

AMERICAN LIBERTY FOUNDATION  
CIVIL LIBERTIES INSTITUTE

# COUNTER-SPY

Vol. 2, Issue 3

Spring/Summer 1975 \$1.50



INSIDE:

The AFL-CIO Goes On Safari,

The Last Flight Of The Phoenix Program,

The Politics And Proliferation Of Data Banks

Resources For Fighting Big Brother, and more...

COMMENTARY BY: Sylvia Crane, SRA. Hortensia Allende,  
and Norman Mailer.

# Dear Friends:

When the first edition of Counter-Spy was published almost three years ago, a friend of ours was approached by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The G-men asked him to relay the message that "You'll never publish a second issue." We, of course, did publish a second issue. And a third and so on.

There has never been any doubt in our minds that Counter-Spy would continue to exist and serve the public's right to know about abuses of power. Despite regular and periodic financial crises, despite work at outside jobs to survive, despite the guarded ridicule ("the CIA will never become an issue"), despite the seeming lack of support from "friendly" individuals ("it's a job for Congress"), despite all our toil and trouble, we have continued our effort and grown as a collective and as individuals. In the last few months those seeds we have so carefully sown in the American politic have sprouted and the indications are for a rich harvest.

Candidates for office have occasionally described themselves as being "unbought and unbossed". These terms have a special significance in our case. The opportunities we've passed by for a well financed project—and there have been some strange offers—were passed because we knew that eventually these opportunities would lead us on a road coinciding with those we oppose. As a result of being "unbought and unbossed", ours has been a seat-of-the-pants struggle.

Two significant and contradictory circumstances have affected us in recent months. First, our issue has taken hold on the American consciousness. National security, intervention, spying, covert action—whatever the label—has come in from the cold to become a mass issue in this country. At the same time that our original goal of helping to create this atmosphere of awareness against repression and clandestine intervention was beginning to be attained, a near fatal series of disasters befell our effort. In retrospect, the timing of these occurrences hardly seems coincidental.

As spring approached and the thaw developed around the once invincible fortress of national security, we were fighting for our very existence. A series of financial pledges withered away simultaneously with attacks from the far-right, elements of the intelligence community and other government agencies. Slanderous and distorted information was placed in the Congressional Record by Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald, a member in good standing of the John Birch Society, and a leader of that outfit. McDonald was challenged by us to make the same allegations in a forum where Congressional immunity from lawsuits did not apply, but like other demagogues in the past, he prefers to hide in the pages of the Congressional Record. During the same week of McDonald's ravings we were red-baiting to a few of our friends in the press by some of the "old boys". Rumors reached us that the CIA considers us "Cuban agents", an unbelievably absurd charge. And then our financial base was all but destroyed during the same period.

As those of you who have followed Counter-Spy closely know, our demise seemed to be only days away at one point. In a desperate measure, we appealed to long standing subscribers and friends for help. We honestly expected only a few could respond in these days of economic woes. But the response of our readers was more than ten-fold our expectations. Literally hundreds of individuals sent small donations which kept us alive during a crucial period of transformation. To those of you who lent a helping hand, we once again offer our thanks and gratitude.

Con't on inside back cover

# COUNTERSPY

Spring/Summer 1975  
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COUNTERSPY ALSO WELCOMES CRITICISM. Although we do not have a letters to the editor section, we encourage you to make your feelings known to us.  
Through reader input many important changes in the quarterly have, and will continue to be made.

THIS ISSUE OF COUNTERSPY COST ABOUT \$1800 to produce. Although this is being written prior to seeing the bills, about \$800 was spent on printing, \$700 on  
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# Editorial

DALLAS TO WATERGATE



In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the people of Indochina, patriots with a common desire for national independence and freedom, won a momentous and decisive victory over thirty years of voracious military and political aggression by the American government. This victory is the single most profound event of international politics during our time and it touches the lives of all humanity. The victory is the consummation of a long and determined struggle by the peasants of Southeast Asia to give proof that organized human spirit can and will conquer any technological prowess we humans have developed. The victory is proof that smaller nations can defeat larger ones, and proof that the observations, beliefs and practice of the Indochinese place them far ahead of our government's national security managers, foreign policy strategists, and political leaders as the foremost political scientists and military strategists in the world. They have won and our government and its agents in Indochina have lost. Three reactionary regimes—backed up by lavish spending of our tax dollars, political and economic advice from our leaders, and all the equipment of war our late-twentieth century minds can devise—save nuclear weapons—collapsed when faced with a united people's war of resistance. Hopelessly isolated from the mainstream needs and desires of their people, those regimes were pawns to the equally hopeless determination of our leaders to hold onto the countries and regions of this far-flung empire of the West.

The Vietnamese won the opportunity for their society to heal its many wounds, for an eventual reunification of that society's national will, for recovery from the ravages of modern war, and the criminal stupidity and brutality of U.S. foreign policy. Cambodians and Laotians—as well as the minorities of Southeast Asia—have also won and enjoy the rule of their own land as they prepare for the joyous rigors of recovery. For them it will not be a struggle without continued perils and pitfalls. We cannot honestly say that they will achieve these new priorities. But, not faced with incessant U.S. bombing and intrigue, they clearly have the opportunity to win these objectives. We are optimistic that the Indochinese will succeed with what history now offers them, just as they won on the battlefield, in the court of world opinion, and at the negotiating table.

This is a joyous time in Indochina and in the hearts of all the millions of Americans who came to oppose the war. The anti-war movement in our homes, amongst our families, in our neighborhoods, at work, at play, at our places of worship and inspiration and on the streets shares this momentous victory. We the people of the United States—joined with people of our government's neocolonies—defeated official U.S. policy. We have won and the government has lost. This is the single most profound event of domestic politics in most of our lifetimes. The government has lost and stands exposed for all to see.

We have won experience and knowledge. We have learned of war and struggle. Most importantly, we have learned that our unity with each other and with the Indochinese and other peace loving people in the world was stronger than Uncle Sam. We have won a better understanding of the facets and complexion of power in our society and how we can organize the distribution of that power.

We have won an understanding of the real structural matrix of foreign policy decision making which brought us the war. We have learned that foreign policy does not serve the American people. We have learned that we have a competitor for rule of the American system. We confront a domain where the powerful rulers of the largest banks and corporations determine policy in collusion with some members of our government and a few other elements of our society. The War was not at all representative of the will of the American people, but of the greed of corporate power. In struggling against the policy of war and winning, we have struggled against those responsible for it, and won the respect of a world which once viewed us all as ugly Americans.

We have struggled in all sectors of society and have spoken to a multitude of ears who have joined us. This is not to forget that as individuals and organizations we made errors and misjudgements, but as a whole we moved the dialectic along to a qualitatively new era where peace is a reality. We have helped form a new era of human history with new problems and opportunities for solutions.

While we focused on ending aggression by our government, we learned to survive the injustices of the political and economic programs of those men—and there are precious few women—who have been raised to sit at the pinnacles of wealth and power and who do not understand the meaning of democracy, are absolutely unfamiliar with democratic practices, and are inured to the real needs of their non-corporate countrymen, and are ignorant of the meaning of social justice. We painfully learned to resist inquisitorial grand juries, deception, false accusations, character malignment, conspiracy trials, police raids, imprisonment, media distortions, moments of crisis or melancholy, loneliness and poverty. As a movement we learned from our similarities of purpose and our differences of approach and style. We learned to recover from equally dangerous miscalculations of our abilities to shape public opinion better than the corporations and their government apologists. We learned to survive ruthless repression and to organize in the face of it. We sadly learned, and continue to learn, that some of our friends were more spies for order and militarism than activists for social change and peace.

Peace, an end to the war, was the predominant objective of our dialectic; a dialectic more powerful than we knew. We were a movement for peace and justice. In this pursuit we were bugged and surveilled. Some of us were clandestinely photographed obeying the law, and others were gassed or Mace'd when in good conscience we were forced to disobey the law. As a phenomena and social force we were analyzed and studied as closely by government spies as was the Indochinese resistance. Our mail was opened so that government agents knew who wished us happy holidays. Our neighbors were frightened by the insinuations of questions from hordes of government agents. Our families were harrassed when they had no concrete knowledge of our intentions, but only stood with us in our beliefs. We were smeared for our unconventional attitudes of opposing war and desiring to pursue life, liberty and happiness in our own manner and not that determined for us by government computers or in executive boardrooms. We were fiscally attacked by representatives of our government. We were infiltrated and provocateurs divided us. We were entrapped into dangerous situations, and a few of our brothers and sisters were murdered. We were targets of our own government's intelligence and police actions.

As a movement we survived all this, won our primary objective and never lost sight of the other aspect of our dialectic. We always continued to struggle against injustice whether we or our fellow citizens were the victims. We helped create the total defeat of U.S. aggression in Indochina and we helped change the consciousness of America while advancing the global dialectic towards peace for all humanity. Our struggle was part of the turning point of history in this century. But have we succeeded with all our goals or have we, in the final analysis, only won an opportunity to win new objectives?

Just as the Indochinese must now slowly and painstakingly recover from the war, rebuild their nations and unite their people, the movement in this country, too, must have its program for continuing progress. The war is over, but injustice still prevails.

Until now, our movement for justice was basically a defensive movement. We sought to protect ourselves from government persecution while we terminated their persecution of the Indochinese. And we did this admirably. One political trial after another ended in freedom for the defendants and humiliation for the Justice Department. One infiltrator after another was exposed as we learned the tactics and strategies of disruption and provocation. One plot by rightwing terrorists after another was exposed as desperate machinations of the cowards in our society. And finally, we precipitated the Watergate scandals, which showed all Americans that our government was full of crooks more willing to preserve their regalia of power, the profits of their corporate buddies, and the myths of the American dream than to serve the people who elected them to high office. But in all this historic movement we were simply protecting ourselves. This is primarily because of our offensive focus on ending the war, but also because we did not have all the answers to the reasons for war and injustice. And the government did its best to keep us from knowing. Throughout the decade of mass resistance to the war, and during the earlier struggles for labor and civil rights, we were spied upon and lied to; the dagger could not come without the cloak. But each time we resisted and defended ourselves from the dagger, a bit more of the cloak was torn away.

From Watergate we know that government secrecy, excessive government secrecy, is not designed to prevent foreign and hostile powers from understanding the maneuvers of our government—they know with their sophisticated techniques—but to prevent the American citizenry from knowing and understanding these maneuvers. Secrecy, as it is now practiced by our government, is designed to keep us from knowing that our “national security” is being defined, not by the interest of all Americans, but by a diseased social class of sterile monopolists.

In 1975, as it has been for the last thirty years of our aggression against Indochina and other areas of the world, national security has only meant security for these few who have dominated our foreign policy and

domestic life. But now, since the Watergate revelations and since this victory, the American public is beginning to question the actions of our security apparatus. From Dallas to Watergate, the questions have become an uncontrollable and unstoppable thirst for truth. Until recently the truth of police operations, CIA covert action, FBI cover-ups, military clandestine maneuvers, right-wing terror campaigns, repressive legislation, and our secret battles in Indochina, were being exposed by only a handful of dedicated researchers, journalists and scholars. Many of them, especially those who sought the truth about more controversial subjects such as political assassinations, were forced to the fringes of American political life. Others who brought us the truth of their personal involvement in government crimes were called "traitors" and other foul names. All were ignored for many years or ridiculed for the contradictions in their research and statements; contradictions which naturally result from examining secret processes. This research and expose orientation characterized the movement's search for truth in the police state atmosphere of our society's recent decades.

But as admirable and needed as this orientation was for our freedom—as well as media exposes of the Nixon Administration wrongdoings—they are merely the history of the consummation of a long period of researching truth. The Fourth Estate, joining this rich history of movement against the centers of corrupt power, still relies upon exposé alone to resolve injustice in American society. Battles are still fought on the front pages and behind the scenes. The scandals express only those events where evidence is overwhelming and the controversy negligible. For the most part there has not been a mass public effort to solve these problems, rather than just learn of them.

In the past few months, as victory was coming in Indochina, a dramatic change has propelled this movement to a new stage. People are no longer asking "What did *they* do wrong?" but "What can *we* do about it?" Thousands of people have attended rallies and conferences around the country this spring exploring national and internal security, government secrecy and conspiracy, militarism, covert action and monopolist empire. At every event, the people have demonstrated their willingness to move on these issues. They have demonstrated an unquenchable thirst for truth and an unstoppable desire for justice and democracy. In their communities they will work for community control of police to prevent police intelligence from serving forces outside the community. They will stand fast to terminate the cowardly acts of scared, night-riding Minutemen, Klansmen and Nazis. They are not willing to allow the crimes of local and regional officials to be overlooked while the nation focuses on politicians whose crimes are global in nature. They are no longer willing to believe official versions of political assassinations, or of war, or of misconduct in high office. They believe they are being watched by Big Brother and they are willing to watch back.

Citizens from all walks of life are willing to petition and lobby against repressive legislation. They are opposed to wiretap laws, computerized data banks, infringements on their privacy, or any other moves by their Community Councils or State Legislatures to infringe their freedom. A good example of this is the rapidly building opposition to Senate Bill One, former Atty. General John Mitchell's final answer to right-wing demands for repression. They are willing to use all legal forms available to seek justice in this land of the free and home of the brave. Thousands of our fellow citizens will be using the new Freedom of Information Act to seek the truth from government archives. And *after current legal struggles on this Act have consummated*, thousands may apply under this provision for copies of their personal file and dossier from government officials. Even if they are stonewalled, or lied to the government must respond according to law, and thus all who use this Act will have tangible proof of their struggle. Petitions on a variety of subjects are circulating in our schools and churches. Forums are being held and teach-ins are being planned. There is popular movement in this country against the development of a police state and for liberty and freedom for all.

Even as the dialectic is moved along to focus on the goals of our movement for social justice, it is obvious that this is a complex and multidimensional issue. The development of a police state in America touches every aspect of our lives and in so doing offers countless and myriad forms for expressing opposition. The only limit on our action are those of our imaginations and creativity. Time, place and circumstance determine our immediate objectives—we determine the strategy and tactics.

The issue is also multidimensional because it affects us politically, economically and culturally. If we are organizing our communities for economic survival in the face of looming depression or trying to improve the quality of our lives—providing better food for our tables, better housing for our children, better working conditions for us all—we have been oppressed by government spying and terror. If we have been expressing our own individual sexual and social preferences, we have been attacked and slandered by government agents. If we have organized legitimate political expression, we have been sabotaged by dirty tricks. If we have entered government in honest faith to reform its process, we have been subtly derailed by covert power. If we have sought redress of grievances or the defense of our rights and freedoms in the courts and prisons of this land, we have felt the raw naked abuse of injustice.

The issue is multidimensional because it involves the entire matrix of Federal, state, local and private agencies in this country. On the Federal level scores of intelligence apparatus are spying on foreign lands and

American citizens. State and local officials also have spies and agent provocateurs waiting in dark alleys for us. Our cities are occupied by police which should serve our interests, but respond only to the calls for law and order from the criminals in high positions. Police logic rules are streets.

The issue is multidimensional because we can oppose injustice at every level and in every direction of our social and political life. The issue touches our immediate struggles for survival and portends to be a major issue in the upcoming election year. It offers room for struggle in the years to come as we approach 1984. It is an issue connected to the lives of us all.

But being a multidimensional issue does pose problems. The strength of the anti-war movement, which led to its great victory, was unity around a single issue. As victory became inevitable in Indochina, the past few years has seen our movement deepen its understanding of the social ills in this country, and the single issue of the war faded somewhat. We became diversified in our concerns as our movement deepened and spread to involvement with other issues, and our unity faded. As a result, the character of the movement for the past two years has been more struggle with ourselves than with our foes. Sectarian struggle by various political tendencies in our movement dissipated our once great spirit of unity. Fortunately, the forces of war lost their unity of purpose, or it is just possible that this great victory would not now be ours. We were strongest when we were unified on a single issue and weakest when our struggles were separate and not connected. What we need—as we needed during the advance of the movement over the past decade—is a hard, single cutting focus for our struggle and movement.

Although multidimensional, the issue of justice provides us with such a single focus. Weaving throughout all our struggles is the hidden shape and influence of the Central Intelligence Agency. Although other government and private organizations may affect us directly, always looming in the background is the CIA. The CIA is unique among other intelligence organizations. The CIA alone of all federal agencies represents only one economic force in the world—the multinational banks and corporations. This corporate elite has managed to manipulate all the other instruments of foreign and domestic policy, but only the CIA remains totally their instrument. Abroad, the CIA acts as a secret police insuring profitable investment climates, favorable trade, and control of populations and societies to the benefit of corporate profit. At home the CIA monitors the activities of all the other government agencies and, as Watergate reveals, has indulged in illegal domestic activities. The actions of the CIA in both arenas are not aberrations to be corrected by more reasoning men, nor are they the result of perverse zealousness. Covert Action and domestic activity by the CIA are the result of conscious policy on the part of ITT, IBM, GM, the Chase Manhattan Bank and, other global businesses. The CIA acts to insure the strategic overview of the 300 or so global giants who seek what no other conqueror has ever achieved—world hegemony. The CIA is their first instrument of power and acts within the vast gray area between diplomacy and military intervention. In so doing, the CIA offers us our hard single focus. We must demand an end to domestic CIA activity. We must demand an end to covert action. We must make the connections between our community struggles and the CIA and the system it represents. We must demand the abolishment of its more abusive fronts and instruments such as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), African American Labor Center (AALC), and Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), through which the CIA manipulates the American trade union leadership to sabotage workers struggles throughout the world. We must demand the abolishment of Air America, CAT, Southern Air Transport, Pacific Corp., and other profitable enterprises by the CIA. We must demand an end to CIA coup d'etats and assassinations. We must understand how the CIA manipulates the other divisions of our government. We must demand the abolishment of the CIA, and we must support those who defect from it.

One such defector is Philip Agee. He has written a book, *CIA Diary*, which reveals in striking detail the workings of this once secret bureaucracy. He reveals the CIA's methods and its attitudes. *CIA Diary* reveals that the CIA is nothing but a secret police force for empire and should be read by every American, when it becomes available in this country. For giving us the truth about the CIA, Phil Agee may be persecuted by the government. If so, then our movement must make the connections between our local struggles and his struggle for freedom. While there is no need to develop a cult of personality around Phil Agee in our support of him, he has given us a precious gift besides truth. He has given us his courage, and history demands that we be no less courageous.

We have a long struggle ahead of us if we are to achieve peace and justice in our land. But as the people are moving we know we can achieve new victories. Now is the time for all those who joined the anti-war movement to join in a renewed search for a fair, just and democratic America.

*We are creating. We are building.  
We are marching forward. No  
force can hinder our march from  
victory to victory.*

*Ho Chi Minh*

## The Last Flight of the Phoenix:

The end of the Vietnam War has brought an end to the most indiscriminate and massive program of political murder since the Nazi death camps of World War Two — the Phung Houn/Phoenix Program. While Phoenix itself may have been ended with defeat of Nguyen Van Thieu's administration, many of the officers and officials of that program, as well as the political officers of Thieu's ruling party, are now ensconced in refugee camps throughout the United States. In the strangest form of irony, the Phoenix may have again resurrected itself and flown to the United States.

The figures on refugees coming into the United States from Vietnam change from day to day, depending on what newspaper or network one believes. According to officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 21,111 Vietnamese refugees are "in the pipeline" between refugee camps in Guam and homes in America, as of May 20, 1975. Another 79,657 have already been processed and were either awaiting sponsors or transportation to their new homes.

According to Francis Ralley, a secretary at INS who handles refugee figures, increasing numbers of those Vietnamese still in the camps want to return home. "It's a snowball effect," she said, "it's less than a thousand right now but growing in numbers." The sudden desire on the part of the refugees to go home is based in part on the composition of the refugee community.

According to Dean Brown, the State Department official who originally headed the Interagency Task Force on Refugees, the U.S. had preplanned for 50,000 "high risk" Vietnamese to be evacuated by the U.S. Over twice that number did leave Vietnam, some by their own means such as fishing vessels and commandeered aircraft and others through seats on U.S. aircraft. The "high risk" category of Vietnamese included those who had worked for various U.S. government agencies including the military, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, as well as private corporations.

The extra 54,000 Vietnamese who were not in the "high risk" were mainly peasants who were caught up in the emotion of constantly running from bombing attacks against PRG held regions, bar girls and others who provided western style "comforts" in Saigon, and rich merchants who had made their money either through the black market or war profiteering, or perhaps both.

For the rich and the former government officials, however, there is little thought of returning to Vietnam. Their role in maintaining a corrupt regime in South Vietnam places them on the level of the Tories and Benedict Arnold during the American Revolution. The Tiger and Cow Cages, the military and civilian prisons and detention/interrogation centers, and the political base that supported the repression of all anti-Thieu sentiment were signs of an internal security system that pulled no punches and had no mercy. Its origins came with the American involvement after the defeat of the French in 1954, and its legacy is commonly and broadly referred to as "Phoenix."



# A Post-Script on the War

## The Ultimate Pacification Program

Phoenix was the ultimate pacification program designed to "neutralize" the political infrastructure of the National Liberation Front (or the VCI [Viet Cong Infrastructure]). In the words of former CIA official Samuel Adams, the author of the CIA handbook on the NLF infrastructure, Phoenix was designed to "replace the Bludgeon" of indiscriminate use of search and destroy missions, free fire zones, and bombing, with "a scalpel" of selected assassination of NLF political and military leaders. Adams left the CIA in June, 1973, disgusted with the Phoenix program because of its abuses of power and its inability to actually affect the NLF.

Phoenix relied on a network of military and CIA agents who ran "agent networks" of Vietnamese who were paid to identify active NLF cadre. What happened, in effect, was that the Vietnamese involved in the program, at all levels, used their power to extract money and other goods under the threat of Phoenix retribution of those who failed to comply. Province level security committees, backed up with interrogation and detention centers built by the Agency for International Development and advised by CIA and AID "public safety officers" were built throughout Vietnam. Repressive legislation giving these province level committees and military tribunals the power to imprison people without trial or any other form of due process were passed by the Saigon government. Gangs of criminals and mercenaries were formed into Provisional Reconnaissance Units (PRU's) in order to carry out arrests and assassinations under the Phung Houng/Phoenix Program.

*"The prime difference between the types of intelligence provided to the military units and the Phoenix Coordinator was that all information going to Phoenix was of a political nature . . . I was following through on a reported (Viet Cong) suspect that one of my agents had identified. The man was being interrogated at the Marine Counter-Intelligence complex and I was invited to witness it. As I entered the hooch the man was being taken out, dead. He died from a six inch dowel that pushed through his ear and into his brain."*

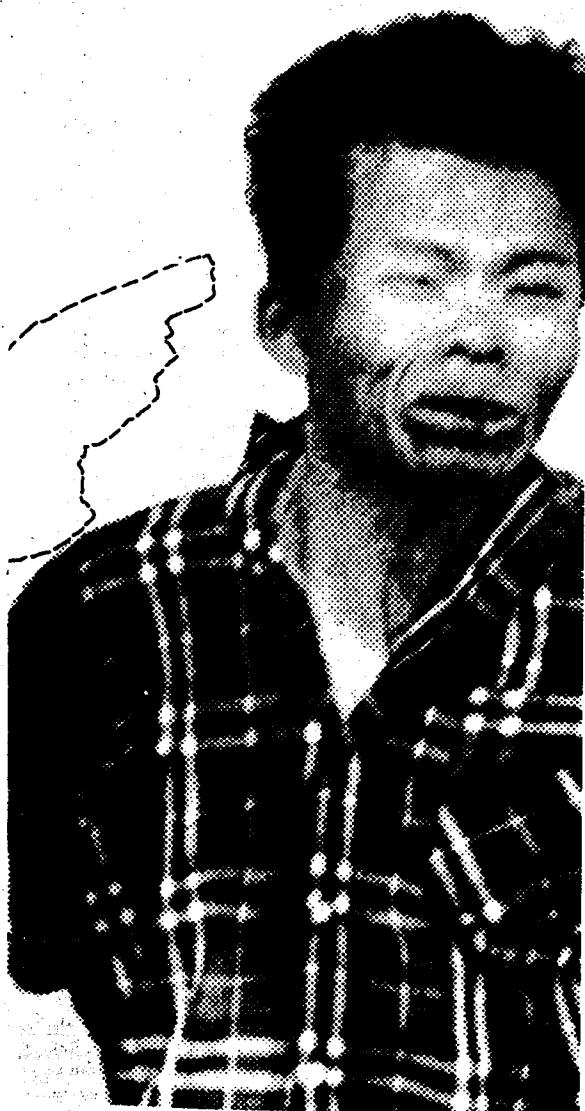
—K. Barton Osborn, former Phoenix case officer. Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee, July 20, 1973.



This same basic scenario was repeated countless times during the Phung Houng/Phoenix program. Statistics on the number of people detained, killed, and "rallied" to the Saigon government vary from source to source, almost as much as the statistics on refugees. According to a Jan. 30, 1973 letter to Rep. Jerome Waldie from Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Dennis J. Doolin, 26,369 South Vietnamese civilians were killed under Phoenix while it was under direct American control (Jan., 1968 through August, 1972). Another 33,358 were imprisoned without trial, according to the Defense Department official.

During William Colby's confirmation hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee in July, 1973, Colby cited older, but broader, statistics concerning Phoenix operations. According to figures provided through the end of 1971, the Phoenix Program was responsible for the deaths of 20,587 people, while an ad-

ditional 28,978 were captured and 17,717 were "rallied" to the Saigon government under the Chieu Hoi ("Open Arms") program. Thus, under the Phung Houng Phoenix Program, approximately 30% of the targeted individuals were killed. None of these statistics, of course, reflect the degree of activity after the end of direct American military involvement. In fact, the military was the backbone of the Phoenix Program, providing the CIA with approximately 600 case officers to supplement what Colby claimed were only "40 to 50 civilians" who were official CIA case officers. With the end of American military involvement, the military case officers working on Phoenix were removed, and their jobs given either to Vietnamese counterparts or members of the Defense Attaché Office assigned to each of the U.S. consulates throughout Vietnam.



### The Twilight of Thieu

The last days of the Thieu regime, the months after signing of the Paris Peace Accords, were perhaps the most brutal in terms of political repression. Estimates ranged from a low of 60,000 political prisoners to a high of 200,000 during the post cease-fire period. Although the Paris Accords provided for the release of political prisoners and freedom of political activity, the reality of the situation was such that the Thieu regime vigorously enforced its anti-communist and anti-neutralist laws. A 1964 Decree Law (93 SL/CT: Feb. 64) made illegal any acts "aimed at practicing communism or Pro-Communist Neutralism" and defined a "Pro-Communist Neutralist" as "a person who commits acts of propaganda for the incitement of Neutralism; these acts are assimilated to acts jeopardizing the public security."

With such broad repressive laws and definitions, it is little wonder that there were thousands of people imprisoned by Thieu. South Vietnamese Senator Vu Van Mau, a Thieu opponent who was a member of the Committee to Reform the Prison System in South Vietnam, broke the figures on political prisoners into these categories: 13,000 in four special prisons; 12,000 in military prisons; 25,000 in nine main prisons; 50,000 in thirty-seven province level prisons; 68,000 in district and village level jails; and 33,800 in various "interrogation centers."

According to public statements and congressional testimony by a number of former military intelligence officers assigned to Phoenix, including Jeff Stien and Bart Osborn, the Phoenix program revolved around the province level "interrogation centers" where "security committees" would decide the fate of suspected NLF members. By comparing Sen. Vu's figures with those of Colby, we can see that the number of NLF suspects imprisoned increased after 1971, although a strict quantitative analysis would be difficult due to such factors as murder of prisoners and release of those who may have "Chieu Hoi-ed."

### Phoenix's Phoenix

Now, the people who carried out the Phung Houng/Phoenix Program, staffed the prisons, conducted the interrogations, and made the policy decisions that led to massive imprisonment, death, and the eradication of basic civil liberties in South Vietnam are coming to the United States. Initial indications point to the development of a re-incarnated political structure inside the United States that would be born of the ashes of Phoenix, heroin trade, and political corruption from the defeated Saigon government. With twice as many Vietnamese refugees as had been planned for now the responsibility of the U.S. government, the entire situation has taken some complicated twists. Many of the over 54,000 extra refugees are refugees in the strictest definition of the word: unskilled laborers, farmers, and fishermen whose flight from Vietnam began with Thieu's propaganda and the bombing of villages in the liberated zones. Motivated by fear of death rather than fear of any political system, their flight makes them legitimate refugees.

Other refugees, especially the 50,000 "high risk" people, the wealthy patrons of Thieu's private political party, the police, intelligence and military officials involved with Phoenix and other repressive programs are not refugees in the same light as the rural people. They are more political exiles, motivated by fear of the new political system of Vietnam under the Revolutionary Government rather than the bombing of their homes. Their flight was political rather than emotional, and they are the people who are attempting to forge their power base inside the refugee/exile community.

These high level government officials and the middle level officials who administered government programs joined the former U.S. employees in the flight from Saigon. Since the signing of the cease fire agreement in 1973, all of these officials, in fact all government civil servants, were obliged to join the Dan Chu Party, the political party formed by Nguyen Van Thieu for the purpose of supporting his power. The Dan Chu Party, which translates to Democracy Party, was often referred to by anti-Thieu forces as the Chu Dan Party, which translates to "Master of the People Party". According to Vietnamese sources, the Dan Chu Party, and Thieu, received its strongest support from the upper echelons of the ministries and agencies, especially the police, while the middle level and lower level civil servants usually joined the party simply for the purpose of keeping their jobs and paychecks. With this in mind, it is easier to see the birth of a Vietnamese political infrastructure inside the U.S., and the potential for crime and terrorism developing from it.

Aside from the members of the Dan Chu Party and government officials who have come to the United States, including U.S. trained police officials, an estimated 5,000 former Phoenix people are believed to be included in the refugee community. *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Robert Hollis, in a May 4, 1975 report, quotes an unnamed U.S. Agency for International Development official as the source of the estimate. "But don't worry, most of these guys were the heads of the program. Not very many were triggermen and torturers," noted the AID officer. He did qualify his statement by noting that "some of the guys who did the shooting are undoubtedly mixed in with the refugees."

The AID official was probably in a very good position to judge the number of Phoenix people turned refugees. For years, the CIA had used AID as an official cover for Phoenix personnel, often causing resentment amongst the younger, more idealistic AID workers. "AID provided an excellent cover" notes Bart Osborn, "AID workers have a high degree of mobility through the country, they work with Vietnamese nationals on a variety of "self-help" programs, and state Department passports open a lot of doors with a minimum of hassles." Both Osborn and the man who inherited his agent network in Da Nang, Jeff Stien, used AID covers at various times during 1967 through 1970.

The internal backbone of the Phoenix Program was the Provisional Reconnaissance Units and the police apparatus of South Vietnam. The Central Intelligence Agency, acting through the Office of Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS) in the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, initially ran Phoenix as a unilateral operation. As Vietnamization became the Order of the

Day, the Phung Houn/Phoenix Program was turned entirely over to the Vietnamese, save U.S. financing and "advisors." Many of these police officials are currently "in the pipeline" to the United States. Some were trained by CIA instructors at various schools, including the AID's International Police Academy, and others learned their trade of repression through daily practice. The fact remains that without the police and its many components there would have been no Phoenix Program and no mass imprisonment of Vietnamese dissidents who were innocent of any crimes.

### Who's Who?

The exact number of police officials coming into the United States is unknown. In a May 30, 1975 *New Times* article, Mike Drosnin identified three major intelligence officials, four police officials, three tiger cage wardens, and four key military officials involved with heroin trade. Drosnin also claims that the chief CIA labor operative in Vietnam, Tran Quoc Buu, was among the refugees planning to come to Washington. In addition, CBS News on May 2, 1975, reported that some former police and military officials were entering the country under assumed identities, making any screening process virtually impossible.

Already, members of the Dan Chu party and their wealthy supporters are signaling their determination to continue their power inside the United States. The eight refugee camps, according to Red Cross officials, are being run by committees of unelected "volunteers." *New York Times* reporter Jon Nordheimer observed that there were "muttered complaints that some of the 'volunteers' were part of the same cartel that helped turn the Vietnamese into refugees." A former Vietnamese correspondent for a Japanese newspaper, Lien Houn, told Nordheimer that the same system of corruption that was apparent in Vietnam had infiltrated the refugee camps. Houn believes that the leadership cadre running the camps are "agents who (take) orders from Saigon "godfathers" who never left their tents.

### The Intelligence Infrastructure

The Dan Chu party members, 5000 Phoenix operatives, and various police and intelligence officials now entering the United States as "refugees" are not finding a total political vacuum. Quite to the contrary, the Thieu government has had a political intelligence apparatus operating inside the United States since 1969, an operation that was targeted against both Vietnamese and American anti-war activists and organizations. According to Vietnamese familiar with the operation, its purpose was to keep U.S. anti-war activists out of South Vietnam and punish any Vietnamese who were openly opposing the Thieu regime.

This operation began when Nguyen Ngoc Bich, who is now a "refugee", was assigned to the Vietnamese Embassy in Washington as a "cultural attache." Bich began to collect intelligence on various American anti-war activists and Vietnamese dissidents. Bich filed the information, including photographs, on index cards that he kept in the basement of his Arlington, Virginia, home. Bich was re-assigned to Saigon in 1972 to assume the head of the psychological warfare office. In 1973, he

was promoted to the head of one of the Vietnamese political police operations roughly comparable to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

When Bich departed for Saigon, he took the original copies of his files with him and left a duplicate set behind for his replacement, Pham Doung Hien. Hien developed a wider network of informants than Bich, and some sources say that he even computerized the files and information he collected. Rather than one officer collecting intelligence in Washington, Hien opened two branch offices to collect information on Vietnamese activists in other parts of the country. Using the South Vietnamese Mission to the United Nations in New York and the Vietnamese consulate in San Francisco, Hien divided the country into three geographic areas of responsibility for intelligence collection.

The east coast was divided into two regions, with the New York office responsible for the area of New York north to the Canadian border, which includes the sizable Vietnamese student community around New York City and Boston-Cambridge. This operation was headed by Vu Thien Hai. The east coast from New York south was handled personally by Hien. A west coast office was opened in the Vietnamese consulate in San Francisco, but the intelligence officer heading it could not be identified by Fifth Estate investigations.

All of the Vietnamese intelligence officers utilized the services of *Sinh Vien Cong An*, or "secret police students" as informants. One such agent is a woman operative named Cao Thi Le who, according to several Vietnamese sources, would threaten other Vietnamese students with the termination of their financial aid if they did not cooperate with her. Cao worked in the Los Angeles area and often made trips to report to the San Francisco consulate office.

Prior to the fall of the Thieu regime, Hien was considered the most powerful man in the Vietnamese community inside the U.S. Hien filed his reports directly to Nguyen Van Thieu's nephew and advisor, Hough Duc Nha, the head of the Bureau of Information Offices. The Bureau of Information Offices provided the cover for the Washington operation by opening a "Vietnamese Information Office" near DuPont Circle. In fact, an independent verification of charges made by Vietnamese students that a spy network existed inside the Information Office came when members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization seized the office on the first anniversary of the signing of the Paris Accords.

Phil Hill, a former Army military intelligence NCO and fluent in Vietnamese, was among the vets who seized the office. "We found some initial evidence of the intelligence operation, such as files and papers, but the police arrested us before we had a chance to conduct a thorough investigation," said Hill.

Another close Thieu advisor involved with the intelligence operation was Ngo Khac Tinh. Tinh was also the head of the Ministry of Youth and Education and responsible for the conduct of Vietnamese students living overseas. Like Nha, Tinh is a relative of Nguyen Van Thieu. In the spring of 1973, Tinh visited the United States to meet with Vietnamese students and warn them about their responsibilities in "combating the anti-war gangs." According to our Vietnamese sour-

ces, the Nha-Tinh team operated similar intelligence networks with Information Office covers in Paris and Tokyo.

"The effect of the Saigon intelligence operations on the Vietnamese students and others living in the U.S. was great," states Ngouc Thi Thoa of the Indochina Resource Center. "Before the end of the war, many of the Vietnamese were afraid that if they openly opposed the war they would either get their families in Vietnam in trouble or go to prison when they returned home. Now we are faced with a new situation where the people who ran that intelligence network are coming to Washington, D.C. to establish a shadow government over the Vietnamese community."

Thoa, and other Vietnamese interviewed since the first of May, believe that the formation of a "shadow government" means problems for both the Vietnamese and Americans. "The former police officials, these men who have no mercy and are used to violence, may not be satisfied with simply attempting to control the Vietnamese communities," noted one Vietnamese student. "The Americans who worked against them may also find themselves the targets of violence and revenge."

### Cuban-Vietnamese Connections?

Some political observers believe that there are some parallels between the type of people who became refugees from Cuba and those who left Vietnam. The situations, however, are not exact parallels. In both instances, corrupt officials, secret and political police, and the wealthy were in the forefront of the exodus. In both instances, the political allegiance of the refugees was towards a dictator who enjoyed support from the U.S. government. In both instances, refugees were placed in a central receiving area where former government officials had a chance to consolidate their power and plan their future organizational structure.

The situation is not exactly parallel, however. The numbers of Cuban refugees far exceeds the number of Vietnamese: over 600,000 Cubans left Cuba for the U.S. after the Revolution, compared with an estimated 104,000 Vietnamese. In addition, the Cubans settled in one major area, Miami, and created a Little Havana as their second home. The Vietnamese are being spread out over four or five areas due to the depressed U.S. economy, although many of the elite are coming to Washington, D.C. This thinning of the Vietnamese population means little in the era of jets and long distance phones if there is a centralized source of power with representatives in every Vietnamese community.

The potential does exist for the use of this refugee community in a political manner similar to the Cubans. The Cuban community has provided a wealth of resources for the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence endeavors such as the White House "Plumbers" and the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion have also been reported to have participated in CIA operations in the Middle East and Africa. A major quantitative difference between the resources provided by the Cubans and those that could potentially be provided by the Vietnamese is based on the fact that thousands of Vietnamese had contact with the CIA prior to becoming refugees, while

Cuban-CIA contact prior to the Revolution was minimal.

### The CIA Connections

Former CIA case officer Phil Agee views the situation by noting that "The CIA will develop its contacts amongst the refugees and may attempt to use them in a manner similar to the Cubans." At a minimum, the CIA will develop contacts who are writing to relatives in Vietnam in an attempt to collect intelligence about the internal situation there. In addition, such people could be used to maintain communication with any "stay-behind" agents who remained in South Vietnam to work for the CIA.

"Stay-behind agents" are a common CIA tool, and Gen. Edward Lansdale cites their use in Vietnam following the fall of Dien Bien Phu and Geneva Accords on Indochina. "Stay-behind agents" who operated under CIA control in North Vietnam after the 1954 Accords conducted a wide variety of operations, both military and psychological in nature. Power plants were sabotaged, machinery destroyed, water supplies sabotaged, a campaign of "black propaganda" designed

to create the idea of a "communist bloodbath" and the dissemination of false information designed to undermine the Viet Minh were conducted by stay-behind agents.

The precedent of the CIA's use of stay-behind agents is perhaps one major reason why the Revolutionary Government is carefully examining its response to the hundreds of Vietnamese who are now asking to return to their homes. Are these refugees really refugees, or are they people recruited in the camps by the CIA and asked to return home for purposes of conducting covert CIA operations? This is a serious political question for the new government, although American press reports have failed to frame the question of returning refugees in any such context.

### Terrorism In The U.S.?

Just as the Cuban refugees found their CIA connections and financed operations against Cuba were curtailed and reduced as a result of increasing U.S. moves toward normalization with Cuba, the same event may quickly occur within the Vietnamese community. The Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has

## Who's Who Among Vietnamese Exiles

### 'Dan Chu' Party Members

*Nguyen Cao Ky*—Former Vice President  
*Tran Thien Khiem*—Former Prime Minister  
*Nguyen Ba Can*—Former Prime Minister of the war cabinet  
*Nguyen Huu Co*—Former Defense Minister  
*Tran Trung Ding*—Former Defense Minister  
*Gen. Cao Van Vien*—former head of Joint Chiefs of Staff, and millionaire.  
*Gen. Ngo Dzu*—Former Commander II Corps, and dope trafficker.  
*Rear Adm. Chung Tan Cang*—Former head of National Anti-Narcotics Committee, and (as you would expect) a dope trafficker.  
*Gen. Pan Phung Tien*—Former Commander, 5th Transport Wing, Vietnamese Air Force, and Dope Trafficker.  
*Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam*—Former I Corps Commander, and alleged war profiteer.  
*Gen. Dang Van Quang*—Former IV Corps Commander and war profiteer.  
*Gen. Chung Tan Cang*—Former Saigon Military Region Commander and war profiteer.  
*Gen. Vihn Loc*—Former II Corps Commander and war profiteer.  
*Gen. Lu Lam*—Former Chief of Inspections (Inspector General) for the Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam. Considered to be one of the most corrupt officials.  
*Tran Van Lam*—Former Minister for Foreign Affairs  
*Trang Minh Tung*—Former Minister of Health, later Secretary-General of Dan Chu  
*Nguyen Tien Hung*—Former Minister of Planning  
*Pham Quang Dan*—Former Minister of Social Welfare  
*Pham Kin Ngoc*—Former Minister of Economy  
*An Ngoc Ho*—Former Minister of Economy  
*Thuan Hai Ton*—Former Minister of Economy  
*Nguyen Thi Hai*—Former Senator  
*Trang Quang Thuan*—Former Senator  
*La Than Nghe*—Millionaire pharmacist and party finaceer.  
*Nguyen Thi Ly*—Sister-in-law of Gen. Ky, alleged to be dope trafficker/profiteer.

### Phoenix, Police, and Intelligence Officers

*Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan*—former head of the National Police, Military Security Service, and Central Intelligence Office.  
*Brig. Gen. Nguyen Khac Binh*—former head of the Central Intelligence Office.  
*Brig. Gen. Tran Van Giau*—former head of the National Secret Police Surveillance Branch.  
*Brig. Gen. Huyen Thai Tay*—former Chief, Special Police Intelligence.  
*Brig. Gen. Tran Si Tran*—former Chief, Saigon Metropolitan Police.  
*Gen. Dang Van Quang*—Military and Security Advisor to Thieu, dope trafficker/profiteer.  
*Col. Nguyen Mau*—former Director, National Police Special Branch.  
*Col. Nguyen Van Giau*—former Director, National Council of Phoenix.  
*Tran Ngoc Nhan*—former Commander, Military Intelligence School.  
*Col. Dang Van Minh*—Secret Police official believed to be involved with CIA labor operations.  
*Nguyen Ngoc Bich*—originator of South Vietnamese intelligence operations directed against Vietnamese and U.S. activists. Later head of Psychological Warfare Operations and eventually head of the Vietnamese counterpart to the FBI.  
*Houng Duc Nha*—Nephew of and advisor to Nguyen Van Thieu. Head of the Bureau of Information Office which provided cover for anti-student operations in the U.S., Japan, and France.  
*Ngo Khac Tinh*—Nephew of and advisor to Thieu. Used his position as Minister of Youth and Education to assist anti-student spy operations.  
*Pham Doong Hien*—Intelligence officer who replaced Bich as head of U.S. based spy operations.  
*Diep Quan Hong*—Intelligence officer responsible for anti-student spy operations in the western U.S. Attempted to have South Vietnamese students deported from U.S. for anti-Thieu activity.  
*Vu Thien Hai*—Intelligence officer in charge of anti-student spy activities in the New York region.  
*Col. Nguyen Van Ve*—Former Director, Con Son Prison.  
*Col. Loi Nguyen Tan*—Former Director, Chi Hoa prison.  
*Col. Minh Chau*—Former warden, Chi Hoa prison.  
*Nguyen Van Choac*—Former U.S. State Dept. employee held by many Vietnamese to be a CIA contract agent. Brother of Nguyen Ngoc Bich.

already indicated that it is willing to allow the continued exploration of offshore oil under strict, but as yet undisclosed, Vietnamese-mandated terms. If the multi-national oil companies find that they will be allowed to continue their exploration and agree to the terms laid out by the Vietnamese, then multi-national pressure could force the CIA to disengage itself from any paramilitary and sabotage operations involving Vietnamese refugees. If this does occur, the response of the Vietnamese may likely be similar to that of the Cubans: political terrorism that the CIA could not control.

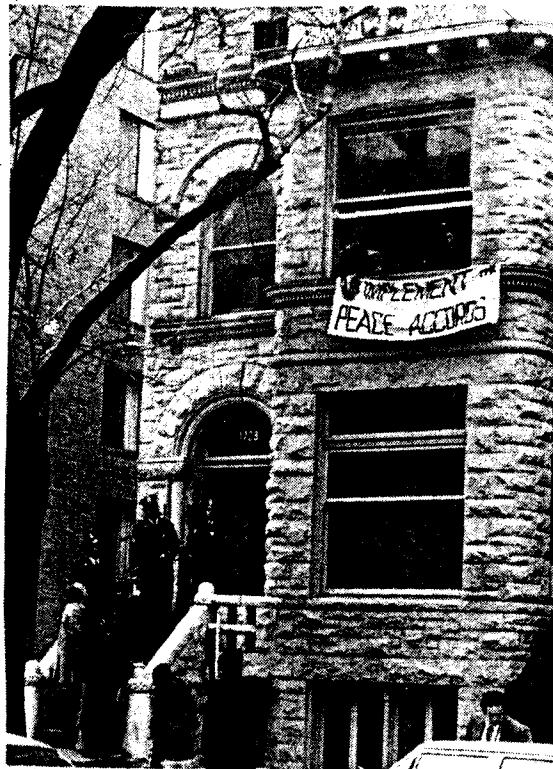
If a government in exile is formed by Thieu in Taiwan, or a shadow government here in the states adopts a policy of paramilitary warfare against the Revolutionary government, the domestic ramifications of that decision could be great. Since 1970, when the CIA began extricating itself from the Cuban refugee community, CIA trained Cubans have conducted a series of bombings, including the Organization of American States building and the Embassy of Mexico in Washington in retaliation for moves toward recognizing or cooperating with Cuba. Assassination plots against U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Costa Rican Foreign Minister Gonzalo Facio have also been attributed to Cuban groups. Additionally, internal feuds between rival factions have resulted in bombings and at least two assassinations.

While it is not clear that this exact pattern will be repeated by the Vietnamese exiles, the dynamics are right for it. In both cases, the CIA has trained large numbers of exiles in terrorist tactics. In both cases, the exiles stand to lose their political cause should the U.S. recognize their opposition in the homelands. In both cases, militant anti-communism and personal wealth and power were at the base of the refugee leaderships. Additionally, the *Miami Herald* has reported that leaders in the Cuban exile community have already agreed to sponsor some of the Vietnamese refugees, and some discussions have taken place between Cuban and Vietnamese exile leaders. The conditions for CIA manipulation and use of the Vietnamese exiles are certainly ripe.

### INS And "Undesirables"

There are moves to stop this, of course, and two ideas have emerged. The first idea was advanced by Congressional "doves" who were upset over the idea of former Tiger Cage guards and Phoenix hit men coming into the United States. Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman was the first in Congress to press for an amendment to the authorization for refugee resettlement that would have prevented any such "undesirables" from coming into the U.S. On May 7, 1975, she reached a deal with the Immigration and Naturalization Service whereby she withdrew and amendment and INS agreed to institute a screening process. Under the agreement with INS, every refugee must swear out an affidavit that they had not engaged in repression based on race, creed, national origin or political belief. Any person caught lying on their oath, according to INS spokesman Vern Jervis, will be subject to prosecution, and if found guilty, they will be sent to jail.

The agreement also requires a security check be conducted of every refugee coming into the United States.



VVAW members found information about intelligence activities when they seized the Vietnamese Information Office. Photo: LNS

The fingerprints and names of the exiles are sent to the FBI, CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, Drug Enforcement Agency, and the Department of State as well as INS headquarters. Once the security check is completed and the immigration oath signed, the person is ready for release to an American sponsor.

This process has several holes in it, however. To begin with, it exempted over 10,000 Vietnamese who had been previously employed by the U.S. from the security check. Secondly, it ignores the tradition of the intelligence community of "taking care of its own." As Department of State official Mort Smith told the *San Francisco Examiner* "If it is one of our paid assassins, they don't have anything to worry about."

### The Heroin Connection

Aside from the obvious reticence the CIA may have about giving immigration authorities damaging evidence on any of its former employees, the Drug Enforcement Agency also seems to be doing an inadequate, if not genuinely malfeasant job of screening narcotics figures amongst the refugees. In his well documented book, *The Politics of Heroin in South East Asia*, Alfred McCoy listed a number of high ranking Vietnamese military and civilian officials involved with drug traffic. At least four, and perhaps many more, of those people have entered the U.S. as refugees. And, while many people are commenting on the amount of gold that has been brought in by refugees, it appears that large quantities of heroin have also been brought in.



Rear Adm. Thomas Walker and un-identified ex-POW meeting with Thieu and Tran Van Lam.  
Photo by Vince Compagnone.

NBC newsman Jim Vance, in an exclusive story on May 22, 1975, interviewed an American free-lance writer who was evacuated from Vietnam on a U.S. Navy ship. The writer told Vance that a friend of his, a Defense Department employee, had developed a heroin habit in Saigon, and that during the course of their evacuation he and his friend found that narcotics were in abundance aboard the ship. The writer estimated that he saw seven pounds of pure, uncut heroin on that ship alone. For the international narcotics figures such as General Dzu, heroin is easier to obtain than gold, easier to transport, and constantly increasing in value as it gets closer to U.S. street markets.

While the agencies may be doing all they can to protect their former allies and partners, there are other ways in which the CIA especially can protect some of its people. "It is important to recall here," notes Phil Agee "that the Director of Central Intelligence can bring up to one hundred aliens into the country each year without complying with normal procedures and quotas." With such obvious holes in the INS arrangement, it is clear that the congressional compromise, while well intentioned, will not keep Phoenix people, tiger cage guards, and their bosses out of the U.S.

Supporters of the INS agreement argue that even if the Phoenix people are admitted, they can be expelled or imprisoned for swearing a false statement. Such an argument fails to hold up under examination of INS's practice of investigating World War Two Nazis. Recently, two key INS officials, attorney Vincent Shiano and investigator Anthony DeVito left INS over the issue of failure to prosecute Nazi war criminals. According to Shiano, he had leads on 50 Nazi war criminals, including one sentenced in absentia to death for the murder of 14,000 Jews, but INS refused to move on the case.

### The Nazi Precedent

Both men cite political pressures as the source of INS failure to prosecute Nazis. Some of the Nazis became active in right-wing emigre groups that were utilized by the CIA during the Cold War, and neither man rules out CIA interference with the INS. As Shiano states, "... after Watergate, who knows? Stranger things have hap-

pened."

With thirty years to identify and prosecute 50 Nazi war criminals, and only one case completed since the 1960's, who can believe that INS will engage in any vigorous prosecution of Vietnamese who swear out false immigration oaths? In addition to all other political factors and the reality that many Vietnamese officials are using false names for processing, any attempt to move against the Vietnamese would entail great political embarrassment for the U.S.

In order to prove that the immigration oath was falsely sworn, the INS must prove that the person engaged in the prosecution of people based on race or political reasons. This hearing or trial would, in effect, have to prove war crimes were committed. That is the last thing that the U.S. government would want to do, for in order to prove that Vietnamese officials committed war crimes, the entire policy of the war would be brought into focus, which logically includes the major role that the U.S. government played in formulating, evaluating, and revising basic standard operating procedures that violated the spirit as well as the letter of international law.

### A Just Solution

In 1966, General Nguyen Chanh Thi was expelled from Vietnam by Nguyen Cao Ky. General Thi made the mistake of refusing to cooperate with the system of graft that permeated the political and military structure of South Vietnam. A fierce nationalist who thought he was serving his country by fighting the communists, he led an attempted coup against Diem in 1960, and spent over three years in exile in Cambodia when it failed. When he did return, he directed military operations in the northernmost part of South Vietnam, "Eye Corps". When forced into exile in the U.S. in 1966, Thi came to Washington, D.C. to live.

General Thi has a simple, but just, solution to the dilemma of what to do with former corrupt officials and war criminals. "They should all be sent back to Vietnam," he told me, "so that the people of Vietnam can try them for their crimes and corruption."

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## "Keep on Keepin' On"—B. Dylan

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# Keeping Informed

Seminars and conferences on conspiracy and CIA/FBI activity, sponsored by diverse interests — student/faculty coalitions, labor unions, and community organizations — have involved the participation of thousands of people this spring from Coast to Coast. They have demonstrated that an organized teach-in effort can be a valuable device for marshalling public sentiment against repressive police and intelligence operations, just as an earlier teach-in program was an integral step in building the civil rights and anti-war movements.

In the months ahead, The Fifth Estate will be serving to coordinate a nation-wide teach-in movement on national security. We will be working with a number of other groups focused on this problem. Ideas, literature, films, and virtually any desired speaker on any subject can be contacted through the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate. We encourage a strong local and regional focus for teach-ins with connections to national and international issues by all participating. In many smaller or unorganized communities, teach-ins may not be feasible, but community forums featuring local people can be organized everywhere with the input of national resources. We stand ready to provide support for these smaller forums as well as one-to-three day teach-ins.

A complete teach-in package is being prepared by us working with other national groups. Resources are plentiful and will be made available as part of the package.

In addition to the Teach-In Package, additional information and speakers can be obtained from the following resources. There are, of course, many organizations in the United States focused on the issue of national security in some fashion — entirely too many to list in this format. But the ones listed here are those we believe best suited to providing material in quantity for nation-wide teach-ins. In addition to working with us on a complete teach-in package we suggest you write to these organizations and ask them what information they have available which will compliment your local planning. Also please, contact all local and regional organizations to participate in your teach-in and follow-up activities.

### Intervention, Imperialism, Militarism Foreign Policy Covert Action

**Fifth Estate Security Education**, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044 (202) 785-8330

**Center for National Security Studies (CNSS)/CIA Project**, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington D.C. 20002 (202) 554-5380

**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)**, National Office, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107

**National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC)** AFSC, 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, PA 19102

**Center for Defense Information**, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

**Recon Publications**, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134

**Indochina Resource Center**, 1322 18th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

**EPICA (Latin America and Caribbean)** 1500 Farragut St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20011

**Promoting Enduring Peace**, P.O. Box 103, Woodnut, CT 06460

**North American Congress on Latin America**, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10035 or Box 226, Berkeley, CA 94701

**Southern Africa Committee**, 244 West 27th St., Fifth Floor, New York NY 10001 and P.O. Box 3851, Durham, North Carolina 27702

**Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)** P.O. Box 3122, Columbia Heights Station, Washington, D.C. or P.O. Box 48 Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, Mass. 02138

**Friends of the Filipino People/CIA project**, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

**National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile**, 156 Fifth Avenue, Rm. 716, New York, NY 10010

**Radical Information Project**, P.O. Box 1643, Springfield, Mass., 01101

**Tricontinental Film Center**, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10014

**Emerging Population Alternatives (EMPA)**, 41 Union Sq., New York, NY 10003

In addition there are friendship and support committees for the people of practically every country in the world. These committees also have information. If you desire information on intervention in a particular country not covered by the above listed organizations, con-

tact us and we will put you in touch with the appropriate organization.

### Repression, Fascism, Police, Domestic Policy, Assassination, Terrorism

**Fifth Estate Security Education**, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044

**Campaign for Democratic Freedoms**, P.O. Box 9662, Marina Del Ray, California 90291.

**ACLU Political Surveillance Project**, 30 Dock Rd., South Norwalk, CT. 06854

**Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse**, 300 Atlantic Bldg., 930 F St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20004

**National Lawyers Guild**, 23 Cornelia St., New York, NY 10014

**Political Rights Defense Fund**, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003

**Citizens Commission of Inquiry**, 103 Second St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

**Assassination Information Bureau**, 63 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02138

**National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL)**, 510 C St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

**National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression**, 150 Fifth Avenue, Rm. 425, New York, NY 10011

Various political/legal defense committees can be reached through the **Center for Constitutional Rights**, 853 Broadway, 14th Flr., New York, NY 10003

Two groups, because of their historical immediacy to the solutions we seek, should be contacted to participate in any educational activity:

**The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case**, c/o 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY, 10010

**The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party**, P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604

In addition, almost all political parties in this country have a position and comments on this issue. We suggest you contact them for their input if you wish.

### Local Research Action Teams

Besides organizing teach-ins and forums, local activists can conduct investigations and do political work around a number of crucial areas. Campus based teams, for example, could identify the CIA recruiting officer/professor at their school—and they are on every major campus in the country—or the ties between collegiate institutes and the CIA or other foreign policy instruments. Community based teams could investigate the workings of local "red squads," political intelligence units, narcotics enforcement agencies, or right-wing terrorists. The Campaign for Democratic Freedoms in California is one organization which can help you gain needed research skills and the ability to translate those skills into dynamic action. The Organizing Committee for A Fifth Estate also stands ready to help with the formation and training of such teams. Our next publication will be an organizing manual which will incorporate the experience we and others have gained in the past few years. In building an anti-police state movement, we believe that eventually researchers will have to coordinate information in a disciplined manner and form a nation-wide structure for future work. This structure we call the Fifth Estate. Suggestions for this structure will be presented in the organizing manual. However, in the meantime, we encourage people to begin right now with the knowledge they already possess to research what is interesting and appealing to them and their audiences. Most skills come from experience and practice.

## To Build for Action

### Expose and Confront Intelligence Community Recruiters

when they appear on your campus. Both the CIA and the National Security Agency have a policy of "open recruitment," although the CIA maintains a network of "old boy" recruiters on major campuses. Just as confronting Dow Chemical and other war profiteers was a successful tactic for raising the question of government-corporate-academic collusion in the Indochina war, confronting CIA and NSA recruiters can raise the same points of collusion during the late '70's.

### Organize Coalitions To Work For Police Budget Cuts

Recent exposés of illegal operations by local police departments can provide a fulcrum for forcing City Councils to cut funding to police departments for spying activities. As has been shown in New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Houston and L.A., the targets of police intelligence have been a broad spectrum of liberal and radical organizations. Perhaps the abolition of police political intelligence is one area these groups can unite upon.

### Expose Local CIA Offices In Your Community

The CIA maintains offices in over twenty cities around the country. Many of these main offices have branch offices in smaller communities and neighborhoods. The telephone numbers are usually listed in directories and a friend at the telephone company can get you the exact address. Predominantly the cover used is that of a law office. Demonstrations and other activities identifying the CIA presence in your community are one good way to bring this issue to the public. In one instance, demonstrators spray-painted the initials "CIA" on the office door so that no one could mistake who occupied the office. Identification and research on the local CIA personnel is also a good way to gain research experience. Be a Counter-Spy.

### A Legislative Focus on Intelligence

The Congress currently has at least four committees working on intelligence investigations. Additionally, state and local legislatures are conducting similar investigations, or can be pressured to do so. We suggest that you write or visit your local representatives and express

your viewpoints on abuses of power by the intelligence and security communities and their members. The following are the U.S. Congressional Committees:

**Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities**  
G 308 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20510  
Chief counsel Schwartz, 224-1700

Senator	State
Frank Church, chairperson	D-Idaho
Phillip A. Hart	D-Michigan
Walter F. Mondale	D-Minnesota
Walter Huddleston	D-Kentucky
Robert Morgan	D-North Carolina
Gary Hart	D-Colorado
John G. Tower	R-Texas
Richard Schweiker	R-Pennsylvania
Howard Baker	R-Tennessee
Barry Goldwater	R-Arizona
Charles McC. Mathias rep.	R-Maryland

**House Select Committee on Intelligence**  
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515

Congressperson	State	District
Lucien Norbert Nedzi	D-Michigan	14th
Robert W. Kastenmeier	D-Wisconsin	2nd
Don Edwards	D-California	9th
Morgan F. Murphy	D-Illinois	2nd
Robert N. Giusto	D-Connecticut	3rd
Ronald V. Dellums	D-California	7th
Michael J. Harrington	D-Massachusetts	6th
James V. Stanton	D-Ohio	20th
Robert McClory	R-Illinois	13th
David C. Treen	R-Louisiana	3rd

**Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Judiciary**  
Rm. 407 Congressional Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515  
Chief counsel Alan Parker, 225-1680

Congressperson	State	District
Don Edwards	D-California	9th
Robert F. Drinan	D-Massachusetts	4th
Herman Badillo	D-New York	21st
Joshua Elberg	D-Pennsylvania	4th
Christopher J. Dodd	D-Connecticut	2nd
M. Caldwell Butler	R-Virginia	6th
Thomas N. Kindness	R-Ohio	8th

**Court, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice**  
2137 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515  
Senior counsel Fuchs, 225-3926

Congressperson	State	District
Robert W. Kastenmeier	D-Wisconsin	2nd
George E. Danielson	D-California	29th
Herman Badillo	D-New York	21st
Robert F. Drinan	D-Massachusetts	4th
Edward W. Pattison	D-New York	29th
Tom Railsback	R-Illinois	19th
Charles E. Wiggins	R-California	25th

### Write for Your File

Under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, you can now contact the FBI, CIA or other Federal agencies and request copies of the files they may have on you. Although certain items may be legally deleted from your file prior to its release, you can get an idea of the depths of government spying on your life. Different agencies require different information in order to search their files. A word of caution. There are several legal battles currently being waged on the Freedom of Information Act. Until they are resolved later in the summer, we suggest that you refrain from flooding the Federal Bureau of Investigation with requests for your files. If you wait until the fall, your opportunities to see your file will be

enhanced by the pending court actions. However, please feel free to write to the other agencies. Additional information on the Freedom of Information Act can be obtained from:

**Freedom of Information Clearinghouse**, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, D.C. 20036

**ACLU Freedom of Information Project**, 22 East 40 St., New York, NY 10016

**20th Century Fund Project on the Freedom of Information Act**, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

The following are useful addresses of federal agencies from which you may seek information on national security:

### Freedom of Information, Mailing Addresses for Federal Agencies

**Director, FBI**  
US Dept. of Justice  
Wash, DC 20535

**Director, CIA**  
Headquarters, CIA  
Wash, DC 20505

**Administrator**  
Drug Enforcement Administration  
1405 Eye St., NW  
Wash, DC 20537

**Postmaster General**  
475 L'Enfant Plaza West, SW  
Wash, DC 20260

**Director, IRS**  
1111 Constitution Ave, NW  
Wash, DC 20224

**Dir.. US Secret Service**  
1800 G St., NW  
Wash, DC 20223

**Commander**  
US Army Intelligence Agency  
Fort Meade, Maryland 20755

**Dept. of the Navy**  
Naval Intelligence Command  
2461 Eisenhower Ave.  
Alexandria, Va. 22331

**Dir.. US Marshals Service**  
Department of Justice  
Wash, DC 20000

**Secretary of Defense**  
Department of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Wash, DC 20301

**Sec. of the Air Force**  
Dept. of the Air Force  
The Pentagon  
Wash, DC 20330

**Director**  
Defense Intelligence Agency  
The Pentagon,  
Wash, DC 20301

**Secretary of the Army**  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon,  
Wash, DC 20310

**Secretary**  
Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare  
330 Independence Ave, SW  
Wash, DC 20201

**Director**  
Freedom of Information Staff  
Department of State  
2201 C St.  
Wash, DC 20520

Dir., Passport Office  
Bureau of Security & Consular Affairs  
1425 K St., NW  
Wash., DC 20524

Director  
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms  
Department of the Treasury  
Wash., DC 20226

Dir., Office of Administration  
Bureau of Indian Affairs  
US Department of the Interior  
Wash., DC 20245

Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff  
The Pentagon  
Wash., DC 20000

US Assistant Attorney General  
Dept. of Justice Information Center  
Constitution Ave & Tenth St., NW  
Wash., DC 20530

Director  
Immigration & Naturalization Service  
425 I St., NW  
Wash., DC 20536

Commander  
US Army Criminal Investigation Command  
The Pentagon, Wash., DC 20000

Dir., Defense Investigative Service  
Forrestal Building, Wash., DC 20314

Director  
National Security Agency/Central  
Security Service  
Fort George G. Meade, Maryland 20755

On each envelope, under the address of the agency write: RE: Freedom of Information Request.

## Sample Letter

Mr. Robert S. Young  
Freedom of Information Coordinator  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Young:

Under the provisions of 5 USC 552, the Freedom of Information Act, I request access to and copies of all files and documents maintained by the CIA relating to myself.

The material I seek includes, but is not limited to, dossiers, card files, microfilm files, microfiche files, and all computerized data and references maintained or utilized by the CIA. This request also encompasses any photographs and fingerprint files which you may have.

If you rule that portions of these files are "reasonably segregable" I request copies of the remaining material and reserve my right to appeal any such deletions. If deletions are made, please cite the statutory justification for each deleted item.

If this request is denied in whole, or in part, please advise me of the appropriate appeals procedures.

In order to facilitate this request, I am submitting my full name, date and place of birth, and Social Security Account Number.

I am prepared to pay a reasonable fee for the reproduction of this material.

As required by 5 USC 552, I expect to hear from you within 10 working days.

Sincerely yours,

Marion Delgado

## Agitate in Your Unions And at Your Workplace

The CIA's labor operations constitute the most important program of that agency. Through labor operations they manage to control the destiny of workers throughout the world. The CIA does this to provide profitable investment climates for the big corporations which then take their shops to foreign lands and put Americans out of work. At the same time they have enlisted the support and aid of the top union leadership in this country, including George Meany, to do the dirty work for the CIA. These operations cannot possibly serve the interests of American workers. In times of economic crises the interests of American workers has traditionally been tied to a strong fighting trade union movement, not one tied to the adventures of the CIA.

Three organizations in particular have become notorious as CIA instruments. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (which works in Latin America), The African-American Labor Center, and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute have become the primary targets of rank-and-file actions to educate workers to the dangers of the CIA. Two approaches have appeared: one organized primarily by middle-level trade union leadership is attempting to separate these organizations from their big business and CIA connections, the other organized by rank-and-file groups is attempting to abolish the AIFLD, AALC and AAFLI altogether. We suggest that trade unionists write to the Fifth Estate/Labor Education Project for more information or to the following:

The AIFLD Information Committee, P.O. Box 8685, Washington, D.C. 20011. A good model rank-and-file group seeking abolition of AIFLD.

Committee For An All-Union AIFLD, 1269 Howard St., Suite 101, San Francisco, California 94103. Working to separate AIFLD from the CIA.

## Mobilize For The Fall

Plans are now underway for demonstrations against the CIA and transnational corporate intervention in the sovereign affairs of other nations. Suggested sites for demonstrations are: Washington, D.C., Chicago, and a west coast city. One date under discussion is Sept. 11th.

For further information on mobilizations on this date contact your local Chile support group through the National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile in New York.

## Work Towards The Primaries

The primary elections in 1976 offer great opportunities to raise this issue. We encourage those who feel that this is a good strategic program to form plans making covert action and political repression issues for all candidates. Also, we cannot rule out the possibility of 1976 offering examples of "plumbers," campaign dirty tricks and attempts at assassination similar to the 1972 election campaigns. The Organizing Committee is working now with a variety of groups to monitor the electoral process to discover these actions and the reasons behind them.

# Trends

It now appears that the entire global security arrangements of the western nations are being revised to meet new conditions, namely rising expectations of Third World countries who now feel they have the clout to achieve their goals. Forecasting trends in such an atmosphere is difficult, but we believe that the best foundation for investigations is an understanding that, at every level and every dimension of political affairs, great changes are producing new and different situations. In order to be effective, we must all be flexible enough to analyze these new situations.

## COINTELPRO

More revelations about Counter Intelligence Programs conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation have continued to surface. In March, the FBI released over 3000 pages of documents relating to COINTELPRO operations targeted against the Socialist Workers Party. The documents showed that the FBI was active in trying to disrupt electoral campaigns conducted by the SWP, and that serious attempts were made at personally discrediting people associated with that organization.

In February, the New York *Times* revealed that FBI informants had played key roles in the setting up of at least two Maoist cadres, in New Orleans and Tampa, Fla., with the intention of disrupting leftist activities. The Tampa group, which was known as the "Red Star" cadre, was organized by an FBI informant named Joseph Burton and two other informants, as yet unnamed. The New Orleans group was called the "Red Collective," and was organized by two right-wingers-turned-informant, Gi and Jill Schaefer. The revelation of the existence of these groups confirms earlier reports that the FBI had not discontinued Counter Intelligence operations after the disbanding of the consolidated program (known as COINTELPRO) in the spring of 1971. Researchers around the country believe that they may have spotted three more sham Maoist groups, one functioning in the New York area, and the other two in California. The Fifth Estate has filed a Freedom of Information request, hoping to reveal details of a consolidated program for using Maoist groups to disrupt the left.

In late May, yet another series of

COINTELPRO-type programs was revealed. Some of the programs were supposed to have been directed at foreign intelligence agents operating in the United States, and thus were largely censored prior to disclosure. The two programs that were released with some detail were an operation targeting the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other pro-independence groups, and an operation targeted against the Communist Party, U.S.A. The CP operation was known under the code name of "Hoodwink", and was designed to provoke a war between the CP and organized criminal elements. Interestingly enough, "Hoodwink" was approved by the National Security Council prior to its implementation.

Further revelations about FBI Counter Intelligence operations are expected in the coming months, as the Bureau begins to respond to the many Freedom of Information requests before it.

## Target: Women

Since the surrender of Jane Alpert to federal authorities in New York last November, extensive debate leading — in some cases — to divisions within the women's movement has been taking place. The debate is important and necessary, and the divisions, while perhaps unavoidable in some instances, must be viewed from the perspective of the long-term strategy of the repressive forces in this country. The creation of fear, confusion, and division not only serves to encourage people to cooperate but also neutralizes the women's movement as a cohesive political force.

Extensive and continuing coverage of the Alpert situation, current FBI harassment of women, new grand

jury activity, and the use of women as informants is being done by a number of women's publications. Among these are *Off Our Backs* (1724 20th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009) and *Majority Report* (74 Grove Street, NYC 10014). Also, a very concise definition of collaboration has been presented by the women of the Weather Underground Organization (reprinted in the *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975). Finally, *Redstockings* of the Women's Liberation Movement (P.O. Box 413, New Paltz, New York 12561) has recently done an extensive study of Gloria Steinem's relationship with the CIA and the connections of Ms. to the corporate power structure.

It is important for education to continue in this area if it is to be understood that there can be no neutral ground when that knock comes on the door.

## Attica News

In April, shock waves went through the Attica Defense camp when an informant surfaced and admitted furnishing the FBI with Attica legal defense strategies. Almost simultaneously, an assistant prosecutor resigned, citing an official coverup of events during the Attica massacre.

In a statement made on April 12, 1975, Mary Jo Cook admitted that she was a paid FBI informant from June 1973 until October 1974. Her instructions were to join and spy on the Buffalo chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization. A month after joining VVAW, she used this connection to begin working with the Attica defense team. Cook also infiltrated the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense, the Mildred Prim Defense Committee, the Gary Lawton Defense Committee and, as a member of the VVAW/WSO Defense Project, she attended the Toronto International War Resisters' Conference on Amnesty last September.

Cook joined the Attica Fair Jury Project in December of 1973. The project had the sensitive role of advising defense lawyers of the attitudes of prospective jurors. Jay Schulman, one of the project directors has stated in an affidavit: "I was amazed at the unfailing correctness of the prosecutor's strikes [rejections of jurors]." Through her work with the

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jury project. Cook gained enough credibility to attend defense strategy meetings.

According to Cook, she submitted approximately 40 written reports per month to her control agent, Gary Lash, gave extensive oral reports, and also turned over internal defense documents. While the FBI admits that she was a paid informant, they deny ever receiving any information relating to Attica from her.

In another area, Malcolm Bell resigned as assistant chief prosecutor charging that Anthony Simonetti had deliberately prevented him from taking any action that could result in charges against state personnel for crimes committed during the September 1971 Attica massacre. Bell said that he was not permitted to investigate charges of murder, assault, manslaughter, conspiracy or perjury by guards and troopers. He said he was denied films and tapes of the Attica events and was prevented from investigating charges that the commanding officer had intentionally omitted instructing troopers and guards that they would be held responsible for their actions. Bell, who had been in charge of the grand jury investigation of the state's actions at Attica, left no doubt that he considered Simonetti's obstructions to be part of an official cover-up.

For additional information: contact ATTICA NOW, 1528 Jefferson, Buffalo, NY.

#### Grand Juries

A new wave of grand juries has been sweeping across the land as the government has stepped up attempts to capture political fugitives:

New Haven and Lexington: grand juries centered around the past whereabouts of Katherine Power and Susan Saxe.

After the capture of Saxe, FBI agents have questioned about 25 persons in Philadelphia, threatening those who would not talk with grand jury subpoenas.

New York: Subpoenas were issued to David Houghy and Jane Alpert whom the government wanted to question regarding Pat Swinton's whereabouts while underground. Swinton's lawyers claimed that the proceeding was being

used to gather information for a pending trial. Although the motion was denied, the proceedings have been postponed.

Harrisburg: witnesses have been called to testify in the Patricia Hearst Investigation.

San Francisco: Jack Scott's father appeared before a grand jury in San Francisco and refused to testify on constitutional grounds. Later in the month, Jack and Miki Scott held a press conference and said that they had no intention of talking to the FBI and that if they were called before a grand jury, they would appear but would not testify.

Being subpoenaed to testify before a grand jury is a serious matter, one that could come with only a few hours notice. The most important thing to do if called is to immediately contact a lawyer.

Further information on grand juries can be obtained from:

ACLU (pamphlet: "Your Rights Before a Grand Jury." \$0.40)

156 Fifth Avenue  
NYC 10010

Coalition Against Grand Jury

Abuse  
930 F Street NW  
300 Atlantic Building  
Washington, D.C. 20004  
(acting as a referral service)

The New York Women's Union in cooperation with the National Lawyers Guild and the Center for Constitutional Rights has agreed to act as a fact finding center with regard to increased FBI activity and threats of grand jury subpoenas. (*Guild Notes*)

#### Paramilitary Operations

While a change is being consummated in the development of paramilitary operations world-wide, with the military services taking over from the CIA internationally and DEA and SWAT teams picking up the slack domestically, word comes of an organized effort at commercialization of these activities.

The Omega Group Limited has announced the publication of the first issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, a quarterly magazine for the "professional adventurer". The editorial staff of the publication, headed by former



Major Robert K. Brown  
Publisher

Brown former Editor & Publisher of Paladin Press and Panther Publications . . . formerly a "stringer" for Life, CBS, Newsweek and AP . . . articles published in Skin-diver, Guns, Gunworld, Shooting Times, National Review . . . experience as logger, ranch hand, hard rock miner and private investigator . . . Intelligence Officer, Special Forces Team Leader and Political Warfare Officer. RVNA . . . assisted Castro and later anti-Castro groups . . . observed guerrilla and revolutionary warfare in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Spain and Portugal . . . organized and led team of free-lance paramedics that jumped into the Andes after Peruvian earthquake . . . presently Editor and Publisher, Phoenix Press, President, Phoenix Associates.

Paladin Press publisher Maj. Robert K. Brown, consists of many of the more famous names in the mercenary field. Articles slated for the first issue, which should be available now include: "Urban Street Survival", "Underwater Knife Fighting Techniques", "Col. 'Mad' Mike Hoare And His Mercs Attempt To Invade Angola", and "American Mercenaries In Africa — How To Become One". Subscriptions to the quarterly are seven dollars. (*Soldier Of Fortune*, P.O. Box 582, Arvada, Col. 80001)

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, by the way, has reported that they have trained SWAT Units for 456 domestic police departments. According to the Bureau, demand for the training is so high that a program is now being instituted to provide on-the-spot training for SWAT Units.

#### Assassinations

Interest in the mysteries of political assassinations has continued to build in recent months, with the mass media finally giving coverage to some of the weak points that Warren Commission critics have been pointing to for years. With that building interest, long-time Warren Commission critic Mark Lane has announced the formation of a new Citizen's Commission of Inquiry to apply pressure upon Congress for a re-opening of the investigation into the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

While critics of the Warren Commission report have been getting increased media coverage, the book of one of its staunchest defenders is expected to be made into a television movie in the near future. The Columbia Broadcasting System is expected

to produce a three hour documentary based upon the book, *Portrait Of An Assassin*, authored by then-Congressman Gerald R. Ford. The book, by the way, was based upon classified Warren Commission reports.

Two former staff members of the Warren Commission have joined those calling for a reopening of the investigation. David Slawson, a Warren Commission attorney and staff investigator, who is now a law professor at U.S.C., says that new evidence has surfaced indicating that there might have been a high level government "cover-up" in the assassination probe. Judge Burt Griffin, who was also a Warren Commission attorney, said, "The case ought to be reopened . . . it's all tied in with everything that's been happening in our government for the past 10 years." Griffin's views were expressed in a recent edition of *Rolling Stone*.

#### CIA Study

A copy of "Restless Youth", a 1968 study of students done by the CIA, was recently obtained under the auspices of the Freedom of Information Act by Morton Halperin of the Center for National Security Studies.

In an attempt to determine the reasons for student unrest at home and abroad, the paper examines the motivations, history, leadership, and tactics of the student movement. Specific countries such as France, West Germany, Italy, USSR, Poland, and Yugoslavia are used to illustrate the influence that local conditions have on the development of dissent. The paper discusses the anti-war movement, the Communist Party in the United States, and other leftist parties only insofar as they contribute to student dissent. Further, symptoms of alienation, hippies and teenage runaways, and drug abuse are not discussed.

The study concludes that: "Youthful dissidence, involving students and non-students alike, is a world-wide phenomenon. It is shaped in every instance by local conditions, but nonetheless there are striking similarities, especially in the more advanced countries. As the underdeveloped countries progress, these similarities are likely to become even more widespread."

*A truly radical concept of industrial society and its institutions prompts much of the dissidence — but it, alone, does not explain the degree to which young agitators have won a wide following in such countries as France, the Federal Republic and the United States.*

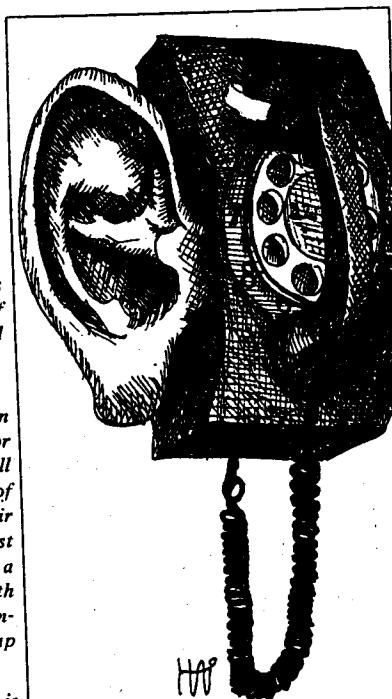
*Some measure of dissidence is traceable to generational conflict, psychic problems, etc. But most owes its dimension to the number of students, a profusion of issues, and skillful leadership techniques.*

*The proximate causes are rooted in the university; they are chosen for their appeal, for the support they will engender. However, the confidence of the agitators in the likelihood of their being able to expand a limited protest rests — sometimes fragilely — on a growing base of student cynicism with respect to the relevance of social institutions and to the apparent gap between promise and performance.*

*Perhaps most disturbing of all is the growing belief of the militants — and many less committed young people — in the efficacy of violence as a political device.*

*The communists can take little comfort from any of this, even though Moscow and its allies may exact fleeting advantage from the disruption sowed by the dissidents. In the long run, they will have to cope with young people who are alienated by the more oppressive features of Soviet life.*

*Because of the revolution in communications, the ease of travel, and the evolution of society everywhere, student behavior never again will resemble what it was when education was reserved for the elite. The presence in the universities of thousands of lower- and lower-middle-class students has resulted in an unprecedented demand for relevant instruction. Today's students are a self-conscious group: they communicate effectively with each other outside of any institutional framework, read the same books and savor similar experiences. Increasingly, they have come to recognize what they take to be a community of interests. This view is likely to influence their future political conduct and to shape the demands they make of government."*



#### Labor Operations

Communications Workers of America (CSA) President Glenn Watts, has accepted the position of Secretary-Treasurer with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA front organization responsible for operations and data collection in Latin America. The CWA has had a long and cozy relationship with the Agency, through its relationship with the Postal Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). The current director of AIFLD, William C. Doherty, used PTTI as a cover for many years prior to assuming his present position.

While AIFLD continues to be the primary instrument for CIA labor operations in Latin America, the Fifth Estate has learned that, in the Caribbean area, the Agency has shifted to the use of CLATT, a regional labor federation dominated by Cuban exiles (gusanos). With CIA backing, elements of CLATT have been active in sabotaging militant union and worker activities in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and other islands. AIFLD has been impotent in the Caribbean for some time now, due to workers' awareness of whom it serves.

# The Politics And Proliferation Of Data Banks

The political atmosphere of secrecy that prevails post-Watergate, post-Viet Nam, etc. is, in the area of modern technology, lending credibility and reality to the rapidly approaching scenarios detailed by Orwell's once "bizarrely futuristic" 1984. Aside from the ability to monitor every aspect of contemporary human endeavor via satellite communications and the like, the technical capability now exists in modern society to collect, store, and retrieve information on every aspect of our society via computers and data banks.

While belated attention is being paid to the potential for invasions of privacy by Congress,<sup>1</sup> the myth that has been perpetrated regarding the ability of technology to solve all problems, social as well as technical has left the average person unaware of the real dangers to personal liberties that exist in standing by while America rapidly becomes a dossier society.

In order to halt the increasingly repressive tendencies of modern technology, some fundamental questions must be addressed in the public forum: who are the controllers? What are the assurances of benevolent democratic purposes? What are the safeguards against the notorious efforts in recent years to manipulate or control public opinion? Most of all, we need to realize that a major defect in our thinking has been in believing that resistance to invasions of our privacy and violations of our rights will not succeed. Life in capitalist society demands that we be ever vigilant of the creeping totalitarianism that threatens to give those in power the final stranglehold over the possibility of mass participation in social, economic, and political processes that are the fabric of American society.

The listing that follows will give an indication of *some* of the federal agencies that collect and store data on citizens. It should be noted that this list does not include state, local, or intelligence information storage systems that are in existence.<sup>2</sup>

Social Security Administration  
Federal Trade Commission  
Federal Communications Commission  
Securities and Exchange Commission  
Atomic Energy Commission  
Department of Agriculture  
Department of Labor  
US Post Office  
Civil Service Commission  
    Security Investigations Index  
    Security File  
Department of Commerce  
    data on seafaring personnel  
    national defense executive reserve  
    merchant marine academy students  
    decennial census  
    patent office

**Department of Defense** (in addition to military records and civilian personnel files)

    Defense Central Index of Investigations  
    Defense Supply Agency

**Department of Health, Education, and Welfare**

    national health center for statistics  
    Social Security Administration data systems  
    state and local government data banks  
    public school systems  
    colleges and universities  
    welfare and health organizations

**Department of Housing and Urban Development**

    insurance inventories  
    individual character statistics file

**Department of Justice**

    civil disturbance system  
    subject file  
    incident file  
    organized crime intelligence system  
    Drug Enforcement Administration (defendant statistical program)

**FBI**

    NCIC (CCH)  
    PROCHECK  
    immigration and naturalization service  
    (alien reports file)  
    master index (information on 40M persons  
    admitted or excluded since '52)  
    non-immigration (some 500,000 temporary visitors)

**Selective Service**

    Passport Office  
    lookout file

**Department of Transportation**

    national highway safety bureau  
    national driver registration service  
    (2.6M names of persons whose licenses have been denied, terminated, or temporarily withdrawn)

**Department of Treasury**

    Customs Bureau  
    IRS  
    Secret Service  
    Tecs  
    Interpol

**Veterans Administration**

    employees  
    VA benefits  
    medical records

more to come

We live in an era in which technological breakthroughs are rampaging far ahead of constitutional interpretations; an era in which congressional investigation has revealed that the federal government has approximately 858 data banks, of which 741 are computerized, housing some one billion, 245 million individual records, or an average of almost six records per every man, woman, and child in America.<sup>3</sup> A salient example of this bureaucratic overzealousness is a relatively obscure state-run communications system which is presently in danger of being swallowed into the belly of the National Crime Information Center's CCH system, paving the way for federal supervisory control over state and local systems.

### The NLETS System

This state run system is the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System. NLETS is a computer-switched communications network linking all law enforcement agencies in the continental United States, Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico. The system receives, stores, and forwards messages to and from all of its user agencies. Message traffic includes free form administrative data to one or more points. In addition, the system supports inquiry into State motor vehicle and driver's license data bases. Planned expansion will include other data bases.

Other state agencies that utilize NLETS communications facilities are the Department of Corrections, Courts, and Wild Life Management. These services are also available to Federal agencies such as the Bureau of Customs, US Marshal, Postal Inspector, Secret Service, Internal Revenue Service and the Military Provost Marshal. This network concept could be readily extended to include Canada, Mexico, and even overseas locations.

The NLETS structure is comprised of eight regions whose members elect a Chairperson and a Vice Chairperson every year. The Chairperson represents the region on the LETS, Inc. board of directors. The board meets yearly to conduct business and make policy decisions.

An executive director appointed by the Board is responsible for conducting the organization's day-to-day business and to ensure that the Board's decisions are carried out. The office of the NLETS Executive Director, C. J. Beddome, is located at: 1202 East Maryland Ave., Suite 1-E, Phoenix, Arizona 85014 (602-264-5214).

The heart of NLETS is a duplexed Nova computer system located at the Arizona Department of Public Safety in Phoenix. High-speed lines provide direct computer connection to individual state computer networks and the latter are linked to other systems at the state, county and local levels. A high speed line also connects NLETS to the National Crime Information Center. Irrespective of the type of line, NLETS communicates with a single Point of Entry (POE) to each state level user.

The NLETS network is operational 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, providing nearly instantaneous response to inquiries originating at any point in the United States. In each instance, NLETS serves only as a routing and communication agency. No data bases are maintained by NLETS, and no decisions are made by NLETS as to what data bases may be accessed within a state. The network can handle up to 26,000 messages per hour

distributed over 50 high-speed 2400 band lines. Some large scale users such as California, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Texas are currently sending and receiving over 30,000 messages each per month.

Each state is responsible for providing an interface with NLETS, thereby providing access to all criminal justice agencies in the state to all other criminal justice agencies in the nation. Along with this responsibility, the state must insure that all users in the state adhere to NCIC policies, especially those relating to security of the system and security of the information transmitted on the system. Further, each state must be able to insure that NLETS terminals and state terminals which have access to NLETS are secure from unauthorized use; that the NLETS control terminal is within a criminal justice agency; and that it has ample hardware and software safeguards to limit NLETS access to authorized terminals.

Each NLETS user contributes a portion of the system costs. For States, this cost is a direct portion of the number of States involved rather than the direct cost per state. Special users such as NCIC, TECS, etc. are billed for the actual cost associated link or the portion normally paid by a state, whichever is higher. In addition, LEAA awarded 1.5 million dollars to the NLETS system in 1973 for an upgrading.

The NLETS system has several unique features that provide a high level of system security and privacy. All entry-points into the system and the central switching computers are placed under the direct control and supervision of a state or federal law enforcement agency. No data bases, messages, or information on any citizen is retained in the network. Responses to inquiries are obtained from up-to-date files maintained at the grass-roots level where the data was originated. Overall policy decisions and operational control of the network is directly in the hands of the elected representatives of the NLETS community. The system thus provides high-performance communications service which enables law enforcement agencies anywhere in the United States to exchange vital information within seconds of any incident.

### The FBI's Aborted Takeover

In testimony before the subcommittee on constitutional rights, NLETS director C.J. Beddome expressed his reservations with regard to an FBI takeover of the NLETS system. "We are concerned because it has been a state-run operation, and we would probably resist it as much as we could, the surrender of the system to the federal government. We are not looking at a private war with the FBI, but a surrender to the federal government of something the states have put together."<sup>4</sup> Beddome further expressed his reticence in a letter to Jeff Shephard of the Domestic Council of the White House . . ."We are continually kept in a state of flux by activity in the Justice Department that seems to pose a threat to our future longevity. We are fearful that forceful, articulate, persuasive employment of the Justice Department might occasionally buttonhole key decision makers of the state and local criminal justice community for discussion about NCIC and NLETS and leave them feeling insecure about how much support to give the NLETS organization."<sup>5</sup>

This issue came to the fore in the fall of 1974 when then-Deputy Attorney General Laurence J. Silberman sent a memorandum to then-Attorney General Saxbe recommending that NCIC be permitted to enlarge its communications capacity, specifically to begin limited message switching, the area in which NLETS operates.<sup>6</sup> This recommendation was made in direct contradiction to an agreement that had been made with the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The decision, if implemented, would result in the absorption of state and local criminal data systems into a potentially abusive, computerized, federally controlled communications and computer information system. Not only would this decision have an impact on individual rights, particularly the right to privacy, but it would also enable the FBI to monitor and potentially control messages exchanged between state agencies and between state and federal agencies. As one ranking government official observed, "the person who controls communications can control the agencies."

If implemented, the FBI links would duplicate the existing facilities of NLETS, would create an undesirable shift in balance between federal and non-federal law enforcement agencies, and would change a nearly self-sufficient state-run system into a federally-funded one.

During hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Senator Ervin conceded that it might be more efficient to have one agency control the information, but he added: "This country was not based on the idea of efficiency so much as it was based on the idea of power diffused."

It was further maintained that this tentative approval violated an agreement that the Justice Department made with Congress not to act upon any communications projects until complex legislation establishing limits and controls over the agency's NCIC system have been worked out and approved. As is so many times the case, the legal implications of a situation do not become apparent until after the fact. Questions such as: What kind of information will be included in histories; how long information will be held in files; who will have access to the files; etc. still remain unanswered to a large extent, even with the passage of the Privacy Act of 1974.<sup>7</sup>

This proposal for NLETS messages regarding criminal information to be routed through NCIC data banks was first suggested by the FBI in July of 1973. The rationale given by Director Kelley was efficiency, even though the NLETS system had recently been given a 1.5 million dollar grant from LEAA to update its system.

The contradictions between efficiency and power diffused become increasingly clarified in a statement made by Douglas Metz of the White House Committee on the Right of Privacy: "*I believe that the public's increased concern for personal privacy has its roots in social, economic and political developments that have strengthened public belief that George Orwell's Big Brother was more prophetic than fictional. In the view of many, we inhabit a society in which machines and cycles of economics threaten the temporary or permanent job displacement of wage earners, in which mechanization of services has obliterated the familiar local telephone exchange in favor of direct dialing, zip codes and social security numbers; in which the computer is the person we talk to in inquiring about creditors; in which citizens*

*are subjected to information scrutiny and analysis as never before by government planners and market analysts; in which decisions affecting the social and economic status and future of individuals increasingly are made on the basis of recorded information; in which technologists tell us that a computer the size of an average filing cabinet can be used to store and retrieve 500 word dossiers on every man, woman, and child in the U.S. The White House Committee on the Right of Privacy has raised the question as to whether public concern over Big-Brother like enumeration, abusive data gathering and manipulation, and preparation is rational and justifiable and seeks to enlist and coordinate the efforts of the federal executive branch of government in examining policies for the protection of personal privacy, and recommending new policy initiatives for prompt implementation by executive legislation and voluntary action (only wiretapping and electronic surveillance are excluded from purview); the committee's policies now being implemented are:*

- federal privacy safeguard plans for all new or codified federal automatic data processing and telecommunications systems containing personal information.
- accelerate the development of standards for data security and integrity in computer systems holding personalized information
- call upon companies in the private sector to adopt voluntarily a code of fair information practices
- provide privacy protections in new legislation—establish a national policy for cable television
- mandate federal agencies to give individuals the right to control the use of their names on federal mailing lists made available for other than official uses
- careful study of privacy impact of electronic funds transfer system.

#### Support And Encourage Development Of Legislation To:

- require federal agencies to give public notice of systems of records containing personal information, guarantee individuals the right to see and correct their records and make records disclosures subject to statutory conditions
- codify existing regulations barring military surveillance of domestic political activity protected by the first amendment
- require educational agencies receiving federal funds to give students and parents access to student records and to resist disclosure to other educational agencies unless the subject's consent is obtained
- provide greater confidentiality protections for IRS taxpayer returns and information
- establish stronger privacy protections for personal financial records maintained by banks and other financial institutions
- strengthen the fair credit reporting act
- primacy of state and local roles in law enforcement and crime control and limited federal role
- good principles for handling personal information dictate that such information be accurate, current, and that it be used only for the purposes authorized by law

• opposed to the notion that all personal information for criminal justice purposes should be computerized and stored in one place since 95% or more of this information relates to state and local concerns

• the public concern about Big Brother will just not go away. The burden is upon all of us in government to justify the necessity of maintaining systems of records containing sensitive personal information and to demonstrate publicly that adequate personal privacy safeguards exist."

In concurrence with, and further enhancing the position of the Committee on Privacy, the White House Office of Telecommunications policy has stated, "We believe and strongly urge that no action be taken to implement a federal capability to switch state and local messages until at least the following have occurred:

1. Pending criminal justice privacy legislation is signed into law as per Senator Ervin's request.

2. Dept. of Justice, OMB, and OTP have agreed upon the proper federal role in computerized justice telecommunications systems.

3. Privacy implications of the proposed expansion have been reviewed in accordance with the current procedure of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy.<sup>9</sup>

4. A serious evaluation is made of why NLETS cannot provide the telecommunications services required.

If the demise of NLETS resulted, the adverse consequences could be: a federal supervisory presence over the routing of routine administrative messages between local and state agencies; an ability of federal officials to monitor communications patterns between local and state law enforcement agencies and; an undesirable shift in the delicate balance between federal and non-federal law enforcement agencies.<sup>10</sup>

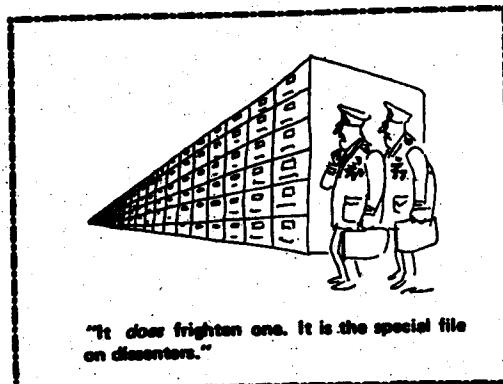
### Controlling Computers

As technological advances are made and information-recording processes have become cheaper and more efficient, the government's appetite for data has become insatiable and tends toward centralization of file material and more extensive manipulation and analysis of recorded data pertaining to a larger number of variables. The ultimate result of this manipulation is more personal information being extracted from individuals.

Our ability to control the computer as a useful tool is fast slipping away. A salient example of this is the fact that the Census Bureau, which maintains the world's largest data bank, organizes its data into summary tapes which are sold to buyers, private and public. Other governmental agencies follow this practice and similar practices such as merging and sharing of information between agencies and sharing computer time. A thought for further serious consideration is that we have no way of knowing what besides arrest records are being kept in NCIC files.

In essence, the new technology unchecked provides the means for the worst sort of tyranny. Information is obtained from citizens under "express or implied" compulsion with no real indications as to what use the information will be put. Through LEAA, the government is funneling more and more millions of dollars into police technology while cutting aid programs that would help to neutralize conditions leading to street crime.

The fact that routine exchange of information is permissible makes agencies vulnerable to abuse and prone to becoming oppressive. In a Sept. 1973 statement, L. Patrick Gray substantiated the charge that illegal access to data occurs. In admitting that arrest and conviction records are disseminated for other than law enforcement purposes, he mentioned Boards of Education, licensing authorities for gun permits and legal and medical practitioners as some of the recipients of this information.<sup>11</sup> It has also been documented that airlines, banks, etc. exchange information with the FBI when requested to do so.<sup>12</sup>



### Centralization And The Law

Since the late 60's when a National Data Center was proposed in which information on every American citizen would be centralized in one huge computer via the social security number, there has been growing concern that the nearly universal utilization of social security numbers will ultimately lead to the assembling of dossiers on individuals from fragments of data in widely dispersed systems.

Since 95% or more of the information collected relates to state matters, and since there are diverse criminal justice systems throughout the country making it virtually impossible to vest administrative control over these essentials into one body, *it becomes apparent that the state government is the much more appropriate unit to establish and administer information systems.*<sup>13</sup> On the state level security standards could be established, as well as guidelines for the protection of personal privacy which could be legislated, and uniformity of technological procedures and public education about systems could be carried out.

Those who developed the Constitution could not foresee the advent of modern communications and computerized systems. At the present time, legislative controls are coming after the fact and are in most cases severely limited in scope.

Proponents of more extensive use of data systems cite the responsibility of the executive branch for the execution of the law as extending not merely to the prosecution of the crime, but to the prevention of the crime. Recent revelations and court decisions have shown that in most cases, bureaucratic zeal at some point takes over, resulting in the wholesale violation of the rights of citizens.

Arguments for such efficiency are, for example, the 1968 Supreme Court decision (*U.S. v. O'Brien*) which held that individual rights are not absolute but are, under certain circumstances, subject to incidental limitations upon their exercise. A further rationale given by the director of the Civil Service Commission in citing *Schlegal vs. U.S.* (U.S. Court of Claims): "I am firmly convinced that it is short-sighted to say an admitted homosexual or proven arsonist should be kept on the federal payroll because there has been no express showing of how his derelictions have a bearing on job performance as an administrator, letter carrier, or machinist. I hold the view as expressed by Judge Nichols in the *Schlegal* decision that actions that will bring an agency into ridicule and contempt to the grave detriment of its ability to perform its mission, do have an impact on the efficiency of the service. Our actions will continue to be governed by this broader view of the efficiency of the service."<sup>14</sup>

It is evident that the principles of freedom and justice upon which this country was founded have become increasingly ignored in the interests of efficiency and technological advance. Decisions to expand up to technological capacity are being made before the basic philosophical issues have been raised—much less resolved. The complexion of American society necessitates that there be a degree of collection and storage of data on the part of law enforcement and government agencies in order for them to adequately function. This very complexity supports the argument for control of information on a "need to know" and "right to know" basis on the local level. Concern about the lack of controls has been expressed by members of NLETS, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Governors and other state officials, Congresspeople, and private citizens. At the present time, the manufacturers and suppliers of computers, electronics equipment and surveillance devices are reaping the benefits of the lack of clear-cut guidelines for data storage and collection. "IBM, Burroughs, Motorola, RCA, Westinghouse, Litton, Honeywell, Bell Helicopter, Hughes Aircraft, are among many others who have converted much of their military arsenal, field tested in Viet Nam, to the booming law enforcement market."<sup>15</sup>

The property rights approach to privacy originally designed by the architects of the Constitution is being rendered obsolete by technological advance. While court interpretations in this area are necessary and useful in the safeguarding of human rights, these decisions are being made after the invasions have taken place, and the injured party must assume the burden of proof in what are often long, expensive, and aggravating ordeals. Further, there are still a number of critical areas regarding freedom of the press, the right of citizens to sue the government, and implied consent a propos the dissemination of information about citizens, in which common law protection does not apply.

### Protecting The People

Some specific areas that need to be addressed by federal, state, and local governments are: insuring that no record-keeping systems be secret from either the elected representatives or the public at large; that only the

Shadowed



amount and types of information that are reasonably necessary for the provision of government services; a means for individuals to inspect, and challenge the accuracy and relevance of records kept on them must be provided; information collected from individuals should be used for purposes reasonably understood at the time it is collected unless notice is given or consent is obtained; government should act as a trustee for sensitive personal information and provide reasonable safeguards to protect the security and confidentiality of such information in existing and future record-keeping systems.

There are many whose areas of expertise have brought them to the realization of the hazards of unchecked technology and to whom privacy concerns are not new. With the advent of more and more data storage systems, the privacy issue and its implications must be brought into the public forum for the purpose of education, debate, and action. Out of this debate would come public understanding of the need for personal privacy, as well as the implications of a fully-numbered society and it could lead to the support of consumer-oriented organizations and community groups for appropriate legislation.

Understanding the importance of federalization of these systems is critical to this area. Since privacy legislation continues to be inadequate, the decentralization of control would provide minimum guarantees for guidelines on the local and state levels that would hinder the tendency for centralization on the Federal level. The inherent contradiction here, which none of our legal organs seems to be addressing, is that privacy controls, if not carefully detailed, would enable the government to deny information to citizens regarding government activities under the guise of the protection of privacy.

In a speech before the American Medical Association's convention in June of 1974, then Vice President Gerald Ford, gave perhaps the most succinct argument for public concern in this area: "The notion of leaving the protection of individual privacy to government officials has been compared to asking the fox to protect the chicken coop."<sup>16</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Privacy Act of 1974, Public Law 93-579, 93 Congress, S3418.  
Also see sidebar this article.
- <sup>2</sup>See sidebar for examples of state and local systems.
- <sup>3</sup>Hearings before SubCommittee on Constitutional Rights, 92nd Congress. *Federal Data Banks, Computers, and the Bill of Rights*.
- <sup>4</sup>Hearings before SubCommittee on Constitutional Rights, 93rd Congress, *Criminal Justice Data Banks*.
- <sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup>Burnham, David, "Ford Aide Scores Wider F.B.I. Role," *New York Times*, October 20, 1974.
- <sup>7</sup>*Op. Cit.* Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.
- <sup>8</sup>See sidebar on Privacy Act of 1974.
- <sup>9</sup>Address by Douglas W. Metz, Acting Executive Director Domestic Council on the Right of Privacy, to the National Crime Information Center Advisory Policy Board in San Francisco, California, December 5, 1974.
- <sup>10</sup>As quoted from letter dated October 11, 1974 to Attorney General Saxbe from John M. Eger, Acting Director, Office of Telecommunications Policy.
- <sup>11</sup>Shields, Hannah and Churchill, Mae, "The Fraudulent War on Crime," *The Nation*, December 21, 1974.
- <sup>12</sup>Douglas Metz, *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>13</sup>"Controversy Over Federal Collection of Data on Private Individuals, *Congressional Digest*, October 1971.
- <sup>14</sup>Shields, Churchill, *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup>Remarks by Vice President Gerald Ford, American Medical Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, June 25, 1974.

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Vice President Gerald Ford, Remarks before the American Medical Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, June 25, 1974.

**Public Law 93-579  
93rd Congress, S. 3418  
December 31, 1974**

**AN ACT**

To amend title 5, United States Code, by adding a section 552a to safeguard individual privacy from the misuse of Federal records, to provide that individuals be granted access to records concerning them which are maintained by Federal agencies, to establish a Privacy Protection Study Commission, and for other purposes.

**BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED,** That this Act may be cited as the "Privacy Act of 1974".

**Sec. 2. (a) The Congress finds that—**

(1) the privacy of an individual is directly affected by the collection, maintenance, use, and dissemination of personal information by Federal agencies;

(2) the increasing use of computers and sophisticated information technology, while essential to the efficient operations of the Government, has greatly magnified the harm to individual privacy that can occur from any collection, maintenance, use, or dissemination of personal information;

(3) the opportunities for an individual to secure employment, insurance, and credit, and (his) right to due process, and other legal protections are endangered by the misuse of certain information systems;

(4) the right to privacy is a personal and fundamental right protected by the Constitution of the United States; and

(5) in order to protect the privacy of individuals identified in information systems maintained by Federal agencies, it is necessary and proper for the Congress to regulate the collection, maintenance, use, and dissemination of information by such agencies.

(b) The purpose of this Act is to provide certain safeguards for all individuals against an invasion of personal privacy by requiring Federal agencies, except as otherwise provided by law, to—

(1) permit an individual to determine what records pertaining to (him) are collected, maintained, used, or disseminated by such agencies;

(2) permit an individual to prevent records pertaining to him obtained by such agencies for a particular purpose from being used or made available for another purpose without (his) consent;

(3) permit an individual to gain access to information pertaining to (him) in Federal agency records, to have a copy made of all or any portion thereof, and to correct or amend such records;

(4) collect, maintain, use or disseminate any record of identifiable personal information in a manner that assures that such action is for a necessary and lawful purpose, that the information is current and accurate for its intended use, and that adequate safeguards are provided to prevent misuse of such information;

(5) permit exemptions from the requirements with respect to records provided in this Act only in those cases where there is an important public policy need for such exemption as has been determined by specific statutory authority; and

(6) be subject to civil suit for any damages which occur as a result of willful or intentional action which violates any individual's rights under this Act.

(general breakdown of sections 3 through 9)

**Sec. 3. Title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding after section 552 the following section:**

**"S. 552a. Records Maintained on individuals**

- (a) Definitions—
- (b) Conditions of Disclosure—
- (c) Accounting of Certain Disclosures—
- (d) Access to Records—
- (e) Agency Requirements—
- (f) Agency Rules—
- (g) Civil Remedies
- (h) Rights of Legal Guardians
- (i) Criminal Penalties
- (j) General Exemptions
- (k) Specific Exemptions—
- (l) Archival Records
- (m) Government Contractors
- (n) Mailing Lists
- (o) Report on New Systems—
- (p) Annual Report
- (q) Effect of Other Laws

**Sec. 4. The chapter analysis of chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting:**

**"552 a. Records about individuals."**

immediately below:

**"552. Public information; agency rules, opinions, orders, and proceedings."**

**Sec. 5. (a)(1) There is established a Privacy Protection Study Commission (herein referred to as the "Commission") which shall be composed of seven members as follows:**

- (A) three appointed by the President of the United States,
- (B) two appointed by the President of the Senate, and
- (C) two appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

**Sec. 6. The Office of Management and Budget shall—**

(1) develop guidelines and regulations for the use of agencies in implementing the provisions of section 552a of title 5, United States Code, as added by section 3 of this Act; and

(2) provide continuing assistance to and oversight of the implementation of the provisions of such section by agencies.

**Sec. 7. (a)(1) It shall be unlawful for any Federal, State, or local government agency to deny to any individual any right, benefit, or privilege provided by law because of such individual's refusal to disclose (his) social security account number.**

(2) the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection shall not apply with respect to—

- (A) any disclosure which is required by Federal statute, or
- (B) the disclosure of a social security number to any Federal, State, or local agency maintaining a system of records in existence and operating before January 1, 1975, if such disclosure was required under statute or regulation adopted prior to such date to verify the identity of an individual.

(b) Any Federal, State, or local government agency which requests an individual to disclose his social security account number shall inform that individual whether that disclosure is mandatory or voluntary, by what statutory or other authority such number is solicited, and what uses will be made of it.

**Sec. 8. The provisions of this Act shall be effective on and after the date of enactment, except that the amendments made by sections 3 and 4 shall become effective 270 days following the day on which this Act is enacted.**

**Sec. 9. There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of section 5 of this Act for fiscal years 1975, 1976, and 1977 the sum of \$1,500,000, except that not more than \$750,000 may be expended during any fiscal year.**

In the first session of the 94th Congress Mr. Tunney has introduced the following bills:

**S. 1427. A bill to protect the constitutional rights and privacy of individuals upon whom criminal justice information, criminal justice investigative information, and criminal justice intelligence information have been collected and to control the collection and dissemination of criminal justice information, criminal justice investigative information, and criminal justice intelligence information, and for other purposes.**

**S. 1428. A bill to provide for the security, accuracy, and confidentiality of criminal justice information and to protect the privacy of individuals to whom such information relates, and for other purposes.**

# Automated Criminal Justice Information and Communications Systems in California

## Multi-State Systems under LEAA Jurisdiction and Funding:

### System for Electronic Analysis and Retrieval of Criminal Histories (SEARCH)

*Involving:*

Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Texas, and Washington

*Files/Information:*

Criminal Histories, Statistics

*Description:*

Development of a prototype criminal justice information system which will demonstrate the feasibility of an on-line interstate exchange of offender files. Design and demonstrate a computerized transaction based statistics system.

### National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System

*Involving:*

All states

*Files/Information:*

Sending, receiving, and switching of all points bulletins, area bulletins and directed (point to point) messages.

*Description:*

A national law enforcement communications system enabling the exchange of information regarding criminal activities between states and between states and federal agencies. California is included in one of eight national regions. Under state jurisdiction with LEAA and state funding.

## Statewide Systems

### Western Area Network Teletype System (WANTS)

*Involving:*

6 Far-Western States

*Description:*

California and 5 other far-western states are linked through teletype devices which transmit messages at the rate of 100 words per minute. The California message center is located in Sacramento in conjunction with the CLETS relay station. Under state jurisdiction and funding.

### California Law Enforcement Telecommunications System (CLETS)

*Involving:*

All city, county and state law enforcement agencies

*Files/Information:*

Sending, receiving and switching of all points bulletins, area bulletins, directed (point to point messages).

*Description:*

CLETS is a modern telecommunications system which replaces the current outmoded State teletype system installed in 1931. Computers are used as message switchers with four time-sharing computers (two in Sacramento and two in LA). In each switching center, one computer is constantly on-line with the second computer serving as a backup in case of failure. The second computer continually monitors the status of the switching computer, keeps message logs, prepares message traffic statistical reports and permits immediate recovery in event of failure of the primary computer. Under Justice Department jurisdiction and state funding.

### Criminal Justice Information System (CJIS)

*Involving:*

All state, regional, and local criminal justice agencies

*Files/Information:*

Criminal History Records, Wanted Persons file, Juvenile records, other files, firearms, stolen property, and drug control.

*Description:*

CJIS will develop a fully integrated statewide criminal information system based on user need. The various files can be accessed by remote terminals through CLETS. Under Justice Department jurisdiction and has state funding.

### Automated Management Information System (AMIS)

*Involving:*

Police, Courts and other state agencies

*Files/Information:*

Motor vehicle registration and drivers license

*Description:*

AMIS is one of the largest inquiry and people identification systems ever developed. The system creates maintains and revises more than 30 million randomly accessed records. Under Department of Motor Vehicle jurisdiction and has state funding.

### Automatic Statewide Auto-theft Inquiry System (Auto-Statix)

*Involving:*

Police

*Files/Information:*

Stolen Vehicle Information

*Description:*

Automated system which provides for the centralized storage of information on vehicles stolen or wanted anywhere in California, neighboring states and thefts handled by the National Auto Theft Bureau. Also provides message switching involving Dept. of Justice and NCIC. Under jurisdiction of Highway Patrol and has state funding.

### Correctional Decisions Information Project (CDIP)

*Involving:*

Youth Authority and Corrections

*Files/Information:*

Case decision information in corrections process and Treatment Program Data

*Description:*

Project is designed to initiate the development of a national, adaptable, self-evaluating information system capability that will satisfy the information requirements of corrections and youth authority. CDIP concentrates on case decisions which take place as the offender moves through the correctional process, the management of treatment programs, and serves a research function. Under the Department of Corrections and Youth Authority and funded by the National Institute of Mental Health.

## Multi County Systems

### Police Information Network (PIN)

*Involving:*

Alameda County

*Files/Information:*

Want/Warrant files

*Description:*

PIN provides for input, retrieval, update and deletion of warrant data coupled with message switching. On-line inquiry can be made by all 93 law enforcement agencies in the Bay area. Files are keyed to license number and name. PIN also disseminates stolen and wanted vehicle information through a tie-in with Auto-Status.

## County Systems

### Optimum Records Automation for Courts and Law Enforcement (ORACLE)

*Involving:*

Sheriff's department and will eventually involve entire county justice system and city police department

*Files/Information:*

Mass storage and retrieval of documents, photos, graphics, support documentation, arrested identification dossier system, mugs, rapsheets, investigator reviews, jail documents, master fingerprint file.

*Description:*

A videofile information system which can be accessed from remote video-terminals and provides hard copy or visual displays of any file. A digital computer locates and searches file of video tapes and transmits materials to holding equipment for viewing. Under jurisdiction of Los Angeles Sheriff's Office and funded by Los Angeles County.

### Regional Justice Information System (RJIS)

*Involving:*

Entire county Justice System, will eventually include all police depts. in county

*Files/Information:*

Will include 3 main criminal justice information systems: ORACLE, Justice Data System, Automated Want/Warrant.

*Description:*

A systems analysis of the information needs of Los Angeles County which will establish a county-wide automated, integrated justice information system including want/warrants, case following and document storage. Files will be established by an original entry into the system and will be accessed by all local law enforcement agencies. Under jurisdiction of L.A. Sheriff's Office and funded by Los Angeles County and CCJC.

### Justice Data System

*Involving:*

Sheriff's office and will eventually include all county justice and law enforcement agencies and police departments.

*Files/Information:*

Case following system: arrest-booking jail information, management info., statistics, court calendars, traffic offender, and misc. files.

*Description:*

County-wide automated, integrated justice information system with an original case entry establishing a file. The case following system will eventually include input from all law enforcement agencies in L.A. County. Under jurisdiction of L.A. Sheriff's office and funded by L.A. County.

### Model Justice Administration Information System

*Involving:*

Superior and municipal courts, police, probation, district attorney, public defender, and county clerk.

*File/Information:*

Want/warrant, court calendaring, traffic citations, criminal histories

*Description:*

Proposed project would develop computer software system to perform all county justice administration functions, including case scheduling, records processing, information handling and management reporting. Project is proposed as a national model for similar county-level information systems. Under jurisdiction of San Bernardino County with funding requested from LEAA.

### On-line Orange County Central Juvenile Index

*Involving:*

Police, District Attorney, County Clerk, and Municipal Courts

*Files/Information:*

Personal identification and summary of contacts with juveniles

*Description:*

Project computerizes existing juvenile index in Orange County will reduce holding time of juveniles, provide statistical reports and interface with other county computer systems. Files will be purged when juvenile is 18 years old. Under jurisdiction of Orange County Sheriff and funded by CCCJ and Orange County.

### Feasibility Study for a Central Records System

*Involving:*

All law enforcement agencies

*Files/Information:*

All standard police files

*Description:*

Would provide for a study to determine feasibility of a county-wide integrated criminal justice information in San Diego and would provide for the development of a plan for implementation if so indicated by study. Under jurisdiction of San Diego County and funded by CCCJ and San Diego County.

### Municipal Court Automated Procedures Project

*Involving:*

Police and courts

*Files/Information:*

Traffic citations and failure to appear warrants

*Description:*

Would computerize traffic citations processing for all 5 Orange County judicial districts and would provide on-line access to citation and warrant data. Under jurisdiction of Orange County and has CCCJ funding pending.

### Criminal Justice Information Control (CJIC)

*Involving:*

Police, Probation, Courts, District Attorney, and Public Defender.

*File/Information:*

Person-case information at all stages of county criminal justice system.

*Description:*

CJIC is an integrated regional criminal justice information system concentrating mainly on case following information and interagency operation. All criminal justice agencies in the county are actively participating in the design and development of the system. Under jurisdiction of Santa Clara county with CCCJ funding pending.

### Want/Warrant System

*Involving:*

Sheriff's Office, Marshal, Municipal and Superior Courts, all City Police Departments

*File/Information:*

Want/Warrant, Central Booking

*Description:*

All warrants are physically located in a central facility under the sheriff, this is a 24 hour system which is accessed from remote terminals with an abstracted copy of warrant sent automatically upon request. User must notify sheriff within 2 hours of service. Warrant is automatically flagged when served. Booking is on-line with only first entry creating a new file. Phase II will include field interview, court calendaring and scheduling, jury selection, management reports, probation applications, and program evaluation. Under the jurisdiction of Ventura County and funded by Ventura County.

### Riverside County Rapid Warrant System (RCO Rapid)

*Involving:*

Sheriff's Office, all police departments

*File/Information:*

Want/warrant, crime reports

*Description:*

An on-line warrant system accessed by name, physical description, vehicle license, operators license and social security number. Warrants are stored centrally and a teletype abstract is forwarded to remote terminals. Under the jurisdiction of Riverside Sheriff's office and funded by Riverside county.

#### Jail Booking System

*Involving:*

Police and Sheriff

*Files/Information:*

Booking and jail files

*Description:*

System includes all booking information for a central jail facility for entire county. Prints all forms for various stages of booking process. Under jurisdiction of San Diego Sheriff's office and funded by San Diego County.

#### Prior Traffic Violations

*Involving:*

Municipal Court and all police departments and sheriff's offices

*Files/Information:*

Traffic warrants and traffic violations

*Description:*

All traffic citations are processed for all municipal courts in the city system provides for accounting for citations and the automatic creation of warrants for delinquent citations and the automatic creation of warrants for delinquent citations. Under jurisdiction of county of San Diego and funded by San Diego County.

### Multi-City Systems

#### San Gabriel Valley Municipal Data System

*Involving:*

Consortium of police departments in the following cities in the San Gabriel Valley: Arcadia, Claremont, Covina, Glendora, La Puente, Morovia, Montclair, Monterey Park, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Sierra Madre, Westminster.

*File/Information:*

Police statistics

*Description:*

13 cities in San Gabriel Valley have joined together to establish a cooperative, interurban computerized information system. The system is primarily a management information system encompassing general accounting, utility accounting, police statistics and accounting. Police statistics are primarily concerned with statistical reports and deployment information based on the incidents occurring during a previous day. An effort has been made to avoid duplicating state and regional systems. Under the jurisdiction of the consortium and funded by participating cities and Carnegie Foundation.

### City Systems

#### Public Safety System

*Involving:*

Police, Fire, Civil Defense

*Files/Information:*

To be determined and will probably contain traffic, resource allocation, offense, arrest, want warrant, geo-coding.

*Description:*

Prototypical operational data base oriented management information system to serve all public safety functions in a model municipality. Design must insure a high degree of transferability. Under jurisdiction of Long Beach and funded by HUD, 8 Federal Agencies (Dept. of Justice), City of Long Beach.

#### San Francisco Law Enforcement Information System

*Involving:*

Police

*Files/Information:*

Warrants and retrieval of crime report information, accident data, case history, and management data

*Description:*

Project would develop a 4 module police information system consisting of field support, management analysis, personnel management and command and control modules. Project has been revised to make it compatible with Regional Planning Project, is currently being reviewed by proponent and may be revised. Under jurisdiction of San Francisco Police Department and is funded by city and CCCJ.

#### Law Enforcement Manpower Resources Allocation System (LEMARAS)

*Involving:*

Police

*File/Information:*

Geographical Index event category calls for service by type and time of day

*Description:*

An experimental program being conducted on one of L.A.'s police department's 17 divisions. A leased IBM software package, predicts the police units required for a month based on citizen calls for service by time of day, day of week and type of call. This system allows administration to effectively allocate resources to meet the demand for police services. Under jurisdiction of LAPD and funded by the city.

#### Automated Field Interview System (Autofile)

*Involving:*

Police

*File/Information:*

Vehicle and Pedestrian Interviews

*Description:*

System provides for the storage and retrieval of field interview reports. Present system contains only vehicle interview information but proposed expansion would include pedestrian contacts. Also, access to files would be improved through the installation of remote terminals in various stations. Further expansion of the system to include all police agencies in L.A. County is envisioned. Under jurisdiction of LAPD and funded by the city and CCCJ.

#### Traffic Information System (TIS)

*Involving:*

City traffic and police

*File/Information:*

Accident reports, traffic volume flow, citations, and traffic arrests

*Description:*

TIS involves conversion of an existing electric accounting statistical system to the city's computer system and a detailed analysis of the police department's information needs in the area of traffic enforcement. Under the jurisdiction of LAPD and funded by city and department of transportation.

#### Automated Want/Warrant System (AWW)

*Involving:*

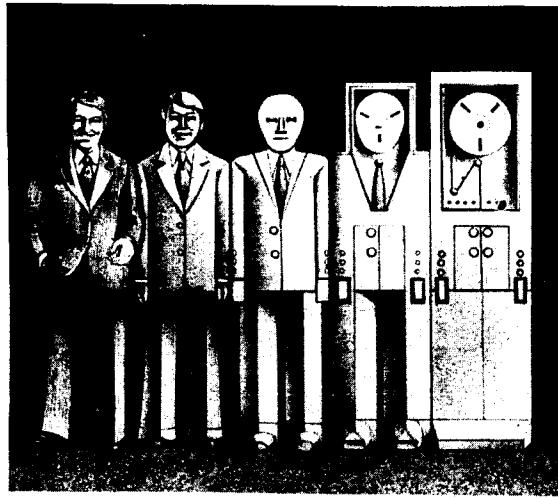
LAPD, L.A. Sheriff's Office, all county, and city law enforcement agencies.

*File/Information:*

Want/warrant file

*Description:*

AWW is a county-wide system providing for in-put, retrieval and update of legal warrant and booking abstracts. Warrant abstracts can be obtained via on-line remote terminals and can be used as legal basis for arrest and booking warrants are automatically cleared when served. AWW will be transferred to the county on Jan. 1, 1972. AWW is under the jurisdiction of LAPD and is funded by the city of Los Angeles until the county transfer takes place.



#### **Law Enforcement Computerized System for Tactical Information, Correlation and Retrieval**

##### *Involving:*

Police

##### *File/Information:*

Crime report, M.O. file, field interview data, pawned articles data

##### *Description:*

Computerized information system which will be used to provide assistance in crime investigation and patrol deployment. Will include: retrieval of information from crime reports, automatic correlation of crime data to indicate patterns of criminal behavior, recognition of crime patterns for deployment of patrol, provide managers with decision making support thru frequent counts of events, provide appropriate training for personnel.

#### **Document Storage Retrieval System (DSRS)**

##### *Involved:*

Police Department

##### *File/Information:*

Crime report, arrest report, criminal dossier, fingerprint file, abbreviated criminal history for courts and identification

##### *Description:*

Will investigate the feasibility of automating department records, the alternatives such automation make available, the possibility of regional criminal records information consolidation with L.A. County Sheriff's Department. Of immediate concern is the storage, retrieval, remote access, and update of some 270 thousand criminal record packages now housed in the Records and Identification Division at Parker Center. Under the jurisdiction of LAPD and funded by city of Los Angeles.

#### **Moving Violations**

##### *Involved:*

Police

##### *Files/Information:*

Traffic citations and reports, arrests, field interviews involving vehicles

##### *Description:*

The system performs a variety of functions including the following: off-line system for traffic citation accounting, traffic enforcement activity reports for each individual officer, monthly reports for each individual officer, monthly reports on enforcement activity to measure effectiveness, comparative year-to-year figures on enforcement and the on-line capability of searching the files on the basis of partial and complete license plate numbers and vehicle description. Under jurisdiction of San Diego Police Department and funded by the city of San Diego.

#### **Crime Cases**

##### *Involving:*

Police

##### *File/Information:*

Crime cases, modus operandi, statistical reports

##### *Description:*

System includes crime reports by victim's names and type and location of offense. A modus operandi file is also being developed. Daily and monthly crime reports are generated as well as responses to field requests for information. Under jurisdiction of San Diego P.D. and funded by City of San Diego.

#### **Criminal Records and Wanted Persons**

##### *Involving:*

Police

##### *File/Information:*

Criminal histories, want warrants, statistical reports, finger-print classification file

##### *Description:*

Files would include criminal records and wants from any source which would be incorporated into the San Diego Municipal Command and Control System. Under the jurisdiction of the San Diego Police Dept. and funded by the city and has CCCJ funds pending.

#### **Wanted Property**

##### *Involving:*

Police

##### *File/Information:*

Stolen and pawned property

##### *Description:*

System provides information on stolen and pawned property by serial number or case number and name of person pawning property or reporting it stolen, includes all stolen property reported to the San Diego Police Department and stolen property in southern California reported by teletype. Under jurisdiction of San Diego police department and funded by city of San Diego.

#### **Consolidation and Centralization of Records**

##### *Involved:*

Police

##### *File/Information:*

Incident reports, location index, traffic accidents and citations, stolen property, central juvenile index, probation file, modus operandi, field interrogation file, misc. file.

##### *Description:*

Project would conduct a feasibility study and design a criminal justice information system for several independent police agencies in a closely related geographical region. The system will standardize record keeping and data reporting among the agencies as a prerequisite to share in the use of file and system.

Prepared by California Crime Technological Research Foundation, Sacramento, California, 1970.

# Terrorism Information Project (TIP)

## Terror In Los Angeles

A wave of terrorism has swept across Los Angeles since the beginning of this year, a phenomena that has brought no significant response from any Federal law enforcement official. According to a source for the *Los Angeles Times*, more acts of terrorism occurred in the first four months of 1975, than occurred in all of 1974. Yet the same law enforcement officials that were warning of a wave of terrorism in the wake of the Symbionese Liberation Army have remained silent. No appeals have been made for expansion of wiretap authority, or for the creation of additional SWAT teams.

*Why?* Los Angeles activists, led by the ACLU and the Political Rights Defense Fund think they have some answers.

Virtually all of the incidents of terrorist activity have been directed at groups considered by rightists to be leftist. Many of the incidents have been followed by communiques claiming credit for the terrorism, and one right-wing terrorist group even granted an interview to the *Los Angeles Free Press*. During that interview, Joe Tommasi, head of the National Socialist Liberation Front (a splinter of the American Nazi Party) stated, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left." Despite vast political differences, many Los Angeles activists would agree with Tommasi's statement.

But the inaction of the Los Angeles and Federal law enforcement communities may in fact be more than simple lethargy. Los Angeles, as of presstime, is considered to be a sure bet for one of the 1976 political conventions. During 1971, prior to the GOP Convention which was then slated for San Diego, activists in that community found themselves the object of an intense campaign of terrorist activity. The law enforcement authorities took little or no action, and insinuated that many of the acts were done purposely in order to gain sympathy for leftist causes.

The wave of terrorism peaked in early 1972 when activist Paula Tharp was shot and wounded. Months later, after the convention had been moved to Miami Beach, local authorities discovered that, indeed, a right wing terrorist group did exist in San Diego. The Secret Army Organization, as the group called itself, turned out to have been led and largely financed through the efforts of an FBI informant.

The bombings this year in Los Angeles have included public meetings, election campaign offices, community bookstores and businesses. Thus far only one arrest has been made.

Following is a list of terrorist activity in Los Angeles as of May 10, 1975:

• February 2. Several thousand people are forced to leave a rally of the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium when a powerful tear-gas canister explodes directly above the stage of the auditorium.

A Santa Monica police official is reported as saying that the National Socialist (Nazi) Liberation Front has taken credit for the attack. (*L.A. Times* 2/3/75)

• February 4. A lethal fragmentation bomb is exploded at the entrance of the Socialist Workers Party Central-East campaign headquarters. Fortunately, someone witnesses the bomb being thrown and twenty-five campaign workers in the building are able to escape by a rear exit just as the bomb explodes.

Two days later, City News Service reports an anonymous call crediting the Nazi Liberation Front with the bombing.

Several hours after the bombing of the SWP headquarters, a pipe bomb is hurled through the window of the Unidos Bookstore, operated by supporters of the October League, in East Los Angeles. The store is closed at the time so there are no injuries. (*L.A. Times* 2/5/75)

• February 5. A threatening notice is posted on the door of the Westside campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Santa Monica. It reads: "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty. POLITICAL TERROR. It's the only thing they understand. Build the national socialist revolution through armed struggle." Signed by "Venice provo, National Socialist Liberation Front," it bears a drawing of a gun and a Nazi swastika.

• February 7. The Long March Bookstore receives a bomb threat. Over 40 people in the building are evacuated.

• February 13. A noxious chemical is sloshed on the floor at the entrance to a classroom at California State University at Los Angeles where the Cuban film *Lucia* is being shown.

• February 19. A securely wrapped package is placed in the entryway to the Socialist Workers Party Westside campaign headquarters. The Los Angeles County bomb squad cordons off the block and dismantles the package. It proves to be a dummy bomb.

• February 22. A bomb explodes in an air-conditioning duct in the studios of Public Broadcasting Service station KCET, which has announced a showing of the film *Lucia*. (*L.A. Times* 2/24/75)

The *Los Angeles Times* receives an anonymous call crediting counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles with the attack.

• February 26. A building manager finds a package sitting outside the entrance to the offices of the *Palestine Voice*, a community newspaper published in Hollywood. It is carried to the street and, after the area is cordoned off, removed by the Los Angeles Police Department bomb squad. Police report it is a lethal dynamite bomb that could have destroyed the office.

Later, an anonymous caller tells United Press International the bomb had been planted to "serve as a warning to all enemies of the Jewish people."

• March 23. Police receive a call stating a bomb had been placed on the roof of the building then housing the offices of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. Police are unable to find the bomb. Two days later, workmen searching for a leak in the roof find an unexploded pipe bomb.

• April 2. A pipe bomb is exploded on the roof of the building that until a few days previous had housed the offices of the Rosenberg committee and the committee on repressive legislation. (*L.A. Times* 4/4/75)

• April 5. A powerful bomb is exploded at night at the Hollywood office of Iraqi Airways, doing extensive damage.

An anonymous caller tells UPI he planted the bomb, declaring, "No longer will Arabs suppress the Jews." (*L.A. Times* 4/7/75)

On April 15, 1975, Phillip Goodman, allegedly a member of the Jewish Defense League, is arrested and charged with the bombing. He is also charged with an earlier bombing of a pro-United Nations information center and bookstore at the time of Yassir Arafat's appearance at the UN. So far this is the only arrest made in the current wave of bombings.

• April 10. An explosion sinks a cruise ship, the *Carib Star*, in Los Angeles harbor. There had been reports that the ship

was to be sold to an Arab businessman.

A phone call is received by a local paper declaring the ship was sunk as the warning not to do business with Arabs. The ship is refloated and police investigators say it was probably sunk by a bomb. (*L.A. Times* 4/17/75)

• April 13. In a second night attack, an explosive is dropped through the roof of the Unidos Bookstore, ripping a hole in the ceiling.

An anonymous caller tells UPI it was the work of Cuban counterrevolutionaries. (*L.A. Times* 4/16/75)

• April 30. A firebomb is hurled into the Yeshivath Torah Emeth Academy on Fairfax Avenue. The principal says the damage is so extensive they will have to find a new location. He says he has no idea who did it but that there have been several previous attacks on the school.

• May 2. A pipe bomb is exploded outside the Socialist Workers Westside campaign headquarters. The exploded bomb receptacle is later found on the roof.

Associated Press reports that an anonymous caller said it was the work of the "Cuban Action Commandos." (*L.A. Times* 5/5/75)

• May 3. A rally in front of Los Angeles City Hall sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party is violently attacked by members of the Ku Klux Klan.

• May 7. A firebomb is planted at the Midnight Special Bookstore. The bomb is extinguished by two people present in the store before it does serious damage.

## Send a Tip to TIP.

### NCLC Exposed

They use a variety of cover names — New Solidarity News Service, International News Service, Revolutionary Youth Movement, the U.S. Labor Party, and others — but most activists in the United States know them as the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC). They claim to be a leftist group with aspirations towards seizing state power sometime within the next five years, but by and large their activities have been directed against other left groups.

After careful study in early 1974, TIP decided that NCLC is in fact a right-wing group posing as a left organization. Data gathered during the past year tends to bear this point out.

• NCLC is currently partially financing its operations through a \$48,000 loan from the Chase

(Rockefeller) Manhattan Bank of New York. Members of NCLC reportedly put up only \$16,000 in collateral property to obtain a loan for a political organization that claims it wants to "smash capitalism". This information was obtained by a source within NCLC. AFL-CIO leader George Meany is said to have ordered NCLC infiltrated in response to their repeated attacks on AFL-CIO efforts.

• NCLC openly boasts of running a world-wide intelligence network. NCLC cadre are instructed to attend press conferences, conventions and other events of interest in order to collect data.

• Students in Mexico have denounced NCLC's Latin American affiliate for collecting data on behalf of the Central Intelligence Agency. Recently NCLC members were arrested in Mexico City by authorities.

NCLC members have physically attacked members of activist and labor organizations considered to be obstructing NCLC's drive for power. In fact, more of NCLC's efforts seem to be directed against other activist and labor groups than to any real organizing. NCLC members are trained in "self-defense" courses, including the use of the deadly Numachukas.

• NCLC maintains a world-wide network of telex stations. Orders to local intelligence and political cadres are transmitted daily, and local groups use the machines for filing reports with the National Office in New York. Last fall, a NCLC telex operator mistakenly dialed into the newsrooms of the Ritter Newspapers in Minneapolis-St. Paul. Included in the cables, which were brought to the Fifth Estate for analysis, were two sets of instructions to NCLC cadre that were particularly revealing. An NCLC group in Milwaukee received instructions to brief the "chief of the Milwaukee police." A Detroit group was told to establish contact with the local branch of the American Independent Party, a well-known rightist political organization.

• Last, but not least, information about the past activities of the NCLC's "fearless leader" Lyn Marcus (ala Lyndon LaRouche) has been and will be coming to light. Before starting his own outfit, Marcus was affiliated with just about every conceivable leftist group over the past twenty-five years, including doc-

trinaire Communist, Maoist, and Trotskyist organizations. Reports from his former associates seem to be following a disturbing, but not surprising, pattern. In each group Marcus has been associated with, serious political splits have occurred, with LaRouche/Marcus seemingly always on the most disruptive side.

TIP is interested in gathering more information about the activities of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, and encourages readers of this magazine to send in any data they may have.

## The Posse Is Coming

*Posse Comitatus* is the newest and fastest growing rightwing militant organization in the United States today. Claiming a membership of over 500,000 (FBI officials say 10,000), and chapters in 49 states, *Posse Comitatus* has attracted the attention of Federal law enforcement officials. They have found that its membership and program closely parallels that of the defunct paramilitary Sons of Liberty, the Secret Army Organization, and the National States Rights Party.

They have been heartily endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, and have concentrated their organizing activities in the mid and far western States.

In terms of ideology and strategy, *Posse Comitatus* seems to be a collection of far right tendencies, including racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-federal governmentism. Above all, they are possessed with an admiration for firearms. *Newsweek* magazine quoted a Stockton, Calif. leader as saying, "There is no greater law firm than Smith & Wesson, especially if it is backed up by a 12-gauge injunction."

If you have knowledge about the activities of a *Posse Comitatus* group in your area, send a tip to TIP.

\* \* \*

According to reports published in the mass media, the Ku Klux Klan may be shifting its organizing activities away from the Boston busing crisis to focus on the question of illegal aliens. Their new organizing target will reportedly be San Diego, Calif.



**HUAC  
(HISC)**

**1938-1975**

## **Dawn of a new day: REQUITEM FOR HISC/HUAC**

*Commentary by Sylvia E. Crane*

The terms "national security" and "internal security" defy precise definition. They have become familiar as smokescreens for an extensive government intelligence network. The CIA vindicates its clandestine operations in the name of national security. Internal security was the justification for the innumerable illegalities of Watergate and related shenanigans perpetrated by Nixon's team. In the end, Nixon confessed to having concocted a national security sham to thwart the FBI's investigation of the Watergate burglary and other assorted dirty tricks. A slew of repressive laws and several governmental agencies exist for our protection under this twin umbrella.

Our national resources are expended to maintain an arsenal with a 10-fold overkill capacity for the sake of national security in the midst of deepening depression and massive privation. Public money is deflected from public services and the alleviation of poverty and hunger to feed the insatiable "defense" budget, the largest in our history. "Defense" against what or whom? Poverty? Lawlessness? Pollution? Health hazards? Disease? "Soviet Imperialism?"

In the official litany, we require the strongest defense against the "enemy", namely communism and its agents who plot incessantly at home and abroad to subvert the "free world." To forestall such "disasters", we pursue policies of repression internally and intervention, confrontation, and manipulation elsewhere in preference to our proclaimed doctrine of self-determination.

The politics of anti-communism generated McCarthyism and Cold War in the '50s. It involved us in full-fledged heated wars on the perimeters of our global strategy and we're not yet fully extricated from assisting assorted repressive rightist regimes. The rationale of our involvement is Soviet instigation at the outset and Soviet

victory if our side should fall, local claims of indigenous origins and popular contention to the contrary notwithstanding. Under the formula, dissent implies a tinge of communism (and a drop infests the entire bloodstream) which in turn suggests a taint of treason, or at least the priority of a foreign loyalty.

It has come to light recently in a release from hitherto closed State Dept. archives that Pres. Truman intervened in the Italian elections of 1948 by subsidies to anticommunist press and candidates in fear of a communist victory. When the communists prevailed in China, Sen. Joseph McCarthy led a vociferous China Lobby to charge that we had "lost" China. This thesis held FDR responsible for being "soft on communism" and sheltering its agents in high places of the State Dept. This accusation spearheaded the dismantling of the Far East Division and the dispersal of our China experts in our Foreign Service as well, at a time when they were needed for sober appraisals of Chinese revolutionary developments. The Institute of Pacific Relations, a center of Asian scholarship that was closely linked to these experts, disbanded under McCarthy's incendiary onslaught.

More recently, former CIA Director Richard Helms testified that "the Nixon Administration sought to find ways to overthrow Mr. Allende" in Chile. Corroboration was supplied by Edward M. Korry, who served as Ambassador to Chile from 1967 until 1971.

Police academies organized by the CIA train the foreign legions for counterrevolution and supply them with the technology of torture. The government's im-  
*Sylvia Crane was one of the founders and is currently a national officer of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly the National Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC. She serves as an advisor to the activities of the Fifth Estate.*

mense spy network is staffed by contemporary Crusaders intent to extirpate any vestige of communism at home or abroad. Recently, the *New York Times* reported that high ranking officials in the New York Police Department had undergone training at the Agency's headquarters in Langley, Va. As a result of Rep. Edward Koch's inquiry, the House Government Operations Committee initiated a limited investigation that resulted in the CIA's admission that it had provided assistance and training to a "dozen city and county police departments." These included Washington, Boston, Fairfax County, Va., and Montgomery County, Md. William E. Colby, however, refused to identify the departments involved in the program because "such publication could hamper current police programs." He continued in his letter to Koch: "Our reputation and effectiveness as a serious intelligence agency will be seriously impaired." He added the axiom for emphasis: "Confidentiality of relationships is generally a prerequisite to good intelligence."

### The CIA And Local Police

The training covered computerized handling of intelligence information, detection of wiretaps and other secret recording devices, techniques of secret surveillance and methods of finding explosive charges. The agency insisted that it did not violate either the letter or the spirit of its 1947 mandate from Congress which also states that the CIA "shall have no police, subpoena, law enforcement, or internal security functions" in the United States. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, has declared that the forthcoming Congressional investigations of the CIA are a "potential disaster".

These investigations culminate two decades of secrecy in government that thrived on the conspiracy theory deriving from our nuclear monopoly at the close of World War II and obsession with the far reaching tentacles of "Moscow Gold". Secrecy has been legitimized to negate the democratic principle of accountability by government to the people. Secret classification of military items immunizes them from public scrutiny and permits wide ranging abuses. Over two thousand foreign bases are arraigned in secret clauses and protocols that are thus shielded from Senate review as is required for treaties.

A recent decision of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va. in the Marchetti-Marks case threatens to overturn the recently enacted Freedom of Information amendments. It would enjoin government employees from disclosing or discussing classified material of which they had knowledge by virtue of their employment. As written by Chief Judge Clement Haynsworth, it says that government employees relinquish their First Amendment rights forever when they sign the government contract pledging secrecy. Haynsworth says further that the Courts are not equipped to make judgments on whether material has been properly classified. These vital questions go to the Supreme Court for final adjudication. They presage another round of battles, reminiscent of early New Deal Days, between a conservative Supreme Court, four of whose members were appointed by Nixon and generally reflect his ideology, vs. a liberal, reform minded Congress.

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### The Conspiracy Mentality

The conspiracy mentality rests on the Cold War assumption of a hostile Soviet adversary operating on a world scale to thwart us in every quarter. It breeds red-baiting, which often infers a degree of antisemitism as well, on an assumption that Nixon made explicit. He observed that intellectuals and artistic people and those of political bent tended to be Jews and liberals, inevitably intertwined groupings that his daughters were directed to avoid. The tacit extension of this line is that these people were generally of foreign, often of Russian extraction. The same thinking adduces the anti-Jewish observation of our Chief of Staff, Gen. Edward Brown, respecting undue Jewish political influences shaping our pro-Israeli mid-East policies, with no balancing word about the weight of our oil interests in consortium with the Arabs that dominate our State Dept.

Nixon shielded his cover-up of Watergate with the cloak of national security. He exploited inviolated logic for his unprecedented electoral victory in 1972, as for example his dedication to "law and order", which he featured primordially. Explaining afterwards in a letter to Congress on March 14, 1973, he said, "law and order are code words for goodness and decency" while the opposition used them as "just code words for repression and bigotry." A superficial examination of the apparent paradox reveals the hoax. No one is seriously opposed either to law and order or to goodness and decency and on the other hand, morality requires rejecting the sins of repression and bigotry, which are presented as opposites advocated by his adversaries. The rhetoric poses a false dichotomy that is automatically rendered meaningless. A fine example of demagoguery! Yet the slight-of-hand trickery remained obscured past the polling date.

If our national dedication to liberty and justice is historically ingrained in the national fabric and consciously prized, how was it possible under Nixon's presidency for the White House cabal to spin a network of corruption and crime without timely detection? When hints surfaced of the Huston plan's use of agents provocateurs to disrupt leftist organizations and activities by instigating much of the violence, they were swept away as figments of leftist propaganda. Were the lack of public understanding and the reluctance of Congress to probe the secret intelligence agencies prior to Watergate due merely to ignorance or innocence or political pragmatism, or can they be ascribed more relevantly to a national failure to glean lessons from the McCarthyist experience? What is known today by the younger generation of that national phenomenon?

### The McCarthy Era

Senator Joseph McCarthy was a Republican from Wisconsin. His public forum was a Senate Committee on Government Operations, the counterpart of which in the Lower House was the House Un-American Activities Committee, familiarly known as the HUAC, whose star chamber proceedings were similarly employed and televised. The hearings simulated a public inquisition whose chief purpose was exposure of the witnesses rather than eliciting information from them. The committee's



Senators Joseph R. McCarthy and Everett M. Dirksen

counsel managing the show in the guise of public prosecutor, generally had all relevant facts in hand, as the record reveals. The formula was familiar. Expose a witness as a communist or fellow traveler, and ask him incriminating or embarrassing questions which he cannot answer if he desires the protection of the Fifth Amendment to stay out of jail for contempt or perjury.

The press and other media were totally compliant in reporting the public circuses exclusively in official linguistics and denying their facilities to the victims for balance. They purged their own ranks dutifully as well. Top newscasters, such as Edward R. Murrow came under a cloud, but hundreds of lesser lights were driven from the industry. Top notch journalists such as I.F. Stone left the *New York Post* and Edgar Snow resigned as foreign editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* because his copy was censored, disabling him from his pursuit of honest, judicious reporting.

As a consequence of the HUAC's sweep upon Hollywood, 10 defiant victims were jailed after the Supreme Court declared the First Amendment inapplicable to them as writers. Subsequently, hostile witnesses resorted to the Fifth Amendment. These were disparaged as "Fifth Amendment Communists" and usually lost their jobs even in private industry due to a variety of organized pressures.

Loyalty Oaths were decreed for government employees and teachers. The schools and universities, as well as Civil Service ranks, were purged. The Hollywood-TV blacklists swept back-door watchmen off the sets as readily as top-rated stars, whose histrionic abilities could hardly be measured by a political means test. Aware, Inc., "the anticommunist organization in entertainment, communications, and the fine arts," reaped respectable

returns by such events as "Cocktails Against Communism" and more seriously by publishing the lists of suspects in *Red Channels*. Boycotts and other reprisals were threatened for non-compliance. Charlie Chaplin, who was smeared as a sex pervert involved in forcible seduction of young girls, departed our shores in disgust. But Americans generally acquiesced either vocally or in sulky silence.

When the HUAC turned to the Metropolitan Music School in New York to extirpate subversion, columnist Murray Kempton reported mordantly: "The director and registrar . . . took the Fifth . . . a clarinetist testified that he had been a communist and left, naming in the process 10 musicians who had been communists with him. One was a violinist, another a bass player. The rest were all woodwinds. The brass section appears free of treason."

It was inconceivable in that epoch for a candidate for political office as elevated as dog-catcher to campaign without genuflecting with a disclaimer before the prescribed anticommunist shrine. It was a means of eliminating open discussion of the issues. It was ludicrous to suppose that the political arena would tolerate criticism of the Cold War or of nuclear bomb policies. Henry Wallace and his minions had tried it and were demolished and his followers still bear the onus of suspicion.

The Taft-Hartley Act legalized the cleansing of left-wingers from top elective union offices. The middle echelons were the HUAC's province. An independent minded worker who dared to challenge acts of corruption or the political wisdom of the conformist union leadership, got short shrift as a "communist." We inherit the wind. Witness the Jablonski murders during the United Mine Workers rank and file struggle for independent and honest leadership and the reverse situation in the National Maritime Union, whose long-time president, Joe Curran, retired recently with a pension of \$1 million. Witness the Cold War politics of George Meany at home and the operations of his foreign representative, Irving Brown, simultaneously on the CIA payroll.

Nixon had climbed the political ladder to the pinnacle of power on the hoax of national security by hurling poisonous red smears against Jerry Voorhis, Helen Gahagan Douglas, and Alger Hiss. In those days, the right wing depicted New Deal reforms as "creeping socialism", which was then equated with communism. Ergo, by this syllogistic logic, staunch New Dealers such as these three, were tarred with the red-baiting brush. The dye went deep. It would not wash out. It mattered not at all that these liberals were actually anti-communists or non-communists. The practice was so widespread that it was the thrust of a famous cartoon in *Punch*, wherein a policeman had just clouted a demonstrator to the ground, who remonstrated that there's been a terrible mistake; that he is an anti-communist. The policeman responded reflexively, "I don't care what kind of communist you are."

The balance between national or internal security and constitutional liberties is fragile. In a ringing dissent a decade ago (Wilkinson-Braden, Feb. 27, 1961), Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas, speaking also for Justice Brennan and Chief Justice Warren, warned that

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if our liberties were qualified by considerations of security, we would have a government of men, not of laws; who would draw the line, they asked, and where would it be drawn? Our liberties would be eroded in the quibble. They concluded that our constitutional liberties must be construed as absolute. This decision culminated half a century of legal debate on the subject by the Supreme Court, ushered in by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when the foreign threat was introduced. Before then, conspiracy, sedition, and anarchy were the bogeymen for indigenous union organizers, 8-hr. day champions, and other militant reformers and assorted revolutionaries. In a subsequent decision (*Dombrowski v. Pfister*, May 26, 1965), the Supreme Court held that the very existence of inquisitorial bodies of government had a "chilling effect" on the First Amendment.

### Abolishing HUAC/HISC

The 94th Congress, that Goldwater characterized as "probably the most dangerous" the country ever had, heeded these admonitions of the Court and voted overwhelmingly on opening day to abolish the House Internal Security Committee, successor to the HUAC. This historic reform among others, caught the country unawares despite a long campaign of civil libertarians toward this goal. No one really believed that the Congress would ever muster the courage to affront the FBI by eliminating its Congressional mouthpiece and defy the right wing by extinguishing this institutionalized anachronism. It happened in the wake of Watergate that sent a new wave into Congress with a mandate for searching reform.

Ever since the inception of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1945 as a standing Committee, civil libertarians have charged it with violations of the First Amendment. The principle is simple. If Congress is prohibited from legislating in these enumerated spheres, ought a Congressional Committee to be permitted to conduct inquiries that cannot conceivably lead to legislation? The principle was overlooked when the Dies Committee was set up in 1938 in zeal to ferret out Nazi and fascist sympathizers in public life under the impact of gathering war clouds. The Dies Committee's guns, however, never sighted rightward, but ever leftward, as if the imbalance were intrinsic. Rep. Hamilton Fish, Sr., had already gained national fame in 1935 for initiating the first Congressional witch-hunt. The HUAC/HISC in its long history originated but 6 bills, foremost among which was the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, whose provisions have been nullified seriatim by the Supreme Court.

The HUAC's mandate was faulted by imprecision of the term "un-American" which prompted its chairman, Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) to change the name in 1969 to the House Internal Security Committee and to attempt repairs of the rules. Similar problems emerged respecting "subversive activities". At what point was dissent so transformed? In recent years, \$425,000 was appropriated annually to pay its 39 staffers to maintain its huge file of 754,000 index cards. These contained raw, unsifted allegations, generally derogatory of people and organizations for use in checking the loyalty of applicants for federal employment.

Although no one had been imprisoned for contempt of Congress for refusing to comply with the HISC, as distinct from the HUAC, its hearings have merely harassed refractory dissenters without eliciting information of any public import. In hopes to stem the growing tendency toward defiance, new proposals were introduced to the Criminal Code to increase the jail sentence for contempt from one to three years and to raise the fine to \$25,000 from \$10,000. These heavier penalties, if enacted, will apply not only to witnesses before the residual Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, but across the board of imminent Congressional investigations of the CIA and FBI.

Internal security was the excuse for the mass detention in 1971 without warrant or charges, of 13,000 May-Day dissenters, mostly college students, against the Vietnam War, denying them the freedoms of speech, assembly, and petition. In January, the American Civil Liberties Union won a \$12 million damage suit against the District of Columbia for what a jury found was the false arrest and infringement of rights of the antiwar demonstrators on the Capitol steps. Each demonstrator will be compensated by about \$10,000, depending on the duration of confinement. It is probably the largest settlement ever awarded in a civil liberties suit. The spokesman for the District of Columbia's corporation counsel announced plans for an appeal.

The same rationale sustained massive computerized data banks on more than 100,000 people gathered by the FBI in coordination with other federal, state, and local police agencies. These are filed by the FBI in the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) in a massive index of names, while the dossiers have been relegated to the State police archives. No evaluation of raw materials is made; nor is any distinction drawn between people who are merely charged with crimes or those convicted. The target was said to be the criminals but potential trouble-makers are included. This colossal threat to privacy was justified by Attorney-General John Mitchell as reposing in the inherent powers of the federal government "to protect the internal security of the nation."

In Philadelphia, on Oct. 20, 1974, a Federal judge dismissed a 3-yr. old suit charging the police with unlawfully maintaining dossiers on dissidents, who, in this case, were Philadelphia Resistance and the Philadelphia Society of Friends and others. District Court Judge James H. Gorby could find "no chilling effect" on constitutional rights to privacy. It would appear that George Orwell's 1984 had accelerated by a full decade due to technological improvements.

On Jan. 16th, Richard Helms told Congress that the CIA had become involved in domestic intelligence because of "the sudden and quite dramatic upsurge of extreme radicalism in this country and abroad beginning in the late 1950s." He went on to testify that "this violence, this dissent, this radicalism" caused concern "only in the degree that the trouble was inspired by, or coordinated with, or funded by, anti-American subversion mechanisms abroad." William E. Colby, present CIA Director, acknowledged the CIA's transgressions into the realm of domestic spying by revealing that a file on more than 9,000 American citizens, assumed to be dissenters and radicals, had been compiled. This list, said Colby, was designed to "aid the agency's foreign

operations as part of a program of exchanging information with other information agencies." Yet, such lists were declared unconstitutional in the '60s by the Supreme Court when it adjudicated the Subversive Activities Control Board and the Attorney General's list.

Several ominous threats to civil liberties were enacted in 1970, as Sen. Ervin has observed, in the "period of hysteria" over rising crime and drug abuse. These were embodied in the D.C. Crime and the U.S. Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Acts. Included in these measures were controversial no-knock search and arrest warrants that civil libertarians have castigated as violating constitutional protections against unreasonable searches and seizures.

In the interim, several frightful episodes resulted from raids by police and narcotics agents under these Acts. One of these occurred on April 23, 1973, when a band of narcotics agents in Collinsville, Ill., burst into a home during the night, threw both occupants down, threatened them with guns, and ransacked the apartment, destroying a good many of their belongings, including the hi-fi set. They found no narcotics. Property damages were severe but went unrecompensed by the government. Other similar raids were reported. In July, 1974, Sen. Ervin, seconded by Senators Percy, Nelson, Abourezk, Kennedy, Mathias, Mondale, Stevenson, Tunney, and others, led a Senate vote of 64-31 to repeal the no-knock law. Ervin said in that debate, "Congress

ought not to sacrifice on the altar of doubt and fear the basic premise that every man's home is his castle."

Another controversial feature of the 1970 D.C. Crime Act is preventive detention, which allows judges to jail a defendant without bond, before trial if he is deemed to be a danger to the community. The law is restricted to the District of Columbia. Opponents charged that preventive detention negated an axiom of our law that a defendant has the right to be presumed innocent prior to trial and conviction. On July 19th, 1974, the D.C. Court of Appeals upheld the constitutionality of this measure. Official estimates report some 60-65 people have been involved in such pretrial detention, and three are currently awaiting trial.

Last spring and summer, both houses of Congress voted the restoration of the death penalty in the Anti-hijacking Act of 1974. The original House version contained no death penalty provision. On March 13th, 1974, the Senate approved a section of the proposed Criminal Reform Act of 1973 prescribing a mandatory death penalty in certain circumstances under a revised definition of treason. In testimony opposing the measure for the ACLU, Mary Ellen Gale warned that if the statute had been in force during the undeclared Vietnam War, the critics could have been charged with treason, and executed. In the Senate debate, liberal members of the Judiciary Committee introduced some restrictive amendments: 1) for a liberal construction of "mitigating

*Following are some of the concerns expressed by civil libertarians and others regarding elements of Senate Bill 1. It should be remembered that S-1 does address itself to a very pressing need: creating some order out of the chaos that currently surrounds the federal criminal code.*

## THREATS TO CIVIL LIBERTIES IN S 1

**DEATH PENALTY** - S 1 reconstitutes the death penalty, circumventing the 1972 Furman v Georgia Supreme Court decision by making execution mandatory for certain crimes committed under specific conditions.

**SENTENCING** - S 1 also imposes harsh maximum sentences and fines, contradicting the recommendations of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws (the Brown Commission), the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, and the ABA Standards Relating to Sentencing Alternatives and Procedures that lower sentences, greater and more effective use of probation, parole and other alternatives to incarceration are needed to bring equality and justice to our system. S 1 is at best neutral on parole and probation and other alternatives; it is at worst biased against such options.

**WIRETAPPING** - S 1 reaffirms the 1968 wiretapping law permitting the Attorney General to wiretap with a court order, or, in an emergency, without such a warrant for 48 hours. It also allows the President to tap without any court authorization in cases he believes present a "clear and present danger to the structure of the government."

**DEMONSTRATIONS** - S 1 could prohibit virtually every form of public demonstration used during the Civil Rights and Viet Nam war eras to express disapproval of government policies. Beginning with a vague and over-broad sabotage statute and including a repetition of present efforts to halt draft resistance (Evading Military or Alternative Civilian Service and Obstructing Military Recruitment or Induction) and GI organizing (Inciting or Aiding Mutiny, Insubordination, or Desertion), a "mini-sabotage" section that incorporates a lower level of intent for the sabotage offense (Impairing Military Effectiveness) and a series of lesser felonies and misdemeanors aimed at "protecting government processes" such as Obstructing a Government Function by Fraud, Demonstrating to Influence a Judicial Proceeding, and Obstructing a Proceeding by Disorderly Conduct, S 1 appears to embody all of the hatred and disdain felt by Richard Nixon for the mass peoples' movements which organized and demonstrated against his policies.

**OFFICIAL SECRETS** - S 1 contains a devastating attack on the free press and the recent increase in investigative reporting by limiting the amount of government information legally available to journalists and the public. The gravest offense is espionage, drafted broadly enough to implicate the New York Times in the Pentagon Papers case, and the

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circumstances." 2) for appellate review, 3) to prohibit executions of pregnant women, and 4) to ascertain that the "aggravating circumstances" which must be present before the death penalty can be imposed, must be found beyond a reasonable doubt. Senators Edward Kennedy and Philip Hart argued against reinstating capital punishment because it is wrong, bad legislative policy, and unjustified. Hart said, "There is simply no evidence that the death penalty deters any criminal behavior any more than a life sentence would." He admonished that "mistakes will be made and that innocent men will be condemned to death through human error . . . and that those sentenced to death overwhelmingly have been the poor, members of minorities, and the unpopular."

The Act would nullify the (*Furman v. Georgia*) decision of the Supreme Court in 1972 which outlawed the death penalty as constituting cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the 8th Amendment. During the present term, the Supreme Court will be compelled to review this decision responding to attempts by State legislatures and courts to revive the death penalty. Twenty-nine states have already done so, under which 147 death sentences pend appeal, most involving Blacks on charges of rape, murder, and armed robbery.

A case in point was brought to public attention last summer by a probing *New York Times* reporter whose interest was attracted by the New Jersey Public Defender's Office. In 1966, two young Black men, aged 21 and

29, were charged with committing a triple murder in a burglary at a bar in Paterson, N.J. Two white male witnesses have recanted their previous testimony in which they identified the Black men at the scene. They now claim to have acceded to pressures of the Detective Lieutenant in charge of the case to commit perjury, so as to stay out of trouble themselves. They had both tangled with the law, one of them during the past 7 years has been arrested four times and recently, he was convicted of burglary. They said detectives referred to the two Black men as "niggers, Muslims, animals and murderers" and told him he would be performing a "public service" by "getting them off the streets" and thereby protecting whites. Now that the statute of limitation has run out, they decided to purge their consciences. At the time of the murders, Paterson was troubled by racial disorders touched off by charges of discrimination and police brutality. After serving 7 years of a life sentence, the two Blacks seek a new trial based on the new evidence. It has been denied and is now on appeal. If there has been a miscarriage of justice, it could never have been redressed if the men had been executed. Think of the Dreyfus Case in France, and in contrast, of the Haymarket Martyrs and the Rosenbergs.

A host of other plagues to civil liberties are interspersed in the proposed Criminal Reform Act of 1973. The need of reform has been acknowledged on all sides and the problems have been studied ever since the Brown

"Official Secrets Act" continues with a group of new felonies: "Disclosing National Defense Information, Mishandling National Defense Information, Disclosing Classified Information, and Unlawfully Obtaining Classified Information. There are also a number of lesser offenses which could be applied to the press, given an administration so minded, such as Obstructing a Government Function by Fraud, Impairing Military Effectiveness by a False Statement, Intercepting Correspondence, and Revealing Private Information Submitted for a Government Purpose.

**ANTI-RIOT ACT** - S 1 redrafts the 1968 Anti-Riot Act, narrowing it considerably from the present law but not answering the First Amendment objections to its existence.

**OBSCENITY** - S 1 gives legislative sanction to the recent Supreme Court decisions on obscenity, applying "contemporary community standards" for definition of obscenity.

**SMITH ACT** - S 1 redrafts the 1940 Smith Act, by prohibiting the incitement of "other persons to engage in imminent lawless conduct that would facilitate the forcible overthrow" of the government. This attempts to circumvent a series of Supreme Court decisions that made the Smith Act inoperative. This section would also punish anyone who organizes, leads or recruits members for or participates as an active member in a group advocating such incitement.

**ENTRAPMENT** - S 1 virtually eliminated the entrapment defense by using the "predisposition test" to judge the defendant and by excluding the "employment of stratagem or deception, or the provision of a facility or and opportunity . . ." as proof of entrapment.

**CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS** - S 1 raises the penalty for refusal to testify before a Congressional Committee from one to three years.

**INSANITY** - S 1 revises the present insanity defense by moving the question of mental competence from the jury's consideration of guilt or innocence to the judge's consideration of sentence.

**IMMUNITY** - S 1 reaffirms present law granting "use" immunity to witnesses in Congressional or Judicial proceedings who invoke their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

**DRUGS** - S 1 does not decriminalize marijuana (30 days and \$10,000 fine for possession) and in fact carries very heavy penalties for possession of or trafficking in drugs other than marijuana.

*By Ester Herst, Washington Office, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.*

Commission issued its report in 1966. Omnibus bills were introduced in the Senate on March 27, 1973 by Senators John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) and Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) who urged their passage as a "monumental effort by the Administration, including the Dept. of Justice . . . Particular accolades should go to former Attorney General John N. Mitchell." Monumental, indeed! The bills run over 500 pages each. The proposals have the "wholehearted support of Attorney General William Saxbe," said Hruska's aide, who also felt certain of President Ford's blessings. It defies credulity that former Attorney General Mitchell's notions on the law and national security should be cited in this authoritative manner, when his own behavior in office was so questionable as to earn his indictment in the courts and the guilty verdict of a jury. It is ironic that he should leave this wormy legacy to be debated seriously.

In 95 pages of adverse testimony for the ACLU on July 19, 1974, Mary Ellen Gale called the proposals a prescription for governmental tyranny. In a variety of ways that she detailed, the measures would curtail the freedoms of the Bill of Rights. Sections of the bills are steeped in the archaic conspiracy mentality derivative of English common law which spawned the Star Chamber, she said. "It is very difficult to draft these bills," continued Ms. Gale, without getting into a prosecutorial frame of mind." The "conspiracy sections of these bills are real sleepers," she continued. They are especially dangerous, she warned, before repeal is voted of declarations of national emergency that accompanied our involvement in the Vietnam War, as sponsored by Senators Church and Mathias.

One conglomerate bill would codify the 1968 conspiracy law that emanated from the fracas in Chicago coincident with the Democratic National Convention, to illegalize interstate travel or communications (telephone, telegraph, or mail) for the purpose of planning or promoting a "riot" sic., meaning a demonstration. This is described as "an assemblage of five or more" that "creates a grave danger to property." It would be punishable by 3 years in prison and a \$25,000 fine. The Federal judge at Wounded Knee said he was readying himself to dismiss the government's indictment brought under this measure for lack of evidence if it had not been withdrawn by the government's prosecutor. The Civil Rights demonstrations of the '60s would have been obviated and the shortcomings of the reforms they produced are placed in grave jeopardy of redress under these limitations. A reorganized student (or any other protest) movement is forestalled also by the new entrapment clause that burdens a defendant to prove deception and "active inducement" by an undercover agent provocateur.

Breaches of secrecy for classified information would reap heavier punishments than presently: 3 years in prison and \$25,000 fine for the purveyor, if a federal employee, and 7 years in prison and \$50,000 for the recipient of "National Defense Information" who fails to deliver it promptly to the authorities, even if the data were "improperly classified at the time." What would happen to former CIA and FBI agents who wish to cooperate with the upcoming Congressional inquiries? What would happen to probing reporters with a scoop in

this realm? Will public or Congressional review ever become possible on the military budget? Note here the hostile questioning by his colleagues on the Armed Services Committee of Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) for his letter exposing some illicit covert operations of the CIA in Chile that sparked the full-fledged Congressional inquiry.

The proposals under discussion would resurrect the old anti-communist Smith Act of the '40s to impose a 15-year prison term and a \$100,000 fine for mere advocacy of revolutionary change or membership in an organization devoted to such purposes. After two decades of litigation up and down the legal ladder, the Supreme Court rejected this genre of legislation as unconstitutional. Yet, here it is again, seriously thrust into the legislative hopper for action. Hearings were held last July.

As for the FBI's wiretapping and bugging zeal, the proposed reforms would reaffirm a 1968 law permitting wiretaps of domestic activities that the Attorney General thinks are a "danger to the structure" of the government. Under the new bill, a 48-hour wiretap would be immune from court approval and compliance of telephone workers and landlords is required "forthwith" and "unobtrusively". In 1972, the Supreme Court held that warrants were necessary before tapping "domestic subversives with no foreign affiliations". Late in October, the Court refused to resolve the further problem of foreign surveillance wiretaps, leaving standing a lower court O.K. on evidence obtained from such sources if the search was "reasonable."

The FBI has been criticized lately for its discriminatory interferences in public debate and its organizational activities on several counts: 1) Political intelligence, 2) Surveillance of political figures, including members of Congress, 3) Infiltration and surveillance of unpopular political groups, 4) Misuse of its records, 5) Inaccuracy of its records, 6) Unaccountability to Congress, 7) Illegal wiretapping and bugging, and 8) Misbehavior in Civil Rights Cases.

The present national crises of inflation and depression, massive unemployment and lagging public services, pollution and oil, the imminence of Middle Eastern War and continuing Cold War that sustains the gargantuan military budget require the widest range of public debate in the search of solutions. Hardship breeds discontent that must be expressed if explosion of pent-up resentment is to be avoided. Can our society weather the strains and retain its traditional democratic character? If democracy cannot accommodate dissent, disorder is inevitable. Sen. Lowell Weicker assured us in the wake of Watergate that the people are now ready to accept "the turbulence of freedom." Undoubtedly true, but does this conclusion speak also for the Dept. of Justice, the CIA, and the thousands of police departments around the country? Congressional oversight of the CIA and FBI are wanted to provide a check on the repressive executive police agencies. Are they enough to contain the repressive tendencies? Will the Congressional Committees probe deeply enough to ferret out the evils and to render operational our constitutional rights and liberties and restore our concepts of equity? The challenge is clear and present.

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Commentary by Norman Mailer

## The CIA vs. Democracy

Democracy has been built on the notion that the free or reasonably free play of human forces will produce a world capable of progress, moral imagination, and the ability to recover from social wounds, depressions, catastrophes, and the worst evils of man himself. Democracy will not wear out, goes our underlying assumption, unless our own human resources wear out and become so insecure and/or apathetic that the most interesting possibilities of human potential are lost. Something of this hope and this fear was felt two and three decades ago by all those Americans who sincerely believed that Communism would destroy human potential. The irony is that in fighting Communism, we have come to a point where we have been destroying our own potential.

One agent of that destruction has been the CIA. If history is a study of human irony and the paradox of social process, the CIA can serve as a fine example. Begun by some of the most intense believers in Democracy it has become a sinister element in American life, as capable of destroying the reasonably free play of human forces as any other spiritual Mafia. The CIA is now one of the centers of human pollution in America. It is an invisible government with enormous power, known and unknown, in the administration—the state department, the Cabinet, the Congress, and for all we know, the courts. For all we know, indeed, it is also a power in the Federal Reserve, the Securities Exchange Commission, and the stock market. It is certainly a species of invisible economic government with profitable relations and speculations which extend from Wall Street to Timbuktu by way of Switzerland, the Near East, the Far East, Africa, South America—one runs out of continents. It is a power which has infiltrated the labor movement and the Cosa Nostra for years. It is installed in the aviation industries, the defense corporations, the utilities, the media, the newspapers and the universities. It is now even entering the women's movement. It is a force of people who may work in adjoining offices at Langley for years and never know the real nature of the work being done by the operations man next door since the work in the next office is hidden by its nature.

It is an organization which people enter but never leave. They may resign and go back to government, banking, communications, the armed forces, or law but in critical number they remain part-time members of the CIA still effectively on call. They are a department of government which collects information and by then, its clandestine reflex, disseminates mis-information to other parts of government, even to that office next door. It is an incubus upon the faculty of intelligence itself. It has manipulated and despoiled every left-wing movement in America. It has savaged the heart of Black militancy. It has engaged in so many dirty tricks and illicit manipulations of history and our democratic ability to try to comprehend what the nature of events might be that its national products have been stupefaction and moral inanition.

The more extreme activities of the CIA have been such a cause for uneasiness that even the John Birch Society accuses them of the assassination of Jack Kennedy, and who is to know whether they are right or wrong? Watergate may be no more than the surfacing of a tumor which runs from the eyes to the ankle bones of our democratic institutions, a disease conceivably more dangerous than Communism might ever prove for America since Communism could have been resisted by a natural American underground, but the CIA is the put-on of all democratic ideas, their false exercise, and their exhaustion.

In this context the Fifth Estate is homeopathic medicine—one small drop for a large disease. But at least it is an instrument by which people interested in a participatory democracy may begin to create the possibility of centers of alternate intelligence staffed by citizens, for the use of citizens and available to monitor the abuses of intelligence in government and defense. Separate from the government, the Fifth Estate offers the beginning of the far-going possibility that the people may yet have the instruments and democratic institutions to begin to govern themselves.

Norman Mailer  
January 24, 1975

Vadillo, Mexico City



*This is the transcript of a speech given by SRA. Hortensia Bussa De Allende at a conference on "The CIA & World Peace" at Yale University on April 5, 1975. The Conference was sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace.*



Dear Friends,

I want to thank you on behalf of the people of Chile, especially those people who have suffered prison, torture or death under the dreadful military dictatorship. We consider this invitation to talk about the CIA and World Peace very important.

I have arrived here not without difficulties to enter this country. If the past we've suffered the economic boycott and the internal and external subversion, today they want to impose a conspiracy of silence to keep the facts and the pernicious effects of the policies of intervention from being known. That is why we highly value this meeting.

You have named this seminar "The CIA and Peace". We feel that it would be just as proper to call it "The CIA and Fascism against Peace". It is no longer a secret

today that CIA activities are directed to stimulate the establishment of fascist regimes which are a constant threat to democracy, and consequently, to world peace.

It appears a crude irony of history that this great nation, which was the first to gain its independence in the Western hemisphere, under the banner of the people's right to self-determination, should now be known — because of its leaders — as the champion of intervention and as the supporter of puppet regimes imposed to the people's will.

The chapter concerning CIA and North American imperialistic intervention in Chile is by no means closed. It is just beginning. Each day we know of new facts which up to today have been hidden from the North American people and from international public opinion. It is necessary that these so called "secrets" be known. It is necessary that the mysteries that envelop the monstrous maneuvers executed by the great economic interests and hidden from the noble and generous people of the United States, be revealed. It is to these people, who are not implicated in this affair, which was perpetrated by the moneyed interests, that I appeal to from here. I ask these people of the United States to insist that the intervention and responsibility of the U.S. government in the fascist massacre which exists in Chile be made known and denounced.

The intervention of the U.S. government started before the military coup in Chile, not only in 1973. The object was to prevent Salvador Allende's victory. It was done behind the back of the North American people and Congress.

Today, President Allende's constant denunciations have proven to be true. Since 1972, in his speech before the UN, he declared:

*"My country is the victim of a grave aggression, and has been since the very moment of our electoral triumph on September 4, 1970. We are affected by the development of powerful external pressures which tried to prevent the installation of a government freely elected by the people, and attempted to defeat it ever since. They have intended to isolate us from the world, strangle our economy, paralyze our commerce in our main export product, copper, and prevent our access to sources of international financial aid."*

He continued,

*"We are conscious that when we denounce the economic and financial blockade, such a situation is not easily understood by the international public opinion, not even by some of our own countrymen, because it is not a declared, open aggression, without disguise, before the face of the world. On the contrary, it is always an underground attack, indirect, but nonetheless damaging for Chile. We find ourselves faced with forces*

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*which operate in the shadows, without a flag, with powerful weapons, posted in the various places of influence."*

### A History Of Intervention

Unfortunately this dramatic warning fell on deaf ears. In order for it to come to light and draw attention, it has been necessary to kill a president, massacre 30,000 Chileans, imprison 100,000 people, and abolish all civil liberties. President Allende in his last words said it once again, from inside the government palace, enveloped in flames: "Foreign capitalism and imperialism, allied with reaction, have created such a climate that the Armed Forces have broken with their traditions — those traditions which General Schneider had taught them and Commander Araya reasserted — both victims of the same social sector, of those same people who today will stay in their homes waiting to reconquer power, through the actions of others, in order to continue to defend their profits and privileges."

The tragic experience of underdeveloped countries shows that the intensity and scope of CIA action is in direct relation to the magnitude and strategic importance of North American interests, and the level of development and organization of the liberation movements.

In Chile the two conditions developed simultaneously. That accounts for both the old and the new strategy of the CIA, extending into almost every national activity.

With the CIA history in Chile, now partially revealed to the public, one can begin to reconstruct the abominable trail of North American aggression against our people.

#### 1964

1964: The CIA turned over 3 million dollars to the Christian Democratic Party in order to help the Presidential campaign of Eduardo Frei against the popular candidacy of Salvador Allende.

#### 1969

1969: on the eve of another Presidential election the CIA distributed 500,000 dollars "in order to maintain those individuals who would sustain the anti-Allende forces."

#### 1970

1970: Another half million dollars are handed over to the leaders of the political parties opposing the candidacy of Allende.

• A meeting to analyze the possibilities of an Allende victory takes place with the attendance of John A. McCone, a director of ITT and former director of the CIA, and Richard Helms, then acting Director of the CIA.

• Henry Kissinger convokes an extraordinary meeting of the "40 Committee" in which the CIA is authorized to distribute 400,000 dollars among the press, radio and television companies opposed to Allende.

• September 14. Harold S. Geneen, President of ITT, proposes his plans to Kissinger to intervene in Chile, saying that he is "prepared to help economically with

sums up to seven figures, for operations that will preserve the interests of ITT in Chile".

• On the 15th of September, the State Department authorizes Charles Korry, Ambassador to Chile, to do everything possible to prevent Allende's assumption of the Presidency.

• At the end of September, Richard Helms, Director of the CIA, instructs William V. Broe, of the CIA Clandestine Services Division for the Western Hemisphere, to meet with Edward Gerrity, Vice President of ITT. In the meeting they studied "possible actions to apply economic pressure" intended to prevent the ratification of Salvador Allende as President of Chile by the National Congress.

• Between September and October the CIA spends 350,000 dollars to bribe Chilean legislators against imminent ratification of Allende as President.

• In October, General Rene Schneider, Commander in Chief of the Army, is assassinated. The purpose of the crime is to provoke the intervention of the Armed Forces and thus stop the Congressional ratification of Allende. Among the plotters we find Olalquiaga, a CIA agent born in Chile and residing in Venezuela, who makes a special trip to Chile during the days of the conspiracy.

• After Allende takes office, a meeting takes place between John McCone and William Broe to examine "contacts with selected members of the Chilean Armed Forces who would be able to lead some type of uprising".

• Judy Kessler, an AID official in Santiago, in a memorandum to Deane A. Hinton, CIA economic analyst in the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, dated October 2, presents the diverse long and short range North American options for the destruction of the Popular Unity government.

• The National Security Council (NSC), with authority over the CIA, approves the anti-Chile policy of the "Invisible Blockade".

• In Chile, John B. Tipton and James B. Anderson are put in charge of directing the network of agents infiltrated into the parties of the left and of the right in accord with the following outline:

*Clandestine operations group:* Robert J. O'Neill, Vall Moss, Donald H. Winter and Fred Shaner.

*Work group against Cuba, socialist countries and foreign residents in Chile:* Allen D. Smith, Franklin Tonini and Arnold M. Issacs. (Note: North American residents in Chile were controlled by consular officials.)

In addition to those mentioned, Harry Schlauder- man (now Ambassador to Venezuela), John B. Tipton, Keith Wheelock and Joseph F. McManus were also part of this network.

• Raymond Warren, local Chief of the CIA, arrives in October. The network formed under his direction includes, among others, the following:

*Group of operations in communications:* (Propaganda and Psychological warfare) Claude G. Villareal, Paul L. Good, Denis A. Allred.

*Paramilitary Operations Group:* (With links outside of Chile) Leo G. Karpoff (Bolivia), David McGrath (Rio de Janeiro), Roberto L. Taylor (Bolivia), Claris R. Halliwell (Sao Paulo).

*Military Intelligence Group (DIA):* (Worked with the CIA): Lawrence A. Cocoran, William Hon, James

Switzer, Adrian Schreiber, and John Carrington (with the Air Force, later decorated by Pinochet for his participation in the bombardment of the government palace and other targets).

• At the end of 1970 the "40 Committee," presided over by Henry Kissinger, authorizes the CIA to distribute five million dollars for a "Destabilization effort" against the government of President Allende, to be used between 1971 and 1973.

## 1971

1971: January: A special committee is formed under the auspices of ITT to pressure the U.S. government and influence international credit agencies, and thus to threaten the Chilean government with economic chaos.

• Dean R. Hinton, specialist in the field of economic intelligence, plays an important role in coordinating the campaign for economic chaos, as director of AID in Chile. In 1971 he is called to the U.S. to fill a position on a subcommittee of the National Security Council, charged with defining government policy regarding the nationalization of North American interests abroad. Today Hinton has become ambassador to Zaire.

• In February, Nixon declares that the election of a socialist president in Chile can have profound implications for the Interamerican system.

• In March, Howard C. Edwards is arrested by the Chilean Police for his possible involvement in an international maneuver to cause a reduction in the price of copper. Edwards had participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion and had worked in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 occurrences.

• Frederick W. Latrash, AID official who participated in the fall of Jocobo Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 and in the destruction of the Nkrumah government in Ghana in 1967, is named political director of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago.

• "Patria y Libertad" or "Fatherland and Liberty", an ultra rightist paramilitary organization, is formed in Chile under the operational experience of the DIA.

• The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), under the leadership of Robert O'Neill, country program director for Chile, contributes to the formation of CUPROCH, Confederation of Chilean Professionals, an entity which was to play a decisive role in the truck owners and merchants strikes of 1972 and 1973.

• Edmundo Perez Zujovic, ex-Minister of the Interior in the Eduardo Frei government, is assassinated in June with the evident purpose of creating conditions for a coup d'etat. The VOP (Organized Vanguard of the

People) a group said to be of the extreme left, was responsible for that crime. The group was infiltrated by Panamanian elements serving the CIA.

• Vice President of ITT, William C. Merriam, writes to Peterson, reiterating proposals intended to suffocate the Chilean economy through the rejection of international loans and suspension of the importation of copper and other goods. This was meant to create sufficient economic chaos to stimulate the intervention of the Armed Forces. He proposes that the CIA collaborate in this process.

• Secretary of State Rogers meets with representatives of Anaconda, Ford Motor Company, First National City Bank, Ralston Purina Company and ITT. In the get-together it is proposed to embargo spare parts and materials for Chile, and to cut off all forms of North American aid.

• The United States changes its ambassador in Chile. The position is filled by Nathaniel P. Davis, who began his career as an official of the OSS, Office of Strategic Services, precursor of the CIA. He was formerly assigned to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and he was also in Chile as head of the Peace Corps in 1963. Previous to his new appointment in Chile, he had been ambassador in Guatemala (the post he assumed immediately after the abduction and execution of his predecessor, John Gordon Mein).

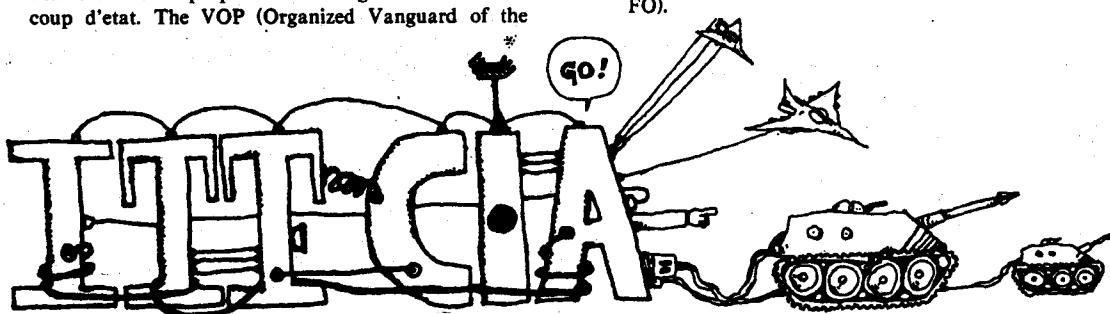
## 1972

1972: On March 21, U.S. journalist Jack Anderson revealed the plans of ITT and the CIA against the Popular Unity government.

• The same journalist makes public a secret cable from Ambassador Nathaniel Davis to the State Department which suggested that in preparation for a military coup it is first necessary to create "a discontent so profound that a military intervention would be warmly received".

• The U.S. corporations operating in Chile resort to economic sabotage. Ford Motor Company suspends its activities and closes its plant. General Motors does likewise shortly thereafter. Ralston Purina is brought under state control when it becomes clear that it is not paying customs taxes and is violating the law of international exchange.

• Kennecott and Anaconda obtain the embargo of Chilean products in the U.S. and freeze the accounts of the various Chilean governmental agencies in New York, some of which include those of the state copper corporation and the Product Development Agency (CORFO).



• It becomes increasingly difficult for Chile to get parts and replacements for U.S. produced machinery. The result is that 21% of the taxis and 31% of the public transportation becomes immobilized.

• Kennecott brings suit in France to block the payment for copper sales to the government of Chile. Private U.S. banks cut Chile's access to credit from 200 million to 35 million. They suspend all credits to suppliers.

• Wolf Research and Development, a "privately" owned U.S. corporation, proposes to Chile a series of research programs involving remote sensors placed in NASA satellites as part of the "ERTS" and "SKYLAB" programs. The application of this technology for supposed research consists of terrain information photographs, espionage flights, and air detection of mineral deposits.

• Euno Hobbins, ex-editor of Life Magazine, handed over 400 thousand dollars to Alvaro Puga of "El Mercurio" newspaper. The money was obtained by the CIA, for the "40 Committee" to finance propaganda against the Popular Unity government.

• In October, General Cesar Ruiz Danyau, Commander in Chief of the Air Force, travels to the U.S., invited by his U.S. counterpart General John Ryan. From this trip, the Chilean Air Force obtained a 5 million dollar credit. In contrast, the Popular Unity government in 3 years only received 3 million dollars in credits from the U.S.

• In 1972, no more than 13 to 20% of Chilean imports came from the U.S., compared with about 40% in preceding years.

• In the financial arena, the percentage of short-term credits which Chile received from the U.S. was reduced from 78 to 6.6 percent.

• On October 11 of this year the first owner's strike is declared, preceded by a commercial shutdown and followed by the truck owners' lockout. These seditious activities were intended to paralyze the economy of the entire country for several weeks. This action just happened to coincide with the European embargo of Chilean copper, as a result of Kennecott's legal maneuvers in France. The CIA, as revealed recently, financed the owners' shutdown, inundating the black market with dollars.

• December, 1972: Jorge Guerrero, Secretary of the National Command for Gremial Defense, which directed the owners shutdown, is invited to Washington by AIFLD.

## 1973

1973: Alexander Zanders, ex-agent of the CIA, was able to escape to the U.S. and informs the Chilean authorities of the preparation of a military coup against the Popular Unity government. It was the so-called Centaur Plan. Zanders accompanied his denunciations with conclusive evidence including intelligence reports and taped material.

• At the request of the CIA, and in order to finance the activities of the National Party and the Christian Democrats, the U.S. government provided 200 and 350 thousand dollars respectively.

• President Allende's Naval Attaché Commander Arturo Araya Peeters is assassinated in the early morning of July 27, 1973 by members of the ultra rightist group, "Fatherland and Liberty", organized by the CIA two years before.

• On that same date, a new truck owners' strike starts that will include merchants and professionals. Simultaneously a huge wave of terrorist actions spreads all over the nation. A high tension tower is blown up when President Allende is addressing the country on TV and radio. Fatherland and Liberty, backed by the CIA, did not conceal its responsibility in this affair. The Chilean Naval Intelligence Service contributed to the effort with logistic advice.

• Michael Townley, a North American citizen and member of the Peace Corps in Chile during President Frei's government, returns to Chile as a CIA agent to collaborate with "Fatherland and Liberty". He was in charge of a five man brigade to carry out a dangerous sabotage operation in the city of Concepcion at a power plant. Although they failed in their objective they killed the night watchman of the plant, Tomas Henriquez. Townley managed to escape to Argentina, and from there flew to the U.S.

• Pablo Rodriguez, head of Fatherland and Liberty, visited the U.S. and made contacts with Bernard Barker, Frank Sturgis and the counterrevolutionary Cubans Virgilio Gonzales and Eugenio Martinez who had participated in the espionage and robbery of documents from the Chilean Embassy in Washington, a year earlier.

• On May 15th the Union of Professional Employees from the El Teniente Copper Mine, started a strike. The mine had been expropriated from Kennecott. This strike is directed by Guillermo Medina who is directly advised by the AIFLD, as well as by Fatherland and Liberty leaders such as Manuel Fuentes Wedding, presently press attache to General Gustavo Leigh.

• On June 29, a tentative coup is defeated. It is led by the Armored Regiment No. 2 and by civilians from Fatherland and Liberty. Pablo Rodriguez and other leaders of this fascist group, sought refuge in the embassy of Ecuador and left the country. It is thought that the June 29 attempted coup was so poorly mounted because of a failure of communication between the CIA, directly linked with Fatherland and Liberty, and the DIA, the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency, which was working with the Chilean military traitors.

• In August, 1973, the CIA is authorized to invest 1 million additional dollars in Chile. It is held that this allocation was cancelled when the coup took place. The truth is that the sum was spent — as has been publicly acknowledged: 250 thousand dollars went for a radio station, thousands of dollars were used to finance public relations trips of junta officials, shortly after the coup. The rest is not yet accounted for.

• In September, 1973, ships from the U.S. Navy arrive in Chilean waters to participate in the joint maneuvers called "Operation Unitas".

• At the same time 32 U.S. observation and battle planes land in Mendoza, Argentina; 15 of the planes leave 48 hours after the coup. Simultaneously, 150 North Americans described as "specialists in air acrobatics" arrive in Chile.

- On September 9 Richard Nixon is informed about plans for the military coup in Chile.
- September 11, the military coup takes place. The Popular Government is overthrown: President Allende is murdered and the fascist dictatorship is installed.
- The fact that the U.S. warships of the "Unitas" maneuvers were standing by ready to help in case they were needed, was disclosed.
- Another fact is revealed and denounced: that the day of the coup the WB-57S plane, plate No. - 631-2398 was operated in Chile by Majors V. Duenas and T. Schull from the U.S. Air Force. This plane was a flying electronic control station, serving to coordinate the communications of the putchists.
- The German magazine "Reue Berliner Illustrierte" of December 25, 1973 states that they have a confidential U.S. Army document, taken from a vault at Fort Gulick, Panama, outlining a plan to destroy the Popular Unity Government. The U.S. plan revealed in Germany has characteristics very similar to the events of September 11.
- Chile's National Department of Investigations (DINA) comes into existence under the Defense Ministry, with the collaboration of the CIA, the DIA, and the help of the Brazilians, and German experts such as Walter Rauff, former leader of the Gestapo (the man responsible for developing Hitler's mobile gas extermination units).

### The Junta

What you have heard is a very short resume of open Northamerican intervention in Chile's internal affairs up to 1973. What has occurred since the coup is more widely known. No events in recent time have so wounded international sensitivity as the barbarism taking place in my country. These events have been unanimously repudiated in every corner of the world. No government is so completely discredited and morally isolated as the military junta of Chile.

In 1974 the putchists' thirst for blood has extended even beyond the frontiers, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, to carry out the cowardly assassination of General Carlos Prats and his wife.

The Gestapo methods, adopted through the CIA, now boomerang on their own practitioners. The disappearance of General Oscar Bonilla, presumed successor to Dictator Pinochet, carries the trade mark of the methods used by Hitler to eliminate his possible competitors.

As grotesque and repugnant as the role played by the fascist junta, one year and a half after the coup, we have absolute confirmation of the participation of the CIA and imperialism in the liquidation process against the longings of a people for liberation.

As surely as the responsibility for such deeds falls upon the previous administration of the U.S., especially upon Nixon, the current President has astonished world public opinion by declaring that the policy was carried out "in the best interests of the Chilean people, and certainly, of the United States." That is to say, that the present government of the U.S. openly proclaims the right to intervene by whatever means, no matter how illicit, dirty, or criminal they may be, in the internal

processes of the people of this hemisphere, whenever their monetary interests make it seem advisable.

In September of last year, when President Ford recognized and confessed the North American intervention in Chile, he argued that it was done to help save the communications media of the opposition parties.

For his part, as is well known, Henry Kissinger told the U.S. Senate that "the activities of the CIA had as their object, the prevention of the establishment of a one party government by a minority President."

The question arises: where is the concern of Mr. Ford and of Mr. Kissinger now when all political parties have been suppressed, all political liberties abolished, the National Congress has been closed down, and the country has been converted into a showcase of concentration camps?

The attempt to justify this intervention has been based on what is called a need to defend democracy. This argument lacked any base at all during the years of the Popular Unity Government, but acquires full validation today, under the junta's fascist dictatorship. Nevertheless, we observe that the only industrialized country, whose government helps that tyranny — politically, financially, and militarily — is the United States.

From what has transpired, one can only conclude that the true objective of the U.S. interventionist policy has been to install a fascist model government that would insure what the transnational companies call "the social peace" in a "climate favorable to foreign investment". The "peace of the cemetery" created by the military junta is exactly the "social peace" sought after by those same transnational corporations.

### Some Serious Questions

It is clear that the intervention practiced in Chile is only one single case in a general policy of intervention and collusion between the U.S. government and the interests of Northamerican investment abroad, especially those of the multinational companies: ITT, Kennecott, Anaconda, etc. etc.

This pig-headed, police-like conduct carries the implicit objective of installing fascist regimes in underdeveloped countries and, not only violates norms governing relations between states, institutionalized in the Charter of the United Nations, but moreover, clearly contradicts those ideals for which the people of the United States have fought ever since their independence.

This conflict between the real interests of the North American people and the policy of foreign intervention explains the deception of the U.S. government. In the effort to justify this duplicity to the citizens of the United States, the leaders of the government find themselves in increasingly clear and difficult contradictions. How can the U.S. government possibly convince its people that the barbarism and terror in Chile is compatible with the ideals and interests of the great majority of North American citizens? Are the interests of the U.S. people served in any way by the brutal destruction of the Popular Unity government in Chile? — A democratically elected constitutional government whose margin of votes had even increased in the last elections prior to the coup in 1973.

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How can the Northamerican government try to convince its people that the association between the CIA and ITT, a corporation that collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War, even as U.S. soldiers were dying on European fronts in the fight against fascism, can contribute to the strengthening of democracy either in Chile or in the United States?

When will President Gerald Ford put an end to support of the fascist military junta, offering financial credits and military aid, beyond anything ever dreamed of by our government of Popular Unity?

How can the U.S. government convince its people that, in order to fulfill the ideals of Abraham Lincoln, it is necessary to help those sinister forces which seek to establish fascism on a worldwide scale making no exception of the United States?

The reaction of the U.S. people to the revelations of CIA activity both abroad and within the United States shows us that there is a reserve of moral power that can prevent abdication of those ideals of liberty which have been fought for by generations of citizens. It appears that the Northamerican people are beginning to understand that it is impossible to help fascism abroad without becoming exposed to those same forces inside the United States.

In order to legitimatize the shameless violations of mutual respect between nations — whether they be powerful or not — President Ford has thrown the Charter of the United Nations in the waste basket and tries to raise the law of the jungle to the plane of international relations. The peoples of Latin America, of Vietnam, of Laos, of Cambodia have been the victims of practices in the bloody tradition of Nazi fascism. Today the United States has the sad privilege of breathing new life into those traditions.

At least imperialism has begun to pay a price for unleashing its aggression against the Popular Unity government presided over by Salvador Allende: the price is the awakening and strengthening of the consciousness of the peoples and of many governments about the direct threat of fascism as a new pattern of domination in our epoch. With that, we have witnessed the extensive and profound growth of a movement in solidarity with the Chilean people. This movement represents an answer to a terrible outrage against the human rights and destiny of a small nation, and expresses furthermore, the recognition that we are dealing with a situation that endangers all of humanity.

The Chilean drama not only encompasses the contradictions of Chilean and Latin American society, but those of the third world in general. In the case of Chile we have the liquidation, although momentary, of a nation which has carried forward a process of emancipation. This points out to us that it is the nations of the Third World which are, and which will continue to be, the principal targets of imperialist aggression.

Additional copies of this speech are available from:  
National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile,  
156 Fifth Ave., Room 716, New York, NY 10010. Phone  
(212) 989-0085. 25c each.

Through you we address the people of the United States. We wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your efforts to unmask the aggression being waged against the Chilean people. We would also like to express, in a very special way, our recognition of the efforts of those fine Northamericans who have demonstrated their convictions in effective and moral solidarity with the victims of the tyranny. We applaud the initiative of those distinguished political leaders who reject the announced visit to Chile by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. His visit not only signifies support for the junta, but also serves to legitimize a regime which violates all human rights. We also applaud the action of the U.S. Congress towards terminating U.S. military aid to the military junta until human rights are restored.

In a responsible manner, we would also like to offer the warning that when fascism is flushed from our country, the Chilean people will disown and reject absolutely whatever accords, whatever pacts, whatever treaties agreed to by the military junta, with whatever state or international organism.

Finally, it is our duty to appeal to the conscience of the Northamerican people to prevent the continued support of your government for the most bloody regime that has been known in the history of Latin America: the dictatorship of Agusto Pinochet.

The Northamerican people cannot continue as accomplices in a policy contrary to their own best interests. Consequently, the demand must resound for the suspension of all military aid to the junta; the suspension of all credits; against any renegotiation of the external debt; and for the defense of human rights in Chile.

Confronting this tangible danger of fascism, the so called silent majority must convert itself to an active, thundering majority for democracy.

As Pablo Neruda said:

*Let the rail splitter awake  
You are vast and beautiful North America.  
Your origin is humble like a washerwoman's  
Beside your rivers, white.  
Shaped in the unknown  
It is your peace of honeycomb that is most sweet.  
It is your peace that we love, not your mask.  
Your warrior's face is not handsome.*

The right against fascism in Chile is a fight against the dangers of fascism all over the world. That is why we can say, with all certainty and conviction, "We shall overcome".

SRA. Hortensia Bussi De Allende has been traveling world-wide in recent months, speaking out about the role of the CIA in overthrowing the Popular Unity government of Chile. Her late husband, Salvador Allende, was killed defending the Presidential Palace during the uprising.

We Thought You'd Like To Know.



### Around The World

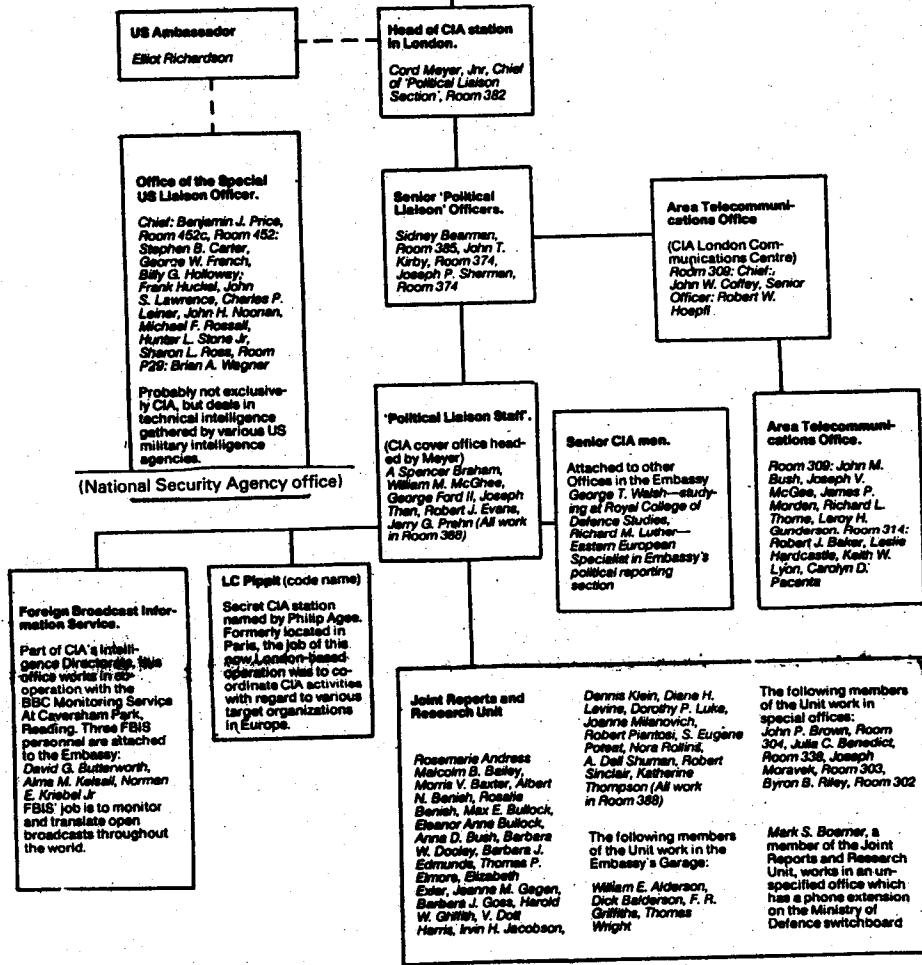
As the activities of the Central Intelligence have come under increasing scrutiny at home, so too have its activities come under scrutiny in countries abroad. In recent months, increasing numbers of Agency personnel serving abroad have had their covers' blown by the foreign press, and the indications are that these revelations will continue to mount in

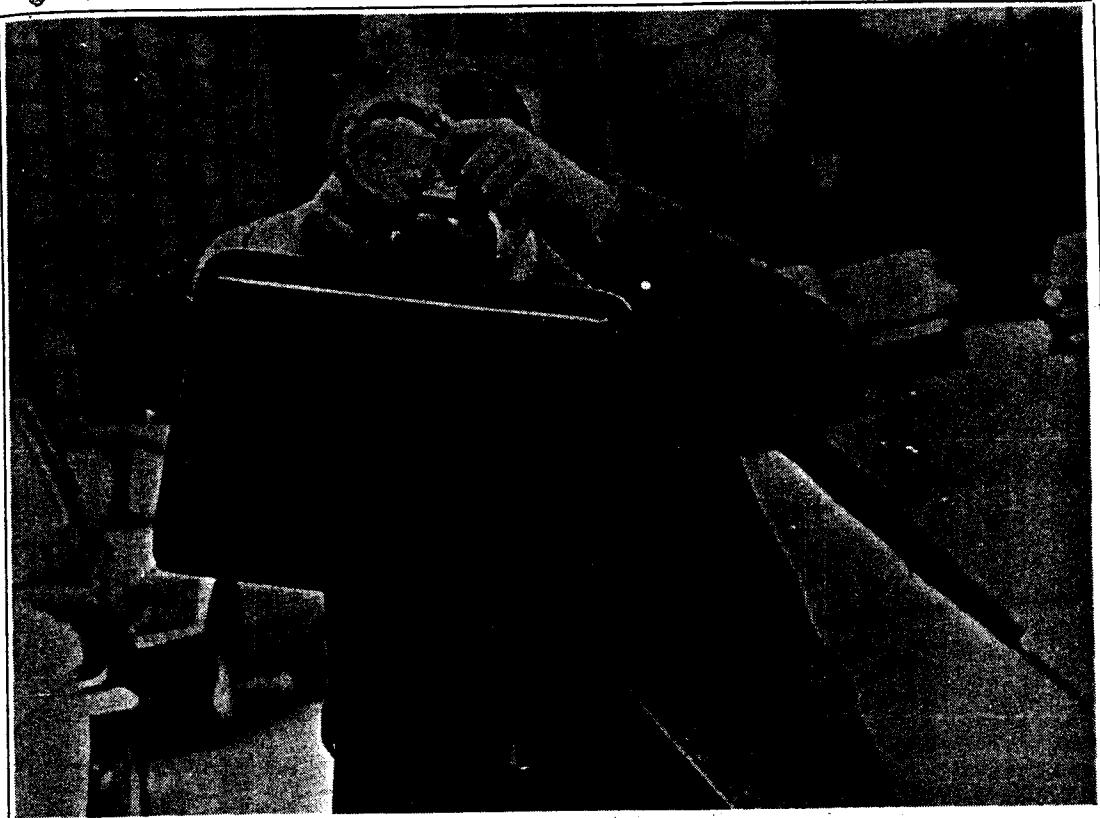
the future. So that *CounterSpy* readers, many of whom do not regularly read the foreign press, will continue to be fully informed about the CIA's activities, we are proud to institute "*The CIA Around The World*" as a regular feature of this journal.

In this edition, we will be covering three countries of interest: England, Portugal, and Peru.

In England, the CIA maintains a large station for purposes of monitoring activities throughout Europe, and keeping tabs on the British Trade Unions, which are voicing increasing dissatisfaction over questions of domestic and foreign policy. The photographs and diagram are courtesy of *Worker's Press*.

#### CIA Headquarters, Langley, Virginia.

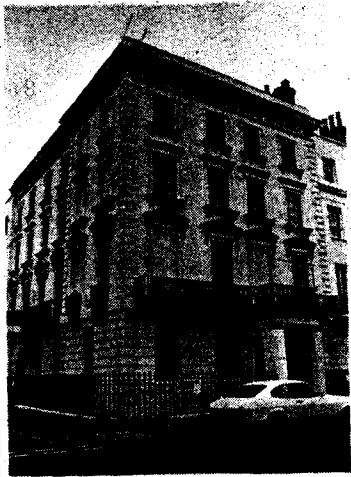




Sidney Bearman, "political analyst", apparently does NOT want you to know who he is.



John A. Reed, complete with trenchcoat.



Cord Meyer, Chief of Station for London, was able to keep his face away from our inquiring photographers. This is his modest flat.



At last, here's Bearman's full mug. Tacky looking tie, don't you think?



William McGhee, of the "political liaison" section, demonstrating CIA technique for dodging surveillance.

Despite regular protestations by American apologists for the CIA like Evans and Novak, that domestic pressures are preventing intervention, the Agency has been actively intervening in the internal affairs of Portugal. If the operations in Portugal are following anything close to the methods used in Latin America that emerge from the pages of Philip Agee's *CIA Diary*, then it is safe to assume that the Agency has fostered, and/or taken advantage of, many of the internal divisions in that country.

Peru is another country suffering from serious internal divisions. The country is ruled by its military forces, with the Air Force, Army, and Navy

each having control over different ministries in the government. Since each of the armed forces is distinctly different politically, serious conflicts have resulted. As would be expected, the Agency is involved in pitting more conservative forces against what it views as dangerous leftist/nationalistic tendencies.

### Peru

#### *U.S. Embassy in Lima*

Richard S. Welch — Attaché  
Serge N. Evanow — Political officer  
Joseph F. Fernandez — Political officer  
Arthur T. Ladenburg — Political officer

Albert J. Amori — Economic/Commercial officer

Robert G. Fullner — Communications officer

Gary G. Roberts — Economic/Commercial officer

### Portugal

#### *U.S. Embassy in Lisbon*

John S. Morgan — (Chief of Station)  
— Aide  
James N. Lawler — Aide  
Douglas L. McElhaney — Vice Consul  
Philip W. Snell — Political Officer  
Donley F. Trebbe — Communications officer

# The AFL-CIA Goes on Safari

George Meany is tripping over his cloak-and-dagger. Article after article has revealed Big Labor's work hand-in-hand with Big Business and government agencies including the CIA. The evidence indicates that cooperation between the AFL-CIO and the Central Intelligence Agency is perhaps the most strategic element of continued multinational corporate power and influence. Through the "labor operations" of the CIA, which involves the collusion of the AFL-CIO leaders, the planetary giants of ITT, IBM, United Fruit, Kennecott, Chase Manhattan Bank, and other monopolies, maintain a constant source of information of world labor and foreign societies, the means to dominate international labor-relations, and resources to sabotage workers movements or their governments. Although other CIA operations, such as paramilitary secret armies and clandestine invasions, or coup d'etats, are more well-known and publicized, labor operations constitute the most important consolidated programs of the Agency and account for a large percentage of its clandestine budget.

These are the essential facts we know from the recent exposés of American labor's marriage to international corporate spying:

- The history begins with the labor spies and strike breakers hired by the largest U.S. corporations from the Civil War until the late 1930's. But the programs did not gain planetary importance until World War II. Then inside our WWII clandestine operations agency — the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) — a Labor Branch was formed which was lead for most of the war by Arthur Goldberg. During the war the Labor Branch shifted its primary target from the Axis powers to the Soviet Union which was an ally, and began to formulate plans for anti-Soviet action after the war. Many of the agents of the OSS Labor Branch who began to make contact with anti-communists in Europe were recruited into the OSS from another WWII intelligence and policy implementation apparatus under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller, the Coordinator of Information (COI). The COI operated primarily in Latin America where there were large Rockefeller financial holdings. Other OSS labor agents were recruited from the International Ladies Garment Workers union and other unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL), headed by George Meany. Both organizations had a long history of violent anti-communism and cooperation with management. Many of the anti-communists they recruited in Europe towards the end of the war were trade unionists who had supported the Nazis or Italian fascists including members of the Mafia, other hoodlum gangs and heroin smugglers.

- After the war, the American economic system was internationalized and the emerging transnational, or multinational corporations and banks became strong enough to define U.S. foreign policy for the next three decades. In order to maintain profitable investment climates in most regions of the world, they needed the cooperation of American labor leaders to manipulate foreign workforces. And in the tycoons' march to achieve what no other conqueror has ever achieved before — world sovereignty — they needed to restructure our

government to meet their needs. In the immediate post-WWII restructuring of our security forces, the Central Intelligence Agency was formed to take over the old activities of the OSS and the pre-war corporate spies. It was given new responsibilities to expand this corporate empire.

- One of its new responsibilities was *covert action*, which included labor operations on a much grander scale than those of the OSS Labor Branch. With their agents in place as Europe was freed from fascist control, the CIA was well prepared to begin operations throughout the world. To implement the Marshall Plan for recovery of Europe, labor operatives created new anti-communist trade unions, sabotaged the international trade union center — the World Federation of Trade Unions, established a new international center — the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and launched regional labor operations throughout the Third World to draw workers into the American orbit. To do this they further enlisted the support of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. The merger of the AFL with the CIO — which had been part of the WFTU — was engineered by the same Arthur Goldberg, former head of OSS labor operations, and later a Secretary of Labor and Supreme Court Justice. Over the next thirty years the CIA operated through the AFL-CIO participation in the ICFTU, its regional organizations, several other labor fronts including, the International Trade Secretariats — organized in one particular form of labor — affiliated with the ICFTU; and finally through wholly controlled labor organizations.

- Throughout the world the CIA's plans were full of major complications which included; rivalries between the AFL-CIO and its European counterparts, similar rivalries between the CIA and European intelligence organizations, and the economic competition between American and foreign based industrial giants. But the strongest problem faced by the CIA was the struggle of the Third World to be free of foreign influence and exploitation. Slowly over the past three decades, CIA labor operations have been curtailed or circumvented by the

trade union movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa. But this struggle is still continuing, and the CIA and the U.S. corporations are still a danger for foreign societies. But for the first time since the early years after the war, the struggle is involving American workers.

• Many American workers have come to realize that their interests have traditionally been tied to a strong fighting trade union organization and not one tied to the coattails of Big Business. The AFL-CIO, compromised by its long association with the CIA and other instruments of corporate power, is becoming isolated internationally — a fact that has not gone unnoticed by the American rank-and-file.

In caucuses, union halls, and central labor councils demands raised in the past year have included the termination of AFL-CIO's association with the CIA. Many rank-and-file organizations have used the abundant information on labor operations to teach themselves and others on the job what implications the operations represent for U.S. workers. The collusion of the CIA, global corporations, and trade union leadership has, first, created the climates for run-away shops. It has added to the atmosphere of economic instability and crises which now threatens massive unemployment. And it has bound the leadership of the AFL-CIO more to the interests of the corporations than to their members.

Most of the current agitation in this country is focused on the activities of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, an organization established and controlled by the CIA with the blessings of George Meany. AIFLD is funded by the State Department's Agency for International Development, donations from the multinational corporations and the union dues of American workers. Throughout Latin America, however, AIFLD has been known for some time as an instrument of the CIA, and is relatively isolated in many areas. Through AIFLD, however, the CIA still maintains a most effective tool for controlling the labor force of Latin America.

In recent months two organizations similar to AIFLD have become the focus of American and world trade union organizations.

• The Asian-American for Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) operates for the CIA and the corporations in the Philippines, South Korea and recently in Turkey and the Middle East. Its most important operations in South Vietnam have been terminated and its principal agent, Tran Quoc Buu, is a refugee. While it is possible that AAFLI will become an important focus of debate over the future of South Korea and other Asian countries, it does not appear that it will have the same significance as agitation to abolish AIFLD holds in the rank-and-file movement here.

• However, at both the CIA headquarters, the offices of the AFL-CIO and other concerned agencies there is apprehension that the operations of the AFL-CIO — as the collusion of American labor leaders and government spies is now universally known — in Africa will become of interest to the supporters of African liberation in American black communities. Although the labor operations in Africa have not been as strategic to the maintenance of corporate power as those in Latin America or Asia, they have been pervasive and have set the tone for changes in global politics. They have touched the will of labor from the Mediterranean to

Cape Horn. If African liberation supporters do explore U.S. foreign labor policy they will find the long sinister record of the AFL-CIO on Safari.

### The AFL-CIA and African Independence

As World War Two ended, national and social forces in Africa fused into a unifying force of opposition to colonial rule and exploitation. This tendency was sensed by the U.S. based planetary enterprises, our government's foreign policy leadership and by the trade union elites with their similar worldview and ambitions. U.S. foreign policy, on the basis of a predominantly corporate interpretation of events, was geared to the general aim of clandestinely undermining colonialism while keeping the newly independent states in the political orbit of the "free world," with capitalist economies and under the influence of the U.S.-based business community.

The strategy was not to totally eradicate the influence of colonialism. In the new sovereign states, centries of colonial exploitation left myriad ties which bound them to the metropolitan countries in various degrees. This was less so countries which had been locked in violent struggle with their former overlords, and more so in those which achieved self-rule relatively peacefully. The emphasis during this period was to urge that hostile confrontation be avoided since, as a basic study issued by the U.S. Senate in 1959 concluded, "*the more peaceful the transition to self-rule, the greater the likelihood that the present orientation to the West will be maintained.*" U.S. foreign policy was thus faced with a contradiction of eliminating colonialist rule but in a manner which would continue this Western orientation, or an orientation in which the newly emerging global corporations could operate to their advantage. In most instances this meant relying upon covert manipulation rather than the more overt forms of diplomacy in international affairs.

Where strong political, economic, military or social ties to the new states were maintained by Britain, which was our chief ally in Europe, the CIA worked for peaceful transition to self-rule. However, because of a strong competitiveness between U.S. and French corporate interests, CIA influence on national movements in the French colonies was not as motivated by interest in peaceful solutions. In the colonies of other European allies, CIA policy had different patterns, but essentially the attitudes towards the French and British colonies set the stage for the whole continent.

During the transition to independence of most African countries, especially, the former French and British colonies, the AFL-CIA, as an instrument of corporate dominated U.S. foreign policy, attended to the development of African trade unions as primarily *political protest movements*. This is reflective of the embryonic nature of industrialization in Africa and the only recent emergency of differentiated working classes. Trade unions in this period could only mobilize workers, not organize for their benefit. As long as labor protests were directed against colonialism, U.S. foreign policy could bring to bear international pressures and agitation which made the colonial authorities increasingly reluctant to curb the union's freedom to demonstrate their grievances, to organize, strike or bargain. In return for the U.S. protection of the unions in the emerging countries, it was expected that U.S. influence would continue

after independence to maintain the common ideological and political traditions helpful to U.S. corporate penetration of African political economies.

The history of this policy of political use of the African trade unions by the U.S. began in earnest in 1945 with the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), with participation from most national trade union centers. The central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, the U.S. Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the Swedish Lands Organization, the French General Confederation of Workers (CGT) and the British Trade Union Confederation (TUC) (which brought delegates from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia and the Gold Coast, together with some Europeans from Northern Rhodesia as observers) were among the members of this new global trade union organization. No French colonial federations were represented, and the French CGT was without a single African delegate.

The African trade unionists were faced with a remarkable alliance of French Stalinists (who, while glorifying in their anti-colonialism, questioned credentials of African trade unions in the interests of international working-class solidarity or, as they understood the term to mean, solidarity with European trade unionists) and imperialist Britons (who were at pains to excuse the record of colonialism in the name of responsible "trusteeship"). Only the Americans, many of whom would soon work for the CIA, seemed interested in linking the development of colonial trade unions to liberation struggles. The development of these two policies towards African trade unions within the WFTU would greatly influence trade unionism throughout the fifties and sixties even when more significant considerations took precedent.

Over Africa, the WFTU split into two camps; the *militants* (USSR and the USA) and the *imperialists* (Britain, France and Belgium). The former group attempted to establish an African regional body to coordinate activities on the continent while the trade union centers of the colonial powers insisted on their own prerogatives in areas for which they claimed responsibility. The results of this first of many divisions in world trade unionism over African independence was most clearly displayed in the international dispute over the trade union development in the states of North Africa, then referred to as the Magreb.

### The AFL-CIA's North African Safari

In the French-speaking areas of the Magreb, the U.S. labor movement under guidance, first from the remaining structure of the OSS, and then the CIA, played a significant role in defiance of French public and trade union attitudes and contributed to decolonization pressures. In Algeria, their actions eventually sparked a war. But because both Tunisia and Morocco enjoyed internal autonomy, and neither their political institutions nor their trade unions were closely interwoven with the French parties and unions as those of other French African territories, the workers' organizations detached themselves from the French CGT even before their respective independence struggles and established their own ties with the AFL, later the AFL-CIO. Through this association with the U.S., which became guided by the CIA after that agency's formal organization in 1947,

they gained U.S. support and sympathy against French colonialism.

In Tunisia, the U.S. recruited its allies from members of the Neo-Destour party, under the leadership of Habib Bourgiba, who was imprisoned during the war by French authorities as a spy for the Italian fascists. The Tunisian union, the UGTT, through its founder Ferhat Hached, affiliated with the Neo Destour and proclaimed that "*the fight against colonialism and foreign companies comes first, the fight for improving the economic situation after*." When Hached tried to affiliate the UGTT with the WFTU, he was repulsed by French CGT and British TUC opposition, but gained support from the CIO — which was a member of the WFTU — and, more significantly, support from the representatives of the AFL and the CIA in Europe. Both Bourgiba and Hached became two important agents of the CIA and eventually friends of the AFL-CIO, and their influence spread over the entire Magreb.

In response to UGTT attempts to enter the WFTU, the imperialists, led by the French CGT, moved on two fronts. It reorganized its Tunisian section under Tunisian leadership as the USTT. French representatives on the Executive Bureau of the WFTU moved a resolution rejecting the UGTT's application and urging it to reunite with the CGT in the new USTT. The USTT was automatically affiliated with the WFTU. This move was justified by the French on the grounds that the UGTT was not a national organization but the labor front of the Neo-Destour party. In the debate that followed, the militants expressed doubts about this general argument, but the British supported the French on the grounds that the WFTU should not encourage breakaway unions and that unity should be achieved on the basis of organizations already affiliated. Soon events would force the British and the French to do just what they had accused the African unions of attempting.

By 1949, a new contradiction in the world labor movement came to the forefront, which radically complicated the politics of the independence period of the Magreb (and all of Africa) through the fifties. Whereas, within the WFTU, the major ideological split for the first few years of its existence was between the militants and the imperialists, by this year, the division between the Soviet Union and the United States over Europe produced a more significant political split among the militants. The CIA, working in Europe through the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC), established by the International Ladies Garment Workers and the AFL, had been working to establish its own unions in France, Germany, Greece and Italy to prepare the way for Marshall Plan aid. This was part of the Truman Doctrine of European recovery under U.S. military and economic hegemony, a move opposed by the Russians and most European trade unions at the time.

In France, the FTUC organized gangs of dock smugglers into the Force Ouvrière (FO) as an alternative to the socialist dominated CGT and then prepared to split off as many non-communist centers as possible from the WFTU. The FO succeeded in capturing control of the French trade unionists, as the CGT became the CGT-FO, largely due to the Communist Party of France's loss of support among the rank-and-file. In England, the TUC, under the tight control of British in-

telligence, moved to join the U.S. in support of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. During this process in Europe and America, a tide of universal condemnation of Soviet attitudes accelerated to become the anti-communist crusade of the Cold War. Under clandestine CIA provocation, the American CIO, the TUC and other national trade union organizations left the WFTU and regrouped as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949.

The ICFTU was formed in London in the atmosphere of the deteriorating relations between the militant powers. This rivalry soon replaced the struggle over independence in Africa between militants and imperialists. And although Soviet influence and activity in African trade unionism never reached any significance, this new dominant factor in global trade union relations did succeed in further weakening the strength of the colonial powers. Forced into a position of unity with the United States, with the U.S. as an economic center for the newly emerging multinational corporations that came to dominate European political economies, Britain and France could not forsake this unity position in the ICFTU to adequately struggle against the machinations of American labor leaders or the CIA. The weakness of the British and French in the ICFTU situation led to the

U.S. supported victories of the Magreb trade unions.

After the formation of the ICFTU, the representatives of this new world center in Africa were the same members of the FTUC who were working for the CIA. And they continued to finance and encourage their contacts in North Africa, including Bourgiba and Hached. At first, after some effort to join the WFTU, the UGTT decided in June 1950, to affiliate with the ICFTU in 1951. But the ICFTU was unable to fully mobilize support for the UGTT, due to the CGT-FO's membership in that organization. The CGT-FO, although anti-Soviet and under CIA control with respect to European affairs, was unwilling to relinquish its hold on the North African sections. Likewise, it could not muster support for its intentions. The result was more reliance on covert actions than official ICFTU efforts. Throughout the period, however, the unions were just used as protest movements by the CIA in favor of independence, and the UGTT remained under the control of the Neo-Destour of Bourgiba. When Hached was murdered in 1952, the ICFTU raised a world outcry in favor of independence and the French position lost ground. Many suspect that this was a timely martyrdom although no one has publically suggested that the CIA manipulated this event except the Soviet Union. The CIA did strengthen its hand in

### Known CIA Personnel in Africa

The following is a list of known and confirmed CIA case officers assigned to African stations, using diplomatic cover. The listings contain the place of assignment, and the specific cover given each officer. This list should by no means be considered complete, and probably represents less than ten per cent of all CIA personnel operating in Africa. To the best of our knowledge, this list is accurate as of December, 1974.

#### Algeria

*Edward R.M. Kane, U.S. Embassy in Algiers, listed as "political officer."*

*Christopher Darlington, U.S. Embassy in Algiers, listed as "political officer".*

#### Barundi

*David Harper, U.S. Embassy in Bujumbura, listed as "political/economic officer".*

#### Cameroon

*Jeff Corydon, U.S. Embassy in Yaounde, listed as "political/economic officer".*

#### Central African Republic

*William L. Mosebey, Jr., U.S. Embassy in Bangui, listed as "political officer".*

#### Ghana

*James D. Haase, U.S. Embassy in Accra, listed as "political officer"*

*William R. Stanley, U.S. Embassy in Accra, listed as "political officer".*

#### Ivory Coast

*Martin J. Bergin Jr., U.S. Embassy in Abidjan, listed as "political officer".*

*Gordon J. Hopman, U.S. Embassy in Abidjan, listed as "political officer".*

#### Kenya

*William J. Clair, U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, listed as "political officer".*

*Ernest B. Brant, U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, listed as "political officer".*

#### Liberia

*Thelma C. Nielson, U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, listed as "personnel officer".*

*Thomas A. Pence, U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, listed as "general services officer".*

*Steve A. Nielson, U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, listed as "general services officer".*

*Edward J. Carroll III, U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, listed as "political officer".*

#### Morocco

*Charles G. Cogan, U.S. Embassy in Rabat, listed as "political officer".*

*Mark T. Colby, U.S. Consulate General in Casablanca, listed as "economic/commercial officer".*

#### Nigeria

*David M. Zimmerman Jr., U.S. Embassy in Lagos, listed as "political officer".*

*Larry G. Jarrett, U.S. Embassy in Lagos, listed as "economic/commercial officer".*

#### Senegal

*David M. Ransom, U.S. Embassy in Dakar, listed as "political officer".*

#### Somalia

*David P. Hunt, U.S. Embassy in Mogadiscio, listed as "economic/commercial officer".*

#### South Africa

*Jarrel H. Richardson, U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, listed as "economic/commercial officer".*

#### Tunisia

*James A. Bruha, U.S. Embassy in Tunis, listed as "consulate officer".*

#### Zaire

*Jeffrey Panett, U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa, listed as "political officer".*

Tunisia and force the CGT-FO towards a policy of self-determination — placing it in confrontation with the French sentiment. The CIA helped Bourgiba gain greater control of the UGTT, and with the help of trade union protest, Bourgiba was given power over an independent Tunisia in 1956.

ICFTU interest, and CIA operations with the help of the AFL-CIO, followed the same pattern in the French colonies of Morocco and Algeria. ICFTU interest in Morocco dates from 1951, when a delegation of these same CIA labor operatives, visited that country and recruited agents in the Istacal Party. In 1953, the French authorities deposed and deported the Sultan Mohammed V, whom they regarded at the time as a symbol of Moroccan national aspirations. While the ICFTU protested strongly against this arbitrary act, and eventually took this question to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the CIA was completing its formation of trade unions as protest movements for independence in Morocco. Omer Becu, the president of the ICFTU, who had been recently recruited by the CIA, visited Morocco and encouraged workers in the Istacal Party to organize for independence. Quietly, other operatives of the CIA organized demonstrations in support of the Sultan and against French rule. They also clandestinely funded the formation of the Moroccan Labor Federation (UMT) which affiliated with the ICFTU and formed close contacts with the newly merged AFL-CIO. The AFL merged with the CIO after eleven unions were purged from that body; both events engineered by Arthur Goldberg, the former head of OSS labor operations.

The strength of the ICFTU was sufficient only to raise funds and encourage the independence movement of the unions; most of the hard support came from the CIA, operating clandestinely through and around the ICFTU. When the Sultan returned to power he began to arrest the labor and independence leaders and violently suppressed strikes and assemblies. The CIA then organized demonstrations by the UMT against the Sultan — whereas only a few years before they organized to support him — and eventually he was toppled.

As the rebellion in Algeria, which started in November of 1954, mounted, Tunisia and Morocco gave sanctuary to the National Liberation Front (FLN) and its trade unions in the Federation of Algerian Workers (UGTA). But the CIA, even though it maintained contact with other sectors of the FLN, was hesitant to back the UGTA. These same CIA operatives who had been with the FTUC in Europe, and now represented the ICFTU in the Magreb and the rest of Africa, were supporting the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties under the leadership of Messali Hadj. They did this to gain the support of the Algerian workforce in France. Hadj formed a paper union called the Syndicate Union of Algerian Workers (USTA) with CIA support, and attempted to join the ICFTU. But the FLN decided to beat the USTA to the American financial support and organized the UGTA. The UGTA threatened to join the WFTU — which had no presence to speak of in Africa — if they were not accepted in place of the USTA in the ICFTU. This of course, forced the CIA to reverse its relationship and support the UGTA and its political leadership in the FLN. But American backing of trade unions was not the only issue at stake.

The CIA eventually had to decide between supporting the independence movement in Algeria or a minority workforce in France. By buying off Hadj, the CIA decided in the favor of the former. By this time the French authorities were aware of the CIA and the American AFL's intentions in Algeria. The CIA was barred from Algeria and their leader was accused of "*pursuing a reckless policy with dubious persons for the purpose of financing anti-French movements in Algeria and North Africa.*" The French position was undermined by CIA support supplied to the UGTA for protests in favor of the FLN and the independence — all supplied through Morocco and Tunisia — and by CIA manipulation of the French labor movement to support self-determination. Finally the French colonial position was isolated down to a few reactionary generals who formed the OAS and lost power in both a challenge to the FLN in Algeria and later to DeGaulle in France. The battle of Algiers was won with the support of the AFL-CIA's safari into North Africa.

### The Safari Comes Upon Pan-Africanism

The debates and maneuverings in the ICFTU and world labor movement by the AFL-CIA went against the British position also. The British were much stronger in Africa than the French, but they too would succumb to a weakness of unity faced with the AFL-CIO and the CIA. At the same time that Algeria was developing as a hot spot for the French, Kenya was becoming a symbol of independence from British rule. Between 1953 and 1957, the CIA worked behind the scenes to erode the influence of the British in African affairs by increasing CIA unilateral operations throughout Africa. Most of these operations were, again, with labor movements.

Besides supporting the "Mau Mau" war in Kenya in 1953 and 1954, the CIA began agitating in the ranks of Kenyan labor. The TUC adopted a paternalistic attitude towards trade union organizing in Kenya, hoping that events would not turn against them as it had against the more intransigent French. This was stated as the British concern for proper "trusteeship" which involved not only the achievement of independence, but also the "consequences of the transfer of power" in the colonies. This attitude left the field wide-open for American activity.

Among the followers of Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the Mau Mau, the CIA recruited Tom Mboya to organize the labor movement. Mboya drew upon the encouragement of the ICFTU, (and especially its American member — the AFL-CIO) trade union press for articles on the conditions of workers in Kenya to organize international help, including the TUC leadership. His Kenyan Federation of Labor (KFL) backed with both overt funds from the AFL-CIO and clandestine funds and advice from the CIA, soon gained strength and, unlike the French colonies, avoided a ban on its activities. Mboya then mounted a brilliant campaign for independence, with the KFL at the spearhead of that movement. With the assistance of his American friends, he marked the end of British influence on the ICFTU's colonial activities and brought the AFL-CIO to prominence in that organization. As a reward, he was helped to power when Kenya became independent. After

Kenya, the back of colonialism was broken in Africa, and the CIA, with the assistance of the now AFL-CIO dominated ICFTU, spread its organization of trade union protest movements throughout Africa. Thus came to a close the period of African independence from a predominantly European colonialism. Not that colonialism by European powers did not continue until present times, but independence from Europe ceased to be the primary objective of the independence movement as African and global politics reached a new stage.

For the Europeans this period demonstrated economic and political weaknesses brought by its unity with the United States — in such organizations as the ICFTU — and forced by a mutually conceived, but exaggerated Soviet threat. This was not the only dynamic affecting African trade union politics. Within the ICFTU there were four distinct interests. The changes in their relationship after Kenya brought about changes as qualitative as the earlier development within the WFTU which led to the ICFTU. The interests were the Americans; the imperialist Federations from France, Britain, and Belgium; neutralists from the North Atlantic countries, and the *newly developed countries*. The U.S., in helping to promote independence forces throughout Africa had sown the seeds for the development of Pan-African unity by the African powers which would soon surpass the significance of the American rise to power in the ICFTU.

Pan-Africanism had come to the attention of the U.S. government as early as 1947. In one secret cablegram obtained by the author from the National Archives and dated April 12, 1947, the U.S. Embassy in Paris warned the Secretary of State that "Pan-Africanism" was a threat second only to the Soviets. The cablegram equated Pan-Africanism with the "united front" tactics developed by the communists in 1935 to oppose Hitler and the rise of fascism. Fearing Pan-Africanism was just a "Trojan Horse," the author of the cable, who would a few months later join the CIA, believed that once Africa was united, the Soviets would just step in and assume control. He warned that, "*The spectacle of the 'Pan-African' conference of trade unions at Dakar April 10-13, organized by WFTU with the passive assistance of British and American labor, is a good example of how... energetic Communist organizers are busily attempting to construct trade union strongholds under Communist control or their partial direction in Belgian Congo (uranium), South Africa and the French territories.*" An examination of the historical events at that time reduces his warning to paranoid delusion, but it does indicate the prevailing attitudes towards African unity held by rabid anti-communists in our government at the time.

American policy had to respond to concrete political situations; by the late 1950's the CIA realized that it could not hope to influence African unions if it was unsympathetic to the major political movement on the continent. As the AFL-CIO gained prominence in the ICFTU, that organization decided to set up a regional organization for Africa, headquartered in Accra, Ghana. After Kenya, trade unionism had progressed throughout all of Africa, and a movement was developed under the leadership of Sekou Toure, of the Ivory Coast, for the

formation of an African federation. The effect was for the African trade unions to press for organizing their own organization. Thus the ICFTU was compelled to convene its first African Regional Conference in 1957. The chosen tactic, organized again by representatives of American labor and the ICFTU, (who were the CIA's principal agents in Africa) was to use the Ghana TUC, headed by John Tettegah, with its Pan-African appeal as the basis for activities in tropical Africa, and to use the Tunisian UGTT for North African action. But the proceedings were marked by bitter disagreement between the U.S. (these same CIA agents), British and French delegates. Under the leadership of Tettegah and the country's political and ideological leader Kwame Nkrumah, the conference passed resolutions noticeably more militant than at any European conference of the ICFTU. The importance of the Pan-African ideal was paramount.

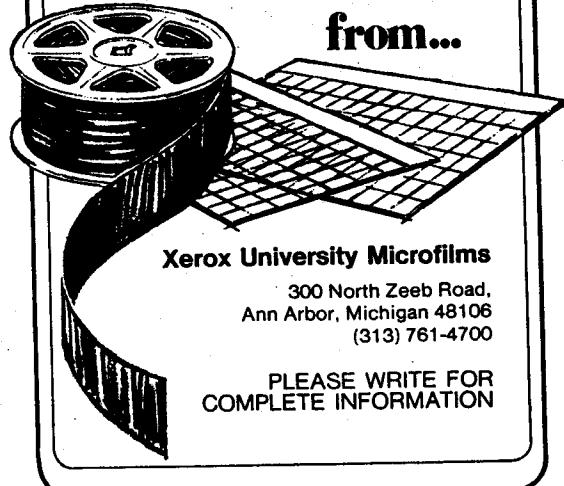
Although the CIA, AFL-CIO and ICFTU, and for that matter U.S. based corporate power, thought that it had effectively coopted the nationalist movement, events would soon shatter that dream. At the All-African People's Organization conference at Accra in December of 1958, a resolution was passed forming the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF). Taking a revolutionary and militant stance, the organization came to represent Nkrumah's militant position in the Pan-African movement.

Nkrumah was the first African leader to articulate a warning that U.S. monopolies were infiltrating the

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African economies and replacing European colonial rule. He called such a development "neocolonialism" noting that, while the newly emerging African countries were gaining political independence, they remained economically dependent upon U.S. aid, the investments of the new American corporations, and continued but weakened trade with their former masters.

With such an analysis, the Ghanaian leadership led the growth of an African trade union center independent of East or West. AATUF was joined by the earliest attempt at Pan-African organizing — the UGTAN of Sekou Toure, which formed in former French colonies, other CGT affiliates in Central Africa and Madagascar, and finally by the West African unions in former British colonies.

At the same time another non-aligned federation developed in North Africa and the Middle East. Based in Cairo, the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, along with the AATUF, became the focus of failing adventures by the East and the West to capture their respective spheres of influence. But history was on the side of the lesser-developed nations.

By adapting rapidly to the changed situation, the by now entirely communist WFTU was able to cut its losses and to avoid a disaster similar to that which overtook the ICFTU under AFL-CIO leadership in the early 1960's. Where the WFTU failed was that its aid was even less geared to African conditions than the ICFTU's, and the emphasis on prestige visits to Eastern Europe brought many tourists but produced few tangible results.

The ICFTU, AFL-CIO and U.S. foreign policy pursued a course to pressure the African unions to commit themselves to rigid cold war positions. When this did not occur, the CIA escalated its operations to include assassinations of African political leaders and military coup d'états. Eventually Nkrumah was overthrown and the AFL-CIO mounted a global propaganda campaign praising this event. For the most part these actions failed to achieve any strength for the ICFTU.

The CIA worked behind the scenes during 1959 and 1960, six years before the Nkrumah overthrow, to sabotage Pan-African unity in the AATUF, while the AFL-CIO mounted a world campaign to denounce the AATUF as communist manipulated. In November of 1960, the third ICFTU Regional Conference established an African Regional Organization in Lagos, Nigeria, which was now the focus of ICFTU operations. The AFRO produced propaganda declaring that AATUF trade unions were "arms of government administration" and that the governments concerned "were vigorously employing money and questionable forms of inducements to force similar arrangements upon other African states." The AFL-CIO responded and changed the attack in their trade union press articles to reflect that now the problem with the AATUF was too close an involvement with government, rather than the earlier absurd charge of communist affiliation.

Then at the 1961 AATUF conference at Casablanca, the CIA was forced to resort to dirty tricks to make the conference messy and inconsequential. But the AATUF members were able to recover establish their own political economic strength in the face of efforts both overt by the AFL-CIO, now in control of the ICFTU, and

covertly by the CIA to attract African unions to cold war positions. Against this background, the issue of international affiliation simply underlined the differences between unions struggling under hostile or unsympathetic governments (those in the ICFTU) and those which saw their future in working out a social policy within the full context of their nations.

Finally in January, 1962, many of the ICFTU affiliates along with those affiliated to the trade union center of religious believers formed the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC). However loud the demonstrations by the ATUC that it was independent of both foreign influence and native government control, the exercise was clearly a holding operation. It was a clear demonstration that the former ICFTU unions wanted to be independent but, there was little chance of the ATUC competing with the strength of the AATUF.

As more colonies became independent and unions were absorbed into party machinery, the face of African trade union politics accordingly changed. The AATUF, far from weakening under the competition from ATUC, grew. The CIA tried to support the ambitions of Bourguiba to take over the AATUF with a view of African dictatorship, as well as a similar move by Nasser in the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, but these moves also failed. The disaffiliation of the KFL in November, 1965 brought to an end the ICFTU decade in Africa.

With the ICFTU's declining influence, the Americans began to lose interest in it as a weapon for the anti-communist crusade and the march for corporate empire. By March 1965, an open breach developed between Omer Beccu and George Meany — who both for many years acted together in collusion with the CIA, but were not opposed to each others positions. A few years later the AFL-CIO would disaffiliate from the ICFTU while it experienced an internal debate which included differences over foreign policy, including work with the CIA. While the Americans and British labor barons were arguing among themselves, and the encroachment of U.S. based multinationals corporations into the African economies were consummated, the Pan-African response grew and the CIA was preparing to meet its new responsibilities as the Safari made camp.

### The AFL-CIA's Role in Neo-Colonial Africa

African political leaders from Nkrumah to Amilcar Cabral, the late leader and theoretician from Guinea Bissau who was assassinated by Portuguese colonialists, have all called the transnational corporations, especially those based in the U.S., and their relationship to their countries and to much of the rest of the Third World, *neo-colonialism*. Classical colonialism, they note, was a system of direct domination by political power composed of elements — military, police, administrative elements and settlers — *foreign* to a dominated people. The purpose of these foreign agents, and the system they represent, was to paralyze the development of the subjugated people, to boldly plunder their resources for the development of the "mother country." Neo-colonialism, on the other hand, is a system of indirect domination by political power composed of elements *native* to the Third

World, but who serve foreign powers. Geopolitically, colonialism was the strategy of the European powers towards Africa, and neo-colonialism became the strategy of the U.S. foreign policy. The native elements under neo-colonialism are organized into two sectors; the compradore class of national political and economic leaders (many of whom were the leaders of the struggle for independence from European colonialism) and a labor aristocracy united with the compradore national leaders. Neo-colonialism is a more complicated system in which countries may be politically independent, at least of direct foreign rule, but who are economically dependent upon aid from the U.S. government and other institutions, as well as the investments of the U.S. based corporations. It is also a system in which all the vestiges of colonial economic relations are not totally destroyed but rearranged to benefit the new system's needs. It is a deception systematically practiced by the empire-seeking corporations, which create, under the guise of politically independent states, states which are wholly dependent upon the corporate powers — in most situations the U.S. acting around and through the old European powers — financially and militarily.

Neo-colonialism is also a period in which the political orientation of the subjugated people has changed as qualitatively as that of the subjugators. Neo-colonialism is marked by spectacular storm centers of national liberation movements and revolutionary upsurge. As corporate power moved from colonial Europe to neo-colonial America, the political ideology of African's changed from independence to Pan-Africanism. Then, as neo-colonialism was consolidated during the sixties and seventies, the African political spectrum progressed from the simple Pan-Africanist approach of the Toure's and the Nkrumah's to the spontaneous practice of the Congolese rebels to the sophisticated Marxist-Leninist techniques of the Cabral's and the revolutionary movements of the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

In response to these two developments, which together comprise neo-colonialism, the security responsibilities of neo-colonialist instruments, including the CIA, changed. In the first period the CIA, in support of independence movements and their trade union sectors, served as scout for the U.S. corporate power's penetration of Africa. During this next period, the CIA served as a secret political police to consolidate and continue that corporate power's influence in the region. The role changed from supporting insurgency to countering insurgency, as CIA techniques changed from simple propaganda campaigns and pay-offs to rebel leaders to covert paramilitary suppression of rebellions — such as the Congo — and assistance for coup d'etats and assassinations to sophisticated programs engineered to manipulate African society. CIA labor operations continued to be a most important elements of this new neo-colonialist program.

In the first period, CIA labor operations were used to build trade unions as protest movements for national independence. During this new period, trade unions were supported to counter new social movements. The objectives of the neo-colonial CIA labor operations were to (1) provide a profitable investment climate for the U.S.

corporations penetration of the African economy, especially in the sectors of mining, agriculture and in labor-intensive trades such as garment manufacturing, (2) support a trade balance in favor of the U.S. corporations over the African states and (3) manipulate the migration and population of the African workforce.

To do this the CIA, and U.S. corporate policy, needed a new instrument which could effect this strategy under the new conditions in African politics and economics. In 1965, the CIA created the African-American Labor Center (AALC). Kwame Nkrumah has this to say of the AALC in his book *New-Colonialism The Last State of Imperialism*. . . . "the ICFTU, now apparently being superseded by the New York Africa-American Labor Center (AALC), under AFL-CIO chief George Meany and the well-known CIA man in labor's top echelons, Irving Brown . . . set up . . . right across the river from the United Nations."

"As a steadfast champion of national independence, democracy and social justice," the April 1965 Bulletin put out by this Centre unblushingly stated 'the AFL-CIO will strengthen its efforts to assist the advancement of the economic conditions of the African peoples. Toward this end, steps have been taken to expand assistance to the African free trade unions by organizing the African American Labour Centre. Such assistance will help African Labour play a vital role in the economic and democratic upbuilding of their countries.'"

The March issue of this Bulletin, however, gave the game away: In mobilizing capital resources for investment in Workers Education, Vocational Training, Co-operatives, Health Clinics and Housing, the Centre will work with both private and public institutions. It will also encourage labour-management co-operation to expand African capital investment in the African nations.' The italics are mine. Could anything be plainer?"

Since February 1965, the AALC has undertaken hundreds of projects in over 35 African countries designed to develop a labor leadership which would co-operate with the management of the U.S. based transnational corporations. The programs have fallen into the following major areas of activity: workers education and leadership training, vocational training, cooperatives and credit unions, social services, information and communications, and study tours and visitors programs.

AALC's workers education and leadership training involves the training of trade union leaders in a complex theory of labor-management relations which stresses negotiation rather than struggle. The trade union leaders are taught the administrative techniques of unions operating on this theory — a theory originally developed by the old AFL and called "business unionism or Gomperism." They are also taught the labor law of their respective countries, collective bargaining, developmental economics and other related subjects. Whereas this theory of union organizing may have been correct for the United States, in the lesser developed world the net effect of training in these techniques has been the development of a labor aristocracy more responsive to the foreign based corporations rather than to their membership.

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A listing of the AALC's programs reveals the extent of this effort. In Lagos Nigeria, the AALC founded the Trade Union Institute for Economic and Social Development which, since 1965, has trained over 5,000 officers and members of the Nigerian trade unions. The Ghana Labour College, which has accepted contributions from the AALC since 1968, has trained trade union leaders from over 20 countries in Africa and almost 10,000 have taken residential or extramural courses. In Botswana, the Trade Union Education Centre has trained over 1,000 trade unionists. In Ethiopia, AALC has contributed to the Ethiopian Labor Education Program, which since 1968 has trained over 1,000 Ethiopian trade unionists at seminars and an additional 70,000 workers and their families have been reached through audio visual and other special propaganda programs. In Zaire, AALC has worked closely with the national trade union center since 1965 and approximately 7,500 workers representatives have participated in AALC seminars in every province of Zaire. And in Angola, AALC worked with two Angolan trade union organizations based in Zaire rather than the war-torn nation. In all these programs, development economics has been emphasized. Through several special economic conferences and research seminars, AALC sought to encourage recognition of the role of labor in providing a profitable investment climate for foreign capital. AALC established the Regional Economic Research and Documentation Center in Lome, Togo to effectively train trade union leaders in collective bargaining and decision making. Through all these programs the AALC has been able to create a vast infrastructure of a labor aristocracy in Africa.

The AALC was also committed to vocational training as an integral part of neo-colonialist development of the labor-intensive trades. The Institute of Tailoring and Cutting, founded in Nairobi in 1963, has been administered by the AALC since 1966. AALC has also involved itself with printers training in Nairobi working with the Kenya Polytechnic Institute, training hundreds of students in letter-press and offset as well as photography and darkroom techniques. The Nigeria Drivers and Mechanics Vocational School in Lagos, founded in 1963 with assistance from the AFL-CIO and the International Transport Workers Federation and advised by the AALC since 1966, trains Nigerians for employment in the transport industry, a vital service to the new foreign based corporations which have entered the Nigerian economy. Over 600 students have obtained jobs with these companies and the Nigerian government. In Ethiopia, the AALC offered in-service vocation training in automechanics and the building trades and, recently, in electronics.

The Institute of Tailoring and Design in Dakar, Senegal was formed with the French FO's Institute Syndical de Cooperation (ISC), training many students in tailoring, cutting and dressmaking. In Swaziland, AALC vocational training programs have enabled hundreds of students annually to acquire vocational training and to join the labor force as semi-skilled workers or to go on for more advanced skills. Vocational training has been given in the Central African Republic, Chad, Niger, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia. It is in-

teresting to note that vocational training has only been given in those trade union sectors developed by neo-colonialist penetration of Africa, another indication that, for the AALC, trade union development can only be linked to U.S. corporate investment.

Cooperatives and Credit Unions have been promoted as a key segment of AALC's producing of a trade union aristocracy. The Pan-African Cooperative Training Center, founded in 1968 in Cotonou, Dahomey, is the AALC's major coop facility. The Center has provided training in cooperative's to hundreds of officials in the French-speaking countries. For trade unions in the English speaking countries, a special study program on cooperatives was organized at the Cooperative School in Ibadan, Nigeria. Credit union and cooperative development programs are also conducted in east Africa, especially in Ethiopia. In Nigeria, AALC helped build a new headquarters for their credit and cooperative association and a nationwide cooperative training program was undertaken in Zaire. In total, the cooperatives and credit union do provide a higher standard of living for those who undergo the training.

In the area of social services AALC has provided medical care, maternal and child welfare, literacy and housing programs for their trainees. AALC has provided fully equipped mobile medical and dental clinics for preventive health care, immunization against disease, and walk-in examination clinics and labs. Pharmaceuticals, medical equipment and stationary clinics have also been supplied. AALC has also used the clinics for rural medicine which has included neo-Malthusian family planning. AALC has undertaken programs with many African unions and governments to increase the level of literacy, but only as an adjunct to workers' education and the vocational training programs. The elimination of functionally illiteracy was thus geared to the workers' particular job. And low-cost housing has been provided only to trade union leadership. For instance, in Ghana the AALC helped build 136 housing units in 1970.

One of the most powerful areas of AALC's role in neo-colonialism is in communications and the dissemination of information. In the old days, the covert financing of the trade union press was one of the keystones of successful propaganda campaigns for independence. Under neo-colonialism, the trade union press became a means for the newly developed trade union leadership to give their opinions to their members and to the world. AALC has worked closely with almost all African unions in the production of their newspapers. Their training of printers in Nairobi was an adjunct to this program, and additional labor journalists have come to the United States for practical study. Besides its own publication, and those of the unions it supports, AALC established the Pan-African Trade Union Information Center in Kinshasha, Zaire in 1972. The PATUIC trains press officers in all phases of editing and publishing labor news. And the African Labor History Center as created to preserve and disseminate historical information on the rapidly growing labor movement, but only as the AALC understands this history. In effect, these overt trade union publications have replaced the old covert propaganda of earlier CIA labor operations.

The AALC has also provided programs for African trade unionists to visit the United States and meet their counterparts in the AFL-CIO. Hundreds of trade unionists have attended conventions of the AFL-CIO, visited international and local offices of AFL-CIO affiliates, met with representatives of our government at all levels and observed American labor programs. Many of these tours are designed to help prepare them to take over the management of AALC projects and training institutions. One of the most important of these programs is the Trade Union Program at Harvard University.

In developing this trade union aristocracy which follows a theory of trade unionism stressing cooperation with corporations, the AALC has worked closely with the AFL-CIO as well as the ITS's of the ICFTU. Among them are the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions, the International Federation of Journalists, and the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers. AALC has worked with the FO's front in Africa, the ISC, and has received funds for its operations from the transnational corporations, the AFL-CIO, the governments of African nations, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Agency for International Development. Although most of its activities have been of an overt nature — reflecting the deceptive strategy of neo-colonialism — the Central Intelligence Agency — in the labor branch of the Covert Action Staff of the Directorate of Operations (dirty tricks department) — has controlled and manipulated the AALC programs in all areas.

A look at the leadership of the AALC reveals the close connection between the AALC and the CIA. The Executive Director of the AALC until 1974 was Irving Brown. Irving Brown began his career as a lieutenant in a band of former members of the U.S. Communist party who became vehement anti-communists in the late 1930's and who then offered their services to labor leaders in the AFL to fight organized Communism in the unions. They first worked in the United Auto Workers for a faction of that union headed by a conservative Home Martin. Martin immediately came under the influence of the band's leader, Jay Lovestone, who soon developed a program of labelling anyone who opposed Martin's rule as a "communist." After Martin resorted to gun-play to preserve his hold on the union, he, along with Lovestone and Brown, were purged.

Next Brown, and the Lovestonites, as they were called, traveled to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union headed by David Dubinsky. Working out of the ILGWU's International Relations Department, the Lovestonites were instrumental in placing several of their members in the OSS Labor Branch under Arthur Goldberg. By the end of the war, Brown was working with the Foreign Economic Administration as Director of the Labor and Manpower Division and was our government's direct liaison with the European labor movement. In this capacity he worked quite closely with the remainder of the OSS, which still worked with the labor resistance. In 1945, Lovestone and Dubinsky formed the Free Trade Union Committee with George Meany, President of the AFL's blessing. The FTUC became the link between the wartime OSS labor operations and the

post-war CIA labor operations.

In France Brown, as head of the FTUC, organized the Fource Ouvriere from among the smugglers of the Marseilles docks. He then went on to help the FO sabotage the CGT and force compliance with the Marshall Plan. In Greece the FTUC, under Brown's guidance, helped organize the CIA's covert take-over of that country. In Germany, he helped organize leftists, but anti-communists, unions to further the goals of U.S. corporations penetration of the war-torn German economy. Brown helped divide the WFTU and to form the ICFTU. He was the CIA contact who recruited Hached and Bourgiba in Tunisia and went on to organize the Moroccan UMT and gave clandestine support to the Algerian trade unions. He was the major instrument of the ICFTU throughout Africa, including Kenya and Ghana, and finally he became the leader of the AALC.

Although Brown has been known to be with the CIA since the days when the French barred him from Algeria, he has still managed to operate with relative free reign over most of Africa. The key to understanding this is to realize that although African political leaders had become opposed to neo-colonialism they were not necessarily opposed to Western economic assistance as long as the assistance was given freely and without conditions committing the African nations to a course they did not want to pursue. But neo-colonialism is a deceptive strategy. By means of "Agreements on monetary and financial cooperation," U.S. banks have succeeded in keeping all financial and monetary undertakings of the African countries under their own control. At the same time, Sterling and Franc zones were created to control foreign and African currency reserves, aid had been increased. AALC technical assistance, training and social services are but a small portion of this aid and assistance.

Examining the balance-sheet of this "cooperation," it is obvious that the U.S., and its European allies have profited at African expense. While government aid has diminished, private investments and assistance, such as that of AALC, has increased in the last decade. Private investment by multinational corporations has more than doubled, and there are more than 2,000 subsidiaries or branches of U.S. or Western corporations in Africa.

Trade relations have also been in the favor of the U.S. corporations during this period. The price of goods imported to Africa from these global corporations has risen astronomically, while the purchasing power of African currency reserves has diminished. The total value of the African debt has also increased. Prices for produce, on the other hand, which is vital to the African economy, have dropped. The capital interest rate of U.S. controlled banks has increased to be the highest in the world. The results of all this is an extremely weak industry and agriculture incapable of a modern and productive development, in short, underdevelopment, unemployment, under-employment in vital sectors, and massive migration in search of employment. This is the result of the expansion of the U.S. based transnational corporations capital investments in the African nations, which AALC encourages through labor-management cooperation.

Besides the investment and trade issues, AALC helps

enforce neo-colonialism through its effects on migration and population. During the independence period and since, there emerged for the first time in Africa, a population of refugees who were forced from their home country for political reasons. They either became refugees as a direct result of military conflict or from the recurrent internal instability of African nations. Another large form of migration developed since 1971, and is associated with the drought zone of the Sahel, extending eastwards from Senegal along the southern margins of the Sahara Desert to Ethiopia and southwards from there into Kenya and Tanzania. This region is the scene of massive starvation and millions have been forced to flee.

This migration has come to the attention of the AALC's special research centers. Although AALC, and the CIA, is that this migration will add to their problems in forestalling revolution in Africa.

Revolution in Africa against neo-colonialism has always been geared to agrarian production rather than industrial production, due to the relative inability of U.S. corporations to build up the industrial sector. Plantations, as well as mines, were the basis of colonial exploitation in Africa and were the basis of early U.S. corporate replacement of the colonial capital investment. It is the peasants from the plantations which have provided the armies for revolutionary movements from Tunisia to Mozambique and Angola. While AALC has concentrated on the development of urban trade union elites it has ignored the rural masses in the hope that denying the peasants organization will deny them mechanisms to agitate for social change. The rural population of Africa has little or no bargaining power to achieve improvements in their working or living conditions. Cooperatives are small and impotent and are made to serve the interests of the landowners — whether the vestiges of colonial plantation owners or the new agribusiness tracts of the large corporations. Persecution by rural police and corporate spies, assassinations and other forms of brutal political repression render ineffective more rural organizing. Migration of foreign populations into new territories looking for work only adds to the conflict as the peasantry is multiplied and then divided by racial, religious and national issues. But all AALC can offer is easy technical solutions to the problem rather than socio-political solutions. While in the other AALC and CIA labor operations enforcement of neo-colonialism is an act of commission, this final area of enforcing the migration and population attitudes of the corporations is more an act of omission. On balance, AALC's efforts to develop an urban trade union aristocracy centered in large scale labor intensive industry does not solve the problems of the majority of the African people who are peasants. They do not serve the rise in expectations for rural employment and, on the contrary, are only adding to the problems of African unemployment.

While such an attitude by American labor and the CIA does benefit the short-term goals of the global tycoons, it also adds to their long-term problems. Neo-colonialism is marked not only by the increase in U.S. economic hegemony in Africa but also by the rising expectations of the rural masses. The rural worker is in-

telligent and has learned of agrarian reforms, revolution, higher incomes and the better living conditions of the urban workers, and is aware of the false promises of land and better wages by political parties and governments influenced by the labor leaders trained by AALC. This is why Africa is, today, seething with peasant activity. The revolutions in the former Portuguese colonies are but one example of this activity which includes land invasions, strikes and other forms of mass rebellions, even in those areas where AALC enjoys its greatest influence.

Because of this, AALC has in recent years become increasingly preoccupied with political concerns rather than the requirements of training and social programs as in its earlier years. Of prime concern to AALC, now that the Portuguese have been defeated, is the situation in Southern Africa.

U.S. corporate policy towards Africa in recent years has reflected the Nixon Doctrine of dividing Africa into three regional interests; North Africa being considered in Middle East policy decisions, the Sahel being largely ignored except for the migration of rural workers from this area; and South Africa, which has become the focal point of U.S. military strategies for the Indian Ocean. South Africa plays an important part of U.S. policy to continue control over the Indian ocean, and the great fear is that revolution will develop in South Africa or that the newly formed black nations to the North will wage war against the white minority regimes in the South.

Leading an effort to undermine the racist policies of South Africa and Rhodesia, the AFL-CIO and the AALC have drawn attention to the possibility of communism developing in the area. By communism, they mean national liberation, which would replace the present neo-colonial relationships. Irving Brown, in testimony before Congress in 1973, stated, "*Unless we of the 'Free World' can condemn and fight African apartheid, there is real danger that liberal and non-communist forces will be unable to cope in the future with the situation through lack of support and may be superceded completely by the totalitarian forces of both sides. This will increase the chances of violence and aggression, involving the rest of Africa, while opening the door to the very forces which the makers of U.S. foreign policy claim is threatening the peace of the world, in so-called 'Wars of National Liberation.'*"

Although AALC's campaign to terminate apartheid in South Africa has had some recent successes in a loosening of restrictions on race relations, union organizing, and the announced policy of "Detente" towards the newly formed African states to the north, it remains to be seen whether Brown's more subtle strategies can do more than open repression and apartheid to turn the tide of national liberation. With the successes of the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau now energizing the peasant masses of Southern Africa and other African areas, it is obvious that a new chapter in African history is unfolding.

The forces of neo-colonialism are still strong. New development plans are appearing daily. The AALC is increasing its commitment to stemming the tide of revolution, and the probability is that for another generation the forces of national liberation will be less

powerful than these new measures by organizations like the AALC. Throughout the world the forces of neo-colonialism have reorganized their institutions to meet the new threats to their position and they are well equipped with new strategies and tactics for dealing with the intensification of national liberation movements.

Because of this, the new chapter in African history may turn more on the efforts of the supporters of African liberation in Europe and America acting in concert with the militancy of African peasants and workers. An escalation in African liberation support movements' demands, like the abolishment of instruments like the CIA, and more particularly the AALC, may prove as significant as the American and world anti-war

movement did to the gaining of national independence and freedom in Indochina. As the first stage of the AFL-CIA's safari was characterized by the polarity of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in concert against the European powers colonial attitudes; the second stage characterized by the growing weakness on the part of the colonial European's; the third stage characterized by the rise in Pan-Africanism and neo-colonialism; the next stage may be dominated by agitation in the U.S. and Europe against neo-colonialism, the strategy of the U.S.-based transnational corporations' search for empire and their instruments, the CIA, and the AALC. This new stage may witness the withdrawal of the AFL-CIA's African Safari.

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## THE ASSASSINATION TAPES

George O'Toole  
Penthouse Press Ltd., New York (\$8.95)

Critical researchers have been working for years to crack open the conspiracy which successfully assassinated President John F. Kennedy, and their work has not been in vain. Recent polls show that eighty percent of the people do not believe the official conclusion that only one man pulled off the "crime of the century."

The assassination critics have demolished the credibility of the Warren Commission's conclusions. Like the probers who exposed the Watergate affair, they've chipped away at the cover-up. Concentrating on its inconsistencies and contradictions, they've shown it to

be implausible and blatantly distorted. So who killed Kennedy? The government says Lee Harvey Oswald did it. The critics say perhaps, but not alone. And now, along comes a former CIA official armed with the latest technological truth detector to tell us that Lee was as innocent as he himself insisted in his last hours.

"LEE HARVEY OSWALD WAS INNOCENT" was the way I first came across the story. The slogan was plastered on the side of a bus, advertising an article in *Penthouse Magazine*. It was, as I later learned, a distillation of a book by George O'Toole, a computer specialist who once worked as chief of the CIA's Problems Analysis branch. *The Assassination Tapes* makes a very simple and compelling argument based on a rather creative experiment in which the recorded

statements of Lee Harvey Oswald and other principals in the Kennedy assassination drama were measured by a controversial machine called the Psychological Stress Evaluator (PSE). It concludes that Oswald was truthful and that others are still lying, 11 years after the deed.

At the time of his arrest, Lee Harvey Oswald told newsmen that he was not being charged with killing the President, and had not, in fact, killed him. That statement was recorded in the tense and crowded corridor of the Dallas Police Headquarters. O'Toole has taken those tapes and run them through the PSE, looking for indications that Oswald was lying.

Every voice has in it a subtle physiological tremor, a natural vibration that disappears to a fluctuating extent in conditions of stress. High stress suggests outright lying; low stress indicates truthfulness. *Oswald's tapes show no stress.*

O'Toole's method is that of the scientist; his book, that of the mystery writer. In this case, the combination works nicely, making for a readable story, popularly presented, and yet with an empirical base so often missing in the work of polemicists. Studies like his add overall credibility to the case for a conspiracy, if only because O'Toole is careful to discuss the strengths and limits of the PSE as an investigative tool. (Some polygraph experts criticize it.) He avoids polemical asides and labels his own theories as such and not as fact; and he doesn't indulge his conspiratorial imagination as some of the more irresponsible ~~researchers~~ do regularly.

O'Toole's investigation took him back to Dallas for interviews with police officials and some eyewitnesses. He subjected some of their responses to the same PSE test he used with Oswald's tapes.

They revealed that many were covering up their own role in the affair, and perhaps the conspiracy itself. I personally enjoyed his account of the hunt for witnesses and the problems he encountered in trying to do some fresh sleuthing on a ground that has been gone over so repeatedly.

Since O'Toole realizes that the accuracy of the PSE is up for question, he devotes considerable space to airing the controversy about its capabilities and trustworthiness. He persuades us that the instrument is useful, and even produces a statement from one L.H. Hitchcock, who is identified as a highly esteemed former polygraph operator for the Army. Hitchcock went over the data and concluded: "My PSE analysis of those recordings indicates very clearly that Oswald believed he was telling the truth when he denied killing the President. Assuming that he was not suffering from a psychopathological condition that made him ignorant of his own actions, I can state, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Lee Harvey Oswald did not kill President Kennedy, and did not shoot anyone else."

*The Assassination Tapes* has a theory of its own about who Oswald was and what he was doing in Dallas. By sifting through the Warren Commission testimony, O'Toole advances the theory that Oswald was an informer for the FBI. In fact, material released to the press just before O'Toole's book was published by assassination researcher Harold Weisberg indicates that there was nothing very theoretical about the link between

Oswald and the FBI. What's more interesting, in my view, is still quite theoretical: Just why was the President killed? Who ordered it? How did they so effectively cover it up? O'Toole doesn't attempt an answer for these questions. But perhaps it is just as well. The very limits of O'Toole's book strengthen its arguments and makes it important reading.

In a recent interview with R.D. Rosen of the *Boston Phoenix* (May 27, 1975), O'Toole offered some interesting sidelights about how the scientific wing of the CIA interlinks with the operational side, and how fiction sometimes inspires reality:

*I started work in March of 1966, working mainly as chief of their Problems Analysis Branch in the Intelligence Directorate (one of the four CIA directorates — the other three being the Plans Directorate, the Support Directorate and the Directorate of Science and Technology). I did computer analyses of raw intelligence information towards producing finished analytic intelligence, using the computer as an aid to drawing conclusions and often statistical probabilities. The Intelligence Directorate is like a big newspaper, but the amount of data coming in daily is several orders of magnitude greater than what comes across the wire services at a paper. We'd get this together to figure out, for example, who's likely to have the power in Saudi Arabia now that Faisal is dead. Most of what I worked on related to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and mainland China. That's the kind of electronic detective work we were doing. I didn't own a trenchcoat.*

*We had no request for domestic intelligence work, but that doesn't mean they weren't doing it. The Records Integration Division was the operational people's equivalent of the Intelligence Directorate's office of Central Reference, where my branch was. So these are guys who, because it was all so super-sensitive, would do all their own computer-processing and had their own computer and we couldn't even get into the room. It was completely separate. This was where Sy Hersh's 10,000 files would have been.*

*I knew about these other people because they were always bugging me about things. These are the folks who put together the Mission Impossible devices. As a matter of fact, they would send old tapes of Mission Impossible shows to CIA stations in Liberia, for example, for morale purposes. Now, one of these guys from the Records Integration Division took me on a tour — of course they didn't show me everything — but they showed me cameras that didn't make a sound when the shutter closed, and they're experts on audio surveillance. Anyway, this guy was saying that the agents in the field see Mission Impossible and say, "Why can't we have that?" And the next thing they knew they were getting formal requests at RID for something they saw on the show. I thought that was kind of jolly.*

*Well, several years later, after I was working with Colonel Bell, one of the inventors of the Psychological Stress Evaluator, and my work with it was well-known, I was home and a friend of mine called me and he said, "Turn on channel 5 right now — Mission Impossible's got a Psychological Stress Evaluator on it." I said, "What are you talking about?" This was a rerun of Mission Impossible, since it had been off the air for several years, and I turned on the television and sure enough, there was PSE — physically — being used by the Mission Impossible team. What the devil is this? So I called Colonel Bell and told him about it and he said, "Yeah, after I left the Army I was technical adviser for the show."*

Oh, by the way, like such well known ex-CIA types as Howard Hunt and Victor Marchetti, O'Toole has ventilated his conspiratorial imagination by writing fiction. His *Agent on the Other Side* (David McKay, 1973) is described as a spy story with an occult twist.

— Danny Schechter  
Boston 1975

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Besides increasing your personal involvement via the many suggestions contained in this edition, the following are also ways you can help.

We view ourselves, and this quarterly journal, as part of that solution, but we need you also. Much of this issue of Counter-Spy presents components of the solution as we now see it.

It takes only a few seconds to decide if you are going to continue to support the problem or join us in the solution.

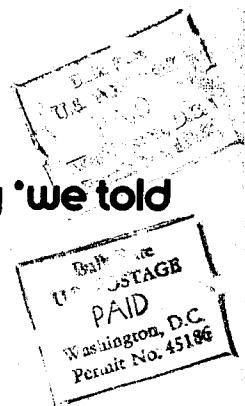
The struggle has now moved to a new stage throughout the nation, but we still need your continued participation with Counter-Spy. We need your increased participation in our effort.

People we can depend upon for survival and growth are those involved in our struggle. This may sound rather nebulous, but reading this journal and other materials is the first step towards involvement in the struggle-educated oneself and friends.

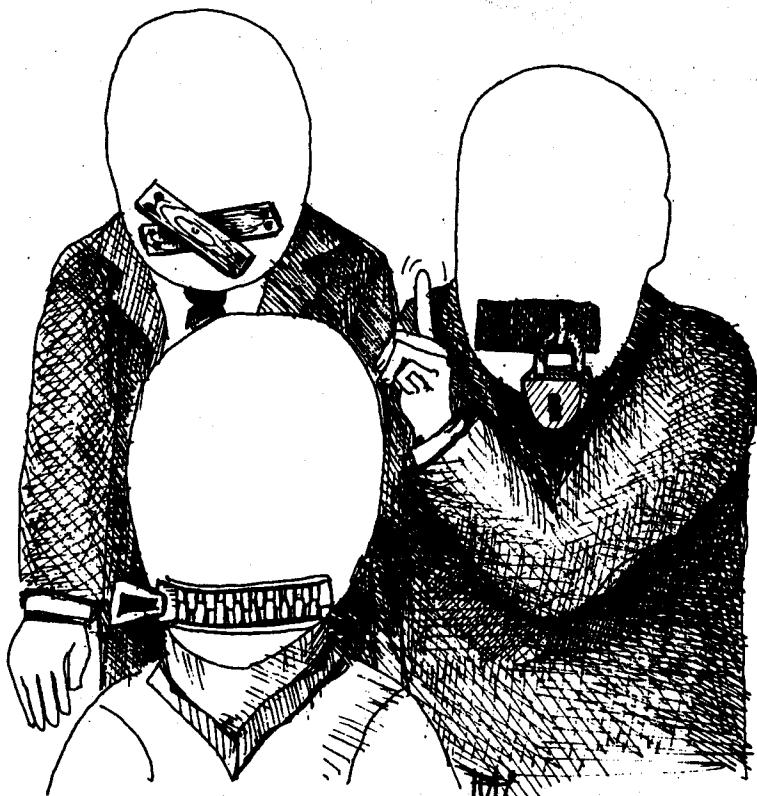
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