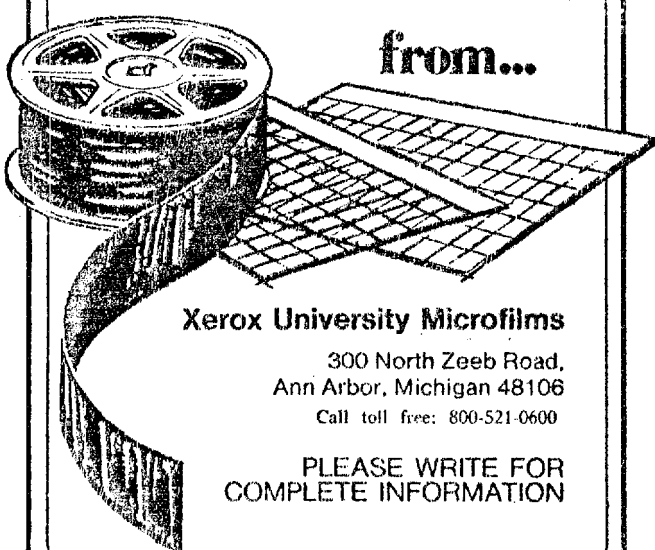
In fact, the funds were actually kept in France and arrangements were made with wealthy Portuguese, who wished to leave Portugal with large amounts of their wealth, that the Paris fund in Portugal would be paid to them if they would give their assets to the fund in Portugal, set up to pay the families of the Paris emigrants. In this way, no funds were transferred from Paris and wealthy Portuguese could escape Portugal with money that could not have gone across the border under Portuguese law.

8. *Le Canard Enchaîne*, Sept. 3, 1976
9. *Afrique-Asie*, May 19, 1975
10. The warrant for Vinhas' arrest was related to the strategy meetings for Angola, Portugal and the Azores, shortly before the September 28, 1974.
11. *Politique Hebdo*, July 24, 1975
12. *CounterSpy* interview with Mr. Dinis.
13. *Politique Hebdo*, April 17, 1975
14. *ibid.*
15. *Cambio 16*, Nov. 24, 1975
16. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.* 11.
18. *Temoignage Chretien*, Aug. 21, 1975
19. *Le Monde*, March 13, 1975; See also *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975
20. *ibid.* 15.
21. *Intern. Newsweek*, Nov. 17, 1975
22. "The Azorean Liberation Front, an illegal separatist movement, threw a large rally to protest the persistent crisis on the mainland. Local socialists issued a statement condemning the rally. Shortly thereafter, a bomb heavily damaged the party's offices in the Azorean capital city. Police said the weekend of tension in Lisbon, was accompanied by a new burst of anti-communist bomb attacks in the north. They reported that eight explosions in this region had damaged homes, offices, and cars linked to persons on the left, but caused no injuries." *Denver Post*, Nov. 17, 1975 (UPI)
23. *The Guardian*, May 5, 1976
24. *Portugal, Jahr 1 der Revolution, Eine analytische Reportage*. Arno Munster, 1975, Rotbuch Verlag, Berlin, pp. 143
25. *Intern Newsweek*, Feb. 9, 1976
26. U.S. reporters back from Portugal.
27. *Temoignage Chretien*, April 24, 1975
28. *ibid.* 24.
29. *Politique Hebdo*, Oct. 30, 1975
30. See *CounterSpy*, Winter 1975
31. *ibid.* 15.
32. *Manifesto* (Portuguese) April 22, 1975
33. *ibid.* 7.
34. *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975
35. *Afrique-Asie*, May 19, 1975
36. *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975
37. *ibid.* 13. Sablonsky "Castor" was named as a CIA agent in *ibid.* 8. Although there is every reason to believe he is CIA, *CounterSpy* has not uncovered documentation of this relationship enough to declare him a CIA agent. Same goes for "Morgan".
38. *Cambio 16*, May 5, 1975
39. *Liberation*, March 25, 1975
40. *Cambio 16*, Sept. 8, 1975. Also, *CounterSpy* interviews with witnesses to massive forest fires, in Portugal.
41. *Foreign Affairs*, Tad Szulc
42. *ibid.* 2, p. 91
43. *ibid.*
44. *Cambio 16*, Oct. 27, 1975
45. *Afrique-Asie*, April 7, 1975
46. *ibid.* 44.
47. *Le Monde*, March 25, 1975
48. *ibid.* 44.
49. *Cambio 16*, Aug. 18, 1975
50. *Le Canard Enchaîne*, Oct. 8, 1975
51. *Le Canard Enchaîne*, Oct. 1, 1975
52. *Diario de Lisboa*, Oct. 15 (approx.) 1975.
53. *Stern*, (German) March-April 1976. Spínola has concentrated mainly on wealthy industrialists in his campaign for more support. In October 1975, he visited the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City, on a well-publicized tour through the United States.

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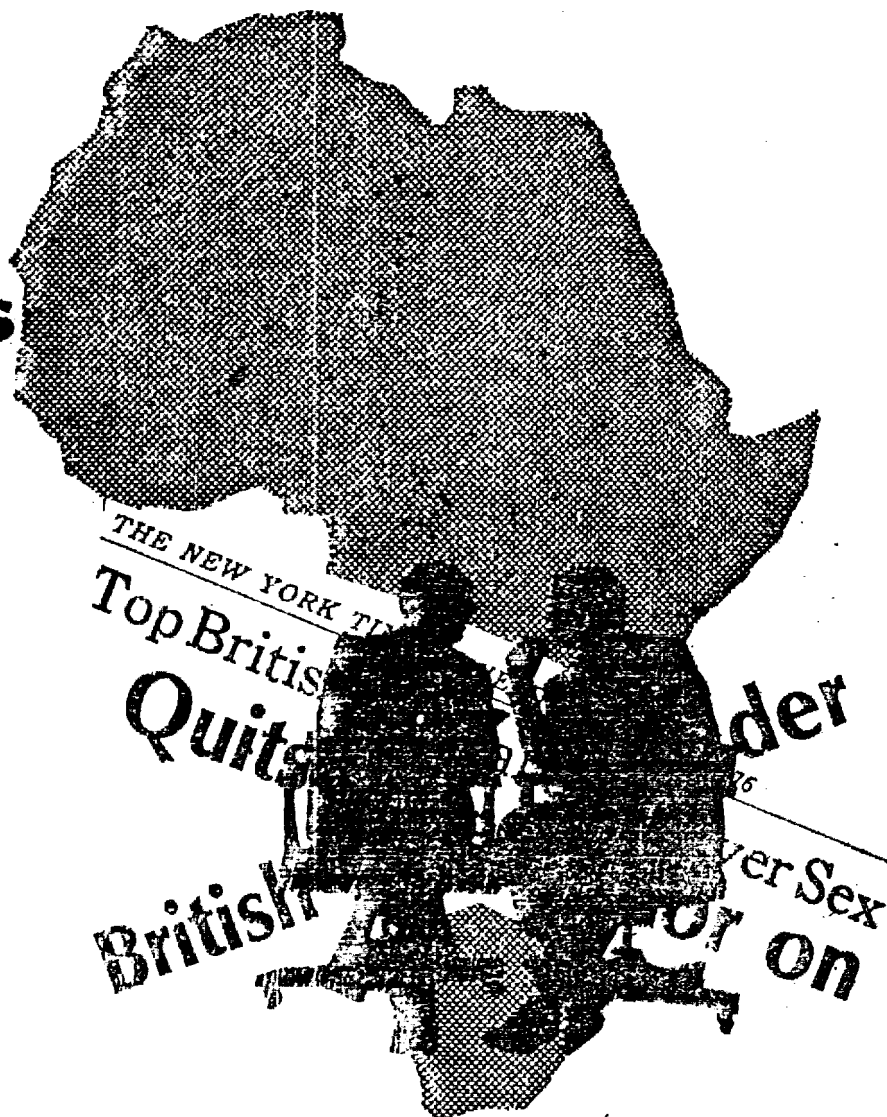
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Apartheid's Corporate Covert Action

**South African Intelligence
& U.S. Corporation Oust
Britain's Liberal Leaders**



Winslow Peck

Has that persistent foe of South African apartheid, Great Britain's Liberal Party, been sabotaged by apartheid's powerful and flexible engine, the Anglo American Corporation? Were Anglo American covert actions prompted by a too-long repressed enmity with English liberals, or to cover up corporate bribes to the highest officials in Western governments through a black market diamond smuggling operation? Did South Africa's largest business conglomerate use the services of the apartheid's ruthless secret police, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), or the CIA?

After conversations with well-known British journalists, police investigators and other sources, *CounterSpy* can now try to answer these questions gnawing at the British political conscience. British press law, the Official Secrets Act, and the absence of investigative journalism traditions have prevented the entire bizarre plot from being published in England to date. Our sources suggest that accusations from an out-of-work male model of an estranged homosexual affair with Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe; what may be a frame-up bank robbery charge on Peter Hain, head of the Young Liberals; and the appearance of a powerful Liberal M.P.'s daughter in an inane porno film are connected in a calculated plot to collapse the Party leadership.

The white rulers of South Africa have strong hatred for England's Liberals. While the British Conservative and Labour parties tend to equate the business interests of South Africa with British interests, the Liberals have consistently voiced animosity toward the apartheid system. South Africa's news media have made the Liberals the stock "devil" for all British action against South African interests. When Liberals in Parliament stand against British association with South Africa, or when Young Liberals organize anti-apartheid demonstrations, South Africa's white leaders sink into paranoia. To apartheid's leadership, Liberals and their influence are the source of all South Africa's problems in Britain.

When former Prime Minister Harold Wilson defended Jeremy Thorpe in Parliament just two days before his resignation, he confirmed London's persistent rumor that South African interests were behind the accusations against Thorpe. But by that time, copies of a secret timetable titled "Disruption of the Liberal Party" were circulating among apartheid's foes.

At least one source has claimed the document, "Disruption of the Liberal Party," originated in the security offices of the Anglo American Corporation—a huge mining, chemical and textile firm with interests in all areas of South African finance. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the board of Anglo Amer-

ican, is widely regarded as a liberal opposed to the present system of separate development for blacks and whites. But his practical achievements show him to be as orthodox as any other South African industrialist. He wants to put a clean face on South Africa's vile system of racial separation by awarding privileges to a tiny African middle class. There is no reason to believe Oppenheimer is any less angry at the Liberals than the most racist Afrikaaner in South Africa.

A more immediate purpose for assaulting the Liberals than general hatred may be Oppenheimer's and other Anglo executives' fear that documentation of their years of bribing top government officials had reached the hands of Liberal scandal-mongers. Anti-apartheid groups are known to be on the trail of documents revealing Swiss bank account numbers and withdrawals which Anglo used to pay off European, British and American officials. British police and Anglo American security men are on the same trail. The trail blazer they are all seeking is a mysterious former employee of Anglo American named Kamil. Kamil worked for Anglo American as a general trouble shooter, with a polished specialty for converting Anglo American diamonds into cash on the black market. The cash route continued untraced and, conveniently, government tariffs on the diamonds are not deducted from the sales. A statement given to the London *Sunday Telegraph* by one of Kamil's employees suggests that Kamil has proof of Anglo American's bribes and may have attempted blackmail of the apartheid corporation.

An added dimension to the plot is the involvement of Gordon Winter, a reporter for the *Johannesburg Sunday Express*, who was instrumental in spreading the stories of Jeremy Thorpe's alleged sexual activities. Winter is known to have been an informer for South Africa's police and the dreaded Bureau of State Security. By his own admission he worked in the late 60s and early 70s for two London-based CIA propaganda organs — the now defunct Forum World Features and its still operating successor, the Institute for the Study of Conflict — which have strong relationships with BOSS. BOSS is also believed to have broken into homes and offices of anti-apartheid leaders in London and the continent, though after Harold Wilson's defense of Thorpe in Parliament, the chief of BOSS went before television cameras in Pretoria denying BOSS involvement in the plot against the Liberals.

The CIA helped BOSS switch from an exclusive internal security focus to worldwide operations against the enemies of apartheid. The CIA station is prominently in liaison with its South African client. But with the recent change in U.S. attitude towards Africa following Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's tour of black Africa, the areas of cooperation between CIA and BOSS may also be changing. There is worry at the State Department that the apartheid regime may be so desperate from international sanctions and the potential actions of black Africa that it is becoming an "outlaw" state. If this continues the CIA may not be able to temper BOSS's adventurist actions or the private security apparatus of corporations like Anglo American.

Target: British Liberals

Jeremy Thorpe had been the leader of the Liberal Party for 11 years when in January he faced an inquiry by the Department of Trade and Industry about the collapse of a London and Counties bank he directed. The investigation cleared Thorpe of any personal responsibility for the bank's activities but administered a mild rebuke that he had shown lack of judgement in his dealings with the bank's executive officers. The Liberal leader's problems might have then dropped from the headlines had Norman Scott, a self-styled author and male

model, not appeared in court on a charge of dishonestly obtaining state benefits and claimed that he was being "hounded" because he had once had a "sexual relationship" with the Liberal leader.

Scott's allegations were flatly denied by Thorpe. Leading Liberal MP's admitted that they had heard the same allegation, inquired into it, and dismissed it as long ago as 1971. There, too, the matter might have ended had not Peter Bessel, a former Liberal MP who later disappeared in the United States, admitted paying Scott between \$400 and \$600. Though Bessel never surfaced in person, he made a statement through solicitors explaining that the money was unconnected with the allegations against Thorpe. His parliamentary colleagues very properly accepted Thorpe's strong denial, but only after arranging their own "kangaroo court." Thorpe told the meeting that he would resign if others felt it was in the Party's interest. But the Liberal Chief Whip, Cyril Smith, said this would not be required. Although the Liberal MP's claimed to be united around their leader it soon became evident that a leadership crisis had developed in the Party.

Then another accusation appeared in the British press; Norman Scott had received \$5000 (anonymously) for letters addressed to him by the mysterious Peter Bessel. With this accusation Thorpe's rivals in the Liberal Party jumped on the bandwagon against Thorpe. Fortunately for Thorpe, his good friend David Holmes stepped forward, admitting to his silliness in paying for letters which had been widely circulated among Liberal MP's and journalists, and which had even been examined by police, at Thorpe's insistence in 1974. Despite Holmes' admission, the bandwagon had its own momentum; Thorpe's opposition continues. Yet, while Thorpe fights to maintain his leadership of the party, which many Liberal MP's believe he will lose come the fall election, there is actually little public support for Scott's derogatory allegations.

Last October, a 6 ft. tall man with shoulder-length slightly curly brown hair, slim, with a long thin face, unshaven, stole £490 from Barclays Bank in Putney. The man ran from the bank with three teenage boys chasing after him. During the trial on the theft, the boys testified that the thief turned and glared at them at least three times giving them an opportunity to see his face. They claim that the thief ran into a crowd, and after a momentary jostling when some of the stolen money was dropped, he disappeared.

A short while later, research student Peter Hain, 26, was arrested for the robbery. Hain, president of the Young Liberals, and a strong supporter of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, had participated in several anti-apartheid demonstrations. One such demonstration, in 1970, took place outside the robbed bank to protest against the bank's considerable financial interests in South Africa. At trial, the prosecutors argued that Hain had robbed the bank because of his animosity towards their South African connections. But several witnesses have testified that Hain was not the man they saw running through town on the day of the robbery. (The trial was still in progress as *CounterSpy* went to press.)

Political Pornography

In 1975, a new porn film was produced by Ken Taylor, who had been a personal friend of Mandy Rice-Davies, a call-girl involved in the Profumo Scandal of 1963.¹

Taylor's latest movie was called "Shieks Delight" or "Turkish Delight" and according to some reports was filmed in fashionable Hamstead in the home of a prominent Liberal MP. One of the women in the film was the mistress of a cabinet minister (or ex-minister), and another was the daughter of a Liberal MP whose house was used for the film set.

On March 3, 1976 these three seemingly unrelated events were connected. The London *Sunday Telegraph* took a remarkable statement from Kenneth Wyatt, a well-known porn broker, which involved underworld characters, look-alike doubles, blackmail attempts, mercenary armies, mass assassination attempts, black marketeering and bribery of high British officials. His story seemed so fantastic at first that many readers dismissed it as lunatic ravings until his predictions turned into headlines in the following weeks.

Wyatt, the porn broker, testified that he became involved in a bizarre adventure involving the accusations against Thorpe, the trial of Peter Hain, and the movie "Shieks Delight."

He claims that he was approached by Ken Taylor to sell the film and in the course of events also learned that it would be used for blackmail because of the MP's daughter's performance. The film deal was never completed but, in the underworld where Wyatt travels, new opportunities are always emerging; Wyatt was soon approached by a friend to do work for a mysterious man named Kamil who had documents he needed transported around Europe. Wyatt's job was to find women to be couriers. While employed with Kamil, Wyatt saw documents processed by Kamil, called "*Disruption of the Liberal Party*", which Kamil told him had been prepared in the security offices of Kamil's former employer, the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

The documents detailed a five-stage plot against the Liberal Party which involved: smears against Liberal Party members, including Jeremy Thorpe; the Peter Hain frame-up; and the producing of the blackmail film "Shieks Delight," which Wyatt earlier had been asked to sell. As one example, the file maintained that Anglo American security agents had found a Peter Hain "double" in Johannesburg and that in August they had flown him to London via Brussels and Dublin. In London, the look-a-like purchased a car and clothes identical to Peter Hain's. Anglo American agents then watched Hain's house and, via two-wave radio, notified the impersonator, who then committed the robbery. The man was extremely well covered so he could not be caught, yet he made sure his face was visible to passersby until he disappeared.

This information was ultimately given to the Peter Hain defense, which checked with Anglo American. The corporation claimed to have no such person, the "double", on their payroll. But upon checking in Johannesburg, the defense discovered that he had arrived at his home with a new car and lots of money; now both the look-a-like and Hain's wife have disappeared.

The existence of Wyatt's testimony, as well as several copies, in London, of the paper *Disruption of the Liberal Party*, moved Prime Minister Harold Wilson to defend Thorpe and the Liberals in Parliament. In that speech, just before his retirement, Wilson alluded to foreign interests (South African) behind the plot to discredit the Liberal leader. He insisted that he did not believe the 'foreign interest' was a government, but rather a private commercial enterprise.

Anglo American Corporation

The business mentioned by Wyatt in his testimony is the Anglo American Corporation. Anglo American is the largest corporation in South Africa. It is almost an independent economic state centered in sub-Saharan Africa with interests in Britain, Germany and the United States. Anglo American, the most prominent of the multinational corporations active in Africa, has an interlocking system of holdings and directorates that spreads across the entire continent. "More Like A Government than a Company" was the way *The Investors Chronicle* described Anglo American's international diversification.

Anglo American has interests in mining, textiles, chemicals, steel and diamonds. It has been connected to the Morgan family in the United States since J.P. Morgan's original investment in 1917.

Anglo American is the corporate flagship of Harry Oppenheimer, South Africa's largest employer. Oppenheimer is the most notorious establishment critic of the current apartheid status but he has probably done more than anyone else to fuel the economic machine on which the strength of white supremacy stands. A supporter of the Progressive Party, Oppenheimer has helped run munitions factory for the Nationalist Party governments of the late Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster, in South Africa. While somewhat scrutinized by right-wing Afrikaners, Oppenheimer has proven his loyalty. Although he is an English-speaking capitalist, he was one of the first businessmen to go into partnership with fundamentalist, Christian farming Dutch-descent Afrikaaner capital. He is a firm supporter of Vorster's "outward-looking" economic policy of seeking close trade and investment with independent Africa. Oppenheimer has also become the symbol of the theory which the *Economist* calls "the richer, the lefter." He believes that as South Africa becomes more prosperous the absurdity of racial discrimination will be obvious to all, and the country will become more liberal.

Oppenheimer has openly criticized apartheid for years. He says, "A country cannot develop its full economic potential if it does not make the best use of its labor force." This is the key to his opposition to apartheid and his great vision for South Africa. No word here about equal rights for Africans. No call for integrated education, for an end to segregation, for adult suffrage. What Oppenheimer has in mind is a meritocracy, in which racial differences will be replaced by educational and class differences.

He, and the Progressive Party, foresee a time when the vote will be given to a few more Africans who manage to break through the barrier of an inferior, segregated educational system and achieve middle-class status. Basically his "richer, but lefter" approach is to raise the quality of black labor but his vision is not concerned with a democratic South Africa but with economic growth.

The definitive Penguin pocketbook, *The South African Connection Western Investment in Apartheid*, concludes that:

Oppenheimer is far-sighted enough to realize that a capitalist economic system can best be maintained in the Republic by strengthening its economic, political and military links with the rest of the capitalist world, and by the gradual award of privileges to the tiny African middle class. If this middle class can be made an elite, identifying more with the white minority than with the African masses, it may, as it grows, provide a useful buffer for white supremacy. As far as apartheid is a flexible system for preserving white control, this policy is apartheid's best long term defense."

In 1970, Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, gave a lecture commemorating Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the outlaw settler regime in "Rhodesia," known to most of the world as Zimbabwe. In the speech he revealed something of the model he has for an ideal South Africa. Oppenheimer said that although the methods Rhodes employed "certainly involved harshness, and perhaps even trickery," he was inspired by "a great vision." It was of "a great modern industrialized state in South Africa in which all civilized men could enjoy equal rights." And, Oppenheimer said, this vision was still valid. It was "the only way we will be able to remain safe and prosperous."

Oppenheimer is not above a certain "harshness, and perhaps even trickery" himself. One of his many employees has been

the mystery man Kamil. Kamil worked during the sixties as a special investigator for Anglo American. His job involved attempts to discover fraud in Anglo American's member companies. Kamil also smuggled diamonds for Anglo American. Kamil told Wyatt that diamonds were skimmed off and sold on the black market so that no trace of the funds produced could be found. Anglo American would also not have to pay the various government taxes on the diamonds. The funds, Kamil claimed, were used to bribe high officials in foreign governments. Kamil showed Wyatt a list of Swiss bank account numbers of the high officials who had been paid the bribes. Kamil says that Anglo American had paid between 1953 and 1956 inclusive £26 million in bribery to about 79 people and that he had the proof. Wyatt's testimony to the *Sunday Telegraph* leaves the impression that Kamil was attempting to blackmail Anglo American for some money he believed was owed to him. During the course of his transactions, he threatened Anglo American with sabotage of one of their mines which would lead to the possible deaths of over 1,000 miners. This would be highly embarrassing to the "rich but left" Oppenheimer. Kamil also talked of running weapons and funds to a mercenary group in Mozambique, and several other bizarre deals he was involved with.²

The anti-apartheid movement also knew of Kamil and the "proof" he had of Anglo American bribes. Two people sympathetic to the anti-apartheid drive contacted Wyatt while he was in Kamil's employ and urged him to get the file from Kamil or to convince Kamil he should turn it over to them. They told Wyatt that the information contained proof that two ex-cabinet ministers had received substantial payments from Anglo American. They told him that if he could get the documents the Liberal Party would jump on the bandwagon of the expose. But before Wyatt could act, he was arrested and approached by British police and Anglo American security to identify the anti-apartheid movement couple that had approached him to obtain Kamil's documents. It was after this that he made his statement to the *Sunday Telegraph*. CounterSpy has heard no further word about Kamil at this time, other than a rumor that he and Anglo American have worked out a deal and that he is in their good graces again.

The Winter of Our Discontent

While the investigations are currently in progress in London, it is the history of a Mr. Gordon Winter which is providing the most interesting aspects of the case. Gordon Winter is a British journalist who circulated the stories accusing the Liberal leader, Jeremy Thorpe of the homosexual relationship.

Gordon Winter had been involved in the South African underworld as an informer while working for South African newspapers. He currently works for the Johannesburg *Sunday Express*. During the course of the Thorpe scandal in London, he admitted to the *Guardian* that he worked as a staff journalist during the late 1960's and early 1970's for a London-based, internationally active newspaper called Forum World Features (FWF).

Winter was also secretary during the time to the National Union of Journalists London Freelance Branch and had arranged for various freelance journalists to use Forum Services. Both Forum World Features and the National Union of Journalists are well-exposed CIA fronts which used journalists to spread CIA-biased information.

FWF closed down in April, 1975, shortly before London's *Time Out* magazine exposed its CIA connections. The National Union of Journalists was exposed in Philip Agee's *CIA Diary* for its propaganda work on behalf of the agency in Latin America. *Time Out* received a copy of a classified CIA report



prepared in 1968 for then-CIA director Richard Helms explaining the history of FWF. Later in the *Washington Post* and the *Herald Tribune*, Bernard D. Nossiter confirmed *Time Out*'s story, along with the denials by the principals involved of their CIA connections. The classified CIA report reads:

Forum World Features, Ltd. (FWF) is an international news feature service located in London and incorporated in Delaware whose overt aim is to provide on a commercial basis a comprehensive weekly service covering international affairs, economics, science and medicine, book reviews and other subjects of a general nature. In its first two years FWF has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist prop (sic) and has become a respected feature service well on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world. Begun as a commercial entity in January, 1966, FWF was created from the residue of Forum Service, an activity of the Congress of Cultural Freedom (CCF) from which the CIA withdrew its support in 1966.

Beneath the unsigned memo to the Director of Central Intelligence is written in hand: "Run w. knowledge and cooperation of British Intelligence."

Nossiter reported that FWF was closed down for two reasons. First because the CIA was supposedly withdrawing from covert propaganda activities of this kind, and secondly, because it feared that Philip Agee or some other dissident former CIA agent would blow FWF's cover.

Winter also admitted that he had used the resources of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, a right-wing London research group which was established with a grant from FWF in 1970 by former chairman of FWF Brian Crozier. Crozier is a well-known British writer of rightist viewpoints. The Institute for the Study of Conflict publishes low-keyed reports on counter-insurgency. ISC's connections to the CIA and the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) have been extensively exposed by Mark Hosenball in *Time Out* magazine.

As he recently reported, Winter's exact relationship to the ISC is not known but ISC is known to have extensive contact with events in southern Africa and to South African intelli-

gence, besides its CIA and SIS connections. A researcher at the Institute named Peter Janke, for instance, who has close friends in the police establishments of many Western countries visited Capetown in 1974 to do research on national liberation movements in southern Africa. There he called upon Mr. P.J. DeWit and asked him for information on the revolution in Mozambique. DeWit later mailed the information to Janke in London, but in the cover letter asked Janke not to cite the source of the information or reveal it to "representatives of other South African Departments in London." The information duly appeared, uncredited, in Janke's Conflict Study Number 52, "Southern Africa — The End of Empire." P.J. DeWit is an official of the South African Secret Police — the Bureau of State Security (BOSS).

ISC has other relations with BOSS as revealed in the hundreds of documents on ISC activities received and reported on by *Time Out*. In 1973, Janke had played host to a white South African 'journalist' named Michael Morris who had come to London to do some research for a book. During his stay, Morris was seen observing demonstrations outside South Africa House. It also was discovered that in 1967 he had written to the Young Liberals in Britain asking for information on support for African liberation movements. The *Guardian* and members of Parliament finally exposed Morris as a sergeant in the South African security police and he soon left Britain. Janke visited this South African spy on his trip there in 1974.

The ISC also has contacts with the intelligence service of "Rhodesia," a client of BOSS. ISC has worked with Colonel Claude Greathead of the "Rhodesian" service who became notorious in the mid-sixties for his blackmail attempts on Zambian leaders.

Winter currently denies that he is working for BOSS while spreading the story of Jeremy Thorpe's alleged sexual misconduct.

BOSSing Africa

The Bureau of State Security was created in controversy officially on the 16th of May, 1969. But the maneuvers to create the agency began earlier the preceding year. On April 26, 1968, the Nationalist Party government of Prime Minister John Vorster announced that Lieutenant General H.J. van den Bergh, chief of the security branch of the police, would become the new Commissioner of Police. Then on October 1, 1968, a further announcement said that van den Bergh (by now a full General) would not become Commissioner but instead would be appointed Vorster's security advisor.

Then in March, 1969, a debate arose between the Nationalist Party and the opposition United Party over the amount of money to spend on intelligence. Oppenheimer's Progressive Party generally supported Vorster's Nationalist Party. At that time estimates that close to R4,063,000 were being allocated for "secret services" riled some members of the opposition. In addition they noticed that the amount for secret services under the allocation for police was increased from R1,012,000 in 1968/9 to R1,218,000 in 1969/70. However, under the Defence Vote the amount for military intelligence was reduced from R830,000 in 1968/9 to a mere R39,000 in 1969/70. But there was an item for R500 for the secret services of the Bantu Administration and Development Department. The total expenditure on the SA secret services was thus raised from R1,842,500 in 1968/9 to R5,320,500 in 1969/70 with the services changing from a military orientation to the department of John Vorster.

When these estimates were debated in April of that year, Vorster admitted that SA now had three "independent" security bodies, whose functions he refused to disclose. Military intelligence was placed under the Commandant-General of the

Armed Forces, Gen. R.S. Hiemstra. The security branch of the Police was to be headed by Brig. "Tiny" Vinter under the Commissioner of Police, Gen. J.P. Gous. And finally there was to be the Bureau of State Security under General van den Bergh.

The military was extremely upset over these new arrangements. The next step was taken on May 13, when the Minister of the Interior introduced the Public Service Amendment Bill which formerly authorized the creation of BOSS and made it free of control by the Public Services Administration (civil service). The Minister said BOSS's security function would be to coordinate the activities of SA's various security organizations, despite Vorster's earlier assertion that BOSS would be independent and have its own functions.

On May 16, BOSS was officially formed. Its functions were defined in the Government Gazette as: (1) to investigate all matters affecting the security of the State, to correlate and evaluate the information collected and, where necessary, to inform and advise the government, interested government departments and other bodies in regard thereto; and (2) to perform such other functions and responsibilities as may be determined from time to time.

On May 19th, the Deputy Minister of Finance introduced a Security Services Special Account Bill, establishing a special account for BOSS. He said it was not in the public interest to go into the details of the security services. He declared: "As it is essential to ensure the secrecy of these services, the expenditure in connection therewith cannot be voted from public funds in the usual way."

Up to this point commentators on BOSS usually made comparison to the CIA. But the Minister of the Interior was hesitant to draw any parallels. The Minister limited BOSS's activities to southern Africa, differentiating it from the CIA's global actions. He said it was essential to have information about the movements of "our neighbors to the North" and of "terrorists in South Africa."

Then suddenly on June 2, only 18 days before the end of the Parliamentary session, the Government gave notice of a General Law Amendment Bill which was published on June 4. It was the usual omnibus measure introduced to tidy up a number of laws relating to rents, sports regulation and commerce. But hidden among its numerous provisions, the Government slipped in two clauses giving BOSS virtually unlimited power.

Clause 10 amended the Official Secrets Act to make it an offense, punishable on conviction by a fine up to R1,500 or 7 years imprisonment or both fine and imprisonment, to disclose any "security matter." "Security matter" was defined as "any matter relating to the security of the Republic and includes any matter dealt with or relating to the Bureau of State Security . . . or to the relationship subsisting between any person and the state Bureau."

Clause 29 authorized the Prime Minister or his nominee (usually van den Bergh -ed.) or any Cabinet Minister, to prohibit the giving of any evidence or the production of any document to any court or statutory body if the evidence or document is, in their opinion, "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security."

The Government claimed that Clauses 10 and 29 contained no principles not already embodied in South African common or statute law. They also claimed that Clause 10 would only protect BOSS in the same ways the British SIS or the CIA were protected and that Clause 29 simply stated an old common law rule which had been upheld in courts for some time.

But this fooled no one and many lawyers and jurists lambasted this ruling as it gave the state virtual power to imprison without due process of law. Their protests were to no avail and BOSS began its rule of South Africa.

BOSS falls under the department of Balthazar Johannes (John) Vorster, who became Prime Minister on September 13, 1966, after the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. During WWII, Vorster was a commandant in the pro-Nazi *Ossewabrandweg* (Ox Wagon Sentinel), a militant, national-socialist movement which sought the establishment of an authoritarian state with citizenship restricted to "assimilable white elements," the abolition of private enterprises and the breaking of connections to Britain.

He was arrested on September 23, 1942, for treasonable activities and interned until February 11, 1944. In October 1967, after assuming the Prime Ministry, Vorster unveiled a monument to Dr. J.F.J. Van Rensburg, the Commandant-General of the *Ossewabrandweg*.

The head of BOSS is Hendrick J. van den Bergh, who lives behind a curtain of secrecy only partially lifted during his recent declaration to the press that neither he nor BOSS were involved in the attack on the English Liberal Party.

Under Section 10 of the General Law Amendment Act, 1969, nothing may be disclosed about BOSS or van den Bergh's role in it. He is able to investigate anything, detain anyone for any length of time and prohibit any mention of it in the press or elsewhere. He can prevent any evidence being led in court — even the evidence of an accused person in his own defense. He can prevent any court or person from looking into what BOSS is doing or how it is interrogating its detainees. At least 15 people have died under interrogation in the past few years, and at least 3,000 Africans are arrested in South Africa every day.

In many ways, van den Bergh's powers are greater than those of the Prime Minister, since he is not answerable to Parliament or even the Cabinet, but only to the Prime Minister — a close personal friend with whom he was interned during the war as a suspected member of the *Ossewabrandweg*. Most observers believe only Anglo American Corporation's Oppenheimer has more power in South Africa than Gen. van den Bergh of BOSS.

Van den Bergh's rise to absolute power as the head of South Africa's gestapo has been meteoric. A captain in the police force in 1959, he was made Lt. Colonel in 1962 (a year after Vorster became Minister of Justice) and was elevated to full Colonel in 1963, when he was placed at the head of the security branch of the police. He was made a Brigadier in 1964, a Major-General in 1966 (as Inspector-General and later Deputy-Commissioner of Police) and in April 1968 was given the rank of Lt. General and then of full General on his appointment as "security advisor" to Vorster in October, 1968. With Vorster, van den Bergh has planned and carried into operation the host of security laws which have filled South African jails with opponents of apartheid.

Patrick Keatley reported in the March 21, 1975 *Guardian* of his experience with the surveillance network of BOSS:

I got my first shock about the existence of this all-pervasive network at the time of the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 on a trip that was to keep me on circuit in South Africa for the best part of two months. I went to call on friends in Johannesburg up on the Observatory Hill. When I asked to use the telephone they took me to a room where the instrument was double wrapped in thick blankets. This was the normal procedure, day and night, because people of liberal views had learned that even when the receiver is on the hook the phone can pick up conversations in a room which can be tapped by the authorities. As I went my rounds, I discovered this blanket technique was — and is — widespread.

One could give many more examples. [A well-known Liberal leader] on his mission . . . not only knew his suite of rooms was bugged, but had to warn friends by gestures to the ceiling that this was so when they walked in to see him at the Hotel.

One security man in the foyer of the hotel rose lazily from a chair on one occasion, without bothering to identify himself to me and coolly informed me that my appointment with so and so the next morning had been shifted from eleven o'clock to noon. He was dead right, of course, and I discovered when my friend phoned again later, it was simply [the government] letting me know I was under surveillance.

It may all look fantastic from [London]. But in Southern Africa it is a normal part of manning the defences against the loathed enemy, the European Liberal.

BOSS does not just target Africans but anti-apartheid groups, nationalist groups and exiles and their various supporters and sympathizers. The scope of their surveillance is determined by van den Bergh. Van den Bergh has not adopted the traditional police attitude of standing aloof from politics. He has appeared on many political platforms lectured on the dangers of communism, and stated that "certain student organizations, newspaper reporters, churchmen and other intellectuals are under Communist influence" and that liberals helped communism by "sickly sentimentalism." He has been reported as saying (inaccurately he claims) that Jews are prone to communism. He has denied that he ever belonged to the *Ossewabrandweg*, but he was photographed giving the fascist O.B. salute at the funeral of its former leader Van Rensburg.

One rung beneath van den Bergh on the ladder of power in South Africa is General R.C. Hiemstra, Commandant-General of the Armed Forces and another Vorster intimate. Although he was not detained during the war he refused to serve outside South Africa against the Axis and was transferred to civilian duty. He returned to the Defense Force after the war and under the Nationalist Party, his rise to the top has also been rapid.

By 1974 BOSS had greatly increased its power and by then the Security Police had clearly become subordinate to it. The deputy head of BOSS, M.C.W. Geldehuys was appointed the head of the Security Police after his predecessor in charge of the Security Police had come to bad terms with van den Bergh. BOSS is somewhat controlled by the State Security Council but this appears to be superficial. The Council includes senior cabinet members, the Ministers of Defence, Police, Foreign Affairs and Justice. But the Council is relatively ineffective. For instance, when originally formed BOSS and the other services were "independent"; threats as discovered by BOSS were to be followed up by the Security Police. Now BOSS controls all security matters for South Africa's white minority rulers.

Time Out magazine reported that four years ago van den Bergh was injured in an electrical accident in his home. At the time a Major-General H.R. Meintjes took over control of BOSS until van den Bergh recovered. Meintjes has had close contact with the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, giving them information on African liberation movements and is currently the South African Armed Forces Attache and believed to be the head of BOSS in London. Many suspect him of being behind the actions to "disrupt or destabilize" the Liberal Party.

BOSS is not just an internal gestapo for apartheid, nor does it only spy on Africans, but has taken on the task of covert operations against anti-apartheid organizations around the world. This change occurred about the same time as BOSS changed from a straightforward anti-subversion body to one responsible for a much wider range of activities, including working out policy approaches for the government. *Africa* magazine of April, 1976 reports that at this time a number of intellectuals are concerned with defining future courses of action inside and outside the country.

In February 1976, Moses Garoeb of SWAPO, the movement trying to free Namibia of South African military occupation, was on a visit to London. He left his hotel for four hours in

the evening and when he returned he found his room had been entered and his papers taken. In 1973, the anonymous Club of Ten surfaced in London taking expensive advertisements in the British press in defense of white southern Africa. Investigators found extraordinary secrecy and a good deal of circumstantial evidence pointing to the South African government. The offices of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and of the African National Congress (South Africa), as well as the homes of those working in these organizations have been broken into many times and the police have never been able to discover the culprits. Most recently during the events affecting the Liberals in London, the former Prime Minister's solicitor's office was burglarized in what many suspect was related to the South African affairs.

In April, 1968, just before the creation of BOSS, van den Bergh and Brig. Venter, the Commissioner of Police, paid a secret visit to London. Afterwards, a Nationalist Party paper commented that they were not there on holiday. On the contrary, what the paper said was that "what the police have not lost sight of is that the organization which is currently the greatest threat to South Africa . . . the Anti-Apartheid Movement . . . had its headquarters in London."

South African intelligence also spies on those to the right of the Nationalist Party and corporate magnates like Oppenheimer. A few years ago van den Bergh personally supervised what appeared to be a case of petty theft but upon closer examination proved to be more sinister: documents related to the rightist Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond, were missing.

On May 4, 1976, the Nationalist Party government introduced new legislation to reassure the right wing that, while Prime Minister Vorster might be going out of his way to follow Oppenheimer's suggestions to ingratiate himself with foreign blacks and even to be prepared to make "concessions," such as the vote for the new black middle class, internally, he is still capable of ruthlessly oppressing black political opposition. The bill gives the government sweeping new powers what critics say will make the country a full-fledged police state.

The nondenominational Christian Institute issued a report entitled "Detention and Detente in Southern Africa" detailing the cases of 217 people detained since Vorster launched his campaign to ease tensions with black Africa in 1974. Most of the cases involved people held without charge. The report charges that security legislation is "overwhelmingly" used against blacks "who are increasingly voicing the true grievances and aspirations of their people."

Helen Suzman, a Progressive-Reform member of Parliament, said the newly proposed legislation was, "A bloody little bill that took the country a long way down the road from the rule of law to a police state."

Most observers expressed surprise rather than outrage, however. They could not believe the government would feel a need to reinforce its measures to control the opposition so dramatically. These measures already include the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Defence Act, and the General Law Amendment Act which created BOSS.

The new bill, a strengthening of the already broad Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, would empower police to arrest and detain anyone suspected of "endangering state security or the maintenance of public order" for as long as a year without bail, trial or legal counsel. With the large number of arrests and detentions already occurring, this bill will merely give legal sanction to the standard practice of BOSS and the police.

While the rightists are being placated by more repressive legislation, students and intellectuals are still caught in BOSS's web. The Office of Scientific Counsellor at the South African Embassy in London, for instance, has been sending around questionnaires to the registrars of British universities, with the request that the questionnaires be distributed to South Africans studying there. The questionnaire includes questions on students' sources of finance, address, details of study and plans for the future. The students are also asked if they would like to subscribe to South African official propaganda such as *Report from South Africa* and *South African Digest*. *Time Out* reports that various South African government departments have used the information gleaned from the questionnaires to recruit scientists and technicians out of the university. According to a 1968 issue of *Rhodeo*, the student newspaper at Rhodes University, no less than 11 students at South African universities were approached by the security branch to undertake spying between September and November of that year. Since the creation of BOSS, students have been a convenient asset for South African spying on the European university-based anti-apartheid activity.

The CIA Connection

Most observers believe that BOSS could not have made such dramatic headway at international spying after 1969 without help from the CIA. The size of the CIA office in South Africa seems to indicate the relations between the two agencies are very important. Philip Agee says that a woman who worked in channel money and certain types of logistical supplies through the companies to the CIA operations against African liberation

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forces.

American radio stations and the Paris newspaper *Liberation* recently named Dorwin M. Wilson as head of CIA operations in Pretoria. He previously was in Nairobi and Lusaka. His predecessor was Francis John Jeton, according to a report in the *Rand Daily Mail*. The report mentioned that although his Embassy staff was small he was thought to head a team of 40 deep cover agents. Jeton joined the CIA in 1952 after a career in the Navy, a job as a shipping clerk, and a degree from George Washington University.

His first CIA appointment was to Damascus in Syria in November 1955 as a "consular officer." There he was joined by Howard "Rocky" Stone, who was described by the Beirut correspondent of the *New York Times* as America's "number one expert on coup d'etats." On August 13, 1967, Stone, Jeton and a Colonel Robert W. Malloy were given 24 hours to leave Syria. They were accused of inspiring an attempted army coup. Their expulsion followed an army purge.

After this Jeton was involved in many "cowboy" operations of the CIA. In November 1958, Jeton was posted as a vice-consul to Dakar, where he worked with George McMurtrie Godley, later an assistant Secretary of State and close collaborator with the CIA in its secret war in Laos. Godley was rejected by the Senate in his nomination to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs but is currently Ambassador in war-torn Lebanon.

After a 16-month period in Washington, Jeton was posted to Kinshasa in the Congo in 1965 as a political officer in the Embassy. Godley was also in Kinshasa, then called Leopoldville. This was during the Congo power struggle when President Moise Tshombe, influenced by the CIA, hired mercenaries, mostly South Africans including some of those involved in the CIA's recent secret war in Angola.

After leaving Kinshasa in May 1968, Jeton served as political officer in Tunis before taking up his post in Pretoria in October 1973. Jeton's appointment to Pretoria at this time is an indication of the CIA's interest in working with BOSS against the liberation movements. This is Jeton's specialty. He has recently been seen in Paris, which is reported to be the center for CIA operations against the whole of Africa.

Jeton's deputy was Jarrel Richardson who graduated from Oregon University and joined the CIA in 1966. After an appointment in Addis Ababa he was appointed economics and commercial officer in Pretoria in May 1973. More recently he was posted to Paris where he has been seen in the company of leaders of UNITA, one of the CIA-backed armies fighting in Angola.

The number two man now is believed to be Ernest Bryant. He is a third secretary in the Pretoria Embassy and came there in July 1975 from Nairobi. Head of communications for the CIA in South Africa is reported to be Armand A. Honeycutt who was previously in the Philippines in 1971 and Turkey in 1969.

The replacement of Jeton by Dorwin M. Wilson may be an indication of a changing relationship between the CIA and its sub-imperial client BOSS. Jeton was an expert on covert suppression of liberation movements, while Wilson has more experience working with black African leaders. The CIA may be trying to apply pressure to BOSS and the South African government to liberalize their foreign and domestic racial policies as soon as possible.

In an article titled "The Zulus Resist" in the March 23, 1975 issue of the *Washington Post*, Bob Jaster estimated that Chief Buthelezi, elected leader of South Africa's 4 million Zulus, had put his people squarely in the path of Vorster's political plan for the independence of the Bantustans where the black South Africans are forced to live. The author painted a

picture of conflict between the Zulus and the government which the government immediately denied. The anger of the South African government was intense because the author Bob Jaster worked for the CIA.

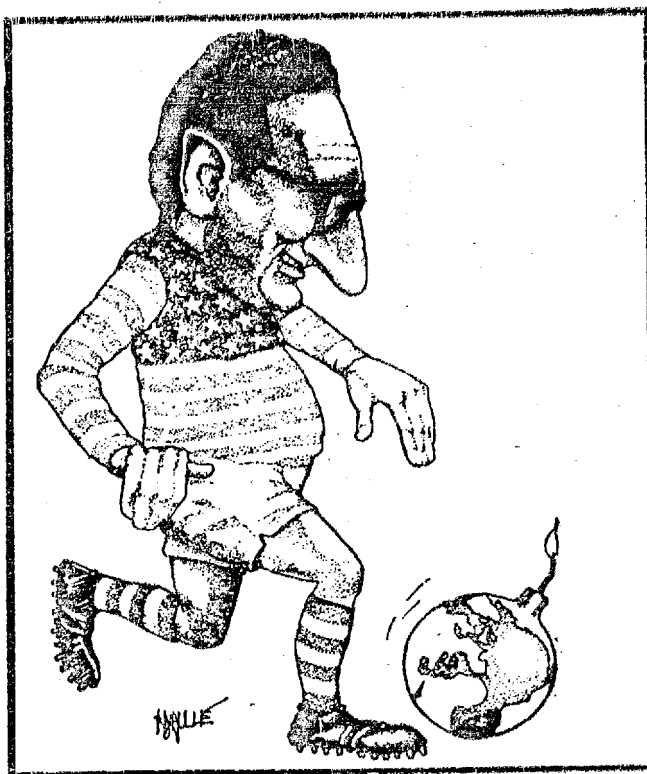
The article described him as a "foreign affairs analyst with the CIA's Office of Police Research, who is currently writing a book on the origins of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. The South African government was quick to point out that the CIA had no such office. They raised the speculation that the article was propaganda planted by the CIA as an indication of future U.S. policy on this issue. The author refused to discuss the article without the approval of his superiors at CIA headquarters. He did, however, say the article, "was not intended to please White South Africans."

Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine

The relationship of the CIA and BOSS consistently reflects the overall policy changes in U.S. relations with South Africa. BOSS was created shortly after Henry Kissinger issued National Security Study Memorandum 39 directing an interdepartmental staff to make a "comprehensive review of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa (south of Congo (K)) and Tanzania."

Kissinger had taken the helm of the Western political and economic system at a time of significant change in the role of the U.S. government as the ultimate power and protector of the global corporate imperium. He realized that for the system to be maintained against any erosion — especially revolutionary challenges — a series of sub-imperial centers had to be created to serve as junior partners to sustain regional political and economic "stability." Otherwise, the necessity for American monopolies, such as Anglo American, to maintain control over the resources and markets in these regions would be undetermined.

The first public announcement of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine — as the strategy of sub-imperialism has become known — came in President Nixon's "State of the World"





address on February 19, 1970. The Doctrine was initially only applied to Indochina and was known as "Vietnamization" and was designed not to bring peace but to prolong that war. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who was directing the war at the time, referred to the policy change as needed to "change the color of the corpses." After the dramatic defeats of U.S. policy in Indochina, the U.S. could no longer play the role of international policemen.

As with Indochina, Kissinger could not ignore the global significance of Africa when formulating his global policy. With the closing of the Suez Canal following the 1967 Middle East War and the increase of Soviet naval activities in the Indian Ocean South Africa was of strategic importance to control the Cape trade routes. The U.S. also needed to use overflight and landing facilities in or near Africa for military aircraft heading to and from Indochina and later the Middle East. And the considerable investment and balance of trade advantages to both Britain and the U.S. in South Africa needed to be protected. South Africa is even more strategic to U.S. policy because of its status as the major supplier in the capitalist world of gold — controlled by the Anglo American Corporation — and its importance in guaranteeing the useful operation of the two-tier gold price system.

To develop this policy Kissinger's NSC staff, composed of representatives of the NSC, Treasury, Commerce, the Joint Chiefs, AID and NASA, responded to the NSSM 39 memo and prepared their report. The study indicates that the U.S. had five policy objectives in southern Africa:

- 1) The likelihood of direct U.S. involvement in the conflicts there had to be minimized.
- 2) The Soviet Union and China were to be prevented from exploiting the racial situation there to gain political influence among African government and liberation movements.
- 3) The U.S. had to encourage the colonial and settler regimes to moderate their racial and colonial policies.
- 4) The U.S. stand on the racial issue in Africa and elsewhere had to be improved.
- 5) American economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the area had to be protected.

The study acknowledged that these objectives were, in many instances conflicting and irreconcilable. Thus, the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine was a dilemma from the beginning. *If the U.S. maintained close ties with the colonial and settler regimes in southern Africa, this would in the long run jeopardize American relationships with the rest of Africa and the Third World.*

For the next seven years of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine the U.S. strengthened the economic, military and political systems of several sub-imperial clients such as Brazil in Latin America and Iran in the Middle East. One aspect of this strategic approach was the CIA liaison with BOSS. But throughout the period there was a waffling over policy. While generally favoring a broader association with both black and white states to encourage moderation in South Africa, attempting to enlist cooperation of the black states in reducing tensions and the likelihood of increased cross-border violence and encouraging relations among the states in the area, the U.S. consistently tilted towards a closer association with the white regimes to protect and enhance U.S. interests.

In October 1974, in *Esquire*, Tad Szulc revealed that another secret Kissinger document, a National Security Council Decision Memorandum (NISDOM) of 1970 which said that "The whites are here to stay and the only way constructive change can come about is through them." This policy appeared to be operating through the early seventies including the period of the CIA's secret war of assistance to South African invasion of Angola.

But in late April, 1976 Kissinger made his historic tour of Africa reversing earlier U.S. attitudes. Kissinger pledged support for the black nations in their struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from the "Rhodesian" settler regime of Ian Smith and encouraged South Africa to give up its hold over Namibia. Simultaneously South Africa concluded a new series of agreements with Israel. In the State Department both of these moves have been interpreted as representing a widening gap in the association of the U.S. to the apartheid government. Some State Department personnel are referring to the South African-Israeli relationship as the development of a "6th World" composed of the most right-wing states of the capitalist imperium. Some openly fear that South Africa and other dictatorships may move independent of U.S. hegemony in world affairs.

In such a changing political atmosphere it is difficult to predict the actions of the policy instruments of either the U.S. or South Africa. But it is altogether possible that BOSS may increase its unilateral actions independent of CIA assistance, encouragement or monitoring. It is altogether possible that BOSS's unilateral actions, or those of the private security arms of corporations like Anglo American, may conduct operations of which the CIA would disapprove.

Until investigations in London are completed we do not know conclusively that BOSS was behind the attempts to destabilize the Liberal Party. We do not know if the CIA approved or did not approve any of the alleged operations. We do not know fully the role of the Anglo American Corporation in these events or the years of bribes which have been alleged by former Anglo American employees and members of the anti-apartheid movement. What we do know is that all of these events occur within the economic, political and clandestine relationships of Britain, South Africa and the U.S.

In such a volatile atmosphere bizarre intrigue of destabilizing political parties, bribery of high government officials, mysterious characters with secret police and CIA connections, and crimes of every proportion are becoming the rule, rather than the exception of international relations. In such an atmosphere it may become increasingly difficult to determine what force has more influence over events. We do not know who is really the BOSS.

Jeremy Thorpe resigned on May 11, 1976 as CounterSpy was going to press.

FOOTNOTES

1. Taylor had put two-way mirrors in the apartment of a London society osteopath, Stephen Ward. Ward was essentially a high society pimp; during the 1963 scandal he was arrested for living on immoral earnings. Ward used Mandy Rice-Davies and Chirstine Keeler for his living, which included blackmail from the lurid photographs taken by Ken Taylor through that two-way mirror. Two of the dignitaries involved in the affair were the Rt. Hon. John Dennis Profumo, Britain's Secretary of State for War at the time and the Soviet naval attache Evgeny Ivanov. Ivanov had been suspected by British counterintelligence as a spy for some time but when his connections to Profumo, Ward, Davies and Keeler became known, Britain was rocked by one of its most devastating scandals and Profumo was forced to resign.

2. *CounterSpy* has heard many rumors of diamonds being used to finance much of the CIA backed UNITA and FNLA aggression in Angola. In April, 1975, Paulo Gumane, president of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (Coremo) — then held prisoner by FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation force — admitted his organization received money from the CIA and Portuguese secret police PIDE. Coremo obtained the money in an ill-fated attempt to overturn the FRELIMO transitional government in 1974. Gumane also said the plot had the backing of South African interests. Part of the financial arrangement was \$16,000 channeled through a Lisbon company.

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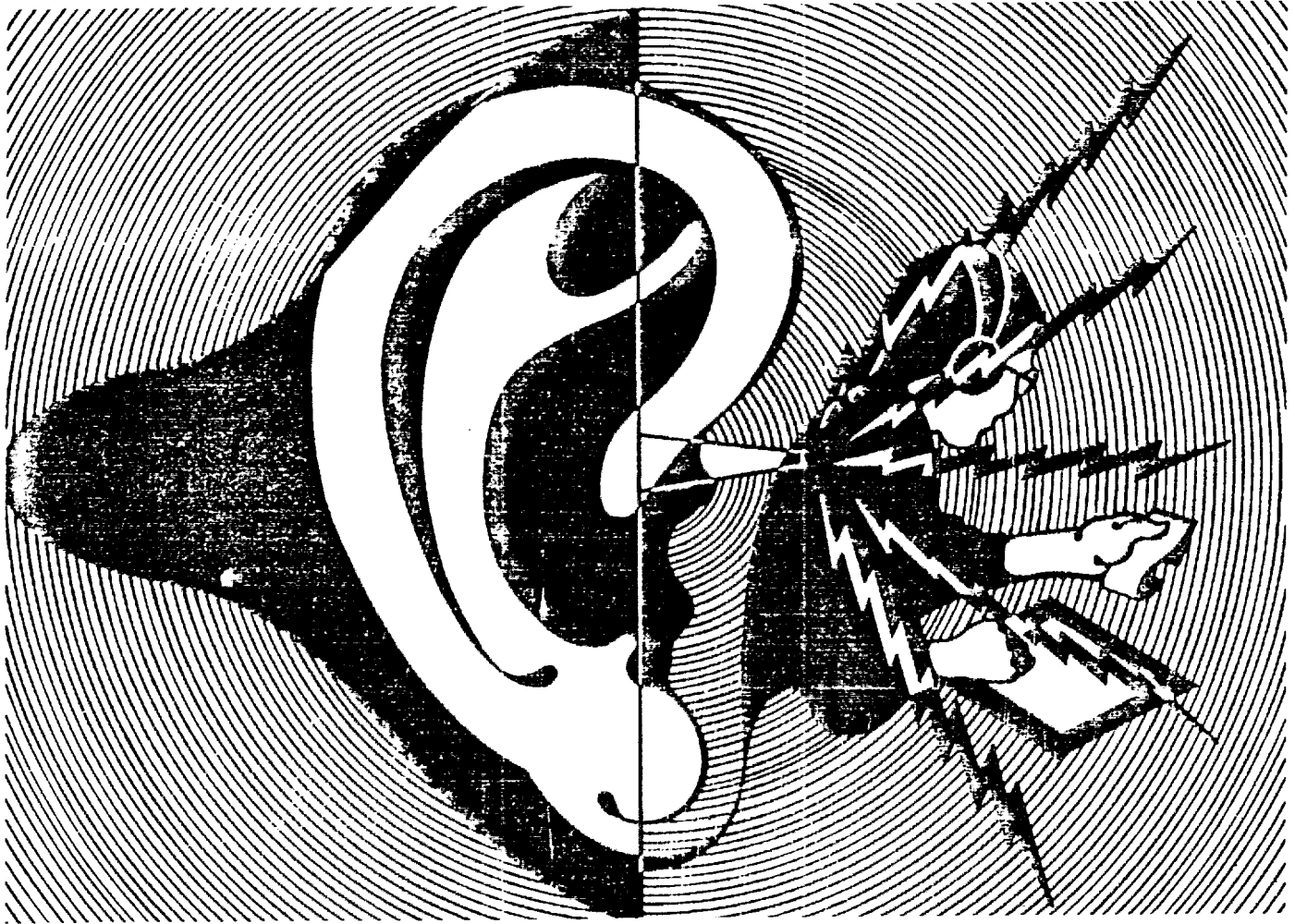
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SILVERMINE

Winslow Peck

Members of Congress, the U.S. Navy and the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA) are submitting to South Africa's offer to let them use Silvermine, a multi-million dollar espionage control complex that probably doesn't work.

Silvermine is touted as an "ultra-modern and fully computerized maritime communications and electronic espionage center with the ability to maintain a continuous watch over all air and sea traffic from Bangladesh to South America." South Africa claims it would be a vital element of any NATO/South African joint military operation.¹

But many critics² familiar with telecommunications and electronic espionage believe Silvermine may be just a lot of electronic gizmos.

The U.S. believes Silvermine has good communication systems as well as ADVOKAAT, the military communications network so greatly praised by South African defense leaders. They also believe the exaggerated description of Silvermine's

intelligence capabilities. Some critics even believe the new and top-secret electronic sensor battlefield — developed for Silvermine to monitor and prevent infiltration of guerrilla insurgents across the border between black and white Africa — is a fake.

Silvermine is only the sweetener in the apartheid South African government's larger maneuver to join NATO and secure the Southern Oceans for the West. For almost a decade, South Africa has offered NATO its sea ports, numerous small airfields and its small, but well-equipped army. In return, South Africa hopes American and European firepower will protect it from its black neighbors to the north. This proposition found ready ears in NATO as well as the Pentagon.

A Washington, D.C. firm, registered with the Department of Justice as agents of South Africa, arranged many promotional meetings for Silvermine. The firm also has close ties to right-wing industrial and corporate media holdings in both the U.S. and the Republic of South Africa. They have also

arranged for U.S. officials to tour Silvermine.

Melvin Laird, former Secretary of Defense and a new member of President Ford's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board which oversees all U.S. intelligence programs, expressed interest in the South African proposal after a tour of the Silvermine.

Western military strategists are ripe for South Africa's offer because they worry about the Soviet naval buildup in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic. Although CIA analysts believe Soviet forces deployed in the Indian Ocean "have been relatively small and inactive," the U.S. Navy still shows concern.³ They believe the increase in Soviet naval ships in the Indian Ocean from no "ship days" in 1967 to some 1,480 "ship days" spent there in 1971 to over 2,400 in 1974 may affect political developments along the Persian Gulf in Africa and on the Indian subcontinent. Finally, with the collapse of Portuguese authority in southern Africa some Western strategists view "this bullish rival" as a test of American power "whose recently realized military outreach leads to dangerous adventures."⁴

Pentagon brass are also receptive to the purchase of Silvermine because they believe their naval port and telecommunications intelligence facility on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean may be too isolated to adequately monitor Soviet ships. During debates over the latest appropriation for the island, the Navy implied that the Diego Garcia base would make a big difference to U.S. defense capabilities because it would be the only base that could be used to strike targets in both China and the Soviet Union.

But Chester Bowles, a former ambassador to India, wrote at the time: "If we intend to frighten the Russians and others out of the Indian Ocean, it is a laughable gesture."⁵ Taking a different viewpoint is former CIA Director William E. Colby who claims the use of Diego Garcia may actually speed up the Soviet presence as a response to the U.S.⁶

Sea Power magazine in November, 1975, claimed there is "absolutely no doubt the U.S. Navy would like to maintain a permanent mini-fleet (destroyers, frigates, submarines, gunboats, and perhaps even an aircraft carrier)" in South Africa.

The Physical Cavern of Silvermine

According to several reliable sources, Silvermine was commissioned in 1973 by South African Prime Minister John Vorster after an initial investment of about \$30 million. Silvermine is headquarters for a communications and intelligence system with two territorial commands at Durban on the east coast and Walvis Bay in South Africa-occupied Namibia on the west coast. There is a transmitting station about 40 miles away at Durbanville, to prevent transmitters from the stations from affecting the receivers at Silvermine. The stations' power generation system can supply power to a town of 10,000 inhabitants. The Durbanville station is linked to the Silvermine center through microwave remote control.

The center of Silvermine is so far beneath the ground that a great degree of protection is afforded, to both equipment and personnel, against conventional as well as biological and atomic weapons. Protection is planned so well that every building can function separately — distinct from either the other buildings or the outside world. The upper floor of the complex is protected by two massive steel doors and hidden cameras. This control point is the pulse of the entire system. On this same floor is the computer room and the connection center, which handle all direct radio calls from either local or overseas communication centers. All the telecommunications are linked to the National communications network (ships, airplanes, etc.) which forms an important bridge linking South

African defense communication systems to the armed forces of the West.

Nearly two thirds of the 1800 cubic meters of floor space is for various staff offices, as well as a conference room. The offices of the Operational Staff running Silvermine are one floor deeper in the stone mountain.⁷ The bomb-proof center is now equipped with radar scopes, computers, crypto machines, and other communication equipment designed to acquire, collate, and maintain a continuous surveillance of all air and sea traffic along South Africa's seacoasts.

In a puff-piece for Silvermine, Neil Ulman of the *Wall Street Journal* described the facility in a report filed from South Africa on July 31, 1975:

"On Silvermine's video screens, the ocean areas from the east coast of South America to Bangladesh and from the bulge of West Africa to the Antarctic can be represented in their entirety or in sections of various sizes. At the touch of a computer console, a watch officer can summon, for example a geographic display of all merchant ships in any selected area, or all eastbound merchant ships, or all naval vessels. Having spotted a vessel on the video display, the operator can query the computer for any combination of the ship's characteristics, including type, size, course, speed, flag, cargo, weapons, search and rescue capabilities, last port, destination, radar and communications equipment, medical facilities or personnel embarked and even the hours at which the ship's radio officers stand watch. The consul keyboard also evokes similar data on all aircraft in the area."

The criticism of Silvermine may be best exemplified by the Commander of Silvermine who was quoted in the same article as saying the "data are only as good as the intelligence the computer receives." Several experts on communications and intelligence interviewed both here and in Europe, claim that the bulk of Silvermine's data on ships and planes come from ordinary shipping and air travel lists such as the Lloyds Shipping List. These are the common sources of the data displayed on Silvermine's computer consoles. The critics believe Silvermine is no better than any routine air or sea terminal in its ability to monitor traffic.

Critics discount even the capabilities of advanced telecommunications spying on ships and aircraft in the region. Visits from NSA and its British counterpart, Government Communications headquarters (GCHQ), has resulted in some improvements of Silvermine's electronic espionage capabilities. The improvements may be Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) and Electronic Warfare.

SIGINT could give Silvermine the capability of monitoring communications and radar transmission to gain information on the source of those transmissions. If Silvermine could use SIGINT effectively, it could: break codes of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean, locate Soviet submarines, analyze new radar equipment on Soviet ships, eavesdrop on diplomatic communications of other African governments; or locate guerrilla units.

Electronic Warfare, if utilized properly, could cover a vast range of activities for Silvermine. With an electromagnetic spectrum that has been politicized and militarized so that adversary nations confront each other electronically, Silvermine can protect South Africa's planes and ships by finding and identifying other ships and submarines using Cape sea lanes. Silvermine could conceivably use Electronic Warfare sensors to hear, see and smell as well.

Although South Africa may be able to provide a SIGINT and an Electronic Warfare shield for its borders, it cannot possibly surveil an area as vast as that from South America to the far side of the Indian Ocean. Silvermine does not have the antennae arrangement needed to cover the area; nor did Silvermine receive the best equipment with which to break Soviet

naval codes; and any Soviet submarine could adequately evade Silvermine's underwater monitoring.

Project ADVOKAAT In Silvermine

In 1973, after an enormous investment, South Africa began Project ADVOKAAT. ADVOKAAT is supposed to be the most modern communications and intelligence system in the world with reported links to nearby Durban and Walvis Bay, the Royal Navy in London, the U.S. Navy base at San Juan, Puerto Rico, Diego Garcia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and the NSA naval communications station at Londonderry, as well as NSA's CRITICOM communications network. Connected to the NATO communications system, ADVOKAAT's routine unclassified intelligence is also fed to the U.S. Coast Guard's worldwide search and rescue center at Governor's Island in New York City.

Many technological experts who have examined ADVOKAAT claim it is nothing more than a simple improvement on the existing high frequency ham radio communications and in certain instances is slower than using telephone lines. However, there is one new element to ADVOKAAT that experts say has raised eyebrows.

Jock Hall, a former telecommunications expert for the British Marconi corporation, recently left Marconi Communications Systems Ltd., when he realized the significant role it played in Southern Africa. He exposed the company's construction of a new communications link from Silvermine to an electronic battlefield in Namibia. Hall wrote that the South Africans already possessed the radar, detection devices (SIGINT and Electronic Warfare), and the computer to implement this defense system, but that it "must have the Marconi Tropospheric Scatter (Tropo) System to link their surveillance centers and strike bases to the main military control center at Silvermine."

“Silvermine is just another toy to impress NATO.”

Tropo is used by all major military powers for medium and long range communications because it offers secure and reliable links without vulnerable ground relay systems by bouncing messages off a layer in the atmosphere. This technology is supposed to overcome the dilemma that "people are too slow to think for modern warfare." It can carry electronic information, as well as voices, from radar systems, electronic battlefield sensors, and reconnaissance aircraft. The data can then be analyzed by computers hundreds of miles away from the battle, and command decisions made and implemented automatically by the computer in fractions of a second.

Hall was asked to install the troposcatter system for the system in Namibia. When he realized he was opening up the system for the wars against Black Africa he quit. He stated these reasons for its use in Southern Africa:

*"The growing power of Black Africa represents a long-term strategic threat to the South African occupation of Namibia, to which a sophisticated defense system would be a valuable counter. The immediate problem facing the occupying forces is guerilla activity . . . and infiltration from Angola and Zambia. Their presence has put heavy demands on the limited manpower of the South Africans, whose attempts at repression have achieved little solid success. They hope to change this by augmenting their border defenses with automated detection devices linked to the computer center at Silvermine."*⁹

The South African Defense Department recently purchased, through the black market, a large quantity of battlefield sensors. These are of various types, but most resemble "bugs" used in espionage to detect sound, ground vibrations caused by vehicles or infantry, and heat emissions (infra-red) from engines or people. Other sensors work like chemical "sniffers" to detect explosives, and optical "tripwire" devices which signal when an invisible light beam is interrupted. These devices would be equipped with small low-power transmitters, sending the information to local centers and then, via the Tropo network, to Silvermine. Sensors will also respond to animal movement and other natural activity. Since human monitoring of the large number of sensors is impractical, computer analysis must be used to identify and locate potential threats while ignoring the false alarms.¹⁰

Once the computer has identified a threat, it could activate mines or other weapon systems in the area and relay information back to air bases in the area to guide bomb raids on the target. Finding the enemy is the biggest problem in countering guerilla tactics, and electronic intelligence gathering can significantly reduce the demand on ground forces.

According to Hall and others, the electronic battlefield has probably been activated in the key border areas around the Cunene Dam in Angola and the Caprivi Strip but could conceivably cover the entire border. The loss of South African control of this dam, which supplies power to several major uranium mines, would impede South Africa's nuclear program.

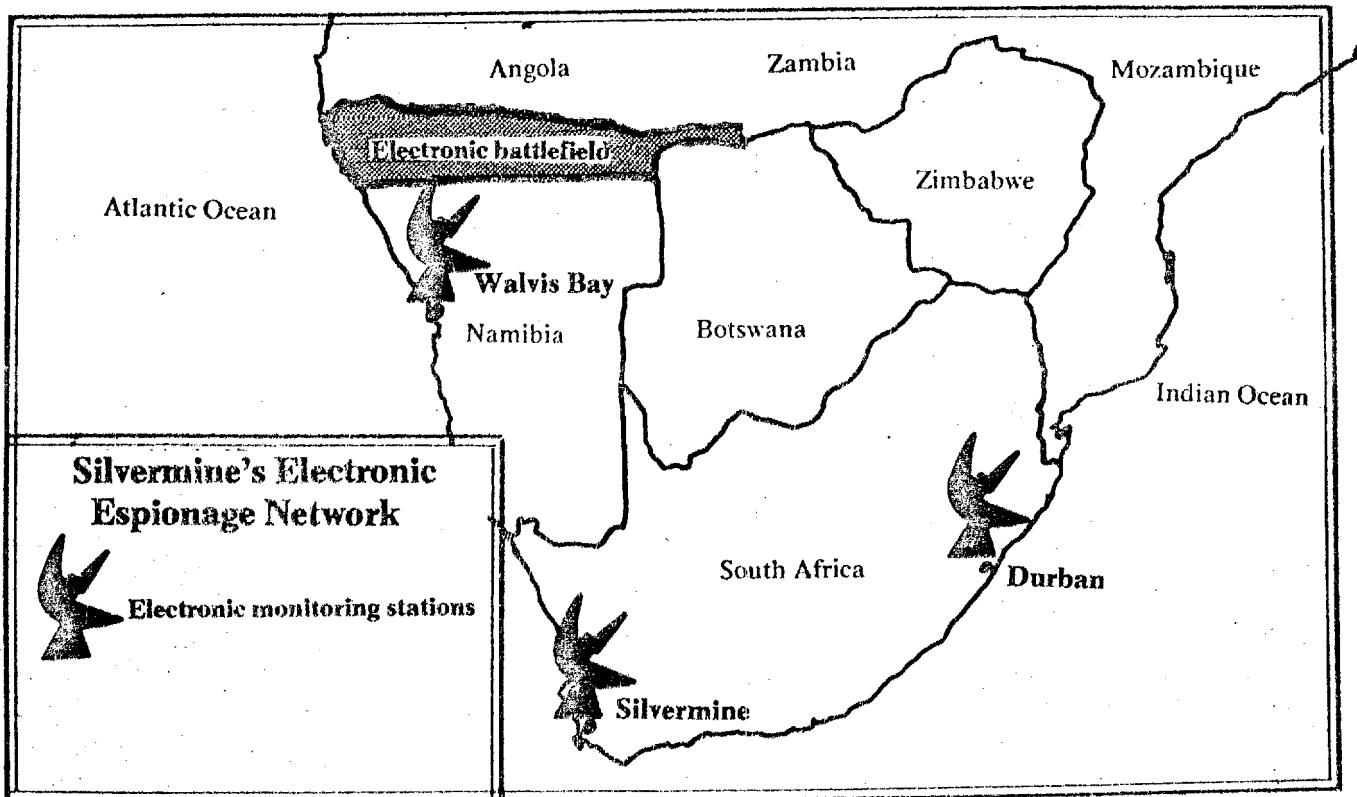
Critics, who claim it will never be fully effective, note the American experience with the IGLOO WHITE electronic battlefield in South East Asia. IGLOO WHITE, a system similar to that of the South Africans, which was supposed to monitor infiltration along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, was a complete failure. Many sensors were destroyed. Computers could not distinguish water buffalo from human beings. Many of its detection devices were countered by the genius of the Indochinese guerillas; they placed buckets of urine in strategic spots to "fool" the sensors which could detect human body odor.¹¹ Critics doubt the South African government could do much better with Silvermine. The border area ADVOKAAT must cover is much larger than the Ho Chi Minh Trail. According to one critic, Silvermine's electronic battlefield intelligence and communications system "is just another toy to impress NATO."

NATO May Protect South Africa and Silvermine

On April 23, 1969, the South Africans published their Defense White Paper, the first open proposal from South Africa to join NATO forces. It stated that, "The considerable harbor and repair facilities in Simonstown and elsewhere in our country, as well as the modern communication and control facilities (Silvermine), all provided at great expense, are indispensable to Allied naval forces in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas."¹²

Some NATO countries objected to the paper. The NATO treaty stipulates that an attack on any member country constitutes an attack against the Alliance as a whole. Although the NATO area of operations, at that time, stopped at the Tropic of Cancer (a third of the way down the west coast of the continent) and by definition there was no threat to any NATO interests beyond that area, NATO influence spread southward over the next few years in response to the South African appeal and their promotion of Silvermine.

In November 1972, just three years later, the NATO Council requested that the Supreme Allied Command in the Atlantic (SACLANT) devise plans for the protection of supply routes



around the cape. This was further formalized by a resolution adopted on May 26, 1973 by the Council of the Atlantic Treaty Association's Spring Meeting held at SACLANT headquarters in Norfolk, Va. The resolution stated that:

"The extraordinary expansion of Soviet sea power in recent years has transformed the security problems of the Alliance, as defined by the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council of the Atlantic Treaty Association registers its concern at this development . . . that naval cooperation among the Allies is required *outside* the geographical boundaries of the Treaty area. The adjustment of Allied sea power to the Soviet expansion on the seas is necessary to maintain deterrence against both nuclear and non-nuclear attack, and equally against maritime routes critical to the Allies in peace or in war — the sea lanes for petroleum or other vital supplies for example."¹³ (emphasis added)

This resolution, despite the guarded language and the absence of any direct reference to South Africa, clearly refers to the security of the Cape route. More than 25,000 ships pass around the Cape of Good Hope every year, making it the world's busiest sea lane. Over half of Western Europe's oil (seven million barrels a day) and about one fourth of her food supplies float past South Africa. About one fifth of all U.S. oil also runs around the Cape, from the Persian Gulf to New York.

European NATO members also showed interest in a NATO relationship with South Africa.

In February, 1975, four French warships made a call at South African ports which were followed by visits of top South African defense officials to Paris.¹³

The British had been steadily increasing their naval exercises with South Africa since the late sixties. In October, 1974, a major controversy was provoked in Britain by one of these exercises. When the British Foreign Secretary was questioned in the House of Commons on November 6, 1974 by a Labour M.P., about whether NATO had become involved with South

Africa, Mr. Callahan (now the Prime Minister of England), said that, "Studies have been made, but there is no commitment on the part of NATO members to engage collectively or individually in activities outside the NATO area."¹⁴

At a London luncheon that same month, the Chairman of the NATO military Committee, Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton suggested that three or four NATO members with "blue-water" navies, including Britain, could combine into a group outside the alliance's framework to monitor what was going on in the Indian Ocean. In this way, he suggested a NATO "area of interest" could be established in addition to Europe.

West Germany's representative on the NATO military committee, Lt. General Gunher Rall, was forced by the Bonn government to resign in October 1975, when it was revealed he had traveled to South Africa under an assumed name to visit Silvermine and other military and atomic installations.¹⁵

Promotion for Silvermine

With NATO interest ripe for a liaison with South African defense forces, South Africa began selling the concept in earnest. In January, 1974, Dr. Connie Mulder, South Africa's Minister of Information and possible heir to Prime Minister John Vorster, made a two-week "private" visit to the U.S. While here, he met with Gerald Ford (then Vice President) as well as Vice Admiral Ray Peet, Deputy Assistant Secretary in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security — the Pentagon's "State Department".¹⁶ He met with other leading political figures too.

After the fascist regime in Portugal was overthrown in April 1975, a commander-in-chief of the South African Defense Forces, Admiral Hugo Bierman, a public advocate of a South African-U.S. military alliance, had a private meeting in Washington, D.C. with then acting Secretary (now Secretary) of the Navy William Middendorf.

David Martin reporting in the January 30, 1976 *New States-*

man that the discussions were under the umbrella of SAC-LANT, claimed that the South African had argued that the Portuguese coup meant the southern prop of NATO had fallen and only South Africa could replace it. The Bierman visit culminated in an agreement to supply South Africa with NATO radar, electronic warfare equipment and codes. There is some indication that the agreement went much further and included standardization of South African equipment with NATO.

Several members of Congress have visited Silvermine including: William Ketchum (R-Cal.), Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.), Clair W. Burgener (R-Cal.), Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.), G. William Whitehurst (R-Va.), Bob Wilson (R-Cal.), Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.), Harold Runnels (D-N.M.), John H. Dent (D-Pa.) and several legislative assistants to other congressmen. All have been extremely cooperative in arguing South Africa's position before Congress and the American public.

These promotional meetings and tours, which have caused anger at the State Department, have been arranged by the Washington, D.C. firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards, a law firm specializing in lobbying. The firm is known, among insiders, for their spectacular efforts to persuade the U.S. government to ban artificial sweeteners — a job for which sugar interests paid.

The *Argus Press Chain*, which serves English language newspapers in South Africa reported that a junior member of the law firm, Mr. Donald DeKieffer, was responsible for most of the firm's work for the South Africans. *Argus Press* described DeKieffer as "tough as he is bright, as brash as he is determined . . . a political mercenary. He fights the causes he is paid to fight. He is, at fifty dollars an hour, an expensive young man but he believes in results. He is, as a matter of survival, a winner. An American go-getter. He cares little or nothing for the merits of the causes he fights. But he is scrupulous in observing the special code of the lobbyist. He never lies to a Congressman. He never offers bribes. But he does make political contributions, usually by buying tickets to Congressmen's fundraisers."

Officially, DeKieffer and his partners have been hired to influence American policy toward South Africa on the basis of "mutual security". DeKieffer circulated a booklet called *The Republic of South Africa and the Southern Hemisphere: Political and Military Strategy* to many members of Congress and the Press. He contributed to President Nixon's campaign fund, and also contributed \$250 to Congressman Thomas Morgan who met with Dr. Connie Mulder less than two weeks later. DeKieffer also contributed \$100 to Congressman Louis S. Wyman who then met with Admiral Hugo Bierman.

Historical Error

In 1678, the Governor of the Dutch colony in southern Africa, Johan Bax Van Herenthal, was approached by two men who claimed to have found a rich new silver deposit in a mountainside near Cape Town. Van Herenthal, badly in need of funds to purchase arms for the Boer's war of expansion against African tribes, readily accepted an offer for the small mine. Only after the two "miners" disappeared with his large investment, did he have the mine examined. The "mine" had been salted — silver ore deliberately planted to fool prospective investors — and Van Herenthal had been taken by an old con.

Today the U.S. may ironically be repeating history and Van Herenthal's folly. Silvermine occupies the very same mountainside, three hundred years later. All the old silver mine had going for it was a few pieces of silver ore, a hole in the ground, a greedy governor, and the fast talk of two "miners." Today Silvermine has \$30 million in telecommunications equipment,

a vast underground complex, eager support from NATO military strategists, the promotion of the entire South African defense establishment, and a hot-shot public relations firm to sell its message to America.

Winslow Peck served with the Air Force component of the National Security Agency in Turkey, Germany, and Vietnam, reaching the position of senior analyst. Since leaving government service, he has written several major articles on the NSA and has done extensive research into the activities of the CIA.

Footnotes

1. "South Africa. Simonstown, Soweto, Shaka, Silvermine and Separate Development." *Sea Power*, November, 1975, p. 29
2. Critics of Silvermine include many reliable sources, some of who prefer to not be named. They included two former National Security Agency employees familiar with Southern Africa because they were stationed at Asmara Ethiopia. Others include several people who are the leaders of the counter-technology movement in Europe including Antoine Lefebvre, Editor of *Interferences* magazine from Paris, a critical journal of information on communications. Another is Duncan Campbell, a well known British phone freak.
3. "CIA Testimony on Soviet Presence in the Indian Ocean." *Congressional Record*, August 1, 1974.
4. "Diego Garcia: A 'Stabilizing Impact'". *Washington Post*, July 31, 1975.
5. "The Value of Diego Garcia" *New York Times*, June 2, 1974.
6. *Congressional Record*, *ibid*.
7. Interview with former Silvermine official.
8. *ibid*. Also an interview with a former NSA analyst familiar with Southern Africa operations. They told this author that NSA has been monitoring this region for years from stations at Asmara, Ethiopia, and Sidi Said Morocco. Also the U.S.S. Liberty, a NSA spy ship sailed in this region during the 1960's as did a "tramp steamer" secretly carrying NSA SIGINT and Electronic Warfare equipment. The Liberty at one time during the Congo war sailed up the Congo to monitor the guerilla war. They also confirmed to the author that South Africa has, for many years, supplied SIGINT information to NSA via NSA's top-secret CRITTICOM communications network, using disguised designators so that relay stations believed the source was American and not South African.
9. "The Maconi Troposcatter and its use in Southern Africa." a discussion paper by Jock Hall, Feb. 6, 1976.
10. Interviews with former NSA officials and leaders of African liberation movements.
11. "Electronic Battlefield: Strangelove's Answer to War Crimes". *The Washington Monthly*, May 1971.
12. Minty, Abudul S., *Aparthied a Threat to Peace*, Anti-Aparthied Movement, 89 Charlotte St., London, 1969.
13. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Feb. 26 and Mar. 4, 1975.
14. *Hansard*, Nov. 6, 1974, col. 1042.
15. *The Times*, London Nov. 6, 1975.
16. *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1974.
17. Burns, Maxine Isaacs. "Visitors to Pretoria." *Africa Report*, Sept.-Oct. 1975.

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"Prospectus for a New Party"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"Though I desperately want to, I can not find any assurance that humanity has a future — that we will exist ten, twenty, twenty-five years from now. One does not live with that kind of thought day in and day out. One puts it away, shuts it off, and tries to live some kind of normal life. But it is always in the background"

George Wald
"There Isn't Much Time"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"We are confronted by a lunatic process which propels itself, like a machine gone mad. The atom bomb of 1945 encourages a win syndrome in which the bomb is to create a *Pax Americana*; the nuclear win syndrome gathers a massive constituency, in finance, business, the Pentagon, science, government, even labor; that constituency is compelled to overwhelm its opponents by concocting a synthetic anti-communism; anti-communism offers the pretext for more armaments and for the 'mad momentum' in technology; technology spreads the illusion of power, and the illusion reinforces the win syndrome, so that the cycle continues on its own

"Every participant is sane, but all collective-ly are trapped in psychosis."

Sidney Lens
"The Doomsday Strategy"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

"We must first understand that, at present, everything in the American empire is for sale: morality, the public interest, politicians. . . . The travesty is that those who brought us the Indochina war and the arms race, the body counts and the smart bombs, that those who call corporate imperialism economic growth and who starve our society for private profit, have been able to come forward as men of gravitas and decency."

Marcus Raskin
"The System Impeached"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

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KEEP ON Keepin On

The struggles of Third World peoples for independence, self-determination and freedom from suffering and oppression have heightened global awareness of the tentacles of imperialism.

The U.S. government's programs to destroy Third World movements in the United States and prevent self-determination abroad, we are beginning to learn, are tools to deal with all America in the future. The people united will never be defeated.

The Fifth Estate encourages the exchange of information and support of struggles against Imperialism — in solidarity with the demands of Third World peoples and to fight the government's divisive strategy for neutralizing progressive forces.

The following is a list of groups primarily concerned with liberation struggles outside the United States. No doubt there are omissions, which are unintentional, yet clearly reflect the vast growth of support for Third World peoples.

AFRICA

Africa Liberation Support Committee

244 West 27th Street
New York, NY 10001
(Local chapters available from address above)

Afro-American Information Service

244 West 27th Street
New York, NY 10001
212-691-5240

American Committee on Africa

164 Madison Avenue
New York, NY
212-532-3700

Anti-Apartheid Committee for Selective Purchasing

1500 Farragut Street, NW
Washington, DC 20011
202-723-8273

Center for Social Action

United Church of Christ
475 Riverside Drive, Room 621
New York, NY 10027
212-870-2059

Committee for a Free Mozambique

825 West End Avenue, Apt. 4F
New York, NY 10025
212-222-2892

Episcopal Churchwomen for South Africa

14 West 11th Street
New York, NY 10011
212-477-0066
(focus: Namibia)

Indiana Southern Africa Committee
3323 W. 33rd Place
Indianapolis, IND 46222
317-923-7587

Lutheran Committee on Namibia

c/o Lutheran Campus Center
1025 University Avenue
Madison, WI 53715
608-257-7178

Lutheran Global Justice Task Force

4100 Franklin Blvd.
Cleveland, OH 44113
216-281-3700

Lutheran Human Relations Assoc.

2723 N. Grant Blvd.
Milwaukee, WI 53210

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa

731 State Street
Madison, WI 53703
608-238-6950

Southern Africa Liberation Committee

1118 S. Harrison
East Lansing, MI 48823
517-332-0861

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Box 1986, 222 S. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, IND 46206
317-353-1491

Africa News Service

PO Box 3851
Durham, NC 27702
919-286-3910



Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and S. African Imports
c/o J. Silberman
243 W. Tulpehocken A-401
Philadelphia, PA 19144
215-VI 8-3653

Operation Namibia
4811 Springfield Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19143
215-724-1858

Southern Africa Committee
244 W. 27th Street
New York, NY 10001
212-741-3480

Syracuse Committee on Southern African Liberation
119 College Place
Syracuse, NY
315-479-7783

Task Force on Southern Africa
Massachusetts Conference
United Church of Christ
6 Ferndale Street
Needham, MA

Task Force on Southern Africa
Potomac Association
United Church of Christ
4514 Western Avenue
Washington, DC 20015
202-229-8776

United Methodist Office for the United Nations
777 U.N. Plaza, Room 1100
New York, NY 10017
202-682-3633

U.S. Catholic Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20005
202-659-6812

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-546-7961

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
215-563-9372

Congress of Afrikan People
502 High Street
Newark, NY 07102
201-621-2300

Ann Arbor Southern Africa Committee
204 S. Fourth Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
313-761-7981

Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea
2546 North Halstead
Chicago, IL 60614
312-348-3370

African Activist Association
African Studies Center
University of California
Los Angeles, CA 90024
213-825-3806

Bay Area Namibia Action Group
611 Frederick
San Francisco, CA 94117
Anti-Apartheid Movement, USA
346 W. 20th St.
New York, NY 10011

Friends of Angola
1648 Roxana Rd., NW
Washington, DC 20012
202-882-5772

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027
212-870-2295

International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
1430 Massachusetts Ave., Rm. 201
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-492-1820

Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing
475 Riverside Drive, Room 572
New York, NY 10027
212-870-3151

African Bibliographic Center
Box 13096
Washington, DC 20009
202-223-1392

Freedom Information Service
Drawer D
Tougaloo, MS 39174
601-956-4096

Southern Africa Action Coalition
2524 Cupress Street
Vancouver, B.C. CANADA

Southern Africa Information Group
Box 4443-E
Ottawa, CANADA
613-234-2561

Liberation Support Movement
PO Box 94338
Richmond, B.C. Canada V6Y2A8
604-278-2992
(focus: Angola)

Anti-Apartheid Movement
89 Charlotte Street
London W1P 2DQ, ENGLAND

Tricontinental Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAL)
PO Box 4224
Havana, CUBA

Race Today
74 Shakespeare Road
London S.E. 24, ENGLAND

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Friendshipment
235 E. 49th Street
New York, NY 10017

Friends of Indochina
c/o Carol Curtz
1322 18th Street
Washington, DC 20036

Indochina Resource Center-East
1322 18th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-785-3111

Indochina Resource Center-West
PO Box 4000D
Berkeley, CA 94704

Association of Vietnamese Patriotism
PO Box 321
Central Square
Cambridge, MA 02139

Group of Khmer Residents
Sokhom Hing
523 E. 14th Street
New York, NY 10009
212-677-2509

North American Coalition for Human Rights in South Korea
c/o Peggy Billings
475 Riverside Drive, Room 616
New York, NY 10027
Tapal - U.S.
PO Box 609
Montclair, NJ 07042

Timor Defense Committee
c/o Prof. Franke
Anthropology Dept.
Montclair State College
Upper Montclair, NJ 07042

Korean Focus
American-Korean Friendship
and Information Center
160 Fifth Avenue, Suite 809
New York, NY 10010

North American Coalition for Human Rights in South Korea
110 Maryland Avenue, Suite 504
Washington, DC 20002

Committee in Solidarity with Korean People
c/o Third World Newsreel
26 W. 20th Street
New York, NY 10011

Friends of Filipino People
110 Maryland Avenue, Suite 504
Washington, DC 20002

Union of Democratic Filipinos
PO Box 23644
Oakland, CA 94623

CHILE

National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC)
156 Fifth Ave., Room 516
New York, NY 10010
212-989-0085

Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH)
PO Box 800
Berkeley, CA 94701
415-548-3221
(Local chapters available from address above)

LAGLAS
c/o ECM
2208 Tuller Rd.
Los Angeles, CA 90032

CAIA
731 State St.
Madison, WI 53703

Chicago Citizens' Committee to Save Lives in Chile
1600 S. 14th Avenue
Maywood, ILL 60153

Philadelphia Chile Emergency Committee
610 S. 6th St.
Philadelphia, PA 15232

Office for Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Chile (OPHRICH)
3934 B Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94112
415-333-1557

NACLA-West
P.O. Box 226
Berkeley, CA 94701

NACLA-East
P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, NY 10025

Resistance Publications
P.Q. Box 116
Oakland, CA 94604

Information Services on Latin America
Box 4267
Berkeley, CA 94704

Colorado Committee for a Free Chile
PO Box 12273
Denver, CO 80212

Lucha
1500 Farragut St. NW
Washington, DC 20011

Chile Solidarity Campaign
Cooperative Centre
129 Seven Sisters Road
London n7 ENGLAND

Chilean Association of Vancouver
PO Box 48474
P.S. Bentall Center
Vancouver, B.C. CANADA

Chile Informativo
Avenida Universidad 1134
Mexico 19, D.F. MEXICO

Chile Committee for Human Rights
4901 Tilden Street NW
Washington, DC 20016

Venceremos!

LATIN AMERICA

Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People
PO Box 4565
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10017
PO Box 4430
Berkeley, CA 94704
PO Box 17728
Los Angeles, CA 90018

U.S. Commission for Panamanian Sovereignty
8674 Piney Branch Road
Silver Spring, MD 20901

Dominican Republican Task Force
1500 Farragut Street NW
Washington, DC 20011
160 W. 106th St., Apt. 6B
New York, NY 10027

Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee
232 E. 11th St.
New York, NY 10003
(Local chapters available from address above)

Washington Office on Latin America
110 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002

American Christians Toward Socialism
Marge Schuler
1711 Lamont Street NW
Washington, DC 20010

Friends of Haiti
Jill Ives PO Box 348
Hopewell Junction, NY 10956

United States Catholic Conference
Tom Quigley
1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20005

Cuba Resource Center
Mary Lou Suhov
Box 206 Cathedral Station
New York, NY 10025

Committee on the Caribbean and Latin America
National Council of Churches
William Wipfler
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027

Center for Cuban Studies
220 E. 23rd Street
New York, NY 10010

Claridad
PO Box 318 Cooper Station
New York, NY 10003

NACLA-West
PO Box 226
Berkeley, CA 94701

NACLA-East
PO Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, NY 10025

Information Services on Latin America
Box 4267
Berkeley, CA 94704

Pacific Studies Center
1963 University Avenue
E. Palo Alto, CA 94303

Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
1500 Farragut Street NW
Washington, DC 20011
202-723-8274

Latin American Working Group
Box 6300 Station A
Toronto, Ontario
CANADA

MIDDLE EAST

Eritreans for Liberation in North America
PO Box 1247
New York, NY 10027

Eritrean Relief Committee
PO Box 3601
New York, NY 10017
212-787-3350

MERIP Report
Middle East Research and Information Project
Box 3122
Columbia Heights Station
Washington D.C. 20010

Gulf Solidarity Committee
PO Box 3784
Eugene, ORE 97403

Organization of Arab Students in the USA and Canada
PO Box 369
E. Lansing, MI 48823

Arab Report
Arab Information Center
1875 Connecticut Ave. NW, #1110
Washington, DC 20009

Palestine Solidarity Committee
PO Box 1757
Manhattanville Station
New York, NY 10027

PO Box 6123
Albany, CA 94706

PO Box 2203
Youngstown, O 44504
PO Box 2072
Denver, CO 80201

Free Palestine Committee
PO Box 21096
Kalorama Station
Washington, DC 20009

Dhofar Medical Aid
6, Endsleigh Street
London, WCI, ENGLAND

Free Kurdistan
Box 68
197 King's Cross Road
London WC1, ENGLAND

Oman Solidarity Campaign
38 Burngreave Bank
Sheffield S4 7HL, ENGLAND

NATIVE AMERICANS

Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, NY 13683
518-358-4697

Indigena
PO Box 4073
Berkeley, CA 94704
415-841-9157

Wasaja
1451 Masonic Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94117

Institute for the Development of Indian Law
927 - 14th St. NW, Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-638-2287

International Indian Treaty Council
777 United Nations Plaza, Rm. 10F
New York, NY 10017
212-986-6000

Native American Solidarity Committee (NASC)
PO Box 3426
St. Paul, MN 55165
612-227-1973
(Local chapters available from address above)

Survival of American Indians Association
PO Box 719
Tacoma, WA 98401

Ganlekeh
Box 208
via Eagle Bay, NY 13331
315-357-6221
for information:
Ganlekeh Support Committee
Syracuse NASC
405 Wescott Street
Syracuse, NY 13210
315-479-7783

Seminole Nation Treaty People
Box 71
Seminole, OK
612-724-1124 (Minnesota)

Lakota Treaty Council
Box 61
Pine Ridge, SD 57770

Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
PO Box 2307
Rapid City, SD 57701
for donations:
PO Box 4287
Omaha, NEB 68104

Committee on Native American Struggles
National Lawyers Guild
853 Broadway
New York, NY 10003

Native American Rights Fund
1506 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80302

Western Shoshone Support Group
PO Box 477
Far Rockaway, NY 11691

Joanna LeDeaux Defense Committee
c/o Gridley
106 So. Main, Suite 420-422
Sioux Falls, SD 57101
Yvonne Wanrow Legal Defense Committee
PO Box 49
Inchelium, WA 99138
for donations:
Center for Constitutional Rights
853 Broadway
New York, NY 10003

Peltier Defense Committee
AIM Legal Defense Committee
Indian Centre
1855 Vine Street
Vancouver, B.C. CANADA
604-736-8944

GENERAL

National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 804
New York, NY 10011

Europe-Third World Research Centre
101-103 Gower Street
London, WC1, ENGLAND

Clergy and Laity Concerned
Human Rights Office
1322 - 18th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036

Amnesty International
2112 Broadway, Room 309
New York, NY 10023
(focus: political prisoners)

OTHER

Caribbean Dialogue
204 W. 20th Street
New York, NY 10011

U.S. China Peoples Friendship Association
2700 W. 3rd Street, Room 102
Los Angeles, CA 90057
213-388-9569
(Local chapters available from address above)

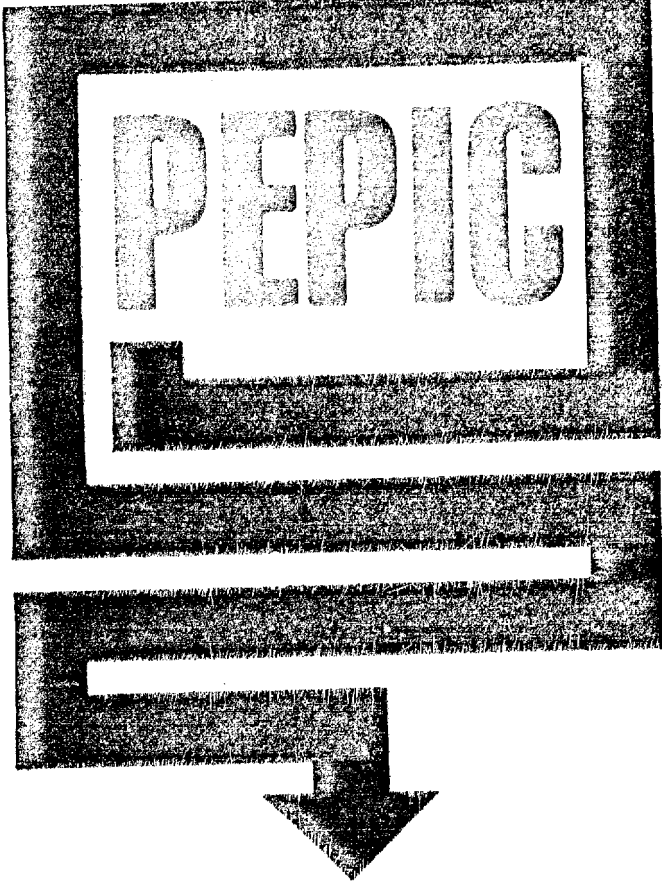
New China
41 Union Square West, Room 631
New York, NY 10003

Workers' Power Portugal Solidarity Campaign
14131 Woodward Avenue
Highland Park, MI 48203

Portuguese Cultural Collective
16 Union Square, 2nd Floor
Somerville, MA 02143

Belfast Victims Fund
International Affairs Bureau
Irish Republican Movement
30 Gardiner Place
Dublin 1, IRELAND

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Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community



One of the many lessons learned during the 60's and in the aftermath of Watergate is that there is a need for alternatives to government analysis and propaganda. The Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community is a vehicle for those determined to obtain independent sources of information, stimulate debate and criticism and formulate alternatives to a rising national security bureaucracy.

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Winter, 1976

Vol. 2, Issue 4

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COUNTERSpy

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate



**GARDENPLOT
& SWAT
US Police as
New Action
Army**

COUNTERSpy

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

Vol. 2, Issue 4 Winter, 1976

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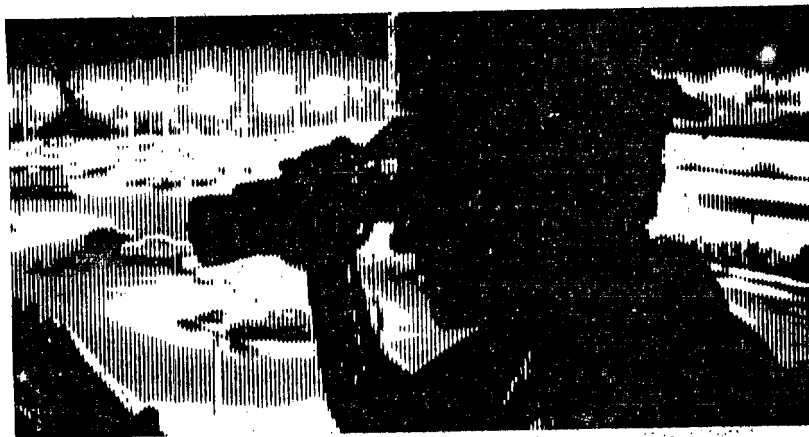
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CounterSpy welcomes criticism you may have. Through reader input many important changes in the quarterly have and will continue to be made.

COMMENT

"There is, clearly, something wrong with the system. . ."

Senator Edmund V. Muskie

January 21, 1976

Democratic Party reply to the

President's State of the Union Message

While Ed Muskie and Jerry Ford obviously had opposing world views in their respective speeches on the State of the Union there was little to indicate their differences would move beyond simple election year rhetoric to offer the electorate a clear choice on program. Jerry Ford, speaking for his faction of the Republican Party and more significantly for the position of the Presidency, presented a "New Realism," realistically insensitive to a public ravaged by years of simultaneous inflation and recession.

Ford's formula, as arrogant as anything offered by his predecessor in the White House: does nothing to end unemployment; spending less on social services, while increasing government control over those using the services; scuttling full national health-insurance protection; using the food stamp program for massive surveillance of the poor; using crime as a straw dog for increased attacks by the state on ghetto poor instead of realistic programs to end the causes of street crime; ignoring corporate crime; using the flag words of "big government" to tighten the ship of state and repress public employees; increasing defense spending, continuing to pursue detente which nearly everyone sees is not working, and giving new tax loopholes to big business while demanding new tax revenues from the working poor.

Ed Muskie, speaking for congressional Democrats, at least was not blind to the true State of the Union, but his speech also demonstrated arrogance. Muskie's observations were not the kind of leadership the country needs when faced with an assault by Jerry Ford. Rather, they express shallow reaction of a politician who knows he is no longer believed by the public. His worldview showed common sense but since he spoke for a party sharply torn between many interests it is doubtful that common sense can be turned into concrete solutions to the Union's problems. Especially if those in the Democratic Party echo Muskie's particular level of arrogance.

Common sense and "new realism" was shown by Muskie's expression of concern over the extent to which Americans have lost confidence in the political system. Arrogance shined ominously when he inferred a similar loss of confidence in our ability to govern ourselves.

Certainly many of us believe that government doesn't care about us or our problems. Certainly many of us believe government can't do anything about our problems. Evidence of the true State of the Union surrounds us like a plague:

- politicians who always seem to promise more than they can deliver
- wars of genocide against the people of the Third World
- the deceptive deliverance of our sons and brothers into war in Indochina, and more recently as mercenary cannon-fodder for a mindless war in Angola

- the secret bombing of Cambodia
- massive illegal physical and technological surveillance of law-abiding American citizens by the CIA and NSA
- hundreds of burglaries and the organization of violent reaction to social change by the FBI
- conspiracies to assassinate foreign leaders
- involvement of the Presidency and the CIA with organized crime and drug traffic
- the overthrow of a freely elected, lawful regime in Chile following 30 years of CIA and corporate coup d'etats and secret wars disrupting and destroying millions of lives
- the collective crime known as Watergate
- rampant crime as the dominant fact of life in modern American society
- executives on the boards of multinational financial institutions "executing" and encouraging crime to maintain the corporate hold on America
- a government no longer of the people, by the people and for the people but a government ruled by the privileged class which most of the world now views as a disintegrating corporate empire;
- a government unable to meet the needs of all citizens as the crisis deepens and spreads to all aspects of our lives.

These are pressing issues. The country is facing a critical decision on these matters and if Congress, if the Republic, chooses to ignore the solutions demanded by the public as it has in the recent round of Congressional investigations, then Congress is capitulating its role as well as its ability to serve the public. If the Republic makes tradeoffs with the Empire to maintain some false sense of past glory then it is setting the stage for a collision, the magnitude of which the nation has not witnessed since the Civil War.

We Americans no longer have mystical attitudes about our institutions. We know that they are only as good as we force them to be. We know that our government must be constantly monitored and that we must invent ways to exercise daily control over the government. We are demanding the right to govern ourselves.

Abolish the CIA and Covert Action

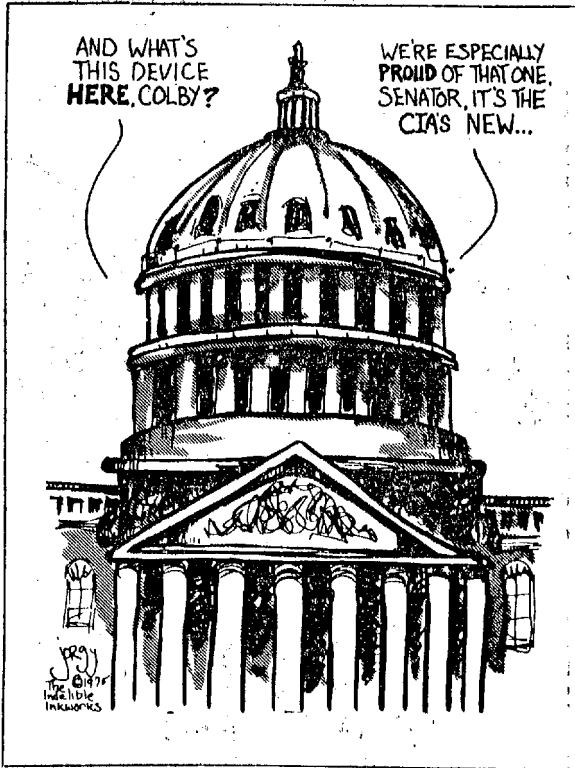
The Organizing Committee demands the CIA and covert action be abolished not only because we recognize that the CIA serves only the multinational corporate empire, which is thoroughly anti-democratic and un-American, but also because the CIA is a criminal organization and covert actions are criminal actions. Some well-intentioned folks believe that only a portion of the CIA is criminal. They think that the vast majority of the analysts, secretary and service personnel at the Langley headquarters of the CIA, those CIA contacts on university campuses, in business or religious circles are only hardworking honest American citizens. This is true. But the consensus of the Organizing Committee is that citizens can not admit to crime within their organization and continue to support that organization. There are those who directly commit crime and there are those



Joe A. Smith

who are accessories to these crimes. We encourage those individuals working in or with the CIA who do not condone the criminal history of this Agency to quit. Other similar jobs can be found in academia or in the State Department. For anyone to continue to work with the CIA is to continue to work in a criminal fashion. Remember these crimes:

1. assassination plots against Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, Rafael Trujillo, and other heads of state
2. massive illegal surveillance and harassment of American citizens
3. mass murder through the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam, a program which has been transmitted to other trouble spots around the world
4. the establishment of murder and torture apparatuses among the military, intelligence and police departments of many foreign nations
5. the organization of coup d'etats in over 25 countries from Iran in 1954 to Chile in 1973
6. the organization of secret wars from Laos to Angola
7. unconstitutional non-compliance with the laws that demand disclosure periodically of government budgets and expenditures
8. perjury before Congress
9. the subversion of the democratic process throughout the Third World and even in Europe with massive illegal funding of political parties and trade unions
10. involvement in Watergate
11. propaganda attacks on Americans opposed to the CIA



12. experimenting with LSD and other drugs on unsuspecting citizens causing the deaths of several

This is only a small listing of the CIA's crimes. The CIA was created in an outlaw spirit. It has rampaged and ravished the entire world to create profitable investment climates for the multinational corporations which, once achieved, facilitate the transfer of factories to other lands for less costs and trade unions manipulated by the CIA, thus yanking jobs away from American workers. To support the CIA and covert action is to support this thirty year world history of mass murder, torture and high crimes against humanity.

To suggest the CIA continue operating on public trust and under Congressional supervision is to bury one's head in the sand. If Congress does not address itself to the real problems, it is the public's responsibility to raise these issues in every possible forum.

In an address to the Massachusetts legislature in 1764, Representative James Otis stated:

"It is the duty of every good citizen to point out what he thinks is erroneous in the commonwealth."

Fight Crime, Not Dissent

A horror show, equaled only by contemporary revelations about the Central Intelligence Agency, has been quietly unfolding in Washington as investigators are probing the secret nooks and crannies of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. While this inquiry has, thus far, produced a few scattered revelations, especially regarding FBI treatment of Martin Luther King, the congressional investigators and their counterparts in the news media have seemingly failed to grasp the significance of their findings.

Because many of the FBI's programs targeted "unpopular" causes and personalities, political considerations have prompted these investigators to, in effect, cover-up evidence of massive illegal activity. The House Select Committee on Intelligence, for example, canceled hearings on the notorious COINTELPRO operations after it became clear that many of the witnesses would be associated with either the Black Panther or Socialist Workers parties.

Of particular concern is that abundant evidence of FBI involvement in domestic assassinations and/or terrorist activity has been either buried or de-emphasized. Attempts to provoke rival organizations to assassinate Black Panthers in Chicago, Philadelphia, San Diego, and Los Angeles have been revealed but not explored. How many people died as the result of these "hard-hitting" counterintelligence programs? In San Diego, the FBI went so far as to boast, according to a recently declassified memo, that its counterintelligence programs had created a significant degree of racial unrest. In other areas of the country, the FBI sought to provoke open warfare between organized crime and the Communist Party. And documents in the possession of the Senate Select Committee investigating the intelligence community reveal that the Bureau paid for "wanted posters" naming a well-known activist as a police informant. Only through mere chance did this activist escape the murderous intentions of the FBI.

The promotion of assassination and terror were not the only techniques employed by the Buureau in its quest to curb domestic dissent. A clear attempt was made to have Attorney William Kunstler, who defended many organizations against government repression, framed on criminal charges that would discredit him personally and politically. Antioch College in Ohio was the target of FBI programs designed to discredit it academically merely because the college administration allowed campus facilities to be used for anti-war activities. The worst example of these insidious programs to discredit activists



was the Bureau's letter to Dr. King suggesting that he commit suicide. It should not be forgotten, however, that nationally recognized figures weren't the only targets of these programs. And most importantly, it should not be forgotten that the FBI assembled political dossiers on hundreds of thousands of Americans.

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has attempted to reassure congressional probers by constantly repeating the myth that all such programs were discontinued in 1971. While it is true that the bureaucratic designator "COINTELPRO" was discontinued in 1971, FBI disruption programs and surveillance techniques have been and are being continued. In 1971 and 1972 (as was revealed in *CounterSpy* in March 1973), the Bureau sponsored a right-wing terrorist organization, based in San Diego California and operating in 11 western states. Early in 1975, the *New York Times* disclosed that the Bureau had played a key role in organizing and funding sham ultra-leftist organizations in New Orleans and Florida. The conduct of FBI agents towards activist Native American organizations, especially on the Pine Ridge Reservation, clearly shows that disruption and terror programs are an important part of contemporary Bureau activity.

Lately, we've seen a lot of Clarence Kelley ranting and raving about the threats posed to Americans by terrorists. He has even suggested that certain traditional political freedoms enjoyed by citizens may have to be sacrificed if terrorism is to be crushed. It seems obvious to us that these declarations are merely serving to cover up the Bureau's function as a political secret police. Moreover, they come on the wave of repressive legislation that, if passed, would indeed require American people to sacrifice what few rights are left from our crumbling Bill of Rights.

The FBI should fight crime, particularly organized crime, rather than reinforce right-wing paranoia that sees a terrorist behind every dissenter.

De-militarize the Police

During the last two decades, the U.S. Army has quietly expanded its domestic power and influence. The separation of police and military functions in our society — one of the causes for the 1776 rebellion — has been rendered "inoperative" through a sophisticated form of militarism which approximates the fielding of a counter-insurgency force against American citizens.

Today there exists a special branch of the Pentagon, the Division of Military Support (DOMS), whose primary responsibility is to coordinate military response to "civil disorders," real or imagined. DOMS is the central coordinating agency for OPLAN GARDEN PLOT, the military contingency plan for using full military force against civil dissent, as well as acting as a central military supply depot for the domestic police. Via GARDEN PLOT, thousands of police and national guard troops have come to consider themselves soldiers in battle with the American public.

As GARDEN PLOT was practiced again and again across the land, it became obvious that the use of regular military troops had practical political limitations in a democracy. So, from GARDEN PLOT exercises and experiences with counterinsurgency in Vietnam, our national security managers developed a "Green Beret"

force within the police. The fanatic growth of Special Weapons and Tactics Teams (SWAT) stems from military sources involved in GARDEN PLOT planning and demonstrates a courtship between the police and the military. Before long, we will not have police forces as we once knew them, rather we will have full fledged armies of occupation patrolling the streets of our communities — designed, equipped and motivated by the Pentagon.

The GARDEN PLOT/SWAT mentality and the increasing power of the military in the civil government must be fought. Just as the CIA decided that the targets of their operations must include the civilian population of America, so too has the military focused their sights on us. If democratic and constitutional rights are to be preserved, we must demand that the military be controlled by the people and not the people controlled by the military.

Stop Senate Bill One

The progress of Senate Bill One (S. 1) is yet another indication of the repressive society the government is trying to create in America. Originally conceived to streamline the federal criminal code and eliminate conflicting statutes, Senate Bill One was written in such a way that it virtually neutralizes the bill of Rights. It is a nightmare for all who value a more humane and just society, and the nightmare can not be eliminated by simply amending the proposed law. Senate Bill One must be stopped without compromise, for if it is not, the poor and the powerless will lose what little protection they now have under the law, and all of us will lose the spirit, if not the substance, of our democratic rights.

American law is alleged to be based on logic and fairness, yet Senate Bill One is neither logical nor just. Senate Bill One would codify a double standard law that quite literally could create a situation where a government official guilty of misconduct would go free, while a citizen peacefully protesting the misconduct would go to jail for such activity.

Senate Bill One would, among other things, broaden the government's authority to wiretap, virtually eliminate criminal insanity pleas, limit the freedom of the press, make G.I. organizing a crime, and reinstitute the death penalty. (See *CounterSpy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 for more details on the specifics of Senate Bill One.)

The Senate Judiciary Committee is due to start its review of Senate Bill One in February or March with the possibility of floor action as early as May. The liberal leadership of the Judiciary Committee (Kennedy, Hart, Tunney, Abourezk, Mathias, Burdick, and Bayh) along with their staff people have been discussing the possibilities of amending more than twenty-five controversial sections of the bill in hopes of satisfying the growing widespread opposition to Senate Bill One. The proposed amendments are mostly cosmetic and do not tackle the basic inadequacies of the bill. A major fault of the current dialogue is that there is no unified agreement among Judiciary staffers as to what the problems are with the bill. A member of Sen. Kennedy's staff, and former Justice Department prosecutor, supports S.1. vigorously and believes that, with a few amendments and modifications, S.1. would be a good bill.

The modification strategy will not only facilitate the review of the bill but will also diffuse the issues, mak-



ing them undebatable and therefore, essentially eliminating the opposition. An example of how this strategy would be implemented would be the deletion of the death penalty from the bill and its introduction as a separate piece of legislation. The net result would be the elimination of a significant portion of the opposition and further, as a separate bill, the death penalty would be easier to pass since there would not be the momentum of opposition that is presently mushrooming towards Senate Bill One. In order to stem opposition and make the bill palatable to moderates and liberals, the following amendments are being proposed:

- Modification of the Official Secrets Act in order to eliminate press opposition to it
- Deletion of the death penalty and its presentation as a separate bill
- Severing all defenses including insanity, entrapment, and Nuremberg (Watergate)
- Replace the espionage statute with present law
- Close the national security loophole in the wiretapping law
- Eliminate dangerous special offender category

No senator has voiced opposition to Senate Bill One, nor has any senator had the courage to introduce the House alternative to S.1. — HR 10850. This alternative bill does essentially the same thing as S.1., but from a progressive political point of view:

- No wiretapping.
- No forced immunity.
- No death penalty.
- Lower sentences
- Decriminalization of marijuana
- Tighter espionage law
- No infringements on release of information or publication by press

It has long been recognized by legal scholars that the present U.S. Code is an obsolete collection of laws — inherently racist, unjust and in need of reform. The legislative body needs to proceed cautiously and not merely accept a lesser evil. Senate Bill One comes out of the vindictive climate of the Nixon era and presents its recommendations in vengeful defiance of human freedoms and of the recommendations of the Brown Commission.

Professor Louis B. Schwartz of University of Pennsylvania Law School has defined the currently proposed legislation as follows:

S.1. expresses the view that the crime problem can be solved by extending govern-

ment's power over individuals. This extension can take the form of wiretapping and other secret surveillance, of giving broad discretion to officials in decisions about punishment, of authorizing exceptionally severe sentences, or of restricting access to critical information about government operations. The other school of thought, represented by the Brown Commission, is skeptical about the gains in law enforcement that can be expected from such measures, and more concerned about impairing the quality of civic life by needless restraints of liberty.

CURRENT S.1. STRATEGY

In the Congressional language in which it was presented, the purpose of Senate Bill One is:

to codify, revise, and reform title 18 of the U.S. Code; to make appropriate amendment to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure; to make conforming amendments to criminal provisions of other titles of the U.S. Code and for other purposes.

Some of the more repressive aspects of this proposed legislation are:

WIRETAPPING: Reaffirms the 1968 law, including the ambiguous Presidential authority to wiretap domestic activities where a "danger to structure" of the government is involved. Expands areas where wiretapping is permitted as part of the investigatory processes. Directs telephone companies and landlords to cooperate "forthwith and unobtrusively" with government wiretappers, and provides for compensation for such cooperation.

DEATH PENALTY: Attempts to circumvent the 1972 Furman v. Georgia Supreme Court Decision which held that capital punishment was cruel and unusual punishment because it had been "so wantonly and freakishly imposed."

"LEADING" A RIOT: Redrafts 1968 Law. Provides for up to three years in jail and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for "movement of a person across a state line" in the course of execution or consummation of a "riot". A "riot" as defined could involve as few as "ten" participants whose conduct creates a grave danger of imminently causing" damage to property.

ENTRAPMENT: Permits conviction of defendants for committing crimes which they were induced to commit by improper pressures from police agents. Puts burden on defendant to prove that he was "not predisposed" and was subject to "unlawful entrapment."

CONTEMPT: Penalty for refusal to cooperate with Congressional committees, e.g. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is increased from one year in prison and a thousand-dollar fine to three years and/or one hundred thousand dollars.

SECRECY: Reverses democratic decision-making under the Constitution by substituting government secrecy for the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment.

SEDITION: Redrafts 1940 Smith Act, by prohibiting the incitement of "other persons to engage in imminent lawless conduct that would facilitate the forcible overthrow" of the government. This attempts to circumvent a series of Supreme Court decisions that made the Smith Act inoperative.

MARIJUANA: Possession of the slightest amount for personal use entails thirty days imprisonment and/or ten-thousand-dollar fine; second offense increases to six months and/or ten-thousand-dollar fine.

ILLEGAL EVIDENCE: Incorporates provisions designed to make voluntary confessions admissible even if obtained by secret police interrogation in the absence of counsel and warning prescribed in the Miranda Case, and provisions designed to assure admissibility of eyewitness testimony regardless of prior police irregularities in suggesting identification.

HANDGUNS: Eschews the Brown Commission's recommendation to establish effective national control of handguns and instead, the bill makes the use of dangerous weapons in committing a crime a separate offense entailing penalties in addition to those provided for the underlying crime.

NUREMBERG DEFENSE: Would inhibit prosecution of wrongdoing by "public servants" if illegal conduct is result of "mistaken" belief that it was "required or authorized" or based on "written interpretation issued by the head of a government agency."

INSANITY: Admits insanity as a defense only if the insanity caused a lack of "the state of mind required as an element of the offense charged." Mental disease or defect does not otherwise constitute a defense.

SENTENCING: Provides for high maximum penalties, a parole component in addition to the prison maximum, and fewer limitations on consecutive sentences.

SABOTAGE: Provides the death penalty or life imprisonment in some cases, up to twenty or thirty years in prison and/or up to one-hundred-thousand dollar fine in others, for activity that "damages, tampers with . . . almost any property or facility "used in or particularly suited for national defense" or service that is or might be used in the national defense, with intent to "interfere with or obstruct the ability of the U.S. or an associate nation to prepare for or engage in war or defense activities."

DEMONSTRATIONS: Virtually every kind of civil rights, peace, and other protest action would be threatened with severe penalties under a series of vaguely drafted infringements on the right of assembly, including restrictions on the right to demonstrate adjacent to wherever authorities may declare to be the "temporary residence" where the president may be staying.

NATIVE AMERICANS: Would abolish the special jurisdictional status of Indian reservations so that federal laws could be applied. Would enlarge scope of state jurisdiction over Indian country and further, would include a provision for state laws to apply where a vacuum existed in federal law.

Challenge the New Liberal Consensus

If the national security bureaucracies are to be made accountable to Congress, then it is obvious that Congress must be made accountable to the public. Thus it is obvious that the public, and its political movements, will have to continue to pressure Congress. This battle, over the security bureaucracies, is bound to escalate over the next few years. The termination of the Congressional investigations will not so conveniently sweep these abuses under the rug.

As the imperium continues to decay from outside pressure, it will continue to use the security agencies to repress its opposition. New abuses of power will develop. Congress will not be able to run away from these developments. The movement knows that a new consensus is developing within the ruling political circles of this Empire. A new toughness, expressed in Congressional weakness, manifests itself in the military's call for further increases in defense spending; in Ford's "New Realism"; in Muskie's new means to control the state; and in attempts to muscle the free press.

Katie Graham, strike-breaking owner of the *Washington Post*, highlights the new toughness for all of us to see. She has been traveling around the country addressing journalism school students that the news media's exposures of crime and corruption in our government have gone too far.

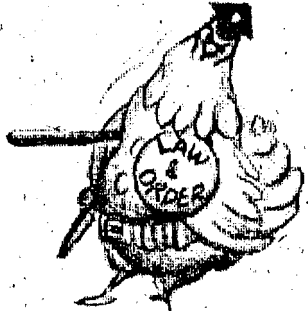
This new realism, which we'll call the new liberal consensus, will no longer deny that the system is basically imperialist. Instead it will admit this, but defy us to change the situation. In the past, a healthy dialogue existed between radicals and liberals over the nature of the system and the state. Radicals always pointed out the contradictions of imperial policy and liberals usually denied the imperium. The liberals usually maintained the illusion of a still dominant Republic and insisted the contradictions were "abberations" or abuses of the system rather than the very nature of the system. In the future this dialogue may vanish.

While liberals representing the Republic still insist the dangers of the FBI and CIA are abnormal, a new tendency within the imperium is gaining strength. This tendency is not only shown in the massive geographic power shift within the Republic and the Empire from the northeast to the southwest with a rough 'n' tough "cow-boy spirit" replacing urbane reason, but by the aggressive new threats to our liberty and freedom. The tendency is no longer for the ruling corporate class to give Americans special treatment but rather to treat us as they would the people of any country they have penetrated and plundered. This hard nose approach may demand even more ruthless abuse of power, just as the old acts of abuse are ostensibly being terminated by Congress.

The public wants to know what Congress will do to stop future covert actions by the CIA or other agencies. The public is aware that the CIA is undemocratic to its heels and is quite capable of doing anything here at home that it has done overseas. In fact in the past few years the CIA has treated the American people and Congress as they would foreign enemies. Congress does not recognize the CIA as an enemy.

TRENDS

Agriagents At Work



The Department of Agriculture Office of Investigation (AOI), the third largest federal investigative agency in the country, has matured into an international force capable of making food a weapon abroad while controlling its distribution here at home. With some 650 paid employees, an unknown number of unpaid informers, 20 field offices, and a director intent on sharing the spotlight with the more notorious agencies such as the FBI and the CIA, AOI keeps tabs on thousands of Americans suspected of wrongdoing or who complain about one of the hundreds of USDA programs.

The architect and first permanent director of AOI, John Graziano, wrote about his law enforcement achievements in the July issue of *Police Chief* magazine. "The bulk of our work," he said, "finds us investigating violations of law in every teeming American ghetto, in communities of all sizes, and in selected foreign locales from Bangladesh to Moscow."

The information collected by Graziano's investigative network is maintained in the USDA data banks which include the FBI crime list, as well as individuals who have never actually been accused of any crime but "may be responsible for wrongdoing."

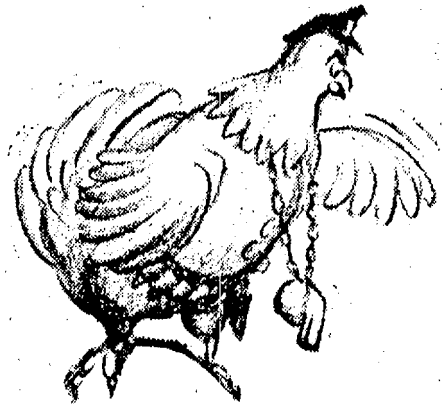
In 1973 the USDA began a campaign of cooperation with law en-

forcement agencies around the country. Graziano said the help from police has "paid considerable dividends. Nowhere is this cooperative spirit more appreciated than at AOI. We . . . work with, and are greatly assisted by, police and sheriff's departments. Above the local level we work with many state enforcement agencies," Graziano wrote.

Graziano, with 23 years experience in government security and law enforcement, landed his job in the AOI after his accomplishments in the Department of Transportation. During the skyjacking era of 1970-71, Graziano directed the air security guard division "sky marshals," wherein 1,500 men were trained and deployed throughout the world to "meet the threat of terrorism." He has been actively reorganizing the AOI since its dramatic shift in January 1975 when it was declared an autonomous division inside the USDA.

Sandwiched between meat inspections and potato measures is the primary target of the AOI: food stamp "abusers". AOI joined full force with a national campaign launched in the Fall of 1975. Both liberal and conservative legislators have jumped on the bandwagon; three bills to cut government costs are now before Congress.

The Buckley-Michel bill pares down the food stamp program by 50 per cent. It eliminates college students and workers on strike. It sets



an income ceiling of only \$5,050.

President Ford's changes cut out 46 per cent of the households now receiving food stamps. His bill also excludes strikers and all college students unless their families are eligible as well.

The Dole-McGovern bill sets a ceiling of \$9,000 and changes the food stamp program from a feeding program to an income support plan. The needy wouldn't buy stamps from the government; instead, the government would offer the stamps free in a government subsidy form.

The food stamp program is tricky all around. The applicant must prove his/her ability to maintain his/her household (rent, gas, electricity, phone) yet not make enough to comfortably afford food.

The actual fraud in the program is not so high as President Ford would like us to believe. Overpayment of benefits exceed 26 per cent of claims, but most of these are attributed to clerical and mathematical mistakes made by clerks who certify participants, according to the defenders of the program. According to Sen. George McGovern, "Only eight in every 10,000 recipients are obtaining food stamps fraudulently, according to an Agriculture Department survey."

AOI targets another category of food stamp "abusers." Agriagents, called "floaters," regularly spy on stores for violations of food stamp regulations. If such items as dog food, toilet paper or soap are among the items purchased, the USDA will order the store to stop accepting food stamps. A number of food coops have been victim to these six-month bans on food stamp qualification.

Why does the U.S. Department of Agriculture need such an extensive investigating force? One can find that answer by reading what the CIA sees as the trend for food around the world. The shortage of food, predicted for the next decade, "could give the U.S. a measure of power it had never had before — possibly an economic and political dominance greater than that of the immediate post World War Two years."

The CIA report, *Potential Implications of Trends in World Population, Good Production, and Climate*, continues: "Washington could acquire virtual life and death power over the fate of multitudes of the needy. Without indulging in blackmail in any sense, the U.S. would gain extraordinary political and economic influence — not only over the poor countries, but over the major powers

who would be at least partially dependent on food imports from the U.S. . . Nuclear blackmail is not inconceivable.

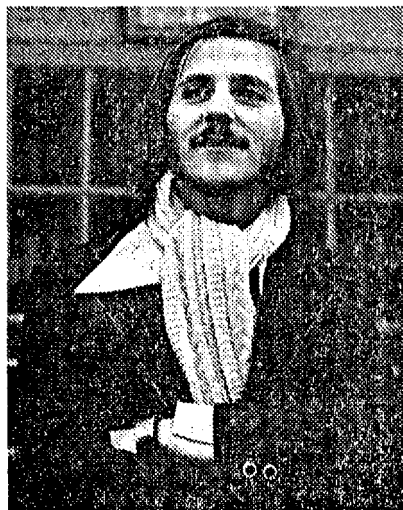
The common image of the U.S. Department of Agriculture agent, dressed in white linen lab coats analysing corn tassles is long past.

FBI Strikes Weather Underground

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation captured the youngest person ever to be on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List on January 7, in San Rafael, California. David Sylvan Fine, now 23, is one of four Madison men charged with the 1970 bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center on the University of Wisconsin campus.

"The official FBI line, of an anonymous phone tip from someone who recognized me is simply a lie," writes David Fine in a recent issue of Madison's underground newspaper, *Take Over*. The federal agents brought Fine, who was using the name William Lewes, to FBI headquarters in San Francisco. There, agents sat him down on a plush couch in a room with a panoramic view of the bay, served him orange juice and asked him to talk informally about his life in the past five years. David refused and was returned to Madison Wisconsin, four days later on \$1 million bail.

Five and a half years ago on August 24, 1970 an early morning blast destroyed the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC). AMRC, a facility for the U.S. Army then



David Fine

Photo by Michael Kientz

located on campus, was responsible for the development of the electronic battlefield, deployment of chemical and biological weaponry, and other technological warfare methods practiced in Indochina.

David Fine has pleaded innocent to all charges. He faces life, 33 years imprisonment, plus a \$40,000 fine on federal charges alone. Fine intends to fight the charges all the way and persons close to the case maintain that the government has little if any evidence to link Fine to the act.

Bail was reduced to \$50,000 (\$30,000 cash) and Fine was released after only eleven and a half days in custody of James and Susan Rowan. Rowan is Madison Mayor Paul Soglin's assistant and Susan is Senator George McGovern's daughter.

The trial is set for May 17. Support for David is strong and growing in Madison, but for David to walk out of the courtroom free, thousands of dollars are needed for proper legal and political defense. Donations or inquiries should be sent to the David Fine Freedom Committee, Box 93, Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Card-Carrying Citizens

National identification cards, another government tool notorious for its potential abuse as a weapon of repression, will soon be just another American reality. The first step towards categorizing all Americans has begun. In the next few years millions of poor and non-white Americans will be required to carry a plastic tamper-proof ID card magnetically informed of its carrier's personal history, appearance, and finger prints.

The tide will roll slowly beginning with five million legal aliens who either live in the U.S. or cross the border daily to work here. It is estimated this group will be issued ID cards within the bicentennial year from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The next sector of society required to carry the wallet-sized personal data bank will be six million heads of households receiving food stamps, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. If this system fails, all 18.8 million Americans receiving food stamps may receive the identity card.

This process is likely to be expanded after a time to include other poor persons receiving public assistance.

The beginnings of the registration plan for America's poor were included in President Ford's new food stamp proposal which was introduced recently by Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, (D-Ga.).

The Federal Advisory Committee on False Identification, set up by former attorney general William B. Saxbe, expects to report this spring on the extent of the false ID problem. The committee is expected to stop short of recommending a national identification system because of the controversy that has always surrounded that concept. Instead, the committee is expected to recommend that state and local agencies tighten up record keeping procedures making it more difficult for someone to obtain a birth certificate of a person who has died and thus create a new identity.

Navy Spied On Civilians

Recently declassified documents show that Naval intelligence agents infiltrated anti-war organizations and other activist groups during 1971 and 1972. This activity was in apparent contradiction to Pentagon promises that such surveillance would be discontinued after disclosures of massive military spying on the civilian population in 1970. The documents were released in response to a Freedom of Information request by the Intelligence Documentation Center, and were concerned primarily with activities in the San Diego, California area.

Organizations targeted by the Navy included anti-war groups active in protesting the Navy's role in the Indochina war, progressive veterans, the United Farm Workers and the *Guardian*, a nationally distributed radical tabloid.

Among the activities that Naval intelligence agents reported were:

- Attempts by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War to have conditions at Balboa Naval Hospital improved.
- Student protests against Marine Corps recruiters at the University of California.
- A party, open to active-duty military personnel, at which a Charlie Chaplin movie was shown.
- Plans by activists to demonstrate against the Republican National Convention, then slated to be held in San Diego.

- An announcement by the San Diego Convention Coalition, activist umbrella organization, to demonstrate against then-Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird.

- Efforts by the Concerned Officers Movement to publicize Naval regulations regarding haircuts.

- Efforts by the United Farm Workers to service personnel aware of the lettuce and grape boycotts.

- Articles reporting anti-war activity in the San Diego *Door* (an alternative newspaper), the *Daily Aztec* (the student newspaper at San Diego State University), and the *Guardian*. One report attached great significance to the fact that the *Guardian* had been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In response to the disclosure about Naval Intelligence activities, a Pentagon spokesperson noted that the DOD directives issued in 1970 and 1971 merely placed limitations upon military agencies surveilling civilians. The activities of Naval intelligence as revealed in the declassified documents, according to the spokesperson, were legitimate because "active duty personnel may have been involved."

Activists in the San Diego area are reported to be considering the possibility of legal actions against the Navy spying, in light of its probable disruptive effect on their activities.

CIA Off Campus!


Central Intelligence Agency recruitment has been met with demonstrations on several campuses this school year.

- Last November 19, 500 people at Michigan University in East Lansing shouted "No more murders, no more lies, CIA off Campus now."

- A Teach-in attended by 8000 students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in early November sparked a demonstration against National Security Agency (NSA) recruiting the following week.

- Several hundred people at the University of California Berkeley campus attended a number of demonstrations in late November against both CIA and NSA recruiting.

- In San Diego, an anti-CIA coalition was formed in protest of minority recruitment as well as any and all CIA activities on the University of California's campus. Dr. David Saxon, president of the University, went



EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Central Intelligence Agency is now accepting applications for the following positions. Candidates with foreign language capabilities and good academic backgrounds; who interact well with other people; have good goal orientations and exercise good judgment will be given top consideration:

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE ASSASSIN (GS-18 Mass murders) ASSASSIN (GS-12 Chiefs of State) BURGLAR LABOR LEADER (AFL-CIO experience helpful)	PELJAJER POLITICIAN PROVOCATEUR CORPORATE EXECUTIVE	WIRETAPPER EXTORTIONIST DRUG TRAFFICKER POOP
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JOB BENEFITS:

- Unlimited Business opportunities
- Tax shelters and immunity from IRS audits
- Insurance from criminal prosecution
- Travel and advanced education
- TOP SECRET EXTRAS

Applications are now being accepted at the following locations in the D.C. metropolitan area:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wisconsin Ave., across from Gordon Jr. High (3rd floor) • 1300 Wilson Blvd. (3rd floor) • Franciscan Warehouse (Liedtke Rd. nr Franciscan Rd., Franconia, Va.) • Arlington Mall • Ames Bldg., 1828 N. Ft. Myer Dr. (Rm 828) • Warrington Training Center • 1918 N. Fort Myer Drive • 2348 E St NW (East Building, Rm 228, and 3rd floor) • 3228 M St NW (Telecommunications Center) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arlington Chamber of Commerce Bldg., 4800 Fairfax Drive • 1801 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Room 404 • NPGC, 2428 E Street NW (Building 213) • Tyler Building (Wingate), McLean, Va. • Navy Yard, 1st St & M St., SE (Building 108, 3rd floor) • 10638 River View Road, Ocean Hill, Md. • Magazine Building, 1918 N. Lynn St. (Rm 211), Rosslyn, Va. • Key Building, 1400 Wilson Blvd. • Navy Yard (Building 108E)
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Or at the following CIA proprietaries (profit making enterprises) or fronts:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American Institute for Free Labor Development, 1828 K St. NW (8th floor) • Asian American Free Labor Institute, 818 18th St., NW 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AFL-CIO (International Department), 818 18th St. NW • Pacific Corporation (Air America, et al) 1728 K St. NW (3rd floor)
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An Equal Opportunity Employer

to San Diego for a meeting with the students concerning the CIA, and refused to end CIA recruiting on the campus. After the meeting, over 100 people chanting "Go away CIA" and "Go away Saxon", demonstrated with the anger and conviction of anti-war protests. UCSD Chancellor William McElroy said the protest "... has a little bit of a 1969-70 flavor."

These protests were the first attempts to thwart CIA recruiting on college campuses since the late 60s when it was discontinued. In an October 26, 1975 *New York Times* article, the extent of CIA activities was described: "... CIA recruiting is done from ten regional offices across the country which are said to be in contact with four hundred campuses".

CIA Goblins

A surprise poster appeared in Washington, D.C. a few days prior to Halloween, 1975. A group calling itself "The Ad-Hoc Committee for the Pumpkin Poster" surreptitiously produced and distributed the poster pinpointing a score of Washington area covert offices maintained by the Central Intelligence Agency.

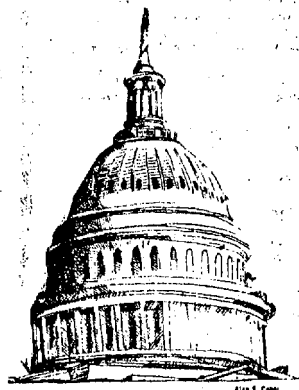
Designed in the guise of an employment advertisement, the poster listed some of the job assignments which CIA agents have been reported to have fulfilled as of late: Assassin (GS-18 — Mass Murderer, GS-13 — Chiefs of State); Burglar; Wiretapper; Labor Leader (AFL-CIO exp. helpful); and others.

The formerly covert offices revealed on the poster housed a wide range of activities including photo interpretation, telecommunications, and several Agency proprietaries.

In a press release distributed to news agencies, the Ad-Hoc Committee stated that the rationale behind revealing CIA offices in Washington was that "... the current series of investigations into the illegal and immoral activities of the CIA have failed to fully examine the extent to which the CIA has penetrated governments, corporations, and labor unions, both in the United States and abroad."

The release concluded by saying: "When the Congress wants to exorcise a political enemy it can pull evidence out of a pumpkin, but when it comes up against the goblins of the CIA it cowers under covers and leaves the skeletons in the closet."

The Pumpkin Poster appeared at over 400 locations in the Washington, D.C. area. In taking credit, the Ad Hoc Committee said more than 60 people were involved in producing and distributing the poster.



Right-Wing Research?

An ex-Sheriff's deputy testified in San Jose, Calif., last month that he conducted 17 burglaries in 1967 aimed at disrupting Cesar Chavez, the United Farm Workers and its supporters. Jerome Ducote, charged with 15 counts of grand theft and 7 counts of receiving stolen property, described these events at this preliminary hearing. The three-year statute of limitations has run out on Ducote's burglaries. The present charges involve Ducote's failure to repay \$17,000 borrowed last summer from 14 friends to pay farm workers



to disrupt Chavez's union organizing.

Ducote and his two friends, Henry Scherling and Andrew Gulermovich, committed burglaries in two UFW offices in Delano, where Cesar Chavez claims "extremely valuable" documents were stolen; the San Francisco offices of the now defunct *Ramparts* magazine; antiwar group offices in San Jose, Berkeley, and Palo Alto; the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the Carmel home of radical organizer Saul Alinsky; and the office of San Jose attorney John Thorne, whose clients included Angela Davis and George Jackson.

According to Ducote, the information went to Western Research (now Research West), a private employee-investigating firm, as well as to the two growers who hired him, D'Arrigo and Jack Pandola of Delano. Western Research is reported to have passed the information to the FBI and other state and federal law enforcement agencies.

The FBI denied all knowledge of Ducote's activities, although Jerry Cohen, a UFW lawyer says he informed the FBI two years ago about Ducote, who was then using the alias "Fred Schwartz". Ducote's associate, Gulermovich, seems to think he was working for the FBI. "My personal motive," Gulermovich testified, "was that it was for a governmental agency and it was something they needed and it was worthwhile."

Ducote and his two friends have all

served as head of the local Young Republicans chapter, and Ducote said that he and Scherling have been members of the John Birch Society.

Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) plans to have his House Judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights investigate whether the FBI failed to act in the case and whether the agency received any stolen documents.

Ducote also said he gave information to a conservative California state senator, with the understanding that he would forward it to the office of then-Governor Ronald Reagan.

Women Mercenaries

A California firm which hires mercenaries to fight in Africa, Asia and South America says that nearly half of its recruits are women.

The firm, *El Kamas Enterprises* of Anaheim, states that women are especially good in intelligence work and as pilots or demolition experts.

James Scott, director of the firm, says that women's contracts can last from a week or two to several years and that their pay ranges from \$350 to \$500 per week or more.

Scott says that women are readily accepted if qualified and that equality in the mercenary business has never been a problem. Scott says: "Uncle Sam has had women with these skills on its payroll for many many years."

Who's Who in the KGB?

A French weekly news magazine identified two Soviet diplomats as members of the Kremlin's intelligence services. The left-wing *Nouvel Observateur* said Ivan Kislyak was head of the KGB secret service in Paris and Nikolai Yevdokimov headed the GRU (military) intelligence there. Meanwhile, the conservative magazine *Le Point* said there were ten times as many Soviet agents as U.S. agents in Paris. *CounterSpy* will keep you informed if the disclosing of KGB names becomes as popular as the disclosure of CIA names.

The Grand Jury Arm of the FBI

The government is utilizing grand juries as an intelligence-gathering operation against the movement for social change. Grand juries are as active as they were in the 70's, though they are less visible and more focused in their aim to undermine the solidarity of political activists.

Several new patterns are emerging in the government's attempt to attack political movements through the use and abuse of grand juries. Targets are: labor unions, Third World groups and the women's movement. The denial of attorney/client privilege and the rejection of multi-representation at the grand jury are the government's weapons aimed at dividing and destroying the left — by preventing a consolidated defense.

The December 1, 1975 issue of *Newsweek* revealed some excerpts from a transcript of a 1974 seminar of state and local prosecutors. The Houston meeting, labeled "An Advanced Organized Crime Seminar", was paid for by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and was a forum for participants to exchange ideas on law enforcement techniques. Seeing grand juries as natural prosecutorial tools, Judge Charles E. Moylan of Baltimore stated:

"The prosecutor can violate or burn the bill of rights seven days out of seven and bring the fruits of constitutional activity to a grand jury. No court in the country has

the power to look behind what the grand jury considers or why it acts as it does."

At the same conference, Martin G. Holleran said: "Through what other means can you put hoodlums and gangsters into prison without convicting them of a crime? Think of that."

Some examples of ongoing grand juries that illustrate this governmental strategy of focusing on particular organizations or issues are:

- Two grand juries are targeting Wounded Knee attorneys. One in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has subpoenaed Ray Archeletta and Bruce Ellison. Archeletta and Ellison have moved to quash their subpoenas because of the possible violations to the attorney client privilege in that the government has refused to state the purpose of the grand jury investigation. This investigation has been postponed several times.

- The federal grand jury in Des Moines, Iowa, investigating the Native American liberation of Wounded Knee, and seeking to indict Frank Black Horse for failure to appear for trial, has subpoenaed Martha Copleman, a lawyer who has worked on the case. She has filed motions to quash the subpoena for three reasons: first, the subpoena jeopardizes lawyer/client privilege; the subpoena violates Frank Black Horse's fifth amendment right against self-incrimination; and finally, the issuing of a subpoena violates the sixth amendment right of a defendant to have counsel.

- Joanne Le Deaux, a Cherokee/Navaho and paralegal worker for the Ogala Legal Defense/Offense Committee has been incarcerated since September after

refusing to testify before a Rapid City grand jury investigating the killing of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation on June 26, 1975. Le Deaux stated that the U.S. Government has no legal jurisdiction over her as a sovereign citizen of the Oglala Nation, nor was it a grand jury of her peers, since no Native Americans sat on the grand jury. Le Deaux could remain in jail until July 1976 for standing on her treaty rights.

- Veronica Vigil, a Denver Chicano activist, has been jailed since September 10, for her refusal to cooperate with a renewed federal grand jury investigation of El Movimiento Chicano. The case is a continuation of a probe arising from two 1974 car bomb explosions that killed six Chicanos.

- In Lexington, Kentucky a grand jury is attempting to investigate the women's movement and the gay movement. Jill Raymond, who has refused to cooperate with the Saxe-Powers grand jury, has been in jail in Kentucky for ten months.

- In Tampa, Florida, after sabotage became part of the labor activity of a shrimp packing plant, October League/Fightback people working in the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union were subpoenaed before a grand jury in order to find the leaders of the organizing effort.

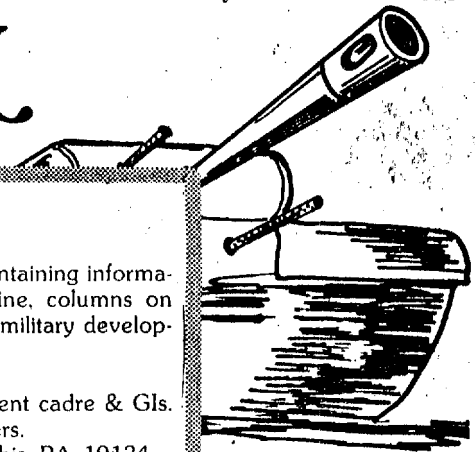
- In other labor battles, the government has rejected multi-representation at grand juries in order to undermine solidarity. When the Pressmen's Union of the *Washington Post* demanded their right to use the union lawyer at a Washington, D.C. grand jury, the Court of Appeals ruled that each pressman subpoenaed must have his own lawyer. The Laborers

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International in Miami, Florida also went to court on the issue of multi-representation.

There are four grand jury reform bills of varying strengths pending in the House of Representatives. H.R. 1277, introduced by Rep. J. Eilberg, provides grand jury witnesses with a number of key safeguards now denied them: the right to counsel in the chamber, access to transcripts of their testimony and full explanation of why subpoenas have been issued. Another bill, H.R. 2986, introduced by Rep. John Conyers, builds on the protections provided by the Eilberg bill and further, seeks to limit prosecutorial domination of the grand jury process by mandating grand juror votes before a subpoena can be issued or immunity offered. It also allows grand jurors to obtain independent counsel to press investigations into federal offenses committed by government officials. The bill would prohibit contempt confinement based on prosecutorial questions that violate a witness's Constitutional rights. The third bill, H.R.

6006, is almost identical to H.R. 2986, except that H.R. 2986 bans all forced immunity as well as abolishing immunity. H.R. 6207, is more limited in scope than any of the other proposed bills, however, the sponsors have also endorsed the Conyers bill.

Grand juries are a powerful tool of government investigators and will be utilized as long as they are accessible. In theory, the first function of a grand jury is to protect people from unjustified prosecution. The goal of those struggling to eliminate abuses of power is to eliminate the ability of prosecutors to manipulate the grand jury as an arena for conducting political investigations. Legislative reform is one method to return the grand jury system to the citizens it was originally established to serve. But there is much more work to do to build public awareness of the threats to civil liberties that grand juries represent. We must combat the paranoia the government is attempting to spread by waving a subpoena in the face of the movement.

For more information contact:
The Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse
105 Second Street NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

The Grand Jury Project
Rm 1415
853 Broadway
New York, New York 10003

Government Continues Indian Hunt

I am a Chippewa man, born on an Indian reservation.

The arrest of myself by government agents is again a pattern that was established throughout the decades of Indian-White relations. It was a time when my wife, Kamook, is also in prison giving birth to my fifteenth child, Iron Door, and at a time in history when the United States is on the eve of its 200th anniversary.

200 years of arresting Indians who have cried out for justice and an end to atrocities being committed on every reservation in this country. Every lawman should live on the reservation and perhaps they would begin a campaign against those who impose the misery that prevails daily in Indian homes.

The First People, such as myself, are born running — running for a better life, an even chance; and that is the real crime in this country — Indian people in virtual exile in our homeland.

Should I die in prison, white America should be ashamed of, at least, not moving to correct that policy. If white America should think of beginning another 200 years, it should begin by setting us free — those people who have given the most — instead of embarking on a plan to jail us. I was born an Indian and even with the threat of spending my entire life in jail in chains, I will not submit my ways and beliefs to be somebody else.

I am proud of being an Indian. I will die with that pride.

— NOW-A-KUMIG

American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks issued this statement from a San Francisco jail following his arrest on Jan. 24, 1976, after six months as a political fugitive from South Dakota. Banks, whose bond is set at \$100,000, is fighting extradition back to South Dakota.



where he faces sentencing on charges in connection with the Custer police riot on Feb. 6 1973. Banks asserts that returning to South Dakota would be signing his death warrant, given the rampant racism against Indians and the particular prejudice toward AIM and its leaders for supporting the fight of the Sioux people for their treaty rights.

The Sioux people on Pine Ridge Reservation could be facing a new era, with the recent defeat of Tribal President Dick Wilson. On Jan. 27, former Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Superintendent Albert Trimble beat out Wilson, whose three-year dictatorship brought an unprecedented reign of bloodshed and terror to the Oglala people. Even on the eve of election day — in the spirit of his terrorist regime — Wilson sent to the district of Wamblee with the campaign slogan: "One member in every Indian family will be killed if Dick Wilson is not the winner in Wamblee." Wilson specifically threatened Charlie Abourezk, the son of U.S. Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.), who has lived in Wamblee supporting the treaty fight of the Oglala people.

Amidst federal mediators from the U.S. Labor Department to safeguard the election, the Oglala people voted out Wilson by a margin of 1611 to 1076. (Five hundred votes were challenged). Trimble, an Oglala and veteran BIA bureaucrat, was ousted as BIA Superintendent of Pine Ridge last March, after being fingered by BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson as the cause of the new surge of violence on the reservation. Trimble had openly stood up to Wilson while in office, pointing particularly to his wholesale giveaway of tribal land held "in trust" for fullblood Oglalas.

Trimble's victory could usher in a new wave of liberalism which would free the Oglala people to reestablish their democratic rights in the Indian way and thus open up the way for the struggle against the United States' colonial policy and historic denial of sovereignty under the treaty.

Trimble is up against the legacy of Wilson, as a dictator and as a puppet of the U.S. government, and its colonial policy of stealing Indian land, and minerals and water and fishing rights. Whether Trimble will recover the stolen Sioux land is questionable, but he offers band-aids that are sorely needed to heal wounds made by the Wilson regime.

Wilson surreptitiously gave away one-eighth of the Pine Ridge Reservation to the U.S. government last June 26, when most of the reservation



was focused on the killing of an Indian man, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents on the Jumping Bull compound in White Clay District. The death of Joe Stuntz has not yet been investigated but four Indian men have been charged with murdering the two agents. Bob Robideaux, a Cheyenne River Sioux; James Eagle, an Oglala Sioux from Pine Ridge; and Darrell Butler, from the Rouge River tribes have all pled not guilty at arraignments in Rapid City on Jan. 19. Leonard Pelletier remains free underground. Robideaux and Butler are each being held on \$¼ million bond, and 19-year-old James Eagle is being held without any bond at all. Eagle is the grandson of Gladys Bissonette, one of the strong traditional leaders of the Oglala people, and the nephew of Pedro Bissonette, head of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, who was assassinated by the BIA police in October 1973.

In a statement from his Pierre, S.D. jail cell, Darrell Butler said:

I remember June 26th, 1975 all Indian people should, for another Indian, a brother, was killed by the United States government. Why did he die? The United States Government is a foreign government in this land. It has no right to govern Indian peoples' lives. Indian people should govern their own lives as their ancestors did for thousands of years before foreigners even set foot on the Western hemisphere. . . .

Leonard Crow Dog, the spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, has also been jailed by the U.S. government on two separate assault charges of dubious grounds. With the same swift precision and disregard of rights that the government invaded Crow Dog's Paradise last summer, Crow Dog himself was railroaded through the South Dakota courts.

In 1881, Crow Dog, a medicine man and chief of the Rosebud Sioux, killed Spotted Tail for attempting to sell out his people's rights to the U.S. government. The U.S. prosecuted and convicted Crow Dog and sentenced him to hang. The Supreme Court at the last minute overturned the conviction on the grounds that the government did not have legal jurisdiction to intervene in the tribe's exercise of its sovereignty. Subsequently, the U.S. Congress both abrogated the right of the Senate to enter into treaties with Indian nations and, by legislative fiat, assumed jurisdiction for certain crimes committed in Indian country.

Almost a hundred years later, the grandson, Leonard Crow Dog, is behind the white man's iron door. From behind that door came these words:

What law have I broken? Is it wrong for me to love my own? Is it wicked for me because my skin is red? Because I am Lakota, because I was born where my father lived, because I would die for my people and my country?

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CounterSpy 647,



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

The purpose of this memorandum is to review articles entitled "Agents and Informers" and "Counter-insurgency Comes Home", which appear in a quarterly journal entitled, "Counter-Spy", dated Fall, 1974 (copies attached). It is noted in memorandum to [redacted] dated 9/13/74, that this journal was obtained by [redacted] at a conference on the CIA and covert actions held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building on 9/12/74.

The publisher of the quarterly is The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate (OCFE). "Counter-Spy" is self-described as a source of analyses and information on the practices, organization and objectives of U.S. intelligence.

Facsimile from an FBI report

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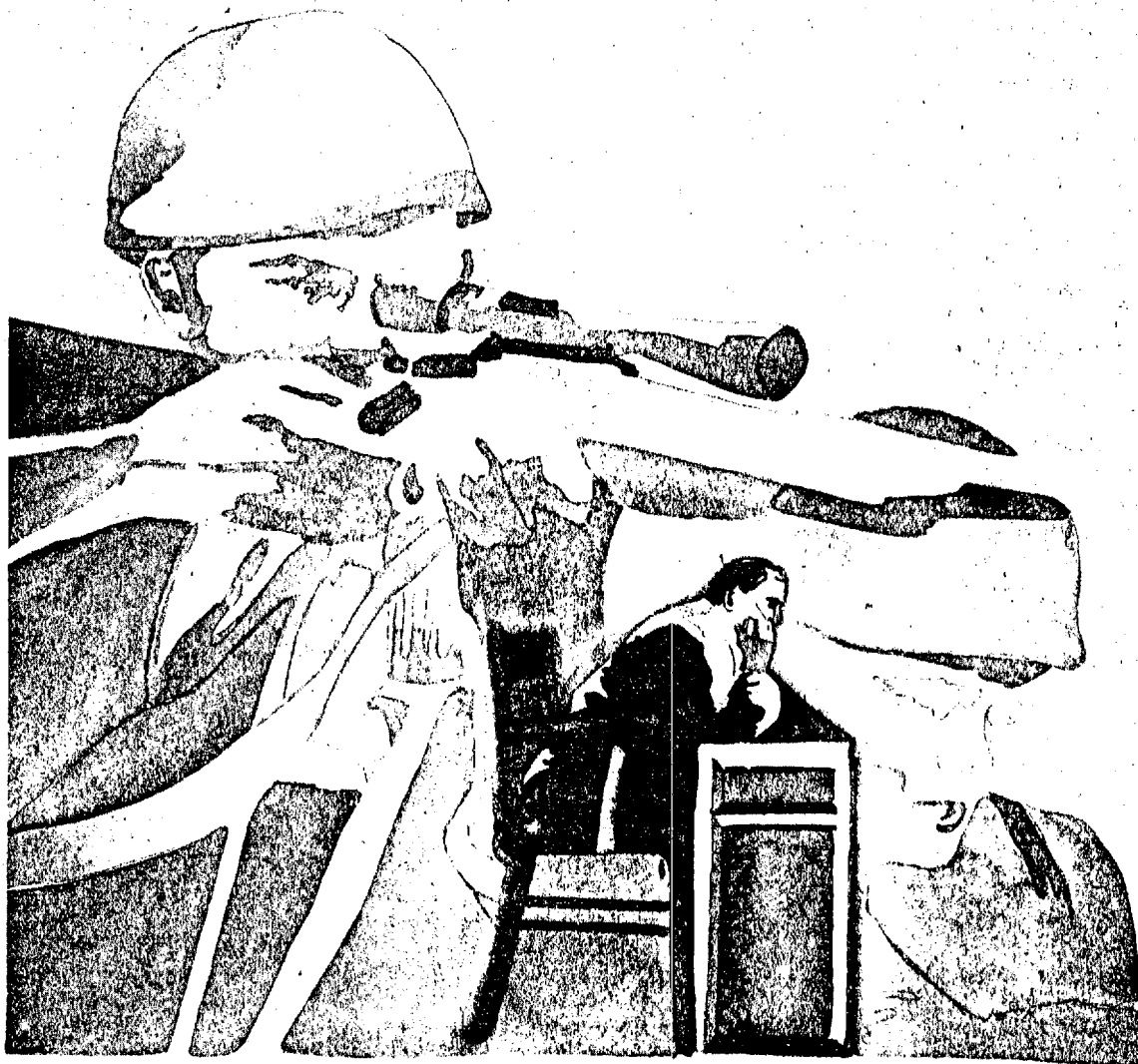
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GARDEN PLOT & SWAT:

U.S. Police as New Action Army



The early dawn raid was one often repeated by American Forces during the Vietnam War. The helicopters landed in a clearing and disgorged their cargo of scared young men clad in jungle fatigues, flak vests, and M-16 rifles. Just as the men of Task Force Baker had once herded together the inhabitants of My Lai, the airborne troops quickly rounded up the natives and held them at gun point. Reinforcements arrived by land, and the augmented force began a line sweep of the surrounding terrain; the troops quite literally trudged over hill and over dale in search of the enemy.

The search completed, the prisoners were taken back to headquarters for interrogation. The young men breathed a collective sigh of relief: the operation was completed and there had been no confrontation with an armed hostile force. They boarded their helicopters and vehicles for the trip back to their base.

The prisoners this time were not "Viet Cong" or Vietnamese rice farmers, neither were they Khmer Rouge soldiers or Cambodian peasants. The prisoners were members of the Oglala Sioux Nation, residing at Crow Dog's Paradise on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota.

Their captors were not members of the U.S. Army, although they had all the trappings of a military force on a military operation. The captors were members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Special Apprehension Teams, and their Sept. 5, 1975 raid on Crow Dog's Paradise was one of a number that they had conducted on the reservation in search of native Americans charged with the murder of two FBI agents. Over 100 agents took part in the raids, conducting it with military efficiency, military tactics, and most important of all — military strategy.

Throughout the country, similar raids have taken place in search of political activists and "common" criminals. Some of those raids have been conducted by the FBI's Special Apprehension Teams (SATs), and others by local police counterparts, usually called Special Weapons and Tactics teams (SWAT). There is no centralized index of the number of these teams that operate in American cities, but estimates place the number at over 1,000, a virtual standing army that has been created without any serious legislative or public oversight.

SWAT — 'Pop' Police Army

Today, SWAT is a popular topic: magazine articles, news features, a television serial, and even "SWAT action toys" indicate the public knowledge of SWAT's existence. There has been little written, however, of the role that SWAT plays in an overall plan for civil disturbance suppression in the United States. SWAT is simply the overt manifestation of a domestic counter-insurgency philosophy that is little discussed outside the circles of government.

In order to understand SWAT, it is necessary to trace the growth of both the police and the movements for social change in the United States. As those movements became more powerful and militant, the government reacted by militarizing the police, giving us a situation where the police are more prepared to uphold an economic system of capitalism than the democratic concepts outlined in the Constitution, especially the concept of separation of military and civil authority.

SWAT is antithetical to a democratic system of criminal justice. The American law enforcement system, derived from that of Great Britain, has always been one of

"I cannot say that our country could have no central police force without being totalitarian, but I can say with conviction that it cannot become totalitarian without a centralized national police."

*Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson,
Godkin Lectures, Harvard University, 1955*

separating the police and military functions. SWAT represents a reversal of the order, but it must be judged as part of an overall reversal of the concept of open, participatory government.

The framers of the Constitution took great care to insure that the military would not have the same power that the British military had exercised over the colonists. In fact, there were heated discussions on the question of even creating a standing army. Finally, control of the military was divided between the legislative branch and the executive branch.

The legislative branch was given the power of the budget and to declare wars and ratify treaties. Control over the military's budget, however, was the element that controlled the growth and power of the military.

The executive branch was given the command of the military. The President was made the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, as well as the state militias should they be called to federal service.

During the early years of Congress, several laws were passed that effected the ability of the military to intervene in civil affairs. The original and strictest of these laws was passed in 1792, and prohibited any use of federal military force in civil disorders, making it necessary to rely on the civilian-soldiers of the state militias should trouble develop.

That law, Chapter 28, 1 Statutes 264, was overturned several weeks later by the Militia Bill, Chapter 33, 1 Statutes 271, which limited the use of troops to repelling invasions and quelling insurrections. The legislative history shows that the term insurrection was not considered synonymous with riot or disorder.

During the years of westward expansion, the U.S. Marshals used their power to raise assistance as a means to form posses from military troops. The rationale was that as long as the troops were under the control of a U.S. Marshal, they were serving as civilians and not as a military force.²

This concept was open to abuse, especially during the Reconstruction era after the Civil War. During that period, the Marshals enforced Reconstruction policy by using the military as their personal armies. The abuse was so great that Congress finally acted to stop the practice by passing the Posse Comitatus Act, Title 18, USC 1385.

Posse Comitatus Act

The Posse Comitatus Act made it illegal for anyone to use "any part of the Army" to enforce the civil laws unless it was specifically authorized by an Act of Congress of the Constitution.

The Posse Comitatus Act was modified by the passage of five separate laws: 10 USC 331, 332, 333, 334, and the House Joint Resolution 1292. These laws allowed the military to be used when:

(1) a state is unable to control violence and a request is made for federal assistance by a state governor or legislature;

(2) rebellion or insurrection obstruct the enforcement of federal laws through normal means;

(3) violence or conspiracy hinders execution of the law and the state cannot or will not protect the constitutional rights of the citizenry;

(4) the Secret Service requires their assistance in performing their statutory protective duties.

Thus, the restrictions on the use of the military are very clear: all other forms of force must be used before the military can be used to suppress an insurrection. Prof. David Engdahl, writing in the Iowa Law Review, states that "... This traditional abhorrence of military measures for dealing with domestic civil and political problems, which is an element of the concept of civilian 'due process', has roots that run more than seven centuries deep into Anglo-American history; and it was prominent in the minds of statesmen who gave birth to our Republic."³

Indeed, the English did take great pains to insure that there was a law enforcement structure that was separate from the military, and it was this model of law enforcement that the colonists brought to the Americas. It is a far cry from what we see today with the existence of paramilitary units such as SWAT.

The first recognized system of law enforcement in Great Britain was known as the Mutual Pledge System.⁴ Under the Pledge System, every able-bodied "freeman" over age 12 was obliged to join a Tithes, a group of ten men. Ten Tithes were banded together into a Hundred, and several Hundreds into a Shire.

Each Tithes elected a head, or Chief Tithesman, as their leader. When summoned by a "hue and cry", each member of the Tithes was obliged to come to the mutual assistance of his fellow citizen. In certain cases, when a member of a Tithes was guilty of a crime, the other members of the Tithes could be held liable for it.

The Crown appointed a head to each group of Hundreds, vesting him with the title of Reeve, or Shire- Reeve, the linear antecedent of today's Sheriff.

The Mutual Pledge System was abolished when William, Duke of Normandy, staged a successful invasion of



Great Britain in 1066. William divided the country into 55 military regions; the Shire-Reeves were displaced by Knights called Conservators of the Peace, or Peace Wardens.

In 1215, King John signed the Magna Charta at Runnymede, and military control of law enforcement was eliminated. The basics of the pledge system were re-established by bringing back into existence the Shire-Reeves and making able-bodied "freemen" once again responsible for the order of their communities.⁵

The City of London established the first civilian police force in 1253, a night watch composed of residents of the city who performed their duties on a rotational basis. The night watch was an unpaid civic obligation, and therefore unpopular. Soon, it became custom to pay for another to perform the duties of night watch, and it became a haven for crooks, the elderly, and the crippled who hired themselves out as replacements.

King Edward I revised the night watch system in 1285 when he signed the Statutes of Winchester.⁶ This law codified the concept of obligating all people to answer the "Hue and Cry", re-established the Hundreds, and provided for a paid force of night-time gate watchers for the cities.

The next change came in 1361 when King Edward III established the office of Justice of the Peace and placed the Shire-Reeves under them.⁷ Until that time, one of the obligations of the Shire- Reeve was the formation of Grand Juries and Petite Juries, and Edward's reforms removed the Shire- Reeve from direct involvement in the judicial system. Another major reform established by Edward was to re-establish the Peace Wardens, making them responsible for the order of the cities. These Peace Wardens were known later as Constables.

Colonial Law and Order

Such was the basic pattern that the colonists brought to the Americas: constables to patrol the cities, sheriffs for the rural areas, subservience to the courts and civil authorities, independence from the military, and the power to raise assistance from the general populace.

Night watches were also formed by the colonists as their cities grew. Boston established one in 1636, New York in 1658, and Philadelphia in 1700.⁸ It was not until the 19th Century, however, that the Sheriffs or Constables were formed into any consolidated force.

In 1833, the City of Philadelphia passed an ordinance that created a police force of 23 men during the day and a night shift of 120. Boston followed in 1836 by creating a force of six men, separate from their night watch.

The New York State legislature in 1844 authorized the creation of city police forces, and New York City created its force in 1845. After that, city police forces began to form in most major cities: Chicago in 1851, New Orleans and Cincinnati in 1852, Baltimore and Newark in 1857, and Providence 1864. By 1870, virtually every large city had its own police force.⁹

The states also created their own forces, although the general concept of a state police did not become widespread until the 20 Century.

In 1835 when Texas considered itself an independent nation, it created an army and a state police force known as the Texas Rangers.¹⁰ The Rangers were assigned to track down outlaws and rustlers, and help protect people from raids by both Indians and Mexicans. The Rangers, however, were distinct and separate from the Texas Army.

Massachusetts created a state police force to combat gambling, prostitution, and other vices in 1865,¹¹ but it

was not until 1905 that modern state police forces were formed.

Pennsylvania was in the midst of great labor strife in the coal regions of the state in 1905. The labor riots crossed jurisdictional lines for both constables and sheriffs, and company-employed strike-breakers did not have the power of the State behind them. The response was to create a state police force; its first job was to break the strikes in the coal mines.¹²

Other states soon followed suit, and today a uniformed state police force exists in every state of the Union except for Hawaii.

Federal Police

The federal government also created police forces as the country grew. The first Judiciary Act passed in 1789 created the U.S. Marshals and empowered President George Washington to appoint 13 U.S. Marshals. The Revenue Cutter Service was also created in 1789 so that the navy would not have to be involved in enforcing laws related to maritime practices. In 1829, the U.S. Post Office was allowed to create a force of investigators to crack down on mail theft and fraud. In 1865, the Secret Service was created to combat counterfeiting and protect the President. The Internal Revenue Service was authorized to hire 25 detectives in 1868, and in 1886 the Border Patrol was formed within the Department of the Interior.

Senator Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) stated on October 14, 1975, that excluding military and foreign intelligence agencies such as the Defense Intelligence Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, and National Security Agency, the U.S. government annually expends \$2.6 billion for the activities of 33 federal police, investigative, and intelligence agencies. Percy was citing from a report prepared by the Government Accounting Office which also stated that 169,625 federal employees were involved in law enforcement activities.¹³

In addition to the federal agencies, the Task Force on Police of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice reported in 1967 that there were approximately 40,000 municipal, county, and state police and investigative agencies.¹⁴ The Washington, D.C. based Police Foundation, a source for major liberal criminal justice police studies, was unable to estimate how many agencies may have been formed in the eight years since the Task Force report. The Task Force on Police also found that there was a growth of police forces in the post World War II era, and that one of the major advancements caused by that growth was the institution of training academies and centers for law enforcement.¹⁵ Until the post war period, the bulk of police training was performed by trial and error on the streets. It is ironic that the drive to educate police and standardize their conduct opened many of the roads towards militarizing them and creating paramilitary units within their ranks.

Militarization — Response to Unrest

The militarization of police can best be understood by briefly examining the historical events of the post World War II era. The growth of SWAT and domestic counter-insurgency activities came about as a result of increased unrest in society, unrest that never reached the peak of insurrection but serious enough to make leaders of the police community view the potential of civil war.

In the years preceding the war, Black Americans had made some advances in gaining their civil rights. In

Tricks of the Trade

American police have become militarized not only through the transfer of weapons and technology, but also through the transfer of military philosophy. The transfer is made through two major routes, the Civil Disturbance Orientation Course (SEADOC) at Ft. McClellan, Alabama, and the Civil Disturbance Management Course (CDMC) at Camp San Luis Obispo, California.

The two courses are not identical although they are similar. Instructors from both schools keep in touch with their counterparts through twice-a-year visits, but former SEADOC commander, Col. Zane Kortum, feels that SEADOC has "more liberal" views and approaches. Thousands of civilian law enforcement officials have attended the two schools, but the public is seldom informed about military training of their local police.

Following are excerpts from SEADOC and CDMC training manuals. They clearly indicate the route to militarizing the police.

TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY

LESSON HANDOUT: Terrorism and Insurgency.

SCOPE: A lecture and discussion relating historic indicators or earlier U.S. civil disorders to the experiences of control force agencies in the 1960s. This data is used to examine today's position of the agencies with the objective of properly determining a direction for the future and how to prepare for it. The actual steps toward causing a revolution are discussed. Discussion of the contemporary violent aspects that may be encountered during civil disorder control operations, such as sniping, looting, bombing, and extremist tactics; discussion of the immediate action to be taken by all personnel encountering these threats; discussion of the special operations that may be initiated by specially trained and equipped teams to counter these threats.

Many have said to us, "You know civil disorder has calmed in the country. Why are we still fooling around with a civil disorder course? Why are you here, literally?" Our answer to that is, "Not because of what's going on today, but certainly as an educated review of what happened to us yesterday with an eye toward living through today and being prepared for tomorrow." And that's what this is all about. That's what you're all about. That's why you're here for this particular course.

We must agree, before we can discuss this as it relates to the United States of America, on one or two things before we go further. First and foremost, we must agree that this democracy which we have as a form of government is the best single form of government we know of now or ever has been for us in this day and age. Does anybody disagree with that? Is there a better form of government that we can remember in history or that we know of for us in this country today? No disagreement on that. I think that's an important distinction for us to make.

This is the United States of America. This is a democracy, whether it in fact is a democracy or not is really irrelevant. It is our chosen form of government, and it is more closely a form of government in which all of the people participate.

As an example, what would you say was the single leading contributing factor to the disorders in this country in the 1960s? The war? Is war new to our country? Is it a new issue? Was the Viet Nam War a popular war? No. Why wasn't it a popular war? It wasn't properly sold. Media probably contributed as much if not more toward its unpopularity.

Was the racial problem an issue, particularly was the racial issue a problem as it pertained to the Black Americans? Was that new? No. We had that paper that was issued by President Lincoln in 1865 called the Emancipation Proclamation. It could not be enforced. It said, "The Black man is free." But it did not provide for him economically. It did not provide for him educationally.

We should be well aware that there were three hundred and three treaties made with the American Indians by the American Government. How many of those treaties have ever been lived up to -- not by the Indian and he's violated his share -- by the American Government? How many of those treaties have been lived up to? Three; of three hundred and three.

How about the Mexican-American, the Spanish surnamed American? Is he intentionally repressed in this country? Are the opportunities available to him, encouraged and aided in by everyone of us, the same as they are for Caucasians?

Democracy and the crisis of freedom is what this is all about and we have unfortunately been apathetic and complacent. There are laws as an example that are still on the books in this country which you and I can systematically ignore. We are supposed to be objective and neutral, and we've got our own version of the hypocritical oath which says that if a crime is committed in our presence, it doesn't make any difference if the world ends for everybody else, we've got to put down that crime. It's a felony in some places and a misdemeanor in others, if we don't jump in there and prevent that crime. Now, if in the process of doing that we start World War III, that's somebody else's problem. That's what we've said hundreds of times, and all of that is pure hogwash. We don't make one single objective decision when we're in the process of enforcing the law.

Security and freedom don't go together. Security just by the mere mention of it envisions that something is contained and unexposed to the undesirable environment. Why do we arrest drunks? Because of the damage they can do to others, yes, but frankly because of the damage that they can do to themselves. We've all been in that particular boat, but in order to do that you've got to restrict his freedom. You're certainly restricting his mobility. So the terms don't go together, but it's still a true statement. Only a free man can enjoy any security, and only a secure man can enjoy freedom. Each of which has got to be a give and take and neither of which can he have all the time, because the two terms don't go together.

In order to terrorize there must be a little bit of organization. There must be those guys who are working within federal government organizations, within religious organizations -- religious organizations have been a seed for those people, and within a place where they can hide and subsist in a civilian community until they're needed. These are people who don't believe in just the war theory of Communism or a revolution but who philosophically, theoretically believe in an alternative form of government -- some different form of government.

Were the issues in Watts legitimate? Were they legitimate in Newark? Were they legitimate in Baltimore? Were they legitimate in all of the other towns? Was it organized rioting and revolution at the start? No way. In every case it was a traffic bust. A precipitating incident that was high in its emotional content to take people with a legitimate gripe, get them into the

1941, for example, Black labor leader A. Philip Randolph threatened President Roosevelt with a mass march of unemployed Blacks if discrimination in the growing defense industry was not broken down and jobs opened to them. The march never occurred because Roosevelt created a Federal Employment Practices Commission to establish guidelines for fair employment practices within the industrial firms with government contracts.¹⁸

Black war veterans, returning from serving in segregated Army units, still faced the reality of employment discrimination when they returned to civilian life. Across the country the social and economic conditions of Black Americans was anything but equal to that of Middle Class America. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), formed in 1910, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1943, became the primary organizations for the post war civil rights work. The NAACP concentrated on voter registration and school integration while CORE worked on eliminating discrimination in public accommodations.

The first major post-war victory came in 1954. The NAACP had sued the Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas, over their practice of segregating schools. The court battle went to the Supreme Court, which ruled in its Fall, 1954 term that the practice of segregated schools violated the constitutional concept of equal protection under the law; public schools across the country were placed in the position of having to open their doors to Black students.

In 1955, a Black woman named Rosa Parks refused to sit in the rear of a Montgomery, Alabama municipal bus. Her arrest sparked a bus boycott by the Black community, a boycott that lasted two years before it forced the city to change the laws on public transportation and accommodations. The two-year boycott was the center of national attention and thrust the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King into the front of the civil rights movement.



Movements of the '60s

Black students were organizing during this period, and when Dr. King called Black student leaders to a conference in April, 1960, they launched the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC played a key role in the lunch counter sit-ins in the remainder of 1960, but its leaders broke with Dr. King in 1961 because they considered him too cautious.

In 1961, CORE installed James Forman as its National Director and launched its famous "Freedom Rides" in an attempt to integrate public facilities in the South. Hundreds of Black and White students and clerics rode together through the South, sometimes meeting with violence, including the bombing of their bus. The Freedom Rides were successful, however, in forcing the Interstate Commerce Commission to rule that interstate transportation accommodations could no longer be segregated.

The formation of SNCC in 1960 was followed by another breakthrough in the student movement. In Port Huron, Michigan, young White students launched the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1962. SDS began to work in northern ghettos in an attempt to organize tenant unions and other community based groups.

It was all this, and much more, that filtered across the desk of J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the FBI. As the civil rights and student movements gained in size and power, they also picked up the attention of the police and the FBI. Based on confidential intelligence reports, Hoover, in 1962, took the first steps towards militarizing the domestic police forces. There had been a number of small riots as a result of racial unrest: 19 of them in the period of 1957-1962 required the use of National Guard troops.

Hiring On The Army

Calculating that the civil rights movement and the student movement might be the source of future confrontations with the government, Hoover negotiated a quiet deal with the Department of the Army.¹⁷ The FBI gave the Army's Military Intelligence service access to FBI files without charge for clerical or computer time. The Army, in exchange, agreed to teach 200 FBI agents per year in the strategy and tactics of riot control, without charge. Had either agency been forced to transfer funds as a result of the deal, congressional oversight might have discovered it. Without a financial exchange, the deal remained very quiet, and provided the Military Intelligence Service with the basics that were later to lead to an estimated 100,000 files on American citizens.

Between 1963 and 1972, with the exception of 1965, 200 FBI agents per year received Army riot control training at a special Army seminar conducted at Fort Belvoir, Virginia.¹⁸ The seminar was a two-day affair that spent one day discussing the philosophy and applications of riot control techniques; the second day was devoted to observing a simulated civil disturbance and discussing the techniques used to contain it. The school was not designed to teach the FBI Special Agents how to use a riot baton or toss a tear gas grenade; the course was designed to transfer the military philosophy of civil disturbance suppression to the civil law enforcement arena.

street, and then let some of the organizers get into the back row and punch, push, and shove, accuse, allege, spread rumor, onward and upward. It doesn't take long to make a riot. It doesn't take long at all when government doesn't know that it's happening. The answer by government is to hook up, mount up, race out into the streets, kick ass, and take names. If you don't know that it's happening to you, there will be people out there who will take advantage of the legitimate grievances of people and use these issues to bring about disorder.

Since 1794, our nation has experienced more than 450,000 civil disorders, not merely neighborhood misunderstandings, but expressed dissent over social, cultural, or political issues. In the late 1950s and very early 1960s, the Federal Government ordered desegregation efforts to be stepped up in the South. However, these efforts were not pressed by either Southern blacks or whites, but rather, by young, Northern, middle-class individuals with a desire to serve humanity or the specific cause. They were met by considerable Southern resistance, to include inappropriate police responses and a lack of *timely* government support. Following the earlier desegregation movement was the "Free Speech Movement" originating as the first of the major student-oriented grievances at the University of California at Berkeley. Suppression of that movement and a redefinition by the establishment of "constitutional freedoms," left students with no feeling of social or political accomplishment. Additionally, students pinpointed issues (unresolved to their satisfaction) which have caused them to lose faith in the peaceful, democratic system.

During early 1970 a major rift occurred in both the BPP and SDS/Weathermen. The splintering organizations openly announcing that, in our present society, change could not be brought about by peaceful means and violence was required. Almost immediately following these happenings came Kent State University and Jackson State College. During these uprisings, deaths of a highly controversial nature and under most suspicious circumstances resulted. Still yet another Presidential Commission was formed to study these disorders. In the eyes of radical youth and minority groups, the wishy-washy receipt of the findings of this Commission by the very administration which convened it, drove the mass of radical groups and individuals underground, announcing as they went — more violence. This is where we are today.

In the interest of self-protection and preserving the image of national stability, recent events in this country would seem to dictate the necessity for an increased state of awareness and alertness on the part of key officials of business and government in countering any potential kidnaping or assassination threats on themselves and members of their families. Target desirability and accessibility studies should be conducted for all persons of high social, political, or financial standing. Specifically, it is desired that both the target and the protecting agency know: the nature of the threat; and the probable direction of the threat. Armed with such study results and the cooperation of the target and his family, proper security measures may be taken and continuing intelligence gathering activities can be undertaken effectively.

A quote from the Weathermen: "Revolutionary violence is the only way. Now we are adapting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Viet Cong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaras (South America) to our own situation here in America. . . ."

Weathermen are known to have bomb factories.

Each department or agency responsible for responding to a bomb call should have clearly established processing procedures defined.

The plan should include separate operating instruc-

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tions for each functional area of the overall bomb mission. As a minimum, this should include a minimum of:

Protective services: to provide traffic control, area isolation, area clearance, and bomb scene security. Military equivalent is MP.

Technical services: to actually deal with the device. This is the only team which under normal conditions, will in any way move or tamper with the device. Military equivalent is EOD.

Investigative services: to seek out causes, origins of material, location of exploded devices, and perpetrators. Military equivalent is EOD and CID.

In summary, many of you came here aware of portions of the special threats pervading our society today. Few of you realized the full impact of "where we are." It has been the intention of this class to show how the atmosphere for violence came about and how the manifestation of these threats so closely resemble the early phases of an insurgency leading toward revolution. We are not at war internally in the United States, but we are having severe enough problems that attempting to ignore today's threats can only lead to natural disaster.

If we are all singing off the same sheet of music at the same time the radicals are playing their organs underground, our sweet, melodious harmony will continue to override their off-key, unacceptable behavior.

FACTORS LIMITING EFFECTIVENESS OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM

Attacks on the Intelligence System:

The Revolutionist — The conduct of the law enforcement intelligence system for most of its existence has been accomplished in a covert manner. Few individuals, other than the recipients of the intelligence activities; i.e., indicted criminals, etc., were aware of such activities on the part of law enforcement.

In recent years the intelligence functions of law enforcement have been widely publicized. The publicity has accompanied attacks on the system from many sources. No doubt many of the attacks have been initiated by individuals for self-serving purposes. Many of these individuals, members of organizations with revolutionary or subversive intent, found their purpose in life had been exposed by the dedicated efforts of an intelligence system. The resultant attack on the intelligence system in this case became a defensive measure as their revolutionary efforts might otherwise continue to be exposed.

The Concerned Citizen — The concern of possible violations of constitutional rights guaranteed under the United States Constitution presents disturbing and many times justifiable issues.

The attacks on the intelligence system have involved individuals who before would have evidenced no concern over what they now feel is a threat to their individual privacy. Many have joined this battle between: (1) the government attempting to identify the individuals and organizations that threaten the security of the country; and (2) those individuals who feel the various levels of the city, state and federal government are waging a war against their individual freedoms. The common terminology used in this concept is "police state."

One major attack was initiated in a lawsuit in 1971 against the Federal Bureau of Investigation and "federal, state and local authorities" with allegations of "spying, infiltrating and collecting dossiers on (their) political, social and other activities." Mentioned in the suit was the collection of bank and telephone records and the use of informants from college campuses.

Recent comments and statements to the press, to include presentations by public officials to such bodies

as the United States Senate, have included many attacks on the intelligence gathering efforts of the military and various levels of governmental intelligence systems.

The comments noted, above, in the most part, come from concerned citizens who in no manner are associated with revolutionary or radical causes. Their observations indicate that they feel the threat to their individual freedoms is greater than the threat presented by the dangers of either organized crime or the revolutionary.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that the responsibility of the intelligence system must remain the same. The individual or organization that threatens to destroy our society must be identified. The only means of identifying such a threat is through the intelligence system. Possibly several recommendations arise from the criticisms and attacks:

For the intelligence system to conduct its operations in such a fashion as to avoid justifiable criticism.

To continue whenever possible to identify and prosecute those individuals involved in criminal activities.

To convince those citizens and public officials that the efforts of the intelligence system are necessary functions and that an actual threat exists. The intelligence system could well prove to be the means to protect the freedoms of those who claim their constitutional rights have been infringed upon.

LESSON TITLE:

CONTROL FORCE INTELLIGENCE

LESSON TITLE: Control Force Intelligence

COURSE: California Civil Disorder Management Course

SCOPE: Discussion of police intelligence activities to include the principles of collection, evaluation, and dissemination; problems associated with the conduct of police information activities; and integration of civilian police and military information and intelligence efforts. Discussion of information and intelligence exchange procedures and maintenance of central source agencies within the parameters of recent federal and state court findings. Application of principles and procedures to at least one case study of a California disorder.

Our intelligence system is involved in a battle against those elements of our society that would destroy us. If we were to make a frank appraisal of our management of the intelligence system, we would find a number of fatal shortcomings on the part of the management. In the past, few administrators recognized the need for intelligence, and few would admit their lack of knowledge of what intelligence is all about. To repeat the theme — intelligence is a management responsibility.

RADICAL/REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA

Extremist Organizations — the conduct and management of the intelligence system is a difficult and complex task. So that we may appreciate the intricateness of our system and the threat facing us — first let us examine the threat.

We are looking at a political spectrum with extremists extending from the classical right to the more recent violent extreme left. These extremes of the spectrum represent the threat of which we speak. Representing this threat we have in our midst trained and dedicated revolutionists, radicals, and others sharing varying degrees of a belief in violence, or what some have naively called "civil disobedience." This segment of our society was described by J. Edgar Hoover as the Revolutionary Guerrilla. The avowed purpose of this radical minority is to destroy our socio/political structure. Of immediate concern, and as a proper task for the intelligence system, is the identification of individuals and organi-

zations that threaten the safety and well-being of our nation.

INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

Orientation of Intelligence to the Mission — We previously examined a type organization. Often we are forced to utilize an existing organizational structure and thereby subsequently find that the system is inflexible.

The military approaches a task as a "mission." Further, in order to best accomplish the mission, the military has the capability of "tailoring" its forces. This most effective technique has recently been adopted by the fire services and law enforcement . . .

The Task Force — The task force has been described as the "tailored force" directed to a specific mission.

The concept of "tailoring" or the "task-force" has led to many innovations in countering civil disorders. The joint intelligence operations involving the many control forces in a large civil disorder could well not be possible if not for the task force concept. The task force is generally tailored and directed to a specific task, problem area, or mission. Further, when faced with geographical and jurisdictional boundaries, the task force has proven to be an excellent means of combatting the problem. The task force has brought about improvements in the conduct of intelligence operations in:

Coordinating the obtaining of intelligence information. Cooperation in the dissemination and exchange of intelligence information. Assisting in avoiding duplication in all areas of intelligence operations.

Mutual Aid — The civil disorder that has occurred in California communities in recent years has brought about the concept of mutual aid. Mutual aid has provided the community with the necessary control forces that would otherwise be unavailable to control civil disorder. A side benefit from mutual aid is that in many of the mutual aid systems an intelligence unit has been formed. The primary benefit from the formation of the Mutual Aid Intelligence Unit is that it can meet at regularly scheduled times to plan and coordinate its intelligence collection efforts of a strategic nature. Further, the unit fills the void, otherwise existing, in the dissemination and exchange of intelligence data.

In the event of an emergency, the unit is immediately available under the mutual aid concept to staff the intelligence functions of the Emergency Coordination Center or the Command Post. The application of the Intelligence Group in the mutual aid concept is found in the Emergency Operations Plan, Office of Emergency Services, State of California.

Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU) — In 1956 the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit was formed primarily through the efforts of Captain James Hamilton of the Los Angeles Police Department. At the time of the formation of the unit there was no effective intelligence organization in existence to fill the needs of collection and dissemination of criminal intelligence data on a nationwide scale. The LEIU was formed at the time primarily to combat the increasing strength of organized crime in the United States.

The LEIU is not a formal governmental organization. Membership in the LEIU is on a selected basis with its membership drawn from law enforcement intelligence representatives from major metropolitan areas throughout the United States and Canada.

In more recent years, LEIU has found it necessary to include in its scope the nationwide criminal activities of the revolutionary.

The LEIU is continuing its professional intelligence functions and serves as an excellent means to bring together those individuals that have a responsibility in intelligence endeavors of a nationwide nature.

The following defines the responsibilities of the State Military Forces:

MISSIONS AND FUNCTIONS SECURITY & INTELLIGENCE SECTION STATE MILITARY FORCES

I. MISSION. The Security and Intelligence Section monitors, collects and evaluates information concerning personnel, activities, occurrences and conditions which may require the employment of State Military Forces or may affect the security or operational capability of the California National Guard and other governmental installations and activities located within the State. The Security and Intelligence Section is responsible for advising and assisting other staff offices in the security and intelligence phases of the functional areas for which they are responsible.

II. FUNCTIONS.

a. Plans, directs and supervises the intelligence, counterintelligence and security activities of the California National Guard.

b. Produces and disseminates intelligence and counterintelligence required by the Commanding General, the State Headquarters staff and subordinate headquarters.

c. Monitors appropriate intelligence and counterintelligence activities by maintaining liaison with other agencies located within the State.

d. Exercises staff responsibility over the command, counterespionage, countersabotage and countersubversion programs.

e. Monitors, collects, evaluates, disseminates and reports information of intelligence interest, as well as sabotage, espionage and subversion perpetrated within the command and other installations and activities located in the area of interest.

f. Monitors and reports dissident activity within the California National Guard.

g. Monitors, evaluates and provides advice and recommendations on physical security systems at all California National Guard Facilities.

h. Performs, supervises and coordinates the security of military information program.

i. Plans, coordinates and requests counterintelligence, security and technical surveys and inspection.

j. Coordinates and supervises the implementation of the intelligence portion of mobilization, domestic emergency and special plans, exercises and operations.

k. Supervises, monitors and coordinates the Special Counterintelligence Program.

l. Monitors the personnel security clearance program.

m. Monitors, evaluates and coordinates unit and individual intelligence training and readiness of the California National Guard.

LESSON: CIT. VIOLENCE & TERRORISM

LESSON TITLE: Citizen Violence and Terrorism

COURSE: Officer Survival and Internal Security Course.

SCOPE: A lecture/discussion of the planned, criminal extremist acts which are most difficult for the peace officer to counter. Emphasis will be placed on prevention through proper target surveys, exchanges of suspect information and the uniformity of operational policy and procedures of government and law enforcement agencies.

A discussion of assaults upon law enforcement officers which result in serious injury or death of the officer. Instruction will include the causes for such violence as well as the policies and tactics being used to combat these assaults.

While no one man can be blamed for the violent attitudes of an entire segment of a society, it is a fact that

the most powerful weapon of a revolutionary is the silent, accumulating contempt and hatred of a people directed at the government or another segment of the class structure. This thesis is magnified considerably when the chosen form of government of the people is capitalistic and class ridden and allows for the ready labelling of all: white, black, red, brown, rich, poor, middle class, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, et al.

Students in America have contributed a long history of violence. This is not an unusual phenomenon as they, representative of each generation, are more morally and politically serious than their parents and many of their leaders. Additionally, as students, they generally have a paramount responsibility only to themselves and each economic, political, social, or cultural issue is examined only in that light. Education is considered by most academicians as an exercise in mind expansion, freedom of expression, adherence to no absolute theorems and a search for more, always more knowledge. Therefore, between puberty and death no other period in a person's life is so totally bound up in the total impact of the issues of the day. To all of these ingredients nature adds the vigor and energy of youth, the absence of the counsel of the years and the gullibility of a robot — doing everything new and exciting which is suggested to him.

The racially separated segments of our society, as they have done repeatedly in the past, have emerged with periods of sporadic violence. A white man cannot ever be black, red, or brown and so long as the white man remains superior in numbers he will be the repressor and the constant target of the mad dog. The dog is confused by the mixtures of love, compassion, and friendliness on the one hand and hate, apathy, and brutality on the other hand. The actions of any one dog or any one master may never result in grievous injury to either of them; but, massing, grouping, or polarizing of either party with others of his kind will ultimately result in extensive violence. Minority Americans have practiced this principle for 200 years or more, often without knowing it. It is the interaction between these desperately separate segments of society — between protesters and responding authorities — which has resulted in violence. For these minority elements, any steps to prevent violence which do not address the issues of fundamental social and political change are destined to be irrelevant and fated to failure.

The single most violent force in American history, inside and outside of war, has been a small group of militant whites; allegedly defending home, family, and country from other forces considered to be alien or threatening. The espoused motives of these groups is usually direct vigilante action due to inaction or lack of capability of existing authority. Historically, however, the massing or grouping syndrome takes over and ethnic minorities within the system become the target. The largest single danger in these groups is the vast amount of public support and encouragement they often accrue before their tactics reveal them to be dangerous extremists. While most whites repudiate violence and tacitly support the goals of minorities, these white extremists exploit the methods used by minority elements and rationalize everything by dramatizing the potential political and economic threat raised by these groups.

The majority response becomes one of "someday we must change" but "today we must stop the violence." Those who use violence for political purposes are, in effect, saying, "someday isn't soon enough — and we won't let you stop the violence."

Blacks, browns, and reds are now calling for "separatism" rather than "entry into" the white world. Whites, on the other hand, are crying the slogans of the minority groups of 1960: unfair employment practices, organizational discrimination, et al.

If one subscribes to the theory of revolution which asserts that there is a nucleus of the society (3% or less) who wish to destroy the existing form of government, then it is possible to follow the age-old tactics of such movements and understand these changes in trends of violence.

The point of this discussion on illegal violence being directed at or by one segment of our society is not to raise a new flag for their cause; but to show graphically, in contemporary terms, what James Baldwin meant when he summed up his understanding of societal violence — the most powerful weapon of the revolutionary is the silent, accumulating contempt and hatred of a people directed at the government or other segment of that society.

With the exception of the mentally deranged or the intoxicated person, all acts of illegal and criminal violence have roots somewhere in our present social, economic, or political environment. We can show that almost all acts of violence directed at police are initiated by persons who have racially, politically, or economically separated from the main stream. It is true that they are often doing other criminal acts at the time they are challenged by authority and violence results. However, this is increasingly not the case. Ambushes are up. Physical assaults are up. Sniping is up. But, the people remain the same: only the tactics change.

The challenge to law enforcement is — preparedness — we must understand that the revolutionary in hiding feeds on the acts of those who are genuinely, emotionally involved in contemporary issues. His methods necessitate that he:

1. *Peacefully dissent* — that is, announce his cause and advertise our national, political, economic, social deficiencies.
2. *Develop a contempt for the law* — that is, show his contempt through the increased commission of criminal acts and encourage our contempt by exploiting all instances of police brutality and repression.
3. *Separate law enforcement from society* — that is, a continuation of his contempt which causes all of society to question the reliability, integrity, and credibility of police.
4. *Terrorize* — that is, employ the systematic use of fear by playing police against other citizens and vice versa and by occasionally committing acts of illegal violence to demonstrate his relative impunity and our inability to cope with his tactics.
5. *Take hostages* — that is, use economic and political extortion to demoralize the society and to cause the people to lose the respect and reverence of government which is still required if a government is to successfully separate violence from heroism.
6. *Destroy institutions* — that is, the moral and physical fiber of a society.
7. *Conduct the Guerrilla War* — that is, use his newly acquired support and resources to violently overthrow the existing government.

Obviously, the police have a role to play in "problem identification" by their mission under our form of government which is better described as "the objective enforcer" of the changes and the eliminators.

1. There are people who want the violence to occur, in fact, increase.
2. Legitimate violence is integral to our form of government for it is from this source that we can continue to purge our weaknesses.
3. The revolutionary is using our weaknesses.
4. Illegal violence has roots which are attached to emotional situations of political, economic, or social inequality.

MEDIA CONTROL

Over the long years of U.S. involvement in the cruel war in Indochina, the press was quite often manipulated into distorting the news; the media as an official organ of the government became the rule more than the exception. Some of this manipulation involved the active participation of journalists and editors, but most of the press was unaware and unwitting in the manipulation.

Our national security managers devised many sophisticated techniques to ensure this unwitting manipulation, as documents on the CABLE SPLICER exercises of GARDEN PLOT indicate. Ron Ridenhour, the reporter who exposed GARDEN PLOT in *New Times* magazine, presents an account in the unpublished draft of his chronicle, *The Domestic Pentagon Papers: The War Comes Home (Who Knows If They'd Really Use B-52's)*:

(Mr. Ridenhour, along with other journalists have donated copies of documents relating to GARDEN PLOT, including this unpublished analysis, to the Intelligence Documentation Center, a non-profit public interest library on government activities located in Washington, D.C.)

CABLE SPLICER's secrets were kept according to official "security guidance" and "information plan" policies published in each CABLE SPLICER Directive. Taken together, they are a field-tested tour through the exotic art of "plausible denial" — the process of institutionalized lying wherein government officials, usually from the intelligence agencies of the military, admit just enough of the truth to mask the whole truth, thereby creating an essential falsehood.

It is a cold warrior's weapon, developed for and used primarily against Congress, a prying press and the American public. Usually it is employed in the name of some higher cause: national defense, national security, the war on crime, the war on drugs, etc. In this case the cause is "civil disturbance control". The security and information plan policies outlined in CABLE SPLICER contain a completely canned course teaching the most common bureaucrat how to keep the outsiders away from what the insiders are up to: the art of plausible denial in ten easy lessons.

Ridenhour writes:

The first thing CABLE SPLICER players were taught is to keep a very low profile. During all planning phases, exercises, etc., soldiers traipsing the halls of local police departments were to do so in civilian clothes "to prevent adverse publicity or misleading psychological effects." For the same reason all CABLE SPLICERs were ordered not to visit police stations in military vehicles. CABLE SPLICER's game players didn't want the whole operation blown just because some "controller" got caught driving the "company" car or wearing his scrambled eggs to the local PD. Additionally, some orders were, as one former game player put it, "read and eat." There were apparently some tracks the "higher-highers" wanted covered altogether.

Secondly, there would be no pre-exercise publicity, a point that is stressed again and again — occasionally in such

straightforward language as "all state agencies and civil law enforcement agencies to be advised of the necessity for avoiding mention of the exercise."

Thirdly, in the event any of the preceding subterfuges fail and the participating agencies should receive queries from the press they are given two canned answers. One is simply to refer all queries to the public information officer at Headquarters, State Department of the Military. The other is to simply give them the same canned answer the information officer would: The exercise was being conducted to enable the "Military Department, other state agencies and local jurisdictions to standardize their practices and working relationships in the event of natural disaster or civil disturbances."

What could be more innocuous? It is the official Official line, using language technically correct but a world away from the reality of what actually was going on. There is, for instance, virtually no mention of "natural disasters" throughout the entire operation other than a brief note in passing that many CABLE SPLICER lessons and techniques could also be used in natural disasters.

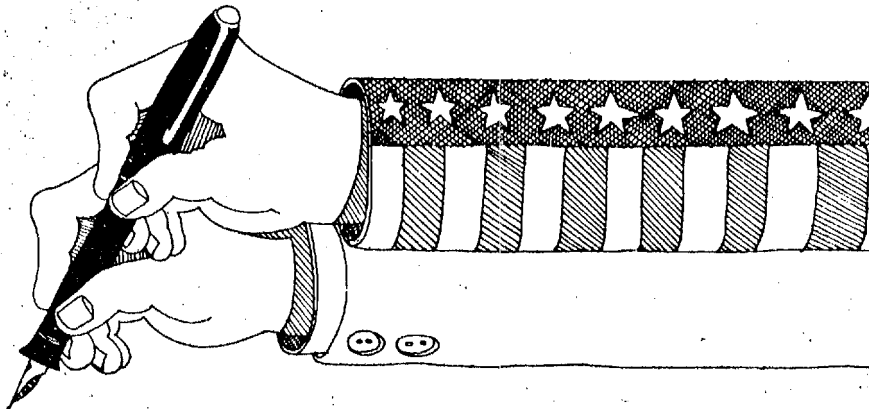
Fourth, if the subterfuge surrounding either the war games or the various accompanying governor's pep rallies were penetrated, the two were not to be connected to one another. If that cover is blown there is yet another line to retreat behind and defend. The Sixth U.S. Army is not to be connected to either.

It is a defense designed very much on the model of the Pentagon itself: a series of mutually protective concentric circles. The strategy is simple. Defend the outermost circle first. If it crumbles, then retreat to the next circle and defend it until it is breached, then retreat again. Defend. Retreat. Defend. When there is no more retreating to be done? The escape hatch.

Into all CABLE SPLICERs are written specific orders to inform the press, after the fact, of each exercise or conference, although the information to be given them would of course be only enough to mislead. Even that was very seldom done. When it was, only the most obscure and best trained pussycats of the press were given even the official line. CABLE SPLICER's perpetrators, in light of these precautions, could always claim the public had indeed *been* informed and either supported the operations or just didn't give a damn one way or the other.

To make sure the troops didn't leak they were served up a good pep talk on how high they could get hung for messing around with classified documents. Their superiors were also given strict orders on the handling and care of classified material. All persons were reminded of the "necessity for avoiding mention" of events connected with CABLE SPLICER. "Strict document and information control" was urged at "all levels", especially when it came to the "realistic problem areas and technical information contained in the scenario."

CABLE SPLICER was and remains covered coming and going. It is all keyed on keeping certain documents out of the hands of the "opposing forces." The opposing forces, it turns out, just happen to be anyone not on the inside of CABLE SPLICER's war gaming.





CIA: Entanglers Entangled

In recent months the foreign press has exposed increasing numbers of CIA officers operating under so-called diplomatic cover in U.S. embassies. Exposures have occurred in Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Sweden, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Denmark, and Zaire. Even more are expected in coming months, as this tactic proves effective at undermining the sinister activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. According to authoritative sources in the intelligence community, the release of names has caused serious morale problems among Agency personnel around the world. The CIA is reported to be desperately casting about for new cover mechanisms to protect its employees from disclosure.

In the interim, various stop-gap measures have been taken. The State Department has discontinued publication of the *Biographic Register*, a reference book used by many researchers to identify CIA employees operating under diplomatic cover. And U.S. embassies abroad have taken additional steps to prevent outside dissemination of internal phone-books, which apparently have served as the source of some of the foreign disclosures.

An intelligence community source told the *New York Times* that creation of new covers was a "mind-boggling" problem, and that the Agency at present has "no idea how to do it." No steps in this direction, according to the *Times*, will be taken until a new Director of Central Intelligence has been given an opportunity to review the problem.

During the early 1960's, CIA officials operating under diplomatic cover nearly equalled the number of

bona-fide State Department officials in U.S. embassies. At the embassy in Chile in 1961, for example, 11 of the 13 individuals assigned to the political section were Agency officials. In recent years, the number of CIA officials operating under diplomatic cover abroad has been drastically reduced, mainly because of the growing importance of the National Security Agency, whose technological abilities are considered more reliable by policy makers.

While the total number of Agency employees abroad has been reduced, so has its intelligence mission; most Americans now operating for the CIA abroad are engaged in monitoring or manipulating the internal politics of the host country. Nevertheless, the CIA is still using diplomatic cover for a surprisingly large number of its overseas American operatives.

In view of the general pattern of disclosure of CIA activities in recent months, many observers of the intelligence community believe that corporations may be the vehicle for future overseas cover.

The CIA in Canada

Disclosed in Last Post, a monthly newsmagazine late in 1974.

In Ottawa:

Cleveland Cramm, *Chief of Station*

John S. Healey

Joseph A. Marion Jr.

Richard H. Reynolds

Thomas M. Fitzpatrick

Charles E. Wood

In Quebec:

Everett K. Melby

The CIA in Finland

Finish television also celebrated the publication of Agee's book by releasing the names of CIA personnel stationed in Helsinki. Named over the airwaves were:

William C. Simenson

Richard E. Knowles

Jerome J. Stenger

Alden H. Irons

Robert K. Simpson

Richard L. Duncan

Andrew J. Mickens

Gerald Mosher

Thomas P. Oneil

Stephen A. Palmer

Richard L. Taylor

Entanglers Entangled



CIA: enredadora enredada

El Comercio, Lima, Peru
December 1975

The CIA in Italy

Revealed in a new daily, based in Rome, La Repubblica, in an article written by former Ramparts editor Steve Weissman.

Hugh Montgomery, *Chief of Station*
William Acon
Mario Ciocci
Robert Devereux
Michael E. Kostiw
Charles Gale
Michael C. Sednaoui
Christopher Costanzo

The *La Repubblica* article also identified a CIA cover mechanism in the U.S. Embassy known as the U.S. Army Southern European Projects Unit, where 14 other agents are hidden away. *La Repubblica* went on to say that 40 CIA agents were working at the U.S. Embassy, with untold others working undercover in consulates or with military and business offices in Italy.

The CIA in Spain

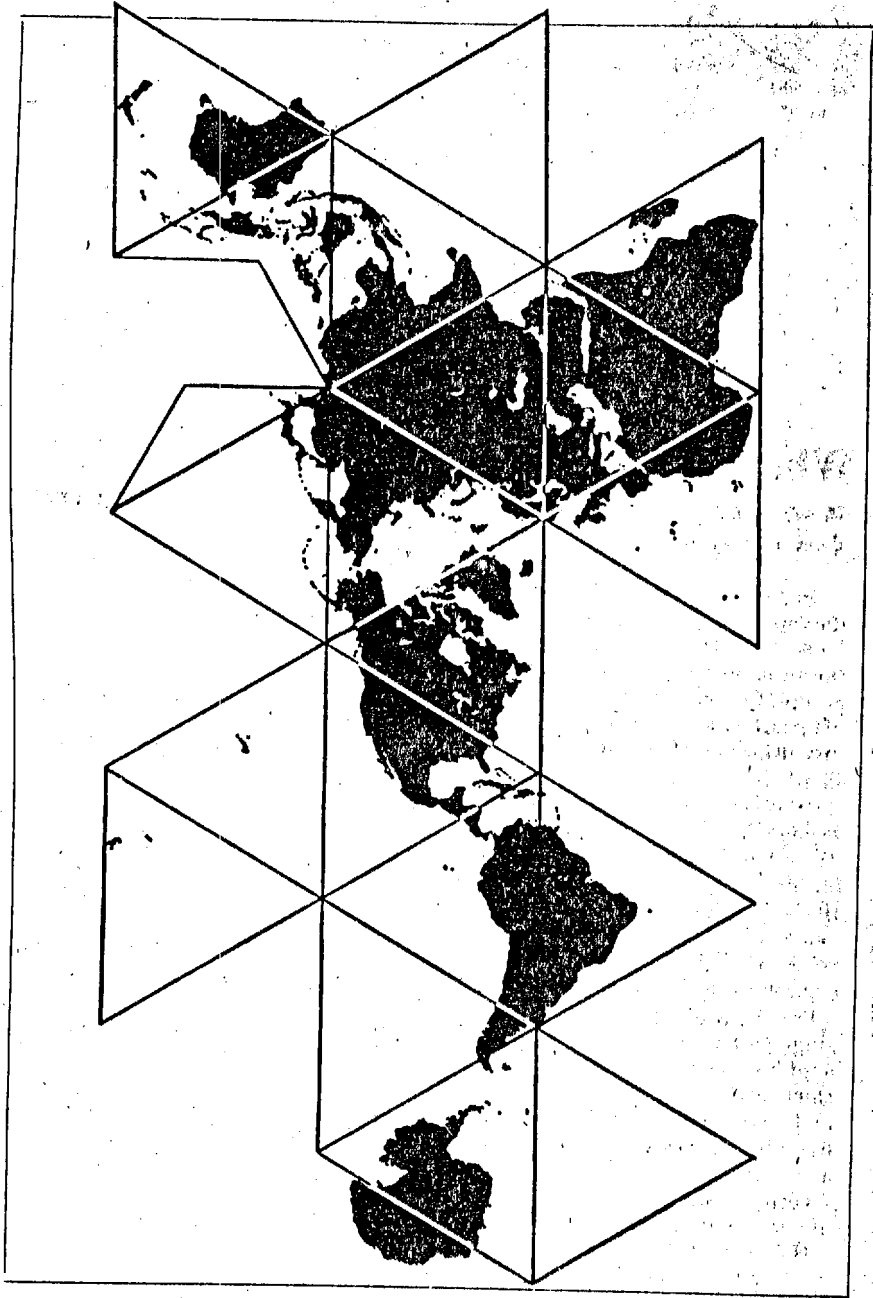
Disclosed in Cambio 16, a Madrid-based mass circulation weekly, and the Washington Post (Jan. 16, 1976) a strike-breaking daily newspaper serving Washington D.C. in the United States. (Editor's note: We find it ironic that the Post, which soundly denounced CounterSpy for reprinting names of CIA agents, was the first mass-circulation American daily to engage in the practice.)

Robert Gahagen, *Chief of Station*.
William A.K. Jones
Francis S. Sherry III
Alan G. Morrill, Jr.
Jon R. Thomas
Dean L. Almy
Charles L. Smith
Kenneth E. Stucker
Wayne M. Rogers

The CIA in Denmark

The Danish newspaper, Information, a daily with a readership of well over 100,000, published this list of CIA agents in Copenhagen in July, 1975:

John C. Baxter
Joseph E. Fortier III
Bruce N. Gray
Edward J. Gotcheff
Peter M. Hain
Richard Mikita
Grant W. Olsen
Edward Rankin
John E. Reinertson
Phillip D. Vollmann
G. H. Welsh
David Fennoy
Harry B. Cook



The CIA in Zaire

According to a press release dated January 3, 1976, and distributed to the wire services, Philip Agee, acting in solidarity with African people's struggles for self-determination, released the names of CIA personnel in Kinshasa, Zaire to representatives of the MPLA. It is widely known that CIA operations in Angola have been directed by the CIA station in Zaire. For more details, see the article "The Great Southern Africa War" in this issue.

Stuart E. Methven, *Chief of Station*
Samuel D. Martin
Peter T. Hanson
Jeffrey Panitt
Robert Benedetti
Bruce W. Brett

The CIA in Sweden

The Swedish press en masse disclosed the names of CIA agents to coincide with the publication of Philip Agee's CIA Diary in Sweden. Among the media participating was the Stockholm paper NY Day, from which the following names were gathered.

Paul Garbler, *Chief of Station*
George D. Swerdlin
James D. Boney
James R. Stove
Bruce D. Hutchins
David R. Altman
Philip G. Lane
Gary D. Scatz
Charles S. Greco
Theodor Rumme
Edward Olson



Who is Richard Welch?

Commentary by Paul Jacobs

On Jan. 17, 1969, the FBI helped murder Black Panther member John Huggins in a dining hall at UCLA.

Oh, an FBI agent did not actually pull the trigger—that was done by a member of US, a black nationalist group. But, morally, the FBI must share responsibility in his death, for the bureau now admits that it fomented dissension and fierce fights between US and the Black Panthers.

I was particularly angered by this latest revelation of wrongdoing by a federal agency, because John Huggins was my friend. A gentle, thoughtful young man, he was on his way to achieving a position of leadership in the Black Panthers. If he had lived, Huggins would have helped make the organization into an unusually effective voice. With his murder, the Panthers lost, the black community lost—the whole country lost.

Paradoxically, the words that I have used to describe Huggins have the same eulogistic ring as those widely used to characterize Richard Welch, the CIA station chief in Athens who was murdered on his doorstep in mid-December shortly after his name was made public by radical periodicals here and abroad. Now portrayed as a victim of a cabal that would betray our national-security apparatus, Welch has been virtually canonized as a national hero.

Not so John Huggins, victim of truly sinister government activity, who goes unhonored. And what of the FBI? Its complicity in his murder rates just an asterisk in its laundry list of dirty tricks.

Meanwhile, the people who published the fact that Richard Welch was a CIA agent are pilloried savagely, much as were those of us who, a few years ago, charged that U.S. agencies were stirring up trouble in New Left and militant racial organizations. Back then, they called us "paranoid."

Not many people believed what we said about the FBI, despite the hard evidence we assembled. Nor did many believe us when we insisted the CIA was engaged in continuous efforts to assassinate foreign leaders and overthrow certain governments.

Most distressing, however, is the fact that, even after top FBI and CIA officials have admitted past misdeeds, most Americans have yet to understand that such activities are directly related to our government's policies, foreign and domestic.

Instead, it is generally assumed that provocation, assassination and intervention are ugly but necessary

tasks carried out by patriotic citizens acting on orders from superiors. Endowed with the federal government's dignity and institutionalized in an agency like the CIA, murder and assassination (known in the trade as "termination with prejudice") have become, in the name of patriotism, ethically acceptable.

As a result, each time the names of CIA agents are made public (it happened again last week), the media and government officials have fulminated. Over and over we have been told that Welch was a gentle man, motivated by the highest of ideals, fluent in many languages, a man on his way up in the CIA hierarchy, a man, who, almost blind in one eye, never fired a weapon himself.

This flood of posthumous praise only diverts the public from the crucial questions, which have to do not with the man's personal attributes but with his political activities.

How does the CIA station chief in Greece — or any other station chief anywhere in the world, for that matter — spend his days? And nights? And weekends? Did Richard Welch simply sit in his office and translate Greek newspaper stories into English? Is it not possible that this gentle CIA official, who may never have fired a gun himself, issued orders that required other agents, perhaps family men themselves, to fire guns and kill Greeks or Cypriots or South Americans? And if he did this, why should anyone be surprised that he might be killed on his own doorstep?

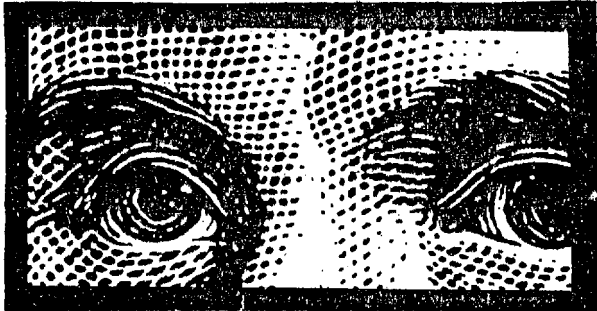
These are cruel questions, but they need to be answered — along with other, equally significant, questions. For example, the CIA has admitted it tried, on a number of occasions, to kill Fidel Castro. Secret agents failed in that effort, but how many ordinary Cubans who supported Castro did the CIA manage to have murdered? Cuban officials insist such killings took place, and if they are correct, what justification can the CIA offer for those actions?

Even when committed under the banner of patriotism, these are foul deeds. It is those who blow the whistle on the CIA who deserve our praise, not the agents who commit or commission murder in far away lands.

The FBI is no less sensitive than the CIA about the operations of its *agents provocateur* in domestic politics. I discovered this several years ago when I wrote and narrated a segment of the Great American Dream Machine, a magazine-like TV program that ran on public television. In that report, three paid informers discussed on camera how they had been instructed by FBI agents

(whom they named) to provoke violence, blow up bridges and if necessary kill — all to bring disrepute to the left.

I attempted to get statements from the agents themselves and from the bureau, but all efforts failed. Then, a couple of days before the telecast date, J. Edgar Hoover joined the agents in threatening libel suits. Hoover even said he was preparing to turn the case over to the Justice Department (which, of course, is exactly what the CIA is now attempting to do with those who published Welch's name).



One hour before the program was to be aired, top management of the Public Broadcasting Service canceled the FBI segment. It was broadcast later by Channel 13 in New York as part of a different kind of program concentrating on the cancellation itself rather than on the propriety of FBI actions.

This change of focus is, of course, what is happening today in the Welch matter: Attention is being shifted to the wrong concern. The current furor is over the naming of names, not over the propriety of illicit political activity by federal agencies.

Many people have been hurt by the actions of the CIA and FBI, directly or indirectly. Some have been killed, and not always for very good reasons — my friend John Huggins among them.

For Huggins, I feel deep grief. So, too, for Richard Welch, the human being. But for Richard Welch, the CIA agent, I cannot mourn. After all, no one *has* to work for the CIA or FBI. It's a matter of free choice; if agents don't like their work, they can quit, as some have done.

To me, it seems inevitable that the CIA's political murders should be followed by reprisals against its agents. Perhaps murders and countermurders should not take place in a civilized world, but it should come as no real surprise — nor cause grief — when a CIA agent gets killed in the line of "duty."

When you work for the CIA, as Richard Welch did, you make enemies. And when you make enemies you may get killed — it is as simple as that.

Paul Jacobs is a San Francisco-based writer who ran for the U.S. Senate in 1968 as the Peace and Freedom Party candidate.

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The Man From ARIО

Has the CIA built a new device for conducting surveillance of its critics? Although the Agency is barred by law from conducting domestic intelligence operations, the rise and fall of OPERATION CHAOS may have been only one aspect of the CIA's domestic work. The activities of the new Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, formed by ex-CIA officials, raises doubts as to how "ex" its members are.

The Association is headed by David Phillips, former head of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division and a covert operations expert. Phillips has been the spearhead of attacks against individuals and organizations critical of the CIA, including the Fifth Estate, the ACLU, and even the U.S. Congress. During the recent CIA-sparked controversy around the assassination of Athens Station Chief Richard Welch, Phillips sought to place the blame on the doorsteps of *CounterSpy*.

Appearing on nationwide television news and talk shows, Phillips has been viewed slapping a copy of *CounterSpy* in his hands and making emotionally charged accusations that *CounterSpy* was responsible for the death of Richard Welch because it listed him as CIA Station Chief in Lima, Peru, in January, 1975. Phillips charges that the editors of *CounterSpy* are "moral primates," an interesting charge given Phillips' own role in the CIA.

The public should ask Mr. Phillips to describe his role in the kidnapping, and assassination plot aimed at Chilean General Rene Schneider. Schneider was killed just prior to the coup that overthrew President Allende's government in Chile. Mr.

Phillips also refuses to examine his role as the CIA Chief of Station in Brazil, where thousands of Brazilians were arrested and tortured with the acquiescence and guidance of the CIA.

The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers seems to have one purpose and that is to defend the CIA from the growing movement against it.

Some ARIО members are actually resigning from the new retirement group because it has made propagandizing against critics its primary task, and has ignored other membership interests. Many ex-officers are upset over the insensitivity of the Phillips crew to the real problems of meaningful re-employment programs for former intelligence officers. Job discrimination and benefits are other issues on which ARIО members are demanding discussion.

Eric H. Biddle, Jr., a former CIA officer, recently helped draw up a report on civil rights discrimination in the intelligence community, but the report was tabled by David Phillips and his cohorts who also tried to keep the report out of the press. Biddle had charged ARIО with deliberately suppressing the report and ignoring job discrimination which Biddle sees as "the most immediate importance to current and future employees of the intelligence community." Biddle and others have resigned from ARIО.

ARIО's organized attack on Phillip Agee, the Fifth Estate and all other critics of the CIA raises the possibility that ARIО is an operation by the "old boys" to save the Central Intelligence Agency from an outraged American

public.

We wonder what kind of reports flow from ARIО members such as David Phillips to CIA headquarters? What conversations did Phillips have with then-Director William Colby before forming ARIО? What were Colby's orders to his former Latin American chief? These and other questions should be asked by the congressional investigators before concluding their reports.

The Fifth Estate would like to see a full investigation of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, if only to find out how "retired" some of them may be. Then their attacks on all those critical of the CIA can be judged for what they really are.



"Three thousand, six hundred and seventy-two statements and statistics released to the press."



The Thailand Connection

The past year's exposure of the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency have shown the American people that above all the Agency has special privileges. It can draw us into war overseas without an official declaration from Congress; it is the only branch of government which operates profit making commercial subsidiaries; its budget books are immune to review by government overseers; it can even bring immigrants into the country outside of the normal quotas.

This past summer, government investigators uncovered one more special privilege enjoyed by policymakers at Langley — the freedom (in writing) to decide whether Agency employees involved in criminal activities should be prosecuted. The facts came to light after CIA obstructionism forced federal prosecutors in Chicago to throw out charges against two of seven persons allegedly involved in smuggling close to 100 lbs. of raw opium into the United States from Thailand.

The CIA was drawn into the fray because one of the freed defendants was a 29-year-old Burmese man named Puttaporn Khrankhruan, employed by the Agency for covert activities in Thailand and neighboring countries since at least 1972. The second was Bruce Hoeft, an American citizen. Hoeft was a personal friend of Puttaporn and worked in Thailand with the Peace Corps, an agency with which the CIA has long denied any links.

To justify its decision to block prosecution, the CIA offered only the vague assertion that testimony would compromise on-going operations in Southeast Asia and the identities of agents. Available evidence indicates that a trial would have thrown light on two subjects about which the CIA is extremely sensitive: (1) CIA cooperation with paramilitary groups in Southeast Asia which are actively involved in the production, refinement and distribution of opium and heroin, and (2) sabotage and

intelligence-gathering raids conducted in southern China by CIA-organized commando teams.

Congressional Investigation

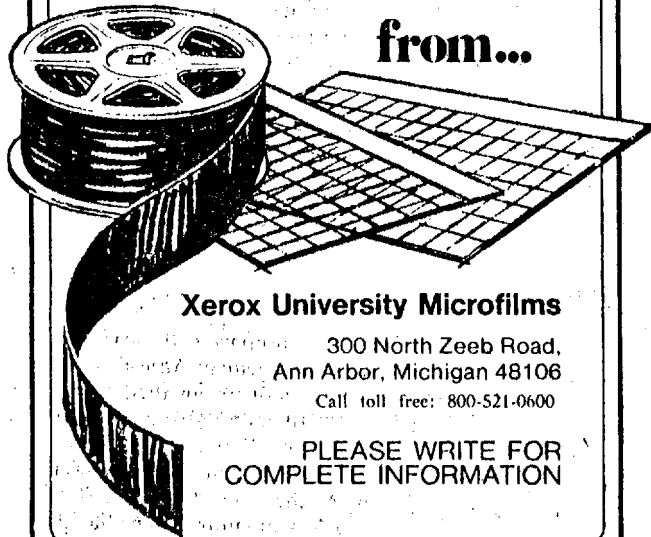
Additional information on those two activities may yet be released, however. The House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights, chaired by Rep. Bella Abzug (D-New York), opened an investigation into the legal aspects of the case over the summer, and plans to subpoena all CIA documents related to Puttaporn. The high point of the hearings was the publication (and subsequent termination) of a 20-year-old agreement between the CIA and the Justice Department giving the Agency discretion on the prosecution of errant employees.

According to federal prosecutors, a conspiracy to ship opium into the United States began in October 1972 when four of the seven persons later indicted, Jay and Marlene Antonoff, John Weber and Allan Gluck, purchased 50 cans of Kodak movie film and shipped them from Chicago to Southeast Asia. Later in 1972, Gluck and the Antonoffs travelled to Thailand. In December they met with Bruce Hoeft, a Peace Corps volunteer working at the Hilltribe Research Center in northern Thailand, prosecutors said. After purchasing opium with the help of the CIA's Puttaporn, Hoeft and the three other Americans packaged it in the film canisters for shipment back to the U.S. An initial shipment of 40 lbs. got through without being detected, but a second shipment of 59 lbs. was spotted and received by Theodore Norcutt, prosecutors said. He was arrested. Puttaporn's name and address were found on a magazine used to wrap the opium. In April, 1973, he came to the

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U.S. under an education program sponsored by the Agency for International Development (AID) to study at Syracuse University. Once inside the country, he was questioned by U.S. Customs and CIA officials and eventually named the other five defendants. Shortly thereafter, he tried to leave the country and was arrested and interred in Cook County Jail, where he spent the next ten months.

Prosecution Blocked

The U.S. Attorney's office in Chicago was undecided whether to prosecute Puttaporn or use him as a witness. Regardless of which role they assigned to him, however, it would be necessary that CIA witnesses testify at the trial and that intelligence reports he had provided be turned over to the court. The CIA found this unacceptable. Officials from the attorney's office met repeatedly with CIA representatives to resolve the question, but were told that these documents and witnesses would expose, in the words of the CIA's explanation to Senator Charles Percy, "information about intelligence sources and methods, including identities of employees and agents and ongoing operations," which would necessitate "the termination of those operations and the destruction of the usefulness of those employees and agents."

The attorney's office eventually determined that

without these documents and witnesses it would be impossible to prosecute. The charges against Hoeft depended on the testimony of Puttaporn, so in September 1974 charges against both of them were dropped. Shortly afterwards, Puttaporn returned to Thailand. Hoeft is now living on the West Coast. The two Antonoffs were never apprehended and the three other defendants were all convicted and sentenced.

The case remained under wraps until June this year, when the prosecutor's office in Chicago leaked the story to the *Chicago Daily News*. Several days later Senator Charles Percy (D-Ill.) wrote to both the CIA and the Justice Department asking for an explanation. Also that month, CIA Director William Colby testified before the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights and released a memo dated March 1, 1954, from CIA General Counsel Lawrence Houston to the then deputy attorney general, William Rogers. The memo was written to confirm a conversation between the two men in which they discussed a "balancing of interest" between enforcement of the law and the protection of intelligence sources and methods. The two men discussed a particular case in which evidence indicated that an Agency employee was guilty of mishandling funds, but which could not be prosecuted without revealing secret information. "Mr. Rogers said that under the circumstances he saw no purpose in referring the matter to the Justice Department . . ." Rogers went on to state that this arrangement on cases of this sort could be formalized with an exchange of letters, "but he saw no reason why present practices could not be continued without further documentation."

Apparently this arrangement did remain in effect until this summer, when amid the furor raised in Capitol Hill committees, the Justice Department unilaterally terminated it. "Any . . . informal referral agreement that may have been in effect in the past is abrogated," Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh said in a letter to the CIA's general counsel, John Warner.

Strangely enough, much of the testimony before the subcommittee centered on semantic questions of whether the CIA had ordered the Justice Department to drop charges. Justice Department officials said that the CIA representatives had told them that prosecution would "embarrass" the agency and that they should drop charges. The Agency maintained that it had simply told the prosecutors that it could not and would not yield the necessary documents (knowing full well, of course, that this would make prosecution impossible), but left the decision to proceed with the charges or to drop them entirely up to the Justice Department.

The testimony and documents would have done more than "embarrass" the Agency. Puttaporn was deeply acquainted with the CIA's crimes in Southeast Asia and may have used this knowledge to negotiate his freedom.

The CIA never denied that Puttaporn worked for them. According to their explanation to Senator Percy, Puttaporn was hired in July 1972 to report on narcotics trafficking in northern Thailand, part of the so-called "Golden Triangle," where the majority of the world's illicit opium is produced. He had no other assignment than to report on drugs, the Agency said. Thus it was invoking the cause of the suppression of narcotics to excuse its behavior with the Chicago prosecutors. We must throw the little fish back in hopes of catching a bigger one, the CIA was saying; prosecuting Puttaporn would compromise the CIA's larger, more important, efforts to stamp out narcotics trafficking the world over.

U.S. in Golden Triangle

This was an obscene misrepresentation of the facts: Far from trying to suppress the Golden Triangle heroin trade, the CIA since 1949 has been in bed with its ring-leaders — the Thai police, the Kuomintang 3rd and 5th Divisions, the Shan State Army and the Meo hilltribe "clandestine army". These facts were no secret to Puttaporn.

The Golden Triangle, which straddles the borders of Laos, Thailand and Burma, consists of thousands of square miles of mountains not firmly under the control of the central governments of any of those countries. Since 1949, the area has been politically and militarily unstable, with numerous centers of authority. Chinese Nationalist troops who fled south when the communists won the civil war in their country set up jurisdiction over one section of the Triangle. The Shans, a minority people in revolt against the Burmese government, controlled another. The Meo army controlled much of the central and western parts of Laos. Other Burmese minorities had their own turfs, and the Thai police moved in and out. Excluding the small numbers of communist guerrillas who have operated in the Triangle, the common denominator between all of these groups is devotion to making money and exercising power. And opium is the currency of the Golden Triangle. Most of the armed struggles that the various factions have waged against one another over the years have related to control of the opium trade.

After World War II the United States first became involved in the Golden Triangle in 1949, when it sent weapons and other supplies to the Kuomintang rem-

nants in Burma in hopes that they could be used in the future to invade China or at least harass the new communist government. In the 1960s, when U.S. policy-makers feared that the Indochina war would spill over into Thailand and Burma, the U.S. increased its clandestine support to the area. The Meo army was built from nothing, the Thai police was given new weapons. Arrangements were worked out with the Shans, Kuomintang and other minority groups to keep their areas free of communist guerrillas in return for material support and non-interference in their affairs. Airplanes and helicopters of the CIA's Air America became a common sight and were at times used to transport opium. (This period is well documented in Alfred McCoy's book *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.)

In addition, the CIA organized small commando teams from the Kuomintang remnants and the minority peoples. Operating from tiny bases in remote areas of Laos and Burma, these teams entered southern China on foot or by air and spent months spying on road traffic, tapping telegraph lines and committing minor acts of sabotage. These operations continued at least until 1971 when President Nixon announced his plans to visit Peking.

Link to Opium Trade

While the prosecutors were preparing the case, Puttaporn was talking to Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) investigators about his activities for the CIA. One of them, John Bax, later testified to Abzug's subcommittee that Puttaporn had told him he had formerly been an officer in the Kuomintang army and had guarded opium mule caravans as they took the drug to processing points. Bax said it was his impression that Puttaporn felt the CIA was aware of these activities.

Puttaporn also told DEA he thought that a close friend, Victor Tin-Sein, had been killed while living in the United States by unnamed parties for his involvement in and knowledge of Puttaporn's smuggling ring.

Finally, Puttaporn told federal investigators that he had led commando raids into China and on at least 16 different occasions had been debriefed by the CIA on those raids. (He also named his CIA contact as the U.S. consul in Chiang Mai.)

Puttaporn apparently planned to claim in court that he had smuggled the drugs under the orders of the CIA, and to talk about his other CIA activities in detail. The Agency thus moved to prevent the trial from ever taking place.

One final potential embarrassment remained — the involvement of Peace Corps volunteer Bruce Hoeft. Already charges have been made that Hoeft was working for the CIA, and in court the Agency would have been hard put to disprove that. Reliable persons who are well acquainted with Hoeft feel that he was not connected to the Agency, but was simply a personal friend of Puttaporn. Sources in the Peace Corps in Washington, including two former country directors, are convinced that the CIA has honored its 1961 agreement with Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver to keep its hands off volunteers.

John Burgess

John Burgess, a student at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, was an intern with the Intelligence Documentation Center during the Fall 1975



THE GREAT SOUTHERN AFRICA WAR

The Angolan Independence Movement

On November 11, 1975, Angola became a free country after 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. But independence so far has only meant a violent civil war for Angola, as three competing African liberation movements, each massively supported by outside powers, vie for power in the country. Indeed, foreign intervention has turned the Angolan civil war into an explosive cold war confrontation. The actual conflict in Angola, however, does not easily reduce itself to an ideological struggle between communists and capitalists. All three movements say they favor some form of socialism, and each has stressed the primacy of national reconstruction and independence.

The FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) is led by Holden Roberto, and based almost solely among the Bakongo people, who make up about 13% of the population. Roberto is closely allied with his brother-in-law, President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire, and has spent most of his adult life outside Angola in Zaire. During the recent conflict the FNLA controlled most of the territory along the Zairian border. Although FNLA did make a shaky alliance with UNITA in November, it now appears

that they may have been routed on the battlefield and will no longer play a dominant role in Angolan politics.

Most of the FNLA's aid over the years has flowed through Zaire, with the CIA furnishing the majority of the support. The FNLA also received aid from Belgium, West Germany, France, Zairian and South African interests. The Chinese provided assistance to Zaire and the FNLA until a few months ago, when they began withdrawing their support and advisors.

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was formed in 1966 under its current leader, Jonas Savimbi. Its base is among the Ovimbundu people, who comprise 38% of the population. UNITA's strength is in the southern region of Angola.

UNITA did not receive significant outside help during its nine years of struggle for independence until earlier this year when Savimbi went looking for help from any source. It is also suspected that the change in UNITA's activities may have been sparked by a takeover of UNITA's military force by certain militarists who had earlier defected from the third Angolan movement. This has not been fully confirmed due to the lack of clear news from inside Angola. With the recent South African pullback from UNITA territories, many observers believe the Luanda government, which has been victorious on the battlefield, may offer UNITA some role in a new coalition government.

The third movement is the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), led by Agostinho Neto, and is the strongest of the three. The MPLA was founded in the mid-1950's and began armed resistance to the Portuguese in 1961. It draws its primary support from the Kimbundu people, who make up 23% of the population. Unlike the other movements, the MPLA is urban based and contains elements of all tribes, except the Bakongo, and both white and black Africans. It enjoys more support across tribal lines and among educated Angolans than the other two groups. Its forces hold most of Angola including the capital city of Luanda, where it declared itself the legitimate government of the country, the People's Republic of Angola.

Over 22 countries recognize the People's Republic of Angola and MPLA's claim to legitimacy. The MPLA started to receive modest amounts of military assistance from the Soviet Union in the early 1960's after first having been refused U.S. support to fight Portuguese domination. However, it was not until after the April 1974 revolution in Portugal, and most recently since the spring of 1975, that the Soviets began providing truly large quantities of assistance. Soviet aid is said to range from rifles, machine guns, and ammunition to armored vehicles, mortars, anti-aircraft guns, and ground-to-ground missiles. Additionally Cuba has sent approximately 3000 advisors to fight with the MPLA since mid-fall. The Cuban assistance is compatible with the Cuban principle of material assistance to any liberation movement desiring help. Reports lazing the total number of Cuban advisors at up to 10,000 appear to be highly exaggerated propaganda efforts by the U.S. and South Africa. What is not generally known is that many Angolans with the MPLA are not full black but mestizo's and mullatos who speak fluent Portuguese, Spanish as well as the African dialects. No doubt many of these Angolans are being mistaken for Cubans in some instances.

MPLA spokesmen have repeatedly stated that they intend to establish a non-aligned and independent government. In October, the MPLA declared: "We can assure you that we have fought for 14 years for the complete independence of the Angolan people, not to be under the umbrella of another power or another country." And in November, the *Washington Post* reported that the MPLA had turned down a Soviet offer for a major arms airlift to Luanda. Agostinho Neto is personally close to Mario Soares, currently the American favorite in Portugal, and certainly an ardent anti-communist.

So there is little to substantiate the position that Angola will become a Soviet satellite. Even assuming the most rapacious Soviet designs, the belief that the inevitably victorious MPLA would serve as a Soviet satellite is contradicted by the stance of the MPLA and the Soviet experience in Africa and elsewhere. Indeed, Soviet assistance to the NLF in Vietnam did not turn Vietnam into a Soviet satellite.

U.S. policy towards the three Angolan factions, and throughout all of Southern Africa, is based on a policy that has already been defeated in Indochina — the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine. Under this policy, the U.S. seeks to avoid direct and open intervention in the affairs of other states through the use of regional client states and covert CIA operations. First announced in President Nixon's "State of the World" address on Feb. 18, 1970, the doctrine was initially known as "Vietnamization", and was designed not to bring peace but rather to "Change the color of the corpses," according to former Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.



The CIA in Southern Africa

U.S. involvement in Southern Africa began long before the current conflict. Even before Zaire, formerly the Congo, the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine's regional puppet state, became independent in June, 1960, the CIA was acting covertly to promote a pro-Western regime that would protect the investments of the multinational corporations in that country. At first the Agency's covert actions were confined to political manipulation of selected political figures and union leaders, but as the Congolese political scene became more and more unraveled from the spontaneous thrusts of a newly achieved democratic and anti-colonial spirit, the CIA sent its paramilitary experts and mercenaries to support the new government of Joseph Mobutu. By 1964, CIA B-26 aircraft flown by Cuban pilots under contract to the CIA were carrying out regular bombing missions against rebel territories. Relying in large part on the considerable assistance furnished by the CIA and other U.S. government agencies, the central Congolese government under Mobutu was finally able to impose its authority throughout the country.

In 1962, the CIA began secret funding through the government of Zaire to several pro-U.S. liberation movements including FNLA, headed by Mobutu's brother-in-law Holden Roberto. During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations the CIA's involvement in Zaire grew steadily as did the Agency's involvement in Angola. During these years U.S. policy was designed to officially support Portuguese colonialism with some military and political support while recognizing that direct colonialism was dying in Africa. The U.S. publicly called for non-violent change but covertly the CIA continued to back the FNLA's opposition to the Portuguese in the hope that FNLA neocolonialism would replace Portuguese colonialism, allowing the U.S. to

manipulate Angolan society through the FNLA as it was able to manipulate Zaire's politics through Mobutu.

In 1969, the Nixon Administration decided to end the secret aid to the FNLA as part of a larger policy decision to improve American relations with the white regimes in southern Africa, including the Portuguese colonies, apartheid South Africa and the "Rhodesian" regime. The CIA did not totally drop Roberto but kept him on the payroll as an intelligence source. But five years later when it became clear to Kissinger that Angola would receive independence from the new government in Portugal, it was a relatively simple matter for the CIA to reorganize Roberto and the FNLA.

South African Intervention

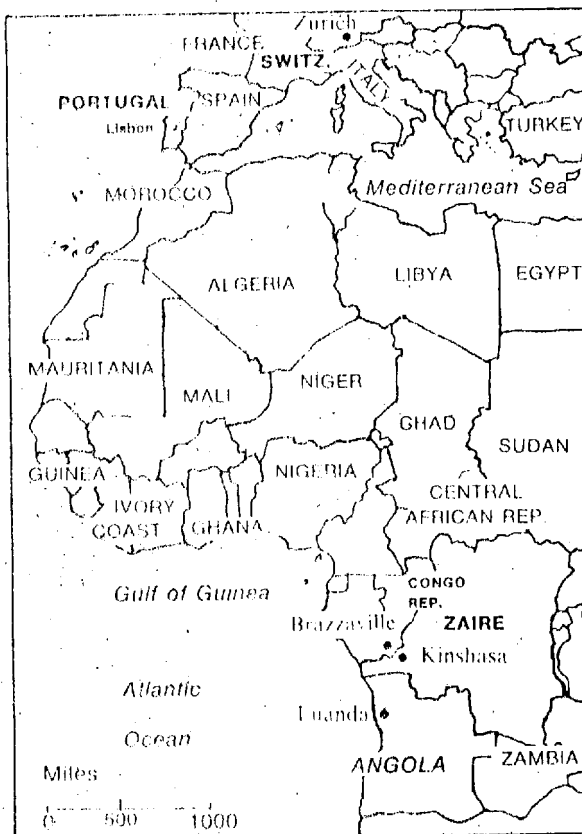
The outside power with the largest direct involvement in Angola and the linchpin of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine's strategy for Southern Africa is white supremacist South Africa. South Africa, along with Zaire, is key to the Doctrine's continued war against national liberation movements throughout Southern Africa. South Africa entered Angola as early as August and by September had secured control of the Ruacana Falls hydroelectric project inside the Angolan border across from South African-occupied Namibia. The South Africans then escalated considerably during the closing months of 1975.

At least two separate mechanized South African units with a strength of between 1000 and 1500 men, operated inside Angola. Additionally, the South Africans equipped and supported yet another armored column of about 1500 Africans and 500 white mercenaries working with UNITA and FNLA. The *Washington Post* in November reported that not only were South African regular troops fighting hundreds of miles into Angola, but that these forces were supplied from permanent South African military bases on the Namibia border with Angola, from which "regular airlifts of military equipment were made deep into Angola by C-130 transport aircraft."

U.S. and South African cooperation in Southern Africa is nothing new. In the early 1960's South African intelligence worked closely with the CIA to recruit mercenary forces for the Congolese civil war. In recent years the U.S. has begun to secretly build up South Africa's intelligence capabilities, especially in the area of strategic monitoring of the sealanes around the Cape—monitoring sights which can just as easily look north as south in order to monitor African liberation movements and governments. Most of this monitoring is done from the huge Silvermine base on the south coast but other monitoring stations are spread along South Africa's northern border and in South African-occupied Namibia.

With Roberto safely inside the Administration's camp, and controlled by the policies of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine, President Ford decided to start funding a second group in Angola — UNITA. The 40 Committee, the body chaired by Henry Kissinger which governs CIA covert interventions, approved \$300,000 in secret subsidies for UNITA. Previously UNITA had operated as a legitimate liberation force active in the struggle against colonialism. But concurrent with the CIA's secret subsidies, UNITA's military arm came under the control of certain militarists including defectors from the Luanda government. Many African observers were dismayed that UNITA would accept CIA funding and doubt that Jonas Savimbi is in complete control of UNITA, and some experts suspect CIA manipulation of UNITA's internal political dynamic.

By December 12, 1975, the CIA had already spent \$50 million on the Angolan war, and had already sent five ar-





tillery spotter planes piloted by Americans into the Angolan battle zones. These are the same Forward Air Control (FAC) planes used in the South East Asian war. U.S. Air Force C-141 transport jets, flying in behalf of the CIA, regularly landed at the airport in Kinshasa, Zaire, disgorging tons of military supplies including rifles, machine guns, light artillery, rocket launchers and ammunition; these supplies are in turn being flown into Angola by small CIA planes.

The CIA has also been using its base in the Azores to activate one aircraft carrier and three Navy destroyers. The aircraft carrier *Independence* has been placed on full alert with a crew of 4000-5000 military personnel and 90 F-4 Phantom jets on board. The jets have been in a state of readiness to fly tactical air support strikes over Angola, and to deliver tons of napalm, "Sidewinder" missiles and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs. Eyewitness reports have placed the *Independence* in the Azores in early December and off the coast of Angola during January. It was in the Azores, where there is a strategic U.S. naval base at the disposal of the CIA, that the *Independence* took its present cargo of war material. Accompanying the aircraft carrier and three destroyers is the cruiser *Boston*, which was officially decommissioned in November, 1973. Many observers believe the *Boston* is being used as a CIA "black ship" for covert actions.

By December, the CIA also had a world-wide recruitment and training program underway for mercenaries. The existence of large-scale CIA mercenary intervention in Angola represented a major escalation of the war from the CIA support for groups in Angola to direct outside intervention.

The CIA implemented perhaps a dozen or more separate covert recruitment, training and transportation programs to channel mercenaries into the war. The theory behind having so many different operations is

simple. If Congress, the press, or anyone else discloses one or more of these operations, the Agency will still have others to rely upon. The House Select Committee on Intelligence is expected soon to release a report on the full scope of the CIA's war in Angola. But *CounterSpy* has been able to piece together from a variety of sources the following known or suspected CIA mercenary operations:

(1) For over a year, *Soldiers of Fortune* magazine, published by Phoenix associates and the Omega Group, Ltd., a motley collection of ex-Green Berets and other "soldiers of fortune," has been openly recruiting mercenaries for the "Rhodesian" regime of Ian Smith. The first issue of *Soldiers of Fortune* magazine, along with articles on "Underwater Knife-Fighting Techniques" and puff pieces for the CIA's derogatory campaign against Philip Agee, carried "American Mercenaries in Africa" with gory photos of dead and maimed Africans.

(2) Colonel "Mad" Mike Hoare began last year to reform his old "5 Commando" unit for an attack on Angola. Hoare is currently believed to be operating with UNITA units in the south of Angola. Hoare and his unit first gained notoriety when they led a ruthless assault on Stanleyville during the CIA's earlier operations in the Congo. Hoare was also active in the late 1960's recruiting mercenaries for the invasion of Cambodia from a hotel in Bangkok.

(3) In Colorado, where *Soldiers of Fortune* is published, rumors abound of mercenary training at secret CIA camps. The CIA also trained Tibetan rebels in Colorado during the 1960's.

(4) Mercenaries are being sent to Zaire, via the Netherlands, under cover of Unilever and Allied Chemical personnel. They are being passed off as pipeline experts and technicians. Reportedly these mercenaries have no passports.

(5) Much of the recruitment is being done by the CIA's domestic offices in over 20 cities across the nation. In New York City, for example, prospective mercenary recruits are told to call 212-755-0027 or write to 26 Federal Plaza, the CIA office there. After four to five days they receive either a phone call or a letter giving them a code number and an address to report to in Philadelphia. The pay ranges from \$500 per month to \$2400 per week, depending upon specialties and skills. Many of these domestically recruited mercenaries are being sent over only for a month and then rotated. Evidently the CIA has no problem finding recruits. Recruiting has occurred among ex-Army personnel, unemployed vets and recently laid-off policemen and corrections officials.

(6) In Baltimore, a group calling itself AMOUSA has been active recruiting black and Cuban troops for Southern Africa mercenary armies. Some of these people are being directly enlisted in the South African and "Rhodesian" armies.

(7) For over a year, advertisements have appeared in gun and hunting magazines for mercenaries for the Southern Africa war.

(8) The CIA has also recruited among the mercenary hordes overseas, with Portuguese, French, Spanish and even some ex-Nazis among those recruited by the CIA's paramilitary force. The Jan. 11, 1976, London *Sunday Telegraph* reported that dozens of British mercenaries were in Angola.

(9) The CIA has admitted to funneling over \$25 million into FNLA-UNITA since it stepped up its 14-year-old aid project last January. Some estimates by State Department officials add to this another \$10 million bringing the total to \$35 million. The *New York Times* recently reported that this may be only a third of the true total of CIA covert funding of the war.

(10) Zairian commandos and paratroopers became part of the forces opposing the progressive government in Luanda. Estimates of their number operating inside Angola range from 6000 to 11,200.

These interventions of CIA mercenaries and those recruited directly by the white regimes of the region amount to the most massive CIA paramilitary operations since their secret war in Laos. But the situation was even further escalated with the direct intervention of South African troops into the war in Angola.

(11) About 200 black Vietnam war combat veterans in the Washington, D.C. area, including messengers, hospital technicians, police officers and several unemployed men who are bitter about their failure to find work have been recruited into a unit ready to leave for Angola in mid-February by Larry Mitchell, an ex-Green Beret. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is providing the costs of transportation.

South Africa's intervention also reversed the attitudes of many African nations about the Angola situation. For instance, Uganda's President Idi Amin, who before had severely criticized Soviet intervention in Angola, warned the FNLA and UNITA that the African states "may have to review their positions on the Angolan situation and their attitude to your two parties in particular" because of the reports of South African assistance in the fighting. Both Nigeria and Tanzania, important African states, now recognize the government in Luanda, having changed their position of neutrality after learning of South African intervention. A meeting of the Organization of African Unity in December became unravelled as the split developed between those who totally support the Luanda government and those who called for various make-shift peace plans, including calling for a coalition

government between the FNLA, UNITA and the Luanda government.

Many Americans, wary of being stampeded into a new Vietnam war, are looking carefully at the Administration's justification for intervention in Angola. It is obvious that rather than as a response to the Soviets, CIA intervention in Angola began four months before the start of significant Soviet arms shipments. A recent *New York Times* investigation showed that as early as January, 1975, the 40 Committee, comprised at the time of Henry Kissinger, Chairman; Gen. George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; William Clements, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Joseph Sisco, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; and William E. Colby, Director of the CIA, ordered secret CIA intervention in Angola — despite the near-unanimous opposition of Africa experts in the State Department. Only in April did the Soviet Union respond with its first substantial shipment of war material to the Angolan MPLA.

Knowledgeable observers are convinced that Angola under the MPLA government will follow a course similar to that of the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Both governments came to power with significant Soviet military support, yet both have successfully refused to allow Soviet bases in their countries.

Victory for the MPLA and the Angolan People

An MPLA victory on the battlefield or in allying with elements of UNITA would cause great changes in Africa. Certainly the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, currently occupied by the settler "Rhodesian" regime, and in other areas of Southern Africa will be energized to further resist racist oppression by the white regimes.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of a victory, besides freedom and independence for the Angolan people, would be the prevention of South Africa's plans to become the dominant power controlling the mining, refining and production of nuclear materials — plans which if they succeeded could give the apartheid Pretorian government economic hegemony over the West during the next decade. With victories by liberation movements in strategic areas of nuclear mining, South Africa will have to share nuclear production with other African nations.

Even more, a victory of the MPLA would be the defeat of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine on African soil.

The Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine is a perfidious attempt to continue with the assumption that America must police a self-defined order in regions of the Third World. Even though it exchanges American dead for foreign dead, the dangers to Americans are the same. Such a strategy, if it fails, could lead to further escalation directly involving America as the pre-Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine strategies for U.S. foreign policy often did.

Americans can substantially aid in the defeat of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine by demanding a more democratic foreign policy decided by the majority of the public rather than in corporate board rooms and the secret chambers of the CIA. Americans must decide whether to follow the CIA into an alliance with white-ruled South Africa to defend imaginary U.S. security interests, or to teach the lessons of the Great South East Asian war to the Administration by rejecting its foreign policy.

It took ten years of citizen pressure to help end the war in Vietnam, but we can stop this war now before it escalates into the Great Southern Africa War.

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**What Can You Do To Stop The CIA War in Angola?**

1. Invite your friends and associates to hear a speaker on U.S. intervention in Southern Africa. Speakers and literature are available from:

PEPIC, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, 202-483-0382 and

Project on Southern Africa, c/o Courtland Co., Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, 202-544-5380

Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

American Committee on Africa, 305 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10016

Southern Africa Magazine, 5th Floor, 244 West 27th St., New York, N.Y. 10001

African Bibliographic Center, 9th Floor, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

2. Form support committees for African liberation support movements. A shipment of shoes, aspirin, quinine, etc. would be a great act of solidarity with the people of Africa. Representatives of the various liberation support groups can be contacted through the Organizing

Committee for a Fifth Estate.

3. Call, telegram or write your representative in Congress, demanding support for amendments to prohibit U.S. intervention in Angola.

4. Demand that your representatives oppose all CIA operations in the Third World and urge the abolishment of the CIA and covert actions. Further, urge that a special prosecutor be appointed to begin criminal proceedings against CIA officials for past and present illegal CIA activities.

Without organized public opposition, the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine in Southern Africa will go unchallenged. Letters, telegrams and personal visits are crucial to the outcome of congressional action on Angola.

5. Hit the bricks! Public demonstrations against the American involvement in Indochina *did* have an effect on the outcome of the war, and it can have an effect on American policy towards Southern Africa as well. Don't allow the CIA to recruit in your community or campus for their deadly causes, and don't allow the government propaganda on Angola to stand unanswered.

TIP

Terrorist Information Project

NCLC: Brownshirts of the '70s

Once again, the National Caucus of Labor Committees is a subject of TIP. NCLC has continued attacks against the Left, and has more recently begun an offensive against scientists. These tactics have produced a growing concern among activists and demand further study of NCLC as a disruptive right-wing force.

NCLC has launched three operations against left political groups since 1973.

Operation COUNTERPUNCH is aimed at eliminating the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), October League (OL), Progressive Labor Party (PLP), and others active in trade union organizing.

Amsterdam, an update of MOP-UP (NCLC's first anti-left operation), is an attempt to destroy the U.S. Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party — the nemeses of Lyn Marcus, self-styled guru-orator-leader of NCLC and traditional U.S. Labor Party candidate for president.

As described by one NCLC member, operation COUNTERPUNCH is designed to counter-attack:

... the FBI's program to eliminate NCLC with the use of counter gangs. The Left wants to get the Labor Party, so we're going at groups ruthlessly.

NCLC activity had violent beginnings and has continued in this fashion over the last three years. To NCLC watchers, it is evident that their hysterical approach to left groups is an attempt to factionalize and ultimately destroy an already divided movement for social change;

to win members in order to achieve greater size and power (To date, they have done nothing more than parasitically gain notoriety through the work of others); and perhaps to fulfill their widely suspected role as right-wing (or government) funded and controlled agents.

One of the primary tasks of COUNTERPUNCH is, as one NCLC member said, to "brief workers on agents". This is done by distributing leaflets with names, pictures and descriptive paragraphs on the leading factory organizers. A paragraph may appear like this: (Name, height, weight, and picture). "Identify this rat: moustache, black hair, tinted glasses — he infiltrated (name of factory), gate 7, 2nd shift — he will nudge up to any oppressed worker in the plant and lay a soul handshake on him . . . but his only real 'brother' is the FBI/LEAA. Workers associating with him should be warned he is in the process of being fired or given disciplinary layoff. This zombie is a leading agent in (name of city.)" Leaflets like this have been found in Baltimore, Milwaukee, Seattle, and Detroit.

Other paragraphs in these defaming leaflets describe these workers as drug-users, sadists, homosexuals and simply "scum". On the back side of one of these derogatory leaflets will be a listing of the Maoist groups the so-called "agent" allegedly represents. It may read something like this:

If Rockefeller's Maoist Police dogs are still running loose a few weeks from now, you had better kiss your family good-bye. These gangs of rapists, strike breakers, terrorists and brainwashers — RU, PLP and OL — are the best thing that Rocky has going for himself in his mad push for fascist rule and provoked nuclear war with the Soviets, just look at what you're allowing these subhumans to get away with.

The closing paragraph announces the NCLC role in the international working class fight to destroy the "Maoist police operation." It also makes a plea for money: "The Labor Party has enough free loaders — whose families are alive today through no act of their own. We need money and organizers now." This rhetoric speaks to those who are indifferent to or bothered by labor organizers who are persistent at the workplace.

Another operation COUNTERPUNCH tactic is physical violence. NCLC 'goons' may be sent out to beat up key organizers, in some cases, sending them to the hospital. There have been many reports of such violence recently from Philadelphia, Seattle, Milwaukee, New York City, Detroit, Newark and Denver.

In addition to these operations, NCLC has been attempting to organize scientists, including several prominent food experts, psychologists, and nuclear fusion experts.

The question most often asked by those who have been harassed by the NCLC is: where do they get the money to pay for telex systems, print their twice weekly newspaper *New Solidarity*, the *Campaigner* and numerous leaflets, and to have well-dressed, and well-fed members run for office and work fulltime for NCLC without any other means of support?

Careful analysis of their financial reports in *New Solidarity* shows that the NCLC has a weekly income of \$6500, and expenses of \$28,000, thus, accumulating a weekly deficit of \$21,500. Annually, their expenses are \$1.4 million, with a deficit of \$1.1 million. Their principal revenue is from the newspaper sales listed at \$4000 a week, or 16,000 copies sold, which seems to be another exaggeration, since there are only 1500 subscriptions.

The Posse Is Coming . . . Is Coming

After maintaining a low-profile over the last half-dozen years, and generally avoiding faction-fights, *Posse Comitatus* is emerging as an organization to unite rightist paramilitary individuals around the United States into a cohesive force. Since the demise of the Minuteman organization in the late sixties, rightist paramilitary activities have mostly been conducted by local vigilante-type groups whose effectiveness was usually very limited. With the emergence of *Posse Comitatus* (it claims 400,000 members, law enforcement sources say 10,000) the far-right is rising again.

Unlike the Minuteman organizations, *Posse Comitatus* is decentralized in its structure. Local chapters, rather than the national leadership, are responsible for developing both strategy and tactics. Points of unity for the Posse are outlined in a blue-book containing mostly generalized statements of rightist philosophy—with a new twist: in addition to identifying communists as their main antagonists, Posse philosophy recognizes law enforcement officials (and government in general) as antagonistic forces. The only authority recognized by Posse members are county sheriffs, and even they can be subject to reprisals for acting in ways not approved by *Posse Comitatus'* interpretation of constitutional law.

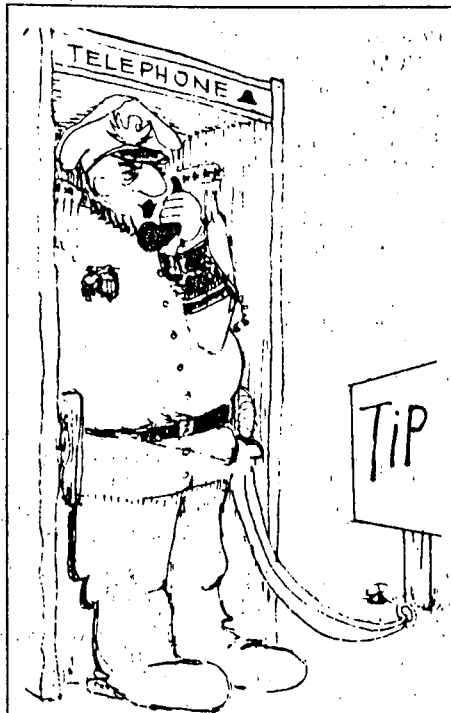
The national chairman of *Posse Comitatus*, H.L. (Mike) Beach, began setting up Posse "charters" in 1969, and now claims affiliates in 48 states. Posse membership has been reported to overlap with other rightist groups, including the U.S. Taxpayers Union and the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms. Charters for the group are granted upon payment of \$21 in dues and the signatures of seven men. What each group does after the charter is granted is pretty much its own affair—some groups are openly racist/anti-semitic, others are not, in keeping with the Posse's concept of decentralization.

The California AFL-CIO has called upon law enforcement authorities to investigate *Posse Comitatus* following a confrontation between members of the group and organizers for the United Farm Workers late last summer. Three Posse members were ar-

rested after they tried to block UFW organizers' access to a field. The incident was reported on the national media, sparking an upsurge of interest in the groups' vigilante activities.

Most of the recorded incidents of Posse activity, however, have been confrontations with law enforcement authorities. The attitude of the Posse towards law enforcement officials, especially federal ones, is an outgrowth of the feeling on the part of many right-wingers that "pro-Communist elements" of the Justice Department were responsible for the demise of the Minuteman Organization. Police officials, on the other hand, are increasingly concerned about the Posse.

"They're nothing but a bunch of vigilantes," said San Joaquin (Calif.) County District Attorney Joseph Baker, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*.



Send a tip to **TIP**. If you have news about right wing terrorist activities in your area, write **Terrorist Information Project**, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington D.C. 20044.

Posse Comitatus confrontations with law enforcement have included:

- An IRS agent in Wisconsin was confronted with five gun-toting members, photographed, and subjected to questioning, after he called upon a farmer in an attempt to verify the price of a farm.

- In Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, 30 men surrounded a policeman on his way to testify against a Posse member charged with assault with a deadly weapon.

- IRS agents in Sacramento, California were confronted by the Posse when they showed up to collect delinquent taxes.

The Posse, according to its leadership, isn't content with a membership that "sits at home and reads and twiddles their thumbs and says how bad things are."

"We have everything in the way of information the Birch Society has, plus more. Once the public is aware of what's happening, why, hell, this is going to be a whole new ball game."

An editorial published by Posse members in the *National Chronicle* elaborated on this point: "It will soon be dangerous for any elected official to return home, there to face a court of white Christian Americans who have chosen to die rather than accept a treasonous offer of national slavery by those whom they have elected to office with the full understanding that they would defend the Constitution and not throw it to the dogs as they have done.

"You officials were sent to Washington to represent white Christian Americans, and NOT the riff-raff Jews, Negroes and other crosses as you have. It will be far better if you leave America as did Benedict Arnold."

If law enforcement estimates about the sensational growth of *Posse Comitatus* are to be believed, they have already equalled the size of the Minuteman Organization at its zenith, and are showing no signs of slacking off. **TIP** hopes to watch the activities of the Posse closely in coming months, and urges readers of **CounterSpy** to pass along any information that you may have regarding this organization.

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The estimated 1,800 FBI Special Agents that received the Army training did not necessarily remain within the ranks of the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover subtly encouraged his agents to find employment within other law enforcement ranks after their retirement from the FBI, and the Association of Former Special Agents provided a formalized "old boy" network for such former FBI employees. Those who do go on to other agencies usually are hired on a managerial level and not as field-level operators.

Hoover's estimates of the chances of civil disturbances were accurate. During the period of September, 1945 through December, 1962, the National Guard was called out for 62 civil disturbances ranging from race and prison riots to labor strike violence; the period of January, 1963 to December, 1968 saw the National Guard called out over 140 times for the same reasons.¹⁹ Those figures, of course, do not reflect the numerous smaller civil disturbances handled by local and state police forces.

In early 1964, President Johnson ordered the Department of the Army to expand its civil disturbance training and to revise the Army's civil disturbance contingency plans.²⁰ On August 26, 1964, President Johnson ordered

LANTERN SPIKE Clearance for Local Spying

These civil disturbance contingency plans were used as the justification of the domestic spying activities of the military intelligence services — activities that received a boost by the military's ability to use the FBI's files. Additionally, a separate set of military intelligence activities used "in support" of GARDEN PLOT were instituted and known as LANTERN SPIKE operations.²¹ LANTERN SPIKE allowed military intelligence agents to conduct liaison with local police agencies in an effort to identify local radical and racial organizations, their leadership, elements and strengths, and potential targets for organized sabotage or disruption.

In the summer of 1965, Blacks in the Watts section of Los Angeles rioted for nine days. It took the resources of the Los Angeles Police, the Los Angeles County Sheriffs, the California State Police, and 13,393 Army and Air National Guardsmen to restore order to the city.²⁴ In the aftermath of the riot, each of the participating agencies made a critical self-analysis of their activities, strengths, and weaknesses.

A retired Marine Corps officer serving as Assistant Chief of Police, Darrell Gates, suggested that the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) form a special team

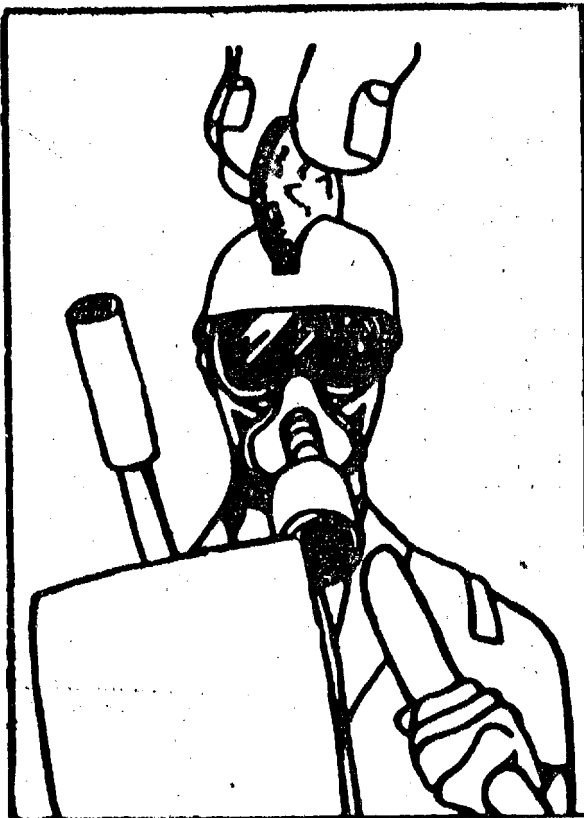


the Army to include National Guard officers in its civil disturbance training, as well as local police officers selected by the FBI. This training, however, was a tactical/technical training, and was not geared to the philosophical or strategic levels.

The Army did revise its civil disturbance planning with the initiation of Operational Plan 563, or OPLAN STEEP HILL. STEEP HILL provided the framework for further revisions of the basic plans that evolved, in 1969, to the current plan known as OPLAN 100, or GARDEN PLOT.²²

to be used for "... protecting police officers engaged in crowd control from sniper attacks, providing high ground and perimeter security for visiting dignitaries, hostage rescue, apprehension of desperate barricaded suspects, providing control assault fire power in certain non-riot situations, rescuing officers or citizens endangered by gunfire, and neutralizing guerrilla or terrorist operations directed against government personnel, property, or the general populace."²⁵

Chief Gates selected the men for the special unit from a pool of volunteers, and placed a priority on the recruit-



ment of Vietnam veterans with combat experience. The men were trained at the U.S. Marine Corps Reconnaissance Commando (RECONDO) School at Camp Pendleton, California. The RECONDO instructors taught the LAPD a history of guerrilla warfare, scouting and patrolling, camouflage and concealment, combat in urban and built-up areas, use of chemical agents, automatic weapons fire, first aid and ambush techniques. The trainees were formed into five man teams, with two teams composing a squad. Each team is composed of a(n):

- (1) **Team Leader**, armed with an M-16, and charged with the command and control of the team;
- (2) **Sniper**, armed with a bolt action, high powered hunting rifle, responsible for sniping and counter-sniping activities;
- (3) **Observer**, armed with an M-16, to assist the Sniper in locating targets and protecting him from attack;
- (4) **Scout**, armed with an M-16, who conducts advance reconnaissance work;
- (5) **Rear Guard**, armed with a 12 gauge pump shotgun, liable for protecting the entire team from a rear or surprise attack.

In early 1967, the LAPD announced that Special Weapons and Tactics teams had been formed within the Tactical Operations Group of the Metropolitan Division. Between 1967 and the middle of 1975, the LAPD SWAT was activated over 200 times, including a confrontation with the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA).²⁶

The SLA shoot-out was a widely publicized but typical SWAT action. Learning from street informants that members of the SLA were housed in a small single-story house in a predominately Black area of the city, SWAT and the FBI's Special Apprehension Teams led a small army of 500 police in the attack. The police blocked off several streets in the area and made no attempt to evacuate local residents before using a small bull horn to demand the SLA surrender. When there was no reply, 29

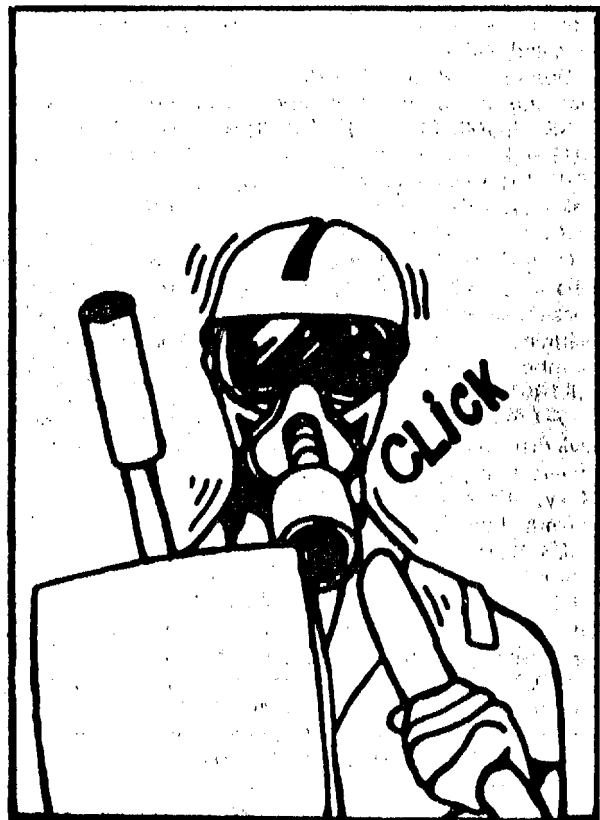
LAPD SWAT members and seven FBI agents opened fire with automatic weapons, including three Schmeisser MP 40 9 millimeter machine guns. A total of 5,371 rounds were fired by the SWAT team, and 83 tear gas grenades were launched into the area equivalent to a 25' x 30' room. All six members of the SLA inside the house were killed by either gunfire or smoke inhalation.

Foundations of SWAT

In preparing the recommendations that led to the formation of SWAT, Chief Gates is alleged to have read all the available Army manuals in insurgency and counter-insurgency, urban guerrilla warfare, and Special Forces operations.²⁷ This self-education, coupled with Gates' military background, gave him the theoretical tools needed to formulate the SWAT project. Such tools, however, were not limited to Chief Gates.

On July 23, 1967, 13 days of rioting broke out in the Black community of Detroit. When local and state police were unable to handle the situation, President Johnson sent Cyrus Vance, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, to analyze the situation. Over 10,200 Michigan National Guardsmen were called to duty, and finally federalized by the President. In addition, 2,700 federal troops were brought into the city to help restore order.²⁸

Following the Detroit riots, Johnson ordered the Army to initiate a training program for field-grade officers (majors and above) in the Army and National Guard. The purpose of the program was to acquaint military officers with a standardized approach to handling civil disturbances. As is evident from the rank required for attendance, the course was designed as a management level theoretical course, and not as a tactical field exercise to teach the troops how to throw a gas grenade or use a riot baton. The Military Police School at Fort Gordon, Georgia, opened the Senior Officers Civil Disturbance Orientation Course, known within the Army as



Senior Civilian Representative of the Attorney General (SCRAG), to make appropriate recommendations concerning commitment of Federal military forces. . . .

Civil disturbance operations are conducted in three phases: Deployment (Phase I), Employment (Phase II), and Redeployment (Phase III). CONUS operations will be conducted as follows:

(1) Phase I — Deployment.

(a) CSA issues a warning order or CIDCON message as far in advance as is practicable, initiating airlift and ground force preparedness measures applying to all Services. CSA directs the designated task force commander to conduct a reconnaissance of the objective area to assess the situation. The task force commander submits recommendations concerning the commitment of Federal military forces directly to CSA within two hours following arrival in the objective area. Reconnaissance by task force commander and staff is made in civilian clothing using commercial transportation and communications equipment. Chief, National Guard Bureau, notifies the State Adjutant General of the arrival of the task force commander and the PLOCSA. The task force commander coordinates his reconnaissance activities with the PLOCSA if one is appointed and available.

The President issues a Proclamation directing that all persons engaged in unlawful obstructions to justice cease and desist, disperse, and retire peaceably. The President then issues an Executive Order directing the employment of Federal military forces.

CSA commands all military ground forces committed to civil disturbance operations. He issues a Letter of Instruction to the task force commander, and at the appropriate time issues the execution message. . . .

The Department of the Navy provides required ground forces; makes airlift resources available to the Air Force as requested by the Secretary of the Air Force; submits airlift and surface transportation requirements to CDRFORSCOM for designated ground forces; passes operational control of ground forces to CDRFORSCOM for movement to and from the objective area and operational control to the task force commander in the objective area.

The Department of the Air Force provides airlift for movement of designated forces to the objective area; provides required ground forces; supports deployed forces by logistic air movements, aerial reconnaissance, and special operations as required; designates and provides the specific units or members of the Air National Guard to be called to active Federal service, as required. . . .

Phase II — Employment. The task force commander assumes operational control of military ground forces in the objective area, accomplishes the task force mission, and recommends the effective times and dates for redeployment of military ground forces. Logistics support for all ground forces in objective areas in CONUS is provided by CDRFORSCOM using available resources of all Services. CDRMDW provides logistic support for TF MDW when initially committed.

Phase III — Redeployment. Following consultation with the DoD Executive Agent, CSA announces the time and date of termination of commitment of Federal forces and directs the task force commander to pass operational control of designated ground forces to CDRFORSCOM for redeployment, forces and transferred to Military Departments as directed by CSA.

d. Federal and State Forces.

(1) Department of Justice (DOJ).

(a) The Attorney General is the chief civilian official in charge of coordinating all Federal Government activities relating to civil disturbances.

(b) The Attorney General:

1 Provides all early warning and all threat information to support civil disturbance planning.

2 Receives and coordinates preliminary requests from States for commitment of Federal armed forces in cases of civil disturbance.

3 Provides advice and support as required to carry out

SEADOC.²⁰ The first classes were held in February, 1968. It is the only such school operated by the Army.

In January, 1969, President Richard Nixon ordered the Secretary of Defense to develop, along with the Attorney General, an Interdepartmental Action Plan for Civil Disturbances and approved the idea of opening SEADOC to selected civil law enforcement personnel.²⁰ In the period of February 12, 1969 through June 30, 1972, a total of 3,352 civilians and 4,824 military officers attended SEADOC.²¹ The projections for Fiscal Years 1973 and 1974 called for a total of 1,540 students per year, 50% of whom would be civilians.²²

Col. Zane Kortum, a past commander of SEADOC, stated in an interview on August 22, 1975, that the civilians attending SEADOC included campus security chiefs, corporate security officials, U.S. Marshals, mayors, city managers, and police managers from all levels of civil government.

The current head of the Dissent and Disorder Management Group of the U.S. Army Military Police School, Major Peter Davis, wrote in June that the basis for SEADOC instruction was contained in Army Field Manual 19-15.²³ Actually, that Field Manual is but one of several used in SEADOC training, but it does have a substantial section dedicated to discussing the use of "special response teams" that are parallel to the LAPD's SWAT. Other manuals cover use and show of force, legal aspects of civil disorder suppression, history of civil disorders, and the initiation of Martial Law/Martial Rule.

The recommendation to open SEADOC was one of several made by an Army task force appointed by Gen. Harold K. Johnson. Another recommendation that was approved created a Directorate of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations as a central clearinghouse for civil disturbance activities. It was headed by a Major General and supported by a staff of 180 officers to operate a 24 hour per day watch in an "Emergency Operations Center", a domestic war room.

DOMS — Trigger for Military Rule

The Directorate of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations changed its name in 1970 to the Directorate for Military Support; in July 1975 it was changed again to the Division of Military Support (DOMS).²⁴ Throughout its history, DOMS has served as the command and control element needed for military intervention into civil disturbances. It has served as a clearinghouse for intelligence on civil disorders and requests for military assistance in both natural disaster and civil disturbance situations. Field grade officers assigned to DOMS maintain a 24-hour a day watch team that monitors such activity and works to fulfill requests from local agencies. Since the end of the Vietnam War, DOMS has been reduced in size to approximately 25 field grade officers and secretarial support.²⁵



the provisions of Executive Orders.

4 Designates a senior civilian representative to be located in each city where Federal forces are committed.

5 Obtain informal approval of the President for the prepositioning of more than a battalion sized unit (approximately 500 men) in anticipation of commitment to civil disturbance operations. (After informal approval, actual prepositioning will be on order of the Secretary of Defense.)

(2) US Coast Guard. Provides coastal and inland water patrolling forces and logistic support for civil disturbance operations as directed.

(3) State Adjutants General. Prepare civil disturbance plans for the employment of National Guard units under State control. In CONUS, plans are coordinated with Commanders of CONUS Armies; outside of CONUS, with commanders of unified commands concerned. The Commander of the District of Columbia National Guard coordinates plans with the Commander, US Army Military District of Washington.

(4) Reserve Units. The Reserve forces of the Armed Services will not be considered as forces available for GARDEN PLOT operations.

e. Assumptions:

(1) Simultaneous civil disturbances requiring commitment of Federal forces may occur in any of the 50 States, District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, US possessions and territories.

(2) Army and Air National Guard units may be called into active Federal service as required when the decision is made to commit Federal forces.

(3) Requirements for the commitment of Federal forces will not result in the declaration of a National Emergency.

2. (U) MISSION.

When directed by the President, the Secretary of the Army, as DoD Executive Agent, employs Federal forces, through appropriate military commanders, in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and US possessions and territories or any political subdivision thereof, to assist civil authorities in the restoration of law and order. •••

g. United States Army Forces Command (FORSCOM):

(1) Organizes, trains, and maintains in readiness Army forces for civil disturbance operations as shown in Annex A (Task Organization, Forces and Reaction Times).

(2) Nominates task force commanders for CONUS operations subject to approval by CSA.

(3) Nominates units to be assigned to task forces for CONUS civil disturbance operations. Coordinates with appropriate unified commands to determine designation of any USMC forces to be a part of the civil disturbance task force.

(4) Deploys and Redeploys civil disturbance ground forces for CONUS operations as directed by CSA. •••

p. Department of the Navy (DN):

(1) Consistent with defense priorities, designates and provides military resources of the United States Navy (USN) and United States Marine Corps (USMC) required by the DoD Executive Agent for employment in civil disturbance operations.

(2) Consistent with defense priorities, makes airlift resources available to the Secretary of the Air Force as required.

q. Department of the Air Force (DAF):

(1) Consistent with defense priorities, provides military resources of the United States Air Force (USAF) required by the DoD Executive Agent to carry out the provisions of the Presidential Executive Order or other appropriate authority, to include designation of specific units or members of the Air National Guard to be called into active Federal service.

(2) Exercises, for the DoD Executive Agent, coordinating authority over and direction of DoD provided military and commercial obligated airlift resources used to fulfill civil disturbance airlift requirements.

(3) Provides airlift for deployment and redeployment of civil disturbance forces and key personnel, supply and re-supply, aerial reconnaissance, special operations, air weather support, and aeromedical evacuation for military forces as required.

DOMS is charged with over 20 other Army tasks related to civil disturbances, including the preparation of Army Civil Disturbance Information Reports, monitoring the civil disturbance training of Army units tasked with domestic civil disturbance responsibilities, assisting local officials in civil disturbance planning, liaison with "outside agencies" concerned with civil disturbances, and "improving and evaluating the operational readiness of the Army National Guard to deal with civil disturbances."³⁶

It has been under the aegis of conducting training that a series of Command Post Exercises (CPX's) were initiated to teach local, state, and federal agencies how to work with each other in a civil disturbance situation. Operations were held on two separate levels with different participants. Regionalized operations involving National Guard, state, county, and local police as well as the Army and federal law enforcement agencies were held as early as 1968. These operations had a variety of code names, and were organized according to Army regions within the Continental United States (CONUS).

The military has divided the CONUS into six Army areas. The VI Army region (California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Arizona) is the only region where the code names and plans for these operations have been discovered. Beginning in 1968, the VI Army coordinated a series of exercises known as CABLE SPLICER.³⁷

Pentagon War Games

The second level of operations took place within the Pentagon, with the participation of local officials simulated by military officers. These exercises were known as GRAM METRIC I and GRAM METRIC II.³⁸ Both CABLE SPLICER and GRAM METRIC operated in the same fashion: game players (military officers or local police managers) were given a series of coordinated situations to which they had to respond.

These CPXs did not require the movement of troops or any other activity that might attract the attention of the press. They involved large numbers of people, however, such as 500 police, National Guard, Army, and federal officials during the CPX CABLE SPLICER II in February, 1969.³⁹ Each of the participants, from county sheriff through Army general, participated in respond-

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY CIVIL DISTURBANCE PLAN (U)

... The employment of Department of Defense military resources in controlling civil disturbances will normally be authorized by a Presidential Directive or an Executive Order directing the Secretary of Defense to help restore law and order in a specific State or locality. Exceptions to this condition will be limited to:

(1) Sudden and unexpected civil disturbances or other emergencies endangering life or Federal property or disrupting the normal processes of government which require that immediate military action be taken to protect life or Federal property or to prevent disruption of Federal activities.

(2) Loan of military resources (other than personnel employed in a direct law enforcement role) in response to requests received by local and military commanders from civil authorities, for use in connection with civil disturbances (Annex K, Loan of DoD Military Resources).

(3) Protection of Federal property and functions (Annex N, Protection of Federal Property and Functions).

Classified by: Directorate of Military Support

GARDEN PLOT INTELLIGENCE DIRECTIVES

References:

- a. National Security Council Directive on Internal Security, 4 May 1949.
- b. Interdepartmental Action Plan for Civil Disturbances, 1 April 1969.
- c. Department of Defense Directive 5200.27, subject: Acquisition of Information Concerning Persons and Organizations not Affiliated with the Department of Defense, 1 March 1971.
- d. AR 381-115, Counterintelligence Investigative Agencies, 2 July 1969.
- e. AR 381-10, Military Intelligence, Channels of Communication with the FBI, 29 July 1967. . . .
- g. SECNAVINST 3820.2A, Department of the Navy Investigative and Related Information Collection Activities, 1 November 1971.
- h. AFR 124-13, Acquisition of Information Concerning Persons and Organizations not Affiliated with the Department of Defense, 23 June 1971. . . .

While the need for intelligence is recognized before, during, and after the commitment of Federal forces, under no circumstances will Army personnel collect, report, process, or store civil disturbance information on civilian individuals or organizations whose activities cannot, in a reasonably direct manner, be related to a distinct threat of civil disturbance exceeding the law enforcement capabilities of local and state authorities, except as authorized. . . .

No information shall be acquired about a person or organization solely because of lawful advocacy of measures in opposition to Government policy, or because of activity in support of racial interests and civil rights.

There shall be no physical or electronic surveillance of Federal, state, or local officials or of candidates for such offices.

There shall be no electronic surveillance of any individual or organization except as authorized by law.

There shall be no covert or otherwise deceptive surveillance or penetration of civilian organizations unless specifically authorized by the Under Secretary of the Army and the Chairman of the Defense Investigative Review Council.

Unsolicited Sources.

(1) So-called walk-in sources who volunteer to Army elements information . . .

Handling of Civil Disturbance Threat and Early Warning Information.

(1) Receipt at National Level — Appropriate members of the Army Secretariat and the Army Staff are authorized to receive civil disturbance threat and early warning information from civilian agencies and to forward it for further disposition in accordance with this subparagraph. . . .

(4) Dissemination — Analyzed reports prepared above may be furnished to appropriate field commanders upon specific prior authorization by the Secretary or the Under Secretary of the Army. Authorization will be granted only when it reasonably appears that there is a need for planning to anticipate a civil disturbance beyond the capabilities of local and state authorities to control. . . .

Army military intelligence elements possessing investigative and related counterintelligence resources will be prepared to collect on order from DA, civil disturbance information during a period in which there is a distinct threat of, or actual, civil disturbance requiring the use of Federal military forces.

Planning — Civil disturbance plans and supporting materials will not include listings of organizations and individuals not affiliated with the Department of Defense. Exceptions to this policy are the direct acquisition by overt means, and the current maintenance of:

(1) Listings of local, State, and Federal officials whose duties include responsibilities related to control of civil disturbances.

(2) Appropriate data on vital public and commercial installations/facilities or private business and facilities which are attractive targets for persons or groups engaged in civil disorders.

Storage of Civil Disturbance Information.

(1) Except as indicated in paragraphs 1d(3) and 1d(4) above, civil disturbance information relating to persons or organizations within the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and US territories and possessions will not be stored unless its retention is explicitly authorized under subparagraphs . . .

(5) Upon termination of a civil disturbance situation, the nature and extent of all accumulated files other than spot reports, FBI reports, Department of Justice documents, after-action reports, and DA originated reports will be reported to Department of the Army, ATTN: DAMI-CIC, with recommendation for destruction or release to the Department of Justice. . . .

ing to situations such as sit-ins and building seizures, labor strikes and picket lines, mass rallies and demonstrations, arson, riot, bombings, coordinated terrorist attacks, rock festivals, and a broad range of other situations.

Real individuals and political organizations were euphemized as the agitators of these activities. In the CABLE SPLICER after action reports, one can identify such people as William Kunstler, and Tom Hayden, and organizations such as SDS, the Black Panther Party, the Progressive Labor Party, and the Weather Underground among others.⁴⁰ In GRAM METRIC, for example, the SDS was called the Revolutionary Liberty Front.⁴¹

According to Brig. Gen. J.L. Jelinek, the Director of the Army National Guard Bureau, CABLE SPLICER/GRAM METRIC type CPXs have been held in every state within the last year. In fact, Col. Kortum stated in his interview that the army actually recommends National Guard participation in such exercises; and draws its authority to conduct them from Defense Department Regulations 325.12 (*Employment of Military Resources in the Event of Civil Disorders*), Army Regulation 500-50, and the Interdepartmental Action Plan for Civil Disturbances.

The Interdepartmental Plan, authored by John Mitchell and Melvin Laird in the first weeks of the Nixon

Administration in 1969, formalized the working relationship between the Defense Department and the Justice Department during civil disorders. Under the plan, the Attorney General designates a Senior Representative of the Attorney General (SCRAG) and the Defense Department, through the Under Secretary of the Army, appoints a Personal Liaison Officer for the chief of Staff of the Army (PLOCSA). The job of the SCRAG and PLOCSA is to coordinate the activities of their respective components in the field and to report to their superiors on continuing developments.

**Wounded Knee '73:
Rehearsal for GARDEN PLOT**

OPLAN GARDEN PLOT became the Army's program for implementing the Interdepartmental Action Plan. An analysis of the government's response to the 1973 events at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, demonstrates the tangible practice of GARDEN PLOT, and how SWAT type units fit into an overall plan for domestic counter-insurgency.

In February 1973, the Pine Ridge Reservation was under the lawless rule of elected tribal president Dick Wilson. Wilson had been consolidating his power through bribery and pay-offs to those who could be

bought, while threatening, harassing and intimidating the opposing "traditional" people who practiced the older ways of Oglala life.

In order to preserve their rights, and to end Wilson's dictatorial control of the tribal government, the traditional people formed the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO).

Among their charges against Wilson were claims that he discriminated against fullbloods by providing jobs and services only to relatives and mixed-blood friends, who in turn supported his rule as his own personal "goon squad". OSCRO also challenged Wilson for leasing tribal land to white ranchers in return for a kick-back, and for collaborating with the BIA against the interests of the Oglala Sioux people.

OSCRO began a drive to impeach Wilson and remove him from office. Wilson responded with more violence against those who dared voice opposition. The gravity of the situation increased when a traditional woman, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, led a demonstration at the Custer, S.D. courthouse to protest the lenient charge given to a white man accused of killing her son Wesley. The demonstration erupted into a confrontation between the Indians and the South Dakota State Police Tactical Team, a paramilitary unit, resulting in \$40,000 damage to the courthouse, Chamber of Commerce building and two gas stations by fire.

Wilson used the incident and the talk of bringing the American Indian Movement (AIM) to the reservation to appeal for help from the BIA. The BIA contacted the Justice Department, which ordered a detachment of the U.S. Marshals Service Special Operations Group (SOG) to the reservation on Feb. 12, 1973.⁴³

SOG was created in 1971 by Wayne Colburn, the Director of the Marshals Service, and had been used to protect federal buildings and property during the 1971



GARDEN PLOT ORDER OF REACTION

1. (U) TASK ORGANIZATION.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Command Post</i>
<i>Department of Defense</i>	
Department of the Army	The Pentagon, Washington, DC
Department of the Navy	The Pentagon, Washington, DC
Department of the Air Force	The Pentagon, Washington, DC
Defense Supply Agency	Cameron Station, Alexandria, VA
<i>Joint Chiefs of Staff</i>	
Defense Intelligence Agency	The Pentagon, Washington, DC
Defense Communications Agency	8th St. and S. Courthouse Rd., Arlington, VA
<i>Unified Commands</i>	
Alaskan Command	Elmendorf AFB, Anchorage, AL
Atlantic Command	US Naval Base, Norfolk, VA
Pacific Command	Camp HM Smith, HI
Readiness Command	MacDill AFB, Tampa, FL
<i>Department of the Army</i>	
FORSCOM	Fort McPherson, GA
TRADOC	Fort Monroe, VA
USAMC	Gravelly Point, Washington, DC
USASTRATCOM	Fort Huachuca, AZ
MTMTS	Washington, DC
MDW	Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC
<i>Department of the Navy</i>	
Chief of Naval Operations (CNO)	The Pentagon, Washington, DC
Commandant, Marine Corps (CMC)	Navy Annex, Washington, DC
<i>Department of the Air Force</i>	
Military Airlift Command (MAC)	Scott AFB, IL
Tactical Air Command (TAC)	Langley AFB, VA
Air Force Reserve (AFRES)	Robins AFB, GA
<i>US Coast Guard</i>	
Commandant, US Coast Guard	1300 E. St., Washington, DC

2. FORCES. Definitions.

(1) Civil Disturbance Mission Units (CDMU). Units trained and equipped for rapid deployment in civil disturbance operations. Corps or division headquarters designated as task force headquarters have established the task force headquarters organizations, tested task force headquarters organization and procedures by CPX, established civil disturbance standard operating procedures (SOP), and prepared information planning packets and conducted liaison as directed.

(2) Civil Disturbance Contingency Mission Units (CDCMU). Units which have received orientation and limited operational training in civil disturbance operations and which have been issued or may readily be issued special equipment required for civil disturbance operations. Units designated as task force headquarters have established the task force headquarters organizations. Contingency mission units are prepared to initiate intensive civil disturbance training and planning for civil disturbance operations on short notice. □

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

LAW AND ORDER IN THE STATE OF _____

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Governor of the State of _____ has informed me that conditions of domestic violence and disorder exist in and about the City of _____ in that state, endangering life and property and obstructing execution of the laws, and that the law enforcement resources available to the City and State, including the National Guard, are unable to suppress such acts of violence and to restore law and order; and

WHEREAS the Governor has requested me to use such of the Armed Forces of the United States as may be necessary for those purposes; and

WHEREAS such domestic violence and disorder are also obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, and endangering the security of Federal property and functions, in and about the City of _____;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, _____, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, do command all persons engaged in such acts of violence to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peaceably forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and _____, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety _____.

(Signature of the President)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Subj: Letter of Instruction [Garden Plot] [U]

1. [] This letter of instruction is effective on receipt for planning and preparatory action. It is effective for execution on order of the Chief of Staff, US Army.

2. [] Command and Control

A. _____, you are designated Commander of Task Force _____. Your mission is to

[1] Help protect federal property, functions, and facilities in _____.

[2] Help restore and maintain law and order in _____ [the _____]

area is defined for purposes of this lot as the area within the boundaries of] _____. Units for

TF _____ will be designated. Be prepared to assume operational control of and employ additional active Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, National Guards Units of the State of _____ and other reserve component units of all services called or ordered to active duty under presidential authority.

B. In carrying out your duties, you will be directly responsible to the Chief of Staff, US Army, who is acting for the Executive Agent [Secretary of the Army]. You will establish your command post at _____

and report subsequent locations. You are authorized direct communication with Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard Installation Commanders in the vicinity of your operation.

c. The Attorney General will appoint a Senior Civilian Representative regarding military operations and decisions when feasible. The Senior Civilian Representative, in consultation with you, will establish and maintain liaison with the mayor/commissioner, governors and the civil authorities of federal,

state, and local governments in the objective area. He will coordinate the federal civilian efforts to assist in the administration of justice, in the detention of prisoners, in arranging for emergency relief measures, and in other civil matters. You will advise the Chief of Staff, US Army, of significant actions taken by you as a result of consultations with the Senior Civilian Representative.

D. You will cooperate with (but not take orders from) municipal and state law enforcement officials.

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROVIDING FOR THE RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER

IN THE STATE OF _____

WHEREAS I have today issued Proclamation No. _____ pursuant in part to the provisions of Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code; and

WHEREAS the conditions of domestic violence and disorder described therein continue, and the persons engaging in such acts of violence have not dispersed;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Units and members of the Armed Forces of the United States will be used to suppress the violence described in the proclamation and to restore law and order in and about the City of _____.

SECTION 2. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the Armed Forces as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of SECTION 1. To that end, he is authorized to call into the active military service of the United States units or members of the National Guard, as authorized by law, to serve in an active duty status for an indefinite period and until relieved subject to recall at the discretion of the Secretary of Defense.

In carrying out the provisions of this order, the Secretary of Defense shall observe such law enforcement policies as the Attorney General may determine.

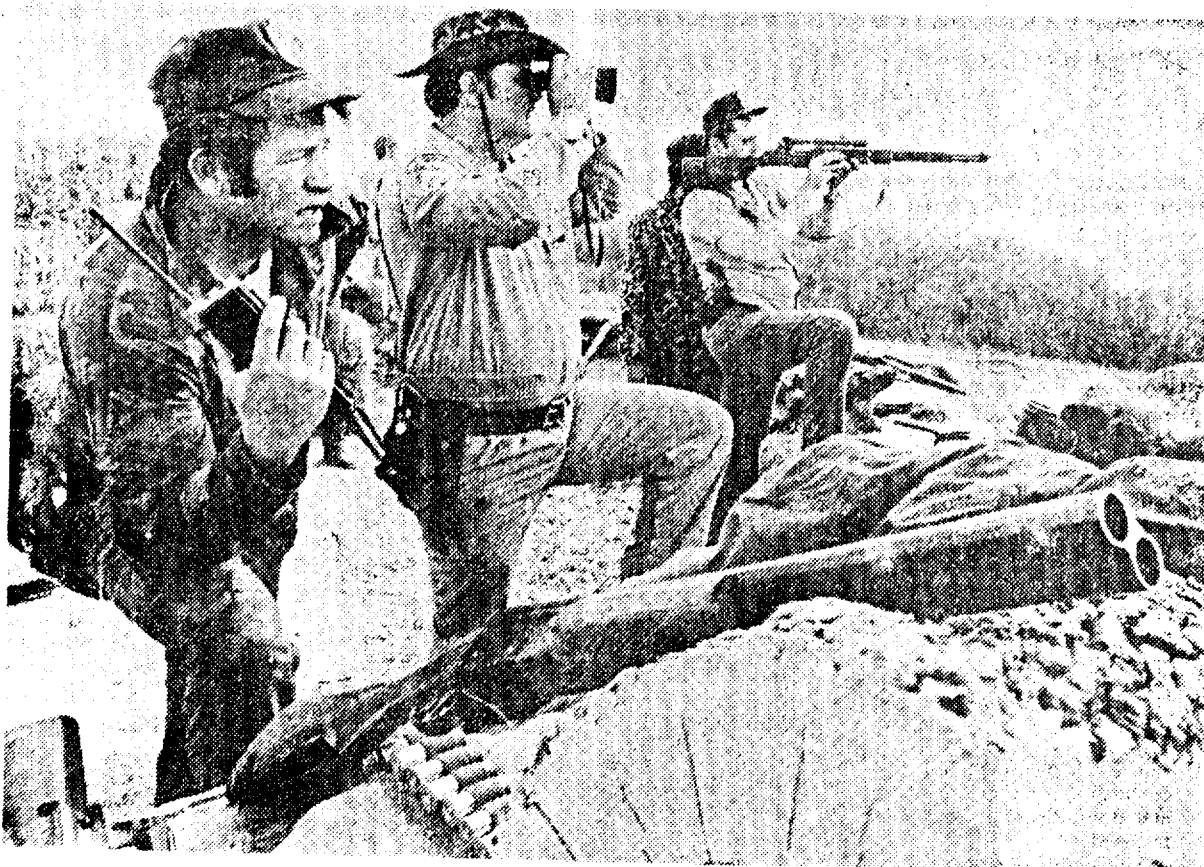
SECTION 3. Until such time as the Armed Forces shall have been withdrawn pursuant to SECTION 4 of this order, the Attorney General is further authorized (1) to coordinate the activities of all Federal agencies assisting in the suppression of violence and in the administration of justice in and about the City of _____, and (2) to coordinate the activities of all such agencies with those of State and local agencies similarly engaged.

SECTION 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to determine when Federal military forces shall be withdrawn from the disturbance area and when federalized National Guard units and personnel shall be released from active Federal service. Such determination shall be made in the light of the Attorney General's recommendations as to the ability of State and local authorities to resume full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the affected area.

SECTION 5. The Secretary of Defense and the Attorney General are authorized to delegate to subordinate officials of their respective Departments any of the authority conferred upon them by this order.

(Signature of the President)

THE WHITE HOUSE



U.S. Marshals' bunker on the eastern perimeter of Wounded Knee

"May Day" anti-war demonstrations. SOG had also seen action in evicting members of the American Indian Movement from Alcatraz Island and the Twin Cities Naval Air Station. Marshall Colburn told a federal court in Lincoln, Nebraska, that members of SOG were trained at the SEADOC course and the California State Training Institute, as well as several other federal training institutions.⁴⁴

When SOG arrived, they turned the BIA building on Pine Ridge into an armed fort; sand bags were placed on the roof to form gun emplacements; 24-hour a day patrols of the reservation were begun; and SOG began to train BIA police in the use of carbines and shotguns. It was after two weeks of the SOG operations on Pine Ridge that OSCRO held a series of meetings and voted to ask AIM to come to Pine Ridge and assist them in unseating Wilson.

On Feb. 27 over 300 people showed up for a meeting at Calico, a small reservation hamlet. In order to accommodate the crowd, it was announced that the meeting would be moved to a larger community hall across the reservation at Porcupine.

As the caravan drove through Wounded Knee en route to Porcupine, the Indians saw FBI agents, SOG and BIA police lining the roads and blocking the way. The caravan turned off at Wounded Knee and headed for the Trading Post and the Catholic Church. Seeing the armed presence of so many government agents, some Indians secured weapons from the Trading Post in order to defend themselves. The police responded by arresting whoever tried to leave the hamlet.

It would be 71 days before the roadblocks came down for good. The Justice Department had laid siege to Wounded Knee.

Military Put in Gear

At DOMS, the word of the "occupation" of Wounded Knee geared up the night staff. GARDEN PLOT contingency plans were reviewed and local resources checked for possible use by either federal or local forces.⁴⁵

On March 1, Attorney General Richard Klien dienst requested that the Department of the Army send a representative to Wounded Knee to help coordinate and evaluate the situation. After conferences between Gen. Alexander Haig, who was to have the final approval on all Army activities at Wounded Knee, and Gen. Hay, the commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps, Col. Volney Warner was designated the PLOCSA for Wounded Knee.⁴⁶

At 3:30 a.m. on March 3, 1973, Col. Warner arrived at Ellsworth AFB, and was met by Marshal Colburn and FBI Special Agent in Charge Joseph Trimbach. The law enforcement officers wanted an immediate commitment from Warner that 2000 members of the 82nd Airborne would be committed to Wounded Knee. Warner was prepared for the request, and after a three-hour briefing by Colburn and Trimbach, the three men took a helicopter ride to Wounded Knee. After surveying the terrain and the position of the roadblocks, Warner responded to the request.

Rather than bring in military troops that would create an unfavorable public impression, Warner asked the Marshals and FBI to increase their contingents and utilize support provided by the military to conduct a cordon operation against the Indians. Rather than take Wounded Knee by force immediately, Warner wanted to attempt a negotiated settlement.⁴⁷

LANTERN SPIKE

The Pentagon went much further in their domestic spying efforts than was originally indicated by the disclosures of 1970-71 of military domestic surveillance. In association with GARDEN PLOT, the U.S. Army launched massive intelligence operations which went under a variety of names such as ROSE BUSH, PUNCH BLOCK, STEEP HILL and eventually under the name that stuck: LANTERN SPIKE.

While GARDEN PLOT and its offspring allowed for full use of federal forces in so-called "civil disturbance situations", and thus was a plan for *operations* by the military, LANTERN SPIKE called for the use of counterintelligence agents and other resources to engage in "*continuous active collection and timely dissemination ... of intelligence information to monitor ... civil disturbances of serious or potentially serious consequences.*"

LANTERN SPIKE operations were conducted by the Army's USAINTC (U.S. Army Intelligence Command, pronounced use-saint-see) organized in 1965. USAINTC was created after Project SECURITY SHIELD in 1964 recommended the creation of a new separate intelligence command within the United States and its territories. Under USAINTC, each region of the United States was carved up into military intelligence groups, each responsible for intelligence coverage of a multi-state area. In 1975 USAINTC was abolished and replaced by the new U.S. Army Intelligence Agency (USAINTA).

USAINTC, and now USAINTA, acted in a support role for Department of Army (DA) *anywhere* there was a chance of anything disruptive occurring. LANTERN SPIKE could be implemented before GARDEN PLOT and continue well after federal forces had been withdrawn and GARDEN PLOT called off.

Pages C 2 and C-3 of USAINTC OPLAN 100-68 (the LANTERN SPIKE plan for 1968) gives a good indication of the mentality of army intelligence officers.

Although the majority of anti-war protestors appear reluctant for moral, practical or legal reasons, to engage in public demonstrations of a nature which violate existing laws, there is a significant minority of professional agitators and young students who advocate either violent action or so-called disobedience of a nature that violence is almost sure to ensue ...

Although it cannot be substantiated that the antiwar and anti-draft movements are acting in response to foreign direction, it must be pointed out that by their activities they are supporting the stated objectives of foreign elements which are detrimental to the USA. Many leaders of the anti-war and anti-draft movements have traveled to foreign countries, including Cuba, East Europe and North Vietnam to meet with Communist leaders. Therefore, the possibility exists that these individuals may be either heavily influenced or outright dominated by their foreign contacts.

In the 1966-1970 period LANTERN SPIKE/ROSE BUSH/PUNCH BLOCK was declared approximately 20 times, many more times than GARDEN PLOT ever was, according to available documents. Military intelligence units would go into LANTERN SPIKE operations without GARDEN PLOT ever being declared in some cases.

Under LANTERN SPIKE, an operations center (EOC)

was established on an around the clock basis. Agents would be sent to the site of the disturbance under many guises, and reports were constantly sent to the center. Liaison was intensified with state and local police and the FBI. Agents would often infiltrate movement groups to try and influence events.

For instance, one after action report of LANTERN SPIKE states with pride that agents covering the march on the Pentagon in October, 1967, were "well received by the demonstrators and in many instances were assigned duties of importance within dissident groups." One agent was assigned to be a group leader of the bus on which he was travelling. The report smugly adds, however, that "there is a possibility of danger to the agents in this type of operation, as they have difficulty in developing the look and smell of the 'hippy' in a short time; however, in this operation USAINTC agents were successfully accepted."

The peak period of LANTERN SPIKE operations enabled the Pentagon to collect thousands of reports all of which were centrally deposited in the U.S. Army Intelligence Records (USAIRR) originally located at Fort Holabird in Baltimore and now at Fort Huachuca in Arizona, and locally at Military intelligence group file centers. After the disclosures of massive military spying in 1970 by Chris Pyle, a former military intelligence officer, USAINTC documents reveal much grumbling about having to spend all their time refuting — unsuccessfully — the Pyle allegations. Although USAINTC and other military intelligence offices were ordered by Congress to destroy the files, recent disclosures indicate they were computerized and are still maintained by the Pentagon.

The plan immediately swung into action. The entire Special Operations Group was called to Wounded Knee, and the FBI brought in additional men. Even the riot squad from the Border Patrol was brought in to make a consolidated federal force of over 340. Col. Warner immediately began his work as a military advisor. In the first days of his stay, he helped the Justice Department establish an emergency operations center, complete with a tactical intelligence component; procured over 100 M-16 rifles and ammunition, 17 Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs), and other logistical items needed by an Army conducting a siege, from "C" rations to field jackets. Most important of all, Col. Warner devised an attack plan to take Wounded Knee by force.

Col. Warner used his position as PLOCSA to manipulate the Justice Department when he desired or thought it necessary. He had the final recommendation on equipment the Justice Department requested through DOMS, and used that leverage when he wanted. On occasions, he would limit the number of rounds allowed at the roadblocks, or would make recommendations to the SCRAG that negotiations could be forced along by tightening the perimeter.⁴⁸ In the words of his own after action report, Col. Warner and several other field grade officers with him acted more as "a Military Assistance Advisory Group" than observers. Warner also admitted that he had an equal voice in decision making at Wounded Knee, which on its face would appear to violate the spirit if not the intent of the Posse Comitatus Act.⁴⁹

The attack plan that Warner devised called for him to ride with Marshal Colburn in a command and control helicopter over Wounded Knee. One half-hour before dawn, the APCs would be moved in towards the hamlet with troops (FBI and SOG) behind them on foot. At dawn, the Indians would be warned that they were to surrender or the area would be gassed. Fifty-five gallon barrels of CS riot gas were to be dropped from the helicopter while the APCs fired gas on the ground. The troops would then move in and "neutralize" resistance and effect arrests.⁵⁰

The plan was originally devised on March 9 to be implemented on March 12.⁵¹ During this period roadblocks had been alternately going up and down in tune with the carrot and stick approach of the government negotiators. In order to create the conditions for the assault of the 12th, the government provoked several incidents on March 11. First four armed postal inspectors were sent into Wounded Knee, allegedly to investigate the conditions at the post office located inside the Trading Post. Seen as a pretext for securing intelligence on the strength and deployment of the Indian people, the postal inspectors were stopped at the Indian roadblock, arrested, disarmed and detained for several hours. At about the same time FBI agents pulled alongside a van of Indian people returning from a nearby community. A witness described the incident: "... a sedan pulled alongside and all of a sudden he hit the siren. I was going to pull over but he put an M-16 out the window and fired."⁵²

GARDEN PLOT — KENT STATE

Activities and Events Precipitating the Civil Disturbance

On 4 May 1970 violence again broke out on the Kent State University campus, following three days of antiwar demonstrations. At 0412000 hours, a major confrontation between Kent State University students and law enforcement agencies reinforced by Ohio National Guardsmen, occurred. After a sniper allegedly fired on the deployed Guardsmen, a short exchange of gunfire took place. Four demonstrators, two of them co-eds, were killed and ten wounded.

The confrontation started when law enforcement officials and National Guardsmen moved in to disperse hundreds of student demonstrators. Two Guardsmen were hospitalized. A state of emergency was declared, and the university closed for the remainder of the week.

As a result of the Kent, Ohio incident, student protest rallies, strikes and occasional violent confrontations occurred on college campuses throughout the nation during the period 5 May - 10 May 1970. There were a total of 285 colleges and universities which had varying degrees of antiwar activities. On 8 May 1970, the general trend in the nationwide antiwar protest indicated a shift to demonstration activity away from the campuses to the surrounding metropolitan areas. Large rallies occurred in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Columbus, Austin and Seattle. Smaller demonstrations were reported in numerous other cities. These rallies were, on the whole, nonviolent.

In view of the expansion of the war into Cambodia and to protest the killing of the four Kent University students, The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam formulated plans for a mass antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. on 9 May 1970. The New Mobe estimated that 20 to 30 thousand demonstrators would participate. Based on the fact that large numbers of students, primarily from Eastern Seaboard colleges and universities were expected to attend and also due to a number of colleges having terminated this semester's courses of study, it was felt that there would be a substantial student presence in Washington, D.C. on 9 May 1970. New Mobe plans called for rallies, street sit-ins and other acts of nonviolent civil disobedience. They identified H Street, LaFayette Square, and Pennsylvania Avenue, all of which are

The roadblocks then went back up to stay. But the military's attack plan for March 12 was cancelled in favor of a siege to starve out the occupants. After five unsuccessful weeks of siege, on April 27, preparations were made again with a modified plan devised after Warner made a trip to the Pentagon. The attack date was set. If negotiations failed to reach a settlement by May 9, an attack would take place on the morning of May 10.⁵³ Army officers from Fort Carson were brought in to assist with the attack. The stage was set, and the countdown was below 96 hours when a settlement was reached. A virtual repeat of the 1890 massacre of over 300 Oglalas was narrowly averted.

Throughout it all, the 82nd Airborne and the 4th Infantry were placed on and off alert.⁵⁴ Even though the troops were never brought in, a domestic form of Vietnamization occurred. From all appearances, the Army was never at Wounded Knee, although they actually controlled much of the operations.

Massive amounts of military equipment went through the pipelines to Wounded Knee, including back-pack radios, mine detectors, 17 APCs, 200 flakvests, 177 M-16 and sniper rifles, 9,100 "star" parachute flares, and 123,000 rounds of ball and tracer ammunition. All of this, of course, was in addition to the supplies brought in from Justice Department resources.⁵⁵

Wounded Knee was a practical application of the Interdepartmental Action Plan, GARDEN PLOT, and the lessons of GRAM METRIC and CABLE SPLICER operations. The entire law enforcement community looked to Wounded Knee as a test of the theory and tactics that had been promoted at SEADOC and the California Specialized Training Institute (CSTI). CSTI sent an observer to Wounded Knee to make recommendations on how the Institute could best prepare for any future similar operations. That observer was Major Victor Jackson, an instructor in the Civil Disturbance Management Course offered by CSTI.⁵⁶



directly in front of the White House, as the desired focal point of the demonstration. The Department of Justice rejected the New Mobe's request and instead offered the Washington Monument grounds. After considerable negotiations the New Mobe compromised with authorities to hold the demonstration in the Ellipse, South of the White House.

Planning and Preparations

Upon receipt of DA message 082001Z May 70, USAINTC dispatched autovon message 082245Z May 70 directing all MI Groups to execute LANTERN SPIKE condition effective upon receipt of message. DA message 082001Z May 70 was retransmitted to all MI Groups. USAINTC autovon message 082245Z May 70 informed groups to be prepared to institute GARDEN PLOT on short notice and cautioned all groups that collection would be through normal liaison only.

USAINTC autovon message 090130Z May 70 was dispatched to all MI Groups. Message advised HQ USAINTC and 116th MI Group would assume GARDEN PLOT posture at 082300 Q May 70 and all other groups would continue on LANTERN SPIKE. Again, all MI Groups were advised that collection by normal liaison contact only was authorized.

DEPLOYMENT

At the time of receipt of CIDCON 1 notification on 8 May 1970, the EOC's of this Headquarters and seven subordinate elements (MI Groups) were already manned and operational as a result of the week-long student disorders. During the period of GARDEN PLOT, a total of 61 personnel were utilized to man the HQ USAINTC EOC for a total of 1,330 manhours.

Actual Conduct of Operations

On 8 May 1970, students started to arrive in Washington, D.C. for the 9 May protest demonstration. At 1600 hours, 9 May, scattered protest activities, the majority of which were small and peaceful, began. Those minor incidents of violence that did occur at various locations did not pose any major difficulty. Local police dispersed the small groups of militants with the aid of tear gas. By 1030 hours, 10 May, the entire area of Washington, D.C. was quiet with few demonstrators remaining in the city. During the period of GARDEN PLOT a total of 435 Spot Reports were received from the subordinate elements and a total of 420 were transmitted to DA agencies and concerned commanders.

Support requested by MG Williamson for Liaison Representative to this staff was provided by the 116th MI Group.

The 116th MI Group provided direct agent observation coverage in the Washington, D.C., situation in accordance with approval contained in DA message 092153Z May 70.

REDEPLOYMENT

GARDEN PLOT and LANTERN SPIKE postures for HQ USAINTC and all MI Groups was terminated at 1012000 May 70. Groups were directed to terminate special reporting requirements and continue to report only those incidents clearly within reporting parameters established prior to receipt of special reporting criteria.⁷

⁷After Action Report, ICDO, DCSOPS CIRCA May 70, GARDEN PLOT - KENT STATE 8-11 May 70 (C), on file in the Office of the Command Historian, USAINTC.

CIVIL DISTURBANCE OPERATIONS, 8-10 MAY 1970

In reaction to President Nixon's Cambodian policy and the deaths of our students at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, demonstrations during 1-8 May 1970 were held at colleges and universities throughout the United States protesting the war in Southeast Asia. Violence marked many of these anti-war protests and to restore order, National Guard troops were

Training for the Siege

The Civil Disturbance Management Course (CDMC) opened in 1971, and over 4,000 local police, National Guard, and federal law enforcement officers from virtually every state west of the Mississippi River have attended the course.⁵⁷

CDMC, unlike SEADOC, teaches on both the strategic and tactical levels. A supplementary course to CDMC, titled *Officer Survival and Internal Security (OSIS)*, teaches the nuts and bolts of SWAT at their San Luis Obispo training grounds.

The management level course, however, is patterned after the SEADOC course although it is taught by National Guard officers rather than the regular Army officers who teach SEADOC. Former SEADOC commander Zane Kortum stated in his interview that he sent SEADOC instructors to CDMC twice a year to compare notes on course content, student reaction, and related matters.

OSIS & SWAT training started in November 1973, and over 1400 law enforcement officers and corporate security guards have completed the course. At least 15 more classes of 50 men, the equivalent of 150 SWAT teams,⁵⁸ will attend the OSIS course during the 1975-76 academic year. OSIS instructors do not refer to their teams as SWAT because of the growing negative public image. Instead, they refer to them as Special Emergency Reaction Teams (SERT).

Aside from the common philosophy that binds SEADOC and CDMC, a common funding source exists between the two schools. The State of Georgia is given a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) each year to cover the costs of tuition and expenses for civilians attending SEADOC. The CDMC was started by a \$425,000 grant from LEAA, and the entire Institute is given money from LEAA funds awarded to the California Criminal Justice Planning Agency.⁵⁹

LEAA Boost to Riot Control

LEAA has played a major role in militarizing domestic police forces through activities other than SEADOC and CDMC. Beginning in 1970, LEAA began to promote the



concept of mutual aid pacts between city and county governments.⁶⁰ These pacts are somewhat similar to mutual defense treaties signed by allied countries. The multi-municipal agreements even go into the area of training.

For example, the Los Angeles Sheriffs Department is currently receiving LEAA money to train 10,000 California policemen in a variation of SWAT, known as DART, or Disturbance and Riot Training. South Dakota, during the current Fiscal Year, is receiving LEAA funds to increase its 90-man Tactical Team within the State Police.⁶¹

Perhaps the most dramatic indication of how LEAA helps to militarize domestic police can be seen in the current plans for Puerto Rico. An estimated \$1,789,500 of LEAA money will go into a plan designed to "develop mechanisms to effectively predict, prevent and control riots and civil disorders" on the island. The plan is a four-year action plan that began in Fiscal Year 1974 and will run through 1977.⁶²

The island of Puerto Rico is being divided into five police regions, and each region will have an Emergency Operations Center to allow communication and coordination between police, National Guard and Civil Defense in the event of a civil disturbance. These centers will have compatible communications equipment and will serve as the command facility for training exercises involving the police and National Guard. An island-wide Tactical Operations Force has been established already, and it will be supplemented by a Mobile Strike Force of 90 men to be trained and ready by the end of Fiscal Year 1975. In 1973 500 riot control specialists were trained and another 500 in 1974.⁶³ By 1977, Puerto Rico will be an armed camp patrolled by paramilitary police operating with all the efficiency that modern communications and command techniques can offer.

Such expenditures for riot control are not new to LEAA. In 1970, LEAA spent over \$3 million for activities labelled "riot control and prevention," including \$153,470 for SEADOC tuition and expenses, \$55,000 towards developing mutual aid pacts, and \$500,000 for 14 state training programs on riot control.⁶⁴

In 1971, LEAA established a Civil Disorders Program Division, and LEAA expenditures soared to \$6,894,843 for riot control training and equipment. The total peaked at \$10.4 million in 1972, which included special grants to the State of Florida and the Miami and Miami Beach Police Departments to assist in preparing for demonstrations planned for the Democratic and Republican National Conventions.⁶⁵

Since 1972, LEAA has not placed a consolidated riot control figure in its public annual report. A sample of state planning grants, however, shows that some training programs and equipment purchase plans are still being funded through LEAA.

Military/Police on War Path

Law enforcement has come a long way from the days of the town night watches and the frontier marshals, and in the course of progress a very basic concept has been violated if not destroyed. The fundamental idea of separating the military and police functions of society, a separation vital to a free and open society, has been lost in subtle funding of training programs and equipment purchases that have transferred not only the technology but also the philosophy of the military into the area of law enforcement. Contrary to the military way of thinking, riots are not wars, and the country has not seen an insurrection in over 100 years. The police and the

activated in many areas.

A demonstration sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC); the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Moba); and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), was planned to be held in Washington, D.C. on 9 May 1970. It was expected that a crowd of over 40,000 persons would gather in Washington, D.C. to peacefully demonstrate on the Ellipse.

At 1200 hours, 8 May 1970, OPERATION THUNDERCLOUD was put into effect by the 116th MI Group. At 1830 hours, the 116th and 109th MI Groups received the order to put LANTERN SPIKE into effect, and at 2300 hours, a GARDEN PLOT OPERATION was directed.

At 2130 hours, 8 May 1970, approximately 400 persons were reported to have gathered in front of the White House where they were displaying lighted candles. At this same time, approximately 2,000 persons were gathered at the Washington Monument. No incidents arose from either of these demonstrations.

At 0105 hours, 9 May 1970, Headquarters, Central Services Administration located on "F" Street between 18th and 19th Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. received an anonymous bomb threat. The building was searched and no bomb was found. At 0305 hours, 9 May 1970, an anonymous telephone call was made to the Pentagon and it was reported that a one pound block of TNT was located in Sections B, C and D of the Pentagon. Those areas of the Pentagon were searched and no bomb was found. At 0705 hours, 9 May 1970, demonstrators attempted to block the path of U.S. Park Service trucks carrying personnel who were traveling to the Washington Monument grounds to raise the U.S. Flags that normally surround this area. U.S. Park Police dispersed the crowds without incident.

By 0845 hours, 9 May 1970, a crowd of several thousand demonstrators had gathered at the Washington Monument grounds and the Ellipse. This crowd continued to grow and reached its peak of approximately 75,000 persons at 1200 hours. The rally was peaceful and no incidents reported.

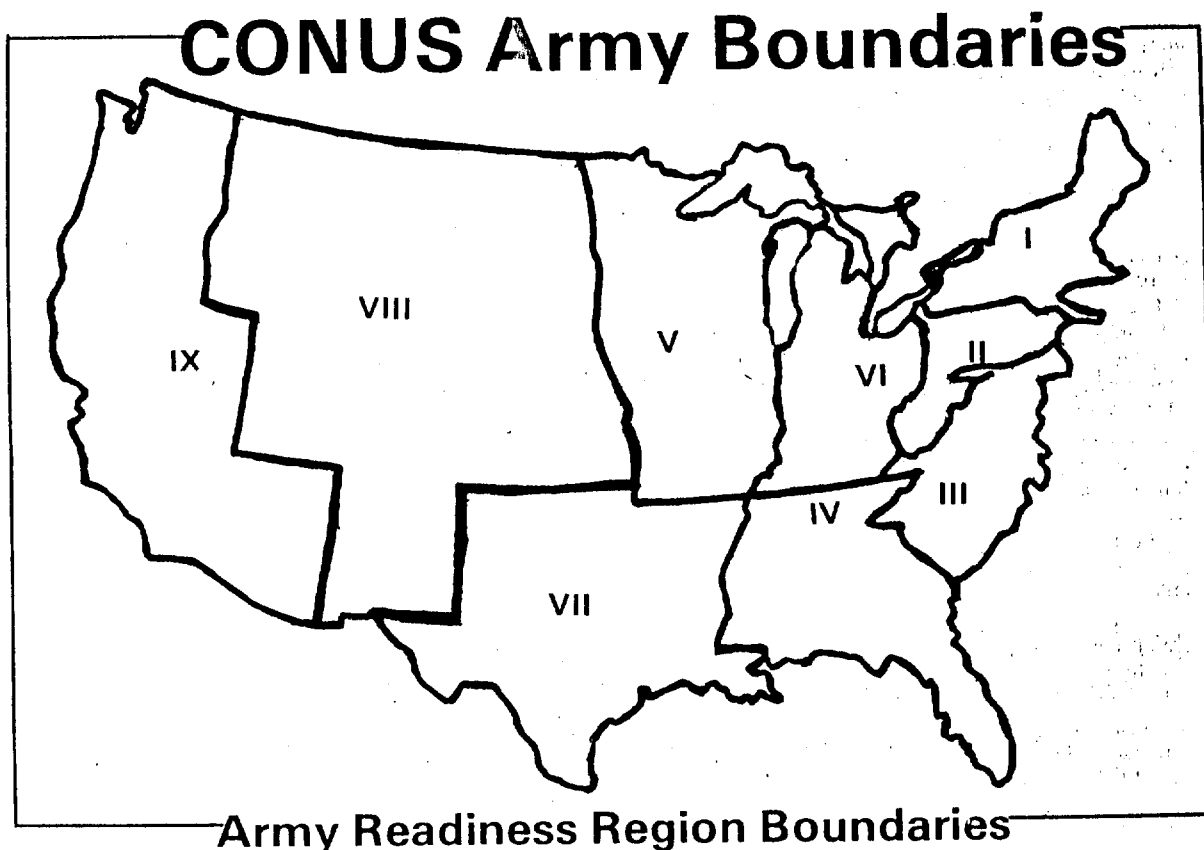
At 1355 hours, subsequent to the antiwar rally, an undetermined number of demonstrators broke into D.C. Transit buses which were being used to blockade the White House area along 17th Street between "E" and "H" Streets. This small incident was brought under control without major difficulty. At 1520 hours, a group of demonstrators attempted to break through the bus blockade line at 18th and "H" Streets but was quickly dispersed by the MPD Civil Disturbance Unit.

At 1510 hours approximately 200 persons gathered at the Labor Department where several of them hauled down the U.S. Flag. This crowd was then dispersed without further incident. At 1537 hours a large crowd of demonstrators which had gathered at the Justice Department was dispersed by the MPD Civil Disturbance Unit. At 0120 hours, 10 May 1970, a bomb exploded outside the west wall of the District of Columbia National Guard (DCNG) Building located at Massachusetts and "G" Streets. Minor damage resulted. By 1200 hours (EDT), 10 May 1970, GARDEN PLOT and LANTERN SPIKE OPERATIONS had been terminated and all USAINTC elements had reverted to normal operations.⁶

⁶After Action Report, ICDO-PO, DCSOPS, 26 May 1970, Civil Disturbance Operations (C), on file in the Office of the Command Historian, USAINTC.

116th MI GROUP

During OPERATIONS THUNDERCLOUD, LANTERN SPIKE and GARDEN PLOT from 1200 hours, 8 May 1970 to 1200 hours, 10 May 1970, the 116th MI Group provided general intelligence support to USAINTC, MDW, Task Force MDW, Task Force WILLIAMSON and other federal and local agencies. □



military, however, have been preparing for that war since the end of World War II.

Virtually every major urban area in the country has some form of para-military police. Some call it SWAT, others call them Special Services, Emergency Response Teams, Barricade Squads, and the like, but they are all the same entity. With an estimated \$10 million in LEAA funds going to combat "terrorism" during the Bicentennial era, there will be a proliferation of these military police units.⁶⁶

In the last several years, the FBI has trained units for each of their 59 Field Offices, although they refuse to state exactly how many SWAT-type units they have. In addition, the FBI has trained over 400 local police units.⁶⁷ The number of SWAT-type units generated from the California Specialized Training Institute could go as high as 300, with another 150 to be trained this coming year. And there is no counting the number of units started after a visit to SEADOC or the simple reading of reports on this growing law enforcement trend.

The transfer of military technology, and even more horrible, the transfer of military philosophy into the civil arena may have dire implications for future exercise of such constitutionally guaranteed rights as free speech, freedom of assembly and association, and the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances. As Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh told a television reporter in April, 1968:

No more disastrous consequence for this city or this nation could take place than if we had maintain a prolonged military presence in our streets. If the National Guard were to become a part of our daily life, our freedom would not survive. If military-police power patrolled our streets every night from now until the

leaves turned brown and fell from those trees, we would find out liberties just as dead as those leaves, just as brittle, and just as easily trampled.

The Founders of the Republic saw that same danger and took action to prevent it, but the sophisticated manners of the 20th Century have quietly circumvented their honorable intent. From Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, the police of this country have been militarized in the streets and in the command posts.

All of this must be viewed in context: those who view SWAT alone and fail to see the painstaking process it has taken to develop it, or fail to see that SWAT is only a manifestation of a deeper process of establishing a domestic counter-insurgency capability will not be prepared for the events of the future. SWAT was born because the law enforcement community saw the contradictions of society becoming more aggravated in the future, and SWAT is the reactionary force that will handle those contradictions.

Commander Louis Guiffrida of the Civil Disturbance Management Course put it this way:

If you know about LRRP (Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol teams, the "regular" Army version of Green Berets), then you know what SWAT is, adapted, of course, to domestic needs in an urban setting.⁶⁸

Davie Hudson, a member of the LAPD SWAT was more blunt in his way of stating the same sentiments. Hudson told a reporter that:

... as for the... potential to overkill militant political types, well the reason SWAT was established was because of those very types. . . .⁶⁹

The police are at war with the people of America, and the front line shock troops call themselves SWAT.

Tim Butz

GRAM METRIC CABLE SPLICER

The exercise will simulate simultaneous multiple civil disturbances involving widespread rioting, arson, and looting in approximately 15 selected cities within the CONUS. The Revolutionary Liberty Front (RLF), a radical organization advocating and practicing violence, acts as a catalyst in expanding the civil disturbances. These simulated disturbances will develop to the degree that the National Guard is either alerted or called to State or Federal duty in all 15 cities, and Federal military assistance will be requested in up to 12 cities. The requests for Federal assistance will include requests for loans of DOD equipment in most of these 12 cities, and requests for Federal military forces in up to six cities. In response to these requests, there will be simulated deployment of Federal military forces in up to six cities and simulated employment in up to three cities.

PURPOSE OF THE EXERCISE. To exercise key personnel, relationships and plans and procedures applicable in civil disturbance operations involving DOJ, DA, DN, DAF, USMC, MTMTS, USASTRATCOM, USAMC, USAINTC . . . USCONARC, CONUS Armies, MDW,* District of Columbia, designated task forces and support installations under simulated deteriorating domestic conditions which culminate in deployment of multiple Federal military task forces. Specific objectives are to exercise key personnel, plans, and procedures in the following areas:

(a) Deployment of employment of GARDEN PLOT forces (to include Quick Reaction Forces) within CONUS . . . loans to civil, National Guard, and Federal agencies by exercising support installation capabilities and loans of prepositioned civil disturbance supplies . . . designation and simulated deployment of the personal liaison officer of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army (PLOCSA), and the Department of the Army Liaison Team (DALT) . . . (and) liaison with civil authorities . . .

5(B) Information

(1) No voluntary releases, national or local, will be made on the CPX.

(2) Responses should be made at the lowest practical level to direct inquiries only. Responses will be limited to a statement of purpose of the CPX — "This routine civil disturbance Command Post Exercise is being conducted to exercise the existing contingency plans and procedures. Command, staff, and communications personnel will be the primary participants. No troop unit movements from home stations will be involved."

*Initials represent in order the Department of Justice, Department of Navy, Department of Air Force, U.S. Marine Corps, Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service U.S. Army Strategic Communications Command, U.S. Army Material Command, U.S. Army Intelligence Command, . . . U.S. Continental Army Command, Continental U.S. Armies, Military District of Washington.

The tone for GRAM METRIC can be judged from the game plan scenario. In all, "coordinated violence" occurs in 25 cities and stems from such diverse situations as a strike in Tacoma, a boxing match in New York City, a rock concert in Orlando, a sit-in in Sacramento, and the shooting of a civil rights leader in Washington, D.C. In the 24 hours prior to the official beginning of the CPX, the scenario called for 696 fires, 50 shootings, and 134 incidents of looting in Baltimore, Washington D.C., Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit alone.

CPXes were not limited to the federal level, however. In order to coordinate federal and local response and resources, CPXes have been held on the state and regional level since OPLAN GARDEN PLOT was established. Interviews with Pentagon officials show that such CPXes are considered routine and have been conducted in every state of the Union.

Investigative reporter Ron Ridenhour of *New Times* obtained copies of the regional war games held in the 6th U.S. Army area, the states of California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, and Arizona. These war games, called CABLE SPLICER, borrowed the GRAM METRIC concept of management preparation and carried it to the local level. CABLE SPLICER even involved officials of major corporations.

Present at the CABLE SPLICER III (1970) after-action conference were: representatives from 13 state National Guard commands; active duty military officials from the 6th U.S. Army; officials from the Department of Justice, the FBI, the Secret Service; the Selective Service, U.S. Army Intelligence Command, Naval Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Bank of America, Lockheed, Boeing, Sylvania, Pacific Gas and Electric, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Standard Oil of California, Jet Propulsion Laboratories, SCM, Dittaphone, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., and several University of California officials.

The total attendance at the conference, held just 21 days after the Ohio National Guard slaughtered four Kent State students during anti-war protests, was 1700 military, civil, and corporate officials.

This excerpt, from the CABLE SPLICER documents obtained by Ridenhour, gives an indication of the matters discussed at the after-action conference:

(1) General. The problem was designed to exercise two task force headquarters with four task forces conducting operations in four major cities or Oregon. Each player unit received background information initially as an intelligence summary covering the period preceeding the exercise. A deteriorating situation was then progressively developed for each locale through a series of prepared messages. Each task force operated on the basis of actual assigned strength and equipment on hand during the actual exercise period. The exercise general situation developed a simulated gradual increase in lawlessness and disorder on the Pacific Coast during the spring months of 1970. Three new simulated radical leftist organizations, (the Scholars Democratic League (SDL), on the campuses; the International Brotherhood of Labor Reform (IBLR) among the blue collar workers; and the International Fraternity of Progress of Non-Caucasian (IFPC) among the minority groups) created confrontations at the universities and high schools as well as within the major cities. The situation continued to deteriorate until 0700 hours, 24 April 70. Then the Governor of the State of Oregon issued a proclamation of a state of emergency and directed the Adjutant General, Oregon, to assist civil authorities in the restoration of law and order. At the start of exercise play at 0730 hours, 25 April, player units had been called to state active duty and had assembled and moved to assembly areas in problems cities (simulated) . . . play was advanced 48 hours and players were informed that the National Guard was called to federal service and assistance of federal troops had been requested (simulated). For duration of the CPX players planned actions required on being mobilized . . .

Sixth U.S. Army Final Report
CPX Cable Splicer III
Section III, Field Operations
pages 11-12
"For Official Use Only"

FEDERAL TROOPS COMMITTED TO PROTECT FEDERAL PROPERTY ON THREE OCCASIONS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
1967	Culpepper, VA	Enforce regulations of Culpepper National Cemetery
1967	Washington, DC	Prevent unauthorized entry of Pentagon by peace marchers
1971	Washington, DC	Prevent disruption of operations

FEDERAL TROOPS PREPOSITIONED, NOT COMMITTED, IN ANTICIPATION OF DISTURBANCES IN NINE INSTANCES SINCE WORLD WAR II.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
1963	Birmingham, AL	Bombing and racial trouble
1968	Washington, DC	Washington Spring Project
1968	Chicago, IL	Democratic National Convention
1969	Washington, DC	Antiwar demonstrations
1970	New Haven, CT	Protesting trial of Bobby Seale
1970	Washington, DC	Antiwar demonstrations
1972	Miami Beach, FL	Democratic National Convention
1972	Miami Beach, FL	Republican National Convention
1973	Washington, DC	Presidential Inauguration

USE OF FEDERAL FORCES SINCE WW II

President Provided Federal Assistance under provisions of section 331, Title 10, US Code, to restore law and order at the request of governors on four occasions since World War II.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
1967	Detroit, MI	Racial Disorders
1968	Baltimore, MD	Disorders following the death of Dr. Martin L. King
1968	Washington, DC	Disorders following the death of Dr. Martin L. King
1968	Chicago, IL	Disorders following the death of Dr. Martin L. King

Presidents Committed Federal Troops to Enforce Federal Laws on Five Occasions Since World War II under sections 332 and 333, Title 10, U.S. Code.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>REASON</u>
1957	Little Rock, AR	School integration
1962-63	Oxford, MS	University integration
1963	Tuscaloosa and Huntsville, AL	University integration
1963	Birmingham, Mobile, and Tuskegee, AL	School integration
1965	Selma and Montgomery, AL	Civil rights demonstrations

FEDERAL TROOPS ALERTED BUT NOT PREPOSITIONED IN ANTICIPATION OF CIVIL DISTURBANCES.

Unknown

Source: Department of the Army Fact Sheet *The Army's Role in Civil Disturbances*, "undated but distributed in July, 1975.

Glossary

Common military terms used in civil disturbance reporting.

CDMU — Civil Disturbance Mission Unit: A brigade, battalion, or company assigned to control civil disturbances.

CIDCON — Civil Disturbance Condition: A command and control rating system for the deployment of CDMUs. A CIDCON 5 is normal training and 24-hour response time. CIDCON 1 is the deployment of troops to a civil disturbance area.

EOC — Emergency Operations Center: A command and control staff room utilized during civil disturbances or natural disasters to provide intense temporary situation management and force coordination.

FORCOM — U.S. Army Forces Command

HQ — Headquarters: the permanent staff structure for a military unit.

MDW — Military District of Washington: The geographic area of metropolitan Washington, D.C.

MI — Military Intelligence: Army units assigned to USAINTC.

MTMTS — U.S. Army Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service

TF — Task Force: A temporary grouping of military units assigned to a specific mission such as civil disturbance control.

TRADOC — U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command

USAINTC — U.S. Army Intelligence Command

USAMC — U.S. Army Material Command

USASTRATCOM — U.S. Army Strategic Communications Command

FOOTNOTES

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3. Engdahl, Prof. David E., *Soldiers, Riots, and Revolution: The Law and History of Military Troops in Civil Disorders*, 57 Iowa Law Review, Rev. 1, (1971)

4. Task Force on Police of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: Police*, p.3, GPO, 1967

5. Germann, A.C., et al, *Introduction to Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice*, p.54, Thomas Publishing Co., Springfield, Illinois, 1967

6. Ibid

7. Ibid, p. 55

8. Task Force on Police, *op cit*, p.5

9. Ibid

10. Ibid, p. 6

11. Germann, *op cit*, p. 76

12. Ibid

13. Press release, Sen. Charles Percy, U.S. Senate, Oct. 14, 1975

14. Task Force on Police, *op cit*, p. 7

15. Ibid, p. 6

16. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (National Advisory Commission) *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 223, Bantam Books, New York, 1968

17. Dept. of Justice First Annual Attorney General's Report on Criminal Justice Assistance, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1972

18. Ibid

19. Yarmolinsky, Adam, *The Military Establishment*, pp. 173-182, Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

20. Dept. of Justice, *op cit*

21. Ibid

22. Ibid

23. Letter, Dept. of Army to Mr. Winslow Peck

24. Yarmolinsky, *op cit*, p. 154

25. Center for Research on Criminal Justice, *Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove*, p. 48, Berkeley, 1975.

26. Ibid, p. 49

27. Stingley, James, *Guerrillas in Blue: The True Story of SWAT*, True, Vol. No. July, 1975

28. National Advisory Committee, *op cit*, p. 507

29. Dept. of Justice, *op cit*, p. 312

30. Ibid

31. Letter Capt. Wade Bowie to Tim Butz, July 21, 1975

32. Ibid

33. Letter: Major Peter Davis to Tim Butz, June 17, 1975

34. Interview with Col. Zane Kortum

35. Ibid

36. Dept. of Army Memorandum 500-2, 4 Sept. 1974

37. Ridenhour, Ron, with Lublow, Arthur, *Bringing the War Home*, New Times, Vol. 5, No. 11, p. 18, Nov, 1975

38. Letter: Capt. Clyde H. Tull to Tim Butz, August 7, 1975.

39. Ridenhour, *op cit*, p. 20

40. Headquarters, VI Army Game Plan Scenario: CABLE SPLICER II, Feb. 1969

41. Dept. of the Army Game Plan Scenario: GRAM METRIC, March 1969

42. *Voices From Wounded Knee*.

43. Testimony, Wayne Colburn, U.S. v. Sturdevant, 8th U.S. District Court, July 24, 1974.

44. Ibid

45. DOMS Watch Team Logs 2/28/73

46. Ibid 3/1/73

47. Memorandum: Ge. Roland Glezer to Ge. Alex Haig, March 4, 1973

48. Interview with Lew Gurwitz, defense attorney, U.S. v. Sturdevant

49. DOMS Wounded Knee After Action Report, August 28, 1973

50. Memorandum: Col. Warner to Gen. Haig, 3/9/73

51. Ibid

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53. Situation Report, DOMS to Gen. Haig, May 1, 1975

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61. South Dakota Criminal Justice Planning Agency Comprehensive, 1975

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69. Stringley, *op cit*, p. 71

KEEP ON Keepin On

Keep Movin'

FBI/Police Political Operations

The pervasiveness of FBI and local police intelligence operations against legitimate political activity continues to be exposed and opposed in many cities across the country. Documentation now exists showing that: Files have been maintained on millions of citizens; political organizations have been infiltrated; popular movements have been disrupted by provocateurs; public officials have been harassed; citizens have been hounded from their professions, and in a few instances have been the victims of FBI or "red squad" violence.

MADISON, Wisconsin—After two years of community pressure and litigation to open police files on anti-war activists in Madison, the 47-volume, 9,000-page "affinity files" were unveiled in early December, 1975.

Two thousand pages, said to be intelligence reports from outside agencies such as the FBI and the CIA, were deleted outright. Forty pages of personality profiles of selected radicals and information on undercover burglaries conducted during student vacations were also missing. Former Inspector Herman Thomas, the muscle behind PIGS (Police Intelligence Gathering System), called the 40 pages "dynamite".

Madison Mayor Paul Soglin spent a day rummaging through the files and, to no one's surprise, found spotted references to his own antiwar activity.

The "Affinity Files" were compiled between 1967 and 1973 by informants and undercover police in Madison. The files confirm infiltration of newspapers, religious organizations and student groups.

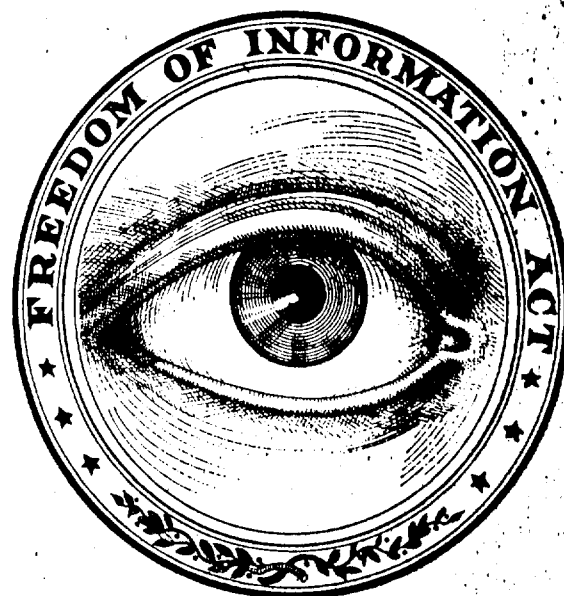
More information and reprints of some files are available from *Take Over* newspaper, P.O. Box 706, Madison, Wisconsin, 53701.

Madison has also taken a significant first step against the terrorist activities of its police SWAT team. The city council has introduced a resolution calling for a citizens' investigation of SWAT and successfully terminated all training programs with the ultimate goal of abolishing the unit. Madison is one of many cities which, despite the lack of media attention, is aware of this dangerous, repressive police paramilitary unit in their midst.

CHICAGO, Illinois—A Cook County grand jury, convened last March, recently released its report based on testimony from 71 witnesses regarding improper and illegal intelligence-gathering activities by the Chicago Police Department Subversive Squad, the Milwaukee Police Department Security and Special Assignments Section and the FBI. The grand jury concluded: "It is our opinion that this system produces inherently inaccurate and distorted data. . . . The intelligence reports served as a vehicle to pin derogatory labels on persons and organizations. Often these labels had very little basis in fact."

A detailed analysis of this report and additional information on FBI/police intelligence activities in the Milwaukee/Chicago area can be obtained from the *Bugle-American*, Box 2318, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53212.

Michigan—Judge Thomas Brown, a county circuit judge, has ordered the Subversive Activities Unit of the Michigan State Police to disband and destroy its secret files on 50,000 people. The order came along with a ruling that the 1931 and 1950 "antisubversive" laws authorizing the creation are unconstitutional. The judge said that the red squad had a "chilling effect" on civil liberties. While many people are cheering the order to eliminate the police unit, moves are also under way to prevent the cops from shredding the secret files. Two ACLU attorneys are appealing to the court to turn over the files to the victims of police spying.



Legal Action

Black Panther Civil Suit—After more than five years of legal disputes, a civil suit was finally introduced in Chicago on Jan. 20 against Edward V. Hanrahan, former Cook County state's attorney, and other county and federal officials involved in the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark during a 1969 raid of Black Panther Party headquarters.

The families of Hampton and Clark and the seven survivors of heavy gunfire in the pre-dawn raid are seeking \$47.7 million in damages from 31 defendants in the federal district court suit. The plaintiffs argue that their civil rights were violated by a murder conspiracy and cover-up by law enforcement officers after the raid.

The Black Panther Party and the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton also has delivered a petition to the Senate and House select committees calling for a "thorough and complete investigation" of spy agency transgressions against minority and civil rights groups. The petition demonstrates "concern among a large number of Americans about abuses against the Black Panther Party and other minority and civil rights organizations."

Driver v. Helms—In another ACLU lawsuit the plaintiffs are charging the CIA with illegally opening correspondence to and from the Soviet Union.

Halperin v. Colby—A suit being conducted by the ACLU under the Freedom of Information Act has succeeded in forcing the release of CIA Director William Colby's report to President Ford on the agency's illegal domestic operations. These activities through the years have included the infiltration of protest groups, the surveillance of U.S. citizens and the keeping of files on at least 10,000 American "dissidents."

Women's Strike for Peace v. National Security Agency—The Fifth Estate recently assisted the ACLU in acquiring a list of plaintiffs who were probable victims of the CIA's operation CHAOS. Plaintiffs are seeking damages for violation of their rights by the CIA and the National Security Agency, which, under CHAOS, listened in on overseas telephone conversations.

Many other suits are still pending on national security issues. One suit is attempting to overcome the "no standing" obstacle by relying on the Freedom of Information Act, which recognizes the right to sue the government for the release of certain information. The suit argues that the exclusion of the CIA budget from a list of information is unconstitutional. See Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution.

Under the Freedom of Information Act, the Socialist Workers Party, working through their multimillion-dollar damage suit filed against the FBI and CIA and organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund, received 141 pages of documents on the CIA's operation CHAOS describing campus spying. The documents tend to support the SWP's contention of illegal political harassment.

Senate Bill One

A new national effort to totally defeat Senate Bill 1 is currently being organized by over 40 national and local political, peace, civil liberties, religious, student, labor and women's organizations. Planning is now under way for a national conference to be held in Washington, D.C. in the spring.

This effort is being coordinated by the National Committee on Repressive Legislation (NCARL), 510 C Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, 202-543-7659.



The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove

An analysis of the U.S. police

By the Center for Research on Criminal Justice

The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove draws together for the first time information about the police in the US and traces their development from night watchmen to a modern army. The book shows the transformation of the police is directly linked to the development of capitalism, class conflict and racial oppression. *Velvet Glove* takes a critical look at the modern police technology, the development of SWAT, the private police industry, the increasing role of the Federal government, and recent attempts at controlling the police.

Order a copy now by writing: Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 2490 Channing Way, Room 507, Berkeley, CA. 94704 / \$3.00 plus 25c postage. Please enclose payment with order.



Keepin' Informed

Fifth Estate Annual Report: 1975 -- The membership, structure and organizing capacity of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate has gone through vast changes during 1975. It has been a period in which our work has grown, our ranks have expanded and we have had to meet new challenges in new creative and principled ways. Our focus over the year has included:

- **Congressional committees:** The Organizing Committee has supplied witnesses, raw data and original research to both the Church and Pike committees investigating the abuses of the CIA and other federal government intelligence agencies. We have also assisted a number of other congressional committees investigating abuses of state and local agencies and government secrecy. Although the Organizing Committee is largely disappointed in these efforts to terminate abuses of power, we continue to believe that with public pressure Congress will eventually institute some meaningful legislation around this question. Concerned citizens should immediately begin writing letters to Congress expressing their feelings about the abuses of power by the CIA, FBI and other intelligence agencies.

- **Media:** The Organizing Committee has cooperated extensively with the working press in supplying original material and insights into the major exposes of 1975. We look to this assistance to the Fourth Estate, to the staff writers and investigative reporters on the trail of intelligence abuses, as a key to bringing to public debate the vital issues of the day.

- **Publishing:** Despite continued financial problems we have managed to publish *CounterSpy* throughout 1975. Increasing staff capacity and memberships provide an optimistic outlook for the regular appearance of *CounterSpy* in 1976. Pamphlets on specific agency abuses as well as a telephone message service with updated information on the national security bureaucracies will be instituted this year.

The Organizing Committee is wrapping up preparation of our long-awaited Organizing Manual. Activists and researchers interested in organizing a campus or community research group within the Fifth Estate may write now for the manual, which is scheduled for publication by early spring.

Organizing: The Fifth Estate during 1975 became a mass membership organization. Members receive *CounterSpy* and all other publications, plus additional information on how they can work on security problems in their communities. Active members will be regularly polled for opinions on the issues and work of the Fifth Estate.

The Organizing Committee has also been instrumental in organizing several other organizations during 1975. Most of these organizations are independent of the Fifth Estate and the Organizing Committee. Others are local research and action groups, which operate autonomously but may eventually join the national umbrella of the Fifth Estate.

The Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC), an action/research library located in Washington, D.C., is now available for use by concerned individuals seeking documentation relating to abuses of power by the intelligence community. A brochure issued by the IDC states that the library contains books, news clippings, microfilm, periodicals, government documents, and other reference materials are available for use; these materials are organized to reflect both security agency practices and organizations that have been targeted by these agencies.

A major effort of the IDC is the collection of government documents through Freedom of Information requests. At present, well over 100 such requests are pending with various federal agencies.

The IDC also has a student internship program, designed to acquaint college students with research methods as they relate to the intelligence community. For more information about the IDC, write Intelligence Documentation Center, 2000 P Street NW Suite 403, Washington, D.C. 20036.

The Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community (PEPIC) is a year-long effort, sponsored by the Youth Project, Inc. of Washington, D.C., designed to create informed public discussion on intelligence issues. The project assists in setting up campus and community forums throughout the country and acts as a referral service for educational materials and resource groups. All speakers participating in this project will be donating their time, energy, and fees to PEPIC to ensure its survival. Speakers include some of the foremost experts on the intelligence community:

Jerry Berman: Director, Internal Security Project of Center for National Security Studies. Co-editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Public-interest lawyer, formerly co-director of a project on the Administration of Justice under Emergency Conditions.

Robert Borosage: Director, Center for National Security Studies. Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Public-interest lawyer and author of numerous articles on the CIA and national security questions.

Timothy Butz: Associate of Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *CounterSpy*. Author of numerous articles on military intelligence. Currently researching the growing utilization of SWAT teams.

Cortland Cox: Associate of the Center for National Security Studies. Expert on CIA manipulation of third world countries.

Frank Donner: Director, ACLU Political Surveillance Project. Author of numerous works on the FBI.

Morton Halperin: Director, ACLU Project on National Security and Civil Liberties. Co-editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Former Assistant Deputy Director of Defense.

Victor Marchetti: Co-Author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former executive assistant to the Deputy Director of the CIA.

John Marks: Co-author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former staff assistant to the State Department Director of Intelligence.

K. Barton Osborn: Consultant to Intelligence Documentation Center. Former military intelligence agent and consultant to the CIA on the Phoenix Assassination Program. Author of numerous articles on the intelligence community.

George O'Toole: Former CIA technical specialist. Author of *The Assassination Tapes*.

Winslow Peck: Associate of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *Counter Spy*. Author of numerous articles on CIA and labor. Former analyst for the National Security Agency.

Douglas Porter: Director of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Co-editor of *CounterSpy*. Author of numerous articles on right-wing terrorism and domestic repression.

Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (Ret.): Former military liaison to CIA. Author of *The Secret Team* and numerous articles on the intelligence community.

Marcus Raskin: Co-director of Institute for Policy Studies. Among his books are *Being and Doing* and *The Viet-Nam Reader*. Member of the Special Staff of the National Security Council in the Kennedy Administration.

Ron Ridenhour: Freelance journalist currently researching military contingency plans for martial rule in U.S. Helped to expose the My Lai massacre.

Anthony Russo: Co-defendant in Pentagon Papers trial. Former analyst for Rand Corporation.

Kirkpatrick Sale: Author of *SDS and Power Shift*. Authority on multinational corporations.

Patrick Saunders: Former Federal Drug Enforcement Agency Intelligence Officer. Author of numerous articles on DEA.

Ralph Stavins: Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Co-author *Washington Plans an Aggressive War* and numerous other works.

William Turner: Former special agent for the FBI. Author of several works on the FBI.

During this critical year of revelations a climate conducive to legislative change can and must be created in campus and community forums. For more information contact the Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community, 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, 4th Floor, 202-483-0382. (Messages may be left at 483-0380.)

Resource List

The following is a resource list of literature available from groups working in the areas of national security and civil liberties. Organizations should be contacted directly for information regarding the cost of literature.

Institute for International Policy
122 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington, D.C. 200
202-544-6666

International Policy Report

National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL)
510 C Street NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-543-7659

Are We to Enter Our Third Century Under Richard Nixon's Criminal Code?

Repression Research Group (RRG) has been established in Chicago in conjunction with the IDC to engage in research of abuses of power by the Chicago police, FBI and military intelligence forces in the Chicago area. RRG is located on the campus of Northeastern Illinois Univ., and can be reached at 5500 St. Louis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60625, 312-583-4050, x8206.

Ann Arbor Fifth Estate evolved as a result of the University of Michigan teach-in, "The Bicentennial Dilemma: Who's In Control?" A working group of university students and professors have formed a research team under the umbrella of the Fifth Estate which conducts an accredited class on intelligence and is actively researching military intelligence and repression in the civil service.

New Organizations

Project on Official Illegality was recently launched to institutionalize mechanisms to account for illegal actions at all levels of the national security bureaucracy. Information is being prepared to help lower-level personnel opposed to illegal orders or aware of illegal actions by their superiors. This new project is also working with middle-level personnel to clarify the rights of government employees who receive illegal orders. The Project holds monthly discussions with senior officials to help overcome illegality in government. For further information write c/o Ralph Stavins, IPS, 1905 "Q" Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Research Associates International provides information on the international trade union movement, multinational corporations and their involvement with the U.S. intelligence community. Write to them at P.O. Box 327, Hollywood, California 90028.

Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy is a nation-wide network of activists based in the Indochina Peace Campaign who are working to democratize our foreign policy. They seek to use the lessons of Vietnam to effect "human rights" legislation cutting economic and military aid to brutal and repressive governments; across-the-board cuts in the military budget; an end to U.S. intervention abroad; exposure of the domestic and overseas role of major U.S. corporations; and full employment. Write to CDFP at 1508 19th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.



Operation: Truth & Light

In many ways, it is not time to get tough with the CIA or the FBI, it's time to get tough with the people who allow it. Two hundred million of them. Innocence is not necessarily a virtue if it is associated with surrender.

Programs focusing on the relationship of the multinational corporations to the intelligence agencies, political assassinations, and the invasions of individual privacy via surveillance and computer technology have been presented on campuses in Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. This series is being presented in conjunction with the Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community (PEPIC).

PEPIC is sponsored by the Youth Project, Inc. of Washington, D.C. and is an educational effort designed to encourage public participation in discussions regarding abuses of power and the need for controlling the intelligence gathering agencies. The project assists in setting up campus and community forums, acts as a speakers bureau, and as a referral service for educational materials and resource groups.

PUBLIC EDUCATION PROJECT ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

For further information contact:

PEPIC
1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, 4th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-483-0832

NAME _____

SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

STREET _____

CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

TELEPHONE _____

Dangerous Senate Bill No. 1

"Statement on S. 1 — Society of American Law Teachers" prepared by Prof. Carole E. Goldberg — UCLA Law School.
 "Statement on S. 1" by Professors Vern Countryman (Harvard Law School) and Thomas Emerson (Yale Law School)
 "The Criminal Justice Reform Act Is Impossible!" by Sylvia Crane
 "The Era of Libertarian Repression — 1948 to 1973: From Congressman to President with Substantial Support from the Liberal Establishment" by Frank Wilkinson. *Akron Law Review*. Winter 1974
 Selected samples of literature in opposition to S. 1 by other concerned organizations

Project on National Security and Civil Liberties

122 Maryland Avenue NE
 Washington, D.C. 20002
 202-544-5380

First Principles (newsletter published monthly except July and August)
The New Freedom of Information Act and National Security
 Abstracts of Documents Released under the FOIA (includes order blanks for documents)
Led Astray by the CIA by Morton H. Halperin
The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies, ed. by Jerry J. Berman and Morton H. Halperin

Indochina Resource Center

1322 18th Street NW
 Washington, D.C. 20036
 202-785-3111

The Administration's Bloodbath, 1975
 Indochina War Statistics — Dollars and Deaths
Military and Economic Aid to Indochina: An Analysis of the FY 1975 Request to Congress
 Bloodbath: Myth or Reality?
 Amity with Vietnam, by Gareth Porter
 A Contrary View of Post-War Phnom Penh, by Richard Dudson
 No Vietnam 'Bloodbath' Found 100 Days after Conquest, by George C. Wilson
 The Reunification of Vietnam, by Gareth Porter
 Vietnam: Reconciliation Begins, by Gareth Porter
 The Myth of the Hue Massacre, by Edward Herman and Gareth Porter
 U.S. Political Warfare in Vietnam: The 1968 'Hue Massacre'

Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue NE
 Washington, D.C. 20002
 202-544-5380

CIA Covert Action: America's Secret Foreign Policy.
 CIA Covert Action: Threat to the Constitution
 CIA Study Packet
 How to Get Your Personal File
 The New Freedom of Information Act and National Security Secrecy
Intelligence Report (newsletter)
 "The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies" by Jerry Berman and Morton Halperin

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

Literature Department
 22 East 40th Street
 New York, New York 10016
 212-725-1222

Your Right to Government Information: How To Use the Freedom of Information Act
 The Theory and Practice of American Political Intelligence, by Frank Donner
 How to Get Your Personal File
 Your Rights Before the Grand Jury
 The Grand Jury Network
 Stop S-1

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)

PCB 3122
 Columbia Heights Station
 Washington, D.C. 20010
 202-667-1188

MERIP Reports #16-41

Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis by Joe Stork
The Fall of Jerusalem by Abdullah Schleifer
The Arab World and Israel by Ahmad el-Kodsy and Eli Lobel
The Other Israel ed. by Arie Bober
Journal of Palestine Studies
 Reading Guide on the Middle East by MERIP
 The Class Nature of Israel
 Dynamics of Land Alienation (in Palestine) by Janet Abu-Lughod
 The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees by Erskine Childers

National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC)

1501 Cherry Street
 Philadelphia, Pa 19102
 215-241-7175

The B-1 Bomber and the Power of the Military-Industrial Complex
Top 100 Defense Contractors
 How to Research Your Local War Industry
 Police on the Homefront
Soldiers and Strikers
Aid to Saigon — Collection of documents on U.S. intervention in Vietnam

Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse

105 2nd Street NE
 Washington, D.C. 20002
 202-547-0138

The Grand Jury, Rep. John Conyers
 The Not-So-Grand Jury, William Helmer
 The Grand Jury and Post-Watergate America, by Fred Solowey
 The Federal Grand Jury
 Conyers Introduces Grand Jury Reform Act of 1975
Grand Jury Report, Number 1
Your Rights and the Grand Jury
Grapevine newsletter: the grand jury and the women's movement
Grand Jury Legislation Checklist
Legislative Comparisons
 Legal Analysis of Conyers Reform Act (HR 2986)

Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy (CDFP)

1508 19th Street NW
 Washington, D.C. 20036
 202-462-3030

CDFP Working Paper (for distribution in the peace movement)

Focal Point
 CIA War in Angola (leaflet)
 In Production:
 On a New Foreign Policy, by Dick Barnett and Marcus Raskin
 Cutting the Military Budget — Towards a New Foreign Policy, by Earl Ravel

My compliments on your publication "Counterspy." It seems as though the intelligence community has become the most dangerous organizations in the 200 year history of the USA. Apparently they have been operating outside the knowledge of the President and the elected representatives of the American people.

As the information trickles in there can now be no doubt of intelligence involvement November 22, 1963 in Dallas. This most important event in American history was political conspiracy and murder. My guess would be that if a poll were taken, the average Americans faith in this government would be an all time low. Pretty rotten way to celebrate the 200th anniversary.

I noticed that a Greek news source in Athens reported "an interagency dispute in the death of Richard Welch. There is now evidence of left and right wing factions in the CIA. There are those who would use this man's death to call for an end to Congressional CIA investigations.

Having served my country in WW2 and offered my life—being an honest citizen and paying my taxes—it is a lousy feeling to know that I as an American citizen have paid for some of these operations by intelligence.

Irvin
Evendale OHIO

I am writing to you to convey to you my support for your press release of December 28, 1975, concerning the death of Richard Welch. The work you do is an extremely important informational source for the American people; I sincerely hope that the recent assassination does not prove to be a rallying point for right wing forces attempting to suppress your work; particularly in the present day atmosphere of S-1 and proposed FBI "preventive" measures, it is of the utmost urgency that we keep ourselves informed as to covert activities of the state. Welch's death will prove to be a source for justifying continued secrecy, a situation we cannot afford. In struggle.

Deborah
New York, NY

I am not unaware of the recent controversy surrounding your publication and the attempts by Colby, Ford and others to blame you for Welch's death. As a member of Amnesty International I know the conditions that existed in Greece during the dictatorship and that the CIA was deeply involved in supporting it. I know that as a result, anti-CIA feelings run high in that country and I was not at all surprised by what happened. Don't let them use this to intimidate you because the CIA's own activities brought it about.

Anyhow, the reason I want your publication is this; about a year-and-a-half ago I became so angry over the lack of information in the straight press that I decided to begin writing a letter every month to our Voice of the People column. If I only awaken a few who in turn will look around and begin to question, then it will have been worthwhile.

Phyllis
Joliet, IL

I want to become president of the United States in 1992. As one of my goals as president I intend to abolish the CIA from having its domestic and foreign spy operations from operating again, and to prevent the reorganization or organization of such agency in this country.

I feel that in 1963 the CIA shot and killed President Kennedy.

Kipp Lee
Redding, CA

We have seen Richard Welch buried as a hero but have the American people forgotten Frank R. Olson who jumped to his death from a New York City hotel after a high CIA official had been personally involved by surreptitiously giving Olson LSD. The US Government is to provide the Olson family with 1 million dollars. In the meantime Dr. Sidney Gottlieb who headed the CIA's Technical Services Division for many years goes unpunished and continues to receive an annuity from the US Government as a GS-18 retiree. Gottlieb is reported to have taken the Fifth Amendment and his role forgotten. Is this the kind of justice that the American people condone?

Unsigned

Anyone who gets as much bad publicity as you, must be doing something right. Please send a sample copy of your publication.

Conrad
Barberton, OHIO

WELL, it seems you've managed to get yourself in a bit of a pickle?

Clearly you are and have been a target of Colby and the CIA which means you have been effective, and right on to that. You are getting a bum rap and if I can help you in any way please let me know.

Your "Today Show" interview was very good. I sat with two average Americans and watched you. At the start of the interview with Doug Kiker they were against you, at the end they thought you made a good case. Both are ex-U.S. Army officers.

When are you going to do an in-depth on the domestic media, especially the TV networks??? Congress let that part go by in hearings on the CIA and FBI.

I support your efforts and I think the CIA was neglectful, to say the least, to keep Welch in the job.

You might check out the Peace Corps. A friend of mine is a director in Africa and was director in Tunisia . . . and reported to CIA at the American Embassy once a week for "debriefing."

Luck and my best to you.
Shelly
New York, N.Y.

I have never seen a copy of your journal, but judging from recent news stories, you must be doing a thorough job of exposing the CIA. I want to express my complete support for your activities relating to the printing of names of CIA agents stationed in foreign countries. I think it takes a great deal of courage to expose the activities of the world's most powerful and dangerous terrorist organization. Please keep up your good work. The American people have a right to know about the CIA and the atrocities it commits with their tax money.

David
Lewisburg, PA