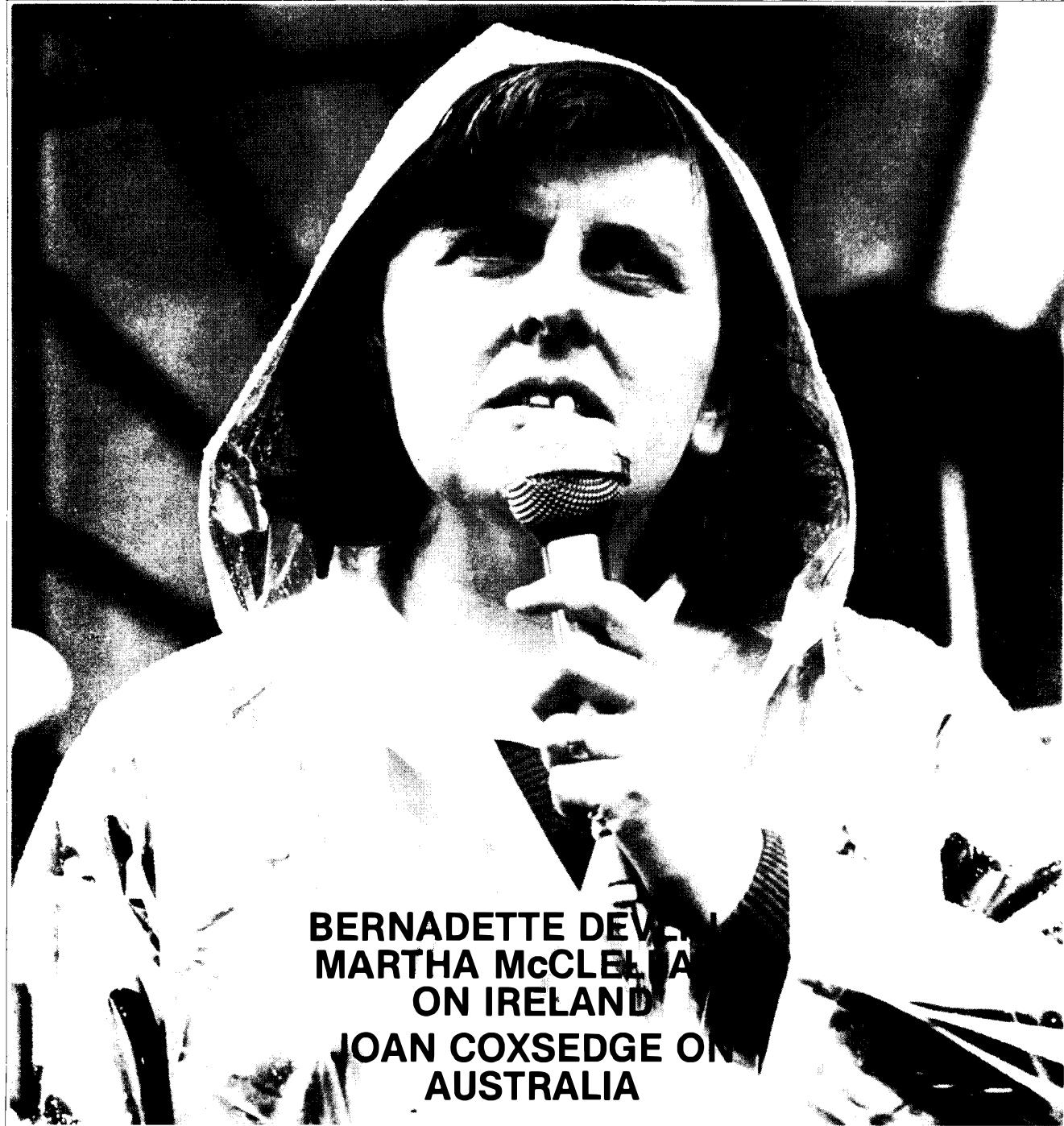


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# KAL 007 and U.S. Intelligence Counterspy WOMEN SPEAK OUT



BERNADETTE DEVLIN  
MARTHA McCLELLAN  
ON IRELAND  
JOAN COXSEUDGE ON  
AUSTRALIA

Bernadette Devlin McCloskey

**Also in this issue:** Pershing II's Head for Europe • Military Coup in Guatemala • CIA and the Philippines • Reagan Prepares to Violate Arms Control Treaties • Contra Terror in Nicaragua

# Editorial

A U.S. President addresses the nation. He justifies the invasion just carried out by U.S. Marines against a Caribbean nation "as an effort to protect the lives of Americans and the nationals of other countries in the face of increasing violence and disorder." The year is 1965, and Lyndon Johnson is explaining why 23,000 troops have invaded the Dominican Republic. When the Marines leave that country in September 1966, a rightwing government is in place, backed by a U.S.-trained repressive police apparatus. Private U.S. economic interests have been secured at the expense of a progressive movement directed at economic and social reforms. Today, the Dominican Republic is one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Now it is 1983. U.S. Army Rangers and Marines have invaded a Caribbean country, says the President, "to protect our own citizens... and to help in the restoration of democratic institutions." This time the object of the invasion is Grenada. After its Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was killed, there was "no government," claims President Reagan, and "chaos" reigned.

In reality, the Reagan administration had plans to destroy the Grenadan revolution as early as 1981. It has contemplated, and most likely carried out, CIA operations to destabilize the country. Military preparations for an invasion of Grenada were put in motion in 1981. In August

of that year, U.S. Army Rangers and Marines practiced a mock invasion of an imaginary island nation called "Amber and the Ambergines." The scenario: A small leftist Caribbean government has taken U.S. hostages and troops are needed to free them. In October 1983, the Rangers and Marines invaded Grenada under exactly that pretext.

The invasion illustrates the lengths to which the U.S. government will go in its opposition to governments and movements striving to be free from U.S. corporate and military domination. And it cares not one whit that U.S. actions violate international laws and treaties such as the Charter of the Organization of American States, in particular the clause which states: "The territory of a state is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporary, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another state, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever."

At the time of the Grenada invasion, thousands of U.S. troops are deployed in Honduras, and the CIA is financing the counterrevolutionary war against Nicaragua. As that war shows no sign of rolling back the Sandinista revolution, the Reagan administration may soon decide that the only way to destroy the Sandinista government is to invade Nicaragua. Before Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was killed, he had warned for many months that a U.S. invasion was imminent. Most people in the U.S. did not believe him. Nicaragua's leaders now say that the danger of a U.S. invasion is real.

The Nicaraguan people are prepared to defend their country and their freedom. Inspired

SEE EDITORIAL, pg. 6

## Counterspy Statement of Purpose

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

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

Our motivation for publishing Counterspy has been two-fold:

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

**Editors:**

**Konrad Ege**  
**John Kelly**

**Board of Advisors**

**Dr. Walden Bello**  
*Congressional Lobby  
Director, Philippine  
Support Committee*

**Dr. Noam Chomsky**  
*Professor at MIT,  
Peace Activist*

**Dr. Joshua Cohen**  
*Assistant Professor, MIT*

**Joan Coxsedge**  
*Member of Parliament  
State of Victoria, Australia*

**Ruth Fitzpatrick**  
*Member, Steering Commit-  
tee of the Religious Task  
Force on Central America*

**Dr. Laurie Kirby**  
*Professor, City University  
of New York*

**Tamar Kohns**  
*Political Activist*

**Annie Makhijani**  
*Chemistry Student*

**Dr. Arjun Makhijani**  
*Consultant on Energy and  
Economic Development*

**Martha Wenger**  
*Office Worker,  
Counterspy's Copy Editor*

**Cover Design:**

**Johanna Vogelsang**

**Cover Photo:**

**Barbara Pryor**

**Counterspy magazine**  
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Ben Franklin Station  
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# Contents

<b>4</b>	<b>News NOT in the News</b> Practicing Mass Burials . . . CIA Forgeries . . . U.S. Helps Argentina Build Nuclear Weapons . . . CIA and Afghanistan
<b>7</b>	<b>Pershing IIs Head for Europe</b> Counting French and British Missiles The Numbers Game Three Warheads for the Pershing II?
<b>11</b>	<b>KAL 007</b> Introduction: Reagan's Story Contradicted Spy in the Sky by <b>Duncan Campbell</b> Monitoring the Disaster Exploiting the KAL Tragedy: A Pilot's View by <b>Rudolf Braunburg</b> The CIA and Airlines: A 36-Year History by <b>Jeff McConnell</b>
<b>28</b>	<b>The Philippines</b> CIA Taps Academia to Design Post-Marcos Scenario by <b>Walden Bello</b> Benigno Aquino and the CIA by <b>John Kelly</b>
<b>32</b>	<b>Central America</b> Military Coup in Guatemala: Back to the Line of Command by <b>Jeanne Walsh and Martha Wenger</b> The Inhuman Face of Covert Operations against Nicaragua by <b>Ruth Fitzpatrick</b> Interview: Contra Terror in Nicaragua
<b>39</b>	<b>Women Speak Out</b> Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Martha McClelland on Ireland Joan Coxsedge on Australia
<b>49</b>	<b>Feature</b> Reagan's Arms Control Sham: Preparing to Violate the Treaties by <b>Konrad Ege and Arjun Makhijani</b>
<b>54</b>	<b>Documents</b> U.S. Investment in South Africa
<b>56</b>	<b>Letters to the Editor</b>

# News NOT in the News

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## Practicing Mass Burials

Many West Germans were stunned to learn in late September 1983 that U.S. soldiers had conducted a "mock mass burial" as one part of a recent military exercise near Frankfurt. Codenamed "Confident Enterprise," the U.S. Army exercise trained soldiers how to use bulldozers to prepare mass gravesites in case of war in Europe. An Army spokesperson said these soldiers were being trained as "graves registration personnel."

According to the Army paper Stars and Stripes, this was the first time the U.S. had practiced mass burials during a maneuver. Army spokesperson Lt. Col. Lawson said such an exercise was "necessary" even though "burying...a lot of people" is something the public doesn't want to talk about. The Army had to go through the training "so that people will know what to do — God forbid — should it happen again as it has in the past."

against the Soviet Union.

The CIA made its "KGB forgery" claim in hearings before the House Intelligence Committee in July 1982, but CIA officers did not specify how they had come to this conclusion. In response to a Freedom of Information Act request, CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator Larry Strawderman was no more forthcoming. The information remains classified, he wrote in an August 12, 1983 letter, "in the interest of national defense and foreign policy."

Now, the CIA's allegation has been contradicted by Desmond Ball, a fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University and a widely recognized authority on U.S. nuclear war strategy. In an article in International Security (Winter 82/83), published by Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs, Ball matter-of-factly quoted the war plan documents as authentic.



## Reagan Gives Argentina the Bomb

## CIA Forgeries

The CIA's claim that U.S. nuclear war plans for Europe, published in Counterspy (vol. 7, no. 3) and several European publications, are "KGB forgeries" is steadily losing credibility. These documents from the 1960s describe U.S. plans to drop atom bombs on cities of allied and neutral countries (e.g. Finland, Austria, West Germany), should they be taken over by the "enemy," and reveal that the Pentagon was drawing up contingency plans for a "preemptive strike"

+ -- Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84

The time is late 1984. The Argentine military explodes its first nuclear weapon over the South Atlantic. A few days later, the Argentine government informs British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that it wants her troops out of the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. The British government must decide. Does it leave, or does it risk war with an army equipped with sufficient nuclear weapons to wipe out the entire British fleet in the South Atlantic?

The precise date of this standoff cannot be predicted, but the scenario itself is not unlikely. The U.S., Canadian and West German governments, as well as, indirectly, Britain itself, have each made substantial contributions to

Argentina's rapidly developing nuclear program.

The U.S. and West Germany demonstrated their support again in August 1983, when the Reagan administration approved the sale of 143 metric tons of heavy water to Argentina. (Heavy water, so-called because its hydrogen atoms contain an extra neutron, is needed to run two nuclear reactors in Argentina.) The U.S.-manufactured heavy water had been sold initially to a West German nuclear research reactor in Karlsruhe in the 1960s under an agreement specifying that the U.S. government would have to approve any resale.

In the late 1970s, the Carter administration vetoed a planned sale to Argentina, arguing that U.S. non-proliferation policies stood in the way. The Argentine government has signed neither the nuclear non-proliferation treaty nor the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which declares Latin America a nuclear-free zone.

The Reagan administration, however, has argued that the sale is possible under a U.S.-Argentine agreement on peaceful nuclear collaboration and "additional non-proliferation assurances and guarantees from the Government of Argentina." Furthermore, claims the White House, Argentina has agreed to adhere to safeguard requirements set up by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The manner in which the sale was made, however, suggests that the administration did not believe its own arguments. It avoided consulting the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the agency usually drawn into the decision-making process on sales of nuclear materials. According to Paul Buchanan, Argentine specialist for the non-governmental Council on Hemispheric Affairs in Washington, D.C., administration officials view the sale of heavy water as a way "to appease



the military so it stays out of the October 1983 national elections in Argentina," when the seven-year long military rule is slated to end.

Buchanan disagrees with such an argument. If the Reagan administration were indeed intent on using the sale of heavy water for political leverage, a highly dangerous tactic under any circumstances, Buchanan says, it would have delayed the sale of heavy water until after the elections, and then consented only if the Argentine nuclear program was put under civilian control.

At present, the Argentine Navy is firmly in charge and, contrary to assertions by the State Department and the White House, some parts of the highly secret nuclear program have not been placed under the (at times inadequate) safeguard provisions of the IAEA. Argentina has the most advanced nuclear program in Latin America, now in its 32nd year, with two commercial reactors, two reprocessing laboratories, a uranium enrichment plant, a number of research reactors and one commercial reactor under construction. Argentina also has adequate domestic uranium resources, and, in collaboration with a Swiss company, is about to complete a heavy water production facility.

Much of Argentina's nuclear technology has come from West Germany: its scientists obtained their "know-how" in West German research facilities. Already shortly after World War II, a prominent Nazi pilot, Rudel, went to Argentina as a representative of the West German Siemens corporation, apparently to hold "exploration" talks about future military and nuclear collaboration. The military junta also has become one of the biggest buyers of West German armaments.

The Argentine Navy has never been reticent about its intention to build nuclear weapons. Given the advanced state of Argentine technology, there is now nothing an outside power could do — through commercial or other sanctions — to stop Argentina's nuclear development.

## Attention Subscribers

If your label reads "R82" or "L82," this is your last issue of Counterspy. Please renew right away - don't miss a single issue. Attention prisoner subscribers: Subscriptions to prisoners will remain free of charge. However, we are asking prisoners to renew their subscriptions. If your label reads "FP82" please renew to let us know that you have been getting Counterspy and wish to receive it in the future. Address changes: When notifying Counterspy of a change of address, please include your old label.

The heavy water shipment, however, may considerably accelerate the process. So will a greatly increased budget for the Argentine National Atomic Energy Commission — which has tripled from 1982 to 1983 — and a stockpile of some 200 kilograms of plutonium.

It is unlikely that the transition to civilian government will have significant impact on the Navy's atomic program. There is no anti-nuclear movement in Argentina, and the Peronists, who are likely to dominate the civilian government, appear to be committed to the nuclear weapons program.

While Britain is not in a position to stop Argentina's nuclear weapons program, it had an opportunity to retard it. The British Central Electricity Generating Board could have bought most of the heavy water West Germany has now sold to Argentina. In 1970, the Board took out an option for 100 metric tons of the heavy water stored in Germany. The West German government informed Britain soon after the Malvinas/Falklands war that it was no longer willing to store the water. Britain would have to buy it, or it would be sold to Argentina. The British government did not exercise that option.

(For more information on the Argentine nuclear program, see Paul Buchanan, "Argentina's Nuclear Options," Christian Science Monitor, 9/14/83; "Brits Sent Former Foes in Argentina Heavy Water for Nuclear Activities," Defense Week, 8/22/83; "U.S. Approves Heavy Water for Argentina," Washington Report on the Hemisphere (published by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 1900 L St. NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C. 20036), 9/6/83; "Deutsche Beihilfe fuer die Atombombe der Militaers," Lateinamerika Nachrichten (West Berlin), 5/82; Judith Miller, "Efforts to Halt Spread of A-Arms Said to Falter," New York Times, 6/21/82.)

away from Andrews base because the Pentagon determined that it could be destroyed there by a submarine-launched missile before the president could reach it.

Quayle told his constituents that the move was "good news for the future of Grissom Air Force Base and surrounding communities" because it would create jobs. ☐

## Afghanistan Correction

Our Afghanistan article in the last issue "CIA Aid to the Rebels" apparently underreported the size of the CIA budget for aiding the Pakistan-based Afghan rebels. (Counterspy wrote that "the United States and its allies...have spent some \$200 million to arm and train the Pakistan-based counterrevolutionaries.") According to Newsweek (October 10, 1983), the CIA spends \$100 million a year to finance the rebels. It appears to be the largest CIA paramilitary operation since the CIA's war in Angola. ☐

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## Moving Inland

Republican Senator Dan Quayle can't keep his mouth shut. In late September 1983, he told an Indiana audience that the Pentagon had decided to move the president's flying command post, a modified Boeing 747, from Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland to Grissom Air Force Base in Indiana. Days earlier, the Pentagon had refused to name the new location, saying it was highly classified information.

This Boeing 747 is the plane the president is to use in case of war. It was moved inland  
6 -- Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84

EDITORIAL CONT. from pg. 2

by the heroic resistance of Grenadians and Cubans against overwhelming force, the people in the United States must now struggle to cut off the Reagan war machine here at home. To do otherwise is to be complicit in crimes against humanity. ☐

# Pershing IIs Head for Europe

## Counting French and British Missiles

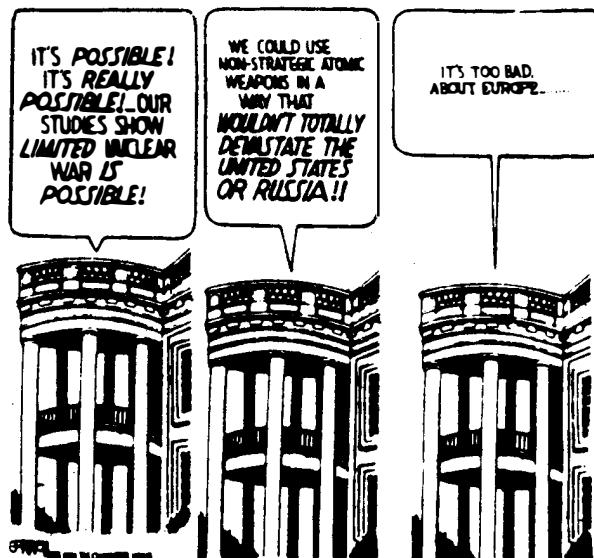
A recent report by the Congressional Research Service challenges a key part of the Reagan administration's negotiating posture in the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) reduction talks in Geneva. The Reagan administration clings to its "Zero Option" or slight variations thereof: i.e., the Soviet Union must dismantle all or most of its existing intermediate-range nuclear missiles (SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20). In exchange, the United States will not deploy new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe, or only enough missiles to match whatever the Soviets keep. The sticking point for the Soviet Union is that the U.S. position does not take into account the nuclear weapons of its NATO allies, France and Britain.

The Reagan administration claims that the Soviet demand to "count" British and French missiles in the INF talks is "without merit." The U.S. cannot negotiate about French and British weapons for the French and British governments, says Ronald Reagan, because that would undercut their sovereignty. Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger writes that Britain and France "consider their nuclear forces to constitute the minimum nuclear deterrent necessary to protect their own national interests," and the State Department has proclaimed that the French and British nuclear forces are "designed to deter attack against Britain and France, not against the other members of NATO." Further, the administration says the nuclear forces of these two countries cannot be included in the talks because they are "strategic" weapons. Finally, the French and British nuclear forces are said to be "small compared to the total size of the Soviet nuclear arsenal," and therefore only a

minor threat to the Soviet Union.

The Congressional Research Service study, "British and French Nuclear Forces in the INF Negotiations" (Issue Brief IB83117, 7/25/83), challenges or contradicts each one of these assertions.

- French and British Forces are insignificant when compared to the Soviet arsenal: According to the CRS, Britain has four submarines with 16 six-warhead missiles each. France has five nuclear submarines with 16 multiple-warhead missiles each, plus 18 land based missiles and 34 Mirage planes capable of dropping nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union. Both countries' nuclear forces are at present being



Gorrell, The Charlotte News

greatly expanded and within a decade are likely to have a total of 1500 warheads. There probably is no country in the world that regards hundreds of warheads targeted at its cities and military forces as a "minor threat."

- British and French forces are independent and uncommitted: The British missiles, while under British command in peacetime, says

the CRS study, "are scheduled to be placed under SACEUR [Supreme Allied Commander Europe] in time of emergency. The British SLBMs [submarine launched ballistic missiles] are targeted in coordination with U.S. Strategic Air Command targetting plans." French forces will remain under national French military command in case of war. However, there are a number of treaties (such as the Western European Union) to which France and other Western European countries are signatories which oblige France in time of "attack" on one signatory to give "all military...aid...in [its] power." In other words, French and British nuclear weapons are not "just" designed to deter an attack on these two countries; rather France and Britain are obliged to use them "in defense" of any Western European country.

- British and French arms are "strategic" and not theater nuclear weapons: Here the U.S. government wants to have it both ways: during the SALT negotiations in the 1970s the U.S. characterized the British and French forces as "theater" forces which were not to be included in strategic arms limitation talks. Now that "theater" or intermediate arms talks are underway, the administration has reclassified them as strategic. At the same time, the U.S. has not taken "the further logical step of proposing that those forces be included in the [strategic arms] negotiations."

- Including the French and British missiles would violate the sovereignty of these countries: The Reagan administration is fond of setting up this strawhorse and then beating it down. The Soviet government is not demanding that the U.S. negotiate for France and Britain; neither is it insisting that the two countries participate in the negotiations. What it wants

is that French and British forces be taken into consideration during the INF talks, i.e. by allowing the Soviet Union to match French and British missiles with their own intermediate range missiles.

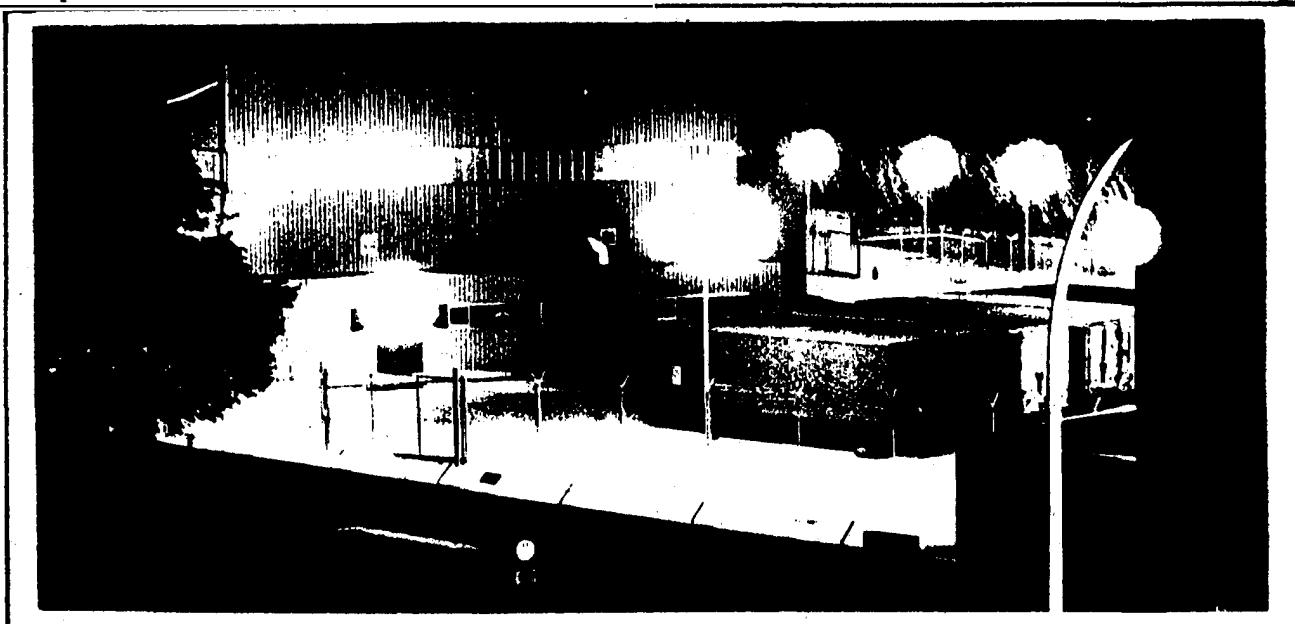
The Reagan administration's refusal to include French and British weapons in the INF negotiations has served to stall the talks from the outset. Arguments such as those made in "British and French Nuclear Forces in the INF Negotiations" are simply ignored or rejected by the administration. Yet, it is safe to assume that if Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria were to begin deploying nuclear missiles capable of reaching the United States or Western Europe, the Reagan administration would loudly argue that such weapons were targeted against NATO in case of war and should be taken into account in the U.S.-Soviet negotiations.



## The Numbers Game

The deployment of the first nine out of a total of 108 Pershing II missiles in West Germany is scheduled for December 1983. So goes the Pentagon's public relations rap. In reality, the Pentagon is readying 21 missiles for December deployment — components of which were shipped to West Germany months before the December deadline.

That 21 and not nine is the correct number has been confirmed by Brig. Gen. Richard Kenyon, of the Army's Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Research, Development and Acquisition.



U.S. Army depot in Frankfurt/Hausen.

8 -- Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84

In an April 13, 1983 hearing before the Subcommittee on the Department of Defense of the House Appropriations Committee, Kenyon was asked about the status of the Pershing II program. Kenyon replied: "...The fiscal year 1982 buy is 21 missiles. Those missiles are currently being fabricated with fiscal year 1982 funds and will provide the initial operational capability portion of the deployment scheduled to begin in Europe in December of this calendar year."

The number nine apparently relates not to missiles per se, but to missile launchers. If 21 missiles are being deployed for nine launchers, then the projected 108 launchers will require 252 Pershing II missiles. Adding up the 252 missiles to be deployed in West Germany, plus the missiles needed for training of U.S. GIs in Fort Sill, Oklahoma, one quickly arrives at the "magic number" — 311. This is how many Pershing II missiles Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has ordered, according to his 1984 Annual Report.

Members of West Germany's anti-nuclear Green Party who sit on the Frankfurt City Council charged in September 1983 that some of these Pershing IIs had already arrived in West Germany or, more specifically, in a U.S. military facility in Frankfurt/Hausen. As evidence, the Green Party members produced photos showing containers in the base labeled "Pershing Cylinder Assembly" and "Pershing Mod Team Europe." Mod is an abbreviation for Modification, indicating that support equipment for the existing Pershing Ia missiles — deployed in West Germany for a number of years — is being modified at the U.S. depot in Frankfurt/Hausen to accommodate the new Pershing IIs.

The Greens also released documents from Martin Marietta Aerospace Corporation, the manufacturer of the Pershing II missiles, which confirm the existence of a Pershing "modification facility and depot near Frankfurt," obviously the Frankfurt/Hausen base. (See following article.)

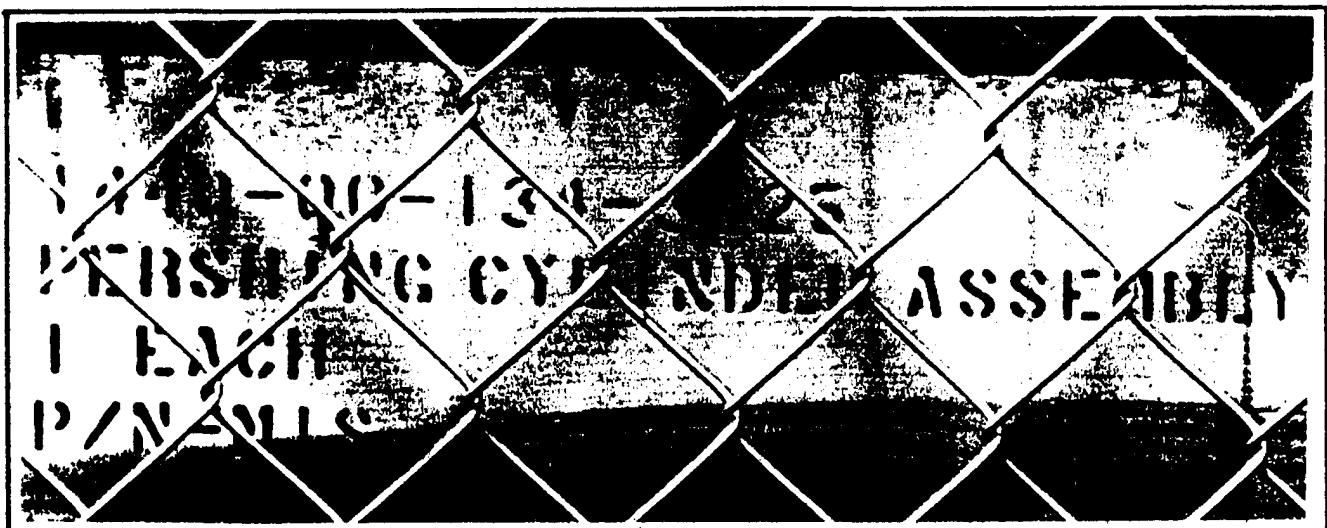
West German and U.S. government officials, as well as representatives of Martin Marietta, naturally have not been eager to comment on these allegations. Officials of the state of Hesse in which Frankfurt is located, also took a "no comment" stance, except to say that "the Americans never tell us anything."

The members of the Green Party believe that the activities in the Frankfurt/Hausen base further demonstrate that the Reagan administration is not sincere about the Intermediate Nuclear Force Reduction Talks in Geneva. "In Geneva they talk, in Frankfurt they deploy," read one of many signs at a September demonstration at the Frankfurt/Hausen depot. The West German government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, meanwhile, has turned down a request by the Green Party that the West German government neither deploy the Pershing II missiles nor store and prepare Pershing II components for deployment while the Geneva talks are underway. ☈



## Three Warheads for the Pershing II?

"Pershing II: Flexibility for NATO" is the title of a 1982 manual produced by the Martin Marietta Aerospace Corporation, the company which is building the Pershing missiles for the U.S. Army. The manual indicates that the U.S. Army plans for the Pershing II missiles could go far beyond simply stationing single-warhead Pershing II missiles in West Germany. Says the manual: "[The Pershing II] is an extremely valuable component of the INF [Intermediate Nuclear Forces]. As well as being flexible in basic design,



Crate stored in the U.S. Army depot in Frankfurt/Hausen.

it permits expansion of capabilities that can be used for leverage in negotiations. Buying the PII system is like buying many systems and capabilities."

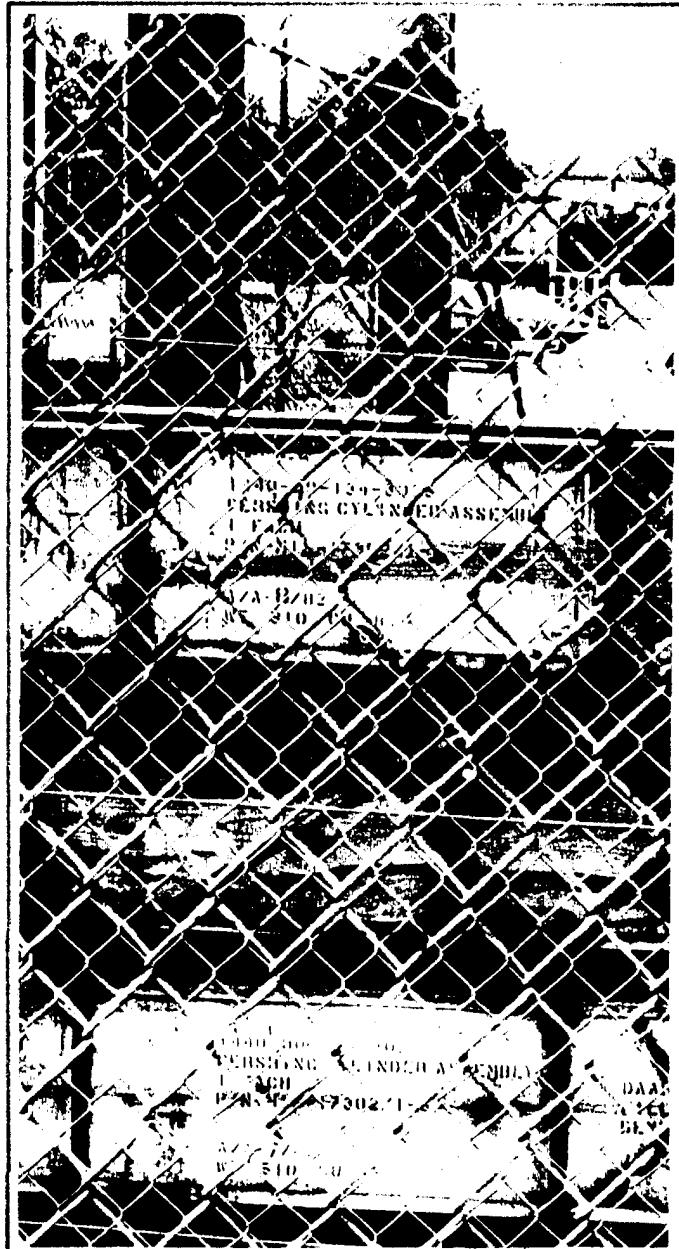
The term "leverage in negotiations" refers to the option to equip the Pershing II with three warheads rather than one. According to Martin Marietta, "the present terminally guided reentry vehicle can be replaced by a MIRV [Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle] forebody containing up to three independently targeted warheads." In addition, the Pershing II

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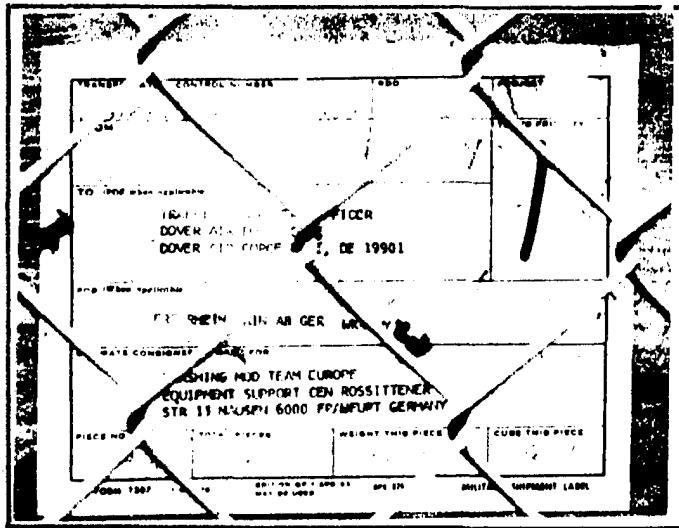
is designed so that it could deliver a "nuclear earth penetrator warhead" for use against hard, deep underground targets.

The Army may also be preparing to use the Pershing II in wars in other countries beside West Germany. Due to the Pershing Ia's "mobility and air transportability," the Martin Marietta manual says, it can be deployed rapidly to other countries. Men and equipment of U.S. European Pershing units accomplish this type of airlift missions "several times each year during their follow-on test firing program." These Pershing operators are airlifted to Cape Canaveral in Florida and "launch missiles under simulated tactical conditions."

The Martin Marietta manual also indicates that the company and the Pentagon are concerned about West German opposition to the missile deployment. But in a chapter entitled "Political Acceptability," the company expresses its hope that the "similarity of the PII [Pershing II] launcher to the familiar Pershing Ia launcher [already deployed] should cause the German populace little notice." ©



U.S. Army depot in Frankfurt/Hausen.



Crate stored in the U.S. Army depot.

# KAL 007

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## Introduction

# Reagan's Story Contradicted

Knowingly shooting down "an unarmed civilian airliner," said President Reagan, "was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life." Reagan was, of course, referring to the Soviet shooting down of a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 in the early morning hours of September 1, 1983, resulting in the deaths of 269 people. A Congressional resolution, adopted by a 416 to 0 vote in the House of Representatives, labeled the incident a "cold-blooded barbarous murder on a commercial airliner straying off course [and] one of the most infamous and reprehensible acts in history."

In the weeks that followed the downing of the jetliner, Republicans and Democrats strove to outdo each other in their verbal condemnations of the Soviet Union and its "wanton, calculated, deliberate murder" of the passengers and crew of Korean Air Lines flight 007. Reagan, in a somewhat obscene fashion, immediately seized upon the disaster and used it as a lever to pressure Congress to appropriate money for his MX missile program. Proponents of a chemical weapons buildup likewise argued successfully that resuming U.S. chemical weapons production was now necessary to contain Soviet aggression.

Partly because the Soviet Union waited for six days to concede that it had shot down the plane, the Reagan administration pulled off a successful propaganda campaign. During that period, the U.S. government, aided by its intelligence agencies, exercised a virtual monopoly on information about the tragedy, and U.S. newspapers took up the government's war cry and spoke with one voice.

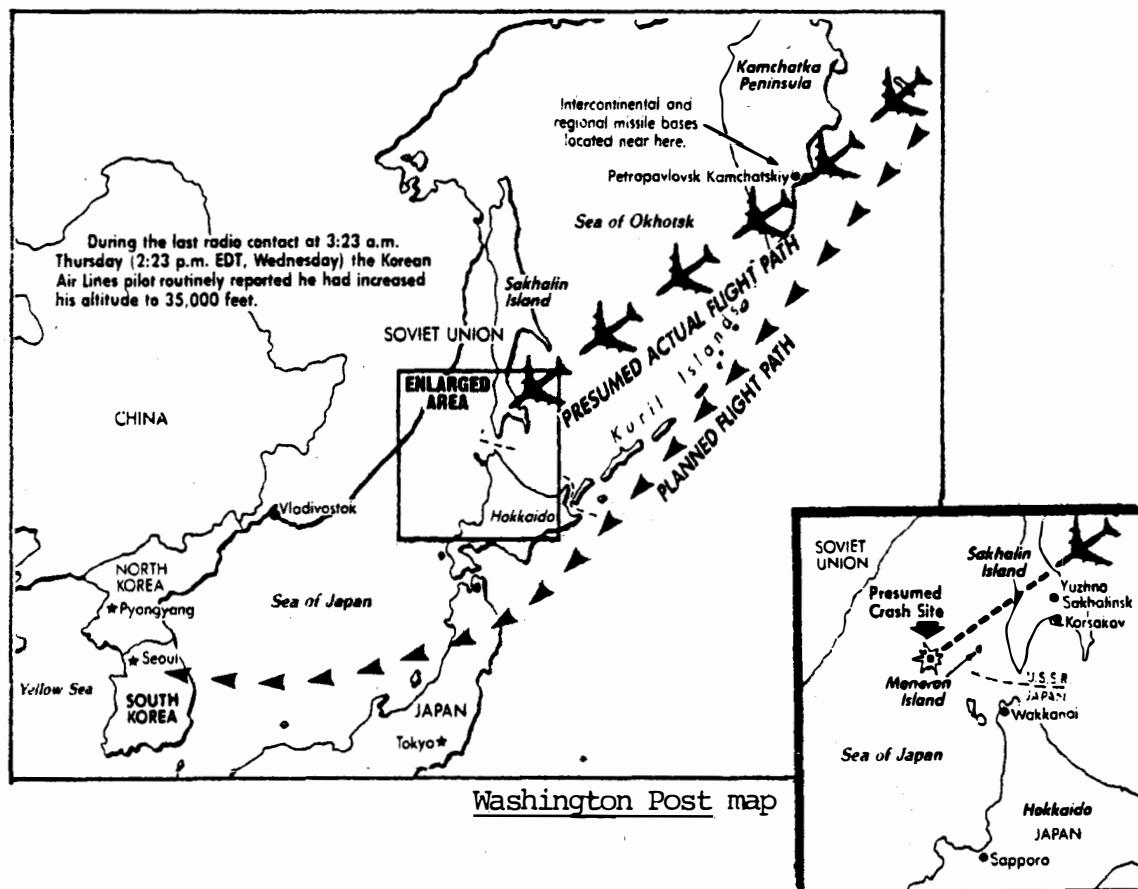
Information that has come to light since the initial uproar demonstrates that the story the Reagan administration told people around the world about how KAL 007 was shot down is laden with distortions and untruths.

- The Soviet pilot of the Su15 fighter plane did fire warning shots to force the plane down, contrary to U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's statement in the United Nations

Security Council that "the Soviet pilot makes no mention of firing any warning shots." Kirkpatrick was referring to a tape of radio communications between the Soviet pilot and his ground commander. She played excerpts of the tape at the U.N. Security Council - Reagan did the same during his national TV address - omitting segments in which the Soviet pilot says: "I am firing cannon bursts."

- A U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane was near the KAL 007 when it crossed into the Soviet defense zone. The two planes, seen from below, look very similar, especially at night. When the airliner was shot down, the Soviet pilot was not, as President Reagan suggested, parallel to the airliner, a position from which he could have seen "the unique and distinctive silhouette" of the Boeing 747 jetliner. National Security Agency officers running the RC-135 themselves might well have intentionally contributed to the confusion of the Soviet Air Defense forces. According to a Knight News Service article, on occasion "the RC-135s transmit confusing radar signals in an effort to prompt the Soviets to scramble [send up] their fighters." (9/15/83).

- The Soviet planes did not track the KAL 007 for two hours as has been suggested. Soviet planes were unable to locate the KAL for more than two hours, although their ground personnel apparently saw it on their radar screens. According to tape recordings not released by the government (quoted in the New York Times, 10/7/83), Soviet anti-aircraft missile batteries were alerted to stop an "RC-135" while the plane flew over Sakhalin Island; that is, some two hours after it had entered Soviet airspace. This indicates that at that time, the Soviets still did not know that the plane they were pursuing was a civilian airliner. In fact, once Soviet interceptor planes made visual contact with the intruding plane, they had only a few minutes to decide what kind of aircraft it was. Even the White House has now been forced to concede that original government statements claiming that the U.S. had "irrefutable evidence" the



Soviets knew they were attacking a civilian plane, cannot be maintained.

- Despite government claims to the contrary, U.S. intelligence agencies have used and continue to use civilian aircraft for spy missions. According to an editor of Defense Science magazine, planes from the Korean Air Lines "regularly overfly Russian airspace to gather military intelligence." (San Francisco Examiner, 9/4/83). Contrary to U.S. assertions that spy flights by planes are no longer necessary in the age of satellite surveillance, planes using high resolution cameras can provide much more precise data than high-flying satellites.

There are many unanswered questions about why 269 people had to die in the waters of the Sea of Japan on September 1. Perhaps the most urgent questions are why the Korean military pilot flying KAL 007 was hundreds of kilometers inside Soviet airspace in the first place, and why he refused to obey the Soviet interceptor plane's demand that he land. The KAL plane had several independent sets of navigational equipment and was flying alongside some of the most sensitive Soviet military bases, clearly marked as "prohibited area" on pilots' maps.

Four articles in this issue of Counterspy shed more light on the KAL disaster. Duncan Campbell explains that U.S. propaganda efforts "to repudiate the Soviet claim that the dead

passengers were the victims of a U.S. intelligence operation that went wrong" are not entirely credible. On the contrary, Campbell concludes, "it is clear that the airline passengers have been innocent victims of a long, secret, electronic cold war in the air."

A second article, drawing from statements by two former U.S. RC-135 officers, seriously questions the Reagan administration's claims that the RC-135 spy plane left the region in question long before the KAL airliner was shot down. These two officers also suggest that the National Security Agency was informed at all times about the Korean plane being in Soviet airspace and Soviet efforts to shoot it down. The question remains: why was there no U.S. attempt to prevent the disaster?

West German Lufthansa pilot Rudolf Brauburg has flown many air routes close to sensitive military areas such as the Kamchatka Peninsula and Sachalin Island. His article describes precautions usually taken by pilots to avoid crossing into these regions, and questions how the KAL pilot could have flown unknowingly hundreds of kilometers into Soviet airspace.

Finally, Jeff McConnell's article demonstrates that U.S. intelligence agencies have long used commercial aircraft and details the CIA's close relationship with dozens of U.S. and foreign airlines.

# Spy in the Sky

Duncan Campbell

Whatever the reasons why the ill-fated flight KAL 007 was overflying such sensitive and prohibited areas of the Soviet Union, the incident will undoubtedly have provided U.S. intelligence with unique data on the performance of the Soviet defence system. Gathering the type of intelligence the U.S. will have gained is the primary task of the RC-135 type spy plane.

U.S. officials inadvertently let slip at the beginning of the week that there had indeed been an RC-135 operating along the flight path of the Korean airliner. But they claim that it flew away from the area, and had landed an hour before the Soviets launched their missile attack on the jumbo jet.

U.S. officials in Washington do not deny that the RC-135 and two other well-known American spy planes — the U2 and the SR71 — regularly fly along the borders of the Soviet Union with a battery of monitoring devices aboard. All three types of aircraft operate from the U.S. airbase at Mildenhall in Suffolk, and from other bases in Greece, Cyprus, Turkey and Okinawa. From Mildenhall, the New Statesman has obtained some startling evidence of the clandestine role of the RC-135 and other planes in the U.S. spy fleet.

- On 16 January 1982, an RC-135V spy plane returning from Athens to its U.S. home base landed at Mildenhall. On its nose were seen five small red silhouettes of the distinctively long-nosed Soviet Sukhoi interceptor (such as were involved in last week's incident). Such markings normally celebrate a "kill." But since RC-135s are unarmed, except for electronic jammers, aviation experts say that the markings, if they are Sukhois, are most likely to mean that the aircraft had successfully penetrated Soviet defences — and got away with it.

- Despite promising to refrain from manned overflight of the Soviet Union in 1960, planes like the SR71 do regularly "taunt" Soviet fighters to try and shoot them down, according to Viktor Belenko, the Soviet pilot who defected to Japan in 1976, bringing his Mig-25 with him.

- Mildenhall's SR71 unit has recently been increased to two aircraft. But U.S. spokesmen at Mildenhall say that they "don't acknowledge that there are any reconnaissance aircraft" on the base. Since early this year, United States national markings have been removed from the all-black planes.

- Clumsy attempts to disguise clandestine operations with RC-135s from Mildenhall have been detected by local aircraft spotters who have noticed on at least two occasions that false serial numbers had been painted onto one RC-135. This was first done about seven years ago, and again in 1982. An RC-135"V" was temporarily given the tail serial number — 14848 — belonging to a distinctively different "U" type. On 3/4 July last year, this manoeuvre was easy to detect when both planes were parked side by side.

- The RC-135s, which first came to Britain about 1966, succeeded earlier types which are known to have penetrated Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and have been shot down. The Royal Air Force and the British Secret Intelligence Service have been deeply involved with the secret U.S. overflights, including the U2s, since the late 1940s.

We asked the United States Third Air Force spokesmen at Mildenhall to comment on and explain the reports. On Tuesday, they promised to "research" the questions but insisted that they were not admitting that spy planes were ever seen at Mildenhall. An SAC headquarters representative, Major Mahoney, said on Tuesday that "we can't comment on operational missions".

In the face of the rapid polarisation of the KAL incident into a critical Soviet-American issue, it is understandable that U.S. officials are vigorously seeking to repudiate the Soviet claim that the dead passengers were the victims of a U.S. intelligence operation that went wrong. But the U.S. claim that their RC-135 in the area was quietly slipping home — uninterested in what was going on — is not credible.

For decades, the United States, the Soviet Union and their allies have fought a secret electronic war in which radar and anti-aircraft defence screens are repeatedly penetrated in order to discover how they operate — and how, in war, to evade them. This dangerous activity has been much more extensive than is generally known. An analysis of this secret war shows that since 1950 the United States has lost at least 27 aircraft forced or shot down and seen

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*Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84 -- 13*

60 others attacked in the course of electronic or photographic reconnaissance activity. At least 139 U.S. servicemen have died in this reconnaissance programme.

The high-flying spy plane, the SR71, is no respecter of national boundaries or legal airspace restrictions. More than 900 attempts have been made, by the Soviet Air Force and others, to shoot down the super-secret SR-71 "Blackbird". None has succeeded, for it flies too high and too fast. It replaced the slow-flying, glider-like U2 spy plane in which CIA pilot Gary Powers was shot down near Sverdlovsk in May 1960.

When flying off the coast of Soviet Asia, the primary mission of the RC-135 spy plane is to document the "electronic order of battle" of the Soviet defenders. The Americans want to know where the radar stations and anti-aircraft missile bases are and how defences will react if the Soviet Union is penetrated by B52 nuclear bombers. But often, important defence systems are turned off to prevent just such eavesdropping.

radio signals between Soviet pilots and their ground controllers. Both sides know what the other is doing; on one occasion at least, Soviet radio operators included a Christmas greeting to the specific U.S. station in Japan which was monitoring them.

The Korean jumbo jet would have been closely followed by the U.S. and Japanese Sigint (signals intelligence) stations. The Soviet Union was being deeply penetrated by a large unidentified aircraft which was crossing the highly sensitive Kamchatka peninsula on a course for Vladivostock. In the course of two hours in the early morning, large parts of the Soviet military command and electronic defense systems were suddenly activated. Gathering that part of this sudden intelligence windfall accessible only from the air should have been the job of the RC-135.

The electronic spy mission of the RC-135s has been well described by senior U.S. Air Force officials and others. The leading U.S. military journal Aviation Week and Space Technology explained in May 1976 that the SR71s and RC-135s fly:

peripheral intelligence missions...to pinpoint locations and characteristics of potentially hostile signal emitters... Information of this nature helps (Strategic Air Command) to develop ways of evading troublesome emitters...

The reason for all this activity is unambiguously offensive. The purpose is to analyse:

the environment that bombers may be directed to penetrate in the event of war...

While the Korean airliner's unaccompanied penetration could not be mistaken for a lone attacking bomber, it is understandable that the Soviet Air Force might be trigger-happy if it suspected that the ill-fated Boeing 747 might be a U.S. Air Force RC-135 lining up a possible bombing run.

During a flight of up to 17 hours, automatic Elint computers on the RC-135 record Soviet radar signals on reels of 1 inch magnetic tape. When the plane returns to base computers use the tapes to provide an up-to-date map of Soviet radar stations. Prominent on the RC-135 are flat panels near the nose, which carry "sideways looking" radar. This produces maps to help bombers and cruise missiles navigate to their targets.

"Provoking" air defence systems is necessary in order to "trigger" interesting signals, as the then commander of Strategic Air Command, General R.H. Ellis, indicated to the official Air Force Magazine in September 1978. Referring to the RC-135, U2, and SR71, he said:

It is possible to operate these systems in a way that induces the "other fellow" to react

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## **U.S. officials are vigorously seeking to repudiate the Soviet claim that the dead passengers were the victims of a U.S. intelligence operation that went wrong. But the U.S. claim that their RC-135 in the area was quietly slipping home . . . is not credible.**

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Thus for decades such spy missions have involved deliberate "provocative penetration," designed to measure Soviet alertness and monitor the response.

For the Elint (electronic intelligence) analysts of U.S. Strategic Air Command, last week's Korean incursion will have provided a treasure trove of electronic gold. A chain of U.S. listening stations is dotted across the northern coast of Hokkaido Island, Japan, including such huge eavesdropping centres as Misawa Air Base with 1,600 intelligence operators and analysts. They routinely listen to and monitor

in a way that tells us things we want to know.  
This can't be done with satellites.

The former Soviet Mig-25 interceptor pilot Viktor Belenko has described in his autobiography how this was done by the SR71s; they flew off the coast of the Soviet Union:

taunting and toying with Mig-25s sent up to intercept them, scooting up to altitudes the Soviet planes could not reach and circling leisurely above them, or dashing off at speeds the Russians could not match.

The SR71 flew faster even than Soviet air-to-air missiles and could not be shot down. SR71s repeatedly overflew China during the 1960s. After Chinese protest notes, this activity was stopped before President Nixon's 1971 visit. A

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## It is clear that the airline passengers have been innocent victims of a long, secret, electronic cold war in the air.

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former U.S. Air Force Sigint analyst, has explained how the SR71s would just disappear from the view of Mig-21 interceptors. Egypt protested about SR71 overflights during the Yom Kippur war; meanwhile Soviet Mig-25s successfully overflew Israel at high speed.

In 1979 the government secretly gave permission for SR71s to be based in Britain. Companion U2s have disappeared from Mildenhall since, in January this year, newly manufactured U2s -- renamed TR1s -- started arriving at Alconbury air base, near Huntingdon. Three or four out of an expected total of 20 TR1s are currently stationed at Alconbury. There are usually two RC-135s at Mildenhall, on long visits from the Strategic Air Command's 55th Strategic Reconnaissance Wing in Nebraska.

Spy planes from this and similar units have been coming to Britain for years. RAF and USAF pilots based at Sculthorpe, near Fakenham in Norfolk, shared spy missions to map bombing routes into Eastern Europe between 1951 and 1954. The first U2s operated from the U.S. air base at Lakenheath, before moving to Turkey. RAF pilots also flew on U2 missions over the Soviet Union. Decorations and medals were awarded to RAF pilots for successful penetration operations, which were kept a well-guarded secret.

In 1958, two Oxford undergraduates who had worked in British Sigint stations in West Germany were jailed for publicly describing the provocative penetration missions in a university magazine:

Since the Russians do not always provide the required messages to monitor, they are sometimes provoked. A plane "loses" its way; while behind the frontier tape recorders excitedly read the irritated messages of Russian pilots; and when sometimes the aeroplane is forced to land an international incident is created. The famous Lancaster bomber incident near Berlin was deliberately provoked in this way.

Soon after this was written, there was to be a succession of major international incidents of this kind:

- 27 June 1958 — CIA spy plane was shot down in the Caucasus, with nine men aboard. A secret briefing to President Eisenhower about the incident was only declassified nine months ago.
- 2 September 1958 — spy plane carrying 17 National Security Agency monitors shot down over Soviet Armenia.
- 11 May 1960 — U2 shot down over the Urals — the famous incident.
- 1 July 1960 — RB47 (predecessor to the RC-135), from Brize Norton near Oxford, shot down in the Barents Sea area; as in many such incidents, the Soviet and U.S. sides disagreed on whether the plane had encroached on national airspace.

● 28 January 1964 — T-39 shot down over East Germany.

● 10 March 1964 — RB-66 from Alconbury shot down over East Germany.

Losses have continued at a more modest rate since. Soviet losses as a result of their parallel activity of this kind are not known. But the risk-taking goes on. Apart from the exotic devices like the SR71, there are still continual spy flights over East Germany by simulated U.S. transport aircraft flying to Berlin. Codenamed "Creek Misty," these are actually C130E Hercules spy planes. Only six months ago, an RAF Hercules flying the same route was shot at by East German interceptors.

U.S. sources, including the former Commander-in-chief of Pacific forces, Admiral Noel Gayler, are angrily dismissive of suggestions that the Korean airliner was deliberately used by the Americans to stir Soviet defences. But it is clear that the airline passengers have been innocent victims of a long, secret, electronic cold war in the air.

# Monitoring the Disaster

Two former crewmen of a U.S. RC-135 offensive in nature," write the two former surveillance plane — the type of plane that was intelligence specialists. in the vicinity of the Korean Airliner before it was shot down — do not believe much of what President Reagan has said about the incident. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, veteran U.S. Air Force communications intelligence specialists who flew RC-135 reconnaissance missions out of Okinawa, Japan, wrote in the Denver Post (September 13, 1983) that the Reagan administration has engaged in "a major effort...to bewilder the public concerning the capabilities of the U.S. Air Force RC-135 and, more importantly, the National Security Agency."

Eskelson and Bernard find "unbelievable" Reagan's public statement that while the RC-135 had at one point been in the approximate area of the Korean airliner, it had long since left the Sakhalin-Kamchatka region and returned to its base in Alaska when the KAL flight was shot down. The RC-135, which flies in figure eights

- An on-board communications system "permits instantaneous reporting of tactical intelligence to the highest levels of government, including the president, from any location in the world." An RC-135 message intended for the president, Eskelson and Bernard state, "is required to be in the president's hands no more than 10 minutes after the time of transmission," regardless of the geographical location of the plane.

- Each plane carries equipment to jam enemy radar and radio transmissions.

- An "internal warning system" is used to "monitor the tactical air activity and air defense radars of the target nation." With this system, RC-135 personnel can detect immediately any "hostile activity" of the target nation potentially directed against them or other friendly planes.

- The aircraft can transmit "messages over an extremely broad range of frequencies, including those used by other aircraft, both civilian and military, ships, ground stations and air controllers." During the Vietnam war, for instance, the RC-135s were able to warn U.S. pilots flying bombing runs over North Vietnam that they were being tracked by Vietnamese radar, and thus played a key role in helping them escape. It appears the RC-135 could at least have tried to do the same for KAL flight 007.

"Within these capabilities of the RC-135," Bernard and Eskelson conclude, "lie the precise reasons we believe that the entire sweep of events — from the time the Soviets first began tracking KAL flight 007, to 'confusing' it with the American reconnaissance aircraft, to the time of the shootdown — was meticulously monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence.... There are serious questions in our minds as to not only what specific role did the capabilities of the RC-135 play in the eventual shooting down of the KAL airliner, but also why these capabilities were never utilized in an attempt to head off the tragedy."

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**We believe that the entire sweep of events . . . to the time of the shootdown was meticulously monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence.**

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on its intelligence missions, is "a primary intercept platform" of the National Security Agency (NSA), say the crewmen, and "it is always relieved on its orbit by yet another RC-135 just prior to the conclusion of its mission." In other words, one RC-135 may indeed have returned to its base after a reconnaissance flight in the Northwest Pacific, but another one certainly would have taken its place.

Bernard and Eskelson vigorously protest government references to the RC-135 as merely a passive listening device or as primarily geared to "verifying compliance with arms control agreements." On the contrary, the RC-135 has a number of capabilities which "we view as being

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## A Pilot's View

# Exploiting the KAL Tragedy

Rudolf Braunburg

It is the nightmare of every air traffic controller: the blip representing a civilian plane disappears suddenly from the radar screen. At times, such nightmares become reality; perfect air safety will remain an elusive ideal. Yet no other plane disaster has prompted so much political activity as the catastrophe of the Korean Air Lines plane over the North Pacific.

From a pilot's point of view, the incident, with all its far-reaching consequences, can be reduced to two simple questions. First, why did the Boeing 747 stray so far from its course? Second, why did it refuse to comply with the Soviet request — most certainly made — to land on a military airfield in Sakhalin?

For many years, airlines have been using navigation systems which in actual fact preclude navigational errors as large as the one made by the KAL Jumbo. The Inertial Navigation System (INS) in the DC-10 that I fly, for instance, does not depend on ground signals or weather conditions; it is built into the plane in triplicate.... One flies the INS-equipped plane by first feeding the degrees of longitude and latitude into the computer. This input is checked by the copilot, and by the flight engineer, as long as he is on board. It is possible that the pilot could make a mistake during the input process, but whatever he does is checked by two other people.

There are cases where cosmic radiation disturbs the computer during the flight; this might change the data in the computer.... But even then a pilot still has the option to at least approximately recognize his change of course by "old-fashioned" navigation methods. For instance, on the Kamchatka peninsula, there are several radio beacons — in Kubaru, Kokutan and Lopatka, to name a few — whose bearings can be taken by using the good old radio compass navigation. In addition, a pilot can use the weather radar and switch it to "ground echo." Thereby he can recognize the contours of the land and water below.

An even bigger riddle is why the pilot did not immediately obey the Soviet interceptor

Dr. Rudolf Braunburg is a former Lufthansa Airlines pilot. This article is excerpted from "Die Toten und die Vermarktung der Trauer" which originally appeared in Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, West Germany.

planes when they ordered him to land. He violated all internal and international regulations. All airline pilots are strictly instructed to follow planes ordering them to land if they have entered another nation's prohibited airspace. Because military and civilian planes have different radio frequencies, only rarely are the two kinds of planes able to make radio contact.

The military planes, therefore, use a variety of optical signals to communicate. These signals

**Every pilot knows that disobeying an interceptor while in prohibited airspace means risking being shot down. Disregarding it or trying to sneak back into international airspace is seen as a suicidal attempt by every responsible pilot.**

at times differ from continent to continent. But the pilots carry with them in their heavy flightbags a file listing the optical signals of the interceptors of all countries. For instance, if an interceptor plane lowers its landing gear and then slowly swerves downward, that is a demand that you follow him and land at the airport he designates. At night, interceptors signal their demands by switching their lights on and off.... At the time of the critical encounter it probably was not yet completely light.

When I and other pilots were flying the Hong Kong-Bangkok route during the Vietnam War, and flew over the American napalm bombardments, we very carefully studied our files to learn about the various optical signals. Many

times we had to choose between flying through monsoon thunderstorms...or leaving our assigned route and risk being shot down — at that time not by a Soviet but by an American plane....

Every pilot knows that disobeying an interceptor while in prohibited air space means risking being shot down. Disregarding it or trying to sneak back into international airspace is seen as a suicidal attempt by every responsible pilot, and is forbidden by the airlines.

These rules apply — in spite of some recent claims to the contrary — internationally. That means they apply over India, Central Africa, and over Turkey as much as on routes bordering the Soviet Union. The maps that were shown on TV recently with the wording AIRSPACE PROHIBITED PROHIBITED AREA were obviously of southern Kamchatka. But the same wording can be found numerous times on maps of the Near and Far East or on maps of South America. Over India, for instance, there are prohibited areas right along the air routes. Crossing that airspace and disobeying a command to land there would have the same consequences as doing it over the Soviet Union...

Pilots who have flown international routes for more than two decades often notice U.S. military planes using civilian air routes and behaving like civilian planes. Before the Shah of Iran fell, the route linking Istanbul and Tehran was the route where that happened most often. There was one military airport after another along the southern border with the Soviet Union, and there were many U.S. military planes using funny codenames flying on civilian routes to deliver cargo to these airfields.

On the North Pacific route one can detect the radio signals of similar planes; in addition, one can see the exhaust trails of other, higher flying planes which are crossing the east-west Pacific routes coming from the north and the south. We were never able to detect their signals on the normal civilian radio frequencies; there seemed to be routine traffic crossing international borders.

This air traffic is now being explained: recent statements by the U.S. administration admit that there are "routine flights by U.S. reconnaissance planes north of Japan;" one of them took place at the same time as the Korean Boeing was in the area. At times the mixing up of military and civilian planes was purposely provoked by the military.

There are routes all over the world which are very close to strictly forbidden territories. One of the most heavily travelled areas, between Bangkok and Hong Kong, is much closer to Red Chinese territory than the North Pacific route is to the Soviet Union. Not to mention flights over countries at war or landings in Beirut airport.

18 -- Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84

None of the politicians...including Reagan's staff...has mentioned that incidents such as the one over the Soviet Union have occurred numerous times in the past.

To be precise, if I am evaluating statistics correctly, it has happened thirty two times since 1947. 32 times a civilian airplane has been shot down for the very same reason as the one over the Soviet Union: violation of foreign air space.

This is where the real political scandal begins.

Pilots, and not politicians, have been protesting regulations which allowed these downings for decades. They would have been grateful had their governments just shed a few tears over these incidents in the past — compared to the many tears they are shedding now that the Soviets are involved.

Some of the 32 cases were bad enough to cry about. The Israelis shot down...a Libyan airliner.... Last year a civilian plane from France was downed by a "misfired" NATO missile over the Mediterranean. All passengers were killed.

But there were no tearful statements of regret or threats then. Perhaps the politicians didn't think there were enough Americans or Germans aboard these downed planes. But isn't a person killed by an Israeli or a NATO missile just as dead as one killed by a Soviet missile?

It is not the politicians but the pilots who face the victims of this horrible catastrophe with concern and grief.... But whoever is focusing on the recent disaster alone has to be prepared to be charged with marketing the grief and sadness in order to undermine the [West German] peace movement's demonstrations in this so-called hot autumn.

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# A 36-Year History

# The CIA and Airlines

Jeff McConnell

In mid-July 1951, the international office of the National Student Association received an important phone call from Washington. For nearly a year, the association had been writing groups in Latin America, hoping to stimulate interest in establishing a "Pan American Union" of students. In May 1951, the association finally had been invited to send representatives to attend the Brazilian student congress in Rio de Janeiro. With just several days left before the congress, however, the association still did not have the money for the trip.

The message from Washington was that funds had been found: Braniff Airways had granted two free round trips from Havana to Rio. The caller was John Simons, a National Student Association founder who was well-known to many of its members. Simons was also, unbeknownst to most and perhaps all in the association, a CIA employee, and was or would soon become director for students at the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, a CIA proprietary.

It was natural for Simons to be in touch with Thomas E. Braniff, the company founder and president who had authorized the free travel. Braniff was a trustee of the International Institute for Education, which was already or would soon become linked to the CIA, and according to NSA News, he had "taken a personal interest in furthering inter-American student relations and...in the past provided travel scholarships." Recently declassified documents show that the CIA, for its part, had shared a similar interest. Since September 1950, when the National Student Association began to work toward a "Pan American Union," U.S. government sources had reported this effort to the CIA.

Encounters between the CIA and Braniff Airways continued after Thomas Braniff's death in 1954. Former CIA officer Philip Agee writes that in late 1963, in an effort to recruit a Chilean as an agent, the CIA station in Ecuador arranged for Agee to be seated next to the exile on a Braniff flight from Guayaquil, Ecuador to Lima, Peru. The station could do this, Agee writes, because the Braniff manager in Guayaquil was "an American and a base support agent."<sup>1</sup>

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*Jeff McConnell is a political activist living in Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

Arrangements like this, the CIA has maintained, are cleared with the top officers of the corporations involved.<sup>2</sup>

The CIA has maintained close connections with a number of airline companies around the world — commercial airlines, American and foreign, as well as its own lines and purchasing fronts, known as "air proprietaries." The depth and longevity of these CIA links are one of the clearest expressions available of how American business and government together collaborated

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**Military analyst Fred Kaplan reports that Korean Air Lines, although ostensibly a private company, is closely linked to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.**

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with like-minded foreigners after World War II to penetrate every region of the world, politically and economically.

The Agency's interest in airlines is easy to explain. As Orvis Nelson, a businessman who cooperated with the CIA in setting up a number of airlines, told journalist John Marks several years ago, "If I were sitting in a position where I was curious about what was going on in troubled areas, there are two things I would be damned well interested in. The first is information. The second is transportation to get in and out, to get any information and, perhaps, to do some other air activities. You have mobility. You know who and what are going in and out. You know who people's associates are. You are in a position to move your people about."<sup>3</sup>

Following this logic, a number of airlines are routinely used by intelligence services. In what is reportedly a "carefully sanitized" version of a classified paper prepared for U.S.

intelligence,<sup>4</sup> Ralph Ostrich of BDM Corporation, a defense and intelligence consulting firm, recently wrote: "It is acknowledged that various types of intelligence and political activities are conducted by [some] nations' flag carriers for their respective governments to some degree (including the United States) ...."<sup>5</sup> The U.S. government has, as part of its propaganda campaign in the aftermath of the Korean Air Lines tragedy, emphasized that the Soviet Union and its allies use airlines for intelligence purposes. However, much more is known about activities of this kind carried out by the United States and its allies.

#### El Al and Korean Air Lines

According to a CIA study of Israeli intelligence, Israel uses El Al, its national airline, to provide

deep cover for agents of the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad.<sup>6</sup> The Miami Herald has reported that the airline has "obtained what our source characterized as 'exquisite information' using commercial airliners."<sup>7</sup> Zimex Aviation, a Zurich (Switzerland) aircraft firm once secretly owned by Mossad, sold and leased airplanes to a number of unwitting Arab and African leaders. Among these were Muammar Qaddafi of Libya and Idi Amin of Uganda, whose planes were in addition supplied with flight crews which provided cover for Israeli spies.<sup>8</sup>

Military analyst Fred Kaplan reports that Korean Air Lines, although ostensibly a private company, is closely linked to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). Korean Air Lines (KAL) assembles military aircraft and virtually every one of its pilots was once an "air force fighter pilot and still has high security clearance,

#### Air America

Created by reorganization of Civil Air Transport in 1959; CIA proprietary until early 1980s; George Doole, chairperson for most of its existence.

#### Air Asia

Created in 1959; CIA proprietary until 1975; Hugh Grundy, President; sold in January 1975 to E-Systems, a private CIA contractor which kept most of Air Asia's personnel and functions until at least 1979.

#### Air Djibouti (Eritrea)

Set up by Transocean Air Lines around 1950.

#### Air Ethiopia

Set up and largely controlled by the CIA in the 1950s.

#### Air Jordan

Set up by Orvis Nelson of Transocean Air Lines and largely controlled by the CIA in the 1950s. Reportedly, CIA officer Keith Williams was assigned to work with Air Jordan in 1953 or 1954, using Transocean as cover; CIA ties later severed.

#### Ariana Afghan Airlines

Set up by Pan Am with U.S. International Cooperation Agency (predecessor of AID); CIA interceded with Civil Aeronautics Board on its behalf at that time.

#### Bird Air

Did contract work for the CIA in Laos in the early 1960s; taken over by Continental Air Services, a subsidiary of Continental Airlines, in 1965.

#### Braniff Airways

Flew National Students Association members to Brazil in cooperation with the CIA in 1951; Thomas E. Braniff, founder and president (died 1954) was a trustee of CIA-linked International Institute for Education; Philip Agee reports Braniff manager in Guayaquil, Ecuador in late 1963 was a CIA agent.

#### Caribbean Air Services (Puerto Rico)

James Bastian, owner, has handled legal work for most CIA air proprietaries; Bastian is former vice president of Pacific Corporation, the holding

company for Air America and Air Asia when they were CIA proprietaries; William Gilmore, treasurer, was secretary of Southern Air Transport when it was CIA-owned.

#### China Air Lines (Taiwan)

Various CIA ties before 1970.

#### China National Aviation Corporation

Pan American's China subsidiary, taken over by Civil Air Transport in 1949; William Pawley, head (see Flying Tigers).

#### Civil Air Transport

Set up after World War II by Gen. Claire Chennault (see Flying Tigers). Gradually taken over by the CIA in 1950s; developed into CIA proprietary Air America in 1959; purchased Pan American's subsidiary, China National Aviation Corporation, in 1949.

#### Continental Air Services

Subsidiary of Continental Airlines; set up to handle CIA and military contracts in early 1960s; R.L. "Dutch" Brongersma, general manager in mid-1960s, former Bird Air manager and former employee of CIA's Civil Air Transport; Robert Rousselot, president in mid-1960s, a CIA veteran.

#### El Al (Israel)

According to the CIA, provides deep cover for agents of Mossad, Israel's secret intelligence service.

#### Evergreen Helicopters

In 1973, purchased some of the assets of then-CIA proprietary Intermountain Aviation; Delford Smith, chairperson.

#### Evergreen International

Subsidiary of Evergreen Helicopters; formerly known as Johnson Flying Services; Ward Eason, president, confirms Evergreen International has had CIA connections; flew ousted Shah of Iran to Egypt in 1980.

#### Fairways Corporation

CIA airline used to ferry agents in Washington, D.C. area.

according to a former CIA official familiar with KAL practices." Kaplan also cites a former CIA officer stationed in South Korea: "Anything that the Korean government wanted done that involved international movement involved KAL .... Spies and money were moved in and out of the country through the airline, and senior KCIA officials, he claims, also used KAL for their personal international drug-smuggling operations." The first official told Kaplan that Cho Choong Kun, one of the two brothers who own the airline, funneled KCIA bribes to Japanese leaders during the mid-1970s.<sup>9</sup>

Finland reportedly has used its national airline, Finnair, to spy on its eastern border with the Soviet Union. Finnair pilots are said to stray routinely into Soviet airspace.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Pinnair (Finland)**

Used to spy on Soviet-Finnish border; pilots routinely stray into Soviet airspace.

#### **Flying Tigers**

Set up in 1941 with the help of William Pawley, former head of China National Aviation Corporation; run by Gen. Claire Chennault and used by President Franklin Roosevelt to clandestinely support Chiang Kai-shek against Japan in the 1940s.

#### **Foreign Air Transport Development**

Set up in 1954 by the CIA to manage Iran Air and other national airlines; Richard Deichler, president, former head of then Pan Am subsidiary, Intercontinental Hotels; folded in December 1967.

#### **Intermountain Aviation**

Set up in early 1960s; major CIA proprietary until 1973; Rosenbalm Aviation Inc. purchased some assets in 1973 and hired some of its CIA-linked employees; other assets were sold to Evergreen Helicopters.

#### **Iran Air**

Set up by Orvis Nelson of Transocean Air Lines and largely controlled by the CIA in 1950s; CIA ties later severed.

#### **Korean Air Lines**

Privately owned by Cho Choong Kun and his brother; closely linked to Korean Central Intelligence Agency (which was itself set up by the CIA in 1962); virtually all pilots are former air force fighter pilots with high security clearance; reportedly occasionally supplied with sideview cameras for surveillance purposes in 1960s.

#### **Page Airways**

Founded in 1939; CIA-connected, receives numerous U.S. government contracts; in 1980, CIA probably intervened on its behalf in a court case regarding questionable overseas payments; connections with Zimex Aviation, Southern Air Transport (once CIA-owned), and Fairways Corporation (when CIA-owned).

#### Taiwanese and Korean Spy Flights

In many cases, the U.S. has close ties to such air operations. Kaplan writes: "Several U.S. officials say intelligence agencies of small nations, occasionally at some risk, collect information they believe might be of value to the United States, in hopes that they can trade it for U.S. data that is of interest to them. One former National Security Council official says Taiwanese planes, for example, have flown over military facilities in mainland China for decades.

"A country like Taiwan, South Korea or some other small U.S. ally, he says, 'feels the need to establish that it's not totally dependent on the U.S. but has something to bring to the relationship on its own.' Former intelligence officials agree with this assessment."<sup>11</sup>

A San Francisco Examiner article indicates

#### **Pakair (Pakistan)**

Set up by Transocean Airlines in 1949.

#### **Pan African (Nigeria)**

Close CIA ties in 1950s.

#### **Pan American Airlines**

Has provided deep cover for CIA agents and has made many of its airport managers available as support agents for the CIA; Juan Trippe, founder, was a long-time CIA collaborator who worked with the CIA front, Committee for Free Asia (now the Asia Foundation), and was a founding member of the CIA-business-labor front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, in 1961; Pan Am's Washington lobbyist Sam Pryor served as liaison to the CIA, while Trippe was head of airline.

#### **Philippine Air Lines**

Flight operations set up by Transocean Air Lines in 1948.

#### **Seven Seas (Kenya)**

Close CIA ties in 1950s.

#### **Southern Air Transport**

CIA proprietary from 1960 until December 31, 1973; then sold to Stanley G. Williams who had formerly run it for the CIA; current president, James Bastian (see Caribbean Air Service); current vice president, Hugh Grundy, formerly of E-Systems (see Air Asia).

#### **Transocean Air Lines**

Set up in 1946 by Orvis Nelson; became subsidized by the CIA in the early 1950s; Transocean set up 16 other air lines by 1976, a number with CIA help; became the largest contract air carrier in the world, largely with U.S. military contracts; Ray T. Elsmore, vice president, former wartime director of air transport for Gen. Douglas MacArthur. (See Air Jordan, Philippine Air Lines, Pakair, Air Djibouti, Iran Air).

#### **Zimex Aviation (Switzerland)**

Once secretly owned by Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency; sold and leased airplanes to Muammar Quaddafi and Idi Amin with flight crews providing cover for Mossad agents.

that collaboration with the U.S. may be even closer. "One U.S. official with close ties to military intelligence" told the Examiner "that carriers owned by governments deemed friendly to the United States are fitted in this country with cameras and other devices for intelligence collection. The presumption, he said, is that the information will then be shared with the U.S. government .... [The work is done] at a handful of U.S. bases. Private electronic firms perform the work, he said, but U.S. approval is needed. One such site, he said, is Andrews Air Force Base." There, he said, "even U.S. government — though non-military — craft are fitted with censoring devices."<sup>12</sup>

It is even the case, according to Kaplan, that a "former U.S. Army intelligence officer remembers 'very clearly' being told in 1967 by an Air Force intelligence instructor that 'sideview cameras' — which take big, very clear pictures from long distances — were occasionally attached to commercial airliners flying along sensitive borders, and that Korean Air Lines was among those companies [sic]."<sup>13</sup> Experts in the field maintain, contrary to the arguments advanced by the U.S. government after the KAL 007 incident, that there would be a distinct advantage to using such cameras rather than satellites.<sup>14</sup> (See sidebar.)

There have always been close ties between the CIA and the intelligence services of many of these nations. The CIA set up the Korean Central Intelligence Agency in 1962 and remained very close to it at least until the Koreagate scandal in 1977.<sup>15</sup> There is even evidence that some of the KCIA bribes uncovered during Koreagate were made with the knowledge, if not the permission, of the CIA.<sup>16</sup> A CIA study of Israeli intelligence indicates general, if not specific, CIA knowledge of Mossad's use of El Al. Moreover, it is very likely that the CIA was aware of, if not involved in, the Mossad-Zimex Aviation deals.<sup>17</sup>

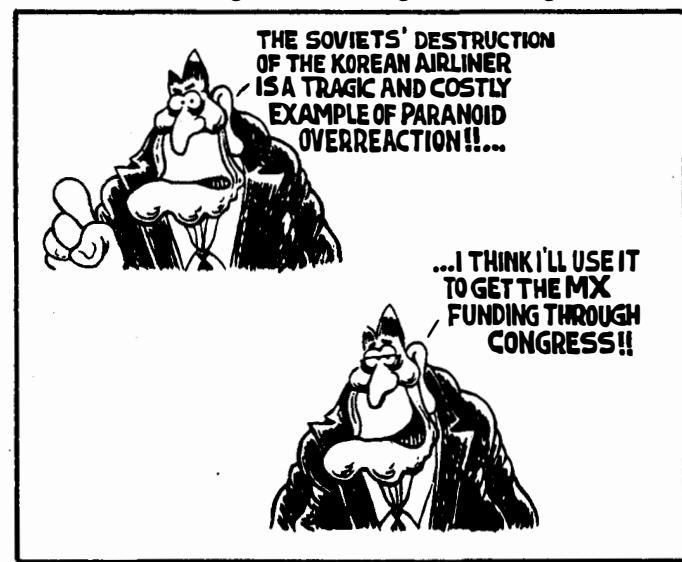
The CIA also has had various ties to Taiwan's civilian airline, China Air Lines.<sup>18</sup> John Marks and Victor Marchetti, authors of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, report, for example, that after the crash of a passenger plane belonging to the CIA's Civil Air Transport near Taipei in 1968, the Nationalist government bowed to public pressure and accepted a settlement of a longstanding dispute with the CIA: China Air Lines took over Civil Air Transport's international flights; Civil Air Transport, "despite the Agency's reluctance, continued to fly domestic routes on Taiwan; and the CIA sweetened the pot with a large cash payment to the Nationalists."<sup>19</sup> CIA ties to Taiwanese intelligence have always been close, and it is reasonable to assume that the Civil Air Transport negotiations were carried on, at least in part, through that channel.

#### Setting up CIA Airlines

Although apparently linked to the CIA through their governments, El Al, Korean Air Lines and China Air Lines are, of course, independent entities, not controlled by the CIA. But in the 1950s and 1960s, on the other hand, many national airlines were in large part controlled by the Agency after having been set up by it. These airlines were located on the borders of the Soviet Union or China or in strategic regions undergoing decolonialization. Among these were Air Ethiopia, Air Jordan and Iran Air.<sup>20</sup> One CIA proprietary, United Business Associates, had a plan to set up and control a national airline for Libya in order to, as one officer put it, "offset the communists from moving in," but that company never finalized a deal.<sup>21</sup> The CIA did, however, succeed in maintaining close ties with several African airlines. Among these were Pan African, based in Lagos, Nigeria, and Seven Seas, based in Nairobi, Kenya.<sup>22</sup>

Air Jordan and Iran Air were two of the airlines that Orvis Nelson set up in the early 1950s, working in conjunction with the CIA.<sup>23</sup> In 1946, Nelson had founded Transocean Air Lines, which quickly grew to become the largest contract air carrier in the world on a hearty diet of U.S. military-related contracts. Nelson had formerly flown for twelve years with United Air Lines, a U.S. commercial airline; Transocean Air Lines' vice president, Ray T. Elsmore, had been wartime director of air transport for Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Besides the U.S. contracts, they also negotiated a number of contracts to set up new foreign airlines. Already by 1949, Transocean Air Lines had set up flight operations for Philippine Air Lines, a Pakistani international airline (Pakair) and an Eritrea-based airline (Air Djibouti).<sup>24</sup>

Before long, Nelson began working with the



Huck, United States

CIA. Wilbur Eveland, himself a CIA contract agent, writes that Transocean Air Lines was "CIA-subsidized" and that CIA officer Keith Williams, a Middle East specialist, was assigned to work with Air Jordan in 1953 or 1954, using Transocean Air Lines as cover.<sup>24</sup> According to John Marks, Nelson had by 1976 set up sixteen airlines. "Sometimes he has cooperated with the CIA," Marks wrote, "but he vehemently states he has never been under the Agency's control. He won't state which of his airline deals involved the CIA."<sup>25</sup>

Although Transocean Air Lines was perhaps the first, other U.S.-based contract carriers were soon working for the CIA. In the early 1960s, Bird Air reportedly did contract work for the CIA in Laos. In 1965, Bird Air was taken over by Continental Air Services, a newly-created subsidiary of Continental Airlines, which fought its way into the lucrative contract business in Southeast Asia by convincing CIA officials that it would reveal the Agency's role there unless it was given a piece of the action.<sup>26</sup> R. L. "Dutch" Brongersma, formerly a Bird Air manager and employee of the CIA's Civil Air Transport, became general manager of Continental Air Services, and CIA veteran Robert Rousselot became its president.<sup>27</sup>

Another contract carrier with CIA connections is Page Airways, which since its creation in 1939 has received — along with the interlocked construction firm, Wilmorite Company — numerous contracts from the U.S. government. In 1980, the Securities and Exchange Commission settled a questionable overseas payment case with Page out of court, reportedly because the CIA intervened on its behalf.<sup>28</sup> Page had acted as an agent for Grumman Corporation in sales to Morocco and Saudi Arabia and had funneled some of the questionable commissions involved in the sales through a Liechtenstein organization managed by Alfred Bühler, who was described in a deposition taken in a California lawsuit as a "bagman, a courier and a paymaster" for the CIA.<sup>29</sup> Several other possible Page-CIA connections may have further stimulated the Agency's concern. In Uganda, Page paid a commission to Zimex Aviation for assistance in selling a jet to Idi Amin; it also subcontracted Southern Air Transport, a Miami company formerly owned by the CIA, to provide flight crews and engineers for Page's aircraft there.<sup>30</sup> In the United States, Page occasionally arranged flights for Fairways Corporation, an air shuttle service owned at the time by the CIA.<sup>31</sup>

#### Pan Am — The Government's Airline

One U.S. airline stands above all others for its past ties to the government. That airline, Pan

American, is described by Marylin Bender and Selig Altschul in a recent biography of its founder and long-time head Juan Trippe as "a private enterprise with a peculiarly intimate relationship to the United States government. Most observers, and its own employees, regard the airline as a quasi-governmental institution, a business wrapped in the American flag."<sup>32</sup> And like El Al, Korean Air Lines and the other airlines regarded in a similar way in their own countries, Pan Am has remained closely connected to its nation's intelligence services. In 1941, William Pawley, who had been head of Pan Am's China subsidiary China National Aviation Corporation, helped set up the Flying Tigers, an air service which President Franklin Roosevelt used to clandestinely support Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese.

After the war, Gen. Claire Chennault, who had actually run the airline, went into the airline business for himself, creating Civil Air Transport. Civil Air Transport bought out the China National Aviation Corporation and quickly was itself taken over by the U.S. government. Civil Air Transport later became the CIA proprietaries Air America and Air Asia; George Doole and Amos Hiatt, chairperson and treasurer of Air America, and Hugh Grundy, president of Air Asia, were recruited from Pan Am.<sup>33</sup> Richard Deichler, former head of then Pan Am subsidiary, Intercontinental Hotels, became president of another proprietary, Foreign Air Transport Development, which had been set up by the CIA in 1954 in order to manage Iran Air and other such enterprises.<sup>34</sup>

Pan Am boss Trippe was a Yale graduate and a member of the Office of Strategic Services-CIA "old boy" network that controlled and collaborated with U.S. intelligence in the first two decades after the war. Like Braniff, he worked with the CIA on propaganda operations in its early years. In 1951, Trippe joined with the CIA and a number of West Coast financiers in setting up the Committee for Free Asia, an Asian counterpart to Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee. With so many prominent people involved, writes former CIA officer Joseph Smith, the Committee "did not wish to respond to daily directives from buildings beside the Reflecting Pool," the CIA's makeshift headquarters until the 1960s. So the CIA's International Organizations Division under Tom Braden was "given the job of handling the funds for such large enterprises and trying to control them as best they could."<sup>35</sup>

The role of wealthy members like Trippe, according to an internal document distributed to them shortly after the Committee changed its name to the Asia Foundation in 1954, was to approve budgets, help with publicity, provide

"policy guidance," and assist "with individual contacts and activities in the particular fields of specialization of the [m]embers."<sup>36</sup> Trippe left the group in 1954 and later became a founding member of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a CIA-business-labor front set up in 1961 to promote covert U.S. government objectives among labor organizations in Latin America.<sup>37</sup>

During the 1950s, according to his biographers, Trippe also "volunteered information of considerable value in the area of economic intelligence to [CIA Director] Allen Dulles, generally during what appeared to be chance encounters in Florida." These meetings were actually set up in advance by Sam Pryor, a long-time Trippe friend. Pryor was Pan Am's Washington lobbyist and the company liaison with

the CIA.<sup>38</sup> (Pryor also served on important business-government groups; he was the first vice chairperson of one, the Business Council for International Understanding, set up by the United States Information Agency in 1958.)

#### Pan Am's Deep Cover Arrangement for the CIA

Bender and Altschul write that Trippe was "purposely uninformed of the specifics of his airline's activities on behalf of the Agency. Ignorance afforded [these activities] 'legitimate denial' — the ability to face the head of a host country and say 'I don't know anything about it.'" These activities were extensive. In the early 1960s, the Quito airport manager of Panagra, Pan Am's joint venture with W.R. Grace (itself heavily CIA-involved), was the Agency "cutout" who directed a penetration agent of the Communist Party of Ecuador.<sup>39</sup> The Santo Domingo manager for Pan Am reported to the CIA on the travels of Dominican President Rafael Trujillo's mistress.

The manager in Panama City, the main intersection of north-south air traffic in the 1950s, gave CIA men access to baggage areas, loading areas and ticket counters so that the Agency, according to a former officer based in Panama, could "keep tabs on Communist Party membership in South America,... learn aliases, ... photograph and destroy notes and training materials, and ... have certain individuals detained by Panamanian secret police so that they would miss connections and fail to attend Party conferences in Prague and Moscow." Pryor himself, apparently in Europe, arranged the bugging of a Pan Am plane chartered by Indonesia's President Sukarno and engaged two Hamburg prostitutes to pose as stewardesses.

Trippe's biographers write that Pan Am also supplied cover for CIA officers "in jobs such as assistant station manager which require no specialized skill and afford entree to local society with opportunities for information-gathering." As with many other such "deep cover" arrangements, the Agency reimbursed Pan Am for officers' salaries through consulting contracts.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, Pan Am did work similar to that of Transocean Air Lines in helping the U.S. government secretly force its way into international air lanes; and in several cases picked up where Transocean Air Lines had left off. The CIA got Trippe's permission when its Southern Air Transport started to move into Pan Am's markets in the 1960s. Pan Am took on technical-assistance contracts, financed by the Agency for International Development, with Turkish Airlines, Thai Airlines, Pakistan International Airlines, Air Guinee, Air Zaire, and after the CIA had severed its ties, Iran Air and Air Jordan. Earlier, Pan Am had set up Ariana Afghan Airlines under a

## Commercial Spy Flights

A picture of the KAL 007 incident substantially different from the official government version was presented in a Miami Herald article of September 11, 1983. The article quotes former CIA Director William Colby as maintaining that it would have been illogical for the U.S. to have used a commercial airliner in an ultra-sensitive spying mission. "I never heard of such activity," Colby told the Herald. "The idea of risking innocent lives is a no-no." But when confronted with the statements of several Herald sources that chartered freight-carriers had been used for espionage through the 1960s, particularly over Cuba and Southeast Asia, Colby appears to have backed off. "But there's a great deal of difference," he said, "between chartering a plane and flying it yourself — and using a regular commercial flight."

There would be obvious intelligence advantages in using planes rather than satellites for certain intelligence missions. Satellites able to focus on a fixed spot on earth must fly at an altitude of some 23,000 miles and maintain a stationary orbit. From that height, details of military hardware or certain construction activities cannot be observed.

Low-flying satellites have their drawbacks as well. They fly in predictable tracks, and can take pictures of desired objects only as they fly over the actual site, and then only for a much shorter time than a slow-flying aircraft would be able to.

contract with the International Cooperation Agency (the predecessor of the Agency for International Development), and the CIA had interceded with the Civil Aeronautics Board to cement the deal.

The development of the U-2 plane in the 1950s, however, "lessened the importance of aerial surveillance by a commercial airliner straying off course into Soviet territory, but the radio communications systems and the presence of American technicians in the national airlines formed part of the electronic shield erected by the United States in the Middle East and Southeast Asia."<sup>41</sup>

Later on, the development of high-resolution satellite reconnaissance, the successful creation of self-sustaining national airlines for most American allies, cutbacks in CIA paramilitary efforts and increasing revelations about covert operations throughout the 1970s led to further shifts in CIA air operations. Foreign Air Transport Development went out of existence in December 1967, United Business Associates soon followed and the CIA got out of the business of setting up national airlines. The changing importance of the "electronic shield" was reflected in the closure of the U-2 base at Peshawar in northern Pakistan in 1969. However, there is no indication that the CIA's interest in the national airlines of major Third World allies like South Korea or Israel waned. In 1976, at the height of controversy in the U.S. over CIA activities, Orvis Nelson could tell John Marks that U.S. government involvement in foreign airlines was as great as ever.<sup>42</sup>

#### CIA Plays Musical Chairs

Another significant shift in the post-Vietnam period was the CIA's selling off its major air proprietaries — Air America and Air Asia, Southern Air Transport, Intermountain Aviation — into private hands. Historically, CIA-linked private corporations have provided a haven for proprietaries that the government wanted to continue to use but no longer wanted to operate. In 1965, about one year after the CIA's former clandestine operations chief, Richard Bissell, joined the company, for example, United Aircraft (later called United Technologies) took over a CIA research front, the Scientific Engineering Institute. Although the president and vice president of the institute left, much of the rest of the staff remained intact and its classified work continued.

The same is often the case of CIA air proprietaries. In July 1973, when the CIA held a meeting of prospective bidders for the purpose of selling off Air America, the companies showing the most interest were four CIA contractors:

E-Systems, Continental Airlines, Lockheed and LTV Corporation. E-Systems finalized a deal in January 1975 to buy Air Asia, Air America's aviation maintenance subsidiary in Taiwan.<sup>43</sup>

E-Systems, a Dallas-based electronics firm, at this time was virtually a CIA front itself. A 1974 government report stated: "E-Systems has ongoing CIA-funded contracts amounting to \$4.7 million, and CIA has an interest in other U.S. government contracts with E-Systems, Inc., worth \$105 million."<sup>44</sup> E-Systems' net profits in 1973 had been \$166 million. An E-Systems vice president, Lloyd Lauderdale, had been a CIA deputy director before joining the company in 1969. The transfer of Air Asia was handled, at least in part, by Kenneth M. Smith, who headed the Aircraft Systems Group at E-Systems, of which Air Asia became a division. Smith had just come to the company after leaving his former job as Deputy Director of the Federal Aviation

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Administration, which keeps close liaison with the CIA.<sup>45</sup>

Air Asia retained its personnel and functions. Long-time Air Asia officers Hugh Grundy and Al Wueste stayed on to head the newly private subsidiary, which continued to work almost exclusively for the U.S. government, servicing U.S. aircraft in Taiwan and performing other sensitive duties. In 1979, its government contracts were worth \$10 million, almost twice what Air Asia cost E-Systems. The dismantling of U.S. military bases in Taiwan at the end of 1979 forced Air Asia to reorganize and seek civilian work.<sup>46</sup>

Southern Air Transport was sold on December 31, 1973, to Stanley G. Williams, who

had run it for the CIA for 11 years. Its current president is James Bastian, a Washington lawyer (Caribbean Air Service's current treasurer, William Gilmore, was a secretary of Southern Air Transport during its CIA days.) Bastian is also a former vice president of Pacific Corporation, the holding company for Air America and Air Asia. Southern Air Transport's current vice president is Hugh Grundy, who left E-Systems after the U.S. pullout from Taiwan.

The CIA's Intermountain Aviation sold off many of its assets in 1973 to Rosenbalm Aviation Inc. Rosenbalm had operated as a small Oregon-based airline since 1956. After the purchase, it grew enormously and hired several employees previously linked to the CIA. Continental's "Dutch" Brongersma became head of international operations. Director of operations Arthur J. Schmidt had worked at the CIA's special air-warfare center at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida before joining Intermountain in 1968. Rosenbalm Aviation hired James Bastian as its Washington attorney.

Southern Air Transport and Rosenbalm Aviation, both with about \$15 million in annual sales, are exempt from filing public reports identifying the origins and destinations of their cargo and passengers. In 1975, Stanley Williams and William Rosenbalm, then the presidents of the two companies, withdrew their joint application to the Civil Aeronautics Board to acquire the Puerto Rico-based Shamrock Air Lines when the Board set the condition that their airlines give up this exemption.<sup>47</sup>

Other Intermountain assets, including its Arizona base of operations, were purchased by Evergreen Helicopters, another Oregon company. Journalist Robert Fink was later advised by a senior Washington intelligence official that Johnson Flying Services, a contract carrier acquired by Evergreen Helicopters after the Intermountain deal, and now known as Evergreen International, was to be used for transferring Air America's assets back to the United States. Fink was also informed by a former associate of Evergreen Helicopters chairperson Delford Smith that the Agency for International Development approached Smith in 1974 to take over Air America's operations in Cambodia. Smith had turned the government down because of the short-term nature of the proposed contract. Smith has denied these stories.<sup>48</sup>

In 1980, Evergreen International was the airline contracted to fly the former Shah of Iran out of Panama to a safe refuge in Egypt. Ward Eason, president of Evergreen International, denied any connection to the CIA, although he admitted that "probably on some rare occasions

they have been a customer of ours."<sup>49</sup> The details of possible joint operations between the CIA and these private firms are unknown. The Church Committee (a Senate committee that investigated the CIA in the mid-1970s) reported that in several divestitures of proprietaries "transfer of the entity was conditioned as an agreement that the proprietary would continue to provide goods or services to the CIA." However, the Committee also admitted: "In a very real sense, it is nearly impossible to evaluate whether a 'link' still exists between the Agency and a former asset related to a proprietary. In some cases, even though formal and informal Agency ties are discontinued, social and interpersonal relationships remain. The impact of such liaisons is difficult to assess."<sup>50</sup>

#### Relying on Third Countries

Further shifts in covert air operations have taken place in the Reagan administration. Several years ago, the head of the CIA's Cover and Commercial Staff suggested one such shift after the divestiture of the air proprietaries: increased reliance on third-country assets.<sup>51</sup> CIA Director William Casey stated in a top-secret document of May 1981 that such a policy would be necessary in covert operations more generally, at least until the "post-Vietnam morning-after syndrome" had run its course.<sup>52</sup>

**Given (CIA) Director Casey's interest in reviving CIA ties to U.S. businesses, it is likely that (CIA) relationships like those with Braniff and Pan Am are again the norm in the airline industry.**

Reports in the wake of the KAL 007 tragedy suggest there is or at least has been some U.S. reliance on air assets in Israel, South Korea and other U.S. allies. The CIA's paramilitary operations against Afghanistan and Chad relied heavily on the air capabilities of Egypt. In Central America, the CIA has been regularly using Salvadoran pilots flying C-47s owned by the Salvadoran Air Force to resupply U.S.-backed anti-Nicaraguan terrorists based inside Nicaragua.<sup>53</sup>

Other reports indicate the revival of the kind of front operations—run in the past as joint ventures among the CIA, Washington-based corporate lawyers, Washington-based banks, and aircraft distributors—by which aircraft suitable for paramilitary conflicts and pilots to fly them were made available to U.S.-backed forces in Indochina and Africa in the 1960s. For instance, one twin-engine private plane, and, at one point, U.S. civilian pilots have been employed on the regular resupply missions to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries financed by the CIA.<sup>54</sup> A number of civilian aircraft were also used to parachute supplies to these contras after several thousand infiltrated back into Nicaragua in summer 1983.<sup>55</sup>

In early October 1983, a DC-3 registered in Oklahoma was shot down in northern Nicaragua after it flew out of Honduras with supplies for the contras.<sup>56</sup> A source with access to the ledger listing CIA aid to Eden Pastora's forces told Robert Parry of the Associated Press that the CIA has supplied Pastora with three two-engine Cessnas and two one-engine Cessnas. One twin-engine plane was reportedly given to Pastora through a CIA front known as Investair Leasing Corporation. Investair is located in McLean, Virginia, and shares a building with Air America. Investair's director of marketing, Mark L. Peterson, was secretary and treasurer for Air America in 1977 and 1978. The firm's manager, Edgar L. Mitchell, was vice president of Intermountain Aviation from 1966 to 1975. The plane sent to Pastora was used to bomb Managua's International Airport on September 8 before it crashed, killing the two pilots.<sup>57</sup>

Given Director Casey's interest in reviving CIA ties to U.S. businesses, it is likely that relationships like those with Braniff and Pan Am are again the norm in the airline industry. And given the pressures for new and larger paramilitary adventures, it is likely that old Agency ties with reliable banks and law firms are seeing a resurgence. Whether the new air warriors running these campaigns will opt for public or private ownership of their assets remains to be seen. But whatever the choices, a new chapter in the story of the CIA's airline connection is just starting to unfold. ☺

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- 36) Documents in the possession of the author.
- 37) Lars Schoultz, Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1981, pp.333-343; Serafino Romualdi, Presidents and Peons, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1967, p.432.
- 38) Cf. supra, #32, p.482.
- 39) Cf. supra, #1, p.110.
- 40) Cf. supra, #32, pp.478-480.
- 41) Ibid., pp.481-482.
- 42) Cf. supra, #3; John Marks, The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate", McGraw-Hill, New York, 1980, p.210.
- 43) Letter, George Cary to Rep. Gerry Studds, 7/5/77; phone interview with Jack Fitzgerald, United Technologies, 10/11/83.
- 44) Los Angeles Times, 2/18/77.
- 45) Newsweek, 5/19/75, p.25.
- 46) Dun and Bradstreet International; E-System's annual and 10-K reports.
- 47) Wall Street Journal, 2/16/79.
- 48) Cf. supra, #19, pp.298-299.
- 49) WP, 3/25/80.
- 50) Final Report, Book I, p.239.
- 51) Cf. supra, #19, p.302.
- 52) WP, 8/25/81.
- 53) NYT, 10/2/83.
- 54) Ibid.
- 55) WP, 9/29/83.
- 56) BG, 10/6/83.
- 57) BG, 10/7/83; NYT, 10/6/83.

# The Philippines

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## CIA Taps Academia to Design Post-Marcos Scenario

Walden Bello

As Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos' grip on power steadily weakens, the CIA has stepped up efforts to pinpoint "viable" policy options for the United States. One thrust of the agency is to furtively tap the resources of Philippine specialists in the academic community to assess the strengths of various Philippine opposition groups. The CIA wants to design a "post-Marcos scenario" congenial to the United States.

The CIA operation apparently began in the summer of 1982, when Charles Duckman of Booze, Allen and Hamilton, Inc., a consulting agency hired by the CIA, contacted a number of Philippine specialists. Duckman offered them fat fees to participate in a study on "political stability" in the Philippines. One academic who was approached revealed that the consulting agency offered to go through his files at his university as well as fly him to Washington for "consultations."

"They were especially interested in my knowledge of the Church and various groupings within it," revealed the specialist, who requested anonymity. "But I was bothered by the huge sums of money they were offering and couldn't get a clear picture of who was funding the whole thing."

By the fall, Booze, Allen and Hamilton found its man in Justin Green, professor of political science at Villanova University and a well-connected figure in academic circles, who had served as executive secretary of the Philippine Studies Committee.

Sometime in early January 1983, Green distributed questionnaires to various Philippine scholars. In none of these did he mention that his project was being funded by the CIA. On the contrary, he attempted to convey the

impression that the study was purely academic. In a letter to one colleague, Green wrote, "I am asking for scholarly help where you feel you can help as a fellow scholar." Curiously, the questionnaires (see reprint) concentrated almost totally on eliciting information on the strength and composition of the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The instruction sheet of the questionnaire stated: "By answering the following questions, you will be providing information on the NPA that we have not been able to find elsewhere." The questionnaire also included one question on the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), an insurgent group on the Philippine island of Mindanao.

The CIA wanted quick results, so Green attempted to arrange a special panel on "The Future of Philippine Politics — What Happens after Marcos?" at the meeting of the Philippine Studies Committee of the Association of Asian Studies set for August 1983. Green sent invitations to Philippine scholars Robert Youngblood of the University of Arizona at Tempe; Ben Muego of Bowling Green University; David Wurfel of the University of Windsor; Belinda Aquino of the University of Hawaii; and Carl Lande and Linda Richter of the University of Kansas.

Green did not mention to the invited participants the connection between the panel discussion and his CIA-funded work. It was clear, however, from the "project description" accompanying the questionnaire that the open panel was one means of eliciting information for the CIA study: "We might discuss various scenarios regarding when and how Marcos might leave, the state of the various oppositions, possible successor regimes and what this might mean to domestic and international futures and

*Walden Bello is an associate of the Southeast Asia Resource Center and a member of the advisory board of Counterspy.*

how these might be affected by external events, U.S. activity and the changing Philippine domestic scene."

But Green was unable to keep his CIA work under wraps. After more than six months of deception and under strong pressure from his colleagues, Green admitted during the annual meeting of the Asian Studies Association in February 1983 that he was working for the CIA. Despite heavy criticism, especially from many of

those invited to participate in the upcoming Ohio panel in August, Green attempted to defend his activity. In a letter to Professor Ron Edgerton, current head of the Philippine Studies Committee, the Villanova professor protested:

The work I am doing for Booze-Allen is legitimate scholarship. I don't feel guilty taking CIA money to further a legitimate scholarly endeavor. This is not the early seventies and as long as the CIA allows me to be [as] free as the NSF [National Science Foundation], I don't see any difference in their money. After all, if how money was acquired was the basis of whether scholars accepted it or not then even Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundation are suspect. What matters to me is how free am I to act.

Green's claim that his work was simply a "scholarly endeavor" is contradicted by none other than the chief of the CIA's "Methods and Forecasting Division," Richard Heuer, Jr. In Quantitative Approaches to Limited Intelligence: The CIA Experience, Heuer writes: "While the academic researcher is relatively free to define a problem in his own terms, our [CIA] research problems are greatly defined by the requirements of U.S. foreign policy. The academic researcher chooses a topic for which data are available, whereas it is often new problems (or old problems defined in new ways) for which the policymaker requires intelligence analysis."

Heuer also touches on the role of a panel of analysts such as the one Green attempted to convene at the Ohio conference: "Many of our projects involve a panel of experts who are asked to make qualitative judgements — that is, assign probabilities, values or ranks to items of information. CIA's greatest resource is its cadre of substantive analysts with first class academic training who then come to the agency and immerse themselves in a given specialty under circumstances which provide access to the full intelligence collection resource of the U.S. government. Our task is not to replace the subjective wisdom of these specialists with so-called objective data, but to use rigorous methodological procedures to explicate and exploit more fully the insights and judgements of these analysts."

Once Green's CIA ties were exposed, he was pushed to resign from the chair of the "Post-Marcos Scenarios" panel and the conference substituted a panel in which Green promised to reveal his findings to date as well as to discuss "the moral and ethical propriety of my doing it for the CIA." In a letter to his colleagues, Green stated: "There is a snake in the garden of Eden and I think we must exorcise it."

Green's confession in Ohio, however, failed to satisfy some scholars. David Wurfel of Windsor University and Belinda Aquino of the University

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MNLF AND FOR NPA  
(Include Groups Allied With MNLF)

ASSET QUESTIONS

COERCIVE

1. What is at present the number (estimated) of committed armed, active (mobilized) manpower in the NPA?
2. How many committed and armed but presently inactive (unmobilized) people could the NPA count on if it needed them? (By committed we mean members of a group whose behavior is subject to group sanctions and who may withdraw from the group only either at their peril or with the group's permission.)
3. How many armed\*\* supporters\* of the NPA are there?
4. How many non-armed supporters\* of the MNLF are there?
5. Any publicly available information on the kinds, numbers and sources of NPA weapons you could provide us would be appreciated.

ECONOMIC

1. Is there public data that estimates the total value in dollars of weapons supplied to the NPA from supporters outside the Philippines? If no data, would you care to make an estimate?
2. Does the NPA or individual members of the NPA control any sizable amount of economic assets in the Philippines? For example:
  - (a) Do they own or control sizable land holdings in the Philippines? If yes, would you care to estimate their value in dollars?
  - (b) Do they own or control any capital assets (corporations, trade) in the Philippines? If so, would you care to estimate their value in dollars?
  - (c) Do they control a sizable amount of employment (jobs) in the Philippines? If so, would you care to estimate how many?

NOTE: Though I suspect that the above questions are meaningless in the case of the NPA I might be wrong, and in any case the format for gathering data requires that the questions be asked)

\*By supporters we mean people who are not committed (see above) but whose ends and means parallel those of some group. They may at the same time be supporters of another group(s) and thus subject to cross-pressure.

\*\*By armed we mean the supporters possess some modern weapons.

INFORMATION ASSETS

1. Does the NPA own, control or influence any media, TV station, radio station, newspapers, magazines in the Philippines, etc.? If so how many of each? What's your estimate of the audience that the NPA reaches through media? How many people in any year do they reach through direct contact?

SOCIAL COMPOSITION DATA

Fill in the appropriate % of the NPA memberships for each of the following categories:

1. Ethno-linguistic: What % of the NPA memberships would fall in each of the major ethno-linguistic groups of the Philippines:  
Ilocanos \_\_\_\_\_ Tagalogs \_\_\_\_\_ Cebuanos \_\_\_\_\_
2. Education: No schooling \_\_\_\_\_ primary \_\_\_\_\_ high school \_\_\_\_\_ some college or college degree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Region: % of NPA from Northern Luzon \_\_\_\_\_ Central Luzon \_\_\_\_\_ Southern Luzon \_\_\_\_\_ Visayas \_\_\_\_\_ Mindanao \_\_\_\_\_
4. Social class: Lower \_\_\_\_\_ upper lower \_\_\_\_\_ middle \_\_\_\_\_ upper \_\_\_\_\_
5. Occupation: Blue collar and farmers, etc. \_\_\_\_\_ white collar professionals \_\_\_\_\_ students \_\_\_\_\_
6. Urban-rural: Urban \_\_\_\_\_ rural \_\_\_\_\_

of Hawaii drafted a resolution demanding that Green withdraw from the Booze, Allen and Hamilton/CIA project. As Wurfel explained it, "we saw this [resolution] as a first step. If it failed, then we would consider bringing up the matter to the Association of Asian Studies to judge according to its ethical standards for scholarship." Wurfel and others objected to the project not only on moral grounds but also because of its potential impact on academic research on the Philippines. "Filipinos will never again trust us if they know our data will be used for cloak-and-dagger ends," asserted one scholar. The resolution was hotly-debated, but its sponsors withdrew it from the floor when they determined that a significant number of Philippine specialists viewed the proposal as a threat to their "independence" in choosing funding sources, and would vote it down. "I can't believe how threatened many of them felt," exclaimed one proponent of the resolution.

The CIA's use of academics for non-academic objectives is not, of course, new. Michigan State University researchers were recruited to study how to "implant democracy" in South Vietnam in the late fifties in order to undercut the Vietnamese national liberation movement. In the early sixties, the CIA tried to launch "Project Camelot"—an academic front

to counter revolutionary movements in Latin America. A number of CIA operatives have attained high academic positions in universities; e.g., James Billington of Princeton and Douglas Pike of the University of California at Berkeley.

Crisis periods in the Philippines have always elicited U.S. government-sponsored research on the roots of insurgency, designed to counter opposition or nip it in the bud. During the mid-1960s, for instance, the Office of Naval Research of the U.S. Department of Defense funneled over \$500,000 to the Institute of Philippine Culture of the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila University. The Institute was to initiate various projects to study key dimensions of Filipino social and political life under the rubric of "basic research." Prior to the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, the Air Force think tank, the Rand Corporation, did a study of the sources of instability in the country.

Green's research is part of a broader CIA effort to tap scholars' brains to produce a "viable" U.S. policy for a post-Marcos regime. In May 1983, a top secret conference sponsored by the CIA in Washington, D.C. sought to bring together a number of Philippine experts. One of the conditions for participation, says a reliable source, was that those invited would not publicly divulge the proceedings. ☐

# Benigno Aquino and the CIA

John Kelly

Benigno Aquino, the Philippine opposition politician who was assassinated in Manila upon his return from exile in August 1983, was a contradictory human being. On the one hand, a courageous individual who knew he was risking his life when he returned to the Philippines; on the other hand, Aquino was a very class-conscious politician who defined his mission as salvaging the Philippine ruling class from the revolutionary conflagration now sweeping the country.

Before returning to his country, the former senator publicly announced that he was going back to defuse the tension between an increasingly restive population and the isolated dictatorship through "two-man negotiations" with Marcos for a "return to constitutional democracy." That meant return to the pre-martial-law

system of elite democracy in which different factions of the ruling class alternated in political office. Aquino, in short, might have been a firm anti-fascist, but to the end he remained a politician of the ruling-class mold.

One aspect of Aquino's life which is not well-known was the intersection of his political career with the CIA. This relationship extended back to 1954 when, as a 20-year-old journalist, Aquino, in his capacity as a special assistant to the CIA-sponsored President Ramon Magsaysay, negotiated the surrender of Luis Taruc, the Supremo of the old People's Army and of the old Communist Party.<sup>1</sup> Magsaysay was literally created as a "man of the masses" by one of the CIA's most skilled operatives in Asia, the notorious Colonel Edward Lansdale.<sup>2</sup>

Lansdale's mission was to head off the rising insurgency of the People's Army, popularly

*John Kelly is Co-Editor of Counterspy.*

known as Huks, right after World War II. To accomplish this, he combined military counterinsurgency efforts with a public relations campaign to persuade the people that Magsaysay, a small-time politician whom Lansdale had snatched from provincial obscurity, was "a man of the masses." Key in this public relations effort were young men handpicked by Magsaysay and Lansdale, both of whom had sensitive antennae for talent. Not only Aquino but also a number of others who became prominent political figures in later years were introduced to politics as their "special assistants." One of the "best and brightest" was Raul Manglapus, who served as Magsaysay's under-secretary of foreign affairs, and went on to become a senator. Manglapus later founded the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP), an anti-Marcos, anti-Communist exile group.

One of the striking common characteristics of the most prominent of the "Magsaysay Boys" like Aquino was their being graduates of the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila University, the training ground of the sons of the Philippine elite. In the early 1950s, the American Jesuits who ran the Ateneo were at the forefront of the ideological struggle against the progressive nationalist movement — making them natural allies of their secular compatriots in the CIA like Lansdale.

Aquino's involvement with the CIA did not end when the Huks were defeated in 1954. After his success in the Philippines, Lansdale went on to Vietnam, bringing with him a well-trained core of Filipino counterinsurgents who operated under a "humanitarian" front called "Operation Brotherhood." In an interview with the Multinational Monitor in February 1981, Aquino provided a glimpse of his role in the Indochina counterinsurgency effort in the mid and late 1950s. "I've worked with your CIA on many operations.... You know, I was assistant to three presidents. And once upon a time I headed our own equivalent of the CIA. We had joint operations in Indonesia; we had joint operations in Laos; we were in Cambodia."

By the late 1950s, Aquino's main concern was climbing up the Philippine political ladder. He became a town mayor at 22, provincial governor at 28 and, at 35, the youngest person ever elected to the Philippine Senate. By the late 1960s, the ambitious Aquino, then secretary general of the opposition Liberal Party, had positioned himself as President Marcos's main political rival. He was tagged the "wonder boy" of Philippine politics and many confidently predicted that he would become president, after Marcos, who was constitutionally barred from a third term, stepped down in 1973.

Marcos, however, had other plans. He engineered the bombing of a Liberal Party rally

in Manila in 1971 but failed to kill Aquino, who had not yet arrived when grenades were thrown onto the stage. Upon the declaration of martial law in September 1972, Aquino was among the first arrested by the regime. Confined to Fort Bonifacio prison for almost eight years, Aquino was sentenced to death by a military court in 1977 on trumped-up charges of subversion and murder, together with the top leaders of the New People's Army, Bernable Buscayno and Victor Corpuz. (Buscayno and Corpuz are still in prison.)

In May 1980, Aquino was released to undergo heart surgery in the U.S., after which he settled in voluntary exile in Boston, first as a fellow of Harvard's Center for International Affairs, then of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. While abroad, Aquino went on speaking tours denouncing the dictatorship and developed ties with the opposition in exile. These activities gave Marcos the pretext to refuse to guarantee Aquino's freedom or safety if he returned to the Philippines.

Unlike most of the other Lansdale-Magsaysay Boys, who remained ideological anti-communists in their later years, Aquino prided himself as a pragmatist who could work with both right and left. While he was governor of Tarlac Province, it was widely rumored that he had worked out a "modus vivendi" with the New People's Army (NPA), the reestablished People's Army. While in exile, he did not hesitate to speak on the same platform with individuals adhering to the program of the leftist National Democratic Front (NDF). He also contributed to

## One aspect of Aquino's life which is not well known is the intersection of his political career with the CIA.

fundraising campaigns headed by the left, such as the campaign to oppose the Marcos visit in the fall of 1982. For this, he came under fire from his colleagues in the elite opposition, like Manglapus. "I don't understand these people," an exasperated Aquino told a Counterspy associate in an interview in February 1981. "We're all united in the objective of overthrowing Marcos. We have differences with the Communists, yes, but we'll worry about them when we're rid of Marcos."

SEE MARCOS, pg. 38

Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84 -- 31

# Central America

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## Military Coup in Guatemala

## Back to the Line of Command

Jeanne Walsh and Martha Wenger

When military officers leading a coup against Guatemalan President Efrain Rios Montt stormed the presidential palace on the morning of August 8, 1983 the U.S. military attache was not far away. Several eyewitnesses saw the U.S. Embassy's Major William Mercado inside the palace itself, walkie-talkie in hand, monitoring the unfolding coup. The Reagan administration clearly had been informed in advance of the coup, and quite possibly had helped the coup-maker, General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores.

Only two days before the coup, Mejia Victores, then Defense Minister, met with his El Salvadoran and Honduran counterparts and Lt. Gen. Paul F. Gorman, top officer of the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command. He also paid a visit to the U.S.S. Ranger, operating just off Nicaragua's coast as part of President Reagan's gunboat diplomacy exercise in the Caribbean. Immediately after the coup was launched, two U.S. C-1A Trader aircraft, possibly from the Ranger, landed in Guatemala City. They remained on the ground for several hours, until Guatemalan radio announced that Mejia Victores was the new chief of state.

Reagan administration spokespersons have not denied these facts, but have downplayed their significance. A U.S. Embassy official who asked not to be identified told the Philadelphia Inquirer (August 24, 1983), "I can give you a whole list of things — our man with the walkie-talkie inside the palace, planes landing that morning, Mejia visiting the Ranger the Saturday before — they all had absolutely nothing to do with the coup." State Department spokesperson John Hughes said August 9 that the presence of a U.S. military attache in the palace was a "customary practice"

*Jeanne Walsh is a Co-coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Martha Wenger is a freelance writer and a member of Counterspy's advisory board.*

in these cases, and could be considered "normal." The day after the coup, U.S. Ambassador Frederick Chapin met privately with General Mejia Victores and emerged to announce that "Guatemala is now moving towards a democratic government."

Representatives of the Guatemalan opposition movement in exile in Mexico City are convinced that the Reagan administration had ample reason to want Rios Montt removed. Most notably, he was extremely reluctant to permit Guatemala to be used as a training base for other U.S.-backed Central American armies. Guatemala's own 20,000-member army is considered the top-notch counterinsurgency force in the region, the product of extensive U.S. training and aid during the 1960s. A high-ranking Guatemalan government official told the Washington Post (August 14) that Rios Montt considered the Salvadoran Army "an undisciplined force with little motivation and little inclination to improve," and he had always vetoed plans for closer military cooperation.



Mejia Victores, on the other hand, had signaled his readiness to collaborate more closely with El Salvador and Honduras. Just days after the coup, the Washington Post reported on August 14, he said that Guatemalan counterinsurgency experts would train El Salvadoran soldiers at bases in Guatemala in exchange for light weapons and ammunition from El Salvador's U.S.-supplied arsenal. (This exchange represents a convenient circumvention of the congressional ban on U.S. military aid to Guatemala, in effect since 1977 due to human rights violations.)

Despite an obvious "coincidence of interests" between the U.S. government and Mejia Victores, Guatemalan opposition spokespersons are doubtful that the Reagan administration actually engineered the coup or handpicked the General to succeed Rios Montt. Instead, they believe, Mejia Victores had already decided on the coup, motivated primarily by internal factors, and the U.S. then gave the green light.

Rumors of coups had been flying steadily long before Mejia Victores took concrete action. In June 1983, an attempt — unsuccessful — was made by another general. The Rios Montt regime had long posed a dilemma for both the Reagan administration and the traditional ruling elements of Guatemala. Rios Montt's staunch public adherence to a fanatically fundamentalist Protestant sect had isolated him in this overwhelmingly Catholic country. He had alienated the traditional Guatemalan power brokers by bringing in top members of his sect to advise him, and had often bypassed the traditional military hierarchy in favor of junior officers.

During the 16 months of his rule, Rios Montt became less and less willing to share political power with other rightwing forces such as the National Liberation Movement (MLN), the self-described "party of organized violence."\* In June 1982, he forced two other members of the junta to resign and declared himself "sole ruler". The MLN had long pushed Rios Montt to call for elections, for they knew that among the electorate that would vote at all, they would certainly win. Yet to the end, Rios Montt put off setting a date for presidential elections.

In economic terms, Rios Montt's rule had been disastrous: unemployment and inflation were both high and the unstable war environment was bad for business so that even parts of the middle and ruling classes had turned against him.

Perhaps most importantly, Rios Montt's much vaunted Victory Plan 82 — the military strategy which was to crush the popular revolutionary movement — failed to disrupt the

\*A leader of this party coined their slogan: "Music, when orchestrated, is a symphony. Violence, when organized, is strength."

infrastructure of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, the front representing the four main guerrilla groups. Instead, in a brutal internal war against so-called "subversives," the army killed between 5,000 and 15,000 people, most of them Indian peasants, making it impossible for the Reagan administration to win congressional approval to resume U.S. military aid. The Guatemalan President's indiscrete public references to his "scorched communists" policy did not help matters.

Mejia Victores' seizure of power represents a return to the traditional military leadership. His coup was endorsed by the old-line army high command, which felt that Rios Montt had overstepped his bounds, to their detriment. Yet while Mejia Victores will not be as eccentric a ruler as Rios Montt, his hands are no less bloody.

A 30-year veteran of the Guatemalan army, Mejia Victores is an "organization" man who has faithfully served his superiors — with the notable recent exception. He was Deputy Defense Minister under the brutal Lucas Garcia regime (1978-1982). In 1977, he founded the Center of Computation in the Ministry of Defense, which kept a registry of peasant, Christian, labor, student, professional and political leaders — many of whom have since been murdered or have disappeared. As Rios Montt's Defense Minister, Mejia Victores was the man most directly responsible for planning and executing the systematic counterinsurgency war.

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In the weeks since the coup, government-backed murders have continued unabated. In the first week of September alone, according to the National Police, 50 bodies, bearing the marks of torture and with faces disfigured to prevent identification, were found along highways and in wastelands throughout the country. The non-

governmental Guatemalan Human Rights Commission reports that at least 1,000 persons were kidnapped or killed in the first two weeks after the coup.

Still, the Reagan administration hopes that Mejia Victores can sufficiently clean up Guatemala's badly-tarnished international image to permit resumption of direct U.S. military aid. Mejia Victores is eager for that as well. He said on September 3, after a meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Langhorne Motley, that "economic aid from the United States is beginning to come through, with no conditions of any kind attached." Four days later he announced, somewhat prematurely, that resumption of U.S. military aid was imminent and

awaited only congressional approval.

That congressional approval may prove difficult to win. One reason Mejia Victores was not a favored son of the Reagan administration is that the General has a running public feud with Representative Clarence Long (D-MD), who wields considerable influence on Central American issues in Congress. When Long persisted in raising human rights concerns while visiting Guatemala earlier this year, Mejia Victores exploded into a shouting match with the Representative, topping it off by calling Long a "communist" and "a member of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor," one of the armed opposition groups in Guatemala. ©

# The Inhuman Face of Covert Operations against Nicaragua

Ruth M. Fitzpatrick

A slogan heard frequently today in Nicaragua is, "between Revolution and Christianity, there is no contradiction." On July 30, 1983, a mass celebrated in the northern Nicaraguan city of Esteli in memory of a local couple took those words out of the realm of rhetoric and put a human face on them for some 30 North Americans spending time there. The story of how Felipe and Mary Barreda lived and died propelled us into the reality of torture and death, direct products of the Reagan administration's war against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

Felipe and Mary Barreda, both about 50 and married for 31 years, were greatly loved and admired in Esteli for their deep commitment to both their church and their revolution. Just before Christmas 1982, they had gone to the border area near Honduras to pick coffee on a finca, or large farm. There, counterrevolutionaries (contras), most of them former members of Anastasio Somoza's National Guard, attacked the coffee pickers, took them prisoner and forced them across the border into Honduras where they were interrogated and tortured in the contras'

La Lodoso camp. Four young men from that coffee brigade eventually escaped and lived to tell the story of how the Barredas were tortured because of their unrelenting commitment to Christianity and to the Sandinista revolution.

The Barredas, who themselves were relatively well off — he a respected watchmaker, she a talented hairdresser — got involved in the revolution in 1975. Changes within the Catholic church in the wake of the Second Vatican Council had motivated the Barredas to become involved in social work in poor neighborhoods and rural areas. They began working with the Sandinista National Liberation Front, carrying messages and arms, looking after the wounded, and organizing Christian base communities that became the backbone of the revolutionary movement in Esteli. The Barredas eventually sold their personal belongings to help those fighting to defeat the Somoza dictatorship.

After the triumph of the revolution, from 1979-1981, Mary held various positions in the Esteli municipal government, while Felipe did grassroots organizing. Both also were active in the Esteli church, the most dynamic diocese in Nicaragua.

According to the personal testimony of

*Ruth McDonough Fitzpatrick is an activist on Central America who spent a number of weeks in Esteli, Nicaragua.*

34 -- Counterspy -- Dec.83 - Feb.84

Jesus Rodriguez (a pseudonym), a young man who was kidnapped with them and later escaped, the volunteer coffee-picking brigades were organized so that the people's fear of the counter-revolutionaries would be broken and the coffee near the border of Honduras harvested. He and the Barredas joined a group of volunteers and went to a coffee farm called Agronica, a few kilometers from the Honduran border: "It was perilous territory. There were 53 in the brigade. I had never had any training in using a gun, but the Sandinistas gave four of us guns and some instructions on how to use them." Rodriguez noted that contras attacked the farm even before the volunteers' truck arrived, but members of the Sandinista Army scared them off.

The next morning at about 11:30, Rodriguez, out in the field working, heard the first shots of an attack. "My mouth dried completely. It was a perfect place for an ambush—down in a ravine--and they were shooting from the hillsides. I shot off my gun until that fatal moment when I ran out of ammunition. I was shooting a lot to protect the people and realized I had used up even my 'medicine pill,' the final bullet you save to kill yourself with."

The farm house and some volunteers were captured, and Rodriguez gave himself up when some Guardia (ex-National Guardsmen) found him. They bound his arms behind his back with plastic handcuffs, and marched him towards Honduras.

The Sandinista Army counterattacked the band of contras, but they fled across the border into Honduras, forcing the kidnapped coffee-pickers to come with them. About ten kilometers into Honduras, one of the Guardia began hitting Rodriguez, saying, "You're nice, but you're a communist." "He then took my money, checks and photographs," Rodriguez said. "When he was examining my literacy campaign identification, he asked me about teaching communism. I said, 'No, I was teaching them to read.'"

Rodriguez and a companion were tied to a pole and forced to carry the body of a contra killed during the run for the border. "Our hands were lashed to the pole. The dead man's head was right at my head. It was very hard with our wrists tied to the pole like that. We walked for two or three hours carrying the cadaver until the other man said he could not go on until untied from the pole. We were then tied in a line with a rope keeping the four of us about three feet apart from each other."

"At about nine at night we arrived at a house to stay for the night. Then came Felipe Barreda and another kidnapped coffee picker. Felipe was bleeding from his ears, mouth and nose." He and Mary Barreda had been kidnapped during the same contra attack, but were brought into Honduras separately. "After about a half

an hour of rest," Rodriguez went on, "the Guardia started torturing us and asking us what we did for the revolution."

"A Honduran guard began torturing us with a gun behind our ears. He would interrogate us and hit the back of our heads with the gun butt. The Hondurans were well armed. When he had the gun to my ear, I had no idea if he would kill me: 'Look, I hope you're not afraid of death, you son of a whore,' he told me."

After more forced marching, they arrived at a ranch house. Felipe Barreda was completely exhausted and started shouting, "'I can't stand any more! Leave me here and let me rest! Kill me, let me die!' They beat him more forcefully, screaming vulgarities and threatening to cut off his ears and make others carry him."

Some of the Guardia remained behind with Felipe while Rodriguez's group went ahead: "We proceeded to a contra camp that was full of Guardia. A Commandante Negra gave me food and some coffee. Forty of them, including Mary Barreda, were already in camp ahead of us. All of the military things I saw there were from the U.S. There were boxes of radio equipment; all the gun belts and holsters were the kind they use in the U.S." The prisoners were held in that main camp for one day, blindfolded and tied to trees. Then they were taken to a little shack away from the main part of the camp.

There, says Rodriguez, "they started taking off all of our clothes, blindfolding us, and tying us really strongly again. When I was not yet blindfolded, I saw they had knives. Before they retied one prisoner, he tore away, and was recaptured screaming, 'Please don't kill me.'"

"Get ready to die,' they warned, 'because we're going to kill you.' I remember standing stiff, standing waiting to die. Suddenly someone else came and took us back into the house, handcuffed the four of us to each other with two handcuffs."

One Nicaraguan, who had probably been captured like Rodriguez and forced to work for the contras, tried to escape. The Honduran National Guard brought him back to camp and the Somocistas killed him. "He was forced to dig his own grave: 'We will not waste a bullet on you, traitor.' And so they bayoneted him to death."

"Two days later, someone brought a blasting loud radio to our shed. We were blindfolded and made to stand with our noses to the wall — a form of torture that went on all day. If I got dizzy, and my head started to pull away from the wall, someone slammed my nose back to the wall. The music from the radio was to hide the screams of Felipe, but it couldn't cover up his piercing screams while they tortured him." The man who brought the radio, according to

Rodriguez, had an Argentine accent.

Rodriguez's nerves gave out listening to Felipe being tortured, and he hoped they would kill him rather than torture him. "I'm ashamed to say I denied any connections with the revolution. It was the only way I could think of to save my life."

"On the other hand, Mary was interrogated and she refused to deny any ties she had with the revolution. She had a total revolutionary conviction. Everything they said against the revolution, she would deny and tell them what it was like. They would strike and beat her husband for her statements. They accused Felipe of being a spy working for National Security of Nicaragua."

Rodriguez said that Mary was so sick at one point that the contras brought one of their

doctors to see her. "Mary had a furious fever. She was having vaginal hemorrhaging. The doctor gave her some pills and a piece of plastic to put over her. We were sleeping on the ground. I don't know what had happened to her. Had she been raped? Who knows? I had been separated from her."

On the third day of their captivity, says Rodriguez, "higher level contras came to interrogate us." There were also journalists from Radio 15 September, the contra radio station in Honduras. "There were also other journalists and they took about 80 photographs. They had us holding the blue and white flag of Nicaragua with guards with AKA guns behind us. I think the AKAs were what Israel had captured from the PLO and sold to Honduras. They also had people from America Libre (Free America), a paper

# Contra Terror in Nicaragua

**Patricia Hynds, a Maryknoll lay missionary, works for the Central American Historical Institute in Managua, Nicaragua. She travels frequently to the province of Zelaya and is in close contact with many of the remote communities of the Atlantic coast. Of late, counterrevolutionary bands based in Honduras have repeatedly attacked these isolated villages. During an October visit to Washington, D.C., Patricia Hynds talked with Counterspy's Joy Hackel and described at some length a massacre by contras which took place August 31 through September 2, 1983, in the Bocana de Paiwas area in Zelaya Central. A pastor from this desolate area, Jim Feltz, had recounted the atrocity to her.**

While in the last few years fifty civilians had been killed in this particular parish, in those three days 20 people, all of them civilians, were done away with by the contras. Three women were raped, 18 farms burned to the ground and 25 villagers kidnapped. Peasants were hung from the rafters of their homes, throats were slit, beheaded bodies were thrown into the river. This work of the contras is the "democratic alternative" that U.S. money is supporting.

## What is the logic behind the contras' terrorization of civilians?

Clearly the contra bands do not want to engage the Sandinista Army in battle; terrorization is actually seen as preferable to direct confrontation....The contra activities have been going on heavily since December of 1981 and they have made no substantial military gains in that time. Their only strength is in their ability to brutalize the population, frighten them into immobility and through that wreak havoc economically, disrupt government programs and production....

In the countryside people ask the government for arms so that they can defend themselves. For the first few days after the attack they were issued automatic weapons, but these were needed somewhere else and soon were taken back. So the peasants were left with their hunting rifles or machetes.

## Has the coordination between contra groups in the North and those in the South improved?

There is growing evidence of increasing cooperation. A serious attack on September 18 on Penas Blanca, which is on the Pan American highway leading into Costa Rica, came at the same

time as an attack on El Espino, on the Pan American crossing into Honduras. You can imagine the devastating effect these coordinated attacks have on commercial transportation and trade.

**There seem to be contradictory opinions in the Costa Rican government about aiding the contras. What is the current degree of cooperation of the Costa Rican government and border patrol with the contras in the South?**

During the recent attack on Penas Blanca, which the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) of Eden Pastora claims to have held for 15 minutes, there is considerable evidence, including statements by the head of the rural guard in Costa Rica, that the rural guard drew their people back several kilometers and gave ARDE free rein. ARDE people are telling reporters that Angel Edemundo Solano, the Costa Rican Minister of Public Security, is furious about the attack because it obviously jeopardizes Costa Rica's supposed position of neutrality. Yet the U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, Curtin Windsor, says that Solano was being too vigorous in interpreting Costa Rican President Monge's declaration of neutrality. Wind-

published in Miami." These journalists told all said 'U.S.A.' We were tape-recorded and Rodriguez that "there were airplanes in video-taped. They had a TV set, an electric Guatemala waiting for an order from Reagan to generator — all kinds of supplies. invade Nicaragua."

"For the photographs, they gave Mary new pants, a shirt, washed her face, did her hair, combed it; made up her face so she would look pleasant, happy and optimistic about what was going on in the camp. Commandante Negra lent me his shirt to put on over mine; I started unbuttoning it to show my brigadista shirt underneath. They yanked me away from the cameras.

"There were a lot of supplies in that camp. Blue uniforms. Black berets. Medical supplies. A ridiculous number of guns. North American jungle boots — green boots that breathe. The packets on their belts where they kept medicine

"Eventually there came a point when they began to act towards us as if we were not guilty. We stayed in the camp two days longer... On January 6th, we were tied, blindfolded and taken from the house we were kept in. Felipe and Mary Barreda remained in the contra camp. They didn't tell us where they were taking us. We had met Commandante Suicide in the Guardia camp and he took us to a Nicaraguan refugee camp in a town called Danli, about 35 kilometers from the border."

It was in this camp of people who "left Nicaragua for one reason or another" that Rodriguez and three companions worked and lived under lighter security because "the Guardia had

sor is also a good personal friend of Alfonso Robelo, a wealthy Pastora supporter.

**Can Costa Rica continue to maintain a "low profile" in regard to harboring the contras?**

The situation with Costa Rica is becoming so serious because Honduras is having a difficult time projecting itself as the "victim" of the Sandinistas. Especially with 5,000 U.S. troops there, it's hard to picture them as weak, as a country under attack. There seems to be a shift to place that image onto Costa Rica.

**Does Eden Pastora of ARDE have any popular support among Costa Ricans on the border area?**

People in the northern Costa Rican border area have been supportive of Pastora. Yet his excesses, perhaps, are beginning to turn them. A team of reporters I know had been in a Costa Rican village, Santa Rosa, a couple of months ago and the people there at that time were openly pulling for Pastora. The reporters were there again three weeks ago and said that the atmosphere had changed considerably. People were now complaining about Pastora's presence. His men had killed six people in that town just recently because they were suspected of being Sandinista supporters. Yet the contras are hiring Costa Rican youths and paying them, in U.S. dollars, up to \$1,000 per month to fight with Pastora. And of

course there is an extensive commitment to infrastructure work from Israel and the U.S.—to put in roads in Costa Rica for which there is no real function except to have military access.

**The CIA apparently gave the contras explicit marching orders in July 1983 that they had only several months to "shape up." Can the contra forces, in their present composition, make a significant improvement in their performance?**

For the past two years the contras have been attempting to take over a section of Nicaragua and for two years they have not been able to do it, even on a brief basis. One of the favorite stories of newsmen is to be taken for a ride by Pastora and being told that they are in Nicaraguan territory when it is obvious to anyone who knows the area that it is Costa Rica....Pastora does have a certain amount of mobility in the swamps on the border, but there isn't anyone in the swamps to dispute his wandering. He always appears very hard pressed for money. He told the press in Costa Rica that he managed to get the money for the airplanes he used to do the recent bombing of Managua, \$650,000, from the ex-Nicaraguan Ambassador to Washington, Señor Francisco Fiallos....But if the contras are going to do anything effective, ever, there is going to have to be more cooperation between the separate forces.

**In the face of escalating contra activity Nicaragua instituted a military service conscription law in August 1983. Every male between 17 and 21 is required to register for a two year conscription. Opposition parties such as the Democratic Conservative Party have condemned the law. How have other organizations responded?**

There has been some opposition, which was probably mainly caused by a lack of preparation by the Sandinistas for the fact that the law was coming, although the groundwork for the law was laid in July 1979. In Managua and border areas the reaction has been rather positive. In farming areas, there is not so much opposition to the draft but concern about what it will mean in terms of caring for the crops. According to the Protestant Church, the Sandinista government has agreed, in practice, to respect an individual's pacifist beliefs and will offer alternative service to those requesting it.

The strongest opposition to the law has come from the organized women, who oppose the fact that service is not mandatory for women. I think the women of Nicaragua are very proud of the strategic combative role they played in the overthrow of Somoza. Like women everywhere they hope that this role will not have to be one of their priorities, yet they are prepared to defend their homeland and their struggle.

decided we were integrated... All the while, in the meantime, we were planning our escape."

The final episode of Rodriguez's captivity sounds like a second-rate Hollywood thriller: "On January 9," he said, "two of us entered the telecommunications office in Danli. We first talked to Esteli Telcor [the telephone company switchboard in Esteli, Nicaragua]. They told us to call the Nicaraguan Embassy in Tegucigalpa [the capital of Honduras].". Rodriguez asked the operator to dial the Embassy.

Then, he said, "I got really worried. The receptionist said 'These people never answer the phone; I'm going to hang up.' On the seventh ring, a man answered. We told him we'd been kidnapped and he told us to get the others and 'Stay exactly where you are.'

"We went to the house to get the other two, and went back to the telecommunications office. We stayed inside there so the Guardia would not see us and be suspicious.

"Forty-five minutes after the phone call, a person drove up in a car and asked, 'Are you the persons kidnapped?' 'Yes.' We got into the car and it headed toward the border. The driver said, 'We're all in this together now: if we get caught, we are all dead.' We passed the border guard into free country. I felt relieved. All my

fear left. 'If I die now, I die in Nicaragua Libre,' I thought to myself. I was happy to be free, but sad about the companeros we had left in Honduras."

On August 6, 1983, an independent Managua newspaper, El Nuevo Diario, revealed that La Lodosa, the camp where Rodriguez and his companions were held, is a key center for contras from the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), most of whom are ex-National Guard members from the Somoza era. This expose centered on an "Argentine Colonel, Santiago Villegas, an agent of the CIA in Honduras, who supplies the contra." La Lodosa is identified as the location of a school for commandos in which Villegas and Commandante Suicide work. A photograph shows the sign over the school's entrance, with the words "Commandos Welcome, School of FDN Commandos." Painted underneath are the contra slogans: "Commandos Always to the Front" and "God, Fatherland, Democracy."

The companions Rodriguez left behind — Felipe and Mary Barreda — were killed in early April by the contras. According to the Central American Historical Institute of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., the Honduran government has acknowledged that they are buried at the edge of La Lodosa camp. ☐

MARCOS CONT. from pg. 31

The left, nevertheless, maintained a healthy caution in dealing with Aquino, who also revealed that he received periodic briefings from the CIA and the State Department while Jimmy Carter was still president. Aquino, for his part, did not hesitate to articulate his differences with the National Democratic Front. Foremost among these was his belief that the United States was key to change in the Philippines. Part of this conviction undoubtedly stemmed from his ruling class origins; part from a naive belief that he could "control" the U.S. "You know, we overestimate the impact of the United States on the Philippines," he remarked to a Counterspy associate at Harvard in January 1982. "We can manage the U.S. by using the carrot and the stick. We can arrive at more equal terms with the multinationals. What we need is more political will and less rhetoric."

Aquino, however, grew increasingly frustrated with the U.S. after the Reagan administration came to power in 1981. Harassed by FBI investigators and by customs officers whenever he came back to the U.S. after a trip abroad, Aquino became convinced that no amount of lobbying could persuade Reagan to drop his full support for Marcos. This disenchantment was reflected in Aquino's changing position on the presence of the U.S. bases in the Philippines: in 1981, he saw them as necessary to ward off

the Soviet Union; by mid-1983, he was calling for their "eventual withdrawal" since they made "the U.S. hostage to Marcos."

Had Aquino lived, he would probably have become more and more of a nationalist, if only to keep up with the swift movement of the general Philippine population to the left. But he would have remained as well a ruling class politician. It was a contradiction with which the progressive movement was prepared to live at a stage when the key task was overthrowing the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Indeed, right before Aquino embarked on his fatal mission, National Democratic Front representatives offered him sanctuary in the Philippines in areas controlled by the New People's Army. ☐

#### Footnotes:

1) In 1968 and 1969, respectively, the Communist Party and the People's Army were reestablished on the line that armed struggle was a strategic priority for the movement in the Philippines. The old People's Army and the old Communist Party emphasized the strategy of finding a parliamentary road to liberation; they eventually surrendered to Marcos in 1974 and characterized his government as a "nationalist" government, leading to their virtual disintegration as a force within the Philippine progressive movement.

2) For an account of Lansdale's activities in the Philippines, see his autobiography In the Midst of Wars (Harper and Row, New York, 1972). Joseph Burkholder Smith, in his Portrait of a Cold Warrior (Ballantine Books, New York, 1976) picks up the story where Lansdale left off.

# Women Speak Out

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## Ireland: British Counter-insurgency, Armed Struggle and the Mass Movement

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Martha McClelland are prominent members of the Irish liberation movement. Both interviews were given in the summer of 1983 during an important turning point for the movement. In June 1983, Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), won 40 percent of the nationalist vote in the British Parliamentary elections, and Sinn Fein Vice President Gerry Adams was elected Member of Parliament from West Belfast. This victory was followed by the election of the first Sinn Fein member to the Belfast City Council.

The parliamentary and city council elections represent Sinn Fein's first major effort to extend the national liberation struggle beyond guerrilla warfare to building a politically conscious mass movement.

The movement today is a direct outgrowth of Ireland's 800-year-old struggle against British occupation. In 1922, in an effort to diffuse a revolutionary nationalist movement, Britain partitioned Ireland. Twenty-six southern counties became the Irish Free State, while parts of nine northern counties were gerrymandered into a pro-British loyalist bastion under direct British rule. This arrangement secured British financial, industrial and agricultural interests throughout Ireland and prevented the realization of a true Irish republic.

In the North of Ireland, the predominately Catholic nationalist community quickly found it had become a despised minority underclass in a reactionary loyalist state run by a Protestant ascendancy. This state of affairs engendered the civil rights movement of the 1960s. After loyalist mobs, the Irish police and the British army repeatedly and brutally attacked this non-violent movement, the nearly-defunct Irish Republican

Army reemerged. Its initial mission was to protect the nationalist community, but the struggle soon rekindled its republican aspirations and the Irish national liberation struggle was reborn.

Since the early 1970s, the IRA's main emphasis has been guerrilla warfare. The significance of its recent return to building a mass movement is explored in the following interviews.

Both women speak of the hunger strike and the H-Block prison struggle. They are referring to the struggle the Irish republican prisoners of H-Block prison waged against Britain's move to replace their political status with common criminal status. The protest culminated in the 1981 hunger strike in which ten men starved to death before a compromise was reached. The hunger strike engendered the largest mobilization of the community since the 1960s civil rights movement and induced Sinn Fein to reconsider its sole emphasis on the guerrilla struggle and to decide to seriously work to develop a parallel mass movement.



Counterspy -- Dec. 83 - Feb. 84 -- 39

# Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

# What Price Reunification?

**What do you think of Sinn Fein's participation in the recent elections to the Belfast City Council and the British Parliament?**

Well, I think it is very good as far as it sharpens the issues for Sinn Fein, as far as it puts the muscle on Sinn Fein to stop being vague. So far, Sinn Fein is recognized as a broadly radical, often as a socialist organization, but it has no clear philosophy. I don't mean in terms of sects or anything like that. It has never actually been thought out or discussed to my knowledge the reproduction of wealth, what that means, what that entails. They are for a vaguely socialist Ireland but I don't think they have clearly worked out or committed themselves to any particular idea of how things work.

One of the main problems I see at this stage is very much like the days of demonstrations during the hunger strike in 1981. After you put your 150,000 on the streets in Dublin, then what do you do? Can you top that demonstration? After they run for the European Parliament next year they will have more or less peaked the electoral support. Then they have to say: now what are we to do? Do we seriously go into constitutional politics?

I think there is very little danger of that. But if Sinn Fein is not going to do that, if they are not going to become a more radical, more republican, more principled Socialist Democratic and Labor Party, then they have to look for alternatives. I don't know if Sinn Fein has thought about that sufficiently.

This is the point in the movement where there is a danger of degenerating into constituency services such as tenants associations and social work — basically getting sucked into making the system work. If they are not going to do that then they are going to have to develop

between now and the European Parliamentary elections some means which will allow them to develop into a mass revolutionary party where people will become active not just on the national question but also on unemployment and the women's question. That, I believe, is their next step.

People like Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein Vice President and MP from West Belfast) and the new young leadership of Belfast I have every confidence in. But it's not going to be easy for them. The more they move forward, the more they are going to have to deal with the issue of the South. How do they retain the national level of organization when, politically speaking, their southern rump is far behind them?

They will have to persuade

issue. Registered unemployment is at 20 percent. The pattern of unemployment is comparable with any area of America where you have Native American, Black, and Puerto Rican centers of population. That is, the level of unemployment here among the socially deprived is, on average, twice the national rate. In areas like here or West Belfast, which is predominantly Catholic nationalist, unemployment is 50 to 60 percent.

When you consider the degree of unemployment among youth here and then you ask them what is the major problem and they say the Brits, you get a sense of how crucial the national question is. It stands to reason when 75 percent of the young people don't have a job their natural response should be

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey has been a leader in the northern Ireland struggle since the civil rights days when she was a student at Queens University. She was elected to the British parliament in 1969 at the age of 21 and remained a member until 1974. In 1980 and 1981, she was public relations officer of the National H-Block Armagh Committee, the principal mobilizing group for the hunger strike. Her leadership in this group made her an assassination target. She and her husband were critically wounded in one attempt on her life in January 1981. Recently she has toured Ireland and the United States in support of a variety of causes related to the Irish national liberation struggle. McAliskey lives in Coalisland, northern Ireland.

the South (the Sinn Fein of southern Ireland), which is on a different wavelength altogether, to go in their direction. That may lead to difficulties. Hopefully they will be resolved politically. But it is not totally impossible that it may lead to a split in the party.

**What do you see as the major issues in northern Ireland today?**

Well, the central issue is still partition. It's the underlying factor that influences everything else. Unemployment is another

"unemployment." But they recognize that there is no way the unemployment pattern is going to change until the constitutional question is changed.

Poverty is another major problem here. The monetarist policies in Britain have a worse effect here than anywhere else. People with work are paid less than the national average. Things that in my childhood were dreaded but had disappeared have come to be dreaded again. In this area children have died of menengitis and polio. It has to

I think in this generation, with the nuclear threat, the choice is between Marxism or nothing . . . The world is going to have to be shared. I think Ronald Reagan would rather blow the world up than allow it to be shared. So it is up to the rest of us to take it away from him and people like him before they destroy it.

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reflect on the quality of life when things like rickets, polio, meningitis, and gastroenteritis are becoming commonplace. It has to reflect on the social economic position of the people which suffer those diseases.

#### U.S. Intervention

Are you aware that there is an effort within the republican support movement in America that has been encouraging the U.S. government to intervene in some way in Ireland? For instance, in the New York state legislature there is a resolution calling for a U.S. envoy to be appointed to resolve the northern Ireland dispute diplomatically.

I don't have much detail on that. I do have my own political instincts. I do not believe in the fellowship of countries dominated by multinational corporations. What is America? It is not the American people, it is American money and American companies. I do not believe they are interested in Ireland for any purpose other than to make more money in Ireland than they would make if they put the money somewhere else. For us that would mean we would have to accept their terms of investment, their wage structure, and their anti-union bias. Their investments would also strengthen their hand for pushing against Irish neutrality.

#### Joining NATO?

##### **You are referring to NATO?**

Yes, NATO. Ireland, or the South, is outside NATO. They want Ireland in NATO.

Do you feel the United States would like to effect some sort of Irish reunification at the price of Ireland joining NATO?

I think they would. One of the

fears I have is that there hasn't been sufficient popular work done in this country on the question of NATO and the nuclear arms race. Therefore it is remote to too many people. They do not consider membership in NATO or being part of the nuclear arms race too high a price for freedom. I believe that it is. If someone said to me you can have a united Ireland in the morning if you join NATO, I'd say no thank you. We'll take freedom our own way and on our own terms.

#### The Women's Movement

**Do you feel the women's question has been effectively addressed by the republican movement?**

It's very difficult for the republican movement given its historical development and the level of consciousness. I think it is clear that the best feminists in Ireland are those who have developed through the republican movement. We came to an awareness of feminism almost at the last stage of our development in fighting against repression.

There has also been an independent women's movement in the South for some time. The problem is the women's movement has focussed exclusively on the right of a woman to control her own body.

**Are you saying there is no integration of the national and women's question among the feminists in the South?**

Yes. And the inability of these groups to take on the national question is a big problem. It reflects the whole attitude of southern society as well as press and other media censorship over the reality of the struggle in the North. The women's movement, for example, did not support the women in Armagh jail (where most political prisoners are kept)

during their fight for political status. Moreover, they supported the women's peace movement (a short lived movement that called on nationalist guerrillas to lay down their arms) despite the fact that the women in the peace movement were not feminists.

By and large the women in the national movement support the feminist struggle. It is still very much one-way traffic. You get the anti-imperialist women supporting the feminists but not the other way around. The southern feminists are very supportive of contraceptive and abortion rights but are totally opposed to women's role in the national struggle. They are totally opposed to what the republican movement stands for. They refuse to confront the fact that we are not oppressed simply because we are women but also because we are working class women and because we are working class republican women.

#### Organizing the South

**Getting back to the national question. How does the South fit into the republican movement today?**

I think the key is that we are talking about the reunification of the island and the South is a major part of it. What is not clear is that after 50 or 60 years of partition there is nowhere left to run. It must take on the question of partition.

The reason, in my opinion, that the South has never been able to get it together economically is because the national bourgeoisie and Britain, France and the United States, who together run the country, are divided over the issue of the North. Even the two major parties of the South which represent virtually the same interests and would both be part of the

Conservative Party if they were in England, have different attitudes on the North. Therefore they cannot get their capitalist act together.

Neither party is prepared to take on the British because they are still economically tied to the British economy. But they are at the end of their rope now. The parties are going to have to opt for either ending British rule in the North or reinforcing it.

That is why it is crucial that we should be organizing in the South because the only coherent policy is an anti-imperialist policy. That has to be a major new direction for Sinn Fein. They must take on the internal politics of the South of Ireland.

#### **How long do you think it will take to unite Ireland?**

I give it a good 20 years.

#### **Do you think it will be the kind of Ireland you want?**

I don't know. There are times when I have this recurring nightmare of large numbers of people and bands and flags and speeches declaring freedom. And I'll be in the back with someone whispering to me, "you mean that's all we get?" I don't really know except if that's all we really do get, those in the back will fight on.

On an international level the whole system has outlived its usefulness. That is why you have crises everywhere. And this is

all happening in the shadow of nuclear war. Whatever people may think of Marx, I think the truest thing he said was that the last choice for humanity would be between Marxism and barbarism. I think in this generation, with the nuclear threat, the choice is between Marxism or nothing. Just as the South has nowhere left to go, those who control the world economy have nowhere left to go. The world is going to have to be shared. I think Ronald Reagan would rather blow the world up than allow it to be shared. So it is up the rest of us to take it away from him and people like him before they destroy it. ☐

## **Martha McClelland**

# **Organizing the South**

#### **Could you describe Britain's counterinsurgency strategy since 1975 when the IRA and the British Army agreed to a ceasefire?**

The 1975 truce was disastrous for Sinn Fein and it will be the last truce. It was used by Britain to launch a three-part program to destroy the movement.

One part of the program was criminalization, which meant any active republican would be charged with criminal behavior and put in jail. The 800 year long struggle was now going to be a criminal offense, it was now criminal to want self-determination.

Another part was Ulsterization, which is similar to Vietnamization. This is where you replace the British Army with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC, northern Ireland police) and the Ulster Defense Regiment (pro-British paramilitary force). The last point is "normalization", which is to make the situation look as normal as possible; to hide from all the world that there is

a revolutionary struggle and a guerrilla war here.

Derry is the best example of the normalization program. You'll notice when you come from Belfast, where there are a lot of British troops on the ground, that in Derry it is really unusual to see a heavy saturation of British troops. Derry was picked out to become a model city for normali-

zation for a lot of reasons, including the American connection with John Hume (Socialist Democratic and Labor Party leader based in Derry) and including the fact that this city can be restored to make it look like the Williamsburg of Europe — a quaint little city for tourists to come and spend their money.

Insofar as possible, the

Martha McClelland heads the Sinn Fein office in Derry and is a prominent member of Sinn Fein's highest body, the Ard Comhairle. Born in California, McClelland first went to Ireland with a church group while a graduate student at Berkeley. Her experiences there transformed her from an avowed pacifist to a revolutionary. She joined Sinn Fein in 1974, and has served in a variety of capacities including party spokesperson and member of the Pro Ulster Executive. She has directed several Sinn Fein advice centers, is a leading member of the Sinn Fein Women's Department and was a founder of the National H-Block Armagh Committee. Like most political women activists, McClelland has spent several months in Armagh prison. Most recently she has been a leader of the party's new political education movement. ☐

**So many Irish Americans would accept  
U.S. government involvement in Ireland as help,  
as assistance to people who are struggling.**

**That is simply not the case.**

**It's like sending in nurses with the plague to a cancer ward.**

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troops were taken off the streets and replaced by sophisticated surveillance devices along with a very quick reaction time for British troops. If a shot is fired anywhere in the city, within three to five minutes the area will be very quickly saturated by British troops and RUC. They catch as many republicans that way in Derry as they do with the saturation techniques in Belfast.

**The 1981 Hunger Strike**

**What happened in 1976 when the truce was ended?**

At that stage the British moved to close down Republican News (Sinn Fein's newspaper), some prominent republicans were thrown in jail and the criminalization program was instituted. In response to criminalization of the republican prisoners (their status was changed to "criminal"), the H-Block struggle began.

Republicans were thinking very carefully about what was going on and began to realize that you can't win this war through military means alone. We realized the military struggle alone would be fruitless unless a political struggle was going on. Also we realized that a political struggle alone would never have the force behind it to get the British out.

So in 1977 and 1978, a lot of people in the republican movement knew we had to develop into a political movement. The formation of the National H-Block Armagh Committee, which was a large-scale mobilization of the Irish people, was the product of that development. Since that time people have seen the effects of the H-Block movement.

The hunger strike of IRA prisoners in 1981 happened at a time when the movement was mature enough to use the tragedy to develop political awareness

among the people. Now the hunger strike was a tragedy and there were strenuous attempts by the republican movement to prevent it from happening. But given that tragedy, we were able to move a lot of people. The deaths of those ten volunteers helped us develop a pre-revolutionary consciousness among the people.

If we can continue that development, we can develop enough political awareness so that their deaths won't be in vain. They won't be just more martyrs for old Ireland. Instead, their sacrifice will be the catalyst that got the republican movement and the people back together again. The British were trying, very successfully, to isolate us from the people. Because of the hunger strike the republican movement was able to mobilize the largest number of people since the civil rights days from 1968 to 1972.

I think that the recent series of elections sent shock waves throughout the loyalist community as well as to the big powers like the United States. You wouldn't believe the significance of this just by reading the papers. The fact that ordinary people with the privacy of a secret ballot would vote for the party which the United States government, the British government, and the Irish establishment, including the Catholic Church, have spent enormous amounts of money to get people to believe was terrorist is significant. People don't vote for terrorists, right?

Terrorists are quite different from freedom fighters. Terrorists use political violence against civilian communities. I don't think that's legitimate. However, using legitimate force is quite different from violence against civilians. Our violence is

directed against an occupation force. That is quite clear to people who live here. It must be clear because we got 43 percent of the nationalist vote in the elections to the British Parliament. We are now a recognized political force and we are here to stay. We are people on the move.

**Building a Mass Movement**

**In what ways do you intend to build the mass movement?**

One of the most important things we have to do is break down barriers, particularly ideological barriers that the establishment has built. We have to break down, for instance, the hold the churches (both Protestant and Catholic) have over the people's mentality here. Now I am not anti-church or anti-Christian or anything like that. What I am is anti-sectarian.

If we build a state here, it has to be a state that has complete separation of church and state. The churches' current stranglehold over people's minds is not only immoral, it prevents us from obtaining the socialist republic we are fighting for. Our right to self-determination is anti-theoretical to the churches because the churches now support and always have supported the establishment.

In our education we have to recognize that we have only two years until the 1985 Ulster-wide city council elections to build support. All we need is another nine percent of the vote to be the recognized leaders of the nationalist community. We don't simply want the lion's share of the vote. We want people to know why they are voting for Sinn Fein. A lot of people vote for Sinn Fein for mixed reasons. Some people vote for Sinn Fein

**We realized the military struggle alone would be fruitless  
unless a political struggle was going on.  
Also we realized that a political struggle alone  
would never have the force behind it  
to get the British out.**

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just to get the Brits out.

Now the republican movement is not so much just a "Brits-out" party. We specifically want a social revolution and we want a socialist republic. We want to create and define our socialism for the Irish people and we'll take bits and pieces of whatever is the best in other socialist systems to create it. We need to make people demand that kind of socialism.

Another obstacle we have to counteract here is the media. The state controls people's learning processes by controlling television and radio stations here. BBC and RTE (Republic of Ireland broadcasting network) are controlled by the state and the newspapers are controlled by the establishment. The fact that television is controlled by the state is very important. It is a powerful passive learning tool. It keeps people off of the streets. You don't breed revolutionaries in front of a television set.

Another controlling force is the way the housing estates are designed. The British Army, for example, has a veto over any housing estate design. In all the new estates you'll see there is only one entrance and exit.

**Yes, I've noticed the estates are full of cul-de-sacs.**

That's right. You'll note that in the old Bogside (section of Derry) the streets were crisscrossed and there were wee alleys and there were ways you could get away so if the Brits came up one street you could go through Mrs. Doherty's back door and up through the alleys and over somebody's fence and you would be away. But now it is quite a simple matter for the Brits to block off an estate. There is only one entrance and one exit.

We have to get people to open their eyes and look at the

images around them. Look out that window, what do you see? You see the state coming in the form of the RUC, you see people hanging around the street corners day after day with nothing to do because they are unemployed. You see a cemetery up the road filled with young people. You see dilapidated older houses. You see all the things that control people's lives. Our job is to get people to stop passively accepting these things; to open their eyes and see what's around them and to be able to analyze it all. That's the sort of education we have to do.

Between now and the 1985 elections we have to do more than just get more votes, we have to build a revolutionary force. We must do this so we do not become coopted. I am very concerned that this revolution is not coopted. In 1916, you had a republic declared by a bunch of high-minded people who were immediately executed. Within five years you had the republic betrayed.

Despite the fact that Sinn Fein won 80 percent of the vote in 1918, you had a sell-out and you had a sell-out for good political reasons. People in Sinn Fein were not so much republicans but nationalists, people confused in their political thinking. We don't need that this time. If you have people who are confused politically that means they can be bought off. We've paid too much in people's lives and in people's deaths to settle for that. The struggle has cost too much, so in the end of the day it has to be worth the price we've paid for it.

#### The Southern Strategy

**Where does the South fit into your strategy right now?**

The South is very important because the majority of the Irish live in the South. At the same time, the South is light years behind the North in both political awareness and experience. They haven't gone through the kind of struggle we have. In the North the average person you talk to is aware that the media is trying to control their minds.

People are aware of control and repression. They are also aware of international struggles such as the struggles in South Africa, Guatemala and El Salvador. In the South, because there hasn't been a broad-based struggle, they're very content to ignore the struggle here. They are apathetic; some are hostile. They just don't get the news and they haven't had the experience. The church also is much stronger in the South.

The southern government has been able to sell the people on the hope that allowing foreign investments to develop the country will make Ireland into a West Germany or a United States. There are good historical reasons why they should hope for something which will make their lives more comfortable. But people are confused. They have relatives in America and they admire their life-style, but what they don't see is how American involvement in other countries is destroying America. They think of Vietnam as an aberration as opposed to what America usually does to countries when all else fails.

People in the South have a short-term view of their own country. By and large, I think they have a slave mentality. Ireland has been occupied for over 800 years and that has had a tremendous affect on people's mentality.

The economic situation in the South is pushing people to consider the republican movement

now. Fifty percent of the Irish population is under the age of 25. There are lots and lots of young people coming out of schools with no jobs. They are not prepared to accept it. What's happening in the South is just like what's been going on in the North, the state is no longer able to provide for the needs of the people.

Though we can organize the South, we operate under a big handicap. Under Section 31 (Republic of Ireland broadcast statute), no republican can be interviewed on radio or television. Republicans can't even be quoted. It's a major factor operating against us because people just don't get the chance to hear what Gerry Adams and people like him have to say. The newspapers and media build the picture of what republicans are and we get no chance to respond. Unless you have experience in the North or have relatives up here you simply don't have an alternative source of information.

**Is there a priority to organize in the South now or are you still emphasizing consolidating the North?**

We are trying to do both. We spent half-a-million dollars fighting two elections recently. Was that a good thing to do, we have to ask ourselves. Should we have bought SAM missiles for the same amount of money? Or is this a diversion created by the British government? If we are becoming the authentic voice of the nationalist community then that's a very good thing, but if we are simply playing electoral politics so we can sit on this committee or that committee, then that is wrong.

We have a revolution on our hands and if we are sucked into local politics in a repressive state, our talents and energies will be wasted. We don't want to work to make the system work. If the Housing Executive isn't meeting the needs of the people we don't want to push it to work better.

**U.S. "Mediation"?**

**George Bush was in Dublin on the 4th of July. Henry Kissinger was in Dublin two days before that. In the United States there is an effort within the republican**

**support movement to lobby for a special U.S. envoy to diplomatically arrange for a reunified Ireland. Also, there is a bill in Congress which would allow \$50 million in aid to Ireland on the condition that Britain withdraws from the North. How do you feel about U.S. government involvement in the struggle in northern Ireland?**

It is not surprising that I feel about American involvement the same way the Vietnamese people did. The U.S. government wouldn't want to get involved here with no strings attached. I am deeply upset that George Bush and Henry Kissinger were in Ireland at all. They are arch enemies of the Irish people. Now when I say that I don't mean that Irish people and American people don't have a lot in common.

The loans and talk of Marshall plan for Ireland, the fact that Ted Kennedy and John Hume (leader of the Socialist and Democratic Labor Party) are close, I view with extreme alarm. The prospect of a special envoy is extremely threatening to us. We have struggled long and hard, and we want to create our own country. We have no obligations to reproduce American institutions of government here. Self-determination is up to us and has nothing to do with what the American government wants for Ireland.

Most American people would probably accept our right to self-determination. Most Americans, however, have no idea what we want. The struggle is censored. I am very fearful that Irish Americans who support us, and good-hearted as they are, might unwittingly become involved in something which is actually a front for U.S. covert operations here.

For instance, they might think that an Alliance Plan or a Marshall Plan or sending AID (U.S. Agency for International Development) funds over here would be a good thing — things that were tried in Central America and Vietnam before they sent in military advisors. The American government does not want a free Ireland. It does not want self-determination for the Irish people. So many Irish Americans would accept U.S.

government involvement in Ireland as help, as assistance to people here who are struggling. That is simply not the case. It's like sending in nurses with the plague to a cancer ward.

The potential American involvement here is very, very dangerous. Politicians in America who everywhere else in the world have done nothing for struggling people, politicians who are tied in with the big monied interests in America, politicians who are tied in with the concept of America as the superpower dominating the rest of the world — they want to help us? We don't believe it. Irish Americans who favor bank loans and U.S. government intervention are actually wheeling a Trojan horse into Ireland.

**Ireland into NATO?**

**Do you feel threatened by the possibility of the South ending its neutrality and joining NATO?**

I don't feel threatened, I am threatened. It's a threat to my life and to the life of the community here. One thing most Irish agree on is maintaining neutrality. The American government very much wants Ireland in NATO. If that happens we will never achieve our freedom.

We want a socialist republic where people have control over their own lives. NATO would not only tie us in with the superpowers but also with nuclear weapons. We are fighting a war here with armalite rifles, M16 machine guns and maybe a dream of a SAM missile. NATO is discussing placing nuclear weapons here. In this very city they have a NATO tracking station. This means Derry is a nuclear target. Everybody — North, South, Catholic, Protestant — is against nuclear weapons. As republicans we are openly opposed to NATO. Everything that NATO is doing is alien to our philosophy. Our fight against Britain is also a fight against NATO involvement.

# Joan Coxsedge

# U.S. Pulls Strings in Australia

This interview with Joan Coxsedge was conducted in Washington, D.C. in August 1983. Coxsedge is the founder of the Committee for the Abolition of Political Police and serves in the Victorian Parliament as a member of the Australian Labor Party. With Ken Coldicutt and Gerry Harant, she is author of Rooted in Secrecy: the Clandestine Element in Australian Politics (published by CAPP, 8 Leicester Street, North Balwyn, Victoria, 3104, Australia).

**You have a new government, a Labor Party government with Bob Hawke as Prime Minister. What does that mean for U.S.-Australian relations?**

For some reason, the United States government has apparently never had any reservation about Bob Hawke, unlike their previous totally unjustified fears of the Whitlam Labor government of ten years ago. Gough Whitlam was the Prime Minister from 1972 to 1975, when he was ousted from office with the assistance of the CIA.

Long before Bob Hawke was even a Parliamentarian, the CIA's top secret National Intelligence Daily, a small publication prepared by the CIA for the U.S. President and his closest advisors to read each morning, stated on March 10, 1976, that "Hawke is the best qualified candidate to succeed Whitlam," and "it would appear to be in Hawke's interest until establishing his own eligibility either to retain Whitlam as a virtual lame duck leader or have him replaced by an obvious interim figure." Statements of support coming from such a source at such an apparently premature stage worry Australian Labor Party members.

It is equally worrying that Hawke enjoys the support of organizations like Business Inter-

national and the American Chamber of Commerce. Business International's links with the CIA were first exposed in the New York Times in 1977. It is an association of executives of multinational corporations. In Australia, it appears to be a closed club, representing about 20 of the most powerful multinationals operating here, such as IBM, General Electric and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Recently a speech by Allan Carroll, Business International's Director of Client Services for Australia and South East Asia was leaked to the public. Carroll made that speech in April 1981 to a handful of elite corporate officials in Melbourne. In it he predicted accurately that Hawke would come to power, and how he would do it, alluding to his, Carroll's, own efforts to make that happen.

**Why is Australia important for the Pentagon and for U.S. business interests?**

Firstly, we have very important mineral resources and roughly 20 percent of the world's uranium reserves. And the U.S. needs Australia as a stable land base in the South Pacific. Our subservient position in security matters is probably best illustrated by the chain of U.S. bases and military support facilities dotted across the country, including the highly sophisticated joint CIA/National Security Agency electronic monitoring station near Alice Springs; Nurrungar, which is one of the two ground stations for the American satellite early warning system; and North West Cape, another vital link in U.S. military strategy because its Very Low Frequency system is the largest and most powerful in its global submarine communications system.

**What role does Australia play in U.S. war plans?**

That's the irony. Australia would become a prime target in a war situation because of these vital bases without most Australians ever knowing why. Australia has no say in U.S. war strategy.

**The U.S. Takes Charge**

**How did the Australian government agree to the presence of bases on their soil?**

You have to go back to World War II. When Japan entered the war, Australia was threatened by Japan militarily. As you know, the United States was deeply involved in that war and used Australia as a base; after the war was over it continued to do so. Australian governments always claim we cannot survive militarily without a "big brother" of some sort. What happened at the end of the war was that we exchanged our client status with Britain for that of the United States.

Then came the cold war. The CIA was founded in 1947, and the U.S. and Britain demanded that Australia should establish a security agency. So the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) was set up in 1949. A British security chief came to Australia to establish the agency.

In the early 1950s we had the establishment of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS), an outfit that is supposed to be concerned with Australia's external security, like the CIA in the United States. The Australian Labor Party wasn't told of the existence of ASIS until it came to office in 1972. ASIS played a role in aiding the CIA in "destabilizing" the Sihanouk government in Cambodia and the government of Salvador Allende in Chile.

As well as all that, we have treaties that lock us into U.S. war games. Open treaties like ANZUS, and other treaties with secret details like the Quadripartite Pact of 1947, involving the interchange of military hardware information between the U.S., Britain, Canada and Australia.

But more significantly, the same countries are also signatories to the highly secret and vastly more important UKUSA Treaty or SIGINT (Signals Intelligence) Pact which links the western world's intelligence agencies under the umbrella of the U.S. National Security Agency. Australia is "responsible" for South East Asia and parts of the Indian Ocean.

The contents of secret treaties are not known to Australian governments. For instance, the Defence Signals Directorate (DSD), the agency the U.S. relies on most, signed the UKUSA Treaty on behalf of Australia, without the government even knowing about the existence of the DSD, let alone the existence of UKUSA.

Australia has just gone along on the U.S. coattails. We sent troops into Korea and Vietnam. But the Vietnam war was a painful learning experience for many Australians. Opposition to that war was very deep and some of the largest demonstrations ever seen in Australia took place at that time.

**I understand there was a break of some kind between Australia and the United States in the early 1970s.**

There was a break because the mildly reformist Labor government of Gough Whitlam was elected in 1972. It wasn't a radical government by any means, but the U.S. leadership regarded it with deep-seated hostility. Nixon was in the White House and he had a personal hatred of Whitlam, shared by Henry Kissinger.

The first real indication that Nixon was concerned about the new Labor government was his appointment of Marshall Green as ambassador in March 1973. Green was quite blatant about his role. A senior Labor minister reported how, in the

Minister's own office, Green threatened that if Labor handed over control of U.S. multinational subsidiaries to the Australian people, "we would move in." Green was the only professional diplomat we have ever had as an



American ambassador. This is true right up to the present time where the current U.S. ambassador is just another political nonentity.

There was also a certain ineptitude on the part of the Labor government — remember, they hadn't been in power for 23 years. The Labor Party's Minister for Minerals and Energy wanted to "buy back the farm," that is, take back the control of our minerals, which was a very reasonable thing to do. To do that, he was seeking loans outside the traditional borrowing areas such as Wall Street. He looked in the Arab world.

That caused great ripples in the U.S. business establishment.

But the minister had money brokers who were highly suspicious characters, who were unreliable and later proved to have CIA connections, so that showed ineptitude on his part. But what he was trying to do was right. He was attacked most bitterly and lost his portfolio. Whitlam should have stood up and defended him, and explained to the Australian people why he was doing what he was doing.

**The Constitutional Coup**

**Soon thereafter Whitlam too was ousted?**

Yes, he was ousted in what we call the Constitutional Coup of 1975 when Governor General John Kerr dismissed him. Kerr's ties to American intelligence go back to World War II when he worked for a top secret Australian military intelligence unit. Even when he was Governor General, his interest in intelligence matters persisted. But in earlier years he was a member of the CIA-sponsored Australian Association of Cultural Freedom (Australian offshoot of the worldwide Congress for Cultural Freedom). He also made the inaugural presidency of Law Asia, which is funded by the notorious Asia Foundation. Kerr was on the far right of Australian politics — Whitlam's choice of Kerr as Governor General has never been properly explained. In fact, when he was selected, some Labor people correctly forecast Kerr's role.

In the event, Kerr dismissed Whitlam on November 11, 1975. It was an unprecedented action. The Governor General is the representative of the Queen of England, Australia being part of the Commonwealth. Very few knew he had the power to oust the Prime Minister, and there was absolute shock and disbelief among the people. The army was recalled to the barracks, the police were put on alert, and leave was cancelled, because the powers-that-be expected a strong reaction.

Bob Hawke, as the President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, issued an appeal to people to cool it. And people did. Many have regretted it profoundly since then.

**A senior Labor Minister reported how,  
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Labor handed over control of U.S. multinational subsidiaries  
to the Australian people, "we would move in."**

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**Task Force 157**

**You say the CIA was involved in that "constitutional coup"?**

One has to go back a bit. The Labor government was being destabilized. I don't look for conspiracies, because I have always felt that if the capitalist system was a conspiracy then it would have to work a hell of a lot better than it does. But it would be stupid to deny that conspiracies exist within the system. And I would say that this destabilization was a conspiracy.

I believe the job of destabilizing the Whitlam government was given to Task Force 157. This was a mini-CIA set up in the mid-1960s under the umbrella of U.S. Naval Intelligence, so that its real controller, Henry Kissinger, could deny any connections with the CIA.

But the CIA contact point for Task Force 157 was Ted Shackley, a very senior figure who became the chief of the CIA's East Asia Division in 1975. Shackley had formerly run CIA sabotage operations against Cuba, Vietnam and Chile. So he was well qualified. But one of the most important CIA fronts in Australia at that time was undoubtedly the Nugan Hand Merchant Bank. Nugan Hand was used as a conduit for funds to buy politicians, trade union leaders and journalists and to finance a media campaign against the Labor Party.

The U.S. government felt threatened by this Labor government — in fact, by 1975 there was talk that the U.S. military establishment now regarded Australia as "unstable" and was contemplating moving Pine Gap back to the island of Guam at a cost of \$1 billion.

First there was the loans

affair, which was played up to the hilt in the mass media, without any evidence of actual wrongdoing. Australia lost its AAA credit rating among foreign banks for reasons unknown to the Australian government.

U.S. corporations, mainly Westinghouse, were also desperately trying to get their hands on our uranium. There was a very interesting article in Nucleonics Week by a Westinghouse lawyer about five weeks before the coup. It said that "if there was a change of government within five weeks time" then Westinghouse would get full access to our uranium, mining of which was barred under Australian Labor Party policy. It was a remarkable prediction.

There were a number of other factors. Whitlam, an arrogant man, got very angry when he found out certain things were happening that he hadn't been told about. Some of these involved intelligence agencies. Whitlam found out, for example, that ASIS had agents operating in Papua New Guinea, and he hadn't been informed. Whitlam sacked the head of ASIS which angered ASIS a great deal, and they then appealed to the CIA. Whitlam also sacked the head of ASIO and proceeded to ask questions about Pine Gap, and the presence of CIA officers in Australia.

At the same time, the Senate, which was controlled by the rightwing Liberal Party, withheld funds from the government. Whitlam was running out of money to pay the bills. And this was the pretext Kerr used to dismiss him.

**Bob Hawke and ASIO**

**How is Prime Minister Bob Hawke going to deal with the question of intelligence agencies — the issue that brought about his predecessor's downfall?**

Hawke's attitude to intelligence agencies is obvious from the way he has behaved in the present Combe/Ivanov affair. In April 1983, ASIO, in line with the CIA's worldwide campaign against the Soviet Union, recommended the expulsion of Soviet diplomat Ivanov as a spy. At the same time, ASIO implicated a senior Labor Party figure and associate of Bob Hawke, David Combe, and in the process destroyed his career.

Hawke not only accepted ASIO's phoney arguments without question but suggested that ASIO should intensify its surveillance of Combe and his contacts. Hawke also set up a Royal Commission into these events. He appointed Justice Hope, who, in a previous Royal Commission into Australia's secret agencies, showed his bias in favor of them. You might find it hard to believe but during the present inquiry, Harvey Barnett, head of ASIO, actually stated that he regarded any Australian who criticized the CIA's role in Australia as a traitor.

God only knows how Justice Hope will manage to turn Harvey Barnett's ineptitudes to ASIO's advantage, but we know he will try, because last time around when Hope found ASIO guilty of crimes, he not only recommended that the spooks should be forgiven, but that their crimes should be legalized.

This was done subsequently in 1979 when the ASIO Act was passed in Parliament. This means ASIO can now quite legally walk into your home or your office or trade union and demand any information they like. If you resist in any way or publicize the circumstances, you could be slugged with a heavy fine and/or a jail sentence. This also applies to identifying or naming agents.

SEE COXSEdge, pg. 55

# Feature

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## Reagan's Arms Control Sham

# Preparing to Violate the Treaties

Konrad Ege and Arjun Makhijani

In its quest for military superiority, the Reagan administration is systematically sabotaging existing arms control treaties. To accomplish this without giving the appearance of warmongering, the administration has been waging a campaign charging that it is the Soviet Union that is violating arms control treaties. Furthermore, the Reagan administration claims that new arms control treaties are difficult to conclude because the Soviet Union refuses to agree to adequate verification provisions. Existing treaties, President Reagan asserts, are not "sufficiently verifiable."

This campaign is aimed at weakening the peace movement in the United States and abroad. "Republicans have the opportunity to coopt this nuclear freeze issue by making 'verifiable' the key word in any arms proposal and being very tough about that," one Republican Party strategist noted.<sup>1</sup> He had an eye on opinion polls which show that the overwhelming majority of the people in the U.S. support a nuclear weapons freeze — but the same polls indicate that most people want a freeze only with "sufficient verification." *Newsweek* found, for instance, that 68 percent of the population supports a freeze; only 25 percent oppose it.<sup>2</sup> However, two-thirds of those questioned put "verification" higher than achievement of a freeze on their list of concerns.

### The Nuclear Test Ban Treaties

One treaty the Reagan administration claims the Soviet Union has violated is the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, signed in 1974, which prohibits

*Konrad Ege is a freelance journalist and Co-Editor of Counterspy. Arjun Makhijani is a consultant on energy and economic development.*

underground tests of atom bombs larger than 150 kilotons. (The Limited Test Ban Treaty forbidding nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water went into effect in 1963.) The United States has not ratified the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, but both the U.S. and the Soviet Union observe it.

President Reagan charged in May 1982 that there is "reason to believe that there have been numerous violations" of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, but a definite statement pointing the finger at the Soviets is said to be difficult to make because of "verification problems." And until "verification measures...can be strengthened," Reagan has been saying, he will not resume the U.S.-British-Soviet talks on a comprehensive test ban.<sup>3</sup> (These talks were suspended by Jimmy Carter in 1980.)

The administration's claims of "numerous violations" are contradicted by most scientists dealing with verification questions. Lynn Sykes, one of the foremost geologists in the United States and an Air Force consultant, and Jack Evernden of the U.S. Geological Survey, say: "We have found not a single instance in which the size of a Soviet test has exceeded the threshold."<sup>4</sup> Sykes also notes that while complaining about verification problems, Reagan has cut funds for verification research.<sup>5</sup>

There are other indications of insincerity in the administration's purported concern about verification: In 1982, the U.S. cast the only vote against a United Nations resolution calling for an international seismic monitoring agency to verify compliance with a comprehensive test ban treaty.<sup>6</sup> Reagan likewise refuses to ratify the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, thus preventing certain cooperative measures from going into

effect. Manfred Eimer, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's verification section — known as a "zealot" with a "passion to expose...Soviet 'cheating'" — has conceded that these cooperative measures which Reagan is holding up would improve verification.<sup>7</sup>

Reagan is not submitting the Threshold Test Ban Treaty to the Senate for a ratification vote; neither will he resume negotiations for a comprehensive test ban, because he plans to continue testing nuclear weapons for the U.S. military buildup. Such tests are particularly necessary for the Reagan-Weinberger "star wars" program. One recent test, for instance, was carried out under the Nevada desert on September 21, 1983. In this operation, codenamed "Tomme-Midnight Zephyr," space assets such as satellite components were placed in a vacuum tube some 450 meters below the earth's surface in which a 20 kiloton nuclear bomb was exploded to test its effect on the equipment.<sup>8</sup>

nuclear weapons program.<sup>11</sup> This policy also violates the Threshold Test Ban Treaty whose Article 1 mandates that the signatories "shall continue their negotiations with a view toward achieving a solution to the problem of the cessation of all underground nuclear weapons tests."<sup>12</sup>

#### The SALT II Treaty

The second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) which limits strategic weapons, was signed by President Carter and Secretary General Brezhnev on June 18, 1979. Carter submitted the treaty to the Senate for a ratification vote on June 22, 1979, but ran into vigorous opposition from Senators claiming the treaty was insufficiently verifiable and would allow the Soviet Union to gain superiority. SALT opponents argued that the treaty would give the Soviet Union such an advantage in land-based missiles that it could launch a first strike against U.S. land-based missiles (though the U.S. would have some 5,000 other strategic warheads in submarines left over for use in the unlikely event of a completely successful strike). This supposed danger was dubbed the "window of vulnerability," a term that became President Reagan's standard explanation of his opposition to SALT II, and an often-repeated rationale for his nuclear buildup.

Today, with Reagan's buildup well underway, the "window of vulnerability" has all but disappeared from the Reagan rhetoric. Indeed, the presidentially-appointed Scowcroft Commission charged with examining the U.S. strategic nuclear weapons program implicitly conceded that such a "window" did not exist. It never had. The claim that SALT II gives the Soviet Union superiority is likewise contradicted by the CIA's 1979 National Intelligence Estimate 1138-79. Under extended SALT limitations, estimates the CIA, the Soviet Union will have no more than 6,000 strategic warheads by 1989; without limitations, the number could be as high as 14,000.<sup>13</sup>

Once Reagan took office in January 1981, he appointed the very people who had stridently opposed SALT II in 1978 and 1979 to top positions in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and other agencies concerned with disarmament matters. These officials include:

- Richard Perle, then a key aide to the anti-SALT senator Henry Jackson, who was "renowned for leaking material on arms control issues, in particular to conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak,"<sup>14</sup> is today Under Secretary of Defense, and an influential figure in the government's arms control policy-making process. Evans and Novak are still prominent among those journalists charging the

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**Said Under Secretary of the Air Force Edward Aldridge: "We don't have to stretch our imagination very far to see that the nation that controls space may control the world."**

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Eugene Rostow, then-head of Reagan's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, testified that the "stone wall" blocking ratification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty was "the feeling in many parts of the government that [because of] the need for new weapons...we are going to need testing and perhaps even testing above the 150 kiloton limit for a long time to come."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, some of the designers of the space war weapons claim that "it will take more underground nuclear testing than now permitted by treaty to find out if these new ideas can be turned into workable [space] weapons."<sup>10</sup>

In September 1983, Reagan himself finally voiced the real reason that his administration has not negotiated a comprehensive test ban. The United States is "not pursuing negotiations with the Soviet Union on a comprehensive test ban (CTB) because it needs continued testing to solve 'important problems' associated with the U.S.

**CNN NEWS**

Soviets with treaty violations; their access to top secret documents seems to continue.

- Edward Rowny was on Carter's SALT negotiating team to the very end, only to suddenly resign, claiming he was convinced SALT would give the Soviet Union superiority. Rowny skillfully used his inside knowledge to testify against SALT ratification. Today Rowny is Reagan's negotiator in the so-called START talks (Strategic Arms Reduction).

- Paul Nitze, who today is Reagan's negotiator in the Intermediate Nuclear Force reduction talks in Geneva, played a key role in the anti-SALT campaign as an official of the Committee on the Present Danger. This well-financed group coordinated the anti-SALT effort and gave Reagan regular briefings during his electoral campaign.

- Eugene Rostow was Reagan's Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for two years. Rostow is a founder of the Committee on the Present Danger.

- David Sullivan was fired from the CIA in 1978 for leaking top secret documents to Richard Perle<sup>15</sup> in an effort to sabotage SALT. Reagan appointed him to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1981, but was forced to dismiss him, as other government officials refused to work with a man who had leaked secret documents. Today Sullivan is an aide to Idaho Senator James McClure, who apparently has unlimited access to secret government documents which he uses to "prove" his litany of charges that the Soviets are violating virtually all existing treaties. McClure seems to be the administration's point man for the treaty violation propaganda.

#### The SALT Violations Charges

McClure's all-out accusations against the Soviet Union are useful for the administration, because Reagan hesitates personally to accuse the Soviet Union on SALT II. Such a stance would be

contradictory to his position that SALT II is in any case "fatally flawed" and, in White House counsellor Ed Meese's words, not binding.

Still, even among those statements about SALT II made by administration officials themselves lie a number of contradictions. Reagan at one point even promised to "refrain from actions which undercut SALT as long as the Soviets show equal restraint." As has become rather common in this administration, an anonymous "high administration official" quickly corrected the President: "I don't believe he would hesitate if it became necessary to take actions inconsistent with one or both SALT treaties."<sup>16</sup> Under Secretary of Defense Perle explained that there was only a "minuscule" difference between Reagan's promise to "informally" observe the treaty and having no treaty at all.<sup>17</sup>

The actions of the administration with regard to SALT II have been less contradictory. The administration is moving ahead with arms programs as if there were no SALT II Treaty. It is disregarding the treaty, for instance, by moving ahead with development and production of two new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

U.S. allegations that the Soviet Union is violating SALT II concentrate on two claims. First, the Soviets are said to be flight-testing two new intercontinental missiles (ICBMs), the SSX24 and the PL5, says Sen. McClure,<sup>18</sup> while only one new type is permitted. Second, McClure says, they are encrypting the telemetry (electronic data transmitted by a missile in flight) of their ICBM tests to prevent U.S. intelligence from learning about the new missiles.

McClure is correct that the testing of only one new type of ICBM is allowed. However, he fails to consider the "Common Understandings" and "Agreed Statements" which define the term "second new missile" such that the Soviet testing does not violate SALT II.\* Nor is the fact that

\*The Soviet government has announced that it is testing the SSX24 as the new type intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) allowed under SALT II. A second ICBM being tested, the so-called PL5 does not, however, as McClure claims, violate SALT. Article 4 of the treaty mandates that from the beginning of a test program, every missile tested must have the same number of stages and the same propellant (liquid or solid) as the first missile tested. It is only during later launches that more stringent criteria apply. Specifically, only during the last 12 launches of the first 25 tests, or during the last 12 launches before the ICBM is deployed (whichever comes first) must the length, launch weight, throw weight and diameter of the missile not vary by more than 10 percent; after that by not more than five percent. The PL5 has been tested about five times, a fact McClure does not dispute, and it does have the same number of stages and the same kind of propellant as the SSX24. Therefore, no matter what the other characteristics of the PL5 are, it cannot begin to violate the SALT II Treaty until it has been tested several more times.

the Soviet Union has encrypted portions of the telemetry of their missile tests as much as an "open-and-shut" case as McClure would have people believe. Article 15 of SALT II does not forbid encryption as such; rather it disallows encrypting telemetric data whenever this "impedes verification of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty."<sup>19</sup> Soviet officials could arguably say that the parts of the telemetry they are encrypting have no bearing on verifying SALT II. If this explanation is unacceptable to the U.S. government, it should take the matter to the Standing Consultative Commission.

This commission of U.S. and Soviet officials meets twice a year and is charged with clearing up questions of treaty noncompliance or ambiguities. According to the former U.S. representative to the Standing Consultative Commission, Robert Buchheim, it has been able to resolve all ambiguities in the past. Until recently, Reagan has refused to use the SCC to discuss SALT II matters since he does not consider the treaty to be in force. By not using the commission and instead feeding accusations against the Soviet Union to the rightwing media, the administration has entirely bypassed the most effective instrument for monitoring treaty compliance.

that are ostensibly for other purposes but could be used to support an anti-ballistic missile system.

The Reagan administration has claimed for several months that the Soviet Union is constructing a radar in Siberia which violates the ABM Treaty. The administration apparently has finally taken its complaint to the Standing Consultative Commission.

President Reagan himself, while charging Soviet violations, has formally and publicly committed himself to a full-scale program of developing a space-based anti-ballistic missile system.<sup>20</sup> According to Gerard Smith, one of the U.S. negotiators of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), this Reagan policy "is equivalent to termination of the ABM Treaty."<sup>21</sup>

The administration even seems to have a schedule for violating the ABM Treaty. The Program Manager of the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Program, in a Senate hearing, refused to answer questions about U.S. compliance with the ABM Treaty: "I would rather not discuss that...until the closed session. That gets into schedules...."<sup>22</sup>

A similar schedule exists for placing U.S. weapons into space, a step that could violate the Outer Space Treaty as well as the ABM Treaty. The Pentagon will likely make a decision about an "on-orbit demonstration" of a space-based laser system for destroying satellites in 1987.<sup>23</sup> An anti-satellite weapon fired from an F-15 fighter plane is being tested in 1983/84, and the Air Force plans to flight-test the Talon Gold laser system on a Space Shuttle mission in early 1984. Eventually, the Air Force wants to take over all Space Shuttle operations. Air Force General Robert Marsh in May 1982 informed the House Armed Services Committee about the administration's intentions: "We should move into war-fighting capabilities — that is ground-to-space war-fighting capabilities, space-to-space, space-to-ground."

#### Pushing for Superiority

#### The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

This treaty, signed and ratified in 1972, prohibits the deployment of more than one, fixed land-based, anti-ballistic missile system. It also prohibits development and deployment of Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) systems and components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based, and the deployment of ABM-related radars. In many cases, radars can be used for several purposes, and both the United States and the Soviet Union are installing radars

Reagan adamantly refuses to negotiate treaty limitations on space weapons. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency director Kenneth Adelman believes the U.S. "should not rush" into negotiations such as talks to ban anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons "unless we are ready with verification proposals that will enhance national security."<sup>24</sup> Citing verification problems, the U.S. was also the only country to vote against a United Nations draft resolution calling for the prevention of an arms race in space,<sup>25</sup> and Reagan has dismissed Soviet offers to negotiate an agreement that would prohibit "the placement in space of weapons of any kind."<sup>26</sup> As in other

arms control questions, the administration is using "verification" to block negotiations — it demands verification provisions before a treaty is negotiated.

The administration is opposed to an agreement limiting space weapons for a very simple reason: the U.S. is intent on gaining military superiority in space. Said Under Secretary of the Air Force Edward Aldridge: "We don't have to stretch our imagination very far to see that the nation that controls space may control the world."<sup>27</sup> The Pentagon's "Air Force 2000" directive of June 1983 emphasizes the importance of superiority in space weapons for "terminating" a "conflict as soon as possible on terms favorable to the U.S."<sup>28</sup>

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's 1985-89 Defense Guidance directs that the United States "must insure" that arms control agreements "do not foreclose opportunities to develop military space capabilities." Richard Cooper, the director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency confirms that the U.S. is "clearly ahead of the Soviets in overall space technology."

The President has characterized his ABM and anti-satellite weapons plans as "defensive." In reality, they are key ingredients of a first strike strategy and, as the Weinberger Defense Guidance says, of a strategy to "prevail" in a "prolonged nuclear war." An ABM system, no matter how advanced, is highly unlikely to be capable of stopping an all-out Soviet attack of thousands of missiles. What it might be able to do is to stop a small number of missiles — for instance, the number which the Soviet Union might have left over after a U.S. strike. (The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency reportedly has produced a study titled "Outcome of a Hypothetical U.S. First Strike, 1993."<sup>29</sup>

With its rapid production of first strike weapons — missiles powerful and accurate enough to destroy command centers and missile silos (such as cruise missiles, Pershing IIs, the MX and Trident IIs) — the U.S. is well underway to achieving a theoretical capability to destroy the 1,400 Soviet ICBM silos and some 700 command centers. Considering that U.S. war planners prepare to use two warheads for each hard target, the Pentagon needs 4,200 warheads.<sup>30</sup> The current buildup will produce some 5,000 such warheads by the end of the decade — enough for a first strike. That there can be no room for arms control, either in the ongoing talks or in other fields, is patently obvious. Reagan officials are convinced that they have the capability to "outbuild" the Soviet Union, i.e. the Soviets are not able to keep pace with the U.S. buildup and need arms control more than the United States does.

This confidence is also the principal reason that the administration regards negotiations themselves as a concession to the Soviet Union rather than an activity necessary for mutual survival and security. Emphasis on "verification" and charges that the Soviet Union is violating existing treaties have only been used to sabotage treaties and negotiations by playing on the fears of people in the United States. Most likely, the Pentagon itself would not be willing to accept verification provisions such as the ones Reagan wants to force on the Soviet Union. For instance, the Pentagon would not agree to mandatory "on-site" inspections to monitor compliance with the Test Ban Treaty.<sup>31</sup> According to one Senate nuclear weapons specialist, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff turned "pasty white at the idea" of Red Army observers at the U.S. test site in Nevada.<sup>32</sup>

#### Footnotes:

- 1) Newsweek, 4/26/82.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) New York Times (NYT), 7/21/82.
- 4) John Wilke, "Seismic Verification," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 3/83, p. 5.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) NYT, 7/26/82.
- 7) National Journal, 8/6/83.
- 8) New York News, 9/22/83; NYT, 9/22/83.
- 9) Washington Post (WP), 7/26/82.
- 10) WP, 4/16/83.
- 11) WP, 9/8/83.
- 12) U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements, Washington, D.C., 1982, p.167.
- 13) WP, 1/31/80.
- 14) Newsday (Long Island), 2/1/83.
- 15) NYT, 11/13/78; 1/4/81.
- 16) William Jackson, "Reagan's Unsavory SALT," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 8-9/82.
- 17) NYT, 5/3/83.
- 18) See Malcolm Wallop, "Soviet Violations of Arms Control Agreements: So What?," Strategic Review, Summer 1983.
- 19) Cf., supra, #12, p.266.
- 20) See NYT, 10/19/83.
- 21) WP, 4/3/83.
- 22) Chris Payne, "The ABM Treaty: Looking for Loopholes," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 8-9/83.
- 23) Department of Defense Appropriations for 1984, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, part 8, p.445; USA Today, 7/19/83.
- 24) NYT, 5/24/83; Boston Globe, 5/19/83.
- 25) United Nations Press Release, GP/PS/2376, 11/26/82.
- 26) Soviet Embassy Press Release, 4/28/82.
- 27) Edward Aldridge, "Defense in the Fourth Medium," Retired Officer, 6/83.
- 28) UPI dispatch, 1/6/83.
- 29) WP, 5/19/83.
- 30) See Jeffrey Richelson, "PD-59, NSDD-13 and the Reagan Strategic Modernization Program," Journal of Strategic Studies, 6/83.
- 31) NYT, 4/5/83.
- 32) WP, 7/26/82.

# Documents

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## U.S. Investment in South Africa

Advocates of U.S. divestiture from South Africa are often told that they make a mountain out of a molehill. U.S. investment, their opponents charge, is insignificant compared to the overall size of the South African economy and foreign investment in that country. The following July 1983 report from the U.S. Consulate General in Johannesburg, South Africa shows that U.S. investment is much larger than official U.S. government statistics indicate. This has, as the Consulate points out, far-reaching consequences for the U.S. divestment movement.

SUBJ: US INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE HIDDEN PIECES USDOC 5577

1. SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO INFORMATION WE HAVE RECENTLY OBTAINED, US FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA IS MUCH GREATER THAN WE PREVIOUSLY BELIEVED. THE TOTAL IS PROBABLY IN EXCESS OF \$14.6 BILLION. THIS INCLUDES DIRECT INVESTMENT, BANK LENDING AND PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT PARTICULARLY IN GOLD MINING SHARES. THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS INVOLVEMENT PLACES THE CURRENT DISINVESTMENT DEBATE RAGING IN THE US IN NEW PERSPECTIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. OVER THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS SEVERAL INTERESTING PIECES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING US INVESTMENT HAVE COME TO OUR ATTENTION WHICH PROVIDE A MORE COMPLETE PICTURE OF TOTAL US FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE TO US. GENERALLY WE HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT US INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AS \$2.6 BILLION. THIS FIGURE IS RECORDED BY THE US DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE'S BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AS US DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1981. WE NOW UNDERSTAND PER REFTEL THAT THE FIGURE OF \$2.6 BILLION REPRESENTS ONLY THOSE INVESTMENTS MADE DIRECTLY BY US FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES. HOWEVER, MANY US AFFILIATES IN SOUTH AFRICA REPORT TO AND RECEIVE THEIR FUNDING FROM SUBSIDIARIES OF US FIRMS BASED

IN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY THE UK. THESE LATTER TRANSACTIONS STILL REPRESENT US INVESTMENT SINCE FUNDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE EITHER DIRECTLY TO THE EUROPEAN FIRM BY THE US PARENT FOR AN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA OR INDIRECTLY THROUGH THE RETENTION OF EARNINGS BY THE SUBSIDIARY IN A DEFERRAL OF DIVIDENDS BY THE US AFFILIATE. WE ARE WILLING TO BELIEVE THAT THE REAL STATISTIC FOR DIRECT AND INDIRECT INVESTMENT BY US FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA COULD BE DOUBLE THAT RECORDED BY THE BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, BUT ARE NOT CURRENTLY ABLE TO PROVIDE A REALISTIC ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL.

3. THE SECOND PIECE OF INFORMATION ON US FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH HAS COME TO HAND IS THE "COUNTRY EXPOSURE LENDING SURVEY" OF JUNE 1982 ISSUED BY THE FEDERAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS EXAMINATION COUNCIL. ACCORDING TO THIS SURVEY, AS OF JUNE 1982 SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDENTS OWED THE 167 LARGEST US BANKS \$3,655 MILLION DOLLARS. US BANKS ALSO HAD CONTINGENT CLAIMS ON SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDENTS FOR AN ADDITIONAL \$579.7 MILLION. THE STRUCTURE OF THESE BORROWINGS IS INDICATIVE OF THE APPROACH OF US BANKING INSTITUTIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA. OVER 59 PERCENT OF THE LOANS WERE TO BANKS WHILE ONLY 17 PERCENT WERE TO PUBLIC SECTOR BORROWERS AND 24 PERCENT TO NON BANK PRIVATE SECTOR ENTITIES. THE TERM OF THE DEBT IS VERY LIMITED. ALMOST 86 PERCENT OF THE LOANS HAD A MATURITY DATE OF UNDER ONE YEAR. ONLY 2 PERCENT OF THE LOANS HAD A Maturity EXCEEDING FIVE YEARS, AND THE REMAINING 12 PERCENT HAD A TERM BETWEEN ONE AND FIVE YEARS. THE STRUCTURE AND TERM OF THE LENDING INDICATES FAIRLY CLEARLY THAT MOST OF THE FUNDS REPRESENT BRIDGING FINANCING TO ASSIST SOUTH AFRICA WITH BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS AND TO HELP LOCAL BANKS WITH THE LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING 1982. WHILE WE DO NOT HAVE COMPARABLE DATA FOR OTHER TIME PERIODS, WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED TO FIND THAT THIS SURVEY CAUGHT US LENDING AT A PEAK. WE EXPECT THAT IT WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER 6

MONTHS TO A YEAR LATER, FOLLOWING THE RETURN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE TO SURPLUS [several words illegible] LIQUIDITY. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT 65 PERCENT OF THE LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA WERE MADE BY THE 9 LARGEST US BANKS, AND AN ADDITIONAL 18 PERCENT BY THE NEXT 15 LARGEST BANKS. THIS DEMONSTRATES A NARROW BORROWING BASE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IN THE US.

4. A THIRD SOURCE OF INFORMATION RECENTLY RECEIVED IS A REPORT BY THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF DAVID BORKUM HARE, A RESPECTED BROKERAGE HOUSE ON THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE, CONCERNING FOREIGN HOLDINGS IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINING COMPANIES AS OF DECEMBER 1982. THIS REPORT INDICATES THAT FOREIGN SHAREHOLDERS OWNED SHARES VALUED AT SLIGHTLY MORE THAN \$14.1 BILLION ON THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE IN GOLD MINES, MINING HOUSES, PLATINUM MINES, DE BEERS AND PALAMIN. THE REPORT ESTIMATES THAT THE US SHARE OF THIS HOLDING WAS 57 PERCENT, OR \$8.1 BILLION. THE FOREIGN SHAREHOLDING REPRESENTS ALMOST [sic] 38 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL CAPITALIZATION OF THE PUBLICLY QUOTED MINING SECTOR STOCKS, EXCLUDING COAL. THE US OWNERSHIP WAS OVER 25 PERCENT. THE SURVEY ARRIVED AT THESE ESTIMATES BY EXAMINING THE SHARE REGISTERS OF THE MAJOR MINING COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT ATTRIBUTES SHARES HELD BY NOMINEES FOR AMERICAN DEPOSITORY RECEIPTS AND ASA LIMITED AS US HOLDINGS, AND THOSE TRADED ON THE LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE OR HELD BY SEVERAL EUROPEAN NOMINEES AS EUROPEAN HOLDINGS. THE PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN HOLDINGS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES HAS BEEN RELATIVELY STABLE OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS VARYING BETWEEN A LOW OF 37.7 PERCENT AND A HIGH OF 42 PERCENT. US OWNERSHIP HAS HOWEVER BEEN DIMINISHING SLOWLY SINCE 1979, FROM A PEAK OF [illegible] TO THE CURRENT 25.5 PERCENT. MOST US INVESTMENT IS DIRECTLY IN GOLD MINING COMPANIES. US INVESTMENT REPRESENTS ONLY 7.7

PERCENT OF THE CAPITALIZATION OF THE MINING HOUSES (ALTHOUGH STEADILY INCREASING SINCE 1980). US INVESTORS ALSO OWN 25.3 PERCENT OF THE PLATINUM MINES AND 11.0 PERCENT OF DE BEERS.

5. THE DATES OF THE ABOVE DATA VARY FROM DECEMBER 1981 TO DECEMBER 1982, AND IT WOULD THEREFORE BE IMPRECISE TO DO A SIMPLE ADDITION TO PROVIDE A PICTURE OF THE TOTAL FINANCIAL COMMITMENT OF US INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, USING THOSE ROUGH FIGURES WE FIND A TOTAL US FINANCIAL INTEREST OF \$14.2 BILLION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. IF ALL OF THE DATA WERE AS OF DECEMBER 1982, WE BELIEVE THE TOTAL WOULD BE SLIGHTLY HIGHER. THIS MOST RECENT SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN LIABILITIES INDICATE THAT ON DECEMBER 31, 1982, THE COUNTRY'S TOTAL FOREIGN LIABILITIES WERE ONLY \$33.9 BILLION. THIS SURVEY INCLUDES SHARE CAPITAL AT BOOK VALUE, WHEREAS THE DAVID BORKUM HARE REPORT USED SHARE HOLDINGS AT MARKET PRICES WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERABLY ABOVE BOOK VALUE. THIS ADMITTEDLY EXTREME IMPERFECT COMPARISON, LEADS US TO THE CONCLUSION [sic] THAT US INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA IS SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER THAN THE \$2.6 BILLION WE HAVE ALWAYS BANDIED ABOUT AND PROBABLY MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE 20 PERCENT OF TOTAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE GENERALLY QUOTE. IT MAY ALSO BE MORE THAN 1 PERCENT OF TOTAL US INVESTMENT ABROAD. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE POTENTIAL FOR US DISINVESTMENT COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY THAN WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ASSUMED. HOWEVER, DISINVESTMENT PROPONENTS WHO TARGET US COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND BANKS LENDING TO SOUTH AFRICA ARE AIMING ONLY AT THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG, SINCE PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT IS APPARENTLY LARGER THAN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND BANK LENDING COMBINED.  
DARIS

**COXSEDGE CONT. from pg. 48**

U.S. Bases: There to Stay?

**What is Prime Minister Hawke going to do about the U.S. bases?**

Our Defence Minister recently played down the importance of U.S. bases in Australia and I believe that would probably accurately reflect the government view. B-52s, possibly nuclear armed (we're not even allowed to know) continue to fly over our soil and nuclear-armed U.S. ships continue to call at Australian ports, despite growing opposition both inside and outside the Labor Party. More people are waking up to the fact that America will only "come to the aid" of a country if it suits

America. So there we are, a floating nightmare in the Pacific, getting nothing and increasingly jeopardizing our sovereignty.

Today, God knows, we are at the crossroads. I don't think anybody, even a fool could deny that. Unless we make profound changes in the world very soon, we will simply not survive into the 1990s. It's not a matter of "if," but rather "when," there will be a nuclear disaster.

I can talk in global terms, but I can't influence anything globally. However, I may have some influence in my own country. Therefore, my concerns have to be to make Australia fit into what I hope will be a more

progressive world where people can live in harmony and have children without fear. That means we have to kick out all foreign bases, that we have to stop the mining of our uranium because it is the raw material used in nuclear weapons, and that we must run our own economy.

In short, we have to control our own destiny to allow us to bring about necessary change, because I want my children to live in a country without secret political police, without power-mad rulers and without the threat of nuclear extinction.

# Letters to the Editor

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Counterspy welcomes letters to the editor. They should be no more than 250 words long. Counterspy reserves the right to edit letters. Please write: Letters to the Editor, Counterspy magazine, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

## AFGHANISTAN I

I hail the extensive and comprehensive article on Afghanistan in your September-November number. Two points left me less than fully satisfied: the failure to include your former assertions that Amin was a CIA agent (on this I expected more information than before). The second: additional information on the participants in the assault on the presidential palace during which Amin was captured. In a previous issue Counterspy wrote it was something that might never be known, but somebody there must know.

Dr. Sol Segal  
Palo Alto, CA

KONRAD EGE RESPONDS: Counterspy never stated that Amin was a CIA agent; we reported that Afghan government officials claim he was. In spite of repeated questions in numerous interviews while in Kabul, no one provided any corroborating evidence of this assertion. Unfortunately, I was also unable to learn more about the December 1979 assault on the presidential palace. I am sure "somebody" does know, but that "somebody" isn't talking.

## AFGHANISTAN II

Until the series of articles entitled "Eyewitness Afghanistan" by Konrad Ege in the last issue of Counterspy (vol.8, no.1), the magazine has focussed primarily on the nature of U.S. foreign policy. This perspective, always carefully documented, has shown that the anti-Sovietism of U.S. policy is, like CIA covert actions, nuclear war threats, etc., principally for the promotion of the profits and control of multinational corpo-

rations worldwide. In contrast, Ege's articles make the question about the nature of economic and social development of Third World governments and implicitly of Soviet foreign policy the focus of discussion. These are large and worthy subjects. Unfortunately, Ege's treatment of them is misleading in respect to the basic and difficult questions in each of these areas.

For example, on development questions Ege cites an anecdote, based on third hand quotation, in which a male peasant allegedly remarks that he would rather give medical treatment to his cow than to his wife because if the cow dies "I cannot afford to buy a new one. If my wife dies, I can get a new one."

Understanding the oppression of women is a difficult matter, particularly when women are subjected to many kinds of exploitation and oppression at once, as is typical in the Third World World. Many of these do not involve the family and are directly the work of larger social forces. In others, larger forces express themselves through the family, often reinforcing traditional male domination. Thus (leaving aside the possibility of misquotation) the peasant's statement starkly expresses the control that men have over the lives of women. But by omitting the context of the statement, Ege's anecdote misses the essential in this case and is not helpful to our understanding.

The peasant's statement is presented as if he really had a choice and, hence, that the oppression of women in Afghanistan consists primarily in the exercise of such choices by their husbands. The context of extreme poverty in which the survival of an entire family depends on the survival of a single animal is entirely ignored. We get no sense of the anguish of the family. What would you or I or Ege or anyone else, including the wife, do in such circumstances?

By ignoring the cruel dilem-

mas which people in poverty face, Ege ignores the fundamental responsibility of the structures that generate poverty in the world today — the capitalist powers and their multinational corporations in collaboration with local rulers. Once these basic forces which determine the existence of men and women in the Third World are ignored, the very possibility of understanding the oppression of women as women is undermined. In my experience (mainly in India) the oppression of poor rural women is mainly perpetrated by local rulers - moneylenders, landlords, etc. Rapists of poor women, for instance, come largely from this class. The violence against middle and upper class women comes mainly from men of their own economic class. Even this is often in the context of U.S.-European cultural domination. For instance, some brides are murdered by their husbands and in-laws in urban North India because the brides did not bring a motorcycle or TV set as part of their dowry.

As another example, Ege cites the fact that some areas in Afghanistan have never been ruled "by any central government because tribal leaders there resisted" as a bad thing together with illiteracy and feudalism. Yet he asserts that until 1978 Afghanistan had been ruled by kings and other dictators. One would have thought that under such circumstances resistance to central authority would not be seen in a negative light!

Indeed, the articles betray a considerable confusion as to the nature of government in general, and in particular about the "small party" that took power in April 1978. The People's Democratic Party was apparently committed to "land reform," "women's rights" and "literacy." But it did not seem to have many members who understood what these things meant. We are told that it resorted to force to carry out these "reforms" during the first one and a half years - force against the people themselves.

One cannot liberate people by hitting them over their heads, raping them and looting their homes. Instead of enquiring into the social and economic base of the party and government that could go on considering such activities as "reforms" for so long, the violence is simplistically explained away by attributing it to a bad, adventurist faction (the Khalq faction) of the party that came to be dominated by the villain of the piece, Hafizullah Amin.

This brings us to some of the most serious lapses and contradictions in the articles which have to do with the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan about which Ege asserts the following: "By the end of Amin's rule, much of the country was in open rebellion against him. 'The people rose up,' is the way even some party members tell the story.... In early December 1979, Amin called on Soviet troops to help; several thousand arrived in mid-December. But Amin's days were over. He was overthrown by... his own party... and Babrak Karmal and the Parcham faction took control of the government." This faction decided to carry on the "revolution." For this, it "had no choice but to call for additional Soviet troops...[since] it needed [their] protection."

These are, in my opinion, quite contradictory assertions. Ege wants us to believe that the Soviet troops went in to protect Amin's "dictatorship" against the people and also to help along a people's revolution consisting of land reforms, women's rights, etc. Moreover, it would appear that a hundred thousand Soviet troops were simply available for the asking, and that the decision to send them to Afghanistan had primarily to do with the internal Afghani situation.

It had been a desire closest to the heart of the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution to be of every assistance to the people of the world struggling to liberate themselves from colonialism and capitalism. It was a desire that could not possibly be brought to fruition in any systematic way because the Soviet Union was subject to the most intense devastation from every capitalist power at one time or another during 1917-1945. Since 1945 the U.S. government has confronted the Soviet Union with the constant threat of complete

annihilation with nuclear weapons. The situation of the Soviet people and government might be compared to that of a house continually under siege by marauders. Under these circumstances, every major Soviet foreign policy decision and many domestic ones as well must be made with sheer physical survival in mind.

The necessities of survival have created fundamentally conflicting pressures on Soviet foreign policy. On the one hand there has been the necessity of avoiding war and keeping military tensions low with one or more capitalist powers — e.g. the Rapallo pact of 1922, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939, the "peaceful co-existence" of the 1950s and the "detente" of the 1970s. On the other hand, the necessity of allying with anti-imperialist forces as a long term solution to the problem of survival has also become evident.

Nothing significant about Soviet foreign policy can be understood without taking this basic tension into account. It is a part of every judgement or misjudgement. For instance, during 1945-56 when the U.S. brandished about its nuclear monopoly the Soviet government was extremely cautious. It even advised the Communist Party of China to allow Chiang-Kai Shek to head a coalition government during 1946-48 when the Party and liberation Army were strong and growing. The historian William Appleman Williams has noted that Soviet "restraint" in foreign policy "was a central — and very probably crucial — factor in preventing nuclear war between 1945 and 1955." The tensions and misjudgements created by the tremendous U.S. military pressure were also a factor in creating tensions between the socialist countries -- which was and remains a basic goal of U.S. foreign policy. (See for instance Henry Kissinger's book Nuclear Weapons and U.S. Foreign Policy done for Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations in 1956-57.)

The Soviet decision to support the Afghani government with a large number of troops came in late 1979. Earlier that year the rulers of the U.S. had decided to replace "detente" with a renewed quest for nuclear superiority. The prime reason for the reassessment was the overthrow of the Shah of Iran —

which James Schlesinger, former head of the CIA, assessed at the time as being the most severe blow to capitalist interests since the Bolshevik revolution. By late 1979, NATO had decided to deploy first strike Pershing II and cruise missiles, the U.S. government had practically abandoned the SALT II nuclear arms control treaty and a de facto U.S.-China military alliance was partially in place. It was in these disparate circumstances that the Soviet government decided to back with troops what appeared to be an anti-imperialist government despite the violence of that government to its people.

That backing cannot, however, change the nature of events in Afghanistan prior to late December 1979. The People's Democratic Party was not only a "small party" — many revolutionary parties are small. It had no base in the countryside where 90 percent of the Afghani people live and not much to speak of among urban industrial workers, since there isn't very much industry in Afghanistan. The events of April 1978 can only be described as a coup d'etat followed by intense factionalism and violence in the name of "reform" and "revolution."

It is possible that the Parcham faction of the People's Democratic Party now in power will bring about national reconciliation and some real reforms. Coups can have progressive possibilities though there is nothing inherent in them or in the Afghani situation that assures it, so far as I can tell. Ege has recounted some progress since early 1980. But the credibility of his claims of progress by the Karmal government is not enhanced by his analysis.

The U.S. government is pouring \$3 billion into Zia ul-Haq's dictatorship in Pakistan largely to ensure that the war in Afghanistan goes on. Ege's trip to Afghanistan was a courageous attempt to get a perspective different from the one in the capitalist press. Sadly, his report does not help us to further our mutual goals of national reconciliation and peace in Afghanistan and the quickest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from there.

Arjun Makhijani  
Silver Spring, MD

KONRAD EGE RESPONDS: I cannot help but see a situation in which a cow is given preferential treatment over a woman as a gross example of women's oppression. My article places this incident in the context of great poverty. As the article states, women have been doubly oppressed — by poverty and feudal rule in many areas, and because they are women. Contrary to Makhijani, I do not believe that multinational corporations have contributed in a significant way to oppression of women and to poverty in Afghanistan; there are only a handful in the entire country.

My article does not say that one can "liberate people by hitting them over their heads." The Hafizullah Amin regime was overthrown because it "hit people over their heads" under the pre-text of instituting reforms.

I don't believe that one can explain the Soviet government's decision to send troops into Afghanistan simply as a consequence of the breakdown of "detente" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and Ronald Reagan's push for nuclear superiority. This does not do justice to the complexities of a situation in which the options of the parties involved were very limited. The Soviet government had the choice of assisting by sending troops to back up the People's Democratic Party government which, as Makhijani concedes, might "bring about national reconciliation and some real reforms." Or the Soviet Union could have withdrawn its support, allowing ultra-reactionary "rebel" forces — backed by the CIA — to come to power. Those who criticize the Soviet troop presence in Afghanistan must face up to this alternative.

#### KAL 007

For the entire month of September and into October, the media drum beat on the downing of the South Korean 007 has gone on relentlessly. No one can discount the tragic loss of 269 innocent lives. It is very sad for their families. However, entirely too much focus has been placed on this disaster, as if this is the only tragedy in the world today.

Reagan and other officials demanded an immediate apology from the Soviets for the downing, despite all unanswered questions about the 007 airliner being 300 miles off course, deep

into Russian airspace. But did the U.S. apologize for the U2 spy plane in 1960 that was shot down by the USSR, which the U.S. government loudly and vehemently claimed was a weather plane until the surviving pilot told the truth? Yuri Andropov should have been prompt in offering regrets. Yet, it took 32 years for America to admit to shielding a major Nazi war criminal. The mass media would have the world believe that the United States is the good peace-loving nation while Russia is the bad Communist nation. On the other hand, the U.S. has a history of committing atrocities all over the world: overthrowing governments; CIA coups; invading Latin America 12 times in the last century; fervently trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government; destabilizing African countries; supporting dictatorships in El Salvador, the Philippines, and so on. Nor will history forget child labor, native Indians and the African diaspora, slavery, Hiroshima, Vietnam, systematic racism against Blacks, destruction of the environment, and the ever-increasing number of starving, homeless citizens in this, the richest country in the world.

Few news items have received as much coverage as KAL 007. Certainly, the great tragedy of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, or the heinous treatment and murder of the Arabs and the confiscation of their lands did not. Not even the holocaust at Shatila and Sabra in June of 1982, or the almost daily atrocities of South Africa against the Black Africans. The double standard is crystal clear.

When Israel's fighter planes shot down a Libyan commercial airliner on February 21, 1973, there was no hue and cry, or hostile reaction against Israel, although there were 113 civilians aboard. 102 persons, including 27 women and children in addition to 8 crewmen were killed almost instantly. The French pilot had lost his way in a sand-storm and accidentally flown over occupied Egyptian territory in the Sinai, 12 miles from the Suez Canal. By the time the plane was intercepted by Israeli fighter planes, it had turned around and started flying towards Cairo, nine minutes away from the area. However, it was wantonly shot down anyway. Condemnation, hysteria were lacking here by

both the officials and the mass media. A classic example is seen in the New York Times, Feb. 22, 1973: "Israelis Down a Libyan Airliner in Sinai, Killing at Least 74" — saying that it ignored warnings to land. "Jet Crash Lands." What a contrast to 007.

Again the mass media did not hurl condemnation against Israel when, on June 8, 1967, it attacked its closest ally's unarmed ship, the U.S.S. Liberty killing 34 and wounding 75 U.S. personnel. There were no indignant officials or media; there were no honored and publicized burials. Israel said simply, "it was a mistake." Of course, the Liberty was in international waters, clearly marked with U.S. Navy letters and a 5 foot by 8 foot U.S. flag.

Despite the fact that these events are unrelated, they serve to show the double standard in the media.

What then was the cause of all this anti-Communist malevolence? It served its purpose well. Immediately after the Soviets shot down the plane, 2,000 more Marines were sent to Lebanon — many more have gone since; and people were distracted from their plight here at home — unemployment, pay cuts, hunger and a bad economy. It gave our government an excuse to continue to build up militarily in North East Asia, near the Soviet coast; gave Congress an excellent opportunity to escalate the military budget to its highest level in history: \$187.5 billion by a vote of 266 to 152.

The mass media can perform a public service by presenting the news fairly and objectively to the American people. What would be important is the search for the facts surrounding the South Korean airliner.

Dora Henderson  
Silver Spring, MD



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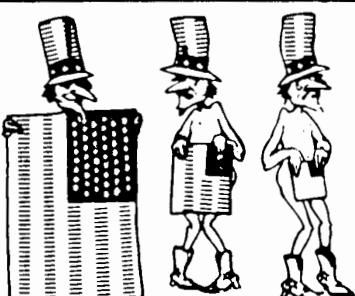
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