

More CIA Around the World · NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies

The Great Africa War: Blood test of U.S. Foreign Policy

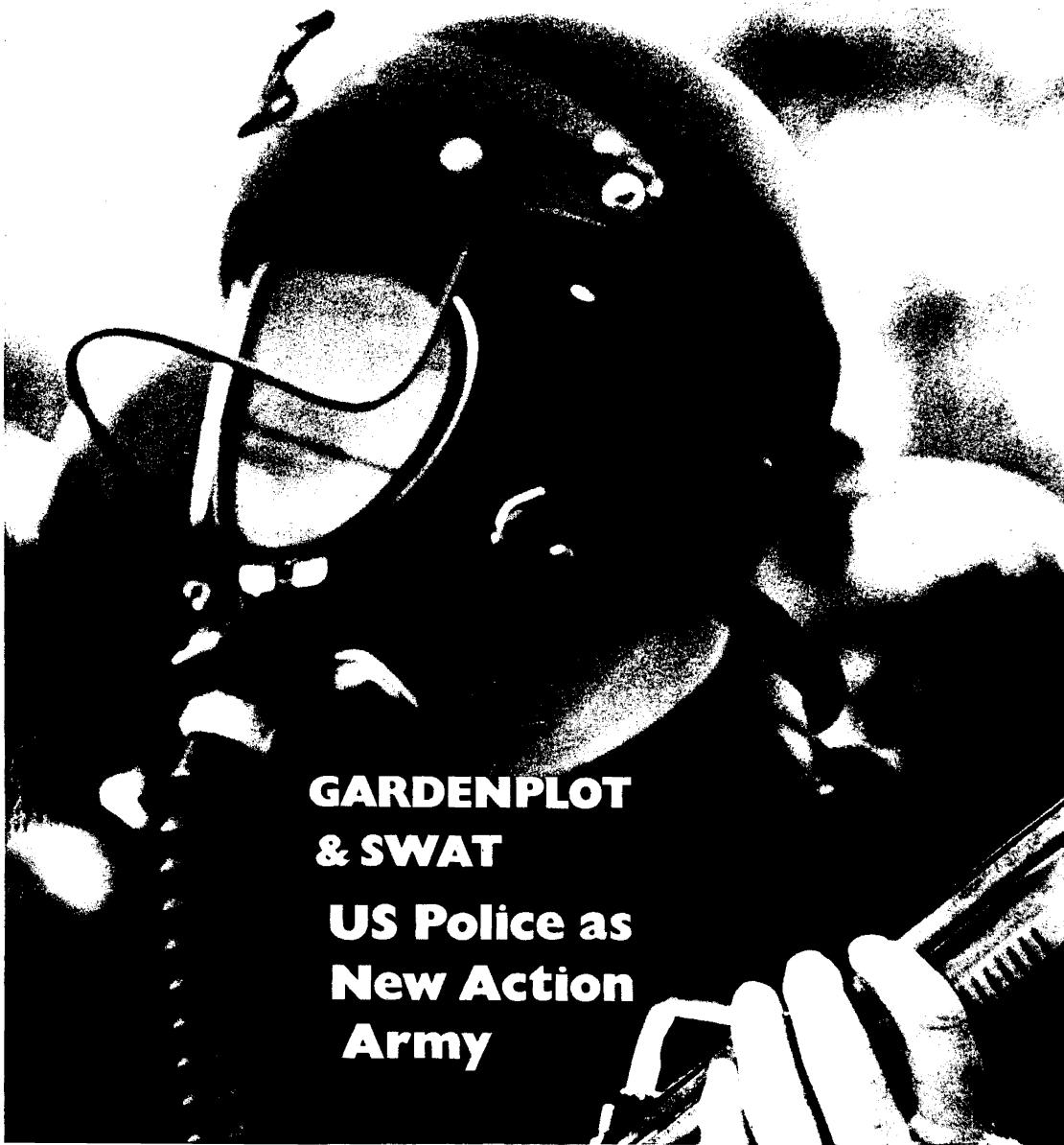
Winter, 1976

Vol. 2, Issue 4

\$1.50

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

CounterSpy presents its first Letters to the Editor column. We have received some 500 letters in the past month. A cross-section of them appear below. We'd also like to express our thanks to all of you who wrote. We appreciate the criticism as well as the support. We encourage you to get out your pen and paper and tell us what you think about CounterSpy, the CIA, your local SWAT team, or any other national security issue.

I just wanted to drop you a note of support on your statement and my expression of solidarity with you.

It is quite amazing to watch so-called critics of the CIA show their colors at a time like this. I would like to take the liberty of pointing out that I don't think it is quite accurate to ascribe the outcry against you to "reactionary elements of the Press" or to "righteous cowards" alone. Certainly they are in the forefront, but what seems to be even more important really is the facile way in which some liberal journalists and the liberal establishment in general is so willing to go along. Even the Laurence Stern article which you enclosed falls far short of what he might have said in a news analysis article.

In general I think your statement is excellent and makes all the important points of your (our) position extremely well. Part of what Stern's article does is to try to take some of the blame off you by calling you "an obscure left-wing group" and saying that you have scruffy offices. You may be obscure and unimportant to him but not to us and to me. With love from us all.

Dick Goldensohn
Sundays Magazine

The preposterous charge that you are responsible for the death of an American official shows how afraid the CIA is of the growing consciousness that plain citizens can do something about the rat-hole world of government-sponsored secret societies. The person who can only watch passively at the worst excesses of his age is no citizen in any traditional sense, for he has no part in the most important decisions determining the policies and the moral character of government.

Hopefully the public will be able to understand the insidious stage-managing of the news by intelligence organizations.

You are showing the way. Keep it up.

John Stanford, CA

We work on a farm, homesteading. Any contribution has been to difficult to come by. But now we'll forsake next Spring's replacement plow-points so that

Fifth Estate can expose just what ex-agent Welch has been doing to Third World people for a living. Please stick it out, for all of us.

Stanardsville, VA

muckrake (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary*):

"to search out and charge with and seek to expose publicly real or apparent misconduct or vice or corruption on the part of prominent individuals (as public officials)" "to investigate or go over assiduously with the purpose of digging up scandal or incriminating"

"obs. rake for gathering dung in a heap"

I'm proud to know people in the tradition of Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell.

S.R.
Washington, DC

Warning to Harvey Kahn, Doug Porter, and TRAITORS ET AL !!!

You bastards better clear out of our country! We, veterans will not tolerate degenerates who help deride our Americans who serve to protect the security of our country.

You have the list of our security agents. We have the list of you traitors. We will make it our business to get rid of you. Dirty bastards!!! You don't belong in our country. You belong in Moscow with the KGB. Traitors you'll die.

Several of us veterans, Vietnam and World War II have met and voted not to allow you spies for a foreign country and traitors to our own to exist. Get out of the country or die!!

Don't expect the C.I.A. and F.B.I. to protect you. You dogs!!! P.S. Better be physically prepared. We will make sure to waste you!! Call the F.B.I. to protect you. You scum. You'll never have the nerve to ask an American to protect a foreign spy. Dogs!!!!

Anonymous

On January 8, we sent you a contribution of \$2,000. A note should have accompanied the check, but we neglected to write it, so here it is now.

We are very glad to send along this check, as we have been glad to support you over the past few years. It seems to both of us that you have been responsible and effective in your efforts to bring to public view the excesses of our country's secret "intelligence" mechanisms as well as the unpleasant fact that secrecy itself has become the accepted framework for our government's dealings with us.

Although we have never sought publicity for support we have given to any organization, we would like to suggest that in the present situation it might be a good idea for you to make a public statement about where your funds come from. We would be willing to be listed among your supporters, and we would have no objection to having the amount of our help listed as well.

Since people who live in an am-biance of conspiracy seem to find it hard to imagine a simple, disinterested act, members of the CIA are presumably trying to figure out if your support comes from a "foreign source," "subversive elements," or whatnot.

It might be educational for them to find that your backers are citizens who adhere to American traditions of openness in government, honesty in international dealings, and an informed electorate. We count ourselves and you among that number.

Carol Bernstein Ferry
W. H. Ferry
Scarsdale, NY

The ferocity of the attacks and the low-level ilk making them, proves the strength and the righteousness of your work. In solidarity with our sisters and brothers, we remain.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
Rapid City, Lakota Nation

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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) 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 faint 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.

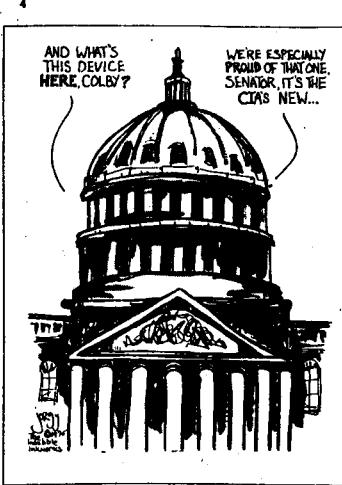


who are accessories to these crimes. We encourage those individuals working in or with the CIA who do not dominate the criminal history of this Agency to quit. Other similar jobs can be found in academia or in the State Department. For anyone to continue to work with the CIA is to continue to work in 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 transmuted to other trouble spots around the world
4. the establishment of murder and torture apparatus 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 1953 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

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



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 the thirty year world history of mass murder, torture and high crimes against humanity.

To suggest the CIA continues 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 Bureau 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 probbers 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.

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

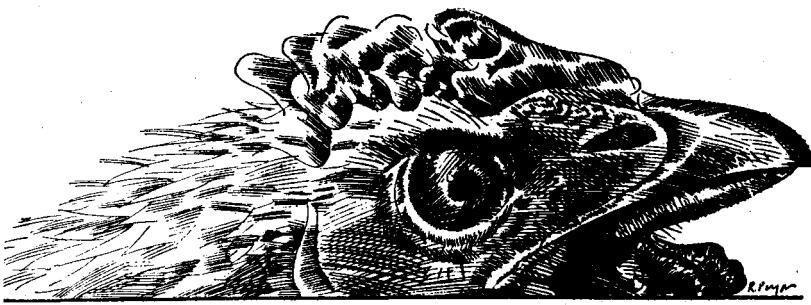
The progress of Senate Bill One (S. 1) is yet another indication of the repressive society the government is trying to create in America. Originally conceived to streamline the federal criminal code and eliminate conflicting statutes, Senate Bill One was written in such a way that it virtually neutralizes 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, making



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 (Watertage).
- 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.I. — HR 10854. This alternative bill does essentially the same thing as S.I., 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 infringement 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 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.I. 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.I. 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 attempt 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 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 "aberrations" 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 "cowboy 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

Ariagents 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."

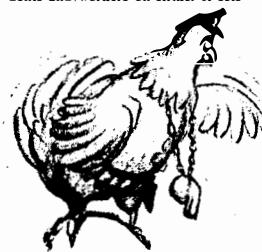
In 1973 the USDA began a campaign of cooperation with law en-

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 percent 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." Agritagents, called "loafers," 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 past 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

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.



Photo by Michael Kamen

David Fine

* 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 800 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	PERIODICALS	INVESTIGATIVE
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE	PERIODICALS	INVESTIGATIVE
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF COUNTER INTELLIGENCE	PERIODICALS	INVESTIGATIVE
LABOR LEADER (AFL-CIO experience helpful)	PERIODICALS	INVESTIGATIVE

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- Immunity from political prosecution
- Travel and advanced education

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- Wharfman Arms, Avenue A, Washington, D.C. 20004
- 1200 Wilson Blvd., 16th Floor, Rosslyn, Virginia
- Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C.
- Arlington, VA
- Bethesda, MD
- Quantico, VA
- Quantico Training Center
- 1010 N. Fort Myer Drive, Rosslyn, VA
- 1200 N. Fort Myer Drive, Rosslyn, VA
- 2000 M St. NW (Telecommunications Center)

Or at the following CIA properties (credit making arrangements or better):

- Government Services Agency Letter Management, 1000 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20004
- Anti-American Propaganda Institute, 1910 K St. NW

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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 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 proprieties.

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 exercise a political enemy it can pull evidence out of a pumpkin, but when it comes up against the goblins of the CIA it covers 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 Duco, charged with 15 counts of grand theft and 7 counts of receiving stolen property, described these events at this pre-trial hearing. The three-year statute of limitations has run out on Duco's burglaries. The present charges involve Duco's failure to repay \$17,000 borrowed last summer from 14 friends to pay farm workers



to disrupt Chavez's union organizing.

Duco and his two friends, Henry Scherling and Andrew Gulerovich, 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 Duco, the information went to Western Research (now Research West), a private employment-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 Duco's activities, although Jerry Cohen, a UFW lawyer says he informed the FBI two years ago about Duco, who was then using the alias "Fred Schwartz". Duco's associate, Gulerovich, seems to think he was working for the FBI. "My personal motive," Gulerovich testified, "was that it was for a governmental agency and it was something they needed and it was worthwhile."

Duco and his two friends have all

served as head of the local Young Republicans chapter, and Duco 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.

Duco 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 Kamis* 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 efforts 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 the 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

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. Elberg, 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 Elberg 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, Kanook, is also in prison giving birth to my fifth 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

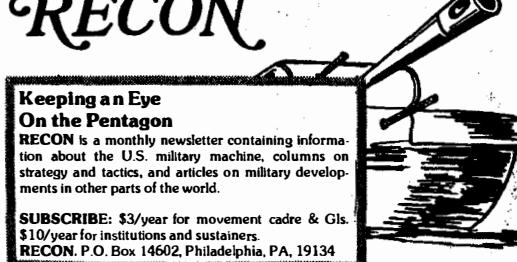
American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks issued this statement from a San Francisco jail following his arrest on Jan. 24, 1976, after six months as a political fugitive from South Dakota. Banks, whose bond is set at \$100,000, is fighting extradition back to South Dakota.

RECON

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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 Rosebud 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 \$1/4 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 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. . . .

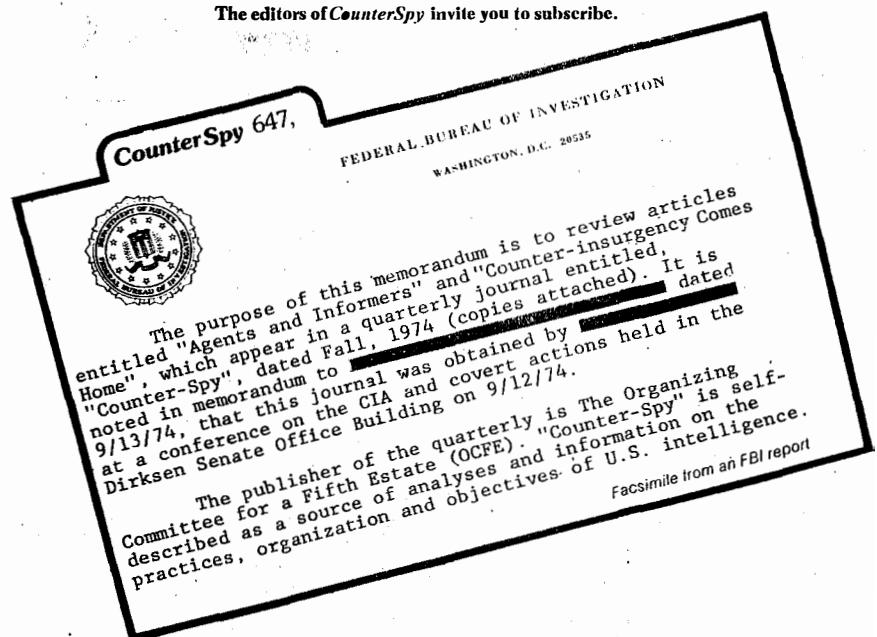
Leonard Crow Dog, the spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, has also been jailed by the U.S. government on two separate assault charges of dubious grounds. With the same swift precision and disregard of rights that the government invaded Crow Dog's Paradise last summer, Crow Dog himself was 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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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 overdale 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 Ogala Sioux Nation, residing at Crow Dog's Paradise on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota.

The 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 possees 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.

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."

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.¹ Under the Pledge System, every able-bodied "freeman" over age 12 was obliged to join a Tithe, a group of ten men. Ten Tithes were banded together into a Hundred, and several Hundreds into a Shire.

Each Tithe elected a head, or Chief Tithesman, as their leader. When summoned by a "hue and cry", each member of the Tithe was obliged to come to the mutual assistance of his fellow citizen. In certain cases, when a member of a Tithe was guilty of a crime, the other members of the Tithe 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.²

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.³ 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.⁴ 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 1700.⁵ It was not until the 19th Century, however, that the Sheriffs or Constables 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.⁶

The states also created their own forces, although the general concept of a state police did not become widespread until the 20th Century.

In 1835 when Texas considered itself an independent nation, it created an army and a state police force known as the Texas Rangers.⁷ 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 1865,⁸ 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.⁹

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.-III) 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 spends \$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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.¹² 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 feeling 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 summed 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 evasions that something is contained and unexpected 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 them 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 these 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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.

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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 1954, 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 the 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 kidnapping 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 Tupamaros (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 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 Revolutionary — 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 freedom 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 revolutionaries, 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 1968 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, 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 counterintelligence 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 important 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 — using 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 prey and the constant target of the mad dog. The dog is confused by the mixture of love, compassion, and friendliness on the one hand and hate, spite, 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 their 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 protestants 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 "segregation" 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, discriminatory discrimination, etc.

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 terms 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 — prepare chess — 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 terrorism.

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

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 SPICERS 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-holders" 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 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.

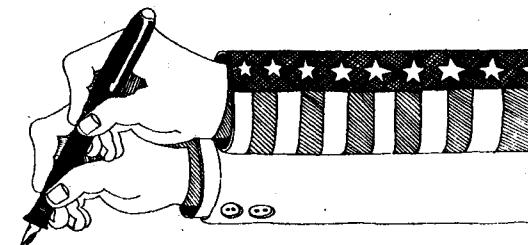
Fourth, if the subterfuge surrounding either the war games or the various accompanying governor's pep rallies were penetrated, the two were not to be connected to one another. If that cover is blown there is yet another line to retreat behind and defend. The Sixth U.S. Army is not to be connected to 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 retreat to be done? The escape hatch.

Into all CABLE SPICERS 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 patsies of the press were given, even the official line. CABLE SPICER'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 meandering 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 SPICER. "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 SPICER 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 SPICER's war gaming.



CIA

AROUND THE WORLD

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*
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. O'Neil
Stephen A. Palmer
Richard L. Taylor

Entanglers Entangled



CIA: enredadera enredada
El Comercio, Lima, Peru
December 1975

The CIA in Italy

Revealed in a new daily, based in Rome, La Republica, in an article written by former Ramparts editor Steve Weissman.

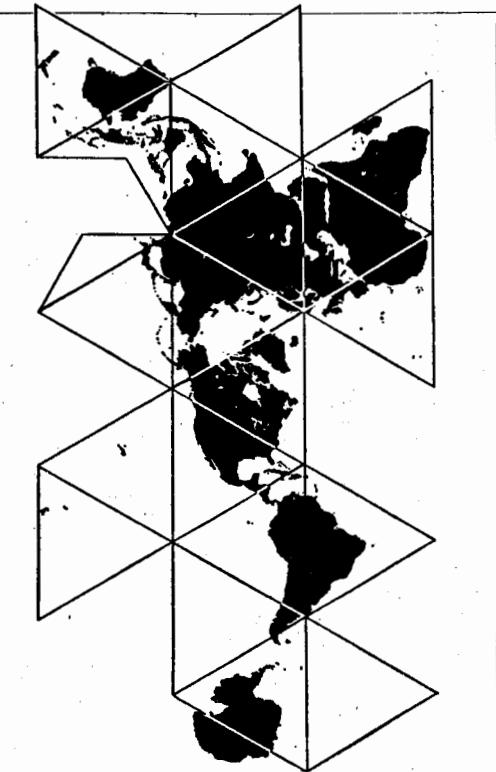
Hugh Montgomery, *Chief of Station*
William Acon
Mario Ciocci
Robert Devereux
Michael E. Kostiw
Charles Gale
Michael C. Sednaoui
Christopher Costanzo

The La Republica 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 Republica 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 Gahagan, *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 Zaire

1975:

John C. Baxter
Joseph E. Fortier III
Bruce N. Gray
Edward J. Gotcher
Peter M. Hain
Richard Mikita
Grant W. Olsen
Edward Rankin
John E. Reinerston
Philip D. Vollmann
G. H. Welsh
David Fennoy
Harry R. Cook

The CIA in Sweden

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.

Paul Garbler, *Chief of Station*
George D. Swerdfin
James D. Boney
James R. Stove
Bruce D. Hutchins
David R. Altman
Philip G. Lane
Gary D. Scatz
Charles S. Greco
Theodor Rumme
Bruce W. Raft

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 provocateurs* 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 informants 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 dispute 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—not 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.

Reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*

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The Man From ARIO

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, raise doubt 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.

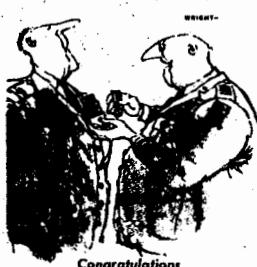
Some ARIO members are actually resigning from the new retirement group because it has made propagandizing against critics its primary task, and has ignored other membership interests. Many ex-officers are upset over the insensitivity of the Phillips crew to the real problems of meaningful re-employment programs for former intelligence officers. Job discrimination and benefits are other issues on which ARIO 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 ARIO 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 ARIO.

ARIO's organized attack on Phillip Agee, the Fifth Estate and all other critics of the CIA raises the possibility that ARIO 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 ARIO members such as David Phillips to CIA headquarters? What conversations did Phillips have with then-Director William Colby before forming ARIO? 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 Puttapon Khramkhruan, employed by the Agency for covert activities in Thailand and neighboring countries since at least 1972. The second was Bruce Hoefl, an American citizen. Hoefl was a personal friend of Puttapon 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 Puttapon. 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 Hoefl, 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 Puttapon, Hoefl 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. Puttapon'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 Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn, so in September 1974 charges against both of them were dropped. Shortly afterwards, Puttakorn 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. Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn worked for them. According to their explanation to Senator Percy, Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn would compromise the CIA's larger, more important, efforts to stamp out narcotics trafficking worldwide.

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 Puttakorn.

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 turf, 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. policymakers 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 *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, Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn felt the CIA was aware of these activities.

Puttakorn also told DEA he thought that a close friend, Victor Tin-Stein, had been killed while living in the United States by unnamed parties for his involvement in and knowledge of Puttakorn's smuggling ring.

Finally, Puttakorn 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.)

Puttakorn 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 Puttakorn. 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 Mobutu 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 placing 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 blacks but mestizo's and mulatto's 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.

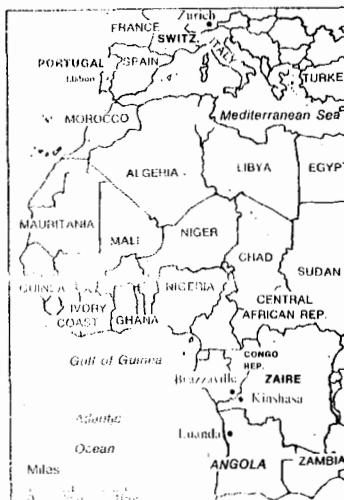
U.S. policy towards the three Angolan factions, and throughout all of Southern Africa, is based on a policy that has already been defeated in Indochina — the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine. Under this policy, the U.S. seeks to avoid direct and open intervention in the affairs of other states through the use 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 bursts 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 designed to improve American relations with the white regimes in southern Africa, including the Portuguese colonies, apartheid South Africa and the "Rhodesian" régime. 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. Eye-witness 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" régime 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 "S 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 AMOUSUA 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 forces 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 Africa 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 rebels.

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. 10011

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 abolition 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 enemies 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 to revenge 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, 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 subscribers.

Two West German newspapers, *Die Tat*, a progressive paper, and *Urae Zeit*, a "Marxist" paper, have reported that William E. Colby admitted during briefings with a congressional committee last spring, that the Central Intelligence Agency has given \$90,000 yearly to *New Solidarity*.

SOLIDARITY

АЛЛАНДЕНГҮН

YENİ KİTLE

СОВЕТСКАЯ СОЛДАТЕРСТВО

SOLIDARIETA

With all of the group's accusations and apparent hate for the Rockefellers, they still do their banking at the Chase Manhattan Bank, a Rockefeller family enterprise. About a year ago, two erroneous deposits were entered into the NCLC account; one for \$60,000 and the second for \$62,000. This is highly suspicious, since any deposit over \$50,000 must have the approval of three officials. Not all the details are known, but at some point after the deposits were made, the bank requested the return of the money, and \$62,000 was returned. The other \$60,000 the NCLC kept. The bank is suing for the money. The lawyer handling the case for Chase Manhattan was very evasive, and refused to answer any questions other than to affirm that the case was unresolved. The NCLC's lawyer has a disconnected telephone.

Rose also verified the existence of the NCLC terrorist school in upstate New York. In the January 24, 1976 *Daily World* article, he said: "I not only attended I taught there." He described the school as farmhouse on a dirt road between Argyle and Salem, near Glen Falls, New York, where foreigners and Americans received classes in military history, close order drill, weapons systems, handguns, explosives and demolition strategies, among other terrorist tactics.

If this bizarre, yet long overdue leak can be substantiated, the NCLC saga could be called one of the largest U.S. illegal intelligence-gathering operations to be uncovered.

NOUVELLE

SOLIDARITE

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SOLIDARITET

It is difficult to cover here all the inconsistencies, gaps, lies and contradictions in the NCLC. Their true nature is revealed in the tactics they use and in the irrational thinking

they disseminate. In his January 2, 1976 column entitled "America, the Land that Assassinated Logic," Nikolai von Hoffman described the NCLC:

As readers of Marxist literature, their prose style has suffered terribly, but they do attack current events with an analytical ineffectiveness that the old New Left of the 1960's would have rejected as an offense against the irrational.

For example: the NCLC's right-wing or proto-fascist nature is revealed in their economic analysis, as von Hoffman writes:

The caucasioids (NCLC members) ... end up sharing many of the economic concerns of the far right. Their views on inflation, the liquidity crisis, and the banking structures should not be too displeasing to Ronald Reagan's economic advisers, if he has any.

The group's vehement hatred of Nelson Rockefeller is also shared by those on the far right.

Space does not permit us to go into depth about the NCLC, however, we are going to prepare a pamphlet in the near future in cooperation with other concerned groups who feel that NCLC must be stopped in its campaign to discredit the left and disrupt movements for social change. We need your cooperation. We want you to write to us about what the NCLC is doing in your area.

The pamphlet will give details on NCLC/USLP members, what activities they're involved in, their backgrounds, how many members are in each area, and an analysis of the people who lead them. Descriptions of the size of the locals will be included. More information on their tactics will be revealed. And, most important, we will prescribe ways to prevent further disruptions, and a means to put an end to the NCLC.

If you want to receive a copy of the pamphlet, write TIP, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station Washington

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 slackening off. TIP hopes to watch the activities of the Posse closely in coming months, and urges readers of *CouterSpy* 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.²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ 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

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



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).²⁴

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 predominantly 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.²⁵ 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.

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



GARDEN PLOT

Training is key to the success of military contingency and operational plans. In the case of OPLAN GARDEN PLOT, training is done on two levels: the training of troops for deployment in the field and the training of military leaders in the command and control aspects of the plan.

The troops are trained in the regular Army and the National Guard. The Army maintains two "Quick Reaction Forces" to respond to civil disturbances, consisting of elements of the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colorado. These units are trained through "tactical field exercises, or the simulation of civil disturbances and military response on the squad, platoon, and company levels."

The "managers" of OPLAN GARDEN PLOT receive a higher level of training, which includes command post exercises (CPXes) simulating civil disturbances and military response in a war room setting. Unlike the tactical field exercises, CPXes do not involve the deployment of troops; they are "paper wars" that last from two to seven days.

In 1968, the military documented a plan for a five-year series of CPXes to train Pentagon based officials originally entitled QUIET TOWN. The National Security Council ordered the military to change the name of the exercise plan so it would not "reflect" the role of the game exercise. QUIET TOWN was then changed to GRAM METRIC, and the first exercise was held March 21-28, 1969.

Fearing public exposure of the command post exercises, the Army took more precautions. Press directives for QUIET TOWN/GRAM METRIC show that the Army demanded secrecy; direct inquiries about the operation were to be met with terse, three-sentence replies that revealed nothing.

Guarding GRAM METRIC from public scrutiny led to planning and after-action reports warning "... THAT THIS SUMMARY BE DISTRIBUTED ONLY TO AUTHORIZED PERSONS AND AGENCIES, AND WHEN NO LONGER NEEDED, BE DISPOSED OF SO AS TO PRECLUDE ITS DISCLOSURE TO THE PUBLIC..." *(original emphasis)*.

GRAM METRIC II, the second such operation, was held March 18-20, 1970, just weeks before Richard Nixon sent U.S. troops into Cambodia. A Dec. 29, 1969 planning document entitled "Exercise Memorandum Number One" outlined the scope and politics of GRAM METRIC.

OPLAN GARDEN PLOT is the U.S. Army's current civil disturbance planning and operations directive, and covers all aspects of military involvement by the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Several hundred pages in length, OPLAN GARDEN PLOT is derived from two previous post World War II operational plans, OPLAN 563 and OPLAN STEEP HILL. It became effective on Feb. 1, 1968, and was first implemented during the disturbances that followed the April assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

OPLAN GARDEN PLOT provides the military and civilian authorities with a standardized national plan for handling either isolated or simultaneous civil disturbances, and provides insights into the Interdepartmental Action Plan for Civil Disturbances, the Department

of Justice counterpart to OPLAN GARDEN PLOT.

The Division of Military Support (DOMS), a Pentagon agency composed of Army and Air Force officers, is the agency responsible for coordinating OPLAN GARDEN PLOT activities. DOMS maintains a 24-hour-a-day watch team to monitor indicators of potential civil disturbances and report on them to the Chief of Staff of the Army, the official charged by the Secretary of Defense as the senior military official for civil disturbances. DOMS operates their watch team from the Army Operations Center, and has at its disposal another similar command and control "war room" to be used when the Army is called to action.

OPLAN GARDEN PLOT outlines a command and control procedure that is used by the National Guard and the regular military forces. It has been tested in practice and in real situations in varying degrees through the 1960s and 1970s. OPLAN GARDEN PLOT represents a state of mind and a military capability that is antithetical to the practice of democracy, the potential for military intervention in the process of government.

Following are documents from OPLAN GARDEN PLOT that outline the command and control procedures as well as the logistical support for use of the Army during civil disturbances. In an era where abuse of trust and power have become almost a prerequisite for government service, OPLAN GARDEN PLOT could become a terminal disease for the American people.

GARDEN PLOT CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

Single or multiple civil disturbances develop within the 50 States, District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, US territories or possessions. The commitment of Federal military forces is directed by the President. When commitment of Federal forces is directed, JCS transfers required military resources of unified and specified commands to their respective Military Departments in CONUS or to unified commands for such operations outside of CONUS. . . Concurrently with or following Presidential direction to commit Federal military forces to civil disturbance operations, designated National Guardsmen may be called into active Federal service. . .

Probable order of employment of forces available:

- (1) Local and State police.
- (2) Army and Air National Guard under State control.
- (3) Federal military forces to include called Army and National Guard.

The situation existing at the time of the disturbances may require that the above-listed order of employment of forces be altered. . .

Called National Guard units are normally employed in States of origin, although employment of these units in other States is authorized.

In CONUS, ground elements of Federal military forces, including called Army and Air National Guard units, are deployed, employed, and redeployed as directed by CSA. When directed, operational control of all ground forces provided by the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to include those forces released by the JCS for civil disturbance operations in CONUS is passed to CDRFORSCOM for movement to and from objective areas. Ground forces provided by the Air Force are under the direction of CSA for movement to and from objective areas. Upon completion of redeployment, forces revert to the Military Departments as directed by CSA. . .

When a possible requirement for Federal troops is indicated, CSA may direct the Personal Liaison Officer, CSA (PLOCSA) and the Department of the Army Liaison Team (DALT) to proceed to a potential objective area and, in coordination with the

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 PLOCSCA. The task force commander coordinates his reconnaissance activities with the PLOCSCA 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 peacefully. 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 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 of 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ In the period of February 12, 1969 through June 30, 1972, a total of 3,352 civilians and 4,824 military officers attended SEADOC.³¹ The projections for Fiscal Years 1973 and 1974 called for a total of 1,540 students per year, 50% of whom would be civilians.³²

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 19-15.³³ 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).³⁴ 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.³⁵



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 PLT 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 resupply, 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 381-15, 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 ...

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.⁴⁴ In GRAM METRIC, for example, the SDS was called the Revolutionary Liberty Front.⁴⁵

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

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 disorder.

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 recommendations for destruction or release to the Department of Justice.

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 (OSRCO).

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". OSRCO 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.

OSRCO 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, 1973.⁴⁶

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

I. (U) TASK ORGANIZATION.

Agency **Command Post**
Department of Defense The Pentagon

Department of the Army 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

Joint Chiefs of Staff Elmendorf AFB, Anchorage, AL

Defense Intelligence Agency Washington, DC

Defense Communications Agency 8th St. and S. Courthouse Rd., Arlington, VA

Unified Commands MacDill AFB, Tampa, FL

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

Department of the Army Fort McPherson, GA

FORSCOM Fort Monroe, VA

TRADOC Gravelly Point, Washington, DC

USAMC Washington, DC

USASTRATCOM Fort Huachuca, AZ

MTMITS Washington, DC

MDW Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC

Department of the Navy The Pentagon, Washington, DC

Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Navy Annex, Washington, DC

Commandant, Marine Corps (CMC) DC

Department of the Air Force Scott AFB, IL

Military Airlift Command Langley AFB, VA

Tactical Air Command (TAC) Robins AFB, GA

Air Force Reserve (AFRES) US Coast Guard

Commandant, US Coast Guard 1300 E. St., Washington, DC

2. FORCE 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 peacefully 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. [U] 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. [U] 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

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.⁴⁴

On March 1, Attorney General Richard Klijndienst 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.⁴⁵

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.

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 corral operation against the Indians. Rather than take Wounded Knee by force immediately, Warner wanted to attempt a negotiated settlement.⁴⁶

LANTERN SPIKE

The Pentagon went much further in their domestic spying effort 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-seel*) 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 protesters 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 SCRAF that negotiations could be forced along by tightening the perimeter.⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶

The plan was originally devised on March 9 to be implemented on March 12.⁷ 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."⁸

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 041200 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 whom 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 10.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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. Wounded Knee, including back-pack radios, mine detectors, 17 APCS, 200 flakvests, 17 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.¹¹

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.¹²



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 automatic 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 automatic 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 automatic 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, 8 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 436 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 101200 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.

**After Action Report, ICDO, DCSOPS CIRCA May 70, GARDEN PLOT - KENT STATE 8-11 May 70 (I), 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 8-9 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.¹

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,² 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 expenses³ 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.⁴

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.⁵ 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 Sheriff's 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.⁶

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 1977.⁷

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 1974.⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰

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 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 Mobe); and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMCI), 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 those 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 antiriot rally, an undetermined number of demonstrators broke into O.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.

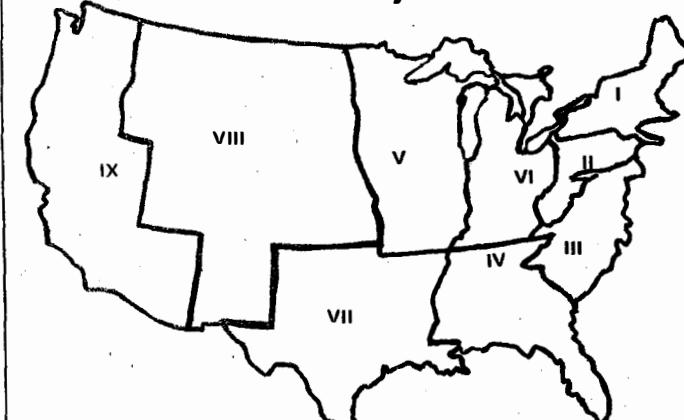
At 1510 hours approximately 200 persons gathered at the Labor Department where several of them hauled down the U.S. Flag. This crowd was then dispersed without further incident. At 1537 hours a large crowd of demonstrators which had gathered at the Justice Department was dispersed by the MPD Civil Disturbance Unit. At 0120 hours, 10 May 1970, a bomb exploded outside the west wall of the District of Columbia National Guard (OCNG) 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.¹¹

**After Action Report, ICDO-PO, DCSOPS, 26 May 1970, Civil Disturbance Operations (I), 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. □

CONUS Army Boundaries



Army Readiness Region Boundaries

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.¹

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.² 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 maintained 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 managers 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.³

Dave 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...⁴

The police are at war with the people of America, and the front line shock troops call themselves SWAT.

Tim Bots

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. Those 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, MTMTC, USASTRATCOM, USAMC, USAINTC... USCONARC, CONUS Armies, MDW,⁵ 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 (IPOCSA), and the Department of the Army Liaison Team (DALT)... (and) liaison with civil authorities...⁶

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 troops unit movements from home stations will be involved."

¹Includes 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.

²The 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, Dictaphone, 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 preceding 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 ...

FEDERAL TROOPS COMMITTED TO PROTECT FEDERAL PROPERTY ON THREE OCCASIONS

YEAR	PLACE	REASON
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.

YEAR	PLACE	REASON
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.

YEAR	PLACE	REASON
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

President Committed Federal Troops to Enforce Federal Laws on Five Occasions Since World War II under sections 332 and 333, Title 10, U.S. Code.

YEAR	PLACE	REASON
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 Units**: 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 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.
- MTMTC** — **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**
- USAAMC** — **U.S. Army Materiel Command**
- USASTRATCOM** — **U.S. Army Strategic Communications Command**

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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 victim 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 burlaries 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.

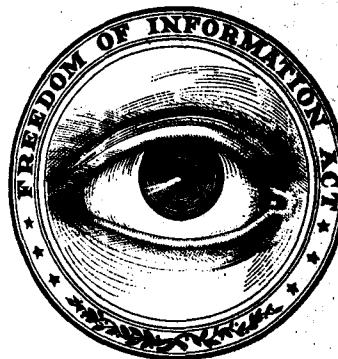
More information and reprints of some files are available from *Take Over* newspaper, P.O. Box 706, Madison, Wisconsin, 53701.

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 1, 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

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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 exposés 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 bureaus 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 inform the 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 Bernstein: 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*.

Winifred Peck: Associate of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *CounterSpy*. 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 Riddenhour: Freelance journalist currently researching military contingency plans for martial law 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 of *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, 202-483-0380. (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. 20002
202-544-6666

International Policy Report

National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL)
510 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-543-7659

Are We to Enter Our Third Century Under Richard Nixon's Criminal Code?

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 Cyrene
"The Era of Libertarian Repression — 1948 to 1973: From Congressmen to Presidents 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 Abuse of the Intelligence Agencies, ed. by Jerry J. Berman and Morton H. Halperin

Indochina Resources Center
1322 18th Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-3111

The Administration's Bloodbath, 1975
Indochina War Statistics — Dollars and Deaths
Advisory and Economic Aid to Indochina: An Analysis of the FY 1975 Request by Charles E. Burleigh
Bloodbath: Myth or Reality? by Gareth Porter
Anatomy with Vietnam, by Gareth Porter
A Contested View of Post-War Phnom Penh, by Richard Dudman
No Vietnamese 'Bloodbath' Found '100 Days after Conquest, by George C. Wilson
The Reification of Vietnam, by Gareth Porter
Vietnam: Reconciliation Regime, 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 Abuse 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
You Rights Before the Grand Jury
The Grand Jury Network
Stop S-1

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)
POB 3122
Columbia Heights Station
Washington, D.C. 20010
202-667-1184

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 Bobe
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 Soloway
The Federal Grand Jury
Conyers Introduces Grand Jury Reform Act of 1975
Grand Jury Report, Number 1
Your Rights and the Grand Jury
Grapewine 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 Domestic Peacetime Policy (CDPP)
1508 19th Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-462-3030

CDPP Working Paper (for distribution in the peace movement)
Focal Point
CIA War in Angola (leaflet)
In Production:
On a New Foreign Policy, by Dick Barnet 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 at all time low. Pretty rotten way to celebrate the 200th anniversary.

I noticed that a Greek news source 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 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 reportedly 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 negligent, 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."

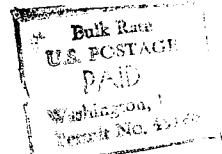
Luck and my best to you.
Shelly
New York, N.Y.

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

P.O. Box 647
Ben Franklin Sta.
Washington, D.C. 20044

Harold Weisberg
Rte. 8
Frederick, MD 21701



ration: 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 _____