

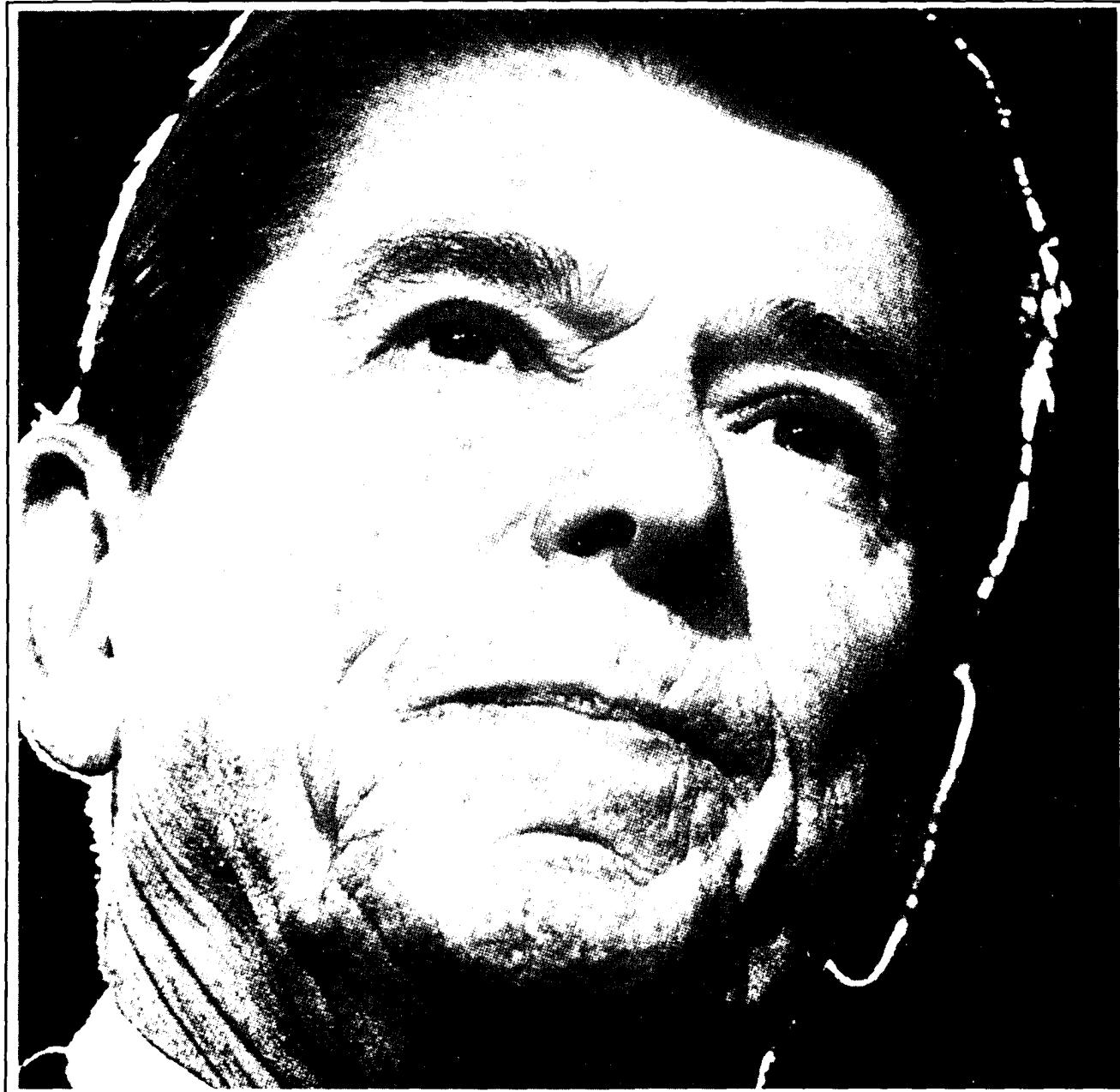
June-August 1983  
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# COUNTERSPY

THE MAGAZINE FOR PEOPLE WHO NEED TO KNOW

"They reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat..."

## Disinformation in the Reagan Administration



**Also in this issue:** Michael O'Rourke: Irish Political Prisoner in the U.S. • CIA to Europe: Take the Missiles! • Moonies Move on Honduras • IMF Pushes Pinochet to Brink • Klaus Barbie: Global Nazi • Casey's Terrorism Math • The Pope Plot: CIA Production, Inc. • U.S. Backs Morocco's Saharan War • Project Democracy

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 U.S. 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.

## About Our Cover

The quotation on our cover is a remark made by President Reagan in a January 29, 1981 press conference. Referring to the Soviet government, he claimed that it reserves the "right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat" in order to attain world revolution. The multi-faceted disinformation campaign being waged by the Reagan administration, as documented in this issue, leads us to conclude that Reagan's statement is an accurate projection of the philosophy under which the U.S. government itself operates. - The Editors -

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# News NOT in the News

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## CIA Secret Bank Accounts

U.S. District Judge James Paine is having a hard time bringing a former top aide of Alexander Haig to justice. Air Force Major General Richard Collins (ret.), of West Palm Beach, Florida, is accused of embezzling U.S. government funds kept in secret Swiss bank accounts while he was Director of Plans and Policies under Haig in Stuttgart, West Germany. The Major General denies the charge; he says that it was his professional duty to deal with the secret accounts. These funds "financed intelligence gathering operations in Europe and covert CIA operations in Southeast Asia." (Miami Herald, 2/10/83) Collins claims he handled "millions" of dollars earmarked for CIA operations. The money was concealed in Swiss Bank Corp. and Lloyd's Bank International Ltd. accounts in Geneva. Collins has threatened to reveal the particulars of CIA operations for which he laundered money if the government persists in prosecuting him.

## Slave Labor?

The State Department has published a final report on whether the Soviet Union is using "slave labor" to construct its natural gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Europe. A Senate committee had mandated the investigation in support of President Reagan's anti-Soviet sanctions. (See "The Yamal Natural Gas Pipeline: Soviet 'Slave Labor' Charges Examined," Counterspy, March-May 1983.)

As did the preceding CIA/State Department report, released in November 1982, the final report provides no proof for the "slave labor" claims. In regard to charges that Vietnamese "slave laborers" work on the pipeline, the State Department conceded that it has "no independent evidence to confirm that Vietnamese are working

on the export pipeline" either.

To Cold War warriors such as the AFL-CIO's Irving Brown, that apparently doesn't matter. He subsequently noted in Free Trade Union News that "in view [sic] of the past use of unconfined forced laborers and the current shortage of labor [in the Soviet Union], it seems that forced labor would be used along the export pipeline route for compressor station and auxiliary construction unless the Soviets depart from their usual practice because of the exposure in the Western media." Brown also reprinted a drawing of a Soviet labor camp contained in the November State Department report, without noting that it is a CIA drawing and that it does not depict an actual camp, but rather is an artist's conception of a "typical" camp.

## Yellow Rain

The Reagan administration's campaign of accusing the Soviet Union and/or Vietnam and/or Afghanistan of using "yellow rain," i.e. mycotoxins, as an agent of biological warfare is rapidly losing credibility. An Australian government scientist, Hugh Crone, who analyzed leaf samples with "yellow rain" traces with the help of the U.S. government concluded that the samples were deliberately concocted from local pollen and fungi spores. He put his conclusion in utterly clear terms: "The items were fakes." There were traces of poisonous fungus in these fabricated samples, he said, but nothing that could be considered "militarily effective." (See Washington Post, 3/20/83.)

The "yellow rain" affair has received repeated play in the U.S. media, but another potential mycotoxin affair has been given the silent treatment with the exception of one or two paragraphs here and there: U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union have been affected by a fungus-type disease known as "scab." This has prompted the Soviets to buy less grain, and has also led to fears in the USSR that the wheat shipments "may also be affected by a poisonous mycotoxin associated with 'scab.'" (Washington Post, 3/26/83.)

## U.S. Base in Haiti

The U.S. government appears to be preparing to construct a new naval base in the Mole Saint-Nicolas area of northwestern Haiti. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is already working in the area. "The work remains secret; private access to the area is not allowed and neither the State Department... nor the Government at Port-au-Prince will acknowledge the U.S. Army's presence at the bay." (Sydney Morning Herald, 3/15/83) An official from the State Department's Haitian desk claimed that a few officers of the Corps had gone to the area to check out a malfunctioning hydroelectric dam. There is just one problem with that explanation: no such dam exists in the area.

Mole Saint-Nicolas is very close to Cuba, only some 90 kilometers from the U.S. base at Guantanamo Bay. Counterspy learned from a high-ranking Haitian government official that the Reagan administration has been negotiating with Haiti's dictator "Baby Doc" Duvalier and has offered him \$500 million in exchange for base rights. Duvalier refused the \$500 million because it had some strings attached, and the U.S. is now offering \$780 million. Meanwhile, one of Duvalier's cronies recently bought out Haiti's only cement factory - sure to be a valuable asset if construction goes forward - and speculators are rushing to buy land at Mole Saint-Nicolas.



## Secret 1985-89 Defense Guidance

Reagan administration officials continue to deny that they believe the U.S. can "win" a war against the Soviet Union. Secret, as well as public government documents demonstrate, though, that the current military buildup is geared toward enabling U.S. forces to end a worldwide nuclear war "on terms favorable to U.S. interests." That is how Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger described the objective of the Reagan buildup in a February 1983 hearing. His Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1984 says that U.S. forces must be strong enough to "restore peace on favorable terms" after a nuclear war.

Weinberger's secret 1985-89 Defense Guidance is toned down a bit from the 1984-88 version which stated that "should... strategic nuclear war with the USSR occur, the United States must prevail...." But its content hasn't changed: the Reagan administration is preparing for a protracted nuclear war against the Soviet Union. The Guidance also promotes intervention in the internal affairs of Eastern European countries: "[The U.S. is to] foster long-term political and military changes within the Soviet empire that will lead to a more secure and more peaceful world order."

It also remains U.S. policy to target the Soviet command and control centers for immediate destruction in case of war: "We should raise the level of Soviet uncertainty about achieving their military missions by devising concepts and operations to disable the highly centralized Soviet command and control structure." The Guidance further directs that:

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- The improvement of Command, Control, and Communications facilities remains a top priority. They are to be built so that they can function effectively in a nuclear fallout environment."

- Nuclear war-fighting preparations have to be integrated so that the President can "execute controlled-response options." This order implies that the administration still believes a nuclear war can be "fought," "controlled," and thus, limited.

- The United States must build up a large nuclear weapons reserve "so that the U.S. will never be without nuclear offensive capabilities while still threatened by nuclear forces."

- An anti-satellite weapons system is to be operational by 1987; it will consist of 12 F-15 fighter planes equipped with interceptors, i.e., small satellites that can be fired from the aircraft and then exploded close to the satellite targeted for destruction.

- Electronic warfare "must remain an area of unique U.S. superiority."

- The Air Force is to push ahead with the research and development of laser weapons for warfare in space "to permit decision on an on-orbit demonstration." The Guidance also mentions the Pentagon's increased effort to develop particle beam and high power microwave weapons.

- Chemical warfare preparations are to be stepped up. "Our forces will be equipped, trained and provided the special support to enable them to sustain activities for at least 30 days" after the first use of chemical weapons.

- The buildup of the Special Forces such as the Green Berets is to proceed rapidly. "With unique options, they must be ready for employment in circumstances in which the use of large conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate or infeasible."

- The Air Force and the Army are to enlarge their predeployed arsenals in the Middle East. The United States must also "develop plans to counter militarily Soviet, Cuban and Libyan forces operating from Libyan bases which pose a threat to U.S. and NATO forces."

- The U.S. "must retain, and, as required, expand access and transit rights in pro-Western African states for the deployment of U.S. forces to Africa, the South Atlantic and contiguous areas; and work to deny or reverse similar access and transit rights to the Soviets." "U.S. interests in Africa will grow in the decade ahead....Critical commercial and military LOC's lines of communication traverse and run in close proximity to this resource-rich continent."

- The Reagan administration plans to strengthen its military ties with the People's Republic of China "through a continuing program of military-to-military contact and prudent assistance.... in defensive weaponry." In case of war,

Weinberger wants the Chinese to tie down Soviet forces in the East; an operation that would receive "logistical support" from the U.S.

To fulfill this 1985-89 Defense Guidance, Weinberger wants to nearly double military spending; from \$240.5 billion in Fiscal Year 1983 to \$464.7 billion in 1989. Weinberger believes that this U.S. buildup, and especially its concentration on areas in which the United States has a technological lead will "impose still heavier burdens on a sluggish Soviet economy" - the U.S. arms buildup as economic warfare. A quick glance at the effects of Weinberger's military spending on the U.S. economy to date should be sufficient to debunk the theory that this country's economy is strong enough to bring the Soviet Union to its knees by forcing it to match the U.S. arms buildup.

(Sources: Defense Week, 3/14/83; Washington Post, 3/18/83; New York Times, 3/18/83, 3/22/83.)

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# Disinformation

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## The Pope Plot: CIA Productions, Inc.

Paul Henze, a former CIA Chief of Station in Turkey, and Claire Sterling, the terrorism guru of the Reagan administration, are busy these days writing about the ominous "Bulgarian connection." By now, this "Bulgarian connection" has been touted as the key not only to finding the masterminds behind the shooting of Pope John Paul but also to uncovering an alleged conspiracy to kill the former Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Both Henze and Sterling have been driving forces behind the "Bulgarian connection" campaign; Sterling with her original Reader's Digest article, "The Plot to Murder the Pope" in September 1982, and Henze as a consultant to Reader's Digest and to NBC-TV, and as the author of an upcoming book and numerous articles about the attempted assassination of the pope.

Sterling's Reader's Digest article which set off the Bulgarian frenzy has about the same quality as her book, The Terror Network: very few hard facts, but lots of innuendo. Sterling's problem is to explain why Mehmet Ali Agca, the confessed assailant and a well-known rightist, should have tried to kill the pope in the service of Bulgarian intelligence (which, of course, she points out, is controlled by the Soviet KGB). In 1979, Agca murdered the liberal editor of a Turkish daily and was arrested for the crime. His defense lawyer was Turun Oezbay, a prominent man of the extreme right in Turkey. Agca was convicted but managed, rather mysteriously, to escape from prison.

Agca left Turkey and then criss-crossed Europe for several months. One of the countries he visited was Bulgaria; later he spent several weeks in West Germany where he visited members of the fascist Grey Wolves terror network. Sterling concedes that Agca was closely associat-

ed with the Turkish rightists, but that was just a cover. "Turks close to the [Agca] case" believe, she claims, that Bulgaria for years has been instrumental in stimulating terrorism in Turkey to destabilize this NATO country. The Bulgarians who were active in Turkey, she suggests, spotted Agca early on as a potential recruit and meticulously built up his cover as a rightist. Henze believes the Bulgarians may have first set their eyes on Agca while he was still in high school.

Henze is convinced that Agca seemed to the Bulgarians destined to be such a capable operative that they recruited him to do "something big." He

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**Sterling's problem is to explain why Mehmet Ali Agca, the confessed assailant and a well-known rightist, should have tried to kill the pope in the service of Bulgarian intelligence.**

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believes that after a vigorously anti-communist Polish cardinal became pope and supported Solidarity, the "Soviet masters" ordered the Bulgarians to send Agca to kill the pope. In a March 3, 1983 speech at the Woodrow Wilson

International Center for Scholars, Henze outlined this dramatic scenario, but admitted that there are many inconsistencies in his version that has Agca shooting the pope with the direct assistance of Bulgarian intelligence officers.

Henze concedes that he doesn't have good answers to such questions as: Why did the Bulgarians, allegedly Agca's accomplices, not leave Italy immediately after Agca was arrested? Why would Agca, supposedly a "professional" terrorist, carry notes on his person indicating who his alleged co-conspirators were? Why would Sergei Antonov, whom Henze describes as a leading Bulgarian intelligence officer, personally drive Agca to St. Peter's Square for the shooting? Many of these circumstances, admits Henze, seem "illogical" and "irrational."

Nonetheless, Henze plunges on: the attempt on the pope's life is one of the "most significant events of the latter part of this century," he says; it has already "exposed an enormous network of subversion." Henze's motives for driving forward

his "Bulgarian connection" become apparent in the course of his talk: He reveals that he has worked closely with the Voice of America and the United States Information Agency to publicize his "findings" about the alleged Bulgarian (and therefore Soviet) involvement. This should, he states, help to convince people in Eastern Europe of the ruthless nature of their governments.

In his articles and talks, Paul Henze does not identify himself as the former CIA Chief of Station in Turkey. He is simply a "former staff member of the National Security Council." When he is challenged on that point at the Woodrow Wilson Center gathering, Henze only concedes that: "I have worked in lots of embassies around the world." He is also quick to point out to the questioner - who identifies himself as a Bulgarian - that he, Henze, is not anti-Bulgarian. The Bulgarians, Henze says, are a brave and anti-Soviet people. They proved that, he goes on, when they were one of the first countries to side with the Nazis during World War II.

# Casey's Terrorism Math

by John Kelly

Effective disinformation requires close collaboration between government agencies and the corporate-controlled press. Specific campaigns serve different purposes. Some are targeted at creating a general mood in the population. Others engender acceptance of budgetary shifts, such as the massive increase in military spending. Still others are launched to garner support for new legislative initiatives.

Reagan's "war on terrorism" has worked on all these fronts. It has been waged from the halls of the State Department, the Justice Department, and William Casey's CIA, as well as from the Oval Office. In the end, with no great resistance from the Congress or the people in the U.S., the specter of "terrorism" was used as the pretext to formally unleash the CIA in the U.S. through a 1981 Presidential executive order. At the same time, neither the press nor the government have presented any evidence to substantiate the terrorism charge.

Only six days after President Reagan's inauguration in January 1981, the National

Security Council held its first meeting of the current administration. The main topic was to become a familiar one: terrorism. With Reagan present, Anthony C.E. Quainton, then-director of the State Department's Office for Combating Terrorism, briefed the Council.

The President proved an attentive pupil. The following day, Reagan welcomed back the hostages from Iran with the bold assertion, "Let terrorists be aware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retribution." Two days later, on January 28, 1981, at his first press conference as Secretary of State, Alexander Haig was more specific: "International terrorism will take the place of human rights in our concern because it is the ultimate abuse of human rights." Earlier in his statement, Haig asserted that the Soviet Union is "involved in conscious policy, in programs, if you will, which foster, support and expand" terrorism.

Shortly after Haig's press conference, the CIA's National Foreign Assessments Center, under

Bruce C. Clark, began readying its annual terrorism estimate. CIA Director Casey rejected the Center's first estimate and sent it back for revision. According to the New York Times, CIA analysts "complained that Mr. Casey had considered the draft faulty because it did not support Mr. Haig's assertions." Another Times report, based on congressional and administration sources, added that the draft found "insufficient evidence that the Soviet Union is directly helping to foment international terrorism...", and noted that Clark was retiring ("personal decision") possibly to be replaced by John McMahon, CIA Deputy Director of Operations.

McMahon, although not an analyst, did indeed become head of the National Foreign Assessments Center (NFAC), and Casey later admitted to "not accepting estimates in NFAC" - which several press reports suggested included the terrorism estimate. Casey said estimates on Latin America were rejected because they "have not addressed Soviet interests, activities and influence there." Casey also refused to accept another study on terrorism which he himself had requested from the Defense Intelligence Agency.

#### "Terrorist" Acts Double Overnight

While Casey's rejected terrorism estimate was being revised, State Department expert on terrorism Anthony Quainton announced that U.S. government statistics on international terrorism were being expanded to include threats of terrorism. This change, he noted, would approximately double the number of terrorist "incidents" reported by the U.S. government for the years 1968-79, while the number of killed and wounded would remain the same. At the time of this announcement, a Senate staff official told the New York Times that CIA analysts were being "pushed" to expand the definition of terrorist incidents to include "all acts of violence intended to impact on a wider audience than the victims of the violence." Another senior staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence charged that when the CIA did not find what it wanted to, it simply changed the definition of terrorism.

The estimate in question, NFAC's 1980 report was due out in April 1981. It was finally released in June 1981. The 1980 report found 5,954 international terrorist incidents during 1968-79, and 760 in 1980. The 1979 NFAC report had found only 3,336 such incidents during the 1968-79 period, with a peak of 413 in 1976 and only 293 in 1979. As predicted, the 1980 report included "threats" and even "hoaxes" and "conspiracies" under the definition of terrorism. It also stated that "international terrorism in 1980 resulted in more casualties than in any other year since the analysis of terrorist statistics began 12 years ago. Government participation in terrorism also increased.... Terrorist incidents aimed at causing

casualties - as opposed to property damage - also increased last year, with four out of every 10 attacks resulting in at least one casualty, compared with three out of 10 in 1979 and a cumulative average of 20 percent."

Without presenting any supporting data, the report went on to assert that "the Soviets are deeply engaged in support of revolutionary violence, which is a fundamental element of Leninist ideology. Such violence frequently entails acts of international terrorism." In contrast, the 1979 report had said that "the number of attacks declined worldwide, however, as did the number and proportion of attacks against U.S. citizens."

## **Terrorism has emerged in the 1980s to replace and supplement the "Red Menace" as a rationale for CIA domestic and foreign covert operations.**

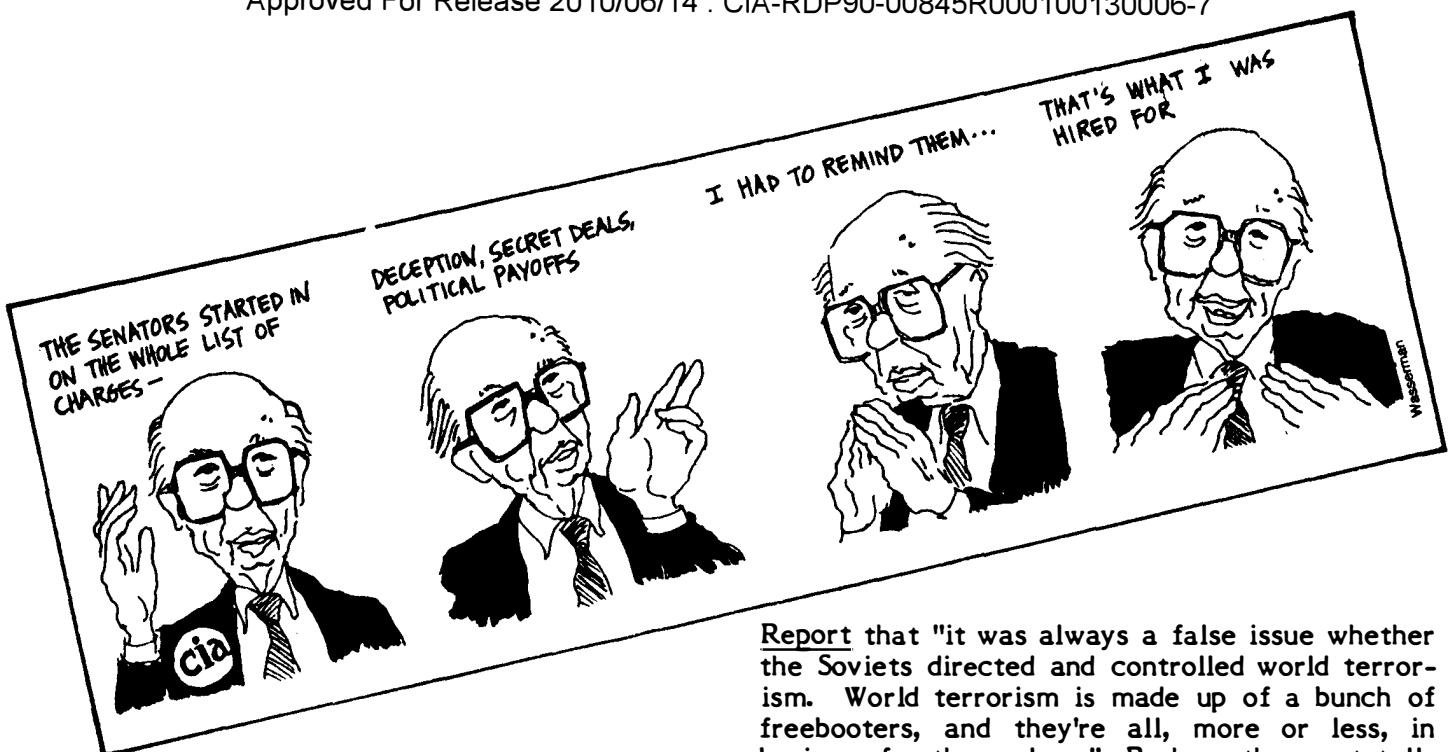
The 1979 report did not single out the Soviet Union as a sponsor of either revolutionary violence or terrorism. It found instead that "certain Communist regimes expressed some interest in cooperating with the West in combatting terrorism.... After all, Communist states were not entirely immune to terrorist attacks. The Soviets abroad continued to be attacked by militant Jewish groups and anti-Communist Cuban exiles. Soviet official and commercial facilities more recently have been bombed by Ukrainian exiles and individuals protesting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan."

#### Casey's Different Tune

At the same time that Casey was manipulating CIA reports to "prove" that the Soviet Union was a promoter of terrorism, he was whistling a different tune in a speech to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce:

Today we live in a world of increasing nationalism, increasing terrorism, and vanishing resources. These three realities illustrate the new kinds of problems of concern to intelligence.

First, the tide of nationalism is running strong in the less-developed countries of the world. There is hostility and negativism to-



ward free enterprise. There are potential dangers there for American, European, and even Japanese multinational corporations. Local politicians cannot always manage this distrust of foreigners. Free enterprise from abroad suddenly appears as foreign domination or neo-colonialism. It is difficult to predict when and where this hostility will break out.

Nationalism is not new. Its manifestations range from restrictive policies to outright expropriation. What is new today is that it is accompanied by global distress. This is caused by the explosive growth of energy costs - in both industrialized countries and the less-developed ones.

The enormous cost of fueling economic activity is forcing the less-developed countries into austerity and no-growth policies. They are running out of credit. They cannot meet the very high interest rates required. All this intensifies instability.

One form of instability that I'm afraid we'll see more of around the world is terrorism - hijacking, hostage-taking, kidnapping, assassination, bombing, armed attack, sniping, and coercive threats - mindless acts of violence designed to create political effect - regardless of the innocence of the victims....

In short, Casey was revealing that he knew better than to believe the CIA's own propaganda on terrorism. He admitted that revolutionary acts of violence and even armed attacks against U.S. corporations were not terrorist acts engendered by the Soviet Union but were responses to political and economic conditions and the perception, at least, of free enterprise economics as a foreign domination or neo-colonialism. Casey even called individual acts of violence "political" and placed them in the context of the global economic crisis.

Casey had also told the U.S. News and World

Report that "it was always a false issue whether the Soviets directed and controlled world terrorism. World terrorism is made up of a bunch of freebooters, and they're all, more or less, in business for themselves." Perhaps the most telling note on this issue was the announcement that the CIA's annual terrorism report is now classified.

#### From the "Red Menace" to "Terrorism"

Terrorism has emerged in the 1980s to replace and supplement the "Red Menace" as a rationale for CIA domestic and foreign covert operations. A similar ploy had been used before - a December 5, 1972 memo on Operation Chaos (the CIA's largest known domestic covert operation) is very revealing in this regard. The memo recounts a meeting that day to address a recent review of Operation Chaos by the CIA's Inspector General as well as "concern" about Chaos on the part of "some CIA personnel." The review and the concern were centered around the fact that Operation Chaos was in clear violation of the CIA charter's prohibition of domestic programs. Then-CIA director Richard Helms scoffed at this concern by saying that Chaos "cannot be stopped simply because some members of the organization do not like this activity." Helms, however, did partially respond to concerns by coming up with a new cover for Chaos. He decreed: "To a maximum extent possible, [Richard] Ober should become identified with the subject of terrorism inside the Agency as well as in the Intelligence community." Since Richard Ober was the director of Operation Chaos, Helms actually meant that Operation Chaos should become identified as an anti-terrorist operation. In short, same operation, new cover.

Within months, Chaos became the International Terrorism Group, with Ober as its head. Yet it continued to conduct the same illegal operations that were in no way a response to terrorism. Ober went on to join the National

Security Council - a key source behind the latter day terrorism bugaboo.

#### New Target: Qadhafi

When Casey told U.S. News and World Report that Soviet-directed terrorism was a false issue, it was long after his doctored 1980 report had been issued. Though his Chamber of Commerce speech suggested that he knew better, Casey hadn't dropped the terrorism cry, he had only switched his target from the Soviets to President Qadhafi of Libya. According to Casey, "if anybody orchestrates them [terrorists], it's Libya's Qadhafi. He made many of them dependent on him.... There are over 25 terrorist and guerrilla training camps in Libya. Training guerrillas and terrorists is the second largest industry there -second only to oil." Casey asserted that the never-proven Libyan "assassination squads" did exist, and, when asked whether they still threatened President Reagan, said, "I think they do. You don't call those things off." Conveniently dovetailing into Casey's picture of rampant terrorism is his contention that KGB (Soviet intelligence) activity "in the United States is very large."

Some version of the rampant Libyan and/or KGB subversion and terrorism theme was playing daily in the U.S. media while President Reagan was preparing his Executive Order (E.O. 12333) on intelligence agencies which would formally allow the CIA to conduct domestic operations. This order, of course, embodied Richard Helm's disingenuous approach to continuing Operation Chaos by simply saying that it was directed at terrorism. Perhaps unwittingly, the New York Times was right on the mark when it referred to a draft of E.O 12333 as the "Son of Chaos."

Shortly after Reagan signed E.O. 12333 on December 4, 1981, Attorney General William French Smith revealed that the alleged KGB/Libyan terrorism had motivated Reagan's signing. In a speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Smith charged that "the threat to our Government and its citizens from hostile intelligence services and international terrorist groups was also increasing dramatically," and that "hostile intelligence agents increasingly operate in the United States under a number of guises." Smith claimed a "400 percent" increase in such activity.

More specifically on terrorism, Smith said that:

A small number of well-trained fanatics could change our fortunes overnight. All of you know from press reports [emphasis added], that threat is real today. Libya's capability of sponsoring an effort to assassinate high U.S. Government officials provides a sobering example... we must all recognize the grave threat from hostile intelligence and the need for more effective U.S. intelligence and

counterintelligence. [Operation Chaos was falsely categorized as counterintelligence by the CIA.] But we must do more than merely recognize such paramount concerns. The Reagan Administration is firmly committed to revitalizing the United States intelligence effort. That commitment is apparent in the President's recent promulgation of three new Executive Orders... Executive Order 12333, signed two weeks ago, clarifies the authorities, responsibilities, and limitations concerning U.S. intelligence...

In sum, the Reagan administration and the CIA, with the complicity of the U.S. media, created a straw horse of Soviet/Libyan terrorism, and then institutionalized Operation Chaos, i.e., domestic CIA programs, to defend against the straw horse. Richard Helms must be pleased.

#### Webster Disagrees

Ironically, it was FBI Director William Webster who put the lie to the straw horse. In a 1981 speech in Oklahoma, Webster stated that "the number of terrorist acts at home, in contrast to the worldwide problem, has dropped [58 percent] in recent years." Later, on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," Webster added, "I cannot speak about activities abroad. But I can say that there is no real evidence of Soviet sponsored terrorism within the United States..., we seem at this point to be free of direct, deliberate Soviet domination or control or instigation of terrorist activity."

Even after receiving CIA reports alleging Cuban-supported terrorism in the U.S., Webster told a press conference, "I would discount foreign support for terrorism at this time.... There have been efforts by our own domestic groups to make contact [with foreign forces]. We don't think they've been too successful." Underscoring his own position on terrorism, Webster asked Congress for an additional nine agents for FY1980 for the FBI Terrorism Program which he said "would be a decrease of four Agents which were funded for Fiscal Year 1979" but would "ensure the United States Government being in a position to respond to terrorist acts efficiently and effectively and to anticipate occurrence of these acts to preclude disruption of the functioning of all levels of Government, prevention of civil disorders, and possible loss of life."

Thanks to E.O. 12333, the CIA will not be impeded by the FBI findings of negligible terrorism. Under E.O. 12333, "no agency except the CIA... may conduct any special activity [covert operation] unless the President determines that another agency is more likely to achieve a particular objective." Translated, this means that the CIA may unilaterally undertake domestic covert operations without coordination with the FBI.

# CIA to Europe: Take the Missiles!

Complete unity exists within NATO, according to the Reagan administration: the European allies want the deployment of hundreds of cruise and Pershing II missiles on their soil.

Internally, however, the administration is not so sure that its public "unity" claims are accurate. NATO governments might agree to deploy the missiles, but a clear majority of the European people are opposed. For a President who used to work as an advertiser for General Electric, Inc., the solution to that is simple. You just have to advertise, or "conduct public diplomacy," covertly supplemented by the intelligence agencies. Reagan has even found the man he wants to do the job: Peter Dailey, U.S. ambassador in Ireland, an obvious choice. He conducted Reagan's Presidential elections ad campaign.

Dailey now heads a "special planning group" which coordinates "public diplomacy" efforts in Europe. Its job is to convince people there that they should support Reagan's "Zero Option" negotiating position in the Geneva arms talks and, if the talks fail, to accept the deployment of the missiles. ("Zero Option" proposes that the Soviets destroy all their land-based intermediate range missiles, even those directed against China, while NATO would not reduce its intermediate range strike force but would forego deploying new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe.)

The Dailey group is guarding its actions in secrecy; even the names of the members of the group and the government agencies from which they come is classified information. A State Department spokesperson did, however, admit that they represent "every agency of the national security community." The New York Times also confirmed that the CIA has a representative in the group.

Dailey is an experienced public relations man. The customers served by his company, "Dailey and Associates," have included the Malaysian government as well as the Philippine Convention Bureau, an agency of the Philippine government. Dailey received hundreds of thousands of dollars from these two governments for his efforts to promote tourism in the Philippines and Malaysia.

During the 1972-73 Presidential election campaign, the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) hired Dailey to head the "November Group," an association of advertisement experts who produced ads for Richard Nixon. They ran what the Washington Post called "the slickest,

most professional advertising campaign ever conceived and implemented." The campaign wasn't exactly above board. In one instance, the Dailey group placed an ad defending Nixon's mining of Vietnam's Haiphong harbor in the New York Times which appeared to be an advertisement sponsored by private individuals. The Justice Department investigated this apparent violation of election laws, as it did other actions carried out by CREEP. These included destroying documents about Nixon's funders, paying the Watergate burglars to keep them quiet, and hiring Donald Segretti to spy on and sabotage the electoral strategy of the Democratic Party.

"Public diplomacy" campaigns such as Dailey's are playing an increasingly prominent role in Reagan's foreign policy. At the same time that the Dailey group was being assembled, Secretary of State George Schultz and United States Information Agency Director Charles Wick announced "Project Democracy" to "foster the infrastructure of democracy" by supporting "democratic" organizations worldwide - parties, institutes, universities, labor unions, newspapers, etc.

The Reagan administration wants to spend \$65 million on the project in Fiscal Year 1984. Immediately after their announcement, questions were raised about CIA involvement in the project. The State Department quickly asserted that the CIA would have no role in Project Democracy, but Wick volunteered at a Senate hearing that CIA Director William Casey had been involved in planning the project. Furthermore, the New York Times reported that a secret State Department memorandum had proposed a "Covert Action" component.

This "secret/sensitive" memo, written by State Department official Mark Palmer stated that the covert component of the project would be run by the CIA and Planning Groups of the National Security Council. "We need to examine," said Palmer, "how law and Executive Order can be made more liberal to permit covert action on a broader scale, as well as what we can do through substantially increased overt political action." Prior to writing this memo, dated August 3, 1982, Palmer had told the Boston Globe that the public relations effort "has to be organized by private citizens, not the government and particularly not the State Department."

Robert McFarlane, deputy director of the National Security Council, claims that Palmer's

memo was rejected and that the CIA was "put firmly out of the program." While that might be a bit difficult to believe in light of the contradiction between Palmer's public statement to the Globe and his secret memo, there is no question that a number of the organizations the administration wants to fund under Project Democracy have worked with the CIA and/or have received CIA money in the past. These organizations include the Asia Foundation (slated to receive \$10

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million), the AFL-CIO's international programs and some "democratic [i.e. anti-Communist] unions abroad" (\$13 million), and the Inter-American Press Association (\$50,000). Wick's testimony in Congress also indicated that organizations whose charters prohibit accepting government money might be given money "laundered" through third organizations.

The administration plans to be quite generous with its Project Democracy funds:

- \$1.5 million for the "Study of Democratic Principles and Practice for Military Leaders in Developing Nations." To cultivate future military heads of state, "suitable organizations will be chosen to launch a series of symposia on the nature of democratic society for selected military leaders who presently hold or are likely to hold traditionally civilian government positions." Such a program is needed because, according to the State Department, "military-led institutions of the political process can retard the development of a democratic form of government." (The

Pentagon is already training foreign military officials to become heads of state: according to the Joint Chiefs of Staff Posture Statement for Fiscal Year 1984, 25 current heads of state were at one time "trained in U.S. senior military schools.")

- \$1.5 million for a "Transoceanic Leadership Project" which is supposed to "establish positive ties" between U.S. citizens and foreigners "based on a perception of shared values."

- \$1 million to support "a number of European organizations whose objective is to support and strengthen the Atlantic Community." A similar program is currently run by the U.S. Atlantic Council whose directors include CIA chief William Casey.

- \$500,000 for "Leadership Training for Latin American Students."

- \$920,000 to "assist Liberia's Transition to Democracy."

- \$1 million for the establishment of a "Center for Free Enterprise" which will propagandize about the supposed link between "democracy" and the "free market" economy.

- \$500,000 for a "new Center for the Study of the Soviet Union" which is to become "a focal point for recent emigres."

- \$100,000 for "Middle East Peace and Development Conferences" which will "bring

**...THE ANASTASIO SOMOZA FOUNDATION, THE BAY OF PIGS MARCHING SOCIETY, THE U.S. COMMITTEE TO RESCUE THE PLATT AMENDMENT, THE FULGENCIO BATISTA MEMORIAL FUND, AND ANONYMOUS CORPORATE DONORS.**



## Thatcher's Public Relations

In England, the United States Information Agency has already been feeding anti-Soviet propaganda to the media and the public. Papers routinely distributed include State Department reports about "Soviet Active Measures," (i.e. alleged covert Soviet operations to influence internal policies in NATO countries), a monthly publication, "Soviet Propaganda Alert," which purports to "analyze" Soviet attempts to influence the Western media, as well as numerous pamphlets on the alleged KGB subversion of the European peace movement. These include a glossy reprint of John Barron's Reader's Digest smear, "The KGB's Magical War for Peace," (See "The Secret Work of John Barron," Counterspy, March-May 1983) with no indication that it is being distributed by the U.S. government.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is also conducting a "public relations" campaign. Widespread opposition forced her to abort a larger-scale effort, but the British government still assists groups advocating high defense expenditures

and missile deployment. For instance, the government funds the "British Atlantic Council" and has chosen it as "the major vehicle to put the NATO case in the context of the CND debate." (CND is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a coalition of peace groups.) Other pro-nuclear groups have little popular backing but more than sufficient funding. Some of the British groups also receive assistance from rightwing U.S. organizations. For instance, the British Coalition for Peace through Security which consists of just a few people gets aid from the U.S. Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

Attacks on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have not been limited to smear campaigns by rightwing groups such as the Coalition for Peace Through Security - which published several pamphlets attacking CND as a pro-Soviet "pressure group which wants Britain alone to give up its defences." Twice last year, anti-nuclear groups suffered physical attacks: a large library of the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace was destroyed in a rather suspicious fire, and a CND peace camp near the U.S. Army base at Caerwent, Wales, was attacked at night by about twelve men.

Israeli and Arab intellectuals together." Such conferences used to be run by the CIA-connected American Friends of the Middle East.

- \$4,455,000 for a "worldwide book publishing project." At present, says the State Department, "books reflecting democratic views are lacking" in many countries while "books bearing the Marxist dialectical philosophy are readily available, often at low prices." A previous large book distribution venture was aided by Evron Kirkpatrick's think tank "Operations and Policy Research, Inc." and was funded in part by the CIA. Jeane Kirkpatrick worked with the project as well.

- \$1 million for a "Central American Media program" which might include the establishment of a "regional newspaper for the rural populations in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. The newspaper would provide information in such areas as family health, agricultural management as well as the merits of supporting democracy."

During Fiscal Year 1983, the Reagan administration spent \$20 million for Project Democracy without any Congressional appropriations. The money was drawn from the State Department, the USIA and the Agency for International Development. Its projects shed light on what is in store for the future:

- \$50,000 for the ultra-right National Strategy Information Center (founded by CIA Director Casey) to pay for the trips of U.S. "Social Democrats" to go to Socialist International meetings. These "Social Democrats" included Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (ret.), a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Nixon and Midge Decter of Commentary magazine, who

has received CIA money in the past.

- \$60,000 to the Center for Education and Research in Free Enterprise. The Center held conferences on free enterprise for some Guatemalans who were said to be worried about the "socialist threat" to their country.

- \$162,000 to the business lobby group "Mid-America Committee" to fund trips to the United States by the press spokespersons of Latin American dictators to teach them how to handle the U.S. media; and

- \$200,000 to Ernest Lefever's Ethics and Public Policy Center. Lefever, whom Reagan unsuccessfully nominated to head the State Department's Human Rights Office, got money to write about Soviet "sponsorship" of the peace movement and to conduct seminars with pro-disarmament European church officials to convince them of the evils of the Soviet Union.

When Wick presented the Project Democracy budget to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, some Democrats criticized what they called "Project Rightwing Democracy." They are concerned that the Reagan administration will use the project primarily to fund organizations of the far right. In addition, some pointed out that the Project Democracy might not be effective enough because it is so closely identified with the U.S. government.

Some Democrats on Capitol Hill claim that the West German government seems to have found a way to handle the problem. Each of the major parties - with the exception of the Greens - has a "foundation" which gets a large part of its

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# **Reagan's "Misstatements": Fueling the Push for Military Superiority**

by Konrad Ege

Faced with public opinion polls indicating that less than 20 percent of the people in the U.S. favor large increases in military spending, the administration has mounted a concentrated offensive to garner support for a 10 percent hike (after inflation) in the military budget. In this campaign, the Commander in Chief and his troops haven't hesitated to falsify the facts about the U.S. and Soviet military budgets. And most of the time, they get away with it even though Reagan is fond of blaming the media's steady "drum beat" of criticism for eroding popular support for military spending.

In reality, Reagan should be thankful to most of the corporate-controlled newspapers, magazines and TV and radio networks for reporting about the U.S. military budget the way they do: They rarely challenge the statistics and data supplied by the administration to back up its claim that a large military spending increase is necessary to "catch up" with the Soviet Union.

For instance, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's statistics on the "Production of Selected Soviet Weapons, 1974-82" presented in colorful charts during this year's budget hearings, have not been challenged though they are contradicted by the Pentagon's 1983 Annual Report on Research and Engineering.<sup>1</sup> Weinberger also gets away with claiming that the ratio of U.S. to Soviet technicians working in the Third World is 1:20. To arrive at that figure, he simply redefined all Soviet troops in Afghanistan as technicians.

Some aspects of the U.S. government's disinformation about the military (which is examined below) are designed to achieve short-term goals - to push through the current military budget increases. Others, especially statements made by Commander in Chief Reagan, are based on his ignorance of the most fundamental facts about military matters. The most serious aspect of the government's public relations campaign is the institutionalization of disinformation. "Long term disinformation" - such as systematically exaggerated data about Soviet military spending - has led the United States on a very dangerous course. It has also stymied the U.S. public in its attempt to

understand fully and participate in an informed way in the discussion about the Pentagon budget and military strategy.

## **A Decided Advantage?**

*"Today, in virtually every measure of military power, the Soviet Union enjoys a decided advantage."* (Ronald Reagan, November 22, 1982)

When Reagan was asked several weeks after he made that statement whether he would trade U.S. forces for Soviet forces, he replied, "No."<sup>2</sup> The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, gave the same answer in a 1982 Senate hearing.

There are certainly some areas in which the Soviet Union has at least a quantitative advantage. Reagan officials acknowledge, though, that the U.S. has an overall technological lead over the Soviet Union (Chart I). In other areas, e.g. the number of "strategic" warheads - which appears to be a rather crucial one - the U.S. even has a numerical lead (Chart II).

## **How the CIA Figures Soviet Military Spending**

*"Soviet leaders invest 12 to 14 percent of their country's gross national product in military spending, two or three times the level we invest."* (Ronald Reagan, November 22, 1982)

Even if that were true, it would not indicate that the Soviet Union was dramatically outspending the United States in actual dollar figures, since the U.S. GNP is twice that of the Soviet Union.

The task of comparing U.S. and Soviet spend-

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ing is a very difficult one. Most of the statistics the U.S. government relies on come from the CIA, and the CIA has a unique way of comparing military spending in the two countries. Its computations assure beforehand that Soviet spending figures will be found to be considerably higher than they are in reality.

In order to determine how much the Soviet military spends, the CIA assigns a dollar value to Soviet equipment and other costs; i.e. it determines how much it would cost to reproduce the Soviet military forces in the United States. That leads to gross misrepresentations of actual Soviet cost. For instance, if steel prices go up in the U.S., the CIA figures a show a rise in the Soviet military budget because it would cost the United States more to produce tanks similar to the ones that roll off Soviet assembly lines. The actual cost of a Soviet tank, of course, is not affected by price increases in the U.S.

What leads to an even greater exaggeration of

Soviet military expenditures is that the CIA's accounting ignores the different structures of U.S. and Soviet forces. The Soviet Union has more personnel but less equipment per soldier, while the U.S. has a smaller all-volunteer force and a clear superiority in high technology equipment. In the Soviet Union, conceded former CIA Director Stansfield Turner in a Joint Economic Committee hearing, "military hardware is much more expensive than manpower ... while in the United States manpower is relatively more expensive." By computing how much it would cost the Pentagon to reproduce Soviet forces, the CIA ignores that differential. Assigning U.S. manpower costs to the Soviet forces, as the CIA does, will make the Soviet military budget appear much larger than it is. Even former CIA Director William Colby and Defense Intelligence Agency Director Daniel Graham acknowledged before the Joint Economic Committee on July 21, 1975, that dollar comparisons of the U.S. and Soviet military budgets "were doomed to produce misleading results."

Until 1976, the CIA listed Soviet military expenditures in rubles as some 6 to 8 percent of the Gross National Product. But when President Gerald Ford appointed George Bush as CIA Director, that assessment changed virtually overnight. Bush appointed "Team B" - made up of hardcore anti-Soviet ideologues Richard Pipes, Daniel Graham, Paul Nitze and others. These outsiders, in a highly unusual process, were allowed to examine the CIA's top secret data to figure out whether the CIA's assessment of the Soviet threat was accurate. Given the composition of Team B, the nature of its findings was a foregone

#### Relative U.S./USSR Standing in the 20 Most Important Basic Technology Areas\*

BASIC TECHNOLOGIES	U.S. SUPERIOR	U.S./USSR EQUAL	USSR SUPERIOR
1. Aerodynamics/Fluid Dynamics		X	
2. Automated Control	X		
3. Conventional Warhead (including Chemical Explosives)			X
4. Computer	X		
5. Directed Energy		X	
6. Electro-Optical Sensor (including IR)	X→		
7. Guidance & Navigation	X→		
8. Microelectronic Materials & Integrated Circuit Manufacture	X		
9. Nuclear Warhead		X	
10. Optics	X→		
11. Power Sources (Mobile)		X	
12. Production/Manufacturing	X		
13. Propulsion (Aerospace)	X		
14. Radar Sensor	X→		
15. Signal Processing	X		
16. Software	X		
17. Stealth (Signature Reduction Technology)	X		
18. Structural Materials (lightweight, high strength)	X→		
19. Submarine Detection (including Silencing)	X→		
20. Telecommunications	X		

Chart I (Source: FY 1984 DoD Report on Research, Development and Acquisition)

#### U.S. Always Ahead of Soviets in Strategic Weapons

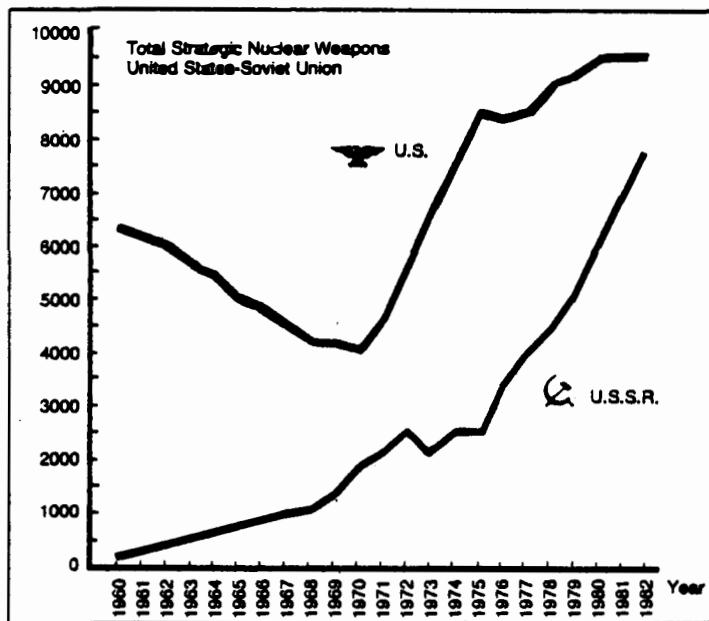


Chart II (Source: Center for Defense Information)

conclusion: that the CIA was underestimating the Soviet threat. Bush claimed that "new evidence" as well as a "reinterpretation of old information" made it necessary to revise the estimate of Soviet defense expenditures upwards to 11 to 13 percent of the GNP.

The Ford administration immediately used that new estimate to push for a hike in the Pentagon budget, even though the CIA stated that the revised military expenditures to GNP ratio did not imply that the Soviet military had greater capabilities than previously thought.

The CIA's ruble estimate of the Soviet military budget is also exaggerated because it is calculated in 1970 rubles.<sup>4</sup> Military equipment that was in its early developmental stage or had not gone into full production in 1970 would have been very expensive then, but much cheaper five or ten years later when it was mass-produced. By measuring the costs in 1970 rubles the CIA ignores that factor. Professor Franklyn Holzman of Tufts University in his study, "Soviet Military Spending: Assessing the Numbers Game", estimates that because of its 1970 rubles estimates the CIA might be exaggerating Soviet military spending in 1980 by as much as 30 to 50 percent.

There are signs of controversy within the Reagan administration about the data on the "Soviet threat" which the CIA has provided over the last few years. The Defense Intelligence Agency is disputing recent CIA reports which revise previous projections of growth in the Soviet military budget downward from almost four percent annually to less than two percent. (From 1982

to 1983 the Pentagon budget rose by approximately 10 percent after inflation). In its count of Soviet weapons, the CIA also found fewer than it had expected.

Under CIA Director William Casey, the CIA has stopped publishing its "Dollar Cost Comparison of Soviet and U.S. Defense Activities." The CIA claims that this is just part of an overall move to limit the number of publicly available CIA studies. The Armed Forces Journal, though, quotes one CIA analyst wondering "whether the report on Soviet expenditures was being dropped because it would disclose a leveling out or drop in the rate of growth in Soviet defense spending and equipment production over the last two years."<sup>6</sup>

## Who Outspends Whom?

*"Even when we include the allied efforts on each side, we find that the Warsaw Pact has out-spent and out-produced the NATO countries."* (Caspar Weinberger, Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1984)

According to the Pentagon's Fiscal Year 1984 Annual Report on Research, Development and Acquisition, as well as Weinberger's own 1982 report, NATO has always outspent the Warsaw Pact (Chart III).

### MILITARY EXPENDITURES: OUTLAYS

#### A Comparison of NATO Military Expenditures with Estimated Dollar Cost of Warsaw Pact Defense Activities

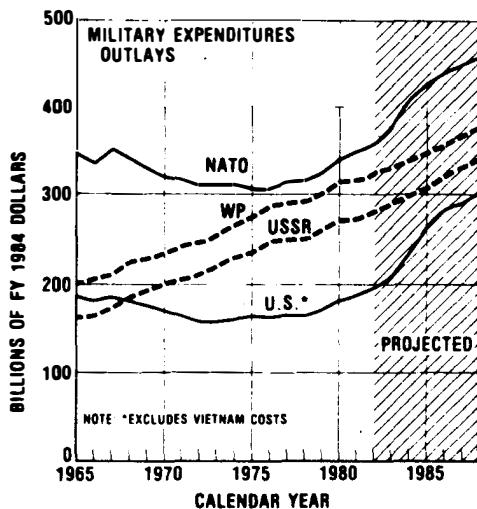


Chart III (Source: FY 1984 DOD Report on Research, Development and Acquisition)

### REAGAN MILITARY SPENDING COMPARED TO 1962-82 AVERAGE IN CONSTANT 1983 DOLLARS

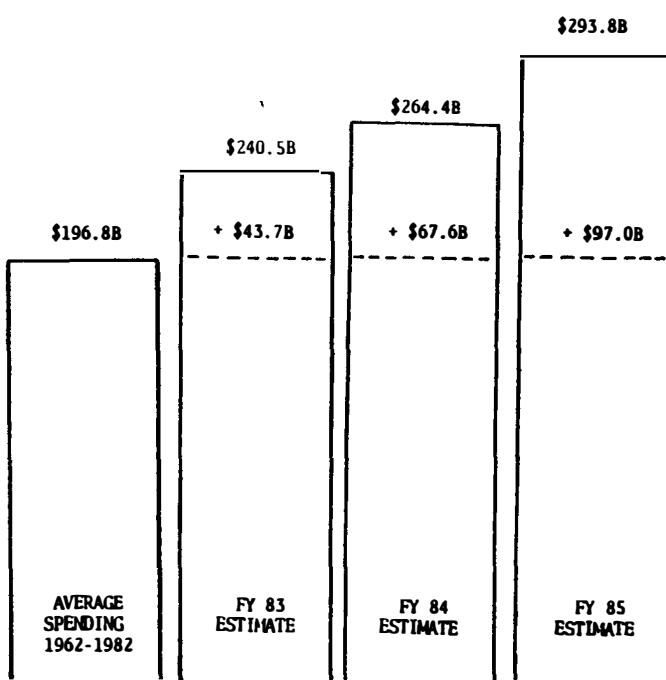


Chart IV (Source: DOD)

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# A Decade of Neglect?

*"During the past decade, the Soviet Union has built up its forces across the board. During that same period, the defense expenditures of the United States declined in real terms."* (Ronald Reagan, May 9, 1982.)

Not true. According to Pentagon figures, military spending (in constant FY 1983 dollars) was \$187.5 billion in 1972 and \$227.8 billion in 1982.

## Pentagon Budget: Lower than in 1962?

*"In 1962, when John Kennedy was President, 46 percent, almost half of the federal budget, went to our national defense. In recent years, about one quarter of our budget has gone to defense."* (Ronald Reagan, November 22, 1982)

Comparing military expenditures in 1962 and 1982 in percentages of the federal budget is misleading because the budget structure has changed considerably in the last two decades. A number of items that make up a major part of the 1983 budget played no role or a very limited role in 1962: interest payments on the national debt, for instance, and certain entitlement programs. Other items in the 1982 budget, e.g. social security, Medicare and unemployment benefits are almost exclusively funded by separate trust funds and do not come out of the money the government raises from income taxes.

According to a study by Dr. Gordon Adams of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, under the Fiscal Year 1984 budget, 50¢ out of every dollar the government collects in income taxes goes to military-related programs. If Reagan's five year military buildup plan is funded by Congress, that figure would increase to 65¢ on the dollar.

In addition, many items in the U.S. budget that are not counted as military expenditures are in reality items that belong in the military expense account:

- costs for the production of nuclear warheads (about \$7 billion) are counted as part of the Energy Department budget;
- NASA spends at least 25 percent of its \$5

billion budget on military tasks;

- the Veterans Administration has a budget of \$25 billion;
- the Maritime Administration spends between \$500 million and \$1 billion a year for military related projects;

- the Department of Education subsidizes schools used by "dependents" of military personnel to the tune of \$500 million a year; and

- according to Adams, part of the annual interest payments on the national debt - \$30 billion, conservatively estimated - is directly related to military programs.

That adds up to more than \$60 billion of the federal budget which should be added to the \$274 billion Pentagon budget as military or military-related expenditure.

## Reagan's New Math

*"In constant dollars, the defense budget is just about the same as it has been all the way back to 1962."* (Ronald Reagan, January 6, 1983)

This statement is contradicted by the Pentagon's own published figures. In constant Fiscal Year 1983 dollars, the average military spending from 1962 to 1983 is \$196.8 billion. Spending in Fiscal Year 1984 is scheduled to be \$264.4 billion, in Fiscal Year 1985 \$293.8 billion (Chart IV).

## Conventional Inferiority

*"Our strategic nuclear weapons unfortunately are the only balance or deterrent that we have to the massive buildup of conventional arms that the Soviet Union has now on the western front - on the NATO front."* (Ronald Reagan, May 13, 1982)

The claim that NATO cannot defend itself sufficiently with conventional weapons is a key assertion used to explain the Reagan administration's refusal to adopt a policy not to use nuclear weapons first in case of war. Reagan and Weinberger are fond of quoting endless statistics of Soviet superiority in the numbers of soldiers, tanks, fighting vehicles and several other categories.

Some of these figures may be accurate as far as they go. But in his Fiscal Year 1984 budget request Weinberger carefully avoids showing in his red and blue charts those categories where the U.S. has a numerical advantage. Nor does his "bean-counting" approach take into account the technical superiority of many NATO weapons systems. In fact, writes Carl Jacobsen, director of Soviet studies at the University of Miami, the Reagan administration's approach to military force comparisons "is like that of a farmer who compares his neighbor's 50 orange trees with his own orchard of 100 apple and 20 orange trees, and says: 'He has twice as many orange trees; that proves he has more fruit trees than I have.'"

The administration's claim of NATO's inferiority in conventional armaments has been widely accepted as a fact by the U.S. media. Yet General Frederick Kroesen, the Commander of the U.S. Army in Europe, is on record as saying that "We can defend the borders of Western Europe with what we have. I've never asked for a larger force. I don't think that conventional [non-nuclear] defense is anywhere near hopeless."<sup>10</sup> In addition, the annual posture statements that were written under former Defense Secretary Harold Brown indicate that NATO would be able to ward off a conventional attack on Western Europe with conventional arms. Since NATO has been out-spending the Warsaw Pact (Chart III) and since Warsaw Pact and NATO forces have not undergone major structural changes in the last few years, that would appear still to be the case today.

To demonstrate "Soviet conventional superiority," the Reagan administration is quick to point to the Warsaw Pact's 2.5 to 1 advantage in tanks and 2.8 to 1 advantage in artillery. This numbers comparison ignores NATO's technological lead in both categories. In order to create a more reliable accounting system the Pentagon devised the "armored divisions equivalents" measure which takes into account all principal characteristics of each weapons system such as firepower and survivability. Under that calculating system, NATO's disadvantage is reduced to 1 to 1.2.

In order to launch a successful attack overwhelming NATO, the Soviet Union would need a numerical advantage of more than 3 to 1 because of a defending force's inherent advantage. NATO officials also believe that a defending brigade can hold out against an initial attack if it has to protect no more than 15 kilometers of border. NATO troops are stationed in Europe in such a way that this is possible along the entire West-East border.

The only conceivable scenario whereby the Warsaw Pact could overwhelm NATO defenses, as detailed in a study published in International Security, would be a massive Warsaw Pact attack after additional Soviet forces had been brought to

Central Europe or after a Warsaw Pact mobilization without a NATO response. Former CIA Deputy Director Bobby Ray Inman believes that such a Soviet mobilization would be detected: "This country is more capable today than it has ever been in its history to detect and understand the implications of the massing of Soviet forces outside its borders."<sup>11</sup>

**The Reagan administration's approach to military force comparisons "is like that of a farmer who compares his neighbor's 50 orange trees with his own orchard of 100 apple and 20 orange trees, and says, 'he has twice as many orange trees; that proves he has more fruit trees than I have.' "**

If the Reagan administration, sincerely believing in NATO's conventional inferiority, were at the same time seriously interested in a "no first use" policy, it could be moving in that direction by following the suggestions outlined in a "No First Use" study conducted by retired military and Defense Department officials under the auspices of the Union of Concerned Scientists.<sup>12</sup> This study proposes gradually moving toward a "no first use" policy while gearing military doctrine, strategy and training onto this new track. But the Reagan administration has shown no interest in those suggestions. On the contrary, the new U.S. Army doctrine, AirLand Battle, while claiming to rely more on conventional weapons, postulates that nuclear and chemical weapons are most useful if used very early in a battle.

In the final analysis, Reagan's fear-mongering about Soviet superiority is based on the assumption that the Soviet government might intend to attack Western Europe or the United States. This notion obviously is based on Reagan's ideological world view and not on any intelligence projections of Soviet intentions. Admiral Noel Gaylor, a former head of the National Security Agency, told

the National Press Club in February 1983 that "there is no evidence whatever in my judgement that the Soviet Union has any intention of attacking the United States because they think our guard is down, now or in the future. All the evidence is in the other way and in point of fact any such idea would be so terribly risky from the standpoint of the Soviet leadership that it really isn't a concern that we should have."

violating an understanding reached after the Cuban missile crisis that no missiles that could reach the Soviet Union would be based in Europe.<sup>14</sup>

Carter's Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski confirmed in an interview with the West German magazine Stern that it was the Carter administration that provided the "leadership" at the time when NATO made the decision to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe.<sup>15</sup> NATO agreed that the missiles were to be deployed only if negotiations with the Soviet Union failed. The Reagan administration apparently views things differently. Its chief arms control negotiator Edward Rowny, when asked why the administration had decided to go ahead with intermediate force reduction talks, stated that this decision was made "in the interest of getting some ground-launched cruise missiles and some Pershing IIs into Europe."<sup>16</sup> This answer appears to contradict the NATO decision to have arms talks in order to avoid deployment of the missiles.

Reagan's claim that NATO has "nothing" with which to counter the Soviet SS-20s is inaccurate. In addition to thousands of "battlefield" nuclear weapons, NATO has a sizable European-based nuclear weapons arsenal that can hit the Soviet Union, including 156 F-111 bombers with two nuclear weapons each; 60 FB-111 bombers with two bombs each; 240 A-6E and A-7E bombers which can carry nuclear weapons; and 267 nuclear capable F-4 bombers. (According to NATO statistics, some of the A-6Es, A-7Es and F-4s are for conventional operations; however, they can be equipped with nuclear weapons in crisis situations.) In addition, the U.S. Navy has hundreds of missiles on submarines in European waters, and France and Britain at present have hundreds of warheads directed at the Soviet Union. Both Francois Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher are rapidly building up their countries' nuclear strike forces. Mitterrand is improving primarily submarine-launched nuclear weapons (France's new sub, L'Inflexible, carries 16 M-4 missiles with six independently targetable warheads each; their range is 4000 km.) If Thatcher's buildup continues on schedule, by 1995 Britain's nuclear strike force will be capable of delivering more than 5000 nuclear warheads that can reach virtually every Soviet city.<sup>17</sup>

#### Footnotes:

- 1) See Anthony Cordesman and Benjamin Schemmer, "The Failure to Defend Defense," Armed Forces Journal, March 1983.
- 2) Mark Green, "Reagan's Reign of Error," The Nation, 3/5/83, p.263.
- 3) This segment draws on two detailed articles by Professor Franklyn Holzman of Tufts University, "Are the Soviets Really Outspending the U.S. on Defense?," (International Security, Spring 1980) and SEE REAGAN, page 29

## The European Nuclear Balance

"In Europe, for example, the Russians had a missile called the SS-20, a nuclear missile. It was called an intermediate range, because it couldn't come across the ocean and hit us, but it was targeted on all the cities of Europe. And Europe had nothing to counter it. So, our NATO allies asked us if a weapon that we have designed, called the Pershing missile, could be made and installed in Europe to counter this threat of the SS-20 so the Russians would know if they tried to use those, the Europeans had something to use back." (Ronald Reagan to high school students, May 10, 1982.)

The claim that the Europeans asked for the deployment of hundreds of cruise missiles and Pershing II ballistic missiles (and that therefore the European protests against these missiles are completely unjustified) has become a mainstay of the Reagan administration's nuclear weapons propaganda. Yet they cannot cite a single statement by any European government asking for the deployment of these weapons.<sup>18</sup> What actually happened was that former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained in a 1977 London speech that the Soviet Union was deploying intermediate range missiles which could hit Western Europe but not the United States. Therefore, the SS-20s were not covered by the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT). Schmidt later explained that he wanted to pressure the Carter administration to include intermediate range weapons in SALT II.

Schmidt's speech was met with silence by the Carter administration, but in January 1979 Carter responded by proposing the deployment of the intermediate range nuclear weapons. Schmidt and other West European government leaders agreed, even though it was apparent that deployment of missiles in Europe that could hit vital Soviet facilities would be viewed as a grave provocation by the Soviets. In Soviet eyes, the U.S. would be

# Soviet Military Power, 1983

# Illustrated Disinformation

by John Pike

Soviet Military Power, the 107-page centerpiece of the Reagan administration's military propaganda campaign, was released by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in March 1983. It claims that the Soviet Union is engaged in a massive arms buildup to achieve "military superiority in all fields." The U.S. answer to that, according to Weinberger, is clear: The United States "must have the resolve to work unceasingly for the security of all free nations" and to match the Soviet effort. With the 1983 edition of Soviet Military Power (a first edition was released in September 1981), Weinberger wants to counter the critics of his spending binge by demonstrating that the Soviets are going to conquer the world if not contained by the U.S. armed forces. U.S. agencies have printed and distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of the booklet and handed them out all over the world.

Weinberger's approach to "proving" Soviet superiority is simple: count the weapons systems, and focus on those where the Soviet Union has a numerical advantage. Ignore differences in capabilities of these weapons systems. Do not mention that the United States has a clear technological lead in most areas. And above all, don't forget to stress again and again that whatever the Soviets do, it is offensive, while the United States is just trying to stand up for the interests of the Free World. (For a more detailed analysis of the Reagan administration's disinformation campaign on Soviet military strength, see the previous article in this issue.)

Soviet Military Power contains numerous mistakes and inconsistencies - even if one considers it on its own terms. For instance, on page 106 it claims that "there is no sign of abatement in the scope of buildup" of Soviet forces. Yet pages 78 to 80 contain annual production figures (from 1978 to 1982) for 27 categories of Soviet weapons, 16 of which show a decline in these four years, four categories show no change, and only seven show an increase in the annual production rates.

The Pentagon also uses drawings to exaggerate the Soviet threat. Many of the illustrations of Soviet weapons in Soviet Military Power contain major mistakes (which is rather mysterious since Weinberger should have the budget to hire decent artists to illustrate this keystone document). Take the example of the Oscar class submarine. Pages 104 and 105 show a detailed photo of the boat, but on pages 70 and 71 we find an artist's concept of the submarine that bears only passing resemblance to

the photo. Paintings of yet to be developed Soviet anti-satellite weapons on page 64 and 65, and the radar on page four, contain major technical mistakes as well.

Perhaps the most extreme case of threat exaggeration-by-drawing is that of the T-80 tank. The T-80, called a powerful new "supertank" which, we were told, hadn't found its U.S. match, was the featured star of the 1981 edition of Soviet Military Power. The painting of the T-80 published in that edition was remarkably similar to the American M-1 Abrams tank which at that time was under heavy criticism. The readers were assured that the picture "while not precise in every detail" was "as authentic as possible."

The 1983 version of Soviet Military Power tells a different story. A photo of that same supertank, the T-80, shows that it actually bears very little resemblance to the M-1. In fact, only by looking at the photo rather closely can one distinguish the T-80 from its predecessor, the T-72. The technical data Soviet Military Power gives for the T-80 is identical to the data for the T-72 with the exception that the T-80 is one ton heavier, which probably represents the weight of the fender skirts which were missing from the T-72.

The T-80 episode is a good example of one way in which the Pentagon engages in threat inflation. (A T-85 scare might be just around the corner as an updated version of the T-80 is supposed to be tested soon.) Soviet tanks are assigned a T-series number according to the first year that they enter service, thus the T-80 entered service in 1980 (it was the updated version of the T-72, and so on). What this means, for U.S. propaganda purposes, is that each time the Soviets modify their tanks, the Pentagon credits them with having developed a totally new weapons system: thus, says the Pentagon, "the Soviets have been developing an average of one new tank every five years" while the United States has fielded none.

The T-80 scare is just one instance of the Pentagon's use of designations of weapons systems to exaggerate the Soviet military buildup. The Defense Department also claims that a new Soviet fighter plane, the "Foxhound" will be deployed soon with an advanced radar system to shoot down U.S. bombers. On closer examination, though, the

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Foxhound turns out to be yet another version of the Mig-25 Foxbat, variations of which have been in service for more than two decades. During the same time period, the U.S. F-15 Eagle has appeared in four updated variations, F-15A, F-15B, F-15C and F-15D. But because all these versions retain the F-15 designation, the Pentagon counts them as only one single plane type.

**It is the aim of the Reagan administration to create fear among the people, because . . . "democracies will not sacrifice to protect their security in the absence of a sense of danger. And every time we create the impression that we and the Soviets are cooperating we diminish that sense of apprehension."**

The same is true for the B-52 bomber, which has made it up all the way to the B-52H. And yet, Ronald Reagan is still using his tired old B-52 example ("Some of the B-52s are older than the pilots that fly them") to "prove" that the U.S. hasn't deployed a new bomber in decades. In reality, says Col. Robert Durkin of the 28th bombardment wing at Ellsworth Air Force Base in South Dakota, the B-52s have been improved constantly: "I would be surprised if there is an original rivet in any of those airplanes... It's been rewinged, it's been rescanned, it's been retailed..." (Christian Science Monitor, 4/3/83)

Another instance of disinformation-by-drawing: on page 20, Soviet Military Power depicts four variations of the Soviet SS-18 Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, each with a different mix of warheads. Two pages later we are shown but a single U.S. Poseidon Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile. Clearly, the Soviets seem to have the upper hand. But not so. The four modifications of the SS-18 merely represent the four different types of payloads that it has been observed carrying in tests. There is no indication that all of these variants have

in fact been deployed. The U.S. Poseidon has been tested with as few as 6 and as many as 14 warheads, and it is generally agreed that various combinations have actually been deployed. But for Soviet Military Power, you just have to know how to count 'em: A Soviet missile with four different warhead configurations becomes four missiles, but a U.S. missile deployed with different payloads is still one missile.

The use of drawings also enables the Pentagon to confabulate currently existing weapons (usually U.S. weapons) and future systems (always Soviet). Soviet Military Power shows a drawing on page 68 comparing the U.S. Space Shuttle which has been flying for over two years with three future Soviet space launch systems. Of the Soviet rockets pictured, the largest was unsuccessfully tested on three occasions, with each test ending in a spectacular explosion. The other two have yet to fly.

Turning to page 46, we find an illustration of Soviet transport aircraft, including a "New Heavy Transport" which bears an uncanny resemblance to the American C-5 - the subject of an intense procurement battle last year. Rumors of this new plane, designated the Antonov 40, have been floating around for several years even though the Soviet Union apparently lacks the ability to manufacture the engines needed to get it off the ground.

Moving from the unlikely to the impossible, turn to page 28 and consider the map of the Soviet radar coverage, specifically the immense ability of the Soviet over-the-horizon radar (OTH) which purportedly can track targets from the Soviet Union over the North Pole all the way across the United States and down to Central America. This would be a remarkable feat. OTH radars work by bouncing a radar beam off the ionosphere, much like a clear channel AM radio station. But the ionosphere is severely disrupted over the polar regions which is why the U.S. OTH plans do not include polar OTH radar. Soviet Military Power, however, credits the USSR with two such radar installations with a range of at least 8,000 miles, rather unlikely given the fact that the Soviet Union does not have a lead in the OTH technology.

Soviet Military Power has a clear mission - to convince people in the United States that there is a huge Soviet threat. The Russians are coming if a U.S. military buildup doesn't stop them. It is the aim of the Reagan administration to create fear among the people, because, as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy Richard Perle has said, "democracies will not sacrifice to protect their security in the absence of a sense of danger. And every time we create the impression that we and the Soviets are cooperating and moderating the competition we diminish that sense of apprehension." (Long Island Newsday, 2/18/83) Weinberger's creation of a "sense of danger" by releasing Soviet Military Power doesn't bode well for arms reduction agreements. Such "cosmetic agreements," says Perle, are "in the long run fatal for the democracies of the west."

# Disinformation: Excuse for Raids Against Canadian Peace Groups

by Murray MacAdam

Political bombings can have a silver lining - at least for some people. Canadian police and governmental authorities have latched onto the bombing of a controversial weapons factory in Toronto, Canada, in an attempt to discredit the country's blossoming peace movement.

It all began on October 14, 1982, when 550 pounds of dynamite were exploded at Litton Systems Canada, builder of the guidance system for the U.S. cruise missile. The bomb injured seven people, one seriously, and caused \$5 million in damage. A group called Direct Action claimed credit for the bombing and issued a communique explaining why they did it.

Litton has long been the target of non-violent protests led by a Toronto peace group, the Cruise Missile Conversion Project (CMCP). Over the past three years, activists have held a series of peaceful rallies and civil disobedience actions to protest Litton's involvement in nuclear war preparations. The government seized on the bombing to thwart these peace activists. At a November 11 protest, an army of 400 police, many of them mounted, prevented 800 demonstrators from getting near the Litton factory. During the protest, police arrested 62 people for blocking the roads into Litton.

Soon afterwards, at the sentencing of one of the protesters, David Collins, Crown Attorney Norman Matusiak unleashed a vicious red-baiting attack on the peace movement. He read excerpts from the diary of Ivan LeCouvie, another protester. The diary had not been introduced as evidence, but had been taken from LeCouvie by the police on the day of the demonstration. Matusiak claimed that the diary showed a "Russian connection" to CMCP because it indicated that LeCouvie had attended a conference in Prague and had stopped in Moscow. Matusiak made allusions to the KGB, taking advantage of the fact that Collins had no lawyer present to make an objection to these wild charges.

LeCouvie had attended the Prague conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth as a

member of the Canadian Youth for Peace group, which Matusiak called a "Communist youth group." He claimed that the Prague conference was a "Communist youth movement attended only by special invitation" from Moscow. "It was a reward for services rendered." There were references in the diary, Matusiak went on, to Soviet youth organizations and the Komsomol. "The Komsomol, according to what I learned at university, is a Communist youth organization." One of the references, he said was to the Soviet overseas intelligence service.

Outside the courtroom, Matusiak repeated his "Soviet connection" allegations to the press. He not only showed the diary to reporters, but he, or someone working for him, actually gave photocopies of the diary to the press. The media willingly obliged. Blowups of the diary were shown on TV. "Diary links Litton protest to Soviets: Crown" screamed the headline of the Toronto Star, Canada's largest circulation daily.

Around midnight on December 7, the day Crown Attorney Matusiak made his claims, the police arrested LeCouvie and told him he would be charged with murder or some other count connected with the bombing of the Litton plant. For nearly 12 hours, they interrogated LeCouvie about the diary and many other unrelated matters before releasing him without charge. The incident was clearly illegal since in Canada the police have no power to "arrest for questioning."

The police continued their harassment by executing five search warrants against offices and homes of people allied with CMCP and other peace groups. They claimed that they were looking for evidence concerning the Litton bombing. The raids occurred within days of Matusiak's ludicrous charges. And the information given by the police to obtain the search warrants contained not a shred of evidence to justify the searches.

On December 8, 1982, police raided yet another peace group, the World Emergency (WE) project based at Trent University in Peterborough. Murray MacAdam is a Canadian freelance writer.

borough, Ontario. The police failed to notify the university, as is usual when carrying out a search. The raid angered the Trent community, including university president Donald Theall who called WE a "reputable organization." The police claimed in an affidavit filed in support of their search warrant that they had "learned that the originals of the communique issued by Direct Action [about the Litton bombing] were at this address." Needless to say, they found nothing of the sort.

The Cruise Missile Conversion Project's office was raided six days later. Four police officers scrutinized the office for four hours, even checking the garbage twice. They seized a number of documents, including minutes of meetings and names of some CMCP members. The office of the Ontario-wide Alliance for Non-Violent Action, which organized the November 11 protest, was also raided, as were the homes of several peace activists. The police also seized documents during these raids. At one house, six police officers interrupted a Christmas gathering and subjected the occupants to four hours of questioning and sarcastic, sexist remarks.

The raids led to no arrests in connection with the Litton bombing. On January 21, police arrested five people in the province of British Columbia; three have since been charged with the bombing. None of them had been active with CMCP or any other peace groups in Ontario.

CMCP called the raids "blatant harassment of a peace movement, and a violation of our legal and moral rights to organize and work for social change." Along with the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, CMCP has demanded that the police apologize for the raids and return all confiscated material. As of late March this had not been done. Neither the police officers responsible for the raids, nor Crown Attorney Matusiak have been reprimanded or disciplined in any way.

## **Canadian police and governmental authorities have latched on to the bombing of a controversial weapons plant in Toronto, Canada, in an attempt to discredit the country's blossoming peace movement.**

Despite the repression and smear tactics, groups such as CMCP and the broader peace movement continue to grow. Litton's cruise missile involvement and the planned testing of cruise missiles in the province of Alberta have become major political issues in Canada. The U.S. wants to test the cruise missiles in Alberta because the terrain is similar to parts of the Soviet Union.

A Gallup poll released in January 1983 found that 52 percent of Canadians oppose the cruise testing in Canada, while 37 percent support it. On February 10, Canada and the United States signed a weapons testing agreement which paves the way for cruise testing in Alberta. Two days later protest demonstrations erupted across Canada, including a Toronto rally of 5,000 in bitter cold. Leaders of Canadian trade unions and of major churches have publicly opposed the tests. Even an association of World War II veterans has joined the anti-cruise movement.

Cruise missile testing has become a major issue here because it so clearly shows the hypocrisy of the Trudeau administration and its complicity with the Pentagon's plans for nuclear war. In 1978, Prime Minister Trudeau won widespread international support when he proposed a strategy of "suffocation" of the arms race. One element of that strategy was a ban on flight testing of new strategic weapons systems - including, obviously, cruise missiles.

Canadian peace activists are also angry about tax subsidies to war industries such as Litton. Under the Defence Industry Productivity Program, the Trudeau administration gave Litton a \$26.4 million grant as well as a \$22.5 million loan to subsidize the production of the cruise missile's guidance system.

The government has claimed that Canada's NATO commitments oblige it to permit the tests. "For Canada not to play its part in NATO is a very unwise thing, because our security has been protected over 35 years by NATO," claims External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen.

Yet the air-launched cruise missile to be tested in Canada is not even part of the NATO arsenal, but rather part of the independent American arsenal. It's the ground-launched version of the cruise which NATO plans to deploy in Europe. Canada has already committed itself to a non-nuclear role in NATO, and thus has no obligation to test cruise missiles here.

# Northern Ireland: U.S. Media Peddles British Line

by Kathleen O'Neal

In a cartoon in London's Punch on October 29, 1881, the noble Britannia is shown shielding a barefoot and weeping Hibernia from a stone-throwing Irish anarchist. The drawing is one of hundreds published by the Victorian press to "explain" the perennial Irish question to the British people. Central to the explanation was that Irish revolutionaries were criminals. Usually they were invested with gross simian (ape-like) features as evidence that they occupied the very lowest level of the homo sapiens hierarchy. At the same time, the "good" Irish people, i.e. those deserving British protection, were portrayed as impoverished and helpless, while Britain was always invincible and honor-bound to save the good Irish from the barbaric revolutionaries.

More than one hundred years later, little has changed. Britain still occupies Ireland, the Irish are still rebelling, and the British people are still being fed crude propaganda. Only today, people in the United States are also being targeted by the British propaganda and the medium of choice is no longer blatant chauvinist cartoons but rather seemingly "objective" news stories.

A typical reader of U.S. newspapers will explain the war in northern Ireland as a religious war. Britain's effort to stop this bloody Catholic-Protestant feud, they will explain, is frustrated by the terrorist Irish Republican Army (IRA). The more assiduous reader might add that the IRA members are gangsters, fascists, or Marxists, that Irish people fear them, that naive Irish-Americans are duped into sending them money for arms and that the IRA is part of an international terrorist conspiracy financed by the Soviet Union.

Before examining how such nonsense gains access to the American consciousness, it is first necessary to understand what is largely denied access: the Irish republican version of the war in Ireland.

## The 800-Year Struggle for Ireland

The current era of the 800-year-old struggle against British rule in Ireland dates back to 1922 when Britain attempted to defuse a revolutionary nationalist movement by partitioning Ireland. The southern 26 counties were awarded titular self-



Source: L. Perry Curtis, Apes and Angels: The Irishman as Victorian Caricature

government while six of Ulster's nine counties were gerrymandered to provide a loyalist bastion under direct British rule. The arrangement secured British financial, industrial and agricultural interests throughout Ireland and prevented the realization of a true Irish republic.

The linchpin of the partition scheme was and continues to be keeping the north loyal to England. This is accomplished by punishing the nationalist Catholic community with institutionalized discrimination and intermittent pogroms while rewarding the loyalist Protestant community with a relatively higher standard of living. The Protestant loyalty is reinforced by a peculiar

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Orange mythology.\* Similar to the myths which are used to justify white supremacy in South Africa, Orange myths provide an erroneous nationalist identity for the Protestant community. This identity is exacerbated by an atavistic fear of Catholicism. The Orange myths create and sustain the appropriate siege mentality among Ulster's Protestants which, in turn, justifies the British army occupation.

In the late 1960s, the nationalist community's resistance to their enforced underclass status took the form of a non-violent civil rights movement. When this was brutally attacked by loyalist paramilitants and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the northern Ireland police), the Irish Republican Army emerged. Their initial mission was to protect the nationalist community, but the struggle soon rekindled their republican aspirations. In 1971, the IRA declared war against the British forces, and in 1972, Britain unleashed an anti-civilian counterinsurgency campaign.

The fact that little of this version of the war in northern Ireland figures in the popular American conception can be attributed to the British propaganda machine and the U.S. news media. The link between them, of course, is not formal. No American reporter or editor is going to admit that he or she merely touches up British government press releases. There is evidence, however, that Britain actively works to use the American news media for its propaganda on northern Ireland, and there is substantial evidence suggesting that the U.S. media is a highly cooperative carrier.

#### Army Psychological Operations

The generation of propaganda, which is an integral part of the counterinsurgency operation in Ireland, is the responsibility of the British Army's Psychological Operations (PSYOPS). PSYOPS includes a full spectrum of activities - from the speedy dissemination of news releases to posting of counterfeit IRA posters throughout the nationalist community. British Brigadier General and counterinsurgency expert Frank Kitson stresses in Low Intensity Operations that PSYOPS should be expanded to other countries as well:

The propaganda battle has not only got to be won in the country in which the the insurgency takes place but also throughout the world where governments or individuals are in a position to give moral or material support to the enemy.... It can be achieved either by direct action... or by efforts to inform and influence the media.

To influence the media Britain maintains a large information service in Ireland which furnishes instant events-related press releases. The objective, of course, is to be there first with the

"news" and consequently have an advantage in influencing what will be reported and how it will be reported. According to Information on Ireland, a Britain-based organization, the British army in northern Ireland had a staff of 40 army press officers and 100 support personnel in 1976. The Royal Ulster Constabulary had 12 full-time press officers and the government employed 20 Belfast-based press officers.

Bolstering this effort in the United States are the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., the consular officers throughout the country, and the British Information Service in New York City. During critical periods, this apparently isn't considered adequate. The IRA hunger strike in 1981 brought a team of 15 PSYOPS specialists to Washington, D.C. to convince the U.S. Irish community that prisons like H-Block are among the best in Europe. (See "British Propaganda," Counterspy, August-October 1981.) The team was selected by high-level British intelligence personnel, including M16 chief Arthur Franks, Security General Jim Glover (security and intelligence

**There is evidence . . . that Britain actively works to use the American news media for its propaganda on northern Ireland, and there is substantial evidence suggesting that the U.S. media is a highly cooperative carrier.**

coordinator for northern Ireland), and Francis Brooks-Richard, former intelligence coordinator in Margaret Thatcher's cabinet. One of the team's many activities was distributing thousands of copies of "H-Block: The Facts" to the U.S. news media.

No matter how sophisticated a propaganda operation is, however, it cannot be effective unless the message is distributed by a credible carrier. This is where the U.S. news media fits in.

\*Orange mythology relates to the 16th century when William of Orange (Protestant) defeated King James I (Catholic) at the Battle of the Boyne, thus establishing the Orange ascendancy. Today, Orange myths perpetuate the notion that Protestants should, by natural and divine order, have a more privileged position in northern Ireland.

It wittingly (because of sympathies with Britain's role in Ireland) or unwittingly (because of reliance on British press releases out of convenience) has proven highly cooperative in disseminating British war propaganda.

#### The Washington Post

A close examination of the Washington Post's coverage of the 1981 hunger strike reveals the persuasiveness as well as the subtlety of British war propaganda. The hunger strike was essentially a struggle against one of Britain's most insidious propaganda ploys, the criminalization of Irish political prisoners. Britain's response to the dramatic increase of political prisoners in the mid-1970s was to build bigger prisons and abolish their "special," i.e. political status. The republican prisoners refused to cooperate and initiated a series of protests which culminated in the hunger strike. In 1981, ten men starved to death in order to shatter Britain's definition of what they were.

The hunger strike is a good example to atomize because it received widespread coverage, which U.S. observers of media treatment of northern Ireland as well as the Washington Post's London correspondent Leonard Downie, Jr. considered more balanced than previous coverage. One Irish American activist called the Post's coverage a "breakthrough" while Downie said that the reporting about the hunger strike "had broadened most American coverage beyond just British news sources."

If the Post's reporting about the hunger strike was indeed a breakthrough, it was still far from truly "balanced" reporting. A counting of attributed sources during the first twelve months of the hunger strike (September 1980 to August 1981) reveals that the ratio of British government and loyalist sources to republican sources was approximately two to one. However, even in articles with more pro-republican sources than British government sources, the context provided by the Post was always consistent with the British government position that the conflict is essentially religious, that the "terrorist" IRA is responsible for the war in Ireland and that the British army plays a peacekeeping role. An April 11, 1981 article on Bobby Sands' (the leader of the 1981 hunger strike) election to Parliament is a case in point.

The article written by Downie, contained two pieces of information attributed to a republican and one to a British government source. The lead, however, referred to Sands as a "convicted Irish Republican terrorist." Later in the article, Downie wrote that the "hidden danger" in Sands' Fermanagh district is symbolized "by the Fermanagh widows, a group of 60 Protestant women whose husbands have been murdered in the

past decade, mostly by IRA gunmen on hit-and-run strikes from enclaves in Ireland." Downie ignored the fact that "convicted terrorist" Sands was sentenced by a non-jury court after being held incommunicado for seven days under the Diplock Court system (the Diplock courts were established in the early 1970s for political cases). Only in the last paragraph did he explain that Sands was sentenced to nine years in prison, not for "terrorism" but for gun possession. Sands denied even this charge. Downie further failed to mention that in northern Ireland gun possession is illegal for the Catholic nationalist community but legal for the loyalist Protestant community.

Perhaps the most deceptive portion of Downie's article was the coining of the Fermanagh widows as a victim symbol. By identifying the widows as Protestant, Downie implied that their husbands were murdered because they were of the Protestant faith. Since the IRA is not anti-Protestant and its targets are military and economic, it is far more likely the anonymous widows' late husbands had been members of a loyalist paramilitary organization or in some way worked for the British army or the Royal Ulster Constabulary. And if this were the case, they were not murdered, as Downie wrote, but killed in the course of a declared war.

In his search for symbols of the violence-plagued province, Downie overlooked a recent and bloody assassination spree against the leadership of the H-Block Armagh Committee. The committee was a 32-county organization formed to bring attention to the deplorable treatment of Irish republican prisoners in British jails. The assassinations would have served as a far more elucidating symbol of Ulster violence since there was growing evidence that the British army's covert Special Air Services (SAS) had organized the loyalist squads which carried out the assassinations. The link between SAS and the loyalist squads was confirmed in March 1982 when an Ulster Defence Association member admitted, after his murder trial, that he was working for the SAS.

#### Ignoring Essential Facts

Among the most salient areas omitted from the Washington Post's coverage of the hunger strike were: the British army's and the Royal Ulster Constabulary's atrocities against the civilian nationalist community; the objectives outlined in the Eire Nua program of Sinn Fein (the political wing of the IRA); and the workings of the justice system in northern Ireland. As knowledge of these issues is essential to understanding the war in northern Ireland as well as the hunger strike, and since information pertaining to these three areas would have been easily accessible, their omission from the Post's prodigious coverage of



the hunger strike was clearly deceptive.

Washington Post articles repeatedly vilified IRA members as "murderers" and "terrorists" throughout the the hunger strike. It intensified this image by presenting the IRA as disembodied from its own historical perspective, current analysis or revolutionary objectives - all of which are layed out in Sinn Fein's Eire Nua program. Had the Post used any part of Eire Nua in the interest of furnishing readers a more complete understanding of the war in Ireland, the IRA's villainous image would have significantly dissipated. Moreover, the program shows that Britain's reason for occupying northern Ireland is to protect its extensive economic interests there.

The very first line of the Eire Nua program declares that "the wealth of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland and it is theirs to be exploited and developed in their interest." Other sections of the program assert that the republic will control the import and export of money; that only Irish citizens can own land and that all other segments of the economy will be run by and for the people. If this program were implemented, British investors and landowners would clearly have the most to lose.

Had the Post reported the escalating atrocities against the nationalist community by the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, readers would have had a far more accurate

picture of the real criminals in northern Ireland. Perhaps the most horrible atrocity against the community during the hunger strike was the maiming and killing of unarmed civilians with plastic bullets. During this period eight civilians (seven children) were killed by plastic bullets and hundreds were injured. However, no description of the benign sounding projectiles was included in the Post's coverage. The few times casualties were reported, it was in the context of the unsought consequences of dispersing riots. (See Kathleen O'Neal, "British Plastic Bullets Kill," *Counterspy*, March-May 1983.)

The crux of the hunger strike, as mentioned, was whether Irish republican prisoners should have criminal or political status. Margaret Thatcher's famous tautology "a crime is a crime is a crime" made the British government's position on this point crystal clear. What Thatcher failed to mention and what the Post subsequently didn't report was that some crimes are less equal in the United Kingdom. Under the Prevention of Terrorism and Emergency Provisions Acts, suspected political offenders appear before the Diplock Courts, which have no juries and a 93 percent conviction rate. Confessions are often extracted from suspects after several days of torture. Should the defendant not be able to physically appear in Court, Royal Ulster Constabulary officers often stand in to "verbalize" the defendant's confession.

Why does Britain maintain such a phoney judicial system when direct internment would be more expedient? In August 1971, before the Diplock Courts were established, Britain rounded up and interned 1,400 republican suspects without charges or trial. This, however, only solidified the nationalist Catholic community and elicited international outrage. Britain responded by developing a system which would appear to the not-so-careful observer to have some judicial integrity but which would in no way impede the internment process. As Pace University Law Professor David Lowry writes, the Diplock Court system was introduced merely to "add a public relations gloss by using the imprimatur of law."

During the hunger strike, when the Diplock Court system was ripe for exposure, the Washington Post opted for the PR gloss. For instance, in an April 26 article about Irish political prisoner Charles Crummley, Post reporter Virginia Hammill omitted any substantive information Crummley had offered about his torture by British prison officials and referred to the Diplock Courts merely as "special courts."

Post editorials consciously lied about the Diplock Courts. In the first editorial on the hunger strike, Post editorial writer John Anderson claimed that the hunger strikers were convicted by "due process." When asked in an October 1981 interview whether he believed that due process

exists in the Diplock Courts, Anderson equivocated and said "Yes, but not the way most Americans think of due process."

### Irish Americans Don't Trust the Media

Nothing in this article is meant to suggest that the Washington Post has been more derelict in its coverage of northern Ireland than the rest of the corporate-controlled news media in the United States. In fact the Post's reporting and editorializing has been remarkably consistent with that of the rest of the American news media - a uniformity suggesting that coverage of northern Ireland largely flows from a single source.

In The Real Terror Network, Edward Herman suggests that a device for understanding the enormity of the bias in the news media of the "Free World" is to take a story, place it in a Soviet context, and imagine the media response. Imagine, strictly for comparison, how the Washington Post would report about Soviet troops occupying Poland, and Soviet soldiers killing Polish children by firing plastic bullets.

Though the news media's control over the "news" from northern Ireland is formidable, it is not impregnable. Gradually the truth about the war in Ireland has been filtering through - though mostly to inner city Irish Americans. A survey published in January 1983 by the Center for Irish Studies in Philadelphia found that local Irish Americans were practically unanimous in their belief that the British presence in northern Ireland is unjustified and based on illegitimate claims, and that IRA violence is justified. Only a few respondents mentioned religion as a major factor in the troubles. Very few listed the news media as a source of information on Ireland. Instead, they mentioned (in order of degree) books, visits to Ireland, Irish organizations, and

friends and family as their major source of information.

As truth about the war in northern Ireland slowly seeps through to the American consciousness, it is proving to be every bit as dangerous as the British government had feared. A vociferous supporter of the IRA was chosen by the conservative Ancient Order of Hibernians to lead New York City's St. Patrick's Day parade this year. A divestiture movement has already successfully pressured Rochester County, New York, to divest from Barclay's Bank and the state of Massachusetts to divest from businesses supplying weapons for use by British soldiers in northern Ireland. A campaign for congressional resolutions against the use of plastic bullets in northern Ireland hopes to expose the anti-civilian nature of Britain's war in Ireland, and a further consequence of the growing awareness of the nature of the war, particularly among Irish Americans, is the development of a healthy skepticism of anything reported by the reputedly fair and objective U.S. news media.

Sources: The British Media and Ireland, Information on Ireland, London; Belfast Bulletin, Belfast Workers Research Unit, Spring 1979; L. Perry Curtis, Apes and Angels: The Irishman as Victorian Caricature, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 1971; C. Desmond Greaves, The Irish Crisis, International Publishers, New York, 1972; Edward S. Herman, The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda, South End Press, Boston, 1982; "The Irish People," Irish Northern Aid, New York, 1980-82; Kevin Kelley, The Longest War: Northern Ireland and the IRA, Lawrence Hill and Co., Westport, Conn., 1982; Frank Kitson, Low Intensity Operations, Faber and Faber, London, 1971; Professor David R. Lowry, "The English System of Judicial Injustice in Northern Ireland," Political Education Committee, Ancient Order of Hibernians and American Irish Association of Westchester Irish Issues Committee, 1980; "They Shoot Children," Information on Ireland, London, 1982.

### REAGAN, from page 20

- "Soviet Military Spending: Assessing the Numbers Game," (International Security, Spring 1982).
- 4) The CIA consistently uses 1970 ruble figures. See CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, USSR: Measures of Economic Growth and Development, 1950-80, prepared for the Joint Economic Committee, 12/8/82.
- 5) New York Times, 3/4/83, p.A-2; Washington Post, 3/4/83, p.A-2
- 6) Cf supra, #1.
- 7) Dr. Carl Jacobsen, "The Military Balance: Superiority is a Mirage," Miami Herald, 3/13/83.
- 8) Baltimore Sun, 3/6/83.
- 9) Statistics in the segment discussing NATO's defensive capabilities are from John Mearsheimer, "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Central Europe," International Security, Summer 1982. Some of the details of this study have been omitted for lack of space. "Why the Soviets Can't Win Quickly in Central Europe" is a remarkable study which should be read by all who want to look beyond the conventional forces numbers game.
- 10) Dayton Daily News, 2/26/83.
- 11) No First Use, A Report by the Union of Concerned Scientists, Cambridge, Ma., 2/1/83. Former U.S. officials who participated in the study include McGeorge Bundy, Admiral Noel Gaylor, George Kennan, Robert McNamara, Herbert Scoville and Gerard Smith.
- 12) See Konrad Ege, "AirLand Battle: The Army's New Aggressive Strategy," Counterspy, vol.7, no.2.
- 13) James Goldsborough, "The U.S. Missiles Bonn Never Asked For," New York Times, 2/15/83.
- 14) "Wenn es jetzt nicht reicht, dann nie," Der Spiegel (Hamburg), 1/31/83.
- 15) Stern (Hamburg), 8/9/79.
- 16) Christopher Paine, "Nuclear Combat: the Five-Year Defense Plan," The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, November 1982.
- 17) Cf supra, #15; also see: "The Military Balance 1982/83," Air Force Magazine, December 1982.
- 18) See "Ein Boot ist staerker als eine ganze Flotte," Der Spiegel, 1/31/83; "France: An Oft-Forgotten Part of the Nuclear Balance," Defense Week, 11/29/82.

# Non-Truth at the New York Times

by Laurie Kirby

Have you ever watched the news, or read one of the "establishment" newspapers, and had the uncomfortable feeling that you were being misled? That in spite of a variety of viewpoints being presented, the whole thing seemed hopelessly biased in a way you couldn't put your finger on?

We all need information - to change the world, we need to understand it. In turn, it is vital that we recognize the techniques used to make us misunderstand events. Some of the techniques are well known. There is the barrage of lies and half-truths ("disinformation") which pours out of the corporate media and government agencies. There is selective truth - for example, concentration on the human rights situation in the Soviet Union while ignoring the records of governments which serve U.S. business interests. There is the showbiz-truth of TV news, indistinguishable from the commercials and trivia surrounding it, and presented by a superstar newscaster.

This article will examine yet another technique - the non-truth. This is a piece of information or analysis which may itself be true, but which is surrounded by such a sea of distortions that it loses its original meaning. The information is being used not to convey what it was originally saying, but to reinforce the overall message that the media wants to present. Within that context, its original meaning - and whether or not it was true - no longer even matters.\*

Ronald Reagan (or rather his team of speech-writers) frequently uses the non-truth. In a major speech to fundamentalist religious leaders in March 1983, for instance, Reagan broke off from a diatribe against the nuclear freeze movement ("A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup") to intone this selection from C.S. Lewis's Screwtape Letters:

The greatest evil is not now done in those sordid "dens of vice" that Dickens loved to paint. It is not done even in concentration camps and labor camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried, and minuted) in clean, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice.

When sandwiched between Reagan's anti-

freeze slanders, what C.S. Lewis was originally referring to hardly matters. (He had Nazi Germany in mind; the contemporary reader of this passage may be forgiven for thinking of corporate boardrooms.) Reagan goes on to use the emotional impact of Lewis's powerful prose to support his version of morality, which he equates with military might. ("I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority.")

The advertising industry is a master of the non-truth. For example, a cigarette advertisement aimed at women proclaims "You've come a long way, baby!" and emphasizes the relative freedom from certain social restrictions that women have gained during this century. This statement contains some truth (though it is at best a half-truth, since it fails to mention that there's still a long way to go). But its truth is irrelevant in this context. It has been appropriated (along with the struggles that have given it such truth as it contains); its truth has been drained from it, and it has been assigned a new function, that of selling cigarettes. Beyond enhancing tobacco profits, this function of course also abets the campaign to persuade women that they are already "liberated" in this profoundly patriarchal culture.

The non-truth is a device particularly suited to "respectable" media which wish to appear objective and weighty. A New York Times message to corporations, designed to attract their advertising, reveals the conscious use of non-truth as a technique. The Times says of itself: "Its environment of integrity surrounds your message; framing it, elevating it, separating it from the crowd. With an immediacy that brings it additional power." Inasmuch as the purpose of the "paid corporate message" is not merely to state what it states but also to enhance the image as well as

\* In philosophical logic, a statement (such as "it is raining") is sometimes said to lose its truth-value when used referentially. Thus the statement "John says that it is raining" may be true or false quite independently of whether or not it is in fact raining. Quine calls this phenomenon "referential opacity." In the device of the non-truth we see a similar kind of opacity. When carefully embedded in an ideological framework, a statement or even a whole symposium can perform an ideological function quite independent of what it was originally saying. This might be called "ideological opacity."

the interests of the paying corporation, it becomes a non-truth. And the Times is advertising itself as a medium which allows this non-truth mechanism to work by making the message "stand out;" whereas, corporate advertising in business publications is "blending into one amorphous logo".

A closer look at an article from this "respectable" paper will show how the non-truth is used to distort reality for ulterior political motives without actually lying. On September 26, 1982, the New York Times devoted a page of its "Week in Review" section to a symposium on the state of the American Left. D.J.R. Bruckner of the Times staff interviewed six people - "four of them most often identified as leftist thinkers and two as conservatives," and all of them prominent as



*'We'll be back in a minute with Herlan Harris' Sports Extra, Julie Bernmeier and the weather. Jimmy Cunningham's Entertainment Plus, Judith Enright's Fashion Notes, Grady O'Tool's Celebrity Interview, Maria Delago's Budget Center, Murray Vaughn's Mr. Fix-It Shop, and me, Biff Brogan, with a note on the news.'*

Guardian/cpf

political thinkers. Several of them managed (despite the limitations of space and of the questions) to provide challenging insights into the current evolution of liberal and radical thought.

But what did the reader encounter before these brief interviews? First, the headline - "The American Left Still Searches for a Clear Political Direction." Inasmuch as this is not a useless generality (for when has the Left, or the Right, or the center, not been searching?) it reflects the opinion given by just one of the six interviewees - the conservative Nathan Glazer - although it may perhaps be read into Eugene Genovese's remarks as well. But it tends to ignore, or even negate, what the other four had to say. Since many readers will get no further than the headline before turning the page, and will have their views on the state of the American Left influenced accordingly, this is no minor distortion.

But it is the (unsigned) introduction to the interview which definitely sets the scene. Three italicized paragraphs lead into brief descriptions of the six "experts," and then the interviews

themselves. The first paragraph asks, "Is there a future for left-wing politics in this country?" and sketches in the background: "Among leftists now there is a growing debate about what to do."

The second paragraph (more than twice as long as the first) begins:

All this comes at a time when six people, including members of the radical left splinter group, the Weather Underground, are awaiting trial in Rockland County on murder charges stemming from an October 1981 robbery of a Brink's truck in which two policemen and a guard were killed.

Then the "political theater" in the Brink's trial courtroom is described in entertaining detail: a defense lawyer argues for the defendants' right to wear tee shirts bearing political slogans, and, even more sinister, the defendants shout "Long live Palestine."

This second paragraph is a sudden and utter digression into the visceral: the linking of "Palestine" with "terrorism." And the term "terrorism" is used to invoke a disproportionate horror, worse than all the horrors perpetrated in the world today by government officials and generals. This pattern of connections, after years of constant reinforcement, is now firmly engraved in the reader's psyche. Mention of a buzz word such as "Palestine" is enough to unleash a whole host of negative associations. (The media attention given to the Beirut massacres does not seem to have changed this. An example of the emotive and extreme statements still common in the U.S. media, which was published in late 1982: "The PLO is to the slaughter of men, women and children what France is to wine.")

The third of the introductory paragraphs on the "American Left" is short and crucial:

Few students of politics would argue that there is any but a factitious connection between the holdup and the killings and the tradition of the left in this country, but many worry about the popular impression the publicity surrounding the trial will leave.

Webster's Dictionary defines "factitious" as "artificial; sham... induced or produced artificially or by special effort."

Yet what the New York Times has just subjected us to in the second paragraph is precisely a special effort to strengthen the connection between anyone on the Left and the whole factitious web of evil associations around the word "terrorism." This connection will not be unmade in the reader's mind by a pious disclaimer added as if by an afterthought in the third paragraph.

Anything the six "experts" say matters little now because they have (unwittingly) said it in this framework. Their insight has become non-truth: the function of the prestigious interviewees is not to say anything in their own right, but to lend

support to the ideological framework that surrounds their words.

The function of the third paragraph is to legitimize the rather blatant manipulation of the second paragraph. "You may think that was a huge red herring," it tells the reader, "but look! we do too - we're pooh-poohing the whole idea. You can't even think that we're contributing to that popular impression after we've called it factitious. We're balanced, rational, and academically hygienic."

So this third paragraph, having nothing to do with its truth or falsity, is itself a non-truth. Whether the assertion it makes is in fact true matters so little to the author (or editor) that no evidence is adduced for it, save for asking only one of the six "experts" about it - the only time the Brink's "connection" is mentioned anywhere in the interviews. (And here, right at hand, were five other "students of politics" who could have been called upon to provide support for the assertion.)

Another ideological device running through the entire page - the "Sixties Connection" - reinforces the function of this third paragraph. The interviewer repeatedly asks his "experts" to link and compare the 60s protest movement with the present-day Left. Small portraits of the "experts" are inset against a large photo from the archives showing a dramatic scene from a 1960s demonstration. (Odd to choose this picture for an article on the present state of the Left?)

The "Sixties Connection" is a well-known device for trivializing and diffusing any present-day radical activities by turning them into mere

period pieces; Sixties nostalgia. Any real or meaningful links between current opposition movements and those of the 60s are appropriated and drained of their validity by this factitious connection. They become, in the context of this device, non-truths.

It is not just an academic exercise to learn to recognize non-truths, and all the other ways in which the media propagate and implant an ideology - a world-view which is manufactured to suit the needs of business leaders. This ideology is one of the foundations of a system of repression and exploitation, and often directly supports repressive acts. The Brink's affair itself has been used as an excuse for a crackdown on Leftists and Black Liberation groups. A federal grand jury is questioning people "suspected" of links to radical groups, and (at the time of writing) fourteen people have been jailed for refusing to testify about the political activities of themselves and others.

Each time we break free - and free others - from the devices which are used to trap us into warped judgements, we are striking a small blow against the ideology which supports repression.

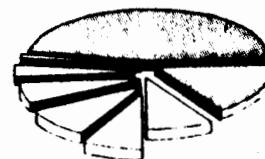
#### Footnotes:

- 1) See for example: Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, The Political Economy of Human Rights, South End Press, Boston, 1982.
- 2) New York Times, 3/9/83.
- 3) New York Times, 11/4/82.
- 4) Mark Helprin, "American Jews and Israel," New York Times, 11/7/82.

#### PROPAGANDA, from page 14

funding from tax money. However, recipients of the foundation money can claim it is "clean" and not associated with the West German government. Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas stated that it might be a good idea to have a similar arrangement in the United States. After all, the foundation of the West German Social Democratic Party, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, provided massive aid to the Portuguese Social Democrats in the 1970s to prevent the Communists from coming to power. And that, say these liberal critics, the U.S. government could never have done.

A staff person of Senator Edward Kennedy's office echoed Tsongas's sentiment: "It's basically a good idea and we support it," he told the Boston Globe. "Our concern... is that it not become an exercise in Reaganitis or a vehicle for the Heritage Foundation to put into effect its view of the world. We want to see the sophisticated European model adopted and not a return to the 1950s hardline anti-Communist policies."



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# El Salvador

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## Interview with Dr. Charlie Clements

# Pilot Against Vietnam, Doctor for El Salvador

During the U.S. war in Vietnam, Charlie Clements flew U.S. Air Force medical evacuation missions and C-130 delivery sorties to U.S. bases - sometimes to secret bases in Cambodia. After the war, Clements studied medicine and today he serves as a doctor for the civilian population in a very different war zone: the Guazapa Front in El Salvador. About 10,000 civilians live in that 50 square mile area controlled by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), just a few miles from the capital city, San Salvador. Since February 1982, Clements has worked as a family physician, trained health workers and supervised a public health campaign in that "controlled zone."

Dr. Clements has seen U.S. military aid at work there - at a cost of tens of thousands of lives. He says the parallel to Vietnam is this: in Vietnam in the 1960s and in El Salvador in the 1980s, the U.S. government is involved massively in a war without telling its own citizens how deeply it is involved.

Konrad Ege interviewed Dr. Clements in March 1983 in Washington, D.C. where he was raising money for medical supplies and sharing his eyewitness account of the current conditions in El Salvador.

How has the war affected the people in the Guazapa Front?

There are about 10,000 civilians there and 40 percent of them are under age twelve. They live

in a controlled zone which means essentially a zone in which enemy soldiers, government soldiers can't enter without facing stiff resistance from the guerrilla defensive forces. But that also means that the government forces don't allow food or medicine to enter the zone. So the population - which is characterized by the United Nations as being one of the most malnourished in Central America - is faced with large invasions that burn their food stocks and destroy the crops that are in the fields.

It's part of the army's

scorched earth policy: to destroy all food supplies of the population during an invasion. And imposed upon this situation of malnutrition and shortage of food, there's an acute shortage of medicine. In El Salvador, simply carrying medicine in an area where there is guerrilla activity is sufficient evidence to be labeled a sympathizer. A U.S. citizen with a German mother, named Michael Kline, was killed recently in El Salvador, and the accusation of the government soldiers who killed him was that he was a communist sympathizer because he carried



medicine and oil. The oil he carried was for his boots, and the medicine was Alka-Seltzer.

So the civilians in the front suffer from an acute shortage of modern medicines and there are epidemics of malaria, of parasitic disease, of dysentery, of many conditions that you would encounter in a developing country in the tropics. Superimposed on top of this are the almost daily attacks by the Salvadoran military.

I can't remember a day since July that the Guazapa Front hasn't been attacked by American C-37 fighter-bombers, strafed by Huey helicopters, or rocketed by Cessna Skymaster observation planes, and sometimes all three. And that includes Christmas Day and New Year's Day. There's also random mortar fire from any of the number of military outposts that surround the zone.

*Is there any possible military justification for the Salvadoran military to carry out these kinds of operations?*

Well, the justification is very clear. One of my functions in the Guazapa Front is liaison to the International Red Cross to arrange

#### SEARCH AND DESTROY

*Do you have any sense of what the U.S. advisors are teaching the Salvadoran army?*

I don't have any specific information on that. The prisoners of war have told me that they are trained in these search and destroy operations which they have been told by the advisors were very effective in Vietnam. Another deserter told me that he was trained in techniques of torture by U.S. Green Berets. But all of this information is second hand and I don't have any first hand experience with it.

*You would say that there is a very deliberate policy of going after the civilian population?*

I don't have any doubts about that. I have been in the zone when there have been large government sweeps. A typical operation occurred in October 1982 when I was in a small village that was cut off by a rapid intrusion of one of the Salvadoran army battalions that have been trained in the U.S. The village sent a defense force to slow down their entrance, which gave the villagers time to make

holding action and slowly re-treated behind the civilians.

The government forces entered the village, killed all the livestock, destroyed practically all the possessions there, and killed an old man, Miguel, who had become a personal friend when I treated him for arthritis. Earlier that afternoon, Miguel had said that he was not going to flee, because he was tired of fleeing and, he said, "What would they do to an old man anyway?" All of us knew that he was saying, "I'm ready to die."

Later we found his body with very definite signs of mutilation and torture. This is typical of what I've seen. I've seen a baby with a bullet hole in its forehead with powder burns, indicating that it was shot from a very close distance. And it's general knowledge among any one in the zone that if you are caught, you'll be killed.

There is an army operations plan the guerrillas captured recently, and they asked my opinion of it, as a former military officer. I said that what struck me was that in the very detailed logistics plan of operations there was no mention of prisoners. Yet earlier in the operations plan, it said they expected to encounter as many as 1,000 civilians and several hundred armed forces. The only statement made in the operations plan was that the enemy dead will be burned on the spot. So I think there's a very deliberate plan of not taking prisoners of war.

#### CAN THE MILITARY WIN?

*You were in the Guazapa Front for some time before the massive U.S. training of Salvadoran troops began. Has the training made any difference?*

I don't think that the troops trained by the U.S. are particularly more effective than the other troops. I think that they're perhaps a little more brutal. But I don't think they're making any substantial gains for the Salvadoran military. In my work as liaison to the International Red Cross, and in treating the prisoners of war, I have come to know many of the soldiers well, and I don't feel any amount of U.S. military aid, any number of U.S. advisors, or any amount of training is going to give the Salvadoran army the capacity to fight.

I've seen prisoners of war as young as 15 years old and I've never met one who was a high school graduate. Many of them are illiterate. All of them describe

the release of prisoners. The FMLN has recognized the neutral status that I prefer to keep, both as a Quaker and as a physician. And the Salvadoran army prisoners of war held by the guerrillas have told me, when questioned why they participate in such operations, that they're taught to kill women and children because all women are potential factories for more guerrillas and children are the guerrilla seeds that need to be eliminated from their country.

tortillas, to bury food stocks and what few precious possessions they had. As nightfall approached and the government soldiers were close enough, they began mortaring the village. The civilian population was evacuated under the noses of the enemy. I had prepared tranquilizing cocktails made from Valium for the children to keep them quiet because their crying would give away their positions. The civilian population fled into the hills. The defense force fought a

being conscripted, and some of them forcibly, into the military. They participate reluctantly in those types of operations.

When I asked why they don't desert I repeatedly heard the same story: it is well known what happens to the families of deserters. They describe pictures of deserters in their barracks with perhaps a photo of their dead families below it with an inscription such as "killed in a crossfire." The POWs speak of being able to buy their way out of patrols if you can afford to. They speak of knowing of officers who occasionally sell arms or ammunition to the guerrillas. I just don't think that they have the morale to win any sort of military victory.

The Salvadoran military has experienced a widespread demoralization since the guerrillas started returning prisoners of war. The guerrillas did this because the prisoners of war that were being returned when I first arrived were being killed. While those deaths were blamed on the guerrillas, other prisoners of war told us that they were killed because they were suspected of being collaborators or they were accused of being cowards for having surrendered in the first place. In Guazapa, the prisoners of war are often guarded in homes, so they see families, they see clinics, they see some of the elementary schools. They return very different people, if they return - many of them choose to stay.

One of the earlier prisoners of war that I got to know well was an evangelista, which is the term used for Protestant in El Salvador. He asked if he could write a letter to his minister explaining why he was going to stay in Guazapa with the guerrillas. And he wanted this letter read to his congregation because if there were reprisals against his family, he wanted them to understand why. This young man spoke very movingly in this letter about seeing more Christianity practiced in Guazapa than he had ever seen practiced on the outside. He said he felt compelled to stay and help build the society that the guerrillas were building.

*How many casualties do you think the Salvadoran military is suffering?*

During the year I've been there the casualties have usually ranged from 10 to 20 army casualties for every guerrilla casualty. I don't have exact figures, but I think that the Salvadoran army suffered

**EL SALVADOR  
IS NOT ANOTHER  
VIETNAM...  
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THE SAME.**



at least the loss of one full battalion in the last year. Perhaps more important than the deaths is the fact that between June and December about 250 soldiers surrendered. That was in the whole country. And as many of the prisoners of war returned to their units and began telling their fellow soldiers about the guerrillas - that the guerrillas were campesinos (peasants) like themselves who treated them with respect and gave them medical care - more began to surrender. Army soldiers began to surrender in numbers of 30 and 40. In Chalatenango an entire company with more than 100 surrendered with all their arms. In January and February 1983 more than 300 soldiers surrendered.

The guerrillas have begun to fight as much with bullhorns as with rifles. They will tell the government soldiers: Your lives will be respected, you have no reason to die to defend the interests of the oligarchy, as they refer to the wealthy class of El Salvador. They tell them that the guerrillas are campesinos like them, that the soldiers have more in common with them than they do with the officer corps and the wealthy whose rights they are defending. And many of them surrender.

*One wonders how long this can go on?*

I think the feeling there is that it can't go on for more than a couple of more years. Military aid can make it a bloodier and

more destructive revolution, but it cannot win the revolution for the Salvadoran government.

#### CAPTURED WEAPONS

*How have you seen U.S. military aid at work?*

I described the daily bombings, strafings and rocketings that we experience in the Guazapa Front. Of course the FMLN is beginning to capture large numbers of weapons. I think they have captured more than 3,000 automatic weapons in the last six months there. All of the weapons that I have seen augment the arsenal of the guerrillas this year have been captured from the army. Those are M-16 machine guns, M-79 grenade launchers, 90 mm recoilless rifles, 88 mm mortars - all weapons that have been captured from the El Salvadoran army and were supplied by U.S. military aid.

Most recently, as a physician, I was warned in November to prepare the population and the health workers in whatever way that I could to treat napalm wounds. Longshoremen reported that napalm was being unloaded in the port of Acajutla. Then in December we experienced the first napalm drops against the civilian population. Since then it's been used twice more.

*You treated people with napalm wounds?*

Yes, that's correct.

COVERT AID FROM THE UNITED STATES

Do you get the feeling that the U.S. government is assisting the Salvadoran military in ways beyond what the administration publicly admits?

I think that's fairly obvious and I think that's characteristic of U.S. foreign and military policy. Only recently, there was an announcement that there are approximately 150 intelligence operatives in Central America, including El Salvador. Not included in that figure are the 55 military advisers that are operating there. The guerrilla intelligence sources reported in January 1983 that weapons are being unloaded at night, on the beaches, which means that they are bypassing the port of Acajutla where there is a vigilance of sorts over what kind of weapons enter the country. So I think it's fairly obvious that the U.S. is supplying weapons in ways that are not obvious even to the U.S. Congress or to the U.S. public.

What about the U.S. military "trainers." Do you have evidence indicating that their role goes beyond simple training?

I don't have evidence of that, but during the last invasion of the Guazapa Front in January 1983, a commandante (guerrilla commander) asked me to come and monitor the radio for a half an hour because he felt there were a lot of Americans talking on the radio. In fact there were at least three American voices, back and forth on the radio, frequently, speaking in a code. I could not understand what they were saying - in English - because of the code, but it was obvious to me that they were probably actively involved in the invasion that was happening.

THE NEW SOCIETY

You've indicated how the guerrillas relate to the Salvadoran army conscripts. Can you say something about how they relate to the civilians in the Guazapa Front?

The guerrillas are the sons and daughters and sisters and brothers of the people that live in Guazapa. And they're building a society there. It's a society that's marked by a hunger for social justice. The roots of that society sprang from the work of priests like Rutilio Grande and others who started basic Christian communities and reflection groups that were not by any means Marxist, but simply reflected on the Christian

teachings and the reality of people's lives. Most of the military leaders are Marxists. And the two co-exist there in building a society that's very different than anything I've lived in before. For instance, in the large U.S. hospitals that I have worked in, 40 percent of the hospital admissions were in one way or another related to alcohol use or domestic violence. In the Guazapa Front and in other FMLN fronts, alcohol and drugs are not permitted. In one year there, and despite people living under very stressful conditions, I have never seen a sign of domestic violence in women or children.

There are 30 elementary schools that they're operating in the zone, there are two hospitals and 15 clinics where medical care is provided free. There is a great respect for the lives of civilians and the guerrillas are trying to win the confidence of the people. So I would contrast this, for instance, with the discipline within the government forces which does not seem to exist. There have been an estimated 40,000 civilian deaths in the last 40 months, as well as the murders of eight Americans, none of which have ever been brought to trial. On the other hand, with the guerrillas, there have been military actions around Guazapa in which civilians have been inadvertently killed. And after each of those actions there was a balance, an investigation of sorts to see if there had been poor execution or poor planning or acts of indiscipline. I have seen guerrillas punished for a breach of their code of ethics - robbing people on the highway, for instance. There was a guerrilla who was executed for a rape that occurred outside the front. The guerrillas do operate with a very strong sense of code of conduct.

FOREIGN SUBVERSIONS?

There's a lot of talk in the U.S. about the guerrillas getting arms from Cuba, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, etc. Do you have any evidence of that?

I haven't seen any evidence of that. For instance, the only weapon that I've seen in the entire time that I have been there that could even be from an Eastern bloc country is an RPG2, that's a rocket propelled grenade, and that is clearly available on the black market. The arms of the guerrillas are M-16s, G-3s and FALs, all

standard Salvadoran government issue. I see the numbers of weapons the guerrillas fight with. For instance, earlier in the year, in Guazapa there were no mortars. Since then they've captured two mortars, and they captured about 12-15 rounds of ammunition for those. When those rounds were exhausted, they had to plan another mission to capture more ammunition. I've seen the small numbers of rounds of ammunition they distribute to the guerrillas before the large government offensives against Guazapa. It doesn't appear that there is any massive flow of arms from anyplace except the U.S.

I have never met a Cuban or a Nicaraguan in Guazapa. There are more U.S. citizens serving in Guazapa than there are Cubans or Nicaraguans. In addition, I have been privileged to be an observer in assemblies and congresses that have occurred in the Guazapa zone. And I see no evidence of anything except a strong nationalism that is determined to end 50 years of U.S. economic and political intervention.

The Reagan administration charges that the FDR-FMLN is dictatorial and authoritarian. How does the government in the controlled zone, the guerrilla government work?

Every village has a political structure. It will have somebody who has the responsibility of health care, somebody for education, food production, military, and a mayor, you might say, who is called jefe politico. Those are called popular committees. They meet regularly with popular committees that represent three or four villages put together. Sometimes those people are selected by the villages, as often as not they are people who have evolved into positions of leadership.

I have seen those people removed from positions of leadership when they were not doing a good job or it was felt that there was too much selfinterest involved. The popular assemblies are definitely controlled by the campesinos. I have seen them object to military leaders who they felt were offending the population by their policies, and I have seen those military leaders removed. There's a balance that occurs because often military considerations dictate that decisions are made on the basis of security.

Most of the campesinos don't know what Marxism is. They have a strong sense of social justice which is the basis for their po-

litical involvement. It's important to understand that the early organizing in the Guazapa Front was done by priests who were not organizing Marxist collectives, but were organizing basic Christian communities. From those sprang up agricultural cooperatives that became early targets of repression from the rightwing paramilitary death squads. While there are no priests in the zone now, the Christian reflection groups continue to meet and now they're beginning to take on a political as well as a religious nature.

They've experienced capitalism, and they feel that those interests haven't served them very well. I suspect that some form of socialism will emerge from this revolution. But the socialism that will emerge will be Salvadoran. It will not be Cuban, it will not be Nica-

Viet Cong sympathizers, that is, peasants who were only suspected of having sympathies with the Viet Cong, were assassinated without any form of due process or trial. It's one of the darker episodes in U.S. covert operations. And here that's spoken about openly, without any hesitation. And, more sadly, without any reaction from the U.S. Congress or public. It saddens me a great deal.

*You served in the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam. Do you see parallels to El Salvador?*

I don't think that one can draw exact parallels between the reason that the people of El Salvador are engaged in this revolution and the reasons that the Vietnamese were fighting in Southeast Asia. But the parallel I draw very strongly are the rhetoric of the administration, its use of exaggerations

'the FMLN at the grassroots level, what do you think will happen when the FMLN wins?

I hear from our government that there will be a bloodbath if there is an FMLN victory. This is absurd - the bloodbath is occurring today. Most human rights organizations - the Legal Aid office of the Salvadoran Archdiocese, Amnesty International, Americas Watch - agree that there are almost a thousand civilians a month being killed in non-combat situations. I think the estimates are 40,000 killed in the last 40 months of the revolution. So, to my way of thinking, the bloodbath is occurring now. When the U.S. refuses to negotiate and refuses to encourage a dialogue, they are encouraging the bloodbath to continue.

I have heard from commandantes within the FMLN as well as from many campesinos that they hope that the struggle can end in a negotiated settlement. In fact, they prefer that it does not end in a military solution, for the following reasons: First, a military solution will lead to much more bloodshed and perhaps the kind of crazy desperation that marked the final days of the Somoza military regime in Nicaragua when the military struck blindly and destroyed many civilian targets without regard to who was supporting whom.

Second, that military victory could lead to widespread economic destruction, worse than what is presently existent in the country. Third, a military solution could also lead many of the business interests in the country to flee and that a flight of capital would leave the country further economically paralyzed.

The economic program of the FDR-FMLN calls for a mixed economy, with a strong private sector. This flight of capital would certainly paralyze those plans and perhaps push the government toward a more pure form of socialism. The commandantes also state that the FDR is made up of a pluralistic political spectrum: Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, trade unions, associations of professionals, associations of campesinos, of slumdwellers, and Marxist elements as well. A military solution may make it more difficult for the more moderate elements to share in the political process, if the government is put in a position of having to defend their gains because of U.S. covert or overt actions.

For instance, the guerrilla leaders say very clearly that it appears to them that there are two

## **"In my work as liaison to the International Red Cross . . . I have come to know many of the soldiers well and I don't feel any amount of U.S. military aid, any number of U.S. advisors, or any amount of training is going to give the Salvadoran army the capacity to fight."**

raguan, it certainly will not be Soviet. And it will be influenced heavily by the martyrs such as the late Archbishop Oscar Romero for whom they have so much love.

### VIETNAM AND EL SALVADOR

There's talk now that U.S. military aid is not enough. Maybe the U.S. will have to send more advisors - even eventually combat troops. What would that do?

What personally frightens me is when I read the U.S. newspapers quoting a government official saying that in addition to the village development program the administration would like to start a Phoenix-like program again. People in the U.S. have a very short memory, but the Phoenix program was basically a CIA-run operation in South Vietnam in which over 25,000

to justify U.S. military aid. Another parallel that I see is the slow escalation of U.S. involvement without the approval of the American public. For instance, between January 1981 and March 1982, the U.S. government sent \$116 million in military aid to El Salvador, only \$36 million of which had the approval of the U.S. Congress. I see the administration waging an undeclared war without the permission of the U.S. public. It makes me feel that the U.S. public is not in control of their government, which is an irony in perhaps the world's most famous democracy.

### AFTER THE FMLN VICTORY

President Reagan claims that if the FMLN-FDR takes power, it will create a dictatorship in El Salvador. Based on your experience with

**"In Guazapa, the prisoners of war are often guarded in homes, so they see families, they see clinics, they see some of the elementary schools. They return very different people — if they return. Many of them choose to stay."**

places where one gets aid for reconstruction and rebuilding a country: from the Eastern bloc and from the Western bloc. And if they are denied access to the Western bloc, if they become an enemy of the U.S. by winning a military victory, that they will have to turn to the Eastern bloc - which will then be used by the U.S. to further justify subversion of their political process. This means that they would be faced with the same sort of covert operations that are working to destabilize the Nicaraguan revolution today. There are great fears of that. They do not necessarily wish to end up as enemies of the United States.

**AMNESTY AND ELECTIONS?**

The Archbishop of San Salvador has said recently he favors an "amnesty" for the guerrillas.

I don't think an amnesty can have much meaning in a country where there's no rule of law, no due process, where the courts are not functioning and where the security forces, such as the Treasury Police and the National Guard seem to kill at will. I certainly, for instance, as a Quaker and as a physician who has maintained a neutral role, would not dare to set my foot in San Salvador. I feel I would be targeted instantly, even though my role has been neutral. And I think any guerrilla who stepped forward under the "amnesty" would be foolish.

What about the elections that are reportedly planned for the end of 1983?

I think elections have no meaning either, for the reason that I just mentioned. I was in El Salvador during the last elections and perhaps I could describe a few

things from the viewpoint of the peasants. The peasants and workers who go back and forth to the city from the Guazapa Front explained to me very apologetically that they had voted. One reason, they explained, was that not to have the national voter stamp in their I.D. card was a certain death sentence, and that to be caught without this I.D. card, or to be caught with the I.D. card without a vote stamp, was considered a sign of guerrilla sympathies.

Secondly, they told me that the ballots were numbered and that although there had been a plan to tear the numbers from the ballots, that in fact did not happen in the places where these voters participated in the elections. Three days before the election, they said, Roberto d'Abuisson's ARENA Party had objected to the mutilation of the ballots by tearing off the numbers. Well, each campesino or worker or citizen that voted had to sign a piece of paper that had the number on the ballot that was issued to them next to their name. So, they were certain that people would know how they voted.

Was there any voting booth in the area where you were?

No, there was no participation by any of the controlled zones.

**THE U.S. SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT**

What effect do you think the U.S. solidarity movement has here at home and in El Salvador?

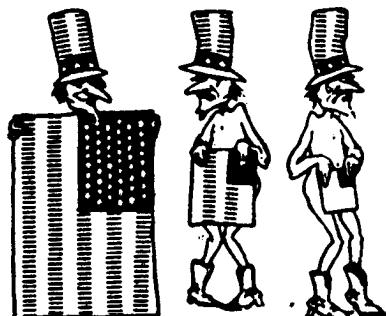
Well, the solidarity movement in the U.S. is trying to convince people that perhaps the biggest obstacle to aid in Central America is U.S. foreign policy. I don't think that the solidarity movement here, which includes the church and committees of solidarity, is a

spokesperson for the FMLN or the FDR. I think they're objecting to U.S. foreign policy which has said that, no, the government of El Salvador does not have to negotiate or carry on a dialogue with anybody involved in this process.

Solidarity, in a concrete form, means a great deal to the people of El Salvador. You can imagine that when they are receiving daily "gifts" of bombs or rockets or machine gun bullets delivered by aircraft from the United States, and then they receive the gift of medicine from people in the U.S. or Europe, that carries a very different message. It gives them courage to continue their struggle.

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# Salvadoran Refugees Testify:

## "It's a War Against the People"

"Counterinsurgency," "military operations" in "zones of conflict" - those terms at times tend to take on a rather technical and abstract air. What they mean in reality in El Salvador is described in these testimonies by Salvadoran peasants who were forced to flee into Honduras: The "human rights certified" government of El Salvador is carrying out a war against its own people.

These refugees gave their testimonies in the refugee camps at Colomoncagua, Intibuca, Honduras in January 1983. The interviewers are international relief workers assigned to the camps. Their names have been withheld for the sake of their personal safety.

**1** Can you tell me when you left El Salvador?  
Around the 22nd of December, 1982.  
Where did you come from?

Sociedad.  
What Department is that in?  
Morazan.  
Maybe you can tell me why you left there?  
We fled from the Air Force which was dropping bombs. Just a few days before I left they killed an old woman and tore out her intestines.

An old woman?  
She was about seventy.  
How did they kill her?  
A bomb fell on her. She was running out but it hit her. It hit other people too.

Did the soldiers come in or was that from a shelling?

The shell came from a distance - from a hill on this side of the border.

Did you see the planes too?  
No, not in the last few days. The planes were around earlier.

What kind of planes were they?  
First the explorers come and then the A 37s.

And how do these planes operate?

They drop big bombs and God

doesn't prevent them from falling on the people.

Do they attack the guerrillas or the civilian population?

They attack the civilians - they're the ones who get it.

How do these planes decide where to bomb?

The explorers come first and give them a signal.

What does this explorer look for, people?

Who knows. They say they're looking for enemies.

Did you lose members of your family?

They're dead. My cousins and nephews.

**2** Sir, can you tell me when you left El Salvador?

I left on the night of December 1st, 1982.

How old are you?

I'm fifty-six.

Where did you come from?

I came from San Vicente - from an area called San Esteban Catrina, Department of San Vicente.

Can you tell me why you left?

Well, first of all we had to leave the country because we knew that the Armed Forces were coming into our area. Everything they found in their path they destroyed - homes, houses, animals. Everything. And they took money.

**"We had to leave the country because we knew that the Armed Forces were coming into our area. Everything they found in their path they destroyed — homes, houses, animals. Everything."**

Recently?

Yes.

Have you seen any change in the Armed Forces? Is there more respect for human rights?

No, it's worse.

What do you mean, worse?

Because before they didn't come with all these forces - the planes and the bombs.

And they're attacking all the people?

Right. They go wherever there are people. The towns. They go after people who are shopping. They grab children and kill them soon afterwards.

What, did they burn the houses?

Yes, they burned them, and the ones they couldn't burn they chopped down to the ground.

Did that happen to you?

Yes. First of all, I'm aware of what's going on and from what I can see this is the most terrible situation that's ever been. Worse things are happening than we've ever seen and we had to leave there and go out into the hills.

When did this happen?

Last year, in March and April. See REFUGEES, page 58

# Intervention in Latin America: Case Studies

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## IMF Pushes Pinochet to Brink

by Walden Bello and John Kelly

As Chile approaches the 10th anniversary of the bloody overthrow of the late President Salvador Allende, it is in the throes of an economic crisis which is far worse than anything ever experienced under the brief three-year reign of the pro-socialist Popular Unity Government. Recent events, asserts a confidential memorandum from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), "have adversely affected confidence at home, as well as abroad, in the authorities' ability to manage the economy."

In 1982, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) plunged by close to 13 per cent and unemployment skyrocketed from eight to 25 per cent. These depression statistics were probably unmatched by any other country in the world. But according to the IMF, Chile's "most pressing immediate problem is the massive net reduction of foreign debt by the Chilean private sector." Chile, a country of 11 million, owes the international banks \$17 billion - at least \$3.6 billion of which is due in debt servicing and interest payments in 1983 alone.

The Fund has provided the government of President Augusto Pinochet with a balance-of-payments support loan of over \$860 million in return for the government's promise to tighten up economic management. But the IMF ill fits the role of benign savior in which it has been cast by the business media. The IMF, in fact, is one of the architects of the current economic mess. This role is underlined in a recent confidential memo from Chilean authorities to IMF managing director Jacques de Larosiere, in which they recall with gratitude how the policies followed by the Pinochet regime since the 1973 coup "were supported by the use of Fund resources under two successive standby arrangements and access to the oil facility."

The current crisis of the Chilean economy is a fundamental structural crisis of what has probably been the most radical free market and anti-statist (i.e., anti-central government control) program of economic reform devised in the 20th century. This experiment was inspired by Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, assisted and financed to the tune of at least \$300 million in loans by the IMF, executed by Friedman's Chilean disciples, the so-called "Chicago Boys," and protected by one of the most repressive armies in the world. Chile's experience from 1975 to 1983 provided a glimpse of the monetarist paradise into which the Fund would like to turn its wards in the Third World - if it had its way.

Referred to by their authors, with perverse pride, as "the shock treatment," these programs had three strategic thrusts: completely integrating Chile into the capitalist world market by destroying protectionism and debauching the currency; fighting inflation by drastically reducing government expenditures and government employment; and eliminating practically all checks on the entry and operations of foreign capital.

This fundamentalist monetarist program, which was conceived as a necessarily bitter antidote to Allende's "Keynesian socialism," provoked a depression in 1975, when the GDP fell by 13 percent, industrial production plunged by 27 percent, and unemployment shot up to 20 percent. Even the World Bank, the Fund's sister agency,

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*Walden Bello is the author of Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines (co-authored with David Kinney, Elaine Eitson, Robin Broad, David O'Connor and Vincent Bielski). The book has just been released by the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94110. John Kelly is co-editor of Counterspy and author of the forthcoming book The CIA in America.*

was moved to comment: "The social costs of enforced austerity were extremely high...."

The depression of 1975, argued the Chicago Boys, was a necessary prelude to what they proudly pointed to as the halcyon years from 1977 to 1982. GDP growth averaged eight percent per annum, prompting Ronald Reagan to proclaim Chile a model for Third World development, and provoking Friedman's memorable statement that the Chilean experiment was "comparable to the economic miracle of post-war Germany."

The miracle, however, was a strange one: a high GDP growth rate coexisted with a high, depression-level unemployment rate. Down to three percent in 1973, Allende's last year, the unemployment rate under Pinochet since 1975 has never gone below 10.4 percent. This indicated a development which was positive to the IMF and the Chicago Boys but disturbing to others: economic growth had become dependent principally on expanding external markets and was being steadily divorced from the domestic market.

For a few years, growing markets for Chilean exports like copper, wood and fruits allowed the counterrevolutionary government to both achieve economic growth and reconcentrate income. But when the international recession began to savage these markets beginning in 1981, "export-oriented growth" became the Achilles heel of the monetarist experiment. In a more balanced economy, declining export demand can be offset by expanding demand in the domestic market. But years of following an iron policy of keeping down real income - "demand restraint" - to combat inflation had so gutted the internal market that it could hardly sustain production. And by 1982, Chile was in the midst of its second depression in eight years - and its worst economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Under these circumstances of external recession and internal depression, the massive flow of foreign capital to Chile became a time bomb. Most of this capital came in the form of credit to Chilean financial institutions from big international banks; Citicorp, Wells Fargo, Bank of America, and Chase Manhattan. By the end of 1981, Chile's private banks had contracted a massive external debt of \$10 billion. Forty-four percent of domestic credit extended by the private sector in 1980 and 1981 was financed from these foreign borrowings. As the depression swallowed up firms, however, many of these loans became virtually uncollectable.

But backed by an A-1 credit rating from the IMF, Chile continued on its foreign borrowing binge. Bank of America, for instance, headed up a massive syndicated loan of \$70 million for Chile's Banco BHC in late 1981, despite signs that Banco BHC was seriously overextended. Most of the new domestic credits, however, no longer went to productive ventures but rather to financ-

ing consumption by the upper classes or to speculative activities. Thus the geometrically expanding service costs of foreign debt could not be paid out of newly generated wealth but only out of newly contracted debt. Chile's private bankers, in other words, were borrowing from one set of international banks to pay off another.

The financial bubble finally burst in 1982, confronting the Chicago Boys with an undoubtedly painful choice: to hew to long-cherished monetarist beliefs or to stave off financial collapse through state intervention. In a classic statement of the Chicago Boys' belief in the ideal of the free, unregulated economy, Jose Pinera, the young intellectual who has served as labor minister, once remarked: "To act against nature is counterproductive and self-deceiving." Mr. Pinera's colleagues chose to ignore his philosophical counsel and proceeded to act "against nature."

This choice was not without irony, since the top officers of the big financial trusts were now beseeching the aid of the state, such as Jorge Cauas, Pablo Barahona and Alvaro Bardón, had previously distinguished themselves as dogmatic anti-statists when they served as chiefs of government economic ministries. To save the banks, the Chicago Boys adopted a number of measures, including a scheme whereby the Central Bank would "buy up" bad debts; a preferential rate of exchange for debt service transactions; and emergency lending from the Central Bank.

But while the Chicago Boys chose to depart from the straight path of monetarism, the IMF refused to go along, precipitating a conflict which is captured in the confidential IMF accounts of the negotiations leading up to the granting of the \$860 million "standby" credit in early January 1983. The Fund registered displeasure at the fact that "the reduction of private foreign debt facilitated by a strong expansion of Central Bank credit has resulted in a ... loss of international reserves." The government technocrats, on the other hand, "strongly defended the introduction of the preferential rate as a necessary measure to forestall bankruptcy of a large segment of private industry, commerce, and the financial system." The Fund finally had to lay down the law: "The staff ... would stress the importance of tight credit management by the Central Bank and of ensuring that Central Bank support of the private sector and financial institutions be temporary and strictly circumscribed so as to protect the international reserves target of the financial program."

Under the gun, the Chicago Boys decided that government assistance could no longer hold up Chile's three major financial institutions and declared their impending liquidation shortly after

See CHILE, page 47

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# CIA, Coups and Cocaine

## Klaus Barbie: Global Nazi

by Konrad Ege

Klaus Barbie is one of Hitler's Gestapo officers who got away. At least until this year.

Barbie was a Nazi SS officer who was assigned to combat French resistance to the German occupation. Immediately after the Nazis' defeat, he went to work in Germany for the U.S. intelligence agencies. The U.S. government hid him from the French authorities, and then the CIA and the Vatican helped him to make his way to Bolivia where he remained active as a CIA agent. In Bolivia, he participated in a military coup, and worked for the Security Police. Barbie also set up his own paramilitary unit to provide protection for Bolivia's cocaine traders. Italian authorities now charge that one of the members of Barbie's group was recruited by rightwing terrorists to blow up a railway station in Bologna, Italy, in 1980. In 1983, Klaus Barbie was extradited to France. When his ties to the CIA became known in the United States, President Reagan's Attorney General William French Smith, refused to investigate, claiming that prosecution was unlikely. After a public outcry, Smith changed his mind.

Klaus Barbie is now in a French prison, awaiting trial for the "crimes against humanity" he committed in Lyons in the early 1940s as a Gestapo officer. This means that Barbie will face charges relating to only a very small fraction of his crimes. And the individuals who abetted his life of crime by saving him from the French courts after World War II - U.S. State Department, U.S. Army and CIA officials - remain at large.

### From the Gestapo to the CIA

Barbie joined the SS in 1935. He was first assigned to the Bureau of Jewish Affairs in The Hague and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, he arrested hundreds of Jews and German refugees who had fled there before the Nazi army occupied the Netherlands. Barbie rose through the SS ranks and was transferred to the Eastern Front to combat the Soviet resistance. Apparently, he did his work well. In November 1942, he was promoted to Gestapo Chief in Lyons, France, the center of the French resistance. There, Klaus Barbie arrested more than 14,000 resistance fighters, participated in some 4,300 murders and sent 7,591 Jews to the gas chambers in Auschwitz. According to his translator,

Gottlieb Fuchs, Barbie personally tortured prisoners and killed French resistance leader Jean Moulin: "I was there when Barbie beat Moulin on his head and body with a stick and kicked him with his feet... Then he dragged him by his feet down the stairs to the basement and left him there. Barbie told me: 'If that dog isn't dead by tomorrow, I'll beat him to death.'" Moulin died.

Barbie managed to leave France after the war and entered the U.S. occupied zone where he joined the U.S. authorities. He provided them with information about the French Communist Party in the Lyons area, and settled down comfortably in southern Germany, working for U.S. intelligence and for the "Gehlen Organization." Reinhard Gehlen, who had been Hitler's man in charge of spying on the Eastern Front, had also been recruited by the U.S. immediately after the war. Only a few years after the Nazis were defeated, he was put in charge of his own intelligence apparatus, funded by the U.S. Gehlen later became the chief of West Germany's CIA, the Bundesnachrichtendienst.

The French government repeatedly demanded that Barbie be extradited. The U.S. stalled, and Le Monde reports that in 1950, the State Department officially denied knowing Barbie's whereabouts even though he was then on the U.S. government payroll, receiving \$1,700 a month. In 1951, the U.S. provided Barbie with a false passport under the name Klaus Altmann; the International Red Cross wrote him a letter of recommendation; and the Vatican assisted him in traveling to South America. Commenting later on the Vatican's support, Barbie said: "The Vatican contact person told me, we have one thing in common, we are anti-Communists."

Barbie settled down in Bolivia, where, according to a secret 1963 French government document, he continued to work as an agent for the CIA and the West German Bundesnachrichtendienst. A former high-level official of the Bolivian Interior Ministry under the dictatorship of General Hugo Banzer (1971-78) confirmed to the Miami Herald that Barbie routinely gave the Ministry information about communist activities in Bolivia and other South American countries, and that these reports were "regularly delivered... to the U.S. Embassy."

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Konrad Ege is co-editor of Counterspy magazine and a freelance journalist.

### Coups and Cocaine in Bolivia

In 1951, the year Barbie arrived in Bolivia, a progressive government was gaining power there after a long struggle led by the Movement of the National Revolution. The U.S. government immediately put pressure on Bolivia, demanding that the government disarm the workers and peasants and create a "democratic army." That was Klaus Barbie's chance: he became an advisor to this new army. He was also put in charge of the Compania Transmaritima Boliviana, a corporation which the Bolivian military used to buy arms worldwide. As a Transmaritima official, Barbie visited the United States at least four times in 1969 and 1970 to buy arms. He also did business with West Germany and Israel, and reportedly even went to France, using a diplomatic passport.

Barbie's star rose even higher when General Hugo Banzer staged a military coup in 1971. The German colony in Bolivia, Barbie included, assisted in the preparations for the coup, and Banzer immediately appointed Barbie "special advisor" to his intelligence service. Barbie's career had come full circle: his job was to make Bolivia safe for its dictator, just as he had once made Lyons safe for Hitler.

In the mid-1970s, Klaus Barbie worked as the Bolivian government's contact person with South African whites who saw the writing on the wall and wanted to immigrate to Bolivia. Bolivia opened consulates in Pretoria and Namibia and drafted plans for two new cities for the settlers to inhabit. Barbie collaborated on this project with two Bolivian officials, Frederico Nielsen Reyes and Guido Strauss Ivanovic. Reyes is the Spanish translator of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and Strauss, then deputy secretary of immigration, was one of Bolivia's top Nazi leaders. He stated that white South African settlers would find living conditions in Bolivia easy and "won't find our Indians any more stupid or lazy than their Blacks." The immigration plan was aborted when Banzer was forced to resign in 1978.

Barbie wasn't devastated by his ally Banzer's ouster. He had other close friends in the military, and by 1978 was working for Roberto Suarez who, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, is one of the world's biggest cocaine traffickers. Barbie, with the aid of his friend and former Gestapo colleague, Hans Stellfeld, and Joachim Fiebelkorn, set up a security squad for Suarez. Fiebelkorn is a prominent West German neo-Nazi who had come to Bolivia via Paraguay. He opened a bar in Santa Cruz which turned into a regular hangout for the German Nazis in Bolivia.

In 1980, Barbie's cocaine squad turned to politics: it aided the coup executed by General Luis Garcia Meza because, said Barbie, "we have to overthrow this government before it changes Bolivia into a big Cuba." Barbie and General

Garcia were upset that the Bolivian President Lidia Gueiler was preparing to appoint Hernan Siles Zuazo, a leftist politician, to be Prime Minister.

Klaus Barbie played a key role in the coup and in the brutal repression of the miners, unionists and students who resisted the takeover. According to the *Miami Herald*, he worked closely with Interior Minister Arce Gomez and the Servicio Especial de Seguridad (SES), Bolivia's intelligence agency. The *Herald* also reported that Barbie was seen in an SES torture house, and that he interrogated prisoners in the Interior Ministry building. As Fiebelkorn described it, it was his group's "mission" during the coup "to open up leftist nests and clean them out."

Several months after the July 1980 coup, the mission of the group changed. It turned to destroying the operations of small-time cocaine dealers in Bolivia, so that General Garcia Meza could dominate the cocaine business. The Barbie-Fiebelkorn group disintegrated in 1981 as General Garcia Meza faced international sanctions because of his cocaine trade, and domestic pressure from unions and other political groups. The country also suffered from a crippling financial crisis brought on in part by the astounding corruption of Garcia Meza's government. General Garcia Meza eventually was forced to step down. His fall proved to be Barbie's undoing. The new government of Siles Zuazo, after only a few months in office, extradited him to France.

**In Bolivia . . . the two of them recruited Klaus Barbie's protege Joachim Fiebelkorn for what was to become the bloodiest terrorist operation in Europe since World War II: the bombing of the train station in the Italian city of Bologna in August 1980.**

### Barbie, Fiebelkorn and the Bologna bombing

General Garcia Meza's 1980 coup had run smoothly thanks to Barbie, but also thanks to the Argentine military advisors who had come to Bolivia to aid the takeover. They brought with them two rightwing Italian terrorists who had

been living in Argentina: Pierluigi Pagliai and Stefano Delle Chiaie. In Bolivia, according to the West German magazine Spiegel, the two of them recruited Klaus Barbie's protege Joachim Fiebelkorn for what was to become the bloodiest terrorist operation in Europe since World War II: the bombing of the train station in the Italian city of Bologna in August 1980. 85 people were killed.

The Italian government is at present preparing its case against three men who are charged with the bombing: Fiebelkorn (who denies any involvement); Maurizio Giorgi, a former agent of the Chilean secret police DINA; and Olivier Danet, a bodyguard of former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Stefano Delle Chiaie got away and reportedly now lives in Argentina; Pierluigi Pagliai was shot and killed when Bolivian police tried to arrest him in October 1982 in Santa Cruz.

The order for the bombing reportedly came from Licio Gelli, a banker and head of the secret lodge P 2. This is according to testimony by Elio Ciolini, a P 2 member who was present at the decisive April 11, 1980 meeting of the lodge. Licio Gelli, whose P 2 companions included many of Italy's leading intelligence and military officials, wanted to change the government and install a "strongman." To achieve this goal, writes Spiegel, the bombers of Bologna used a "reliable tactic of the European neo-fascists": applying the "strategy of tension" - committing seemingly senseless atrocities such as the one in Bologna to destabilize the democratic government and steer it into the desired direction."

Barbie's comrade, Joachim Fiebelkorn, is at present being held in a West German jail. The alleged bombing mastermind, Licio Gelli, was arrested in Switzerland. Former bodyguard Olivier Danet is imprisoned in France, and the Italian authorities are holding Maurizio Giorgi. Their ally Klaus Barbie is awaiting trial in France. Barbie's trial, as well as those of his friend Joachim Fiebelkorn and eventually of Licio Gelli constitute a great opportunity. They will reveal more information about Barbie's war crimes in France, and, equally important, about how Klaus Barbie's criminal career continued under new masters and with new allies: the CIA, the Bundesnachrichtendienst, Bolivian dictators and cocaine traders, and quite possibly even a right-wing terror network in Europe determined to reestablish a Hitler-style dictatorship.

**Sources:** "'Niemand wusste, wohin er ging': Die neofaschistische Internationale der Bologna-Attentäter," Spiegel (Hamburg), 1/31/83; George Stein, "The Nazi," Miami Herald, 1/2/83; James Brooke, "Nazi bought arms in Dade for Bolivia, weapons dealers say," Miami Herald, 3/13/83; "Die Karriere des K. Barbie," die tat, (Frankfurt), 2/18/83; Isabel Hilton and Tana de Zulueta, "Nazis who bankroll terrorists," Sunday Times (London), 2/6/83; Serge Klarsfeld, "Les protections de Klaus Barbie," Le Monde, (Paris), 2/16/83; New York Times, 3/8/83; "Exorcising Old Ghosts," Time, 2/21/83;

# CIA Hires Nazis

The CIA's protection and employment of war criminal Klaus Barbie was not an isolated case. After World War II, U.S. authorities in Germany showed little interest in punishing high ranking Nazi officials. The U.S. government had a new enemy: the Soviet Union, and Hitler's Nazi machine was experienced in fighting the Soviets.

Much of the recruiting of German Nazis and their collaborators in Eastern Europe was done by Frank Wisner while he headed the Office of Policy Coordination. The OPC was set up in 1948 in the State Department as the brainchild of George Kennan, who hoped that it would engage "in a back-alley struggle against the Soviet Union." OPC's funds came from the CIA. Frank Wisner seemed to be the ideal person to head the OPC: He was obsessively anti-communist and was experienced in undercover work.



Mike Peters, Dayton Daily News

John Loftus, a former Justice Department investigator of Nazis living in the United States, writes in The Belarus Secret (Knopf, New York, 1982) that Wisner closely collaborated with General Lucius Clay, the military governor of the American zone in Germany. Wisner told Clay that he wanted to "re-create the SS underground networks in Eastern Europe, Byelorussia and the Ukraine." Loftus explains that "Wisner believed the Soviet Union would begin to disintegrate from internal rebellions, rebellions which he intended to assist, and, if necessary, instigate."

The people Wisner recruited - and brought into the United States for training in spite of a strict congressional prohibition against Nazis entering the country - included men who had committed atrocious crimes in Hitler's service. They included, for example, Emanuel Jasiuk, a native of Byelorussia, an area in the extreme West of the Soviet Union. When the Nazis invaded, he was

one of the first people to volunteer for the special SS units, the Einsatzgruppen, which were to kill all Jews and opponents of the Nazi regime. Loftus describes Jasiuk's activities after he had been appointed mayor of the town of Kletsk by the SS: "One of his main tasks was to draw up lists of Polish intellectuals and Communist sympathizers for the Germans. The Einsatzgruppen swept through Kletsk, rounded up hundreds of suspects at Jasiuk's direction and murdered them." Jasiuk also arranged for the murder in a single day of the entire Jewish population of his county. Specially selected German and Byelorussian squads gunned down more than 5,000 Jews.

It was this man whom Wisner chose to become a central figure in the recruitment of other Nazis to join the U.S. OPC units. Jasiuk moved to the United States and helped some 5,000 Byelorussian war criminals follow him. Many of these Nazis worked in Wisner's units to facilitate "uprisings" in Eastern Europe; others joined Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe which were then largely funded and run by the CIA.

Until 1952, Wisner hid his operations even from some agencies of the U.S. government. By that year, writes Loftus, he was spending more than half of the CIA's annual budget on his OPC. On March 12, 1955, the National Security Council finally issued a directive (NSC 5412/1) retroactively sanctioning Wisner's effort:

In accordance with established policies, and to the extent practicable in areas dominated or threatened by international communism, develop underground resistance and facilitate covert and guerrilla operations....

Specifically, such operations shall include any covert activities related to: propaganda, political action, economic warfare, preventive direct action, including sabotage, antisabotage, demolition, escape and evasion and evacuation measures; subversion against hostile states or groups including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerrillas and refugee liberation groups; support of indigenous and anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world, deception plans and operations and all compatible activities necessary to accomplish the foregoing.

In the early 1950s, the U.S. government also had plans to invade the Soviet Union. President Truman had ordered a study to prepare for the invasion, and "invasion routes had been planned and a timetable set for the early 1950s." Wisner's plan was similar:

He authorized an operation designed to incite simultaneous revolts against Soviet authority in each of the major cities of Eastern Europe, which were to be followed by a civil war among ethnic and religious minorities within the Soviet Union. Once the revolt had erupt-

ed, underground cells were to seize the government buildings and radio, and call for the people to rise. Within hours, Wisner's "liberation armies" would be dropped in to attack the scattered Soviet garrisons.... After the Soviets had been sufficiently weakened, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops would be dispatched as a peacekeeping force...

Wisner's grand plan, of course, failed dismally. Many of the agents he parachuted into Eastern Europe were captured or turned out to be double agents: Soviet intelligence, writes Loftus, had successfully penetrated the OPC. Obviously,

*Wisner authorized an operation designed to incite simultaneous revolts against Soviet authority in each of the major cities of Eastern Europe, which were to be followed by a civil war among ethnic and religious minorities within the Soviet Union.*

Wisner also underestimated the strength of the Eastern European governments. Unable to live with his failure, Wisner committed suicide. But a heinous legacy remains: Wisner and those Nazis employed by the United States government contributed to shaping the anti-Soviet cold war mentality which the Reagan administration is now using as a premise for its nuclear war plans. (A number of Eastern European associations in the United States which have Nazi connections are now grouped together in the Coalition for Peace through Strength.) And the Special Forces, or Green Berets, infamous for their atrocities in Indochina, are a direct outgrowth of Wisner's special forces, for the remaining cadres of the OPC became the first Special Forces units.

# Moonies Move on Honduras

Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church believes that "Communism is a cancer. You can't live with it. You have to destroy it." And communism is broadly defined in the Moonies' dictionary. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua, of course, is communist; former U.S. Representative Donald Fraser is a communist because his subcommittee investigated the Moon organization; and people supporting the Central American liberation movements are communists, too. It is this "concern" for Central America that has prompted Moon's top aide, Colonel Bo Hi Pak, to take his holy crusade to Honduras.

Bo Hi Pak went there first in November 1982 to visit three major newspapers; the rightist La Prensa and La Tribuna, and the slightly more liberal El Tiempo. He told the editors that he wanted to help counter the "disinformation" being spread about Honduras. There is an anti-Honduran campaign in the United States, Bo Hi Pak let them know, which charges that the Honduran government of President Roberto Suazo Cordova is repressive, is aiding the Salvadoran army in its counter-insurgency campaign along the Honduran-Salvadoran border, and is allowing former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard to maintain CIA-supported training camps close to the Nicaraguan border.

Bo Hi Pak announced that he had a new newspaper with which to counteract these "lies," and waved copies of the Washington Times to a La Tribuna photographer. The Washington Times, which began publishing in the U.S. capital in May 1982, is fully owned by Moon's News World Communications, Inc. The President of News World Communications is Bo Hi Pak. (The Times practices virulent rightwing reporting, and features a number of writers who are former CIA officers or who have extensive intelligence ties. Dozens of people on the Times staff are members of the Unification Church, and Moon has paid two visits to the Times, which Times editors have tried to keep secret.)

In January 1983, Bo Hi Pak's Honduran campaign began in earnest. He met with General Gustavo Alvarez, the chief of the Armed Forces; President Suazo Cordova; Oswaldo Ramos Soto, director of the National University in Tegucigalpa; and the Honduran business elite. During a January 13 meeting, these leaders inaugurated the "Asociacion Pro Desarollo de

Honduras" (APROH, Association for the Development of Honduras) to aid "democracy" and promote social progress. Bo Hi Pak also explained Unification Church theology and told his audience that it was a philosophy uniquely suited to counter communism. The participants at the meeting were also told to contribute \$500 a month to APROH.

University director Ramos Soto urged the business leaders to back the organization, and especially to support General Alvarez because he had proven to be an effective leader. Ramos knew what he was talking about: Alvarez, with the help of several others at the meeting, had helped him to gain his university post by pressur-

## Moon Organization Not a Church

*The Moon organization is not a church in the usual sense of the word. A 1978 Congressional report called it a "tightly disciplined international political party." It also found that it "resembles a multi-national corporation, involving manufacturing, international trade, defense contracting, finance and other business activities."*

*For Sun Myung Moon, there is no distinction between religion and politics: "Separation between religion and politics is what Satan likes most." Deception, called "heavenly deception" is a central doctrine of the Unification Church. Moon says Satan uses trickery against God, so the Church must use trickery to advance its work. This "heavenly deception" theory provides a "religious" justification for Moon to maintain his numerous front organizations.*

*Moon claims to be the true son of God. By pairing off members of the Unification Church (his children) at mass weddings, Moon says he is creating a divine race. This divine race is destined to conquer the world. Moon claims that as soon as he controls seven nations, he will be able to dominate the world and destroy Satan, i.e. all organizations and persons opposed to Moon and his theocracy.*

*Moon's agenda is clearly political. To achieve his goal of world domination - no less - he collaborates with and uses numerous front organizations (whose members at times do not know they are working for Moon) as well as government agencies. Bo Hi Pak admitted in a 1978 Congressional hearing that he has received cash payments from the Korean CIA - not for himself, though, but to channel it to organizations involved in the anti-communist battle.*

ing the Supreme Court to oust the legally elected university director. Getting Ramos into the directorship, Alvarez had told the business leaders, was part of his plan of "recuperating" the university from the leftists. Alvarez also helped rightwing students take over the traditionally progressive student union - he simply had the progressive leaders arrested.

Several weeks after this kickoff meeting, Bo Hi Pak arranged a five-day conference in San Pedro Sula to take his cause to a broader segment of the Honduran population: teachers, union leaders, academics and small business people. All the expenses of the conference were borne by "CAUSA International," the front organization Bo Hi Pak uses in Latin America. CAUSA, the "Confederacion de Asociaciones para la Unificacion de las Sociedades Americanas" (Confederation of Associations for the Unification

and collaboration with the Korean CIA is virtually unknown there and the government is feverishly looking for ideological tools in its 'struggle to discredit and destroy progressive movements in Honduras. Moon's anti-communist "church" with its vast financial resources apparently seems to the Honduran government to be an ideal ally.

But there is some resistance to the government's effort to give Bo Hi Pak such a prominent role in strengthening the Honduran rightists. The Catholic bishops are uneasy about the government's collaboration with a cult organization. The Vatican has sent a special warning to the bishops, and Pope John Paul himself reportedly expressed concern about "cults" during his recent visit to Central America.

**Sources:** Information provided by the Honduran Information Center (1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge MA 02138); Investigation of Korean-American Relations, Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, Parts 1 to 4, 1978; Colin Danby, "Moon Dupes Honduran Rightists," unpublished manuscript; "Moon Shines on Apartheid," Washington Notes on Africa, Summer 1982 (Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002); "The Dark Side of Moon," Washington Tribune, June 4-17, 1982; Anne Nelson, "God, Man and the Rev. Moon," The Nation, 3/31/79; Elizabeth Zanger, "Moonies: CARP," Counterspy, vol.5, no.4, Aug.-Oct. 1981.

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## **It has been fairly easy for Bo Hi Pak to establish a Moonie organization in Honduras. The Unification Church's record of fraud, deception and collaboration with the Korean CIA is virtually unknown there.**

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of the American Societies), is headquartered in New York City, and also organized a "Conferencia CAUSA" in Montevideo, Uruguay, in November 1982.

The San Pedro Sula conference was strictly a one-way process - heavy doses of Unification theory and anti-communist propaganda with no questions allowed. Bo Hi Pak did most of the talking at the conference; his topics ranged from "The Unification Concept of God and Man" to the "Unification Concept of History." Lynn Bouchey, Vice President of the Washington-based Council for Interamerican Security, lectured on "Comments about the Marxist Concept of History." A number of people wanted to leave the conference early after they realized what they had gotten themselves into, but were told that CAUSA would be keeping track of those who didn't stay for the whole affair.

It has been fairly easy for Bo Hi Pak to establish a Moonie organization in Honduras. The Unification Church's record of fraud, deception

### **CHILE, from page 41**

the signing of the IMF-Government agreement in early January. Government intervenors were to take over five other banks and financial agencies. When the question arose, however, of how the gigantic \$3.8 billion in foreign debt owed by the private groups would be repaid, some of the Chilean technocrats loudly reverted back to Friedman's philosophy of "private gain, private failure." This time, it was the IMF's turn to depart from the tenets of pristine monetarism as it pressured the Pinochet regime to guarantee repayments to the big international banks.

State intervention to save free market capitalism from itself: this is an ironic but perhaps fitting climax to the IMF-Friedman experiment in Chile. Yet the conclusion of this tragedy still has to be played out. The most appropriate outcome would be one in which the people of Chile would have a chance to choose a humane government and a compassionate economic program.

# Features

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## Political Prisoner Michael O'Rourke: The Longest Held Immigration Detainee

by Patricia Grace

**Thursday, May 21, 1981:** An unidentified man attempts to deliver a package to the Philadelphia office of Immigration Judge Ernest Hupp. Hupp's secretary refuses the package; the man flees.

**Friday, May 22, 1981:** Judge Hupp is driving home to northern Maryland from Philadelphia and becomes aware that he is being followed by two men in a black car. He fears that he is in mortal danger. Frantic, he stops at the Millersville, Maryland police station for protection. Millersville police fail to intercept the black car.

Hupp tells his wife of the tailing incident, she suffers a heart seizure. Hupp believes that his tormentors are members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. He connects this threat to the IRA because of his position as a Judge in the immigration case of Michael O'Rourke, a former IRA member under deportation proceedings in the United States.

The fear generated by the shadowing incident, his wife's heart seizure, and his media-biased opinion of the IRA as a "terrorist" organization cause the elderly Hupp to write on May 29, 1981, to Acting Chief Immigration Judge Monsanto: "I feel that I must recuse [excuse] myself in the above captioned [O'Rourke] matter. This decision is based upon the fact that I have in my opinion been unjustly intimidated and harassed and believe the harassment evolves from my presiding in this case."

On the day he steps down from the case, Judge Hupp learns that it is not the IRA that had been harassing him, but rather agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS officers supposedly were following up on a complaint that Hupp had been leaving his office early on Fridays and was charging the government for the time. "It was just coincidental," claimed INS spokesperson, Verne Jervis, "that they happened

to be looking into this matter at the same time that he [Hupp] was holding the deportation matter."<sup>2</sup> Hupp later claimed that if he had known that it was not the IRA who was tailing him that May afternoon, he would not have excused himself from the case.

The damage, however, was done. The man who had stated his intentions to give a favorable ruling to O'Rourke was no longer in control of the case. In his place was Judge Francis Lyons, a man handpicked by the U.S. government to hand down a decision in accordance with its own designs. The results were predictable. In spite of a strong defense, O'Rourke's appeal was denied for arbitrary reasons by Judge Lyons on July 12, 1982. The case was then presented to the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA, the highest administrative body within the immigration system) in October 1982, but neither O'Rourke nor his lawyer James Orlow anticipate a favorable decision. Had Judge Hupp remained on the case, Michael O'Rourke would be a legal permanent resident in the U.S. by now, based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen. Today, as he awaits the decision of the BIA, O'Rourke remains within the walls of the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City - a facility for convicted felons.

### "Treated Like Garbage"

Michael O'Rourke is a native of Dublin, Ireland, and a skilled mechanical fitter. In his early 20s, he became interested in the "troubles" in northern Ireland, and travelled to Derry to investigate. Stopped on two occasions by British forces after entering northern Ireland, O'Rourke says that he was "treated like garbage": "I was asked a single important question - what was my religion. I replied 'Catholic.' As soon as I said this, I was

seized and detained and asked to explain why I was there, who I was going to see, what my business was, where I had come from and how long I was going to stay... I saw a world torn apart, presided over by occupational forces."<sup>4</sup>

O'Rourke's coworkers in Dublin asked him to help fix a machine part after hours one evening after his return from Derry. He was asked to do more and more skilled work for his mates, and in the summer of 1971, he and his colleagues joined the Provisional IRA. He served as a mechanical expert until his arrest on August 28, 1975. After his seizure by C-3, a special intelligence branch of the Irish Republic's Garda, O'Rourke was taken to Bridewell Barracks detention center, only to find that his father had also been taken into custody as a means of forcing a "confession" from his son. O'Rourke was told that his father would be charged with possession of weapons materials and that he would die if convicted by one of Ireland's "Special Courts" which do not allow the accused the right to a jury. Fearing for his father's life, O'Rourke signed a statement of his "confession" and was taken to Port Laoise Prison near Dublin as a political prisoner. His father was released.

### Escape

In June 1976, the IRA ordered O'Rourke to participate in an escape attempt which involved the use of explosives. Planting "the only explosive that I have ever planted as an IRA member," O'Rourke blew himself and two others to freedom with no injuries to anyone, and went underground. On February 16, 1978, under the name of Patrick Mannion, he entered the United States as a visitor with a passport legally obtained from the Irish government in Dublin, and the U.S. Consul in Dublin. The Immigration inspector at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York granted him six months legal stay in the United States.

Originally, O'Rourke planned to lay low in the U.S., but a few months after his arrival he fell in love with and married Margaret Lieb of Philadelphia. By failing to return to Ireland, O'Rourke resigned himself from the IRA.

O'Rourke's American dream was shattered on October 30, 1979, when he was arrested by FBI agents, who turned him over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service on the following day. The U.S. attorney in Philadelphia told the media that O'Rourke was being held in connection with the July 1979 killing of Britain's Lord Mountbatten. Although this fallacious allegation was later withdrawn, precious little mention of its withdrawal was made in the same media that had thrilled at the capture of one of Mountbatten's killers.

Despite quick action by Margie O'Rourke and James Orlow, O'Rourke was transferred to the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York

City, where he remains to this day. He holds the dubious distinction of being the longest held detainee in immigration history.

### Why O'Rourke Should Remain in the U.S.

The INS wants Michael O'Rourke to be deported because he overstayed his authorized visit of six months. The INS does not necessarily want O'Rourke to return to Ireland. They do not care where he goes as long as he does not stay here. He has overstayed his visa (as have countless other foreigners), and that is grounds for deportation under the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act unless there are strong factors in the foreigner's favor which outweigh the overstay.

Michael O'Rourke has plenty of factors in his favor, and Judge Hupp was going to base his favorable decision on them:

- O'Rourke is a spouse of a U.S. citizen and therefore eligible for permanent residence.
- Living outside of the U.S. would impose a hardship on the U.S. citizen spouse of Michael O'Rourke.
- O'Rourke has demonstrated a well-founded fear of persecution should he return to Ireland. He has already been designated a political prisoner by the Republic of Ireland. There is no question that he would be arrested immediately upon his return. Yet in denying O'Rourke's appeal in July 1982, Hupp's successor, Judge Lyons, denied the hardship to be placed on a U.S. citizen, and also denied the validity of O'Rourke's application for political asylum. O'Rourke, stated Lyons, was not part of "an organized, identifiable, discrete force openly at war with the State. At best he was a member of a clandestine secret group, whose energies were directed against the authorities of Northern Ireland, not the Republic whose laws he violated. As such I conclude that the offenses for which he was convicted were for Acts of a criminal nature."<sup>6</sup> In other words, Judge Lyons redefined the laws of the Republic of Ireland to suit the needs of the U.S. government.

### Twisted Laws

Thus, Michael O'Rourke, who is charged with the equivalent of a misdemeanor (overstay of authorized time) has been held for three and a half years in a criminal facility, virtually incomunicado from his family and attorneys. On four occasions the attorneys requested that O'Rourke be released on bond to await the decision of his deportation case. Four times the BIA denied such release on bond (set at \$500,000). The BIA argues that O'Rourke would escape from the U.S. if he were released.

This logic poses an interesting question: If the U.S. government is doing everything in its power to deport Michael O'Rourke, why is the govern-

ment so afraid that he will leave the U.S.? "I don't want to see the British, through the American government, pervert the American system of justice," said Attorney James Orlow recently at a panel discussion in Philadelphia regarding the O'Rourke case. Yet, this seems to be what is happening. Despite an extradition treaty between the U.S. and Ireland (as well as the U.K.), neither of those foreign countries is making any move to have O'Rourke extradited.

Why should they? The U.S. - through the Immigration and Naturalization Service - is doing the punitive work for them. Instead of serving his sentence at Port Laoise, O'Rourke is serving it in New York. And he is imprisoned there in a criminal prison with no distinction for political status. The U.S. government is doing to Michael O'Rourke what Ireland and Britain could not do to him - de-politicize and criminalize his membership in the IRA.

Legal scholars, jurists and attorneys who are aware of the O'Rourke case expressed deep concern. Orlow summarized this sentiment in his May 4, 1982 appeal brief to Judge Lyons:

This is perhaps the most difficult brief I have ever written. In major part it is because of a commitment to law and to the constitutional premises of the United States which we believe and submit, in the most earnest fashion, have been violated by the U.S. government in the prosecution of this case and in the manner

in which that prosecution took place. It is, we submit, in and of itself a desecration of the American ideal and without regard to the due process of law, substituting the forms for that process due. In this comment, I mean no disrespect to you or your able predecessor in the case, only that your offices are being manipulated for certain unannounced advantage which is in and of itself a perversion of the system of justice."

The case of Michael O'Rourke demands our attention and concern for if the U.S. system of justice can be manipulated in a manner which eliminates justice for political ends, then justice within this country is weakened to a point where it can be rendered impotent to protect anyone. (For more information on this case, please write to Michael O'Rourke in care of this magazine.)

#### Footnotes:

- 1) Recusation from Deportation Proceedings in the Matter of Michael O'Rourke aka: Patrick Mannion (A22 607 396).
- 2) Dr. Charles E. Rice; "Immigration Service Accused of Harassing Federal Judge;" Irish Echo; Dec. 25, 1982; P.5.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Michael O'Rourke; Affidavit in Support of Motion For Reopening and Reconsideration of Release on Bond; 6/28/80; p.2.
- 5) Ibid., p.7.
- 6) Judge Francis Lyons; In the Matter of Michael O'Rourke, (Respondent) In Deportation Proceedings: Denial of Appeal; July 12, 1982; pp. 12-13.

## The Bronfman Family

# Whiskey Barons Smuggle Arms to South Africa

by John Cavanagh

Perhaps it should come as little surprise that a family that raked in millions bootlegging whiskey from Canada to the United States during Prohibition should become a central agent in munitions smuggling to South Africa. Nor should it strike us as odd that the smuggled arms were shipped from a secretive compound straddling that same Canadian-U.S. border.

The family at issue is the Bronfman dynasty, sometimes referred to as the "Rothschilds of the New World." Its empire, comprising over \$15 billion in assets, represents one of the largest

capital pools in the non-Arab world, and includes the world's largest alcohol company - Seagram. Until recently, it also owned one of the top munitions smuggling operations in North America - Space Research Corporation.

In 1968, Space Research Corporation-Quebec was set up with little fanfare on 7,000 prime acres in Highwater, Canada. On January 1, 1969, Space Research Corporation-U.S. was incorpo-

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ated on 1,000 acres of directly adjacent land in North Troy, Vermont.<sup>1</sup> While distinct legal entities, the two firms operated as one; not only geographically, but in every aspect of their production and sales. Presenting itself to the International Boundary Commission as a non-profit organization, Space Research obtained permission to build a private road linking its Canadian laboratories with its Vermont test range site. Over this road, military equipment could daily traverse the border unencumbered by governmental supervision or customs duties.

Since the Canadian government considered the operation to be entirely a U.S. concern, and the U.S. considered the northern portion to be under Canadian jurisdiction, exports from the Canadian side were technically from neither nation. The scope for illegal shipments was enormous.

With the injection of millions of dollars in U.S. defense contracts, Space Research became a world leader in ballistics technology. It developed a new 155mm howitzer artillery system able to fire 40 percent farther than conventional systems and adaptable for firing nuclear warheads.<sup>2</sup> NASA files, in 1973, described Space Research's technical capabilities as including "nuclear weapons."<sup>3</sup> Over the 1970s, major Space Research clients included Taiwan, South Korea and Israel.

In 1975, in defiance of a 1963 United Nations arms embargo on South Africa, the CIA set up contacts between Space Research and the manufacturing arm of the South African military (ARMSCOR) to supply arms to South Africa for use in Angola.<sup>4</sup> Agreements were signed, and between 1976 and 1978 at least \$50 million in Space Research howitzer shells, cannons, ballistic testing equipment, demonstration projectiles and other equipment were shipped to South Africa via ports in Canada, Spain and Antigua. The shipments flowed despite a second U.N. embargo on arms to South Africa imposed in 1977, this one "binding" on all U.N. members.

While many details of the South Africa shipments were uncovered by the British Broadcasting Corporation and published in the Vermont press,<sup>5</sup> very little has been disclosed concerning the complex ownership history of Space Research. Walls of secrecy have shrouded this aspect of the munitions compound: corporate complicity in the illegal shipment of arms.

#### From Booze to Guns

The story began in the 1960s, when a Canadian engineer by the name of Gerald V. Bull, with financing from the Canadian government, built up a multimillion dollar project which pioneered technology for hurling objects into space from massive cannons. Bull's official rationale was that he was developing satellite launchers, but the military potential of his technology was obvious.

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7 Crown, Seagram's leading brand, is sold all over the world, including South Africa.

When the Canadian government withdrew funding in 1967, Bull began the search for corporate sponsorship.

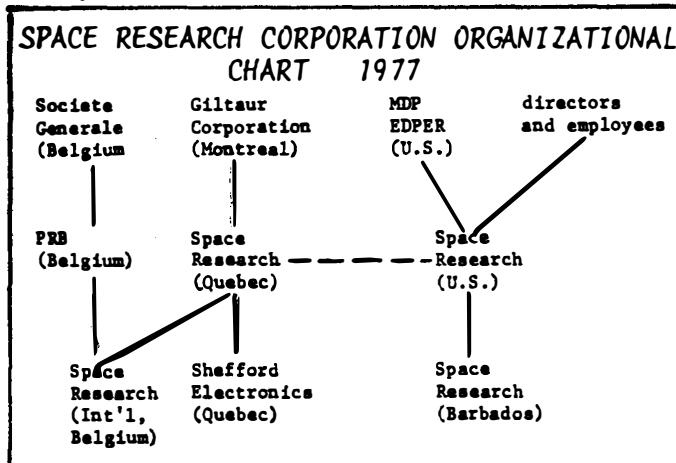
The circumstances surrounding Bull's introduction to the Bronfmans have not been disclosed. In 1968, Bull's land, buildings and assets were purchased by Great West Saddlery, a subsidiary of Edper; one of the two main Bronfman holding companies. Named for two of the Bronfman clan (Edward and Peter), Edper also brought in Arthur D. Little (a frequent U.S. defense contractor) to provide management and technical assistance in return for 50 percent ownership of the new Space Research Corporation. Soon after the purchase, Space Research-Quebec even moved its headquarters to 2055 Peel Street, Montreal, the location of Peter Bronfman's corporate operations center.

The Bronfmans' wizardry in generating profits from the U.S.-Canada border was well tested long before the takeover. When Prohibition clamped down in the United States in 1920, the Bronfman's empire was confined to a small distilling company; by 1933, when the American experiment with abstinence ended, the family controlled Seagram, which was soon to be one of the largest distilleries in the United States. The recipe for success was simple: a mastery of both land and ocean-based smuggling on small craft, ships, cars and trucks, that generated millions of profits annually.

In the years following World War II, when Seagram was being built into the world's biggest alcohol empire, then-head of the family Sam Bronfman shuttled weekly between Montreal and

New York, juggling his official residence in order to minimize income tax payments. The family that bought Space Research in 1968 knew how to work that border to its fullest potential.

While the Bronfmans sold their shares of Space Research-Quebec to a family trust controlled by Bull in 1973, they retained control over Space Research-U.S. The only ownership chart for the corporation ever leaked was a confidential prospectus (obtained by the Quebec Centre International de Solidarite Ouvriere) for an attempted Space Research takeover of a Canadian propellants plant.



This organizational chart indicates that in January 1977, the Bronfman holding company Edper controlled Space Research-U.S., which in turn ran a subsidiary in the Caribbean island of Barbados. Several of the 1977 and 1978 South Africa shipments were partially run by the Barbados subsidiary, which oversaw a highly secretive "testing range" on nearby Antigua. Shells from Canada and Florida were shipped by Space Research to Antigua, where they were transferred to vessels bound for South Africa. Space Research "bought" the Antiguan government for \$500,000 a year, and received in return complete customs clearance on all its shipments and the right to set up a testing range protected by its own security service.

The chart also disclosed a third operation, Space Research International, located in Europe's most important arms market - Brussels. This branch was half owned by a major Belgian explosives manufacturer (PRB), in turn owned by the holding company Societe Generale. This holding company, one of the largest and most secretive in Europe, has extensive holdings in mining ventures across Africa. In July 1977, after the chart was completed, South Africa's ARMSCOR secretly purchased 20 percent of Space Research's stock.

The Bronfman's interest in Space Research clearly extended beyond swindling customs coffers out of a few extra receipts. One primary concern was to use the acquisition to further the family's crusade for Israel. Sam Bronfman, undisputed leader of the family until his death in 1971,

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was at the forefront of almost all fund raising for Israel in Canada. As a prominent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation writer-broadcaster put it, "The Canadian Jewish Congress almost became a Seagram subsidiary."<sup>10</sup> In keeping with family tradition, Sam's son Edgar, current Chairman of Seagram, now heads the World Jewish Congress.

This political and financial support of Israel has been supplemented by heavy financial investment there, including full ownership (through the other major Bronfman holding company, CEMP) of Israel Supermarkets, Ltd. Acquisition of Space Research only deepened Bronfman-Israeli collaboration: Bull's sophisticated long-range ammunition was sold in large quantities to the Israeli military, enabling them to reach Egyptian installations from the Mitla Pass in Sinai, and Damascus from the Golan Heights.<sup>11</sup> Since Israel has long been one of the major arms and technology suppliers to South Africa, it is entirely possible that Space Research products (including nuclear technology) have been shipped through Israel to South Africa.

#### Government Complicity

Space Research's Mr. Bull, even with his powerful Bronfman backers, would have faced considerable difficulty shipping large amounts of munitions to South Africa without substantial government assistance. As meticulously documented by the House Subcommittee on Africa, the CIA played the key role in connecting buyer with seller. This was further substantiated by John Stockwell, CIA Angola Task Force Director at the time of the initial contacts.<sup>12</sup> In 1972, Senator Barry Goldwater facilitated Space Research's subsequent crimes by sponsoring a rare private act of Congress that conferred retroactive citizenship on Bull in order to legitimize his access to highly classified materials.<sup>13</sup> Security clearances were also granted to numerous other company personnel.

Further, as 1982 testimony by State Department personnel demonstrated, the U.S. government never set up procedures to implement the arms embargo against South Africa. On the contrary, in one case, the State Department's Office of Munitions Control made it considerably easier for Space Research to ship artillery shell forgings to South Africa with a minimum of legal risk.

Only after irrefutable evidence of illegal arms shipments surfaced did the Justice Department press charges. The sentence: Bull and a colleague spent four months in a minimum security prison in 1980, and the case was shelved. Washington's role in the affair was left virtually untouched, and no mention was made of the central position assumed by Bronfman capital in Space Research.

See BRONFMAN, page 59

# Interview with Polisario Front Representative

# U.S. Backs Morocco's Saharan War

by Martha Wenger

In an arid corner of northwest Africa, the liberation movement of the nomadic peoples of Western Sahara is fighting U.S.-trained and equipped Moroccan soldiers to determine the future of this former Spanish colony. The war began seven years ago when the Polisario Front launched its campaign for an independent Western Sahara against the forces of the King of Morocco, who claims sovereignty over the territory.

Western Sahara is a poor and sparsely populated area with but one prize of interest to outside powers: rich phosphate deposits and a port from which to export them. (These deposits are concentrated in a small enclave known as the

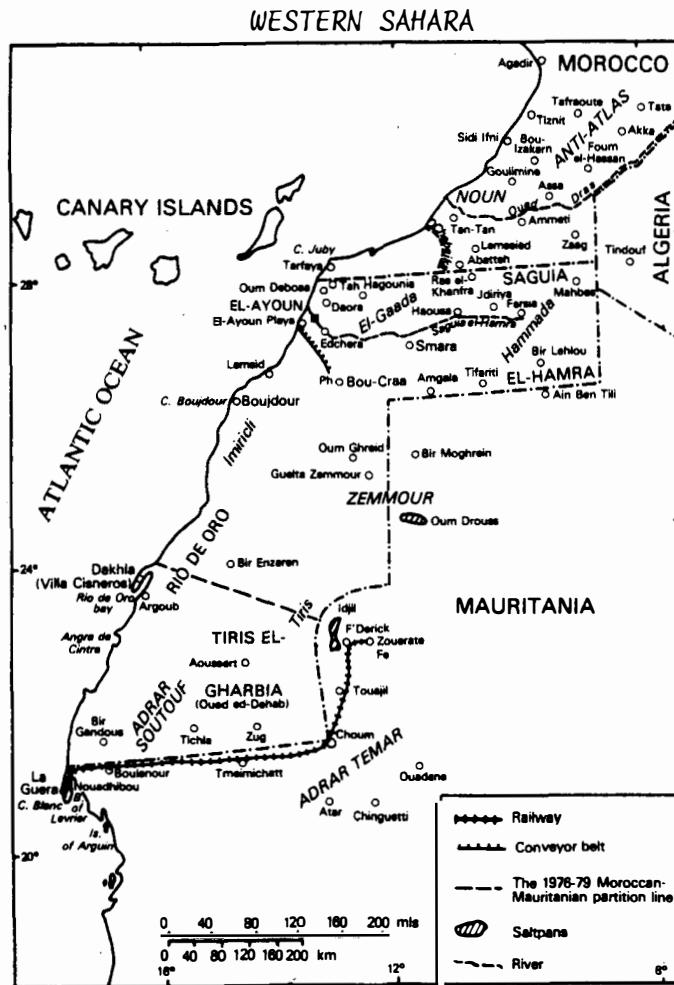
"useful triangle.") Morocco's King Hassan covets these mineral reserves which could be added to his own country's deposits to enhance his position as a major exporter of phosphate.

The U.S. stake in the region is the highly useful role King Hassan has carved out for himself supporting U.S. interests and toeing the anti-communist, anti-Libya Reagan line among his African neighbors and his fellow Arab nations. Of great importance as well is King Hassan's permission for U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces aircraft to use Moroccan air bases in "emergency" situations. U.S. 6th Fleet warships have, for years, had unrestricted access to Moroccan ports. U.S. military aid to Morocco is, simply, King Hassan's pay-off for services rendered.

Most of that aid - with full U.S. knowledge and consent - is poured directly into Morocco's war in the Western Sahara. (U.S. funds are generously supplemented by another friend, Saudi Arabia.) Yet in seven years of war, the Polisario forces have gained control over 90 percent of the territory in question. Fewer than 20,000 guerrillas today keep 80,000 Moroccan troops dug in behind a 280-mile defense line known as the "sand wall," guarding the useful triangle's towns and abandoned phosphate mines from Polisario incursions.

The war has divided the Saharawi people into three populations: one-third live under Moroccan military occupation in the triangle; about 150,000 live in refugee camps in Algeria; and the rest remain on their land in the Polisario controlled Western Sahara, which in 1976 was proclaimed the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Fifty-four nations have recognized the SADR, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) admitted it as a full member state last year. Morocco, in turn, immediately launched a boycott of the OAU and has sabotaged several subsequent attempts at convening OAU summits.

A surprise meeting between the President of Algeria, a longtime Polisario ally, and Morocco's King Hassan on February 26, 1983, may be a signal that the King wants to lessen his dependence on the U.S. and move toward regional detente. Algeria has affirmed that this thaw in



Source: Tony Hodges, *Historical Dictionary of Western Sahara*, Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1982.

Martha Wenger is a member of Counterspy's advisory board and assistant to the editor of MERIP Reports magazine.

relations does not affect its stance on the Western Sahara issue. While Algeria is willing to act as an intermediary with the King on Western Sahara, it will not presume to speak on Polisario's behalf. To date, King Hassan has refused even to recognize Polisario representatives, let alone negotiate with them. Polisario Front leaders have warned that the war will continue until the day Hassan agrees to meet them at the negotiating table.

Counterspy's Martha Wenger interviewed the Polisario Front's representative at the United Nations, Madjid Abdullah, in March 1983.

The New York Times and other U.S. papers have reported recently that the war in Western Sahara has died down. You were there in January 1983. What did you see?

It's really not true at all that the war is over. When the war started in 1975, the Moroccans sent 15,000 troops to Western Sahara thinking that they could secure the whole territory of 285,000 square kilometers. Year after year they had to pour in more troops. Seven years later, the Moroccans are facing exactly the same number of Polisario troops and the area they control has shrunk to one-tenth of the territory. This is the last stage of the war.

Every two years or so, the Moroccans have had to change their strategy. One was columns of troops going in search of guerrillas, like the plan just announced for El Salvador. Those columns were trained by the U.S., South Africa and France. They renounced that strategy within six months, in 1980. Then they tried large fortresses - 5,000 to 8,000 troops in one big fortress in a city. Before that they had the strategy of a "thousand points": in each little outpost in Western Sahara they put between 15 and 200 soldiers. That didn't work either. So the last strategy is the wall, a military defense line to preserve Moroccan control over the most important part of Western Sahara. Its objective is to minimize troop losses and to raise morale.

The advice from the U.S. was to put all the troops on the same line with their backs to Morocco, only confronting the Polisario from one direction. That also hasn't worked. The King himself said four weeks ago that the morale of the soldiers is very low. Even worse, the Moroccans cannot leave their defense sites because that would leave part of the wall undefended. A large part of the Moroccan soldiers have not left their trenches for a very long time. They are on permanent 24-hour alert.

The Polisario shelling and attacks on the wall have a big impact because the Moroccans are in large concentrations, all behind the wall. We have information that there have been a lot of casualties, particularly from attacks launched

during December, January and February of 1983.

What kind of military aid is the U.S. giving the Moroccan government?

Last year, Morocco got \$30 million in military aid, this year they will get \$100 million. For next year the administration is requesting \$90 million.

What about weapons sales?

Over the last three years, the new items which have appeared in the Moroccan arsenal from the U.S. are TOW and Chapparal missiles, more sophisticated F-5 fighter jets, electronic counter-measures to equip the F-5s, more helicopters and the OV-10 counterinsurgency aircraft. All of this is intended to be used against the Polisario Front. I think 90 percent of the U.S.-supplied ammunition and planes for the last seven years has been going to use in Western Sahara.

The Moroccans also have tanks behind the wall, armored cars and personnel carriers, howitzers, cannons, machine guns of all kinds, and of course the Westinghouse radar equipment which can sometimes detect our movements from 15-20 kilometers away. Since May 1982, they also have U.S.-supplied cluster bombs which they are using widely. [See Counterspy, Dec. 1982-Feb. 1983, p. 37.]

You saw and brought back photos of empty dispenser casings from those cluster bombs which had been exploded in the Western Sahara.

It's a horrible weapon. The Moroccans were dropping them from too high which maybe was limiting the efficiency. But the little bomblets they disperse could explode hours after they are dropped. They have used them everywhere they think there is a concentration of population, of troops, or a base in Western Sahara, far away from the wall. On civilians too. There were civilians hit. They are used for intimidation. After the Moroccans had retreated behind the wall, people had started to revive their nomadic life, but with the cluster bombs, people have fled south, even into Mauritania or Algeria, to get far away from them. The kinds they are using are CBU-58s and CBU-71s.

You said that the U.S. advisors are training Moroccan troops. Are they out there in Western Sahara, on the wall?

Very frequently. We know that they are supervising the war - the wall itself was an American idea. At any given time there are at least 35 U.S. advisors in Morocco. Their work is to deal with the war, how the Moroccans can win; training new commandos like the ones in El Salvador. They visit Western Sahara from time to time and they provide the Moroccans with sensitive information about the movements and base locations of the Polisario Front gathered from satellites. I don't

know which planes or satellites they are using, but the American technology and also the physical presence of the advisors is a very important part of the battle, and the gathering of information about our side. Because the U.S. is supplying information, the Moroccans have not needed to use the OV-10 counterinsurgency and the C-130 transport aircraft to make reconnaissance flights over the liberated territories in the last two years.

*Tell us about the living conditions of the Saharawi people.*

Life hasn't changed much in the refugee camps in Algeria. The conditions are very harsh. There has been a drought for the last four or five years. But the morale of the people is very high. The people are well organized and we have started many development projects, within Western Sahara and from the camps. We are providing our schools, our hospitals and even some of the academies - the women's military school - with vegetables coming from Western Sahara and from the camps. We also have a large herd of camels and goats to provide milk for the hospitals and child care centers. Last winter there was a shortage of blankets - the temperature reached below freezing for the first time in years. We provided heating wood to the people. Last winter was a very hard winter, but we have met the basic needs for everyone.

*The people who are in Polisario-controlled Western Sahara are Nomads?*

Yes. We have encouraged them to resume nomadic life: this is an easy way to survive. We don't want them to form communities which make them easy targets for the Moroccan planes. So they move from one place to another for security reasons.

*There are no towns of any size in that area?*

Not at all. The populated towns are inside the Moroccan-controlled area, the "triangle." The other towns were bombarded so many times with napalm and phosphorous that we encouraged people to be self-reliant and to go back to nomadic life. Of course, they are in contact with the guerrillas who have their bases in Western Sahara and who provide them with food and medicine.

*What kind of society does the Polisario Front hope to create in an independent Western Sahara?*

I think we have already achieved a large part of the Polisario Front's program, particularly in health, education and agricultural production. The people are organized, not only in the refugee camps but also under the Moroccan occupation. The Polisario Front, the Saharawi Republic, is non-aligned. We have a nationalist-socialist orientation.

*The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has split over the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) as a full member state in February 1982. Morocco has led a boycott of the OAU which caused the November 1982 summit, set for Tripoli, Libya, to fail for the*

*See WESTERN SAHARA, page 59*



U.S. Clusterbomb used in Western Sahara

# Book Reviews

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## South Africa's War on the World Council of Churches

Derrick Knight, Beyond the Pale: The Christian Political Fringe, Caraf Publications Ltd., London, 1982.

Derrick Knight's Beyond the Pale has become highly relevant for U.S. readers. In a richly detailed if sometimes disorganized report, Knight traces the origins and interlocking directorates of "Christian political fringe" groups in Britain and elsewhere -- groups that in the 1970s orchestrated a propaganda campaign against the 40 million strong international ecumenical organization, the World Council of Churches (WCC). The charges made during that campaign are strikingly similar to those recently repeated in the controversial Reader's Digest and 60 Minutes reports on the WCC and its U.S. affiliate, the National Council of Churches.

Knight's thesis is that between 1974 and 1978 a Christian underworld - a "small, untypical, unrepresentative number of slightly dotty clergy and their friends... whose bizarre notions have hitherto found no wide support" - was used as an (often willing) tool in a ruthless propaganda campaign funded by white South African politicians.

The campaign was secret and the objective was to manipulate public opinion in Britain and elsewhere. It attempted to buy control of influential areas of the international media and developed a strategy to try and destroy the broad-based Christian consensus against apartheid. It took on the World Council of Churches as a main target, and called upon likely and unlikely allies to help.

The money came from a secret slush fund dispensed by the South African Department of Information (later exposed in a massive scandal tagged "Muldergate"). It was laundered through front corporations before

showing up in the coffers of such rightwing groups as the Christian League of Southern Africa, with offices in Britain and contacts in the U.S.

The propaganda themes were old rightwing standards, with a particular South African twist: the Marxist threat to white Western civilization, the danger of multi-racialism, the horror of the "terrorist" threat to South Africa, and the takeover of the churches by leftwing subversives ("the Archbishop of Canterbury being a Soviet agent and all bishops communists, and behind them lay the Marxist World Council of Churches run by the KGB.")

The book which became the "bible" for these groups is The Fraudulent Gospel, by Bernard Smith of the British Christian Affirmation Campaign. Its original cover is a gruesome photo with the caption, "27 Black Rhodesians massacred by WCC-financed terrorists in Eastern Rhodesia in December 1976." Smith charges (as did 60 Minutes and the Reader's Digest) that "Christian churchgoers" are "unwittingly giving financial assistance to communist-backed terrorist organizations in Africa" via the WCC.

Knight examines the British Christian fringe organizations at length, tracing their many links with such rightwing company as the World Anti-Communist League, the anti-Jewish British Israelites (who believe that Anglo-Saxons are the "chosen" people), the racist, fascist British National Front, and other pro-apartheid groups. (Knight's revelations hit some sensitive nerves: even before the book was published, several rightwing groups sued for libel. For lack of money to pursue the defense, Knight had to settle out of court. The censored portions, noted in the text by blank spaces, were printed in Counterspy's Feb.-Apr. 1982 edition.) A lengthy

postscript treats the U.S. "moral majority" groups and suggests that under Reagan, South Africa no longer needs to conduct covert propaganda campaigns in the U.S. After all, John Sears, a longtime paid lobbyist for South Africa, was one of Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign managers.

However, Knight's case that South African money bolstered the 1970s anti-WCC campaign raises serious questions about the similar current debate in the U.S. Are we perhaps witnessing a more subtle

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**Knight's case that South African money bolstered the 1970s anti-World Council of Churches campaign raises serious questions about the similar current debate in the U.S. Are we perhaps witnessing a more subtle and sophisticated version of the 1970s model?**

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and sophisticated version of the 1970s model? The evidence is not yet in, but some curious links bear watching.

For example, according to Steve Askin in the National Catholic Reporter, the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD), a prominent source of anti-WCC charges, got \$300,000 of its total \$533,002 budget from that notorious funder of rightwing causes, the Scaife Foundation. Meanwhile, the Muldergate scandal investigation has confirmed

that in 1975, the South African government gave U.S. businessman John McGoff millions of dollars with which to try to buy the Washington Star or the Sacramento Union to serve as a pro-South Africa mouthpiece in the U.S. McGoff's partner in the deal? John Mellon Scaife, says Knight. The same Scaife who runs the foundation that funds IRD.

Another intriguing incident: Leon Howell reports in Christianity and Crisis that "two members of the Republic of South Africa's Eloff

Commission paid a visit to the IRD offices in August of 1982." The Commission was appointed by the government to investigate the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches (a WCC affiliate). Six months later, the head of South Africa's security police was urging the Eloff Commission to bar the SACC from receiving any money from foreign sources (such as the WCC). He was quite confident that this action, which might sound the death knell for a courageous voice

of opposition to racist policies, would be taken.

The IRD-South Africa link is not proven. But to anyone who has read Beyond the Pale, these curious connections signal a need for careful scrutiny.

Beyond the Pale is available from Christians Against Racism and Facism (CARAF), Publications Officer, Vicarage Flat, Carr Street, Leigh, Lancashire, England; £3.50 plus shipping.

## Inflating the Assessment of Soviet Strength

Robert P. Berman and John C. Baker, Soviet Strategic Forces: Requirements and Responses, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1982.

Soviet Strategic Forces might well be one of the most important books on military issues to be published by an "establishment think tank" in years. Robert Berman and John Baker disprove much of the Reagan administration's rhetoric about the "offensive" nature of the Soviet strategic buildup. They document that the development of the Soviet Union's missile and bomber arsenal is primarily a response to threats posed by U.S. nuclear weapons systems. This process began immediately after World War II, the authors write, when the Soviets hoped to "offset" the "American monopoly on nuclear weapons" by maintaining a large army. The U.S. government, however, used an "inflated... assessment of Soviet strength" to rapidly increase its nuclear weapons arsenal.

In the early 1950s, the Soviet Union made its first serious effort "to integrate strategic defense forces into the Soviet strategic posture." At the same time, the U.S. threat to the Soviet Union had multiplied: "The number of U.S. and NATO forward-based systems capable of nuclear strikes against the Soviet homeland had increased by 1955 to more than 500," and the Eisenhower administration had begun "to emphasize American willingness to rely on the U.S. nuclear advantage to deter communist threats around the world."

The first Soviet test of an Inter-

continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) took place in 1957, and a decision to dramatically build up the Soviet missile arsenal was made in 1959. It came in response to the "serious challenge posed by Western regional nuclear forces and the prospect of

**Robert Berman and John Baker disprove much of the Reagan administration's rhetoric about the "offensive" nature of the Soviet strategic buildup.**

growing U.S. intercontinental forces."

The Soviets were the first to launch a satellite using an SS-6 rocket booster but this SS-6 failed to fulfill its task as an ICBM. After only a few years, the United States had taken a decisive lead in the production of ICBMs. By 1961, write the authors, "the Soviet leadership undoubtedly realized that its planned strategic posture was inadequate to meet the evolving American strategic threat." Soviet leaders realized they were vulnerable to a surprise attack, and, as Berman and Baker explain it, they responded by attempting to base nuclear missiles on Cuba. The few ICBMs based in the USSR were no match for the U.S. force, and "this

forward deployment of its strategic missiles in Cuba probably offered the USSR its only means of quickly improving its strategic position relative to the United States."

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet ICBM force was improved considerably with the objective "to achieve nuclear parity with the United States." The 1980s, claim the authors, might bring about a "reevaluation of Soviet strategic force posture," in part because the nuclear weapons the United States and its allies will deploy over the next few years "could significantly upgrade the threat to the survivability of Soviet land-based missile forces."

Ironically, when they discuss the motivating force behind the Soviet nuclear buildup, Berman's and Baker's argument becomes contradictory. First, they provide evidence that the Soviet arms buildup was usually geared toward catching up with a U.S. lead in weapons development, and state that gaining parity with the United States has been one of the most important objectives of the Soviet government. But they go on to say that the Soviet government believes it is possible to prevail in a nuclear war. Berman and Baker even claim that:

The Soviet approach to strategic doctrine contrasts in many ways with that of the United States and other Western nuclear powers.... Posing the threat of unacceptable losses..., the Western concept attempts to dissuade the enemy from initiating nuclear war. If war should break out, the Western powers would continue to seek survival by

means of deterrence by attempting to end the war through threats to escalate the conflict to increasingly higher levels of destruction. The Soviet Union has attempted to obtain additional insurance by striving for the capability not only to devastate the enemy's homeland, but also to prevail militarily in the event of a world war.

Soviet government officials deny that their objective is to prevail in

(i.e. win) a nuclear war. If Berman and Baker do not believe these statements they must disprove them. They do not. On the other hand, they ignore the ample evidence that it is the U.S. government that is planning to "prevail" in a nuclear war. Although the Reagan administration's Defense Guidance for Fiscal Years 1984-88 was published before Soviet Strategic Forces went into print, Berman and Baker fail to report that this doc-

trine specifically calls on U.S. forces to gain the capability to "prevail" in a prolonged nuclear war.

This omission and the faulty conclusion drawn as a consequence diminish the value of Soviet Strategic Forces. It is still a book to read, though, if only because it thoroughly debunks many of the Reagan administration's most strident statements about the Soviet "menace."

### REFUGEES, from page 39

On the 25th of April the Armed Forces came in and they said that when we returned to the houses that they'd be destroyed.

So where have you lived since April?

Different places in the same area, when we were going to flee we planned ahead and we went out to find food to bring with us. When we got there we found the place destroyed, there were no people there - the people came back little by little to live there because they even destroyed all our clothes.

And this practice of burning houses and destroying things, do they still do it?

Well sure, just this August there was another repression. But each time it gets worse because the little that's left from the earlier invasion gets destroyed this time. So the people were left completely without shelter, on the run and starving.

said the same things to us there that they said in our village. So they wouldn't let us leave town for any reason. If we left to get firewood or look for something we needed for the family they said we were going out to contact the guerrilla. So they grabbed a lot of people and they disappeared. They probably killed them. The people they caught outside of town we never saw again. I realized what was going on and I knew we couldn't stay there where there was no guarantee of safety. So we decided to see how we could escape.

They killed children there, sometimes shooting them - the children would appear dead. Since I had one older kid with me, I figured some day they would kill him too. I left that town and I came here looking for refuge.

Did you come alone or with your family?

I came alone.

Did the members of your family die?

My wife is dead. And they killed my child in a shoot-up.

When they drink, they start shooting and in one of these they killed my son. I saw him. It's really sad to lose your son. There was nothing to do but come here.

When did this happen?

December 10, 1982.

How old was your son?

Ten years old.

Who killed him?

The Armed Forces.

Was this in the same place Jocoaitique?

Yes.

How did they kill him?

I never saw it. The boy was probably out getting firewood and they probably saw him and fired at him, or maybe they were firing at another man and hit him. The point is they killed him. Some neighbors of mine went there.

Did you see airplane attacks during this past year?

Yes. When we were still living in the village it was horrible. They bombed and machine-gunned us with the planes.

What kind of planes are they?

I hear that they call them A 37s. There were helicopters too.

**3**

Perhaps you can tell me when you left El Salvador?

Sure. I left on the 20th of December, 1982. What Department did you come from?

Morazan.

What part of Morazan?

From Jocoaitique.

Why did you leave there?

Well, it was because of the great repression which is being done by the Army. First, I lived in a little village and the planes came and the Army wouldn't let us stay there. They threatened us. They said we were guerrilla collaborators and a whole lot of other things. Even though you're not involved, they still come at you with this attitude. Then we fled to the town of Jocoaitique trying to get some protection from the Army. They were there and they started to repress us again. They said we were collaborators; they



How do they operate with these a 37s?

They operate mostly on the civilian population because that is what they do. The people that suffer the most from the machine-gunning are the civilians. Those are the ones who get it the worst. The civilians. Children, old people. Those are the ones who die.

How do they know where the people are?

I don't know how they do it - some method that they have. But they drop the bombs. I guess they can see the people. I don't know; but it's the people who suffer.

Have you seen any change or improvement in the Armed Forces? During these attacks, do they show more respect these days for the human rights of the people?

As far as I'm concerned, I can see no change. I've just come from Jocoaitique, and like I said in the beginning, that's why I left there; there's been no change. The longer you're there the tougher they get on you as a civilian. You have got no right to leave or anything.

So you say the repression continues the same?

Everything is the same. There's been no change.

Anything else?

I only want to say that this is the reason I came here. I've heard that there are humanitarian organizations here who help us, the Salvadoran peasants. The civilian population is suffering over there. Somebody should talk to the government of the United States

and tell them to stop intervening here. Like I said, the children are the ones who suffer. The only thing I ask is that these institutions should speak on behalf of the Salvadoran people, because just like we suffered, they're still suffering over there out of fear of the Armed Forces. That's all.

Are the people afraid to cross the border into Honduras to seek refuge?

Yes, everyone is afraid. That's why we came through the hills.

Why are the people afraid to look for refuge?

If they catch you on the road, they kill you.

? Who kills you?

The soldiers. If they find you they kill you.

## BRONFMAN, from page 52

This case only underscores the ease with which multinational corporations can make a mockery of government embargoes. This is particularly true when the government where the corporation is headquartered sees its interests as coinciding with those of corporate capital. The Bronfmans found willing partners in the governments of the United States, Canada, Antigua, Israel and South Africa. Further efforts to stem the flow of embargoed goods must address the role of those governments who have been partners in crime, as well as the increasingly sophisticated techniques multinational corporations have devised to shift arms, and other goods and capital around the globe.

### Footnotes:

- 1) Jerome Robinson, "The Space Research Institute," Vermont Life, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, Spring 1970, p. 12.
- 2) Comite Quebec-Afrique of the Centre International de Solidarite Ouvriere, Space Research Corporation (pamphlet), March 1980, p. 2.
- 3) Mark Abley, "Adventures in the Arms Trade: A Canadian Saga," Canadian Forum, April 1979, p. 10.
- 4) United States, House, Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Hearing on Enforcement of the United States Embargo Against South Africa, March 30, 1982, pp. 55-66.
- 5) Michael T. Klare, "Evading the Embargo: Illicit U.S. Arms Transfers to South Africa," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring/Summer 1981, pp. 23-24.
- 6) See 1978-1980 articles in the Burlington Free Press (by Sam Hemingway and William Scott Malone) and the Herald (by Steve Snider, Louis Berney and Colin Nickerson).
- 7) Cf supra, #3, p. 6.
- 8) Peter Newman, Bronfman Dynasty (Toronto, 1978).
- 9) Cf supra, #2, p.10.
- 10) Cf supra, #8, p.47.
- 11) Ibid., p.245.
- 12) Cf supra, #4, pp.62-63.
- 13) Jim Schley, "Gun Running: Vermont to South Africa," River Valley Voice, Vol.1, No. 4, July/August 1981.

## WESTERN SAHARA, from page 55

lack of a quorum. What role has the U.S. government played in this dispute?

I know that the U.S. Charge d'Affairs in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia was very active during the OAU ministerial conference there in February 1982, trying to prevent the admission of the SADR or to create a boycott. Some African governments were not able to cable instructions to their representatives in Addis Ababa because of the shortage of time. But the U.S. government took charge: they contacted the presidents or foreign ministers of those countries in their capitals, took written cables from them and sent them through their very quick channels to the U.S. Embassy in Addis Ababa. The Charge himself was handling messages to their representatives at the OAU ministerial council meeting, in view to getting them to pull out. We also know about countries that had a lot of economic pressure put on them by the U.S. to boycott the summit in Tripoli.

Can you say which countries were pressured?

I can't really. It's very sensitive. A new summit of the OAU is set to take place from June 7 to 11, 1983, in Addis Ababa. The same ministers and the same presidents are still there. So they may betray themselves and submit to the pressure, but I think that they may change their minds and go to the summit because they feel that the OAU and Africa are closer to their hearts than the U.S.

The SADR will participate as a full member state and contribute in any way possible so that the summit can take place. It is the hope of all Africans to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the OAU in joy and unity.

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