

ccw

# Terrorism in Miami Counterspy

## ECONOMIC WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA



Photo: Joy Hackel

**Also in this issue:** Secret U.S. Bases in Honduras • CIA, Vatican and Nazis • Reagan's Censorship Law • U.S. Nuclear Weapons in West Germany • Philippines Interview: From "Queen of the Pacific" to Political Activist • TNT: Israeli Terror Group • FY85 Pentagon Budget: Space War and Third World Intervention

# Counterspy Statement of Purpose

The United States emerged from World War II as the world's dominant political and economic power. To conserve and enhance this power, the U.S. government created a variety of institutions to secure dominance over "free world" nations which supply U.S. corporations with cheap labor, raw materials, and markets. A number of these institutions, some initiated jointly with allied Western European governments, have systematically violated the fundamental rights and freedoms of people in this country and the world over. Prominent among these creations was the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), born in 1947.

Since 1973, Counterspy magazine has exposed and analyzed such intervention in all its facets: covert CIA operations, U.S. interference in foreign labor movements, U.S. aid in creating foreign intelligence agencies, multinational corporations-intelligence agency link-ups, and World Bank assistance for counterinsurgency, to name but a few. Our view is that while CIA operations have been one of the most infamous forms of intervention, the CIA is but one strand in a complex web of interference and control.

Our motivation for publishing Counterspy has been two-fold:

- People in the United States have the right and need to know the scope and nature of their government's abrogation of U.S. and other citizens' rights and liberties in order to defend themselves and most effectively change the institutions.
- People in other countries, often denied access to information, can better protect their own rights and bring about necessary change when equipped with such information.

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# News NOT in the News

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## TNT: Israeli Terror Group

Fatmeh Abu Shusheh, a Palestinian woman who lives in the village of Husan on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, opened her door on the morning of December 12, 1983, and was startled by the sound of something falling. Seconds after she slammed the iron door shut, a booby-trapped Israeli Army issue hand grenade exploded through it and shattered the windows of the house. Abu Shusheh's quick action had saved her from serious injury. Israeli soldiers later found and defused two other grenades, primed to go off and hidden in rock piles in the village. An anonymous caller from a group calling itself "Terror Against Terror" (TNT in the Hebrew acronym) claimed responsibility for the attack and warned that "our next targets are [Labor Party member of parliament] Yossi Sarid and [former general and Peace Now activist] Matti Peled." (Peace Now is the largest Israeli anti-war group.)

Three days earlier, the same TNT group put the torch to six Palestinian cars in al-Thowri, southeast of Jerusalem, three of which were totally destroyed. TNT claimed credit in a call to Israel Army Radio. Residents of the area complained that the municipal fire brigade arrived only after 45 minutes, leaving them to fight the blaze with hoses and buckets of water. When the police arrived, one resident said, they "tried to make it look like an ordinary criminal act, when it is clearly a planned act of sabotage." Israeli soldiers, who soon joined the police, were reportedly more interested in the political graffiti scrawled on the walls than in the burning cars. "The Israeli Army and police make every effort to arrest Palestinian stone-throwers, and youths who write graffiti," one Palestinian car owner said, "but no Israeli vigilante has been arrested."

Indeed, although Terror Against Terror carried out 14 attacks against Arab and non-Jewish religious targets in late 1983 and early

1984, no one had been arrested. TNT had set five hand grenades outside three Christian and one Muslim religious institution in Jerusalem on December 9; set fire to three Arab-owned cars in East Jerusalem on December 21; placed booby-trapped grenades that exploded at the entrances of two mosques in Hebron, an Arab town in the West Bank, on December 30; and set off a grenade at the entrance of a Russian Orthodox convent on January 15. One nun and three Muslim imams (religious leaders) have been injured in the attacks.

These terrorist attacks have provoked a mixed response in Israel. Member of Parliament Yossi Sarid, one of TNT's announced targets, demanded on December 13 that the government acknowledge the existence of (in the words of a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report) "a rightwing Jewish underground movement bent on terrorizing Arabs." But the following day, Israeli Police Minister Yosef Burg told Israel Radio that "until we catch them we cannot say if they are really Jewish, if they are a group." He said that his department was investigating the possibility that the attackers were actually Arabs. Other high level government figures made comments in the same vein. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told the press on January 11, 1984, "I cannot say anything definite...." when asked to confirm or deny the existence of a Jewish underground terror group. Defense Minister Moshe Arens, in remarks addressed to fellow Likud party members on January 3, said that Israeli society had not created the tools with which to cope with the TNT group.

Meanwhile, a poll conducted by the Jerusalem Post in early January 1984 found that although the majority of Israeli Jews oppose the creation of a Jewish group such as TNT to "fight terror with terror," a large minority — 18.7 percent — favored the idea. Among those polled who are supporters of the ruling Likud party, the number was even higher: one out of four, 26.2 percent, supported TNT's terrorist actions.

There are conflicting reports on the origin of TNT and how long it has existed. An Israel Defense Forces Radio report on December 30,

1983, states that TNT was once active already ten years ago, but only resumed activity a month ago. Al Fajr, a Palestinian newspaper, reports that TNT has claimed responsibility for several serious attacks in recent years: the car-bombing assassination attempts against three West Bank mayors in 1980, the bombing of Al Fajr's newspaper offices in 1980, and the killing of Jewish Peace Now demonstrator, Emil Grunzweig, in 1983. According to the Israeli newspaper, Maariv, the TNT caller who phoned their offices to claim responsibility for setting the grenades in Husan village sounded like the same person who had called the paper 10 months earlier to take credit for murdering Emil Grunzweig.

TNT's actions come at a time when Israeli settlers in the West Bank — many of them with rightwing ideological and religious convictions — are increasingly "taking the law into their own hands." Well-armed settler vigilante groups have been responsible for repeated attacks against Palestinian residents. In one serious recent attack, on December 8, 1983, an Israeli settler shot an 11-year-old Palestinian girl three times in the back inside a bakery in downtown Nablus. She died almost immediately. — Martha Wenger

Sources: Al Fajr (English version), December 16, 1983, and January 18, 1984; Gil Sedan, "MK Says Rightwing Jewish Underground Movement is Bent on Terrorizing Arabs," Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin, December 14, 1983; Foreign Broadcast Information Service translations of the following Israeli media reports: Jerusalem Post, December 22, 1983 and January 13, 1984; Tel Aviv IDF Radio, December 30, 1983; Jerusalem Domestic Service, January 3, 1984; and Jerusalem Television Service, January 11, 1984. ☐

## Rock Against Reagan

The US State Department has been caught fabricating again. In September 1983, it released yet another report on alleged Soviet "active measures," i.e. examples of Soviet disinformation calculated to manipulate the Western press and create problems for the US and friendly governments. One such Soviet "active measure" purportedly concocted by the intelligence agency KGB was a tape of a phone conversation between President Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In that two minute conversation, Reagan urges Thatcher to show restraint in the Falklands, while Thatcher queries Reagan about nuclear war in Europe.

Four months after the September 1983 report, two members of the British rock band Crass dropped by the London office of the Associated Press and played them a copy of the tape. The two musicians, Andy Palmer and Pete Right, said that they — not the KGB — had produced the tape in their recording studios by laboriously clipping and splicing words together syllable by syllable. It took Crass three months to finish the tape.

State Department officials did a quick turnaround and now claim that they never said the tape was a KGB product. "It was included in the publication [about alleged Soviet disinformation] because it is an example of an active measure" and because "it fits the pattern of Soviet active measures."

Right and Palmer will be surprised to hear that. The musicians say they produced the tape as a "hoax" and to show that the techniques US government officials use in unmasking alleged KGB disinformation plots "aren't quite as infallible as we think they are." ☐

## License to Write?

In January 1984, US government officials charged that a Canadian citizen living in New York was illegally engaging in "trade" with an "enemy nation" (Cuba) without the required license. They ordered Bob Rutka to leave the country. Rutka's "commodity"? Words. For several years, Rutka has been a reporter for the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina. When Rutka refused to apply for a "license" to write, the Reagan administration forced him to leave the country. Two Prensa Latina reporters based at United Nations headquarters in New York are allowed to report only about matters relating to the UN. ☐

## New Intelligence Agency

The US Army has set up a new intelligence agency to handle "security questions" affecting US GIs stationed in Europe. The "Theater Intelligence and Security Command," headquartered in Zweibruecken, West Germany (right next to a

nuclear weapons depot) will "coordinate" and "streamline" ongoing Army intelligence investigations. Army officials in Washington refuse to disclose further details about its activities. However, according to the West German weekly *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, "the new intelligence agency apparently is going to be used against the demonstrations and actions of the [West German] peace movement in connection with the stationing of the Pershing II and cruise missiles. In addition, it is to prevent the growth of the peace movement inside the US Army." ®

and fallout better than our population." While 46 percent of humans are expected to survive both the immediate impact and fallout from a massive nuclear attack, 57 percent of cows, 64 percent of pigs, and 54 percent of broiler chickens will probably make it.

This is one of the nuggets of information offered by a recently released FEMA study which combines Strangelovian insight with Orwellian language.

Some other reassuring facts:

- We shouldn't expect farm labor shortages since, unlike the metropolitan population, 80 percent of the rural population is expected to survive. Moreover, "the dependence on 'guest workers' for fruit and vegetable harvesting is not expected to be an additional problem following a nuclear attack. These workers should survive at least as well as the US rural population, and the Department of Labor sees no reason why they would not continue to participate in US harvests."

- Since over 50 percent of the productive capacity of the drug industry is expected to be destroyed, available medicine might not be sufficient to treat both surviving humans and animals adequately. Thus, "we might have to choose between treating animals or humans in a post-nuclear world."

## Nuclear War: Chickens Will Survive

Will a post-nuclear war America be able to feed itself?

Take heart, carnivores. According to the federal government's Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), "Even though livestock and poultry receive minimal shelter from nuclear weapons effects, they are likely to survive blast

**... AND WHEN WE RETURN WE'LL  
HAVE THE RESULTS OF OUR  
ABC-NIGHTLINE POLL ON  
PRESIDENT REAGAN'S  
INVASION OF THE  
SOVIET UNION!**



• Vegetarians, better pray that the attack comes later in the growing season, in August, rather than earlier, since "a June 1st attack would be likely to threaten yields of major crops." Still, "even then the reduced yields would not necessarily threaten survival."

These conclusions may smack of gallows humor, but the motives behind the study should occasion apprehension. That the study was undertaken in the first place ought to be seen as another indication that the Reagan administration harbors the belief that the US can fight a nuclear war and still survive as a viable society.

This suspicion is strengthened by the study's confident assertion that once the government's civil defense program of "crisis relocation" is completed by the 1990s, "80 percent of the population should be expected to survive a massive attack." The only problem that the FEMA crystal ball gazers see is that with more humans but the same number of animals surviving, "the relatively favorable balance between population and livestock survival rates under current Civil Defense capabilities could disappear...."

- Walden Bello

Drug Enforcement Agency congressional liaison, "250 to 300 tons of opium were produced in Afghanistan in 1982," enough to convert into 25 to 30 tons of heroin. The Drug Enforcement Agency estimates that four to 4 1/2 tons of heroin are smuggled into the US annually. In a rare moment of candor for an administration official, Melocik even concluded that "American interests in Afghanistan are somewhat contradictory because the administration wants to fight drug trafficking but also would like to see the Afghans drive out the Soviets."

[Counterspy has reported extensively on the Afghan rebels' heroin operations, which are reminiscent of the CIA-supported heroin smuggling carried out by anti-communist Hmong mercenaries during the US war in Indochina. See "US Intervention in Afghanistan," Dec. 79 (vol.4, no.1); "CIA Rebels Supply US Heroin," Nov. 80 - Jan. 81 (vol.5, No.1); and "Afghanistan-Pakistan Update," Aug. - Oct. 81 (vol.5, no.4).]

## Uranium Disappears

Between 1979 and 1982, 178 pounds of enriched uranium disappeared from a US government nuclear weapons plant in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. US officials are offering no explanation as to where the material might have ended up. The uranium disappeared in spite of government claims that security procedures have been tightened over the last few years. Since the plant started operating in 1947, a total of 1,700 pounds of enriched uranium has "disappeared" without a trace, an amount sufficient to make dozens of nuclear weapons.

## U.S. Navy to Sri Lanka?

As Sri Lankan President Junius Jayawardene continues to repress the Tamil ethnic minority and leftist opposition parties on his Indian Ocean island, the Reagan administration is stepping up military aid to his regime. Four helicopters (two of them gunships) were diverted to Jayawardene in late 1983 from a US arms shipment intended for Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and, in June of that year, the Sri Lankan government signed a \$71 million economic and military aid agreement with the United States.

In November 1983, President Reagan's ambassador-at-large and former Deputy CIA Director, Vernon Walters, met with Jayawardene for consultations. While in Sri Lanka, Walters said that in order to avoid "unnecessary" speculation, he would not visit Trincomalee, a well developed port on Sri Lanka's east coast. Trincomalee is the price Jayawardene might have to pay for continued US support. Both Walters and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who visited Sri Lanka in October 1983, apparently raised the possibility of increased use of this strategic base by the US Indian Ocean Navy.

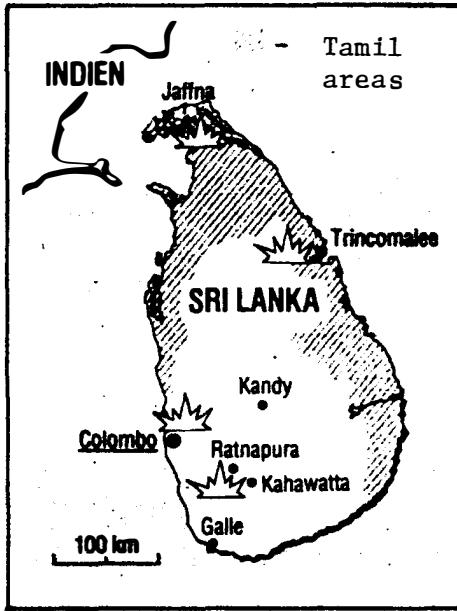
In order to hang on to power, Jayawardene also needs—and has received some—increased assistance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Sri Lanka, which Jayawardene once billed as the capitalist

## Afghan Heroin

The admission is late in coming. The US Drug Enforcement Agency is finally acknowledging that the Afghan rebels are financing their war in part with proceeds from the sale of opium. Some of this opium later reaches the United States in the form of heroin. According to David Melocik, the

"showcase" in the Third World, is moving toward economic collapse, with 40 percent inflation, a massive foreign debt, repeated devaluation of the currency and more than 600,000 of its 15 million people unemployed. The military budget for 1984 will be 200 percent higher than for 1983.

Tourism, a chief source of foreign currency, has declined dramatically in recent months in the wake of the summer 1983 riots in which thousands of members of the Tamil ethnic group (who make up some 20 percent of the population) were massacred. Close to 100,000 Tamils were forced to flee their homes to cramped refugee camps or to other countries. In some cities and villages, government troops and police officers participated in the anti-Tamil riots; killing, burning, looting and raping. Some members of Jayawardene's government have themselves played leading roles in the anti-Tamil campaign for years. Their goal: to take economic and political control of the traditional Tamil areas in northern and eastern Sri Lanka.



Jayawardene has publicly justified the inaction of his security force during the anti-Tamil campaign, and has done nothing to prosecute soldiers and officers who participated in the killings. In addition, Jayawardene took no steps to prevent further killings, and instead outlawed the Tamil United Liberation Front, the largest opposition party in parliament. Jayawardene also shelled out \$3 million for an advertising campaign abroad to woo tourists back to Sri Lanka. Everything was back to normal, the ads said; the disturbances caused by the "unrealistic grievances" of the Tamil people were over.

(For more information on Sri Lanka, see Lanka Review, P.O. Box 613, Station "P", Toronto, Ontario M5S 1Y4, Canada.)

## U.S. Money for Salvadoran Death Squads

The Reagan administration has discovered that some of the money used to finance the rightwing death squads in El Salvador comes from the United States—from the Salvadoran exile community in Miami. According to Newsweek, the administration has begun an investigation to find out whether it can freeze some of the Salvadorans' bank accounts. Continues Newsweek: "Some officials admit that they should have started the investigation three years ago, when death squad supporters were less sophisticated about hiding and transferring their money."

## Sledgehammer Spies

Robert Henderson, a businessman from Adelaide, was looking forward to a comfortable evening as he walked down a corridor on the tenth floor of the Sheraton Hotel in Melbourne, Australia. Then he saw two men using sledgehammers to smash the door to one of the rooms. Henderson immediately summoned general manager Nick Rice. Rice went up to the tenth floor, dragged one of the men into the elevator and took him to the first floor. There, an assistant manager called the police, but Rice's "prisoner" escaped back to the tenth floor, only to come down again shortly thereafter in the company of four others armed with submachineguns and wearing party masks. The gunmen yelled, "Step back," forced their way through the kitchen, jumped into a waiting car and sped away. The police arrived as they were leaving, gave chase, and arrested the men only seven blocks from the hotel.

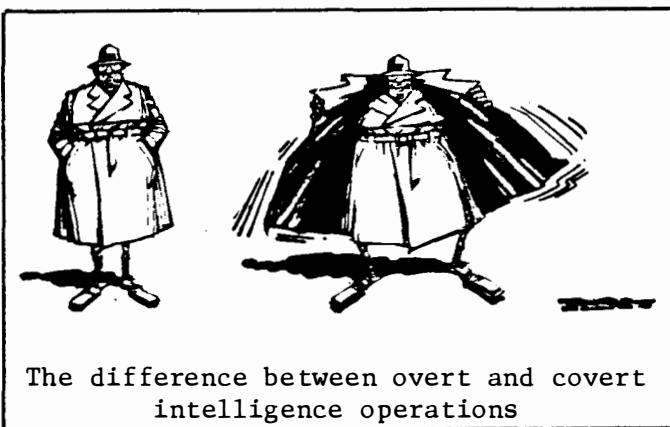
The officers were in for a surprise. So was hotel manager Rice. Another hotel guest walked up to him and said, "I'm from the Defense Department. We owe you an apology. We'll pay for any damage." The gunmen told the police the same thing: "We're with the Defense Department."

That wasn't entirely untrue. The men were officers of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS), Australia's CIA. The ruckus—from smashing the door to threatening hotel personnel

with machineguns—was part of a bungled "training exercise" authorized by ASIS director John Ryan himself, and carried out in collaboration with the military. Two men in the hotel room were to be the "hostages" in the ASIS exercise, while the others were to free them, according to the game plan, using "subterfuge and deception." Instead, they came in with sledgehammers. When hotel manager Rice interrupted the exercise, the ASIS officers tried to escape without exposure, holding the hotel staff at gunpoint.

The "Night of Sledgehammer Spies" (Sydney Morning Herald), November 30, 1983, was in Australian media headlines for weeks. ASIS head Ryan and Prime Minister Bob Hawke were hard put to find an explanation. Public and media criticism was rough. "The fundamental point to grasp about ASIS is that it exists to break the civil and criminal law. Its operatives are trained to persuade, spy, intercept, bribe, blackmail, steal and no doubt kill, to achieve the functions of the organization," opined a Sydney Morning Herald writer.

The question remaining for Australians is whether there was more to the operation than has been admitted. The Canberra Times reported that the action was carried out by a new security agency using ASIS as cover. This agency, to be used in "extremely sensitive counter-terrorist operations" is also said to have a "strike force" capacity. Officially, ASIS has no such capacity.



In the past, elite police units and the Special Air Service have had that responsibility. Nonetheless, according to the National Times, ASIS itself has participated in assassination operations in Indonesia, and has armed and trained paramilitary groups.

Many members of the Australian Labor Party are demanding more and more loudly that ASIS—a "cold war anachronism"—be abolished. But Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke will have none of that. He is backed by a number of prominent Party officials who had called for ASIS's abolition before the Labor Party took power in March 1983, but have now changed their minds. Even Bill Hayden, now Foreign Minister, who is on record

as having said that ASIS has "not justified its existence," has apparently had a change of heart. After visiting CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, in 1983, he proudly told journalists that the CIA had praised "the quality of [ASIS] work and acknowledged that ASIS, in much work it conducts in our region... was far superior to anything they [the CIA] were able to achieve."

## CIA and Afghanistan

The CIA's largest known ongoing covert paramilitary operation continues to escalate. According to Congressional sources, \$20 to \$25 million has been added to the CIA's annual budget for aiding the Afghan rebels. This brings the total annual CIA budget for Afghanistan up to \$120-125 million. (See Newsweek, 12/26/83.) ☐

## Seychelles Blocks Grenada-Style Invasion

Thousands of miles separate the island nations of Grenada in the Caribbean and the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean, but these countries are strikingly similar in certain ways. Both are former British colonies with less than 100,000 inhabitants, which gained independence in the mid-1970s. Shortly thereafter, both were taken over by progressive governments: one headed by Maurice Bishop, the other by Albert Rene.

But the similarities don't end there. For years, both countries have faced external attacks calculated to bring them back into the "pro-Western fold." In Grenada, these attacks culminated in the 1983 US invasion. Now there are signs that a similar invasion was in store for the Seychelles until the plot was uncovered by that country's security services.

On December 5, 1983, the Seychellois government released a statement detailing the coup plot, which is said to have involved the assassination of President Rene. This was to create "panic and chaos" on the island. "We also knew that they [the hired mercenaries] had planned to attack the tracking station and kill

certain American individuals in order to attract the US to intervene militarily in a Grenada-style invasion," the statement continued. (The "tracking station" is a US Air Force facility which has been operating there since 1967.) Such an attack would have given Ronald Reagan a pretext to send in the marines to "rescue" the Air Force personnel.

According to the Seychellois government, the operation was to be financed largely by Hong Kong businesspeople anxious about the impending reintegration of Hong Kong into the People's Republic of China. The businessmen were said to have been promised Seychelles passports and land and business privileges in return for their bankrolling of the coup. Some of the mercenaries apparently were being trained in South Africa, and "the recruitment of a larger group of mercenaries" had already begun. According to South African Commissioner of Police Johan Coetzee, the South African government is "investigating" the recruitment of the mercenaries.

The December 1983 revelation of the attack plan marks the second time in two years that the government of the Seychelles has thwarted a coup. In November 1981, some 50 armed mercenaries coming from South Africa flew into the Seychelles as "tourists;" their coup attempt was foiled by Seychellois soldiers at the airport. The mercenaries, including several former and current South African intelligence officers and military personnel, made their escape from the Seychelles by hijacking a passenger plane back to South Africa. Most of them were never tried there despite South Africa's strict anti-hijacking laws. (See "BOSS Gets Caught," *Counterspy*, vol.6, no.3.)

After the 1981 coup attempt, Seychellois President Albert Rene denounced "attempts by a group of foreign businessmen" to fund mercenary operations to "turn Seychelles into a casino and arms distribution center for the Indian Ocean." These foreign businessmen apparently haven't given up. <sup>②</sup>



## "Free Trade" in Human Organs

There is, it seems, a "shortage" of human organs for transplant in the United States. More people want and can pay for organs such as kidneys and livers than there are people willing to donate them for transplantation. Currently, either family members donate organs for their kin, or people can allow their organs, like eye corneas, lungs, etc., to be removed after they die to be made available to any medically suitable recipient. This supply being insufficient, Dr. H. Barry Jacobs of the chic Washington suburb of Reston, Virginia has come up with a plan to meet the "shortage." He would, for a commission, arrange for the purchase of human organs, beginning with kidneys, from those in financial need here in the US as well as from "Third World indigents." He would have these matched and transplanted into waiting US recipients with the cash or insurance coverage to pay for them.

Dr. Jacobs told the *Washington Post* that having seen the poverty and the people dying of starvation in Bangladesh on TV news one day, he lamented "the waste of all those organs lying there" and decided to set up the business.

The US Surgeon General's office informed Dr. Jacobs in early 1983 that this business would be legal, but that it might be inadvisable to proceed. He is, however, going ahead and has already set up a company, International Kidney Exchange, which is incorporated in Virginia. He expects that eventually the US government will become one of his main clients, since it would want to reduce its expenditures on the government's Medicare and Medicaid health insurance programs by making kidneys available to patients in need of continuing dialysis.

Currently, however, Dr. Jacobs faces a boycott from the surgeons at US hospitals certified to do such transplants. Some surgeons — with the sponsorship of Congressman Albert Gore, Jr. of Tennessee — are even attempting to outlaw trade in human organs within the US. In a conversation with this writer, Dr. Jacobs assailed these surgeons as "monopolists" who are "violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act." He is determined to proceed and to promote "free trade" in human organs. "Free trade is what life is all about," he said firmly.

To circumvent his difficulties in the US, he plans to begin with cash only transactions, preferably outside this country. He says that he is attempting to set up organ removal operations (called "harvesting") in Third World countries. The kidneys could then be transported to the

waiting recipients in the US. He would prefer the entire procedure, including transplantation to the recipient, to be done in Third World countries since it would be much cheaper. Presumably, he also anticipates having more pliable surgeons there.

The seller of the kidney would be given written forms to sign, and a tape recording of what is on them in case he or she is illiterate. The money would be placed in an escrow account payable upon removal of the organ.

There is already a shady and at least partly illicit trade in human blood plasma and eye corneas from some Third World countries to the US, notably from Brazil. If Dr. Jacobs can successfully set up his operations in the Third World, it would institutionalize and legitimize this trade. He might even get the support of some governments eager to earn foreign exchange — for instance, South Africa, Chile, Guatemala and the Philippines, might welcome him.

One can imagine US and Japanese and West German businessmen such as those who now go on sex tours to the Philippines and Thailand coming back with brand new organs to boot. It would save airfare to do it all on one trip. Some governments might even set up Tax Free Organ Export Zones, complete with hospitals, where the poor could be housed for a few weeks, fed well and cured of any diseases — particularly as Dr. Jacobs insists that he will buy only healthy organs. He also promises to obey all laws. He will operate through lawyers and agents who will manage the escrow accounts into which the purchase moneys would be deposited. If these agents procure organs, for instance, from gangs who coerce the poor into selling them and who pocket the money, that would be a problem for the government and the agent.

Dr. Jacobs, who spent 10 months in jail and whose license to practice medicine in Virginia has been revoked because of fraud involving Medicare and Medicaid, the US government's health programs for the old and the poor respectively, insists on legality, cleanliness and competence. According to him the "donors" will be exercising "pure choice" in the "free market."

Jonathan Swift's eighteenth century does not seem so long ago after all. In response to the complaints of the rich that the Irish, then numbering one and a half million, were breeding too much and were thus responsible for their own poverty, he wrote his famous satire, "A Modest Proposal":

"I have been informed by a very knowing American...that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing and wholesome food....

"I do therefore humbly [propose that children of the poor] ....be offered for sale

to the persons of quality and fortune throughout the kingdom, always advising the mother to suck plentifully in the last month so as to render them plump and fat for a good table....

"I grant that this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children."

Unfortunately, Dr. Jacobs' proposal is no satire. His business represents one of the saddest and most inhuman aspects of European history of the last five hundred years, which in the search for gold and profit led to the slave trade and to colonialism. For instance, in 1875 Lord Salisbury announced to his peers in the British Parliament: "India must be bled," adding that the "lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient...." By his use of surgical language Salisbury sought to create the impression that there was enough or even too much food in India. What use could the people of India have for so much food — or two kidneys each?

Lord Salisbury arranged for the export of six million tons of foodgrains from India during 1876-78. Six million people died of the famine that resulted from that operation. A century of bleeding later, Dr. Jacobs covets the organs in the bodies wracked by hunger in Bangladesh and elsewhere in the Third World. It will be, he anticipates, "a very lucrative business."

Arjun Makhijani

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# Features

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## U.S. Economic War Against Nicaragua

John Cavanagh and Joy Hackel

Wars need not be fought exclusively with guns. In the shadows of US-backed military aggression against Nicaragua, the US government, banks and corporations are waging a quiet yet devastating economic war aimed at weakening, and eventually toppling, the Nicaraguan government. The Reagan administration is carrying out this concerted campaign of economic sabotage in order to assist what it labels the "forces of moderation" — the Nicaraguan private sector — which it claims is the strongest voice of democratic pluralism for the Nicaraguan people. Thus far, the US policy has exercised quite another effect on the plurality of Nicaraguans. By depriving the Nicaraguan government of most external finance, and forcing it to divert scarce resources to the military, the Reagan campaign has weakened the Nicaraguan economy and sapped funds from social and development programs. Along with CIA aid to the contras, it has also fueled a mass mobilization of the Nicaraguan people to defend the revolution.

US-imposed economic sanctions, according to Nicaraguans, deprived them of \$345 million dollars in lost trade and loans in 1983 alone, while US pressure internationally has resulted in a loss of an additional \$112.5 million in multilateral loans since 1980.<sup>1</sup>

These sanctions, imposed by the United States in clear violation of the Organization of American States charter, are not without parallel. When a left-leaning president was popularly

elected in Chile in 1970, Richard Nixon issued a crisp directive to his CIA director Richard Helms: "Make the economy scream." As implemented by Henry Kissinger and his subordinates, that policy of economic suffocation culminated in a bloody coup that plunged Chile into a decade of brutal military dictatorship and a deep economic crisis which, since 1983, have provoked widespread social insurrection.

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**US-imposed economic sanctions, according to the Nicaraguans, deprived them of \$345 million in lost trade in 1981 alone.**

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Violating the most basic tenets of international law and free trade, the United States has unleashed a similar economic assault on Nicaragua: slashing bilateral aid and trade quotas; pressuring multilateral agencies to halt loans to Nicaragua; and severely discouraging the participation of US corporate investment and bank loans. In short: economic war.

### Politicizing Aid and Trade

The victory of the Sandinista revolution in July 1979 posed a major foreign policy challenge to the Carter administration. Carter's tactic directly after the Sandinista triumph was to co-opt, rather than overthrow, the revolution by pumping aid into private sector companies. In November of 1980, US policy toward Nicaragua took on the task of forging new alliances within Sandinista opposition forces. At this juncture, a \$75 million loan to Nicaragua was drawn up and heavily lobbied for by the Agency for International Development (AID).<sup>2</sup> The program, to be implemented in fiscal year 1981, slated the money primarily for private sector organizations with explicitly anti-Sandinista political objectives: the Superior Council of Private Enterprises (COSEP), FUNDE (an anti-government alternative to the Sandinista Organization of Cooperatives), and the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which frequently clashes head-to-head with Sandinista unions.<sup>3</sup>

Ronald Reagan's victory over Carter was felt by Nicaraguans immediately after the January 1981 presidential inauguration. The incoming Reagan administration moved swiftly to clamp down on the Nicaraguan economy. Several days after Reagan took office, he suspended most forms of US assistance, with the exception of the portion of the \$75 million AID program still to be dispersed.<sup>4</sup>

By April 1981, on the pretext that Nicaragua supported "terrorism" by supplying arms to Salvadoran guerrillas (and thus by law was not eligible for US economic assistance), the Reagan administration severed the remainder of its bilateral aid. Simultaneously, Reagan cancelled \$9.8 million of previously authorized Public Law 480 ("Food for Peace") food credits for the purchase of wheat, effectively cutting off Nicaragua's supplies of bread and noodles.<sup>5</sup> Since private grain traders and generous PL 480 food loans had successfully driven Nicaragua's annual grain imports (mainly from the United States) from 21,000 tons in 1955 to over 10 times that amount by the late 1970s, the embargo hurt.<sup>6</sup> Ironically, the same day as the grain cutoff, the State Department, unable to produce any evidence of its previous claims, announced that Nicaragua had "virtually halted all flow of arms" to the Salvadorans.

The Reagan administration quickly moved on other battlefronts. Nicaragua was banned from government programs which promote US foreign investment and trade, such as the trade credits of the Export-Import Bank, and the insurance of US investments offered by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.<sup>7</sup>



### Sugar Quota Slashed

Extending the economic straightjacket to trade, Reagan slashed Nicaragua's quota of 59,000 tons of sugar exports to the United States for fiscal year 1983 by 90 percent to 6,000 tons.<sup>8</sup> The reduction equalled \$15.6 million in export earnings in a period of severe shortage of foreign exchange for Nicaraguans.<sup>9</sup> Although new sugar markets have been secured, primarily in Algeria and Iran, the Sandinistas receive only 6 cents per lb. for sugar which Nicaragua could have sold to the United States for a preferential price of 17-22 cents per lb.<sup>12</sup> Arguing that the United States had violated its commitment to free trade, Nicaragua filed a formal complaint under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Administration officials in the United States claimed, "we haven't eliminated it [the sugar quota], we have just adjusted it."<sup>13</sup> They acknowledged the sole reason the United States didn't totally rescind Nicaragua's quota was due to the requirements of GATT, which stipulate that importing countries utilizing quota systems must maintain "equity" among exporting nations. Ironically, the quota cutback punished Nicaragua's private sector, which controls 50-60 percent of the sugar sector and 60 percent of the economy overall. Nicaragua's largest private sector sugar firm formally protested the cutback as a severe penalty on its operations.

While the United States extended the economic squeeze to trade, Nicaragua responded by diversifying its commercial partners. In 1983, 10 percent of its exports were bound for entirely new markets in the Middle East and Northern Africa. European nations have increased their exports to Nicaragua, most notably France and Spain. Mexico estimated it would export \$100 million worth of manufactured goods to Nicaragua in 1983 and planned to boost this figure by 25

percent in 1984. In the process, Mexico has replaced the United States as Nicaragua's primary trading partner. (Imports from the United States dropped from 30 percent of Nicaragua's total before the revolution to 16 percent in 1983.)<sup>14</sup>

#### Selective Lending

Pressure from the United States has spread the financial blockade of Nicaragua into institutions whose charters explicitly prohibit political criteria from entering into decision-making — the multilateral lending organizations. In 1979, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) flagrantly violated this ban on politics by directing a \$66 million loan to the Somoza dictatorship just nine weeks before its downfall.<sup>15</sup> Barely a trace of the \$66 million, thought to be one of the most ill-advised loans in IMF history, remained in

international agencies such as the IMF? Nicaragua's "adjustment policy," in stark contrast to the adjustment program which the IMF would seek to impose, gives primacy to social and economic objectives which actively promote a reapportionment of power and wealth. Rather than following the Fund's directives to "reassure" the private sector, Nicaragua's economic program

- opposes across the board devaluation of the cordoba, while implementing a system of differential exchange rates to provide incentives to specific export sectors; and
- imposes a 50 percent tax on non-essential imports such as luxury consumer goods.

With IMF funding clearly out of the picture, the Reagan administration has extended the economic blockade of Nicaragua into the two other major multilateral lending organizations: the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. While in 1979, Nicaragua received \$179 million from these two institutions, with prospects for an additional \$149 million, forthright pressure from the Reagan administration cut the figure to \$30 million in 1983.<sup>17</sup>

When President Reagan ordered the United States to vote against any loans to Nicaragua from these two institutions this past summer, he was only articulating what had already become unofficial policy. Nicaragua has not received one cent from the World Bank since January 1982, when the sole dissenting vote of the United States was unsuccessful in attempting to block a \$16 million loan to finance low-income neighborhood improvements and storm drainage.<sup>18</sup> In February of 1982, the World Bank's upper management circulated a Country Program Paper which proposed the immediate suspension of all Bank assistance in the areas of:

- water supply - even though the report notes that only 34 percent of the rural population has access to safe water;
- education - while the report acknowledges a high demand for education, the cutoff ended a \$40 million loan to support the literacy campaign;<sup>19</sup> and
- rural roads.

In the areas of agriculture, industry and energy, where projects had already been developing, programs were indefinitely delayed.<sup>20</sup>

The Country Program Paper acknowledged: "Nicaragua has handled its external obligations responsibly and in spite of continual foreign exchange constraints met debt payments punctually." The Paper also noted that the Nicaraguan government has targeted the very projects terminated by the proposed World Bank freeze as vital to the recovery of the Nicaraguan economy. Thus, the shutoff of Bank funding was clearly part of the conscious undermining of the

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## When the Nicaraguan government announced plans to market bananas on its own . . . the president of Standard Fruit threatened to "bury" Nicaragua's bananas by "flooding the market" with their own fruit.

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Nicaragua's Central Bank when Somoza fled the country. As an additional hardship for the Sandinistas, they were required to repay the loan immediately since Somoza's officially proclaimed budget deficit for 1979, as reported to the IMF, was based on incorrect, concocted figures.

Since Somoza's overthrow, the US Executive Director of the IMF has led the campaign to demand such harsh conditions on any loan to Nicaragua that the two have never come close to an agreement. Meanwhile, every other country on the Central American isthmus has received substantial loans from the IMF over the past two years.<sup>16</sup>

What economic program has Nicaragua pursued that has so outraged and alienated

Sandinista economic program.

Within the Inter-American Development Bank, a similar scenario has been repeated, with the United States, on numerous occasions, being isolated in voting against loans to Nicaragua.<sup>21</sup> In July 1983, the United States blocked the release of \$2.2 million from the IDB to Nicaragua, overriding the endorsement of a project by all the other 42 bank members. The funds were to be used to complete a road project which the United States had endorsed during Somoza's rule.

#### Economic "Hit List"

The campaign to ostracize Nicaragua within the IDB is far from covert. The Wall Street Journal has reported that, according to a recent study ordered by Congress, the Reagan administration targeted Nicaragua on a "hit list" (to use the Administration's own terminology) in 1981, along with four other left-leaning governments. The United States has acted to prevent the countries on the "hit list" from receiving funding from the IDB and other international lending institutions.

The financial squeeze implemented by the United States has brought ever increasing pressure to bear on private banks lending to Nicaragua. The repercussions have been significant since the influence of American bank lending in the area is weighty — US banks contribute to over 40 percent of bank lending to the Caribbean Basin countries, and in early 1983,

US bank exposure in Nicaragua totalled \$404 million.

When Somoza fled Nicaragua in 1979, he saddled the new government with \$1.6 billion in private debt, approximately half of which was owed to commercial banks. In the wake of the Sandinista's 1979 victory, Nicaragua promised to repay Somoza's debts, and private banks pledged to keep loans flowing. Under heavy pressure from the US government, however, only a paltry \$11 million in new private bank loans have reached Nicaragua since 1979, and these loans were only 90-day credits.

The Reagan administration has moved on a variety of fronts to sever the line of commercial credit to Nicaragua. US bankers were substantially deterred from lending to Nicaragua by the governmental "Inter-Agency Country Exposure Review Committee," which prepares the US classifications on developing countries that receive loans from US banks. In early 1983, despite Nicaragua's full and prompt payment of its debt service, the committee downgraded the country's status from "sub-standard" to "doubtful."<sup>22</sup> A recent study by the prestigious business organization, the Group of Thirty, found that some bankers believe these ratings to be less than fully objective: "An assertion made by several commercial banks was that U.S. supervisors were politically influenced by the State Department in their assessment of claims



held on sovereign borrowers by American banks."<sup>23</sup>

#### Banana Diplomacy

United States corporations are playing an important role in supporting the economic embargo. In October of 1982, with the enthusiastic support of the Reagan State Department, Standard Fruit (the banana subsidiary of Castle & Cooke), the sole buyer of Nicaraguan bananas, abruptly pulled out a five-year contract which it had signed with the Sandinista government in 1981.<sup>24</sup> When the Nicaraguan government announced plans to market bananas on its own, with shipments scheduled for England, Holland and France, the president of Standard Fruit threatened to "bury" Nicaragua's bananas by "flooding the market" with their own fruit.<sup>25</sup> Despite the threats, since

October of 1983 and declared they would blow up all incoming vessels. New vessels have been chartered to carry crude, and Exxon continues to refine petroleum within Nicaraguan borders. Disrupting Nicaraguan oil shipments could deliver a severe, disabling blow to the economy. Nicaragua is presumed to have only a one or two month oil supply on hand, and more than one-third of the country's total export earnings are reserved to purchase oil. Currently, Mexico supplies virtually all of the oil imports — which amount to \$225 million per year — at a less than market rate through a long-term credit arrangement.

#### Funding Economic Destruction

Perhaps the most unabashed component of the United States campaign to undermine the Nicaraguan economy is its generous funding of and collaboration with contra forces who are bent on destroying Nicaragua's infrastructure. According to Nicaraguan government estimates, between May 1981 and October 1983, the total material damages caused by the Nicaraguan contras exceeded \$1 billion. The rebels have concentrated their major attacks on key Nicaraguan economic facilities. In addition to the attacks on oil installations, the contras have strafed the strategic bridge at the Pacific port of Corinto over which most foreign trade passes.<sup>29</sup>

The United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization had singled out the Jalapa Valley as a prime site for agricultural development projects, yet consistent raids by the contras have stalled initiation of the projects.<sup>30</sup> Contra attacks have disrupted the coffee and cotton harvests and paralyzed land transportation by blockading the Pan American Highway — Nicaragua's only major international thoroughfare — simultaneously on the Costa Rican and Honduran borders.<sup>31</sup> The contras act upon the knowledge that Nicaragua's economic base revolves around less than a dozen critical installations. A series of strategic blows at targeted pipelines, bridges, refineries and border crossings could seriously undermine the Nicaraguan economy.

It is telling in this case that the Reagan administration has totally disregarded the rhetorical free trading underpinning of its foreign economic policy. The United States is currently waging an economic war against a nation which it labels "Marxist," but the majority of whose economy remains in private hands. The US State Department encourages corporations to pull out of Nicaragua, even though the Sandinistas have passed a foreign investment code that is favorable to foreign corporations. Whereas Somoza had

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**Ronald Reagan's victory over Carter was felt by Nicaraguans immediately after the January 1981 presidential inauguration. The incoming Reagan administration moved swiftly to clamp down on the Nicaraguan economy.**

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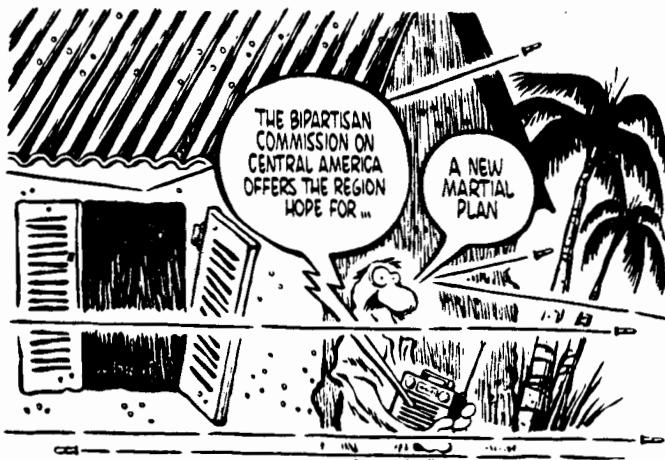
Standard Fruit's pullout, the Nicaraguan state-owned company Embanco has marketed more than four million boxes of bananas, reaping \$35 million in precious foreign exchange.<sup>26</sup>

Even more recently, Exxon, which owns the largest single foreign investment in Nicaragua — the oil refinery in Managua<sup>27</sup> — refused to transport petroleum from Mexico to Nicaragua.<sup>28</sup> The refusal followed a dramatic escalation in the campaign of economic sabotage being carried out by the contras, the rebels financed and advised by the CIA. Contra forces launched five major attacks on oil installations during September and

insisted upon 50 percent Nicaraguan ownership of all foreign investments, Nicaragua currently allows foreign investors to own 100 percent of operations in several sectors.<sup>32</sup> Cognizant of the potential negative effects of foreign investment, an official of the International Directorate of the Sandinista Front proclaimed that the code would be applied in a way that "will strengthen Nicaragua's currency, broaden our commerce throughout the world, and combat unemployment."<sup>33</sup>

The actions of the United States against Nicaragua have been denounced by nations such as Mexico and Venezuela as clear violations of the Organization of American States charter. The charter prohibits members from utilizing coercive economic measures to gain advantage from other states or to stifle a nation's economic growth.

A growing number of North Americans are also expressing opposition to the US policy. Hundreds of US citizens have been flying to Nicaragua to spend time on the border with Honduras where most of the contra raids originate. Others have entered the country with international coffee picking brigades which, in addition to their small contribution to the economy, represent a strong show of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people.



James Margulies, United States

#### Footnotes

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- 9) Washington Post, May 10, 1983.
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- 13) Washington Times, April 4, 1983.
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- 26) Guardian, December 8, 1982.
- 27) New York Times, December 8, 1982.
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- 33) Multinational Monitor, March 1983, p. 21.

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# Klaus Barbie and Robert Verbelen

# The U.S. Government, Nazis and the Vatican

Konrad Ege

Through its August 1983 report, "Klaus Barbie and the United States Government," the Reagan administration had hoped to lay to rest the sordid matter of US intelligence agencies knowingly hiring Nazi and Gestapo officials after World War II. The report concluded that the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) had indeed hired former Gestapo official Klaus Barbie immediately after the war, and that US officials had misled the French government by not informing it that Barbie was in West Germany working for the CIC. (See "Klaus Barbie: Global Nazi," Counterspy, vol.7, no.4.) The report, authored by Justice Department official Allan Ryan, recommended that the US "express to the government of France its regret for its responsibility in delaying the due process in the case of Klaus Barbie."

Now the Justice Department has been forced to look into another case of US intelligence agencies hiring a former high-ranking SS officer in Belgium, Robert Jean Verbelen, a man who was sentenced to death in absentia for war crimes by a Belgian court in 1947. By that time, Verbelen was safe and sound in Austria, working for US intelligence. The charges brought against him in Belgium—which Verbelen denied—include having tortured two US Air Force pilots who had been captured in a farm house.

In Austria, Verbelen served the United States in anti-Soviet operations, using a variety of aliases. Verbelen says the aliases were provided to him by US officers. According to declassified and heavily censored Army documents, some Army officers were unaware of Verbelen's past and did not know his real name. In 1956, Verbelen complained to his superiors that he had been "unable to carry out his work" because of surveillance by Austrian police; in the ensuing conversation, his real identity became known.

The Army officers did not arrest him, however, nor did they extradite him to Belgium.

Instead, they gave him a 5,000 schilling compensation and discharged him. Verbelen, who now lives in Vienna, claims that he was offered the chance to come to the United States, but he preferred to stay in Austria to work for that country's intelligence service.

### Hiring Nazis for National Security Reasons

With the Klaus Barbie report as a model, it is unlikely that the Justice Department investigation into the Robert Jean Verbelen case will disclose many details about Verbelen's hiring and his activities as a US intelligence operative in Vienna. In fact, while widely praised in the US media as an honest and decent example of a government admitting a mistake, the Barbie report could be used in defending Verbelen and the officials responsible for his hiring. In the report, the Justice Department declares that "the

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**Hundreds of war criminals made it to the US itself, or were recruited for a "covert" war against the Soviet Union.**

---

decision to use Barbie was a defensible one, made in good faith by those who believed that they were advancing legitimate and important national security interests." What author Ryan criticized was only that US officials lied to the French

government after France had demanded Barbie's extradition so that he could be tried in France for murdering and torturing anti-Nazi resistance fighters while a Gestapo officer in Lyon.

The US officials responsible for hiring former SS officer Verbelen could also defend their actions by pointing to another statement in the Klaus Barbie report: "There can be... no meaningful or enforceable regulation to define whom intelligence agencies may and may not use as informants. The very nature of intelligence gathering abroad requires the use of informants and it would be grossly unrealistic to require that they be subject to the same standards of character... that are required for... civil or military service with the United States government."

#### The Klaus Barbie Report

The Justice Department report on Barbie has been a boon for the US government. The media gave it favorable attention, yet at the same time it provides a blanket ideological justification for US intelligence agencies to hire virtually anybody—including someone like Verbelen, a man accused of having tortured US Air Force pilots.

With regard to the facts of the Barbie case, the Justice Department report makes apologies for the US officials involved in the Barbie hiring and the subsequent coverup. For instance, Ryan claims that the Counter Intelligence Corps was unaware that Barbie was a suspected war criminal when he was put on the US payroll in 1947. There is considerable evidence to the contrary.

- As a former Gestapo and SS officer, Barbie was (as was Verbelen) in an "automatic arrest" category after the war;

- The French government had submitted a statement to the United Nations War Crimes Commission as early as August 1944, charging Barbie with "murder and massacres, systematic terrorism, and execution of hostages;"

- Barbie was listed as a war criminal suspect in the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS) of Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force as early as 1945; and

- The Counter Intelligence Corps' own Central Personalities Index listed him as the head of the Gestapo in Lyon. Ryan writes: "There was no evident concern over Barbie's Gestapo background or any of his wartime activities."

When the Counter Intelligence Corps realized in 1950 that they might not be able to protect Barbie from extradition to France for much longer, they decided to arrange for his travel to South America. CIC provided him with a false passport made out to "Klaus Altmann" and placed him in the so-called "rat line." This rat line, an

underground railroad for Nazis and their supporters, was organized by Monsignor Krunoslav Dragonovich, a Croatian priest in Rome. A CIC detachment in Austria had worked with Dragonovich for several years to help "defectors and informants who had come from the Soviet zone or Soviet bloc countries" to go to South America.

The CIC knew perfectly well what kind of man Dragonovich was and what kind of people he assisted. A CIC report quoted by Ryan states that Dragonovich "is known and recorded as a fascist, war criminal, etc." Dragonovich was primarily interested in providing travel opportunities for other Croatians whom Ryan describes as "Croatian nationalists fleeing from the Yugoslav authorities." These "nationalists" were Croatians who had collaborated with the Nazis, and with Italian dictator Mussolini, who had established the "Independent State of Croatia" (formerly part of Yugoslavia). The "nationalists" who ran that state rivaled the Nazis in brutality, and conducted pogroms against Jews. They also massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs who happened to live in the "Independent State of Croatia." (One of these Croatian leaders, Andrija Artucovic, today lives in California.)

See NAZIS, pg. 22

## Walter Rauff

Another Nazi officer who, like Klaus Barbie, was able to escape to Latin America after World War II is Walter Rauff, the man in charge of the Nazi death trucks which were used to kill tens of thousands of Jews. Each of these trucks had an enclosed loading area into which dozens of victims were pushed. The door to the loading area was then closed and the engines turned on while the exhaust was pumped into the loading area. The victims died slow, agonizing deaths of asphyxiation.

Rauff was arrested by US troops in Italy in 1945, but managed to escape from his detention center. Then Rauff, in his own words, "was helped by a Catholic priest to go to Rome where I stayed for more or less 18 months, always in the convents of the Holy See," i.e., the Vatican (New York Times, 1/26/84). Later, Rauff and his family moved on to work for the Syrian government. In 1949, he left Syria for Ecuador, and in 1958 went to Chile.

Walter Rauff still lives in Chile, where he is alleged to have collaborated with the Pinochet regime. But justice may be about to catch up with him. The Israeli government has made a formal request for his extradition.

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h(1)

S E C R E T LINDIS [REDACTED] H-205

FOR AEUMC-ORB FROM AEAGB-C(SO)

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION (U)

1. (U) REQ CHECK OF YOUR FILES, DAD AND USAREUR

CR RE THE FOL INDIV: SCHWAB, ALFRED H. ~~AKT SCHWAB~~,  
~~ALFRED H.~~, DPOS: 5 APR 1911, GERENT, BELGIUM; ALIASES:  
SCHWAB, HERBERT; DR. HERBERT; CHARPENTER, HERBERT; VAN  
METERS, AND MEYER, PETER. ~~NR~~

NR 2. (S)

X- *a/cross ref. h(1)*  
*Return*

PAGE 2 RUFMWI 049 S E C R E T LINDIS [REDACTED]

3. (S) USDAO, BRUSSELS QUERIED THIS HQ RE THE  
ABOVE INDIVIDUAL, CURRENTLY EMPLOYED WITH THE EMBASSY  
UNDER HIS TRUE NAME ROBERT VERBELEN. USDAO REQ INFO

X- 36673

WHICH IT CAN RELEASE TO THE PUBLIC RE SUBJ'S EMPLOYMENT

[REDACTED] USDAO HAS LETTER FROM BELGIAN CITIZEN WHO  
CLAIMS ROBERT VERBELEN, ALIAS SCHWAB, RECENTLY TRIED AND  
ACQUITTED OF ALLEGED WAR CRIMES BY AUSTRIAN COURT BUT [REDACTED]  
STILL CONSIDERED MURDERER AND TRAITOR BY BELGIANS. GP-3

BT

This message from US Army Headquarters Europe in Heidelberg to the Counter Intelligence Corps' 513th Intelligence Center in Oberursel, West Germany, indicates that Robert Verbelen's employment with the United States government did not end in 1956, when he supposedly was dismissed from his job with the CIC in Vienna. Heidelberg is asking Oberursel to check on Verbelen since USDAO (?) in Brussels, Belgium, had received a query from a Belgian citizen about Verbelen stating that he was a war criminal. The message from Heidelberg states that Verbelen is "currently employed with the Embassy," apparently referring to the US Embassy in Belgium.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION		DATE 11 July 1956
PREPARING OFFICE Region IV, 66th CIC Group, APO 108, US Army	REF ID: A653292	
SUBJECT <b>VERBelen, Robert Jean (S)</b>	CODE FOR USE IN INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPH EVALUATION OF SOURCE: COMpletely RELIABLE . . . . . A CONFIRMED BY OTHER SOURCES . . . 1 USUALLY RELIABLE . . . . . B PROBABLY TRUE . . . . . 2 FAIRLY RELIABLE . . . . . C POSSIBLY TRUE . . . . . 3 NOT USUALLY RELIABLE . . . . . D DOUBTFULLY TRUE . . . . . 4 UNRELIABLE . . . . . E IMPROBABLE . . . . . 5 RELIABILITY UNKNOWN . . . . . F TRUTH CANNOT BE JUDGED . . . 6	
SUMMARY OF INFORMATION		
<p>d. At an unknown date SUBJECT became involved with the NSDAP (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei - National Socialist Germany Workers Party). SUBJECT worked as a public speaker for the NSDAP and made a number of appearances in the Sport Hall in Limberg nca, Germany. SUBJECT also worked closely with the SS and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst - Security Service) during the German Occupation of Belgium. SUBJECT was charged with the counter-acting of the Resistance Movement within Belgium. SUBJECT stated that several bomb attempts were made on him and that several times he was shot at from ambush during this period. SUBJECT also states that he assisted his brother, Peter Verbelen, to reach the Free French Forces with whom the latter fought until the end of World War II.</p> <p>e. When Belgium was liberated SUBJECT withdrew with the German Forces leaving his wife and two (2) children behind. Unable to reach SUBJECT and take revenge on him, members of the Resistance Movement murdered SUBJECT's family by throwing them out of the fourth (4th) floor window of their home.</p> <p>f. In early 1946 SUBJECT was walking on the street in Vienna, Austria, having arrived there approximately two (2) weeks earlier. SUBJECT met an SS General, name not specified, with whom SUBJECT had worked in Belgium. The General asked SUBJECT if he wished to continue to fight <u>against</u> communism. Upon receiving a positive reply the General confided that he was in contact with an American agency and would recommend that SUBJECT also be given employment.</p> <p><i>(b)(1)</i></p>		
DISTRIBUTION		
1-Headquarters 66th CIC Group <i>8-047</i> 1-Region IV		

This secret US Army memorandum of July 11, 1956, written by the 66th Counter Intelligence Corps Group and released under a Freedom of Information Act request illustrates how closely former Nazi officers were collaborating with the US forces after World War II. It describes how Verbelen was "recruited" for the US by a former SS officer Verbelen had worked with in Nazi-occupied Belgium. The former SS General apparently recommended to the Counter Intelligence Corps that Verbelen be hired after he had been assured that Verbelen was still interested in "fighting against communism."

NAZIS, from pg.19

CIC paid Dragonovich to get Barbie and his family to Bolivia, but Ryan asserts that "no other case was found where a suspected Nazi war criminal was placed in the rat line, or where the rat line was used to evacuate a person wanted by either the United States Government or any of its post-war allies." Ryan took great care to choose the phrase "post-war allies," since Dragonovich, working with the CIC, had helped hundreds of Nazi collaborators such as his Croatian compatriots escape. These persons were undoubtedly wanted by Eastern European governments.

## The Justice Department report . . . provides a blanket ideological justification for US intelligence agencies to hire virtually anybody — including someone like Verbelen, a man accused of having tortured US Air Force pilots.

Ryan also glosses over the involvement of the Catholic Church in these cases, including Barbie's. The Justice Department report never mentions the 1947 State Department report "Illegal Emigration Movement in and through Italy" which calls the Vatican the "most important" organization aiding the escape of Nazi war criminals. Some 50,000 Nazi war criminals were given Vatican passports, according to a July 1983 Mother Jones article about the connections between the Vatican and US intelligence. (Ryan was given the 1947 State Department report by Charles Allen, who has exposed a number of Nazis living in the US.)

### Recruiting Nazis for Anti-Soviet Efforts

Ryan treats the Barbie case as an isolated incident, and fails to place it in an historical context. Barbie's hiring by the Counter Intelligence Corps was only a minor part of a

much larger scandal. He was just one of thousands of Nazis whom the US government recruited for the war against its new enemy, the Soviet Union. To name but a few: the CIA set up Reinhard Gehlen, Hitler's general in charge of espionage against the Soviet Union, to become the head of West Germany's Bundesnachrichtendienst (equivalent of the CIA); the US hired Walter Schreiber, who had conducted experiments on humans in Auschwitz, to develop biological weapons for the U.S. Air Force. Later, according to Le Monde Diplomatique, the US arranged for his travel to Argentina.

According to a September 1983 report in the Evangelischer Presse (Frankfurt), some 10,000 German war criminals made their way to Latin America after World War II, often with the support of US intelligence and the Vatican. Hundreds of war criminals made it to the US itself, or were recruited for a "covert" war against the Soviet Union. (See "CIA Hires Nazis Counterspy, vol.7, no.4.)

US government collaboration with Nazis became routine practice after the war. The only difference in the Barbie case is that the US got caught. The US government has been forced to investigate the Klaus Barbie case because Barbie, unlike thousands of other Nazis the US recruited, is finally going to stand trial in France for his crimes against humanity.

Robert Jean Verbelen is unlikely ever to go to court. His employer after World War II—the US government—has taken good care of him. In the Klaus Barbie report, Justice Department official Allan Ryan intoned magnanimously that "justice delayed is justice denied." For Verbelen, it appears, the US government did more than delay justice: it prevented justice from being carried out altogether. ☐

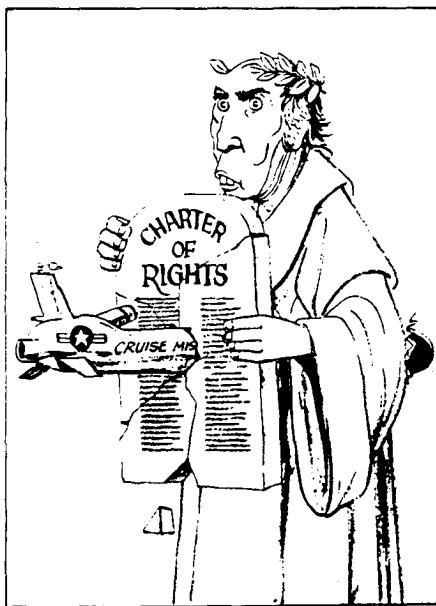
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Andy Donato, Canada

# Spying on Canada's Peace Movement

Derek Rasmussen

While George Orwell's 1984 and the titillation of fictional totalitarianism have enthralled the media in Canada, real domestic repression in that country is getting little or no attention. Given that Canada's secret police, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), spend thousands of dollars a year cultivating an image of scarlet-clad defenders of law and order, dashing about on horseback, such disregard is hardly surprising.

If the media were interested, there would be plenty to write about. The last year has seen a large-scale police intimidation and subversion campaign aimed at progressive elements of the Canadian peace movement to counter the rise of popular resistance to the testing of US cruise missiles in Canada and to the production of cruise guidance systems by Litton Systems in Toronto, Ontario. The police campaign has involved metropolitan, provincial and military police forces as well as the armed forces and the Security Service (SS), the political arm of the RCMP.

Two of the organizations targeted by the police are the Alliance for Nonviolent Action and the Cruise Missile Conversion Project; both use tactics of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. Here is a short chronology of recent operations aimed at these groups.

- Early December, 1982: During the trials of activists arrested at a civil disobedience blockade of Litton Systems on November 11, word is "leaked" to the press by the Crown Attorney about a diary "linking" the Alliance for Nonviolent Action and the Cruise Missile Conversion Project with the Soviet intelligence agency, KGB.

- December 6, 1982: The owner of the diary, student Ivan LeCouvie, who had participated in the Litton protest, is watching a movie at a cinema. At about 10:30 pm he goes to the washroom, where police arrest him for "attempted murder" (in connection with the October bombing of the Litton factory in Toronto by a group calling itself "Direct Action"), and hustle him outside into a waiting cruiser. Several police officers interrogate LeCouvie, a claustrophobic, in a small room. They tell him that they have an ironclad conviction, and that he won't see the light of day for six years—unless he tells them about the "Direct Action" group. LeCouvie maintains his innocence throughout 12 hours of interrogation, and is released the next day. The charges are dropped.

- December 8, 1982: The Crown Attorney holds a press conference to show that LeCouvie's diary mentions a trip he made to Europe—including Moscow—which "proves" that there is a "Russian connection" to the peace movement. Within ten days of the press conference, the offices and five homes of members of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and the Alliance for Nonviolent Action are raided by Metro Toronto police and the RCMP. They stuff political and private papers into shopping bags and confiscate them. Pretending to be interested in a voice check, the police attempt to get one of the more prominent activists, Kan Hancock, to read a statement claiming responsibility for the Litton bombing into a tape recorder.

- Early April 1983: Fifteen members of

the Cruise Missile Conversion Project are served notices indicating that they are under police surveillance.

• May 26, 1983: The Alliance for Nonviolent Action and Third World solidarity groups stage a protest against US Ambassador Paul Robinson, who is to speak at the Royal Military College in the city of Kingston. One hundred protestors arrive that afternoon to find the College declared a "National Defense Zone," and the entire city on military alert. The College

take a more active interest in the peace movement in the fall of 1982, after the bombing of a cruise missile component factory in Toronto. Moxley, however, had begun infiltrating peace groups in April 1982. He soon became a leader of Students for Non-Violent Action at Ottawa's Carleton University, and a key spokesperson for the "Peace Camp" on Parliament Hill. Moxley told the RCMP about marches, demonstrations and civil disobedience actions and about their participants; he also informed on individuals who took part in actions he himself had planned—including an attempted occupation of the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, and a protest at the Ottawa office of Litton Systems.

A 30-year-old Carleton University communications student, Moxley claims to have served in the Canadian Armed Forces from 1970 to 1975, including a two year stint with the peacekeeping forces in Cyprus. Between 1975 and 1977, he worked as a guard at Kingston Penitentiary. After that, he says, he went to school "off and on."

In an interview with the author, Moxley claimed to have been recruited on December 10, 1981, by two RCMP officers who came to his home. They had a search warrant and found 15 envelopes with the Solicitor General's official letterhead on them. The officers threaten to charge Moxley with theft. "But they came back in a few weeks and said, 'We're not going to charge you,' but they noticed that I was involved in El Salvador solidarity work and wondered if I would 'help' them."

Moxley says the RCMP officers explained to him they "had good reason to believe that Cuban intelligence officers were involved in the El Salvador group in Toronto and maybe also in Ottawa." They wanted him to feed the RCMP information about this alleged "Cuban connection," and picked Moxley as an informant because they figured as an "ex-military, ex-prison guard" he was "probably halfway on our side anyway."

is surrounded by barbed wire, military boats stand off shore, 200 soldiers with live ammunition form four lines of defense, along with troop carriers, military police, Kingston police, provincial police and a SWAT team. The chief of military police justifies this awesome display of force by claiming to have uncovered a "Direct Action" and Alliance for Nonviolent Action "terrorist plot" to kidnap the ambassador.

#### RCMP Recruits a Spy

One month later, on June 30, 1983, an Ottawa man active in the Alliance for Nonviolent Action reveals to the press that he has been working as an infiltrator for the Security Service of the RCMP. Only days before this admission, Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan (the highest government official responsible for the RCMP) had assured the press that "no resources are allocated for surveillance of the peace movement....No one is being planted in the groups. No one is being asked to bring in information."

According to Moxley, the RCMP began to

Working as an Informer

Moxley accepted, and began his work as an informant. He had rather grandiose pretensions about the significance of his work, claiming that he "cleared" an El Salvador solidarity group "of any Cuban influence." Having established himself with a radical image, Moxley was assigned to spy on peace groups. As he portrays it, he was doing these groups a "favor," and consistently refused to accept money from the RCMP for his services.

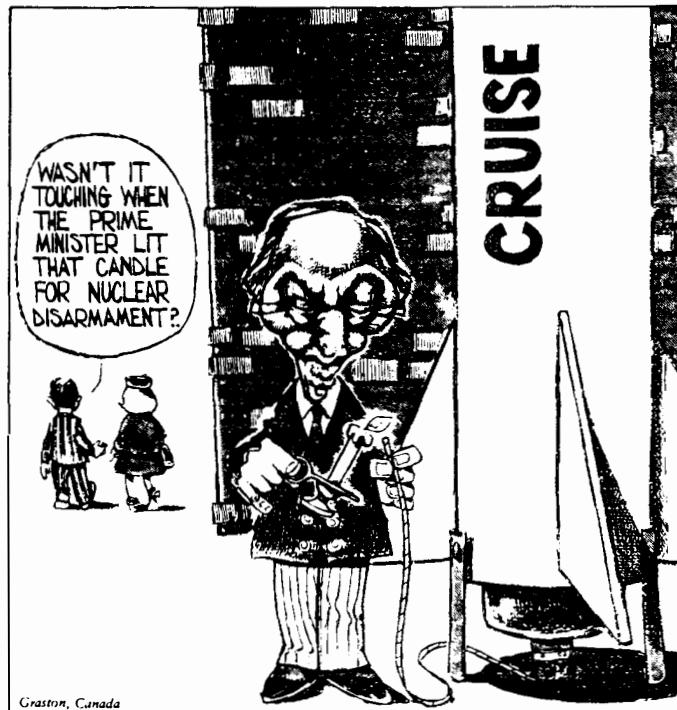
"I didn't join the peace movement to work for the RCMP; if anything, I joined the RCMP to work for the peace movement.... I feel the RCMP has the right to know if anything like

espionage or violence is going on in a group." If nothing was "wrong" with a peace group, Moxley says generously, "I could give someone a clean bill of health" and tell the RCMP to "leave them alone."

In the fall of 1982, Andy Moxley joined an Alliance for Nonviolent Action affinity group in Ottawa, after participating in a nonviolence training session. He then took part in the November 11 (Canadian Remembrance Day) civil disobedience blockade of the Litton cruise missile component factory in Toronto.

Moxley was very conspicuous, wearing a large, white neck brace. With Litton surrounded by hundreds of riot police and mounted police, there were many instances of police brutality throughout the day, as 150 people blockaded the factory. Moxley, one of approximately 75 blockaders arrested, was carefully handled. He was placed, surely by no coincidence, in the same jail cell with several prominent Alliance activists, including a Toronto man targeted for surveillance by the RCMP, Ken Hancock. "You're in," the RCMP supposedly told Moxley later. "Ken Hancock has seen you in jail; how much more of a pro stance can you get? He's going to know you're okay. We love that because we want to know about Ken Hancock."

In fact, neither Hancock nor most Alliance for Nonviolent Action activists ever trusted Moxley. He was let out of jail that same day, while his cellmates remained in for a day or days longer. At the subsequent trial, all charges against Moxley were dropped without explanation.



### Why Did Moxley Quit?

Since the police have informed some members of the Alliance for Nonviolent Action that they are under surveillance and that their phones are tapped, the police presumably knew that Moxley wasn't trusted. Is this why he was allowed to "quit" and go public? With all of the laws and money at their disposal, the RCMP could probably have bribed or otherwise pressured Moxley to remain silent. Some activists suspect that the RCMP Security Service decided to allow him to "come out" for the purpose of lulling them into complacency and perhaps allowing more convincing infiltrators or provocateurs to subvert or discredit the Alliance for Nonviolent Action and other groups.

The lesson should be caution. The peace movement has nothing to hide, but a reckless remark over the phone may still send someone to jail. The RCMP Security Service has shown it is not above splicing tape and framing dissidents.

In this regard, the RCMP is living up to its history. It was originally formed in 1920 as a counter-revolutionary force in response to the post-World War I labor radicalism that swept across Canada (see Bryan Palmer's research in Our Generation Journal, vol.14, no.4). Earlier, the RCMP's predecessor, the Royal North-West Mounted Police, had managed to infiltrate every important revolutionary organization in western Canada, often capturing positions of leadership.

Moxley's activities are nothing new and neither is repression; it has been around for many years. Perhaps this is what George Orwell meant when he attempted to entitle his book 1948. His publisher overruled him and demanded that he reverse the last two numerals in his title. If the attempted title had been 1949, perhaps most North Americans would have been content to wait another ten years before looking for the repression that has been with them all along. ☺

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FOR RACIAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

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# Interviews

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## Terrorism in Miami: Suppressing Free Speech

Demonstrators are shot at. Churches and meeting halls are firebombed. Thousands of people are terrorized into silence. This time it's not in El Salvador or Guatemala, but in Ronald Reagan's own backyard: Miami, Florida. Cuban and Nicaraguan exile organizations there have made it impossible for some progressive organizations, such as Miami's solidarity network, LACASA (Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association), to work openly. Cuban-American groups advocating the establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba have been effectively silenced.

In a December 1983 interview, a LACASA member described the direct and indirect support Miami's leading politicians, the police department, the Republican Party in Florida, and the White House have given such terrorism.

**What happens when LACASA sponsors an event protesting Reagan's policies?**

Any time elements in the Cuban community in Miami find out that LACASA is planning an event, they start working against it.

There will be statements on some of the Spanish-speaking radio stations and editorials against LACASA. This campaign will accelerate until close to the event. At times there have been death threats.

In one instance, in April 1983, when we planned a demonstration protesting the deportations of Salvadoran refugees, Omega 7, a Cuban terrorist group, had a statement read over the radio. It said that Omega 7 was not going to allow LACASA to have a demonstration in Miami, and that if we demonstrated, people would get hurt and people would get killed. Omega 7, you should know, has been declared the most dangerous terrorist group in the United States by the FBI.

**After the radio announcement, what did you do?**

We had a special meeting because we didn't know if we could take responsibility for people's safety. We decided we couldn't have the demonstration, and planned to have a press conference instead at the site of the demonstration. But we couldn't even have a press conference. About 60 Cuban and Nicaraguan thugs showed up to

disrupt it.

It's not just Cubans anymore who are attacking us. The Nicaraguan ex-National Guard had to go somewhere after the Sandinista revolution in 1979, and I think a considerable portion of them came to Miami.

So there were about 60 men. They chanted, shouted and yelled, "Viva, Reagan" and "Traitors," and "Communistas" to us. Our spokesperson, a Vietnam veteran, was trying to read his statement to the press. They pushed him, grabbed his speech from him and would not let him read it.

The police told us that we had to leave because they couldn't guarantee we were going to be protected. Assistant City Manager Cesar Odea, who was there, claimed that we had provoked the crowd: "It's like waving a red flag at a bull. It's another provocation against the Latin community."

Here was a city official stating that we didn't have the right to be there, that we should be "sensitive" to the Cuban community, instead of ordering the police to protect us.

**So these Cubans and Nicaraguans basically broke up your press conference?**

**Miami, we feel, has been almost a test of  
how to deal with public opinion. . . .  
The rightwing in Miami has demonstrated  
that they can keep control of a progressive group  
by using fascist tactics.**

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They broke it up and we were escorted out of the park by the police. At that time, a Cuban exile with a high-powered rifle fired his gun over the remaining crowd. He had come late and did not realize that we had left and that he was shooting at his own buddies. He was arrested immediately and got six months in jail, which surprised us all. That is the only conviction that we know of resulting from all the attacks against LACASA.\*

Another organization that has suffered from these terrorist actions is the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cuban-Americans that supports normalization of relations with Cuba. In November 1982, for instance, the Brigade tried to hold a press conference in the Columbus Hotel in Miami. Bomb threats and radio announcements forced them to move it to a church. But the mob followed, and attacked members of the brigade in the church. Brigade spokespersons were forced to flee.

**How can solidarity groups operate in such a climate?**

We have only one solidarity organization in Miami and that's LACASA. We cannot leaflet on the street, we have a difficult time renting facilities to show a movie or have a speaker. We get new members by one-to-one contact. There's no college that supports us because they are all either right-wing or fearful of terrorism.

\*Shortly after this interview took place, the FBI arrested Eduardo Arecena, a Cuban associated with Omega 7 in Miami and New York. He is charged with having produced the bombs used in ten attacks in Miami from 1979 to 1983, and with having been involved in several other bombings in New York. The arrest of Arecena and several of his accomplices in late December 1983 won't be a major blow to Omega 7. Arcena apparently is a renegade member of the group.

Traditional ways that I see solidarity groups working in other parts of the country do not apply to us. Our main purpose is for the organization to stay alive, to respond when things happen.

**City Money for Terrorism**

You mentioned the role of the city administrator who criticized your press conference. How does the rest of the city government and the police force respond to harassment of your group?

They don't respond. You're talking about a City Commission unlike, probably, any other in the United States. This Commission has declared an El. Salvador Day in support of the rightwing regime there, and an Orlando Bosch Day. Our mayor went to Caracas, Venezuela, to plead for Bosch's release from prison. Bosch was convicted in connection with a bombing of a Cuban airplane in 1976 which killed 73 people.

The City Commission has pronounced Miami an anti-communist city and tries to prevent anyone from a Marxist organization from participating in conferences in the city. The Commission has also approved a \$10,000 grant to Alpha 66, a Cuban terrorist organization. The money was supposedly to be used to set up an office to assist the Cubans who came to the US in the Mariel boatlift.

**Is it possible to pinpoint the organizations and individuals who are harassing and terrorizing progressive groups?**

Yes. The most important groups are Omega 7 and Alpha 66. Other groups that encourage the terrorism and actively harass progressive groups are the Cuban Patriotic Council; Abdala, another

Cuban group; the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, made up mostly of ex-National Guard people; Brigade 2506; and the Cuban American National Foundation.

Omega 7 is by far the most deadly group to deal with. They also operate in other parts of the country. In September 1980, for instance, they assassinated a Cuban official at the United Nations.

Brigade 2506 is made up of veterans from the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Alpha 66 can get large numbers of people to come out against progressive events by broadcasting the location of the events over radio stations. They have been quite successful in disrupting meetings with very little notice. Their members usually don't hesitate to identify themselves as Alpha 66. In July 1983, they broke up a film shown by LACASA in a church. Later that evening, the church was firebombed.

**Reagan and the Cubans**

**Has there been any federal investigation of these incidents?**

Supposedly. There have been very, very few convictions, especially when you think that there was a three-month period in 1975 when something like 75 bombs went off in Miami. But that isn't really surprising when you see the president of the United States coming down and addressing one of these organizations.

**Officially? Which one did he address?**

Brigade 2506. You see, the leaders of Brigade 2506 are also leaders in the Dade County Republican Party. Reagan came down and told these people at a rally, "We will

# Florida Chronology

## 1981

- Jan. 13 Bomb threat against Padron Cigars. The owner had raised the ire of the Cuban exiles when he was pictured in the Miami News handing Fidel Castro a cigar during a talk about prisoner release.
- July 14 Alpha 66 announces it will kill Fidel Castro at July 26 celebrations.
- Sept. 11 The Nicaraguan consulate in Miami and the offices of the Cuban-American magazine Replica are bombed.
- Sept. 12 The Mexican consulate is bombed; the bombing is coordinated with a blast at the Mexican consulate in New York City. Omega 7 calls the bombings a "gift" to Mexico.
- Oct. 13 Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles break up a debate between Nicaraguan Ambassador Arturo Cruz and the former US Ambassador to Nicaragua, Lawrence Pezzullo. Several members of LACASA are assaulted.
- Dec. 30 Omega 7 bomb is found outside a Hialeah travel agency which arranges trips to Cuba.
- Dec. 30 The government of Nicaragua charges that CORU, a Miami exile organization, set the blast that injured five and destroyed a Nicaraguan plane in Mexico City.

## 1982

- Jan. 17 Violent Cuban-American demonstrations protest the deportation of a Cuban refugee.
- Feb. 19 Explosives found at the Trans Cuba travel agency and at Replica magazine.
- Feb. 22 Omega 7 attacks Padron Cigars and a Cuban-American pharmacy in Hialeah doing business with Cuba.
- July 26 Cuban exiles in Miami demand that Venezuela release convicted terrorist Orlando Bosch.
- Sept. 2 Omega 7 bombs Venezuelan office in Miami.
- Sept. 22 Mon Petit Lounge, a Little Havana bar, is bombed.

- Sept. 25 A powerful bomb is found outside the Nicaraguan consulate.
- Oct. 29 Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles break up a press conference of the Antonio Maceo Brigade.
- Nov. 15 Little Havana bar is shot up by gunmen who claim to be with Omega 7.

## 1983

- Jan. 12 Omega 7 bombs Padron Cigars.
- Feb. 28 A bomb is found in the car of Rev. Espinoza, the former leader of a church group involved in dialogue with the Cuban government.
- Mar. 29 Almacen El Espanol, a shipping agency dealing with Cuba, is bombed.
- May 2 A planned LACASA demonstration is called off because of threats. Cuban and Nicaraguan thugs break up a LACASA press conference.
- May 11 Gaspar Jimenez returns to Miami from prison in Mexico and gets a hero's welcome. He had served time in prison for the attempted assassination of a Cuban diplomat whose bodyguard was killed in the incident.
- May 20 Thousands of Cuban exiles line the streets to show their support for Ronald Reagan. A visitor to the city who refuses to participate is beaten up.
- May 21 City Manager Howard Gary's life is threatened after he refers to Reagan as a racist.
- May 28 Little Havana's Intercontinental Bank is bombed by Omega 7, apparently because Bernardo Benes, a bank official, has advocated dialogue with the Cuban government.
- June 13 The Socialist Workers Party bookstore is firebombed following threats to members of the organization.
- July 30 A film showing by LACASA is threatened by men identifying themselves as Alpha 66 members. A firebomb is thrown in a shed adjoining the church. It causes extensive damage.

**The rightwing Cuban groups . . . are full of confidence  
because they haven't been investigated,  
they're able to operate . . .  
and they have the political power  
in the Republican Party in Miami.**

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free Cuba." It was reminiscent of what Kennedy told the same people before the Bay of Pigs invasion. Reagan continues to feed them what they want to hear, and they do things for him. They hold counter-rallies to our rallies—which is fine, they have every right to do that. But when they hold a rally and get a telegram from the Reagan administration thanking them for their support of the US intervention in Central America, and four days later, our rally is broken up by Cuban thugs....

When you read about Reagan going to Florida to speak to "Hispanic businesspeople," it is these Cubans he is talking to. Most of the Latin population in Miami is Cuban or Nicaraguan. There are many other Latin groups in Miami, but to implicate them as being responsible for any of these actions would be wrong. Only a minority of Cubans and Nicaraguans are active supporters of terrorism, but the terror groups have succeeded in intimidating most of the Latin community into silence.

**The Republican Party**

**Are there other ties between the Republican Party and the Cubans that are involved in terrorist organizations?**

Let me give you an example. When Miami's Black city manager, Howard Gary, criticized Reagan's domestic policies last year, the Cuban groups and the Republican Party quickly made him sorry he had spoken out. The Dade Republican Party organized a huge petition drive to demand Gary's resignation.

Two individuals quoted in the Miami Herald, supporting the petition drive were Santos Rivera, the chairperson of the 1500-

member Florida delegation to the Republican Hispanic Assembly, and Carlos Salmen. Salmen was the chairperson of the Reagan-Bush campaign in Miami and also heads the 500-member rightwing Cuban American National Front.

Together with the petition drive against Gary, death threats started to come in. Gary had to be put under 24-hour police protection and a few days later he had to apologize for making that statement.

I think that incident demonstrates the position the rightwing groups are in. They've been patted on the back by an administration that supports what they are doing. Reagan has come to Miami, he's told them they're doing a good job. They're full of confidence because they haven't been investigated, they're able to operate, they've got a free hand in the radio stations, and they have the political power in the Republican Party in Miami. They've just gained momentum.

It's not as though bombs are going off weekly, though there were some bombings in 1983. But there also isn't a strong progressive element in the community any longer.

**That used to be different?**

Yes. Back in 1978, a contingent of Cuban-American businessmen, church groups, and workers' and community organizations wanted normalization of relations with Cuba. These people were quickly terrorized into not making such statements.

**So the terrorism was quite effective?**

It was extremely effective. The thing that concerns us is that these attacks are no longer isolated in

the Cuban community as they were in the early 1970s. First it was against Cubans that spoke for dialogue with Cuba or for normalization of relations. Then it was against Cubans who spoke against terrorism. One man, Emilio Melian, had his legs blown off in a car bomb because he editorialized against terrorism. So the Cuban community has been literally terrorized into silence. Now we've seen terrorist attacks spread from being directed against progressive Latin groups to being aimed at other progressive groups like LACASA.

**Terrorism Is Spreading**

**Do you see the rightwing harassment and terrorism spreading beyond Miami?**

Miami, we feel, has been almost a test of how to deal with public opinion. When the Reagan administration takes its big hand and goes around the world squashing other governments, it's got to worry about what people at home are thinking. By silencing groups that are speaking what they feel to be the truth about Central America, the administration is able to keep the facts from the American people.

Right now, the administration faces the early development of an anti-war movement in this country through the solidarity networks. The rightwing in Miami has demonstrated that they can keep control of a progressive group by using fascist tactics.

I've heard of more and more similar instances in other places in the country where you have exile communities. People have been attacked in New Orleans. A few months ago, there was an attack in Long Island. Last November a woman was severely threatened in

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## COMMENTS:

NARRATIVE  
 THESE OFFICERS RESPONDED TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS WHERE A PRO COMMUNIST FILM WAS BEING SHOWN. THE FILM WAS TITLED "NICARAGUA UP FROM THE ASHES", AND IT ATTRACTED A GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY 50 DEMONSTRATORS IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY WHO CHANTED SLOGANS CALLING THEM TRADERS. THESE OFFICERS SPOKE TO THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP SHOWING THE FILM, WHITE MALE [REDACTED] AND BLACK MALE [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] STATED THAT THE MOVIE IN FACT WAS PRO COMMUNIST AND THAT HE HAD THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO SHOW IT. THESE OFFICERS ALSO OBSERVED, AS BLACK MALE [REDACTED] STARTED TO SHOUT OBSCENITIES AT THE CROWD, CALLING THEM "SONS OF BITCHES" AND ALSO SAID THAT

IF ANY OF THEM DARE SET FOOT INSIDE THEIR PROPERTY HE WOULD SHOOT THEM AS HE SHOT A MAN ONCE BEFORE. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD SHOT MEN BEFORE AND THAT HE IS NOT AFRAID OF DOING IT AGAIN. LATER ON HE STATED THAT OFFICER GONZALEZ, HOMICIDE UNIT IS A SON OF A BITCH WHO TRIED TO FRAME HIM AND THAT JANET RENO "WAS A CUNT", AND THAT SHE TRIED GET HIM TO GO TO JAIL FOR 70 YEARS, AFTER HE HAD KILLED A MAN, BUT SHE WAS WRONG BECAUSE HE BEAT THE RAP. UPON ARRIVAL, THIS OFFICER CARMES OBSERVED A SOVIET COMMUNIST FLAG BEING PUT INSIDE A BLUE CUSTOMIZED VAN WHICH LEFT THE SCENE A FEW MINUTES LATER. THESE OFFICERS WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP.

This field report filed with the Miami Police Department illustrates the way the police responded when they were called on to protect LACASA members from rightwing Cuban "demonstrators," some of whom identified themselves as members of Alpha 66. The police were summoned to St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, where LACASA was showing a film, to stop Cubans from throwing rocks, damaging cars and physically threatening people attending the event. Shortly after the police left, a building adjoining the church was firebombed. Rev. Don Olson, pastor of St. John's Church, later wrote to the police department: "In reading the enclosed report (INC: 2113937H), I note many obviously erroneous and slanderous statements made by the person(s) preparing the report. It appears to be highly prejudicial and filled with insinuations and misquotations." Indeed, according to LACASA members who were present, virtually the entire report is a fabrication.

San Francisco. Her house was ransacked, by people probably associated with the FDN, a Nicaraguan paramilitary group. So we see the terrorism spreading to other places.

**What do you do to fight it?**

We've gone back to basics in Miami. We have established a Committee for Free Speech. The premise of the Committee is that people have a right to free speech and to assemble. That right has to be reestablished in Miami. We have not been successful in going through the traditional judicial channels. The Justice Department

has not responded to a complaint we filed. So we are gathering more evidence.

We should be on the offensive more. But it's hard because we don't want any martyrs. And we have come close to having martyrs.

**What other groups are you pulling in to broaden the Committee?**

We have some individuals from the American Civil Liberties Union, although—and this is indicative of the tone in Miami—the ACLU would not even officially endorse the Committee for Free Speech in Miami. LACASA, Women's International League for Peace and

Freedom, the Haitian Refugee Center, the American Friends Service Committee and Citizens for a Nuclear Freeze are involved.

We don't have a whole bunch of progressive groups, period, in Miami. We got endorsements from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and from Operation PUSH in Miami, and we tried to get groups from the Cuban community.

We had a rally for free speech on October 14 with about 400 people. There were a lot of threats beforehand. We were all afraid going out there, but it came off well. We had State See MIAMI, p.59

**Nelia Sancho-Liao**

# From Beauty Queen to Political Activist

In mid-October 1983, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was greeted with an unprecedented sight: Some 6,000 women of the Philippine women's movement marched down Manila's equivalent of Wall Street to demand an end to dictatorship. A week later, 8,000 women led a similar protest past the US Embassy and through Manila's tourist district.

These demonstrations, sparked by the brutal assassination of a leading Philippine opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, were testimony to how far the Philippine women's movement has grown in the few years since its birth. As this predominantly Catholic nation of 50 million bubbles up in social upheaval, women seem to be shouting, "Our voices will be heard."

One of these determined women is Nelia Sancho. A decade ago, she was the idol of nearly every young woman in the Philippines; living testimony that a little girl from a lower-middle class Asian family could grow up to be an international beauty queen. As "Queen of the Pacific," Nelia was a household word, a celebrity, and a sign (some said) of just how far the Philippines had come.

Today, Nelia Sancho-Liao—working woman, wife, mother, ex-political detainee, social activist—is still a celebrity, but now for a very different segment of Philippine society. She stands as one of the Philippine women's movement's most prominent figures. In a society where it is not uncommon to clothe little boys in T-shirts blazoned "macho," where

sexist jokes are still more the norm than the exception, and where a veneer of strict Roman Catholicism rules, Nelia has become a very important symbol, a sign that the transformation of Philippine society is already underway. Her journey to the center of controversy in a country now torn by social upheaval has been a long one.

**Let's start at the beginning. Tell us something about your youth and the conditions that you grew up in.**

I would say we came from the lower middle class, verging on middle middle class. Our income wasn't much. I had a struggling father who was the main breadwinner, working and studying to be a lawyer at the same time, and a mother who was a housewife. She tried to supplement the income; she took care of the children; and she did the house chores. And that's also a description of the lives of most women in the Philippines.

**When you were young did you see the inequalities between rich and poor, men and women?**

In terms of rich and poor, yes. In fact, it had a very striking effect on me because that's one characteristic of the middle class: we know what is one step above us and we know what's one step below us. And I think that's probably why we can be called vacillating—sometimes we aspire to the thing one notch above, and sometimes we identify with the people below us in income.

**Had your upbringing encouraged you to want to be a beauty queen?**

Frankly, I was reared in a very sexist way, really molded into identifying with the stereotypical roles of what girls should be and what boys should be doing. It was not just me or my family specifically; it was the cultural molding of Filipino girls and women. Overall, we live in a culture which subjugates women. The media and our educational system do not look down on beauty contests. In fact, they really glorify them, even to this day. They will always show Miss Universe or Miss International on television. The government also likes beauty contests very much, and it even sponsored a Miss Universe pageant in 1974 as a way of drawing the tourists to the country. My joining beauty contests was perhaps just like what other young girls in the Philippines might be thinking: that they'd like to have adventure, to experience other things, to travel for free.

**But you did enter college in the late 1960s to study journalism?**

Yes, I started college in 1968, which was a time of ferment on the campuses. But being middle class and also being considered to be a "pretty girl," my friends then were mainly sorority girls coming from upper-middle class backgrounds. They could easily identify me as part of that circle since I was a so-called "campus beauty."

**This was a time when many of your University of the Philippines**

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but I was now living among the poor,  
I was a "subversive."**

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classmates were organizing some of the largest student demonstrations in Philippine history.

While all those things were going on, I was just a detached observer. Then, I started to ask myself, why were the students demonstrating, why were they getting themselves so involved with broader issues, and why were they willing to suffer from truncheons and other police brutality during demonstrations? My awareness grew because of the atmosphere in the campus and particularly, I think, because of the subject I was studying: journalism.

I think that about 90 percent of my journalism classmates were analyzing the reality about them, starting with the state of the media in the country. They were discussing what journalism is; is there such a thing as objective journalism; and, finally, ending up pushing towards something you could call "committed journalism." The analysis was that we have a media whose interests are linked with a few business interests and with the government's interests. But, instead, what we need is a kind of developmental journalism that is committed to the interests of the majority of poor and oppressed people in our country.

So, it mainly started out that way, just a natural environment for raising awareness. When martial law was declared [by President Marcos in September 1972], three of my professors were detained for their outspoken views about the state of the media and its being controlled by the interests of business.

At the same time, you were pursuing your "campus beauty" career?

Yes, from 1968 to 1971, I got myself involved in social things—not social reality, but the frivolous social life of "pretty women." I was—modeling and entering beauty contests. In 1969, I was first runner-up in the Miss Philippines contest. And in 1971, I won an international contest for the Queen of the Pacific, after which I was made to travel around—New York, London, Paris, Rome—which was also a good experience.

Given your current involvement in the Philippine women's movement, it's hard to imagine you parading around in a bathing suit. Did the idea that women should not be marketed as sex objects ever enter your mind?

At the time that I won the contest, the women's campaign about the sexual exploitation of beauty contests had not yet even started. It was only around 1972 that I heard of a women's organization—probably the first Philippine feminist organization ever—called MAKIBAKA or "Liberation Movement of New Women." It was founded in 1970, and it staged demonstrations picketing beauty contests.

How was it that the Queen of the Pacific decided to leave her wonderland behind and eventually ended up living and working in an urban slum back home in the Philippines?

The experience of being a beauty queen itself and modelling experiences in the previous years taught me what it really meant. I was able to see on my own that beauty contests were part of the problem. Women being exploited

as a commodity, a sex commodity.

I was not able to come to this conclusion right away. I had to feel it for myself, had to feel that I wasn't taken for what I was as a person, but for what I looked like: simply a "pretty girl." I could feel it when I tried to talk to people about current events. They would not take me seriously and instead would talk in what they call small talk.

It's what they all expect you to do: small talk, smile, and look pretty. I didn't like it. I didn't like the way I was being treated.

At the same time, I also had conversation with some foreigners during my travels. That was a surprising discovery for me: not all people glorified beauty contests as they do in the Philippines. In America, the people I interacted with at that time, well, they liked beauty queens. But in Europe, I met some very ordinary people, and they said, "beauty queen?"—they didn't like it at all.

So, things started to dawn on me, forcing me to start asking questions and to be critical about it. But still, I was not able to form a very highfalutin analysis about it.

Even the women's liberation movement in the West is very much distorted in our media. So that does not help us at all in raising our consciousness of the legitimate issues of women's liberation.

Yet, your consciousness grew. How and when did you eventually act on that new consciousness?

After one year, I decided on my own to leave that life of "pretty women." It was just a personal decision, nothing to do with politics. It was just the way I felt:

**Since foreign interests are so strong in our country,  
the women's movement is striving  
to end the abuse of our women and our society  
by foreign corporations,  
tourists and military interests.**

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that I did not like being treated that way. I wanted to be considered more for the capacity or the potential that I had as a woman and as a person, not just by looking pretty and modelling nice clothes. So perhaps that was the start of my awareness, when I decided to stop.

I went back to the university in 1972, just before martial law was declared. The student demonstrations against the government of President Ferdinand Marcos were going on very strong. I decided to become very open about new things, to learn new things, because I did not know where to go after that experience of the contests. So, I started to look around, to sit down at events like teach-ins, just to listen. I started to read books and materials about Philippine reality. In other words, I became very conscious about

located, to help out in the disaster relief campaign after the very big floods that happened at that time. I was really taken aback by the situation that I saw: people living in such horrible poverty. It was quite a shock — the contrast between my life and the life of the majority of poor Filipino peasants. But I also got exposed to farmers who knew how to analyze their own situation. They were telling me that the floods were not really their main problem. They said they had problems with the system, and with the multinational corporations ravaging their forest, and with their logs being exported.

**And from your face, it's clear that that experience had a strong effect on you.**

Yes, it was only two weeks, but it

**How did those two weeks change you?**

It was just before martial law was declared. When I went back to Manila, I really started to join demonstrations because I had internalized in some way the feeling of neglect that the farmers had. When I heard speakers talking about graft and corruption and about how we should be looking after the people's welfare, I could already empathize with it. It wasn't just a rhetorical statement anymore. It was something I really understood.

But even then, though I felt I had left the world of "pretty girls" far behind, I also heard some comments about me from people who were protesting. Some of them were happy that I joined in demonstrations because they considered me a kind of celebrity—I was always publicized in the papers for some minor involvement in this and that. But then I heard remarks that perhaps I was just joining because it was the thing to do.

Then martial law was declared in September 1972, which was another experience.

**How so? How did your life change after that?**

I saw immediate effects of the repression. Many of my classmates decided to hide—not because they had done anything wrong, but because they didn't know what would happen now with the martial law state. We heard many reports of thousands of arrests. My own teachers were arrested. Martial law meant arrest, indefinite detention, and, for some, solitary confinement. And there were reports of torture.

## Marcos on Women

Ferdinand Marcos on the growing number of women demonstrators: "I don't want to have anything to do with them. I have enough problems with men. One rule that I have adopted; you don't see any women on my staff. I am not a male chauvinist. I like pretty women. I admire beauty as you can see through the way I married. But I would rather have nothing to do with the neurotic women of today. They are so neurotic they don't know what they want. They don't even know whether to look beautiful or to be male reformers, and that certainly makes for a strange animal." (Fortune, 11/28/83)

national issues—but not yet about women's issues even though it was my experience as a beauty queen that had made me very open.

In the latter part of 1972, just one month before martial law, I got involved with a team of student volunteers who travelled to the central region of Luzon, the Philippine island where Manila is

was a direct and deep kind of involvement: seeing poverty directly and being with the people and listening to them. We stayed with one peasant family after another in those two weeks, so we saw and heard a lot. Our main purpose was to distribute relief foods, but, in turn, we were educated by the peasants.

# Martial law meant arrest, indefinite detention, and, for some, solitary confinement.

## And there were reports of torture.

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After a while, I decided to stop school. It was hard to stay on with all these things happening. So, I didn't finish that school year. I never got back to finish.

A social action group invited me to the southern Philippine island of Mindanao around 1973. Actually, this was not such an uncommon thing. Many of my classmates also left the privileged world of the university for urban slums or poor rural areas where the majority of Filipinos live. Until 1976, I lived with an urban poor family there in a slum in a small provincial city. I lived as they lived and what they ate, I ate. It was mainly very simple fare of a lot of rice and "bagoong," the dried salted fish that is the subsistence diet of poor Filipinos. That's how I developed a real appetite for food. You know, the feeling of deprivation makes you learn to eat.

**And that was where you were arrested?**

It was February 1976. I was twenty-five years old, married, and I was arrested in an urban poor community. In the Philippines, if you decide to live and work with the poor by choice, you are called "subversive." So the government's side of the story was that since I was a beauty queen and university student, but I was now living among the poor, I was a "subversive."

But they never actually charged me with anything. The law is such that they didn't have to. It was indefinite detention—you don't know when or if you will be released. But still, maybe because I was well known, my experience was relatively mild compared to what numerous other

d detainees have gone through. But it was still a very difficult experience for me, that imprisonment for two-and-a-half years. Especially difficult was the one month I was in solitary confinement in an interrogation house.

**What does it mean to be in solitary confinement in an interrogation house?**

It was a place where they put detainees right after arrest for interrogation. I was there for one month. I was not able to talk to anybody except the guards.

**Was your family able to visit you?**

I was visited by my father, but only once. Most of the time I was alone, and that experience was extremely hard for me because of the boredom and depression and those repeated questions, over and over again: "why were you there living with the poor?"

I kept asking them to transfer me to a regular detention place. But nothing happened. So, I went on a hunger strike. It was just my own idea. It was because I felt I had to fight for my sanity; I had to talk with other people. So I decided that I would fight for it, or else I would lose my spirit, or they would break me.

Well, I just missed two meals and right away the next day, they moved me to another detention camp in Manila. And then, three months later, we political detainees were moved to Camp Bicutan which was the newly-opened, so-called "rehabilitation" place for detainees. It had lots and lots of buildings. It was built, I think, for the many political detainees to come.

**You were with other political detainees at this camp?**

Yes. The experience there, sharing with other detainees, taught me what it really meant to be arrested and detained. That's why I am able to say that my own experience was relatively mild. I heard their accounts of tortures and abuses suffered at the hands of the military men who arrested them. It was a common story from one detainee to the next—suffering from electric shock in the genitals or in other parts of the body.

But what was really more moving for me at that time was the experience of the women detainees. One girl seemed to be having a nervous breakdown, and it was very hard to communicate with her at the start. Later, she started talking about what she had gone through. Besides the physical abuses, she had suffered sexual abuses. The military interrogators played with various parts of her body and threatened her several times with rape. I guess she wasn't actually raped, but I think what she suffered was just as terrible.

Some of the women detainees did very well in coping with the abuse. Another girl said that while interrogating her, they fingered her vagina. They did it to break her down, to make her lose her sanity through indignity and anger. But she said she made it appear to the military that, okay, you do that to me, but you cannot break me down with that. After they saw that it wasn't affecting her, they stopped.

**When did you become really interested in devoting some of your life to women's issues?**

This period of two-and-a-half years

of detention became a real learning experience for me as to what repression and inhuman prison conditions of men and women mean. So, I said, if these things happen to ordinary people, I think it's something that needs to be changed.

We staged two hunger strikes at that time, and mostly in the forefront were the women detainees. We were the most outspoken and could really fight it out with the guards or whichever officers came in to try to suppress us. And I think this helped a lot also to boost the morale of the other detainees.

**Your husband was arrested a year after you and is still a political detainee. How have you coped with that?**

It is a very difficult situation to be a single parent with my husband in prison. I've got to care for the children and to earn my living. I am part of a group that organized a day care center in Manila. At the same time, I must work for change, while specifically working for the release of not only my husband but also other political detainees.

**Did the brutality that you saw towards women during your imprisonment lead you into involvement with women's issues?**

It was a kind of gradual awakening about women's issues. In prison, I became very much aware of the decisive participation of women in the human rights movement and in the struggles of the people for freedom, justice and democracy, and against exploitation of our land and resources by foreign powers. I also, saw how outspoken and strong women could be.

But the consciousness of women's problems of repression and exploitation actually evolved a little more slowly. My addressing issues specific to women started with the issues raised about women detainees: besides equally suffering with the male detainees, what was done to them as women to make them lose their dignity and how sex was used as a weapon of harassment to break their will.

My awareness spread after I was released as I reexamined the experience of many housewives—

even women in the progressive forces who have to take on a lot of responsibilities for childcare and house chores. I began to understand the kind of molding we get from society. Being a housewife is assigned to us as a traditional role, and so now I have seen how important it is to educate both men and women, from the progressive forces down to the majority of the population.

**So you see the women's movement in the Philippines as part of a larger movement?**

In the Philippines—and perhaps all Third World settings—we have to address ourselves to national problems. Women are part of the people and so are equally affected by the national problems of exploitation and repression.

At the same time, we see the necessity simultaneously to work on women's issues, defining a distinct program so that women can fight for greater participation in the national struggle. It is essential to organize women as a political force, which is why we're building the Alliance of Women Against Repression and Exploitation, AWARE.

**What are the principal goals of AWARE and the Philippine women's movement?**

The organized women's movement in the Philippines is focusing on four areas where we believe exploitation and repression have been the worst. First, the economic participation of women. In many parts of the economy, women serve as an unpaid reserve of labor, especially in agriculture and household chores.

Second, in the commercial and industrial sector, our government advertises our women as cheap labor. This is, in fact, the case. Even when women are paid salaries, it is seldom enough to meet the needs of their families.

Third, women are often treated as sex objects. Prostitution has increased to unprecedented levels to serve Western sex tours to our country as well as the "needs" of American soldiers stationed at the US military bases.

Finally—and I have seen this myself—women are the objects of sexual intimidation and terror by

the armed forces in order to suppress dissent. AWARE is trying to raise awareness of these problems among the people, both women and men. But awareness is only the first step. It is also fighting for the democratic rights of women and to give women an equal place in society. Since foreign interests are so strong in our country, the women's movement is striving to end the abuse of our women and our society by foreign corporations, tourists, and military interests.

**Do you see the women's movement as primarily the responsibility of women, or do you see a distinct role for men as well?**

Well, when you talk about childcare or rather, lack of childcare support, it's not just a women's problem. If you talk about low wages, it's not just a problem of the women, although in that context it's a double exploitation of women. When we talk about parenting responsibilities, it's not just a problem of our women principally. Overall, it is the inhuman conditions that we live in, the poverty, which does not allow us to be good parents. How can we provide for our children's needs, when the society does not support the parents?

So we cannot help but always relate it to the larger context. When we do that, we see that both women and men are affected by common problems of repression and exploitation. Fortunately, it is very much recognized among people working for change in the Philippines that Filipino women have a decisive role to play in building a new society. Through AWARE and other women's groups, we Filipino women are learning to break our silence and put our problems into political demands. █

# Censorship

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## Reagan Prepares Censorship Law

John Kelly

President Reagan, in his crusade against "leakers" within the government, claims that unauthorized leaks to the news media have endangered national security, and that stories based on leaks have harmed US relations with "another country." To clamp down a tight lid on secrecy, Reagan, in March 1983, signed an "Executive Order on Protecting National Security." So far, Congress has blocked the implementation of this order.

Under the Executive Order, all US government employees with access to "sensitive" information—they number in the tens of thousands—would be required to sign lifetime secrecy agreements as a condition of employment. Both during and after their tenures, these employees would have to submit all their writings to the government for pre-publication clearance. During the investigation of a leak, the FBI could demand that these officials submit to a lie detector test—whether or not they are reasonably suspected of leaking information. Refusal to take the test could be the basis for dismissal. The Reagan administration also proposes prison terms and fines for convicted leakers.

An examination of a series of classified Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) documents suggests that Reagan's proposed crackdown might be motivated by reasons entirely different from the publicly-expressed "national security concerns" rationale. Some classified documents may need to be kept secret simply because they are embarrassing or because they contradict the

government's public announcements. The cables in this collection, for example, document the following:

- Contrary to the administration's claim that it is arming Honduras only to enable that country's military to defend the border, Honduran troops have aided the Salvadoran military in its war against the guerrillas there.
- The US government is aware that South Africa is engaged in a disinformation campaign about its military operations against Namibia.
- Contradicting Reagan's public claim that his administration's "constructive engagement" policy (i.e., no public pressure or sanctions) toward South Africa is working to abolish that country's apartheid system, South African authorities continue their brutal repression against Black workers.

### Honduras

The Reagan administration has been silent on Honduras' joint military operations with El Salvador while greatly increasing military aid to Honduras on the grounds that it needs it for defense. A secret Defense Intelligence Agency cable of July 29, 1982, reveals these joint Honduran-Salvadoran operations. In July 1982, "Honduran forces in blocking positions along the border [with El Salvador] ... had been deployed at considerable cost and effort." The deployment of the Honduran troops had been coordinated in

advance with sweep operations by the Salvadoran military in San Vincente and Chalatenango, El Salvador. The Honduran troops were in place to shell and attack any retreating Salvadoran guerrillas.

The DIA cable further suggested that the Salvadoran military attacked not military targets but civilians. "The operation in San Vincente Department, conducted by the US-trained Atlacatl battalion, concluded on 15 July, one day after it began. There was no reported contact with the insurgents." Nonetheless, there were said to be casualties during the attack.

Describing the Salvadoran military operation in Chalatenango, the cable said that "reportedly the Salvadoran Commander concentrated only on capturing two towns and failed to focus on the insurgent forces." When the administration brought these Salvadoran troops to the United States for training, it had said that they would be trained to concentrate on military targets and to avoid civilians. The Pentagon has also remained silent on the poor performance of these US-trained troops while it is preparing to bring thousands more to the United States.

#### Costa Rica

Long before the US media—never mind the Reagan administration—even hinted at it, another DIA report of July 1982 stated that "at least two insurgent attacks have been launched from Costa Rica" into Nicaragua. The DIA identified three anti-Sandinista groups operating out of Costa Rica: the Nicaraguan Democratic Union/Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces, "active in southern Nicaragua in 1981;" the Nicaraguan Christian Army, which includes members of the late dictator Somoza's National Guard; and the Sandino Revolutionary Front which operates the "Radio Voice of Sandino." The DIA report said that the Front "is believed to be preparing to stage such activity [military raids into Nicaragua] by year's end." The Front is now conducting such raids.

#### South Africa

The Reagan administration's South Africa policy has shunned public pressure and sanctions in favor of purported "behind the scenes" diplomacy to get that government to change its racist policies. The administration supports the presence of US corporations in South Africa, saying they provide jobs for Black workers. In a recent vote in favor of a \$1.1 billion International Monetary Fund loan to South Africa, US IMF director Richard Erb praised South Africa's training and education programs which he said were opening up the labor market for Blacks. Some 300 US corporations

continue to operate in South Africa. (Even CIA Director William Casey has investments in mining operations there.)

A secret DIA report paints a different picture. It points out that Black miners are not unionized and that their grievances are dealt with exclusively by force. In a recent peaceful demonstration, says the DIA, "at least 10 deaths and numerous injuries" of Black miners occurred. "Moreover, many blacks have been arrested and dismissed from their jobs." If mines are closed, "racial tensions could intensify, since most of those likely to be dismissed would be black workers." The report concludes: "Thus far, the authorities do not seem prepared to respond to their [Black miners'] demands through any means other than force."

One public justification for the administration's rapprochement with South Africa is the alleged strategic value of its ports. A secret DIA report illustrates US government awareness that the South Africans are consciously manipulating this issue to garner Western support: "South African Chief of Naval Operations RADM [Rear Admiral] Andries Putter recently indicated that Western warships would soon not be able to use the facilities at the Simonstown Naval Base during an emergency.... The South African media interpreted RADM Putter's statement as a warning to the West to revise its policies before Simonstown is allowed to deteriorate. Press reaction should be viewed in the context of the continuing efforts by South Africa to limit its international isolation by emphasizing to Western powers the significance

## **Reagan's Executive Order would be the United States of America's first unofficial Official Secrets Act.**

of the Cape Sea Route and Simonstown." The DIA report suggests that in reality Putter's remarks "represent a realistic assessment of the limited value of Simonstown."

#### Namibia

On Namibia, the Reagan administration usually claims that the main obstacle to a peaceful settlement is the presence of Cuban troops in

Angola. Simultaneously, the administration downplays repeated South African raids into Angola. Secret DIA cables do not blame Cuban troops but rather South African raids for undermining "recent diplomatic initiatives aimed at a peaceful resolution to the Namibian conflict."

Detailed descriptions of these raids in the DIA cables make clear that they are pre-planned, full-scale military incursions, and not "hot pursuit" operations after fleeing guerrillas. The DIA cables also accuse the South Africans of lying about these invasions. A November 4, 1981, DIA cable says that South African military headquarters in Pretoria "has denied press reports that a major cross-border strike is underway. Privately, however, military officials acknowledge continuous 'follow-up' operations in the aftermath of their recent large-scale incursion into Southern Angola." The same cable considered it possible that this incursion was aimed at "solely Angolan military targets" and not at camps and facilities of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO).

A year later, the South Africans were at it again, according to the DIA. A July 23, 1982, cable reported the deployment of 14 South African Mirage fighter jets along with an augmented mechanized infantry battalion. This deployment was accompanied by a South African

cable: "The validity of these documents is uncertain. The South Africans have been reinforcing their military positions in both Southern Angola and Northern Namibia. This buildup is indicative of preparations for a major cross-border raid into Angola. Thus, the warning to the UN, together with the allegations of SWAPO treachery, may reflect Pretoria's efforts to lay the political groundwork for justifying another major military incursion into Soutern [sic] Angola." After all, noted another DIA cable, "an incursion could be planned for the near future, it is that time of year again...."

Indeed, it was that time of the year again: South Africa launched an invasion of Angola in August 1982. The invasion was pushed even farther north into Angola after the South Africans supposedly captured more SWAPO "plans" allegedly documenting that SWAPO intended to violate a cease-fire agreement.

The DIA's assessment of these captured documents and the invasion was summarized in a secret cable of August 11, 1982: "The [South African] military seems to be using these documents, the validity of which is uncertain, to justify an escalation in its counterinsurgency activity in South-Central Angola....The publicity now surrounding this activity may seriously undermine US and Western efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question."



disinformation campaign warning the United Nations Secretary General that South Africa would retaliate against any escalation of SWAPO activities in Namibia. According to the DIA cable, "thus far, there is no evidence of an escalation [by SWAPO]. Either the South Africans are reacting to a valid threat perception, based on their own intelligence, which could be faulty, or they have issued the warning to the UN to serve as a pretext for offensive action."

A follow-up cable of July 30, 1982, reported a South African claim, based on captured documents, of plans for wide-scale increases of SWAPO guerrilla operations. Concludes the DIA

#### An Unofficial "Official Secrets Act"?

It remains a mystery why the information provided in these cables would endanger US national security. Public release might, however, endanger the Reagan administration's credibility. When asked to back up their claims that national security is at stake, proponents of the Executive Order and other secrecy laws find a convenient way out. For example, Daniel Silver, who authored the CIA's secrecy agreement—a prototype for Reagan's Executive Order—failed to provide even one example of how a leak had endangered national security on a recent McNeil-Lehrer show. Silver said that to do so would disclose classified information.

Reagan's Executive Order would be the United States of America's first unofficial Official Secrets Act. "The effect of the new Presidential directive," charged Senator Daniel Moynihan in a speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, "could well be to strike at the heart of the ability of the public to be informed about their government."

Moynihan and other opponents of the order will get another chance to continue fighting it. In April 1984, Congress is to review an amendment passed last year to block implementation of the order. ☐

# British Government Clamps Down on Journalists

Morris Riley

The reach of British government censors has apparently extended to influence book publishing in the United States. The censors certainly did so in the case of The Circus (Stein and Day, New York, 1983), a history of the internal British intelligence agency, MI5, written by Nigel West. The British edition, MI5 - A Matter of Trust, was published by Weidenfeld in London in early 1983 after heavy-handed government pressure forced the deletion of several segments.

When the book was to be released in the United States, it appeared first that it would be published with the censored portions intact. Indeed, the Boston Globe reported that "copies of the US edition cannot be sold in Britain and any that are taken into the country are liable to seizure."<sup>1</sup> As it turns out, the British government censors had their way with the US edition also. In the words of Nigel West, the US reader "will notice that there are now half a dozen blank spaces in the [MI5] organisational charts." The US edition, as we shall later see, only contained one new area, unseen by readers of the British edition.

West's book is but one on a constantly growing list of books and articles that have fallen victim to an upsurge in censorship activity by the British government. Over the last eighteen months, censorship has changed markedly in dealing with "sensitive" information. More and more often, legal injunctions are issued to curtail publication.

Prior to 1982, censorship did not often have to resort to legal measures. Instead, it mainly took the form of unofficial arrangements with friendly newspaper editors who "spiked" (killed) articles, or leaned on recalcitrant staff. Pressure tactics—D Notices (see sidebar)—were (and still are) used.

In the past two years these D Notices, which have no legal sanction, have been supplemented by legal measures. When, for example, the

London City Limits in October 1982 published an article based on "secret" information, British intelligence prompted the government to slap an injunction on the paper. City Limits had received documents, some marked secret, confidential, or restricted, concerning foreign policy matters. The injunction instructed City Limits to return the documents to the government and not write any articles about them beyond the one already published.



Just to make sure the injunction had sufficiently convinced the paper's editors, Detective Chief Superintendent Robert Hardy of Scotland Yard's Serious Crimes Squad, along with four detectives, visited the offices of City Limits late in the afternoon of October 4, 1982 armed with a search

warrant. City Limits editor Duncan Campbell was ordered to hand over the bundle of Foreign Office Documents.

Campbell complied, but was bemused by the whole affair. "I could understand it all if we had published details about troop deployment and movements on the Falklands—but not this innocuous stuff."<sup>2</sup> The documents, dealing with US sanctions against companies involved in the construction of the Siberian natural gas pipeline to Western Europe, British reaction to Israel's invasion of Lebanon ("no surprise"), its attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Common Market and NATO issues, contain no major revelations. The only reason the British government would consider them "sensitive" is because they are embarrassing, demonstrating discrepancies between the public and the private positions taken by the British government.

But sensitive or not, Foreign Office official Robin Gordon-Walker, who had lost the papers on the subway, found himself in court and charged under Section 2(1)(e) of the 1911 Official Secrets Act. This section declares that a person has

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## The reach of British government censors has apparently extended to influence book publishing in the United States.

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committed an offense if he or she "fails to take reasonable care of, or so conducts himself as to endanger the safety of [any official information]". It didn't help Gordon-Walker much that the prosecution itself admitted the documents were "of not too sensitive a nature."<sup>3</sup> He was convicted and fined £500.00 in January 1983.

Only days after City Limits received its injunction, another one was served on Weidenfeld, the London publisher of A Matter of Trust. The injunction, issued by Justice Russell on the request of Attorney General, Sir Michael Havers, also covered all British newspapers and magazines. Havers had argued that the book "could seriously damage the security services"; and that it contained "previously unpublished information classified as secret."<sup>4</sup> A Matter of Trust, according to the Attorney General, also describes "incidents, operations and investigations which can only have been related by past or present members of the Security Service."<sup>5</sup>

After protracted maneuvering and protests by West, the Attorney General agreed to lift the injunction "on the condition that the author made some 30 deletions from the original manuscript."<sup>6</sup> The injunction, however, remained in effect against all other British publishers.

Most of the 30 deletions applied to these two areas: charts dealing with the organizational structure of MI5, including the names of many high officers; and allegations that the head of MI5 from 1972 to 1979 was a suspected Soviet agent and the subject of "very serious and prolonged investigations."<sup>7</sup> This official for whom the Soviet agent allegations were deleted from the British edition—is Sir Michael Hanley. What West had written in his original manuscript would certainly not have been news to any other major intelligence service. Publication of the matter in Britain, however, would have been embarrassing for the Thatcher government.

Also of embarrassment to the British government was the publication of British Intelligence and Covert Action by Jonathan Bloch and Patrick Fitzgerald (Junction Books, London,

## D Notice No. 6

D Notices, sent out by the Defence, Press and Broadcasting Committee, are still widely used in Britain to intimidate writers and editors. The Secretary of the Committee sends these notices to journalists to pressure them to send "sensitive" articles to the Committee for pre-clearance. D Notice No. 6, for instance, requests "that nothing should be published without reference to the Secretary [of the Committee] about":

- "specific operations of the security and intelligence services and those involved with them;"
- "details of the manner in which operational methods... are actually applied and of their targets;"
- "the identities, whereabouts and tasks of persons employed by these services...;"
- "the addresses and telephone numbers used by these services;"
- "the organisational structures, communications networks, numerical strengths, and training techniques of these services...; and
- "technical advances by the security and intelligence services, in relation to their intelligence and counter-intelligence methods, whether the basic methods are well known or not."

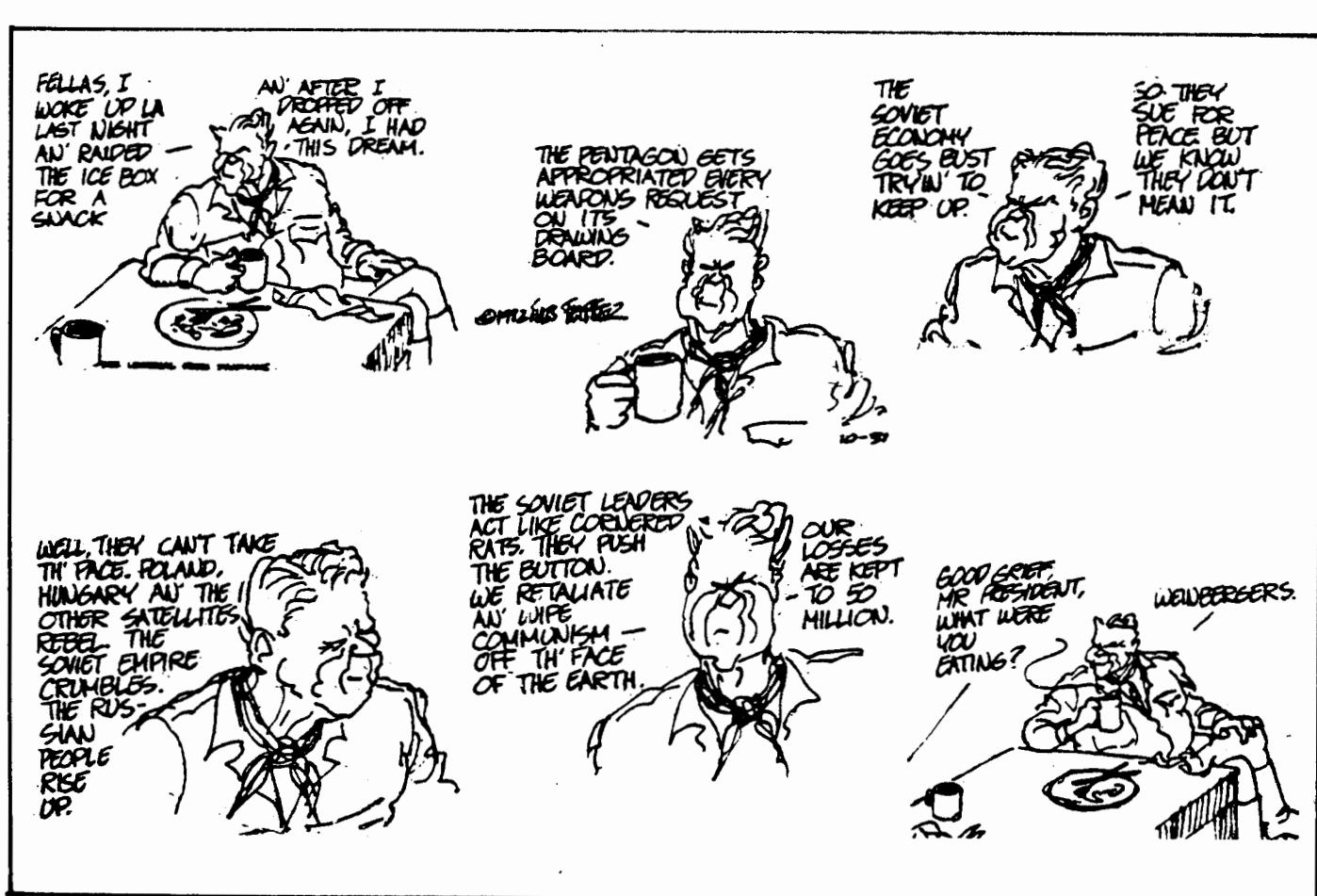
1983). It describes British intelligence operations over the last 30 years, ranging from Malaysia to Ireland, including coups in Africa and the Middle East. In addition, British Intelligence and Covert Action identifies more than 100 former and currently serving British intelligence officers.

Needless to say, the idea of publication did not go over well with the British government, particularly the "Defence, Press and Broadcasting Committee" which is in charge of handing out D Notices. Its secretary, Rear Admiral N.W. Ash, without having seen the book, wrote to Junction Books on March 24, 1983 that the intended publication would be "very harmful to the national interest." On April 25 Ash fired off another letter, stating that "I now understand that the book contains an appendix which identifies a number of people as being British intelligence officials involved in intelligence." By then, Ash had "obtained" a copy of the book, but not from the authors or Junction Books. His copy had been stolen from the home of Jonathan Bloch by an intelligence operative.<sup>8</sup> When questioned by The Guardian (London) about how he had obtained a copy, Ash lamely explained that "sometimes we get [books] in the post and sometimes they are drawn to our attention."<sup>9</sup>

Nonetheless, in the end it was Ash and his D Notice Committee that were outmaneuvered. Bloch and Fitzgerald had played their cards well. Fearing that the government would issue an injunction against the book, they had it published quickly before the government could act. All Ash could do was inform Bloch and Fitzgerald that the book "constitutes an extensive and serious breach of D-Notice No. 6." (See sidebar).

#### Footnotes

- 1) See John Bierman, "Intrigue Surrounds the Effort of Briton to Tell his Spy Story," Boston Globe, 3/30/83.
- 2) Information from Campbell to the author.
- 3) See Duncan Campbell, "Behind Closed Doors," Sunday Times Magazine, 8/21/83.
- 4) Cf. supra, #1.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) See Simon Freeman and Barrie Penrose, "MI5 Spied on its Own Moles," Sunday Times, 11/19/82.
- 7) Ibid.
- 8) Information from Bloch to the author.
- 9) The Guardian (London), 5/3/83.



# Military Issues

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## New Pentagon Budget

# War in Space and Third World Intervention

Konrad Ege

February 1, 1984, the Senate Caucus Room: Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Joint Chiefs of Staff head Gen. John Vessey, towing behind them a large entourage of middle-aged, white men, enter the room to present the Fiscal Year 1984 military budget request. Texas Senator John Tower, who chairs the Senate Armed Services Committee, greets Weinberger with a hug. Photographers click away and direct the two men to move into the light of the chandelier overhead. Weinberger and Tower oblige, still embracing.

The hearings commence. Little has changed since last year, or the year before that. Weinberger, standing against a background of various colorful charts, explains that the United States military still needs to catch up to the Soviets after a "decade of neglect." That "catch up," says the Reagan administration, will cost \$305 billion, a 13 percent increase (after inflation) over the Fiscal Year 1984 budget. (President Carter's Fiscal Year 1980 military budget — in 1985 dollars — was \$192 billion.)

Weinberger's charges of "neglect" and his charts and graphs supposedly illustrating Soviet advantages went largely unchallenged. Few senators questioned the discrepancy between Weinberger's clamor about the "need" for continued spending increases to "restore" the

"military balance" and Ronald Reagan's January 16, 1984 speech. In that speech, the President proclaimed that "America's... restored deterrence has made the world safer." (Emphasis added.)

### Nuclear War Is Winnable

Testimony from Vessey and Weinberger and the Pentagon's Annual Report to Congress for Fiscal Year 1985 illustrate that the Reagan administration—contrary to public relations statements—still operates under the belief that there can be a winner in a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Says Weinberger's Annual Report: "We must plan for flexibility in our forces and in our options for response, so that we might terminate the conflict on terms favorable to the forces of freedom, and reestablish deterrence at the lowest possible level of violence...." Or General Vessey: "Should deterrence fail, the strategy is to restore peace on favorable terms, and at the lowest scope of intensity of warfare consistent with our objectives."

Weinberger's budget request includes a substantial increase in spending for strategic nuclear weapons programs. The budget for the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) force alone is to rise from \$4.75 billion last fiscal year to \$5.85 billion, most of that for procurement of

61 MX missiles over these two years. (In Fiscal Year 1986, Weinberger plans to buy another 48 MX missiles, bringing the total to 109.) \$345.4 million will be spent in 1985 on developing a small, mobile ICBM, despite the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty which forbids the deployment of more than one new ICBM type. (This new type is the MX missile; the small mobile ICBM would be a second missile type.)

Another big jump in spending for nuclear war is for the development of the sea-launched Trident II missiles (\$2.09 billion in 1985, up from \$1.47 billion in 1984). These missiles, proclaims the Pentagon's Annual Report, have "the capability to put hard targets at risk." In other words, they serve as sea-based first strike weapons, capable of destroying Soviet missiles in hardened silos before they are launched.

The administration wants to spend \$7.71 billion for 34 B-1 bombers. (17 others are being bought with funds appropriated in previous years.) The Air Force is also equipping B-52 bombers with low-flying nuclear Air Launched Cruise Missiles; 90 B-52s will be equipped by the end of Fiscal Year 1984, and the Pentagon is also developing a new advanced Air Launched Cruise Missile with a longer range to be deployed on the B-52 and the B-1 bombers.

Weinberger's 1985 report is notably vague in its discussion of the intermediate range nuclear weapons program, i.e. the Pershing II and the Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles now being deployed in Europe. No procurement or cost figures are provided. According to the 1984 Annual Report, 120 cruise missiles and 104 Pershing II missiles were to be procured in 1985 (bringing the Pershing II total to 311).

A key element of Reagan's "nuclear war fighting" plans is the continued improvement of the command, control and communications (C<sup>3</sup>) facilities. Further improvement is needed so that "we could employ our forces effectively," says the report. "These systems also must be able to ensure that our forces would... remain responsive to national authority both during and after an attack." Improving the C<sup>3</sup> system means spending more than \$1 billion on strategic communications, including the Military Strategic and Tactical Relay (MILSTAR) satellite communications system. MILSTAR, "now in full-scale development, will use extremely high frequency (EHF) communications which are... less susceptible... to the effects of nuclear detonations and jamming. The satellites also will incorporate a variety of survivable features to ensure their continued availability in a nuclear war." \$327 million will be spent to improve military command centers; they "must be able to survive a nuclear attack and continue to support decisionmaking and control of our strategic forces."

### Planning for War in Space

Reagan's highly touted "vision of a future which offers hope" — his intention to build an anti-ballistic missile system — is a key component of the 1985 budget request. President Reagan, for all intents and purposes, has announced that his government intends to break the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty which forbids the development and deployment of exactly such a system.

The "Strategic Defense Initiative," as the Pentagon refers to Reagan's ABM plan, will cost some \$1.78 billion in Fiscal Year 1985, and \$3.8 billion in Fiscal Year 1986. Caspar Weinberger waxes philosophical when discussing the implications of the ABM program: "I believe it

## Ronald Reagan's Star Wars scenario is moving towards becoming reality. Treaty constraints on the arms race in space are being ignored.

is the most significant step we can and will take to preserve peace with freedom and to pass on to our children the legacy of a safer world. It is a program that offers the hope of rendering nuclear missiles impotent. Removing this horror from the future is one of our highest priorities."

What Weinberger and Reagan don't mention is that a space-based anti-ballistic missile system is a key component of a first strike capability. It is highly unlikely that an ABM system — no matter how advanced — would be so perfect as to do what Reagan claims it will: destroy all incoming missiles in a massive Soviet attack. What an ABM system might be able to do, though, is to destroy a much more limited Soviet retaliatory strike following a US nuclear attack.

Space warfare plans go even beyond the ABM system. On January 21, 1984, an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon was launched from an F-15 fighter plane toward "a point in space." It was the first test flight of a new advanced weapon designed to destroy Soviet satellites. By the end of the decade, the Reagan administration plans to have in operation a total of 112 anti-satellite weapons, based at Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, and

at McChord Air Force Base in Washington.

The Pentagon will also make increased use of the Space Shuttle. Construction of a shuttle facility at Vandenberg Air Force Base is scheduled to be completed by October 1985. Under Reagan's July 1982 National Space Policy, both the Air Force and the Navy established space commands, and the Defense Advanced Projects Research Area (DARPA) is focusing its efforts on "high-energy laser and particle-beam research, which provides the foundation for implementing both space-based and ground-based directed-energy weapons." These weapons would be used in anti-satellite and ballistic missile defense missions.

Ronald Reagan's Star Wars scenario is moving towards becoming reality. Treaty constraints on an arms race in space are being ignored, and the Reagan administration is unwilling to negotiate limitations on space weapons. Weinberger is determined not to discuss such limits with the Soviet Union — if ever — at least until the United States has a vastly superior space weapons arsenal. ASAT testflights represent yet another chance for arms control that is now lost.

#### Wars in the Third World

More than any other Annual Report written by Secretary Weinberger, the Fiscal Year 1985

report stresses the need to prepare for Third World conflicts. "Over the next several years, we could find ourselves facing serious challenges in a number of areas around the globe — perhaps simultaneously," writes Weinberger. "In the last year alone, we have dealt with incidents and crises in such widely separated places as Lebanon, Chad, Central America, and the Caribbean."

The US "victory" in Grenada features prominently in Weinberger's report. "Grenada reinforced a lesson from the 1982 war in the Falklands: we must not only structure our forces to cope with potential contingencies that we can foresee, but must also provide ourselves with the wherewithal to deal with the 'unforeseen contingency.'" The "loss" of the airfield in Grenada, Weinberger claims, "is potentially a significant blow" to the Soviet Union. US security in the Caribbean "was strengthened by restored good relations with Grenada and closer ties to other neighbors."

"Force Projection" is the key term here: "We must be prepared to dispatch forces promptly to any of a number of regions around the world — possibly simultaneously." Weinberger writes that the US must be able to fight concurrent wars in Europe, South West Asia and the Pacific region.

For that purpose, the US is expanding its efforts to preposition equipment in potential war areas. Heavy equipment for four Army divisions has long been in place in Europe; now Belgium



and the Netherlands are storing equipment for two more divisions and Norway is storing equipment for an amphibious Marine brigade. In South West Asia (SWA), the US is prepositioning weapons and ammunition on ships and on the island of Diego Garcia. Overall, writes Weinberger, "we have dramatically improved our military capabilities for the region.... Our programs for SWA and the Middle East continue to be a mainstay of a larger effort to revitalize our overall world-wide rapid-response capability." Weinberger proudly refers to base agreements with, and joint military exercises in, Kenya, Somalia, Oman and Egypt.

The US military budget includes \$220 million to supply Jordan's King Hussein with an 8,000-man strike force to aid Middle East governments friendly to the United States threatened by unrest or revolution. Hussein's strike force is to take over the police role in the Middle East. US troops would only provide air transportation for the Jordanian units.

Preparations for stepped-up intervention in Third World countries can be seen most clearly in the budget's emphasis on new aircraft carriers, amphibious assault ships, light infantry divisions, and expanded special operations forces. The Navy had 12 deployable aircraft carriers in 1981; by 1989 it will have 15. The use of aircraft carriers makes little sense in a war against the Soviet Union; they are vast, vulnerable targets for a nuclear-armed power. Instead, these carriers and their accompanying battle groups are used "to respond rapidly to crises in distant regions of the globe and to conduct maritime operations in areas where we do not maintain airfields and other major land bases" — i.e., in the Third World. In summer 1983, for instance, Reagan sent two aircraft carriers to the Nicaraguan Atlantic and Pacific coasts; each one carried more powerful warplanes than the entire Nicaraguan air force.

Also to be used for Third World intervention are amphibious assault ships and other landing craft. The administration is planning to purchase a total of 90 air-cushioned landing craft (LCAC). States the Weinberger report: "Designed to carry the combat and logistics vehicles of a Marine landing force from ship to shore at speeds in excess of 40 knots, the LCAC will enable our forces to launch assaults from tens of miles offshore, outside the reach of many enemy weapons."

Expanding the special operations forces (SOF) "remains one of the Administration's highest priorities." This expansion, writes Weinberger, "reflects our recognition that low-level conflict — for which SOF are uniquely suited — will pose the threat we are most likely to encounter throughout the end of this century." At present, SOF units are active in training missions in 15

countries, thereby, says the Pentagon, reducing "the likelihood that US forces will become involved in combat." At the same time, according to the Annual Report, their "sensitivity to cultural differences allow SOF to work effectively with the peoples of other countries in a way that builds good will." To create more of that "good will," the Pentagon is adding Army SOF units and Navy SEAL teams, and, as of January 1, 1984, created a "joint Special Operations Agency" that is supposed to develop "truly effective joint special operations."

To achieve increased mobility, the Army is training an increased number of troops for "rapid-response and forcible-entry operations worldwide." The Army is also reorganizing its 9th Infantry Division into a "high-technology light division" and is restructuring another division as a light infantry division of 10,000 men "that will be used to examine additional ways to improve the deployability and capability of our light forces." Again, these light forces are certainly not equipped primarily to fight in a war in Central Europe against heavy Soviet armor.

#### Deep Strike in Europe

One component of the Pentagon's war plans for Europe — stressed in the Fiscal Year 1985 report as never before — is the "deep interdiction" concept. "Deep interdiction," part of the Army's new AirLand Battle doctrine which emphasizes early offensive operations, means that US forces will attack opposing troops deep in enemy

**More than any other Annual Report written by Secretary Weinberger, the Fiscal Year 1985 report stresses the need to prepare for Third World conflicts.**

territory. The opponent is to get no chance to reach the actual zone of battle.

While these deep strikes are ideally suited to kick off an attack, the Pentagon puts them in a defensive framework. "New technologies are providing our land forces with radically new techniques for defeating armored attacks. We

are developing systems that will be able to locate and track fixed and moving targets deep behind enemy lines." Since detailed and timely intelligence about enemy troops and their movements is necessary to successfully carry out such deep attacks, Secretary Weinberger proposes to double the budget for the development of an advanced airborne radar system, Joint STARS, and for Joint Tactical Fusion (JTF). JTF is an "automated system" that will "process, analyze, and distribute intelligence reports obtained from multiple sources."

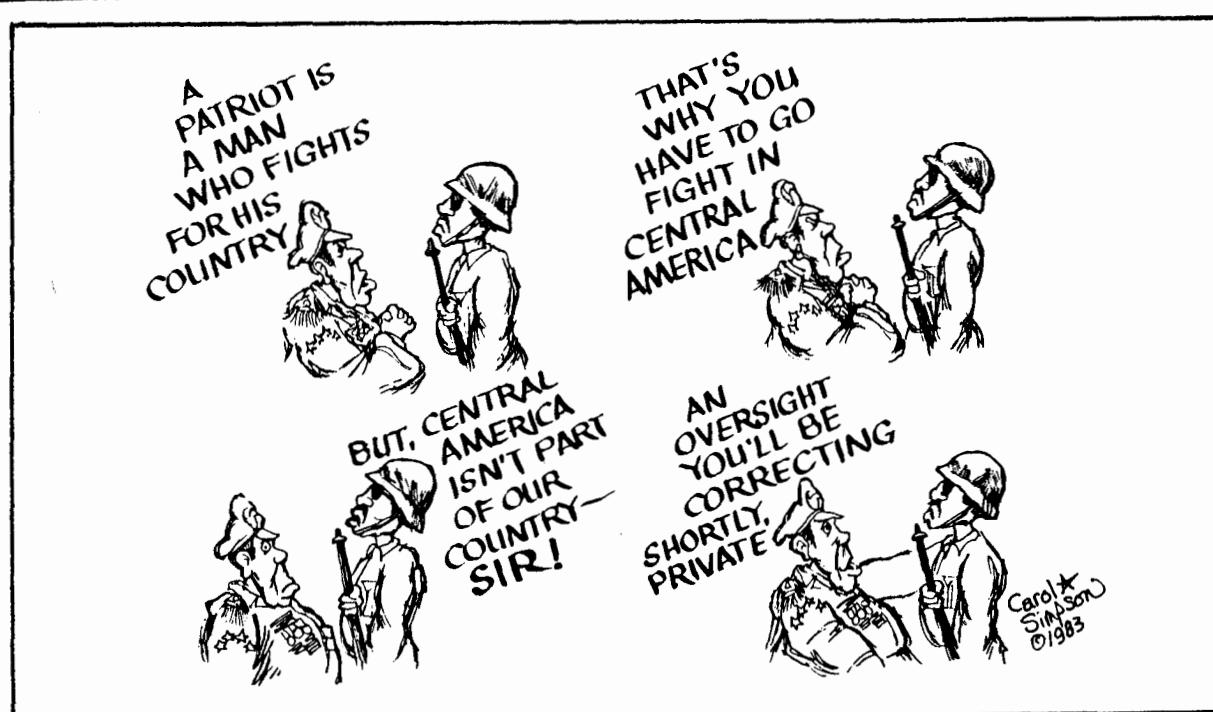
The Fiscal Year 1985 budget request also provides for stepped-up expenditure for developing and procuring advanced conventional weapons systems to destroy these "deep targets." One of these systems is the Multiple-Launch Rocket System (MLRS) which can be used to strike targets, such as air defense systems, far beyond cannon range. "A single launcher can fire its load of 12 rockets in less than a minute, covering an area the size of six football fields with approximately 7,000 grenade-like submunitions effective against both personnel and lightly armored targets." In Fiscal Year 1985, the Pentagon plans to buy 22 launchers and more than 50,000 rockets.

The Pentagon also plans to give high priority to the development of other cluster bomb-type munitions and terminally guided "smart" missiles and munitions. Many of these "smart" munitions find their targets with the help of laser designators, which illuminate targets. The Army and the Marine Corps are buying hundreds each of two laser designator systems.

#### Four More Years?

If Ronald Reagan is reelected, the military budget will continue to skyrocket. In Fiscal Year 1989, Reagan plans to spend \$446 billion. Even a new Democratic president would find it difficult to significantly cut the military budget. Many programs to which Congress has already committed itself — the 600-ship Navy and the space programs, for instance — require major funding not in the Fiscal Year 1985 budget but several years down the line. And while Congress cut several billion dollars from the Reagan request last year and is likely to cut even more from the Fiscal Year 1985 budget request, it has never eliminated a single major weapons program in its entirety. Since these programs have remained largely intact, Congress has in effect pre-programmed an increase in the military budget each year until at least the end of the decade.

Congress also has a bad track record on cutting programs that are in the midst of production. Nonetheless, it is only through the elimination of entire programs that the military budget can be cut. Much more importantly, the elimination of specific programs in the Reagan arms buildup — the MX, Trident II and Pershing II missiles, and space weapons, to name just a few — would make the earth a much safer place in which to live. ☺



# Arms Treaty Violations

# The U.S. Campaign Continues

The rightwing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak were ecstatic. For years they had been propounding their theory — based on a steady stream of leaks from the Pentagon and the White House — that the Soviet Union is violating all sorts of arms control treaties. Finally, in mid-January 1984, the Reagan administration released a 55-page classified report to Congress on alleged Soviet violations, as well as a six-page "fact sheet" to the public.

For Evans and Novak and their ideological companions in the government, the President's report gives "him a trump card for the 1984 campaign the Democrats will find hard to stop," meaning that the report is to counter demands by advocates of arms control that Reagan negotiate with the Soviet Union in a serious fashion. If the Soviets are breaking existing treaties, this theory goes, there is no point in continuing negotiations.

The release of the Reagan report charging violations came in the same week as the President's internationally televised "peace speech" in preparation for his reelection campaign. Evans and Novak write that rightwingers were not particularly concerned about "President Reagan's buttery peace appeal to the Russians" since it "coincided with his charge of Soviet cheating."

The actual charges made in the Reagan report are nothing new; they are the same charges unnamed administration officials have been making for months to the press. (For a detailed discussion of arms control questions, see Konrad Ege and Arjun Makhijani, "Reagan's Arms Control Sham: Preparing to Violate the Treaties," *Counterspy*, vol. 8, no. 2.) The 1984 report, entitled "The President's Report to the Congress on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements" was expected to document and prove alleged Soviet treaty violations; it nonetheless includes a number of allegations in cases where even the Reagan administration is not entirely satisfied that a treaty violation has occurred. For instance, the public fact sheet calls the

evidence about alleged violations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty "ambiguous." A supposed violation of a clause of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) is included even though the fact sheet acknowledges "the evidence is somewhat ambiguous and we cannot reach a definite conclusion." On the question of a

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**The original version of the report . . . apparently was even more ambiguous, containing a number of dissenting footnotes and comments written by one or more of the participating government agencies.**

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potential Soviet violation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty by building a radar in central Siberia, the fact sheet concluded that the new radar "almost certainly constitutes a violation of legal obligations" under the ABM Treaty.

Reagan's public release of accusations based on "ambiguous evidence" appears to have ulterior motives. The usual procedure when questions of suspected arms treaty violations arise is to take the matter to the Standing Consultative Commission of US and Soviet representatives, a body set up to deal with precisely such issues.

see ARMS CONTROL, p.50

# Nuclear Weapons in West Germany

Counterspy thanks Karl-Klaus Rabe, a West German researcher and writer, for permission to reproduce this map which shows nuclear weapons facilities in West Germany as of August 1983. Over the next few years, some of the nuclear weapons, such as the Nike Hercules missiles, will be replaced by new "smart" (highly-accurate, guided) conventional weapons. The West German military has no nuclear weapons of its own. However, US military personnel with nuclear weapons are assigned to the West German facilities listed here. In case of war, they would supply the West German weapons systems with these atomic warheads. In peacetime, the nuclear weapons are stored on or close to the West German bases and guarded by US units.

## Glossary

A	Nuclear Weapons Depot.	P-IA (BRD)*	Quick Reaction Alert base for P-IA missiles manned by West German personnel, ready to fire at a moment's notice; to be replaced by Pershing IB missiles.
H1	155mm Howitzers. Range: approximately 20 km; nuclear weapons capable; intended for chemical and neutron weapons.	P-IA/P-II (USA)*	Quick Reaction Alert base for P-IA missiles manned by the US Army; to be replaced by Pershing II missiles.
H2	203.2mm Howitzers. Range: approximately 20 km; nuclear weapons capable; intended for chemical, neutron and "smart" conventional weapons.	N	Nike-Hercules missiles. Range: approximately 150 km; conventional and nuclear warheads. Over the next few years many Nike-Hercules bases will be dismantled and replaced by conventional Patriot installations.
L	Lance missiles. Range: approximately 120 km; nuclear weapons capable; intended for neutron and "smart" conventional weapons with a 400 km range.	S	Nuclear capable West German Air Force squadrons. ("S" on French territory stands for nuclear capable French Air Force squadrons.)
P-IA (BRD)	Pershing IA missiles manned by the West German Air Force. Range: approximately 720 km with nuclear warheads; to be replaced by Pershing IB missiles and Pershing II missiles with a range of no more than 800 km.	CM	US Cruise Missile base to open in 1986.
P-IA/P-II (USA)	Pershing IA missiles with nuclear warheads, at present being replaced by Pershing II missiles. Pershing II range: officially, 1,800 km.	F	French mobile Pluton nuclear missiles. Range: 120 km.



## ARMS CONTROL, from p.47

Nonetheless, President Reagan has chosen to present several instances of suspected Soviet violations — which he himself acknowledges to be based on "ambiguous" evidence — under the headline "Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements."

The original version of the report, compiled by the intelligence agencies, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and National Security Council experts, apparently was even more ambiguous, containing a number of dissenting footnotes and comments written by one or more of the participating government agencies. The New York Times reported that these dissenting comments were "reportedly eliminated by the White House in meetings led by Robert McFarlane, the President's national security advisor." (1/27/84)

There are three "findings" in Reagan's report on which the administration claims to have clear proof of Soviet noncompliance. One is a rather minor matter, an alleged violation of a clause of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe relating to notification of military exercises. This clause provides that the signatories "will notify their major military maneuvers to all participating states .... Notification will be given 21 days or more in advance...." The Reagan administration charges that the Soviets failed to properly notify the other signatory countries because it informed them that a maneuver would take place in September 1981, but did not disclose the number of troops involved. The Reagan complaint ignores extensive reporting of the maneuvers in the Soviet media.

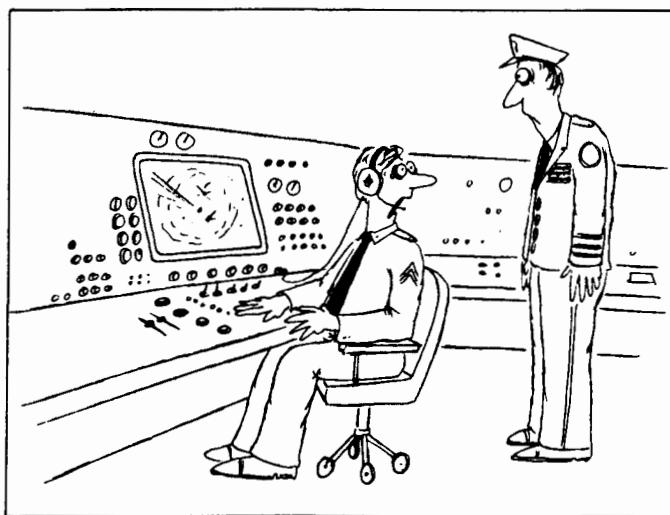
The second Soviet "violation" discovered by the Reagan administration is the alleged "deliberate concealment measures" employed by the Soviet Union to "impede verification by national technical means." In other words, the US charges that the Soviet military encodes the electronic data transmitted by a missile in a test flight to prevent US intelligence monitors from learning if the missile violates SALT limitations. This "encryption" question has been one of the most controversial arms control issues. Soviet negotiators have often charged that the US wants less encryption because it wants to gather information about Soviet weapons not related to SALT verification. Arms control treaties do not ban encryption as such; they only ban encoding signals whenever this impedes verification.

In 1980, the "anti-arms control establishment" in the United States charged that the Soviets were encoding vital electronic signals during the SS18 missile tests. At that time, the State Department commented publicly that this encoding did not violate the SALT treaties. One

of the arguments used to support the Soviet violations charges is that the Soviet Union at times encodes up to 90 percent of the data. However, Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Charles Gabriel told a congressional committee in early 1983 that "it is misleading to use the level of encryption as a guide for determining how well we can verify what they [the Soviets] are doing."

The third "violation" the administration claims to have solidly proven is the Soviet "use of toxins and other lethal chemical warfare agents....in Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan." Since it came into office, the administration has tirelessly repeated these chemical warfare - "yellow rain" - charges. Numerous scientists, including some at the Australian Department of Defense, and other investigators have raised serious questions about the evidence. These questions should be sufficient to prevent even a hard-line ideologue like Reagan, a firm believer in the "Soviet Union as evil empire" theory, from repeating his claims. Obviously, they were not.

The purpose of Reagan's report about alleged Soviet arms treaty violations is to throw up a smokescreen around the administration's own actions. For it is Reagan himself who intends to violate treaties. The administration is embarking on several military programs, such as the development and eventual deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system, which will violate existing treaties. Public demand for arms control could prove to be an impediment to this arms buildup. By pointing to his newly "documented" charges of Soviet violations, Reagan apparently hopes to diffuse this public demand for arms control. ☐



"The good news is . . . we've intercepted seven nuclear missiles. The bad news is . . . they were launched from our own silos."

# Reagan and South Africa

# Making the Bonds Stronger

The Detroit and Chicago police departments have friends in strange places — South Africa, for instance. In April 1983, a representative of the Detroit police department visited a number of police installations in South Africa and praised police there as "better trained, better disciplined... than many in the United States." In 1982, Chicago hosted a South African police major; he even got to participate in a training course on police department-media relations.

These instances of US-South African police collaboration are revealed in a new report about US-South African military and police ties. "Military Exports to South Africa - A Research Report on the Arms Embargo" was prepared by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex), a program of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Philadelphia. Published in January 1984, it is

apartheid.... An effective international embargo would cripple the South African Defence Force (SADF) by freezing its access to all weapons and the technology to make them. In the absence of international compliance with the embargo, South Africa has grown to be an aggressive military power, capable not only of terrorizing its own population but also of invading and occupying neighboring countries such as Namibia and Angola."

The Detroit and Chicago police contacts are by no means the only cases in which South African-United States security forces have met to "share" ideas. The Reagan administration has invited South African Coast Guard officers to be trained in the United States, and has opened the doors of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glencoe, Georgia, to the South African government. Relations between the South African and United States police forces as well as Western European police forces are likely to increase. In June 1982, reports NARMIC, "the South Africans pulled a quiet public relations coup, wrangling admission to the International Police Association." South African Police General Mike Geldenhuys reportedly said that "becoming a member of an international organization like IPA is a highlight in these times of isolation experienced by South Africa.

The official figures on shipments of US military and military-related goods to South Africa raise serious questions about just how "isolated" South Africa has been. Under the Reagan administration, such sales have escalated dramatically. For instance, the State Department almost routinely approves the export licenses required for items on the "Munitions List." This list covers all commodities that have military applications. Under the Carter administration, the export to South Africa of items on the Munitions List had been reduced to zero. Under Reagan, "the licenses covered military goods worth over \$28.3 million — far more than the total value of commercial military exports to Pretoria for the entire previous thirty years."



one of the most comprehensive and up-to-date documents on the Reagan administration's failure to enforce the United Nations embargo (which is supposed to be law) and on US and other Western corporations' sales of military items to the South African regime.

The NARMIC report presents its findings: "The arms embargo is one of the most tangible ways we can give expression to our abhorrence for the system of white-minority rule called

In addition to these items, US companies between 1980 and 1982 "sold South Africa more than \$556 million in aircraft and related parts." Companies that figured prominently in these sales include Avco, Raytheon, Bell and Goodyear.

The NARMIC report also discusses US, Western European and Israeli assistance to South Africa to build up its arms industry. It is now the world's tenth largest arms producer. NARMIC concludes: "While it is impossible to establish exactly what proportion of South Africa's weapons are made with imported parts and know-how, US and European corporations undoubtedly play a pivotal role in the supply of components and technology. Regardless whose name appears as the end-user on an export license, once military-related equipment or parts are shipped to South Africa it is axiomatic that they become available to the local arms industry."

One aspect of foreign military cooperation with South Africa is often overlooked: the awarding of patents. "An AFSC survey of South African patents issued during the last few years shows that several weapons makers - many of them based in Europe - have applied for and received South African patents. These awards cover a range of inventions with specific military applications such as ordnance, radar and military vehicles." The awarding of a patent by the South African government, cautions NARMIC, "does not necessarily mean that the product is currently being sold in South Africa. But it does indicate that the patent-holder expects to manufacture, sell or license the product, according to a US expert in international patent law."

In an appendix to the report NARMIC lists numerous holders of South African patents for military or military-related technology. They include the French companies SOPELEM (for a submarine periscope), Creusot-Loire (for an armored vehicle) and Etat Francais Delegue General pour l'Armement (for propellant charges of ammunition); the Italian companies Valsella S.p.A. (for an explosive mine) and Luigi Franchi

S.p.A. (for a safety device for a trigger mechanism of a shotgun); and the Swiss company Oerlikon-Buehrle which holds numerous patents including one for a "shattering or explosive incendiary projectile."

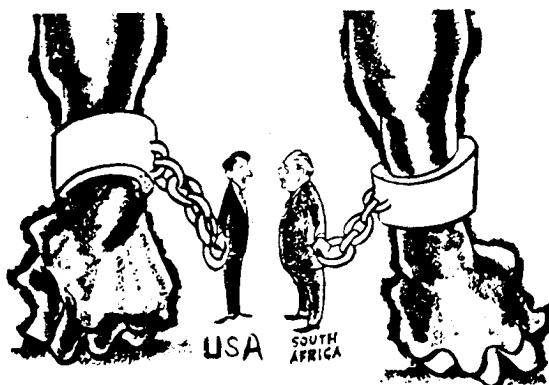
NARMIC believes that over the next few years, it will become increasingly important to enforce the arms embargo against South Africa.

**The mechanism to enforce the embargo . . . is in place. What is missing, especially in the Reagan administration, is the will to use this mechanism to enforce the existing laws.**

"Although South Africa has weathered the embargo to date by means of local production and legal and covert imports of parts and technology, the stakes are getting higher and higher. Pretoria urgently needs helicopters and new transport aircraft as well as replacements for its fleet of seven-year-old maritime reconnaissance aircraft.... Developments of this scale are likely to necessitate even greater and more visible transfusion of US and other western arms technology for which Pretoria is willing to pay handsomely.... The UN arms embargo against South Africa will undergo its most severe test during the next few years."

The mechanism to enforce the embargo, argues NARMIC, is in place. What is missing, especially in the Reagan administration, is the will to use this mechanism to enforce the existing laws.

"Military Exports to South Africa - A Research Report on the Arms Embargo" is available for \$2.50 from the American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. Other reports on South Africa available from NARMIC/AFSC are "Automating Apartheid - US Computer Exports to South Africa and the Arms Embargo" (\$4.00); "Investing in Apartheid - US Corporations in South Africa" (\$1.00) and "South Africa's Multinational Connections" (\$.50). Discounts are available for large orders. ☐



'WE HAD A FULL AND FRANK EXCHANGE  
OF VIEWS—OURS'

# Secret U.S. Bases in Honduras

US military "exercises" in Honduras occur with such frequency and are of such long duration that they have merged into a virtually continuous large-scale operation. First there was Big Pine I, then came Big Pine II. Grenadero I is next, to be followed by Big Pine III. Big Pine maneuvers have put US troops within miles of the border with Nicaragua, and Grenadero I is scheduled to begin in summer 1984 close to the border with El Salvador.

Under the cover of these continuous "exercises," the US Army has built a number of air strips, ammunition depots, radar installations and other facilities in Honduras. Heavy equipment is permanently placed there. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced to the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 1, 1984, that 700 to 800 US military personnel will remain in Honduras even when no maneuvers are underway. Their announced job: to maintain the prepositioned US equipment.

Equipment will be left in Honduras, says Weinberger, because that is cheaper than transporting it there for each exercise. "When there are to be maneuvers two or three years in a row in a particular country, there are considerable advantages to keeping very heavy equipment there, rather than hauling it out and taking it back each year."

US military infrastructure is not lying idle between maneuvers. CIA operatives use the same bases and airfields to aid the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries fighting the Sandinista government. According to the Washington Post (1/29/84), "unmarked helicopters carrying CIA employees routinely use airstrips recently constructed or improved by US Army engineers in Honduras." One airfield improved allegedly for the Big Pine maneuvers is Aguacate. Three rebels captured by the Sandinistas identified it as a major contra base.

Public relations claims that the US has "no plans to build anything permanent in Honduras" aside, what the Pentagon really wants is permanent US bases in Honduras. A Congressional study ordered by Tennessee Senator Jim Sasser concludes that the Reagan administration plans "a permanent military infrastructure" in Honduras. "It appears that the

[US] military commanders in Honduras are proceeding with a very substantial buildup of military facilities, in some cases without Congressional approval," writes Sasser, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee. "For example, only two airfields have been approved by Congress for Honduras. But we now know that at least six airfields have been constructed or are under construction."

Excerpts of the February 1984 Congressional report commissioned by Senator Sasser, reprinted below, detail the Pentagon's secret expansion of US military infrastructure in Honduras, often with money diverted from funds appropriated for other purposes.



By Richard Forno - The Washington Post

STAFF REPORT  
of the  
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SUBCOMMITTEE  
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS  
\*\*\*\*\*  
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA  
\*\*\*\*\*  
Minority Staff

SUMMARY

The Department of Defense has received military construction funding for two airfield access projects in Honduras. A staff delegation from the minority staff of the committee has found that the Department is utilizing operation and maintenance funds as well as special funding approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the Big Pine II exercises to construct four additional C-130 capable airfields in various parts of Honduras. In addition, officials of the Southern Command in Panama briefed the staff delegation that additional military construction projects, including the possibility of a permanent U.S. naval facility, with approximately 1,000 uniformed personnel, is being considered for the region.

The minority staff of the military construction subcommittee has learned that the proposal by the Southern Command to construct a \$150-200 million airfield-port complex near Puerto Castilla on the Northern Honduran coast has been turned down during fiscal year 1985 budget review by the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Reports published in the Panama City press last week, however, quote the Honduran Army public relations office as stating that "The Honduran Armed Forces and the U.S. Army are still discussing the installation of a permanent joint military base." General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, chief of the Honduran Armed Forces, in September announced the possible installation of such a joint U.S.-Honduran base.

Last week's press reports indicate although the port-airfield facility will not be included in the fiscal year 1985 request, that the Southern Command continues to consider the project a priority and could urge the Administration to consider a supplemental on a fiscal year 1986 request.

Staff has learned, however, that the fiscal year 1985 budget will include a \$1.5 million request for the Air Force to construct a forward munitions storage area in La Ceiba, also on the Honduras North coast. The Southern Command failed to brief staff on this project during the delegation visit....

Regional Military Training Center

Briefings at the U.S. Southern Command headquarters revealed that additional military construction requirements for Honduras are being considered, including the possible conversion of the temporary Regional Military Training Center for Salvadoran and Honduran troops to a permanent facility at a cost of \$32 million. Discussions in Panama and Honduras revealed that the construction of a permanent training facility was being urged by General Alvarez. Defense Department documents submitted to the subcommittee during 1983, however, indicated that "any follow-on permanent facilities" should cost only \$2 million.

A staff delegation site visit to the Regional Military Training Center revealed austere but adequate training and support facilities for the Salvadoran and Honduran trainees as well as for the U.S. Army green beret personnel assigned as trainers....

During the site visit, the staff delegation met with the Commander and members of the Salvadoran battalion being trained at the facility. U.S. trainers expressed mixed reviews of the ability of the Salvadoran soldiers. It was learned that the

Funding [for four airfields] was approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff from the Big Pine and operations and maintenance funds.

training period had been reduced from 12 to 6 weeks. Many of the U.S. trainers expressed the feeling that the battalion needed additional training before being fully combat-ready.

Among the deficiencies cited for additional training was map reading. U.S. trainers indicated that the low education level of the Salvadoran soldiers seemed to be an impediment to successful completion of map reading courses. The staff delegation has followed the progress of the battalion after its return to El Salvador.

The battalion has taken a number of casualties in operations against the FMLN guerrillas. In December, the battalion's position came under a harsh night attack by the guerrillas. The battalion was forced to retreat from the village where it was deployed. However, instead of retreating into secure territory, the terrain was misjudged and the battalion was led further into guerrilla territory, where it received additional casualties before a successful disengagement.

In conclusion, it was the judgment of the Subcommittee on Military Construction staff that permanent U.S.-funded construction at the Regional Military Training Center would be difficult to justify. U.S. trainees were unanimous in expressing satisfaction with the facilities, although there was an indication that the size of the arms training range was inadequate. Nevertheless, none of the U.S. personnel indicated a need for any permanent buildings.

Any shortcomings observed at the Regional Military Training Center could be attributed to the youthful age, limited educational background, and the perceived lack of aggressiveness of the Salvadoran soldiers as well as the short training schedule.

#### Palmerola

In fiscal year 1983, the Congress approved \$13 million for construction of an airfield extension and upgrade project at Palmerola near the town of Comayagua in Central Honduras. The project was justified as a contingency access facility should the U.S. Air Force be assigned missions in the region. A base access agreement annex signed by the United States and the Government of Honduras permits construction and use of Palmerola and two other airfields discussed later in the report. However, the annex makes clear that the U.S. would be unable to utilize the airfields in a contingency without the approval of the Honduran Government. It was clear from discussions with local officials that the present government of Honduras, especially the Armed Forces, would approve U.S. access to the bases in most circumstances.

At the time of the site visit the Government of Honduras had failed to commit its share of the funds (\$1.5 million) to the Comayagua project. However, those funds have been released and construction is continuing on schedule.

The Palmerola airfield is also the headquarters for the Big Pine II exercises. The staff delegation was briefed on the exercise plans.

#### La Ceiba

The Administration requested \$8 million for airfield upgrade at La Ceiba, Honduras, on the mid-Atlantic coast. The Congress approved the project with bill language stating that none of the funds could be obligated until the Appropriations Committees have received and reviewed a plan outlining all U.S. construction for the region, including construction from funding sources other than military construction. The Committees have not received the requested report and the funds for La Ceiba remain unobligated....

#### La Mesa

The staff delegation visited the La Mesa airfield which serves as the San Pedro Sula international airport as well as the site of a Honduran Air Force facility. Presently, no military construction project has been identified at La Mesa, however Southern Command briefers in Panama indicated that a future requirement might be considered. The 1982 annex to the base agreement permits construction at La Mesa.

The staff delegation did not find enthusiastic support anywhere on the isthmus for a permanent U.S. military base.

Big Pine funds have also been utilized to construct two radar sites near the Nicaraguan border.

#### Big Pine Construction

The Big Pine II exercises have resulted in the construction of four C-130 capable dirt airfields in various parts of Honduras. No military construction funds were requested for the four sites. Funding was approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff from the Big Pine and operations and maintenance funds.

The staff delegation was briefed on this construction by the Commander of the Big Pine exercise.

#### Radar Sites

Operation and maintenance and Big Pine funds have also been utilized to construct two radar sites near the Nicaraguan border. One site is on Tiger Island in the Gulf of Fonseca between El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. That site monitors air and water transportation activity in the area. The other site is 32 kilometers south of the Honduran capital. The staff delegation visited this site at Choluteca. The site is located atop a mountain where U.S. personnel stated could be viewed border skirmishes between the U.S.-supplied Contras and the Sandinistas of Nicaragua. The site was austere but adequate for the operating personnel and appeared to be adequately secure, with perimeter security supplied by Honduran troops. The staff delegation received a briefing concerning various activities maintained at the site.

#### Puerto Castilla Port

As discussed at the beginning of this report, the Southern Command briefing in Panama revealed a plan to build a port-airfield base at Puerto Castilla. Should such a project be requested by DOD in the future, the minority staff would recommend a thorough review by the subcommittee before project approval. The staff delegation learned that original discussions between the Honduran President and the Admiral in charge of the Atlantic Fleet centered on a port-airfield facility to be built at Puerto Cortes, 150+ miles west of Puerto Castilla. Knowledgeable observers indicated that Puerto Cortes is a much superior geographical location than Puerto Castilla. When questioned why the Puerto Castilla site was selected for possible construction, U.S. officials indicated the site was chosen as a result of the expressed desires of the Commander of the Honduran Armed Forces, General Alvarez....

#### Future Basing Decisions

U.S. military construction in Central America is a major element in the regional debate. The Contadora Group - Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia - have proposed that no foreign bases be established in Central America. This would be a cornerstone of any negotiated agreement for a regional peace.

Comments received throughout Central America indicated support for an American presence in the region as a balance to Cuban and Soviet presence in Nicaragua. No consensus existed, however, as to the degree of what that U.S. presence should be. In general, the staff delegation did not find enthusiastic support anywhere on the isthmus for a permanent U.S. military base. The only significant support came from elements of the Honduran business community who see such a facility as a necessary element in the development and safety of their country.

The staff delegation found a significant level of fear and anticipation that the regional conflict could accelerate. Neither the Contadora process, nor the missions of Ambassador Stone were given much chance to succeed in an atmosphere of military escalation such as would be the case if the United States established a permanent base in Honduras. While Cuban and Soviet advisors are located in Nicaragua, no evidence of a permanent Cuban or Soviet base was presented. The minority staff of the subcommittee would caution that the proposed permanent Puerto Castilla port-airfield complex would be viewed as a destabilizing element in the regional conflict and would express the hope that U.S. interests can be fulfilled without the proposed project.

#### Costa Rica

During a short visit to Costa Rica, the staff delegation was provided details of an Agency for International Development Project to provide for infrastructure

construction in the Costa Rican northern zone bordering Nicaragua. The project includes building roads, grants to villages for community projects and other activities.

Staff has learned that discussions between the American Ambassador in Costa Rica and officials of the Government of Costa Rica resulted in a proposal that as many as 1,000 U.S. Army engineers be provided in the northern zone to construct the infrastructure projects.

Late last year, Pentagon officials formally submitted the proposal to the Costa Rican President to include U.S. Army Corps of Engineer regulars and U.S. national guardsmen in the northern zone development plan.

Democratic Costa Rica, which has attempted to remain substantially neutral in the Central American conflict through public expressions of neutrality, has no armed military force of its own. Elements within the government, including the President, expressed concern that the presence of U.S. military personnel in their country near the Nicaraguan border could be deemed a provocative action by the Government of Nicaragua. In early January, the Costa Rican Government cancelled the arrival of the U.S. Army engineers.

The U.S. Ambassador has attempted to persuade the Costa Ricans to permit the U.S. military personnel to take part in the infrastructure project.

Staff has received information that an agreement has been reached, and U.S. forces could arrive in Costa Rica in February. However, staff has received several conflicting reports concerning the mission of the U.S. personnel. One report indicates the engineers still work in the northern zone area "but without weapons." According to this report, the engineers will construct a road close to the Nicaraguan border. The other report indicates that the engineers will not be allowed in the northern zone, but will participate in the southern part of the country. According to this report, the engineers will be in charge of "expanding the San Isidro del General Airport."

Staff is continuing to pursue this issue to determine the nature of the U.S. Corps of Engineers activities in Costa Rica.

#### Panama

The staff delegation also received a briefing from the Southern Command concerning facility plans for Panama.

Under the terms of the Panama Canal Treaty, all real estate, including U.S. military bases, will be transferred to the Government of Panama. Southern Command briefers indicated that efforts can be expected where the United States will negotiate with Panama to maintain the bases. Such an arrangement could be undertaken as long as the Government of Panama remained friendly to the United States and did not seek to secure an unreasonable amount of "rent" in exchange for permission to maintain the bases on Panamanian soil.

Staff learned of the proposal under consideration to construct a permanent facility at Puerto Castilla, Honduras, previously discussed. It was suggested that such a location could be a candidate to become U.S. Southern Command headquarters if the United States is unable to continue its military presence in Panama....

#### Conclusion

The United States has embarked on a number of military construction projects in Honduras, a strategic location in Central America. Construction activities in Panama and Costa Rica are also underway or planned. The potential for a permanent U.S. base in Honduras remains under discussion.

Such construction presents the subcommittee with an important role in Central American policy issues. The minority staff recommends that each of these issues be closely examined by the subcommittee during the fiscal year 1985 hearings.

The U.S.  
Ambassador has  
attempted to  
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project.

# Letters

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## Exposing Government Murders in Prison

Johnnie Forte, a former prisoner in Florida's Union Correctional Institution and now in the custody of the US Bureau of Prisons, charges that state and federal officials have conspired in and directed beatings and murders of inmates in US prisons. Forte ought to know: he used to be a prisoner "hit man" who beat up and even killed other prisoners at the direction of prison officials. In one instance, Forte says he was directed by a Florida prison official, Buzz Snyder, to kill a fellow inmate with a lead pipe, only to learn the next morning that Snyder had pointed out the wrong man to him.

Prison officials vehemently deny Forte's story. Florida State Senator Arnette Girardeau, however, has stated that he is certain Forte is telling the truth. "Not only is he telling the truth, he convinced me, based on my experiences. I've checked hospital records, inspectors' records, and even gave him a polygraph examination, and he passed it all." (The Guardian, New York, 2/1/84)

### TO THE PEOPLE

It is a tragic truth that it has taken prison uprisings to focus widespread public attention on the brutalities and coarseness of prisons. Such violent and destructive outbursts are the direct result of the arbitrary and capricious oppression routinely visited on prisoners, but they are not the only means by which prisoners resist the illegitimate use of authority. Many prisoners wage the long struggle of attempting to bring about constructive change. There are many documented cases of retaliation against prisoners for the legitimate exercise of basic rights. The following exemplifies this danger for it can be more threatening than the random violence of a riot.

On Sunday, January 11, 1981, "60 Minutes" aired a segment on CBS entitled "GOON SQUAD," the essence of which was my public admission of my active participation in incidents of condoned, sanctioned and ordered acts of violence, including murder, under the direction and supervision of certain Florida Prison Administrators. I have also supplied this information to a Florida Senate Committee investigation in an effort to try to remedy some of the brutality to which I contributed.

Increasing awareness of the disastrous effects of my opportunistic participation in administrators' illegal conspiracy of repression led me to accept the risks of trying to do

something about it. This information and my testimony has already resulted in the acquittal of a fellow prisoner accused of a murder I committed at the specific direction and with the aid of a staff member. Hopefully, it has slowed the reactionary administrators' oppression from exploding into a bloody riot.

After my TV appearance and testimony, public pressure forced my transfer to the federal prison system out of fear for my safety. Approximately nine months later the state secured my return in an effort to intimidate other prisoners from speaking out by the jeopardy in which that return placed me. Nor was the threat merely implied. In May of 1982, I was stabbed while handcuffed; in August of 1982 I was again stabbed while handcuffed en route to testify on behalf of the man mentioned above who the administration had accused of a murder in which I was the instrument. Again I was transferred to a federal prison.

In the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, I was forced to seek protective custody because prison officials made my record of beating and killing for the Florida Administration known to other prisoners. I was again transferred and less than two months after my arrival at USP Lewisburg another attempt was made on my life. Only my size and physical capabilities have preserved my life thus far, but I know from experience that no man is indefinitely invulnerable. As a result and with

documented evidence in my possession, I have recently filed a civil complaint in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania charging federal officials with attempting to have me killed by other inmates.

I continue to fear that eventually I may be killed in retaliation for my attempting to expose such illegalities by prison administrators. So in an effort to protect myself and those I now view as my comrades in confinement I have filed this complaint and I am trying to bring these issues to the people who should be outraged at these abuses of their trust. Even outside of my concern for my own safety, death or injury to me will have a very chilling effect

on the willingness of other prisoners to speak out or litigate.

On any given day, 600,000 prisoners are incarcerated across the United States; out of those, 98 percent will one day rejoin society. What can be expected of them if they are forced to live in brutal darkness on which the light of public scrutiny and protest has been turned off?

I plead for public involvement on any level, for today is but a reflection of tomorrow.

P.O. Box 1000  
Lewisburg, Pa. 17837

Sincerely,  
Johnnie L. Forte  
#33627-019

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